

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE EFFECT OF AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT UPON
A LARGE FAMILY GROUP

A DISSERTATION
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BY

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PREFACE NOTE

Throughout this thesis the term 'German Jew' is used over and over again. By this term the writer does not mean just merely the Jews who are necessarily Jews whose ancestors were from Germany proper. But, rather, she means this as do most Jews of today use this expression of distinction. German Jews include all the European Jews not of Russian extraction.

Broadly speaking, German Jews include all German, Czecho-Slovakian (formerly Bohemian), Austrian, Hungarian, and Polish Jews who, coming from the Province of Posen, which before the World War was a part of Germany, now consider themselves to be German Jews. But, at the same time, the Spanish, English, French, and Scandinavian Jews being too few in number to compose separate or distinct racial groups prefer to associate with and to live among the German Jews; and thus in this paper they come to be considered members of the German Jewish social group.

Over forty years ago, before the beginning of the migration of the Russian Jews to America in such large numbers, the meaning of being a German Jew was more limited.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF THE EISENDRATH FAMILY

INTRODUCTION

The existence of large cities is not in itself a new phenomenon for large cities have existed since pre-historic times: Memphis, Thebes, Babylon and Alexandria are known to have been centers of large human aggregations as well as centers of political, social and economic administration and of culture itself. But our modern cities, or rather our large metropolitan communities resulting from our much improved means of communication are new sociological phenomenon. And also most significant is the most rapid recent growth of many more large urban communities than ever existed before the industrial revolution.

The outstanding fact of modern society is the growth of great cities. Nowhere else have the enormous changes which the machine industry has made in our social life registered themselves with such obviousness as in the cities. In the United States the transition from a rural to an urban civilization, though beginning later than in Europe, has taken place, if not more rapidly and completely, at any rate more logically in its most characteristic forms.

(1)

It is most interesting to note that in the United States according to the census figures for the year 1790 there were then only six places having a population of 8,000 inhabitants

(1) THE CITY, edited by Park and Burgess, p47,--from an article, "The Growth of the City: an Introduction to a Research Project, by E. W. Burgess.

or more, these inhabitants comprising only 3.3 % of the total population of the country at that time; while by the year 1920 the number of places having a population of 8,000 inhabitants or more had risen to 924, and those persons dwelling within these places composed 43.8 % of the total population.

Naturally along with this very rapid change in the type of living of so many individuals we should expect to find a distinct change in the older social institutions, such as the family, the church, and means of education and economy. But when we speak of urban influences we mean by such the sum-total of the urban influences upon its individual urban dwellers which tend to develop new interests and a more or less different behavior pattern in these individuals largely as a result of the newer and muchly increased means of social interactions afforded within an urban environment. And to a large extent newer and very different mores and social customs have been developed within these urban communities; simultaneously the older family traditions and the former customary ways of doing things have been disregarded.

But much has already been written concerning these urban influences for all students of human society have come to realize their significance. Indeed most all phases of sociology, which by definition deal with the actions and interactions of the individual as a member of one or more

social groups, are directly or indirectly interested in the causes or the results of these urban influences: whether more directly in the fields of Urban Sociology, Social History or Social Progress, or more indirectly in the study of smaller social groups and social institutions or in all our social problems, such as, for example, those of divorce, delinquency and criminology or general social unrest.

But even if we narrow our interest to only that of the family, sometimes called the oldest social institution, the influence of our urban environment is immediately seen to be of great significance:

The Reformation in one aspect, at least, represented an impetus to individualization, that is, to the emancipation of the individual from the control of the group. An immediate expression of this emancipation was the secularization of marriage--the recognition of marriage as a contract instead of as a sacrament--and the substitution of the civil for the religious ceremony. The Romantic movement was also a manifestation of individualism, a revolt of youth against the domination of parents in the arrangement of marriage, and against the regulation of the small family by the large family group. Furthermore, with the recognition of the principle of individualism came the ideal of the democratic organization of the family. For patriarchal dominance was substituted the equality of husband and wife.

The achievement of this ideal has been directly fostered by the Industrial Revolution through the growing actual or potential economic independence of women. Then, too, city life as a natural consequence of the Industrial Revolution, with its mobility, its secondary contacts, and its impersonal relations, frees the individual from the continuous and close control of the neighborhood and the local community--a control which for centuries had made for the stability of the family.

Indeed, the family in the past has been the most influential of institutions in imposing upon the new generations the ideals and forms of the

old. Under the changing conditions of city life, however, the individual lives more in the community than in the family, and there he finds divergent views. The result is an attitude of experimentation on the part of the individual--a rebellion against the old ideals of family life and a tendency to enter into marriage relations along more individualistic lines than would have been tolerated under less mobile conditions.

(1)

The preceding quotation was taken from one of the many books which have been recently published upon this subject of the changing family. Much information, both in the form of statistical data and in case studies, is now being gathered concerning this apparent change in the behavior pattern of the individual family group. But very little, if any at all, has been gathered upon the change urban living has brought about in the large family group.

Therefore this study is an attempt to trace the urban influences upon just one large family group, the Eisendrath family. This family group is particularly well suited for such a study for it is typically "urban defacto", or, in other words, still in the process of becoming wholly urbanized. As far as we can now determine previous to 1848 this family lived in a small German rural community; while at the present time the great majority of those included in this study live in Chicago. Furthermore the fact that this family is a Jewish family is significant, for Jewish families or

(1) Mowrer, E. R.: Family Disorganization, pp 5-6

Jewish large family groups have always been known to be very close. That should be feasible to determine, at least to some extent, in regard to the influence of Judaism upon this group; but it will be also most significant to note how the urban influences, necessarily that much stronger, have affected a once closely knit Jewish family group, one that was and perhaps still is more tightly bound together than is the average large family group. Moreover, at the same time, it will be interesting to note how far those forces, traditional for the most part, that are found within an American Jewish family of German descent which have been strong enough to withstand the urban forces tending towards family disintegration, and those which still continue to achieve some form of a large family group unity inspite of its urban environment. And, finally if some degree of family unity, or as Mowrer has expressed it, some degree of a "family consciousness" is still found, this fact should be of sociological importance.

In this study attention will be directed to those economical and social factors making for the large family group unity which still exists as well as to those forces which have tended to undermine its solidarity. But these disintegrating influences are almost without exception the direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious forces of city life. The integrating forces are, for the most part, the result of their similar physical and mental characteristics,

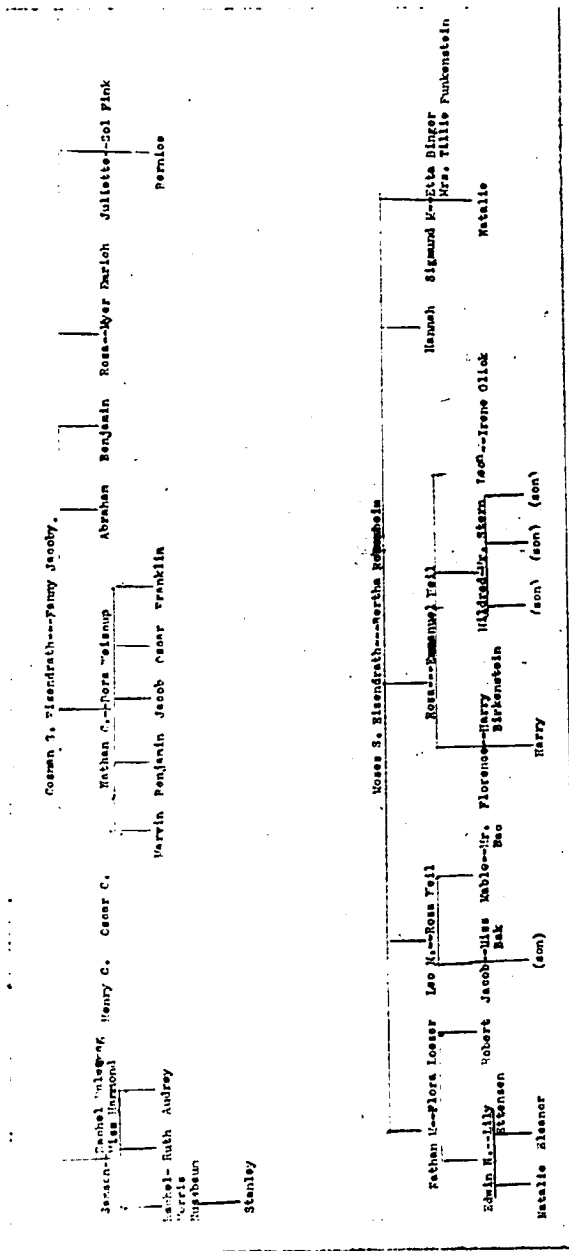
their common interests, and, most especially, their common social heritage of more or less traditional beliefs and customs.

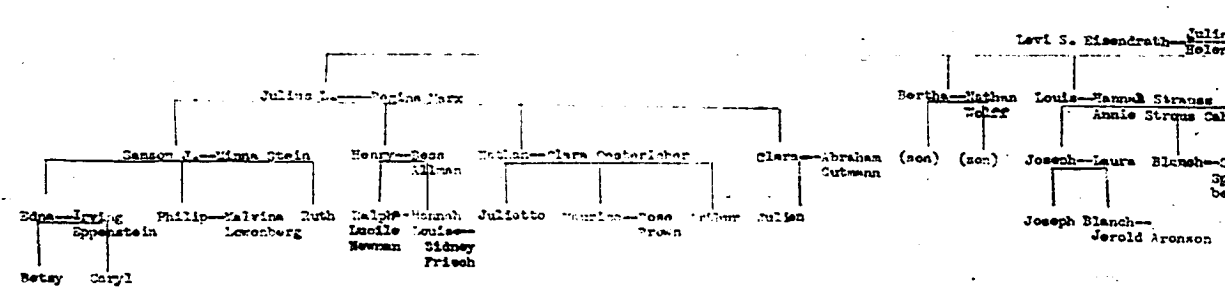
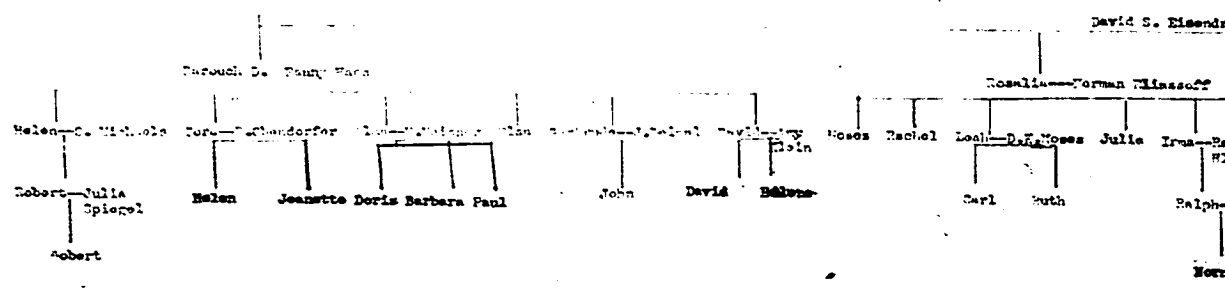
In that these two forces are at work simultaneously in this Eisendrath family group, this study most naturally falls into three parts: first a geneological outline of the family and a brief historical sketch in regard to the common past of these Eisendraths living today; secondly a more detailed analysis of the forces of integration still found at work within this family group; and finally an analysis of the disintegration of this group within the ~~last~~ fifty years and a discussion of the chief causes tending to bring about this disintegration.

PART I.

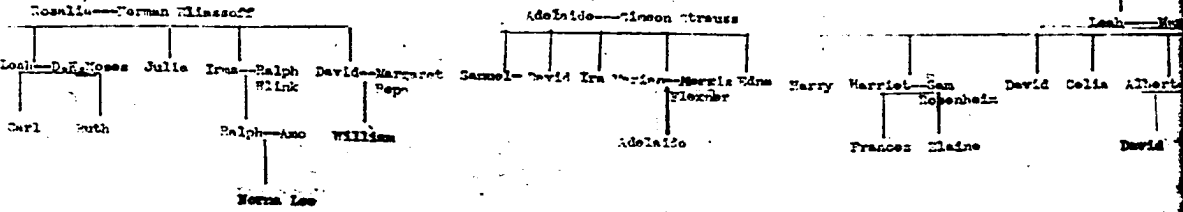
THE FAMILY LOCATION AND EXTENT IN TIME AND SPACE

THE FAMILY GENEALOGY

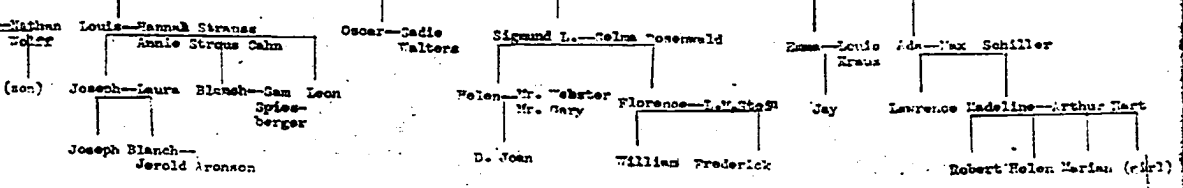




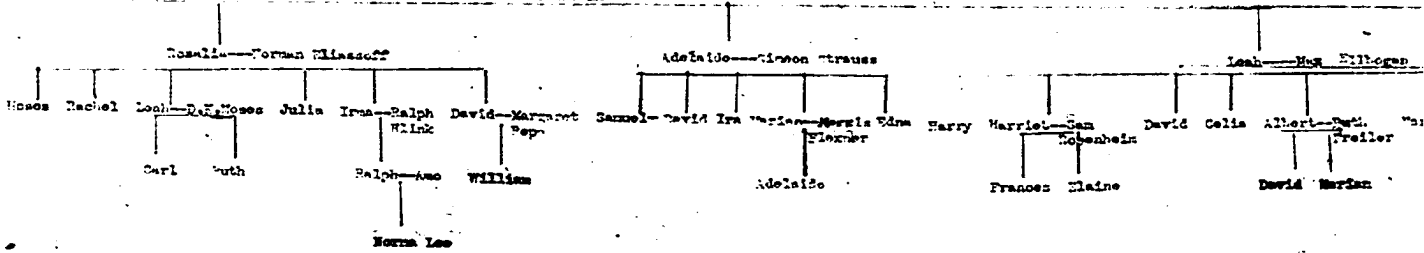
David S. Eisendrath—Lezette Loenstein



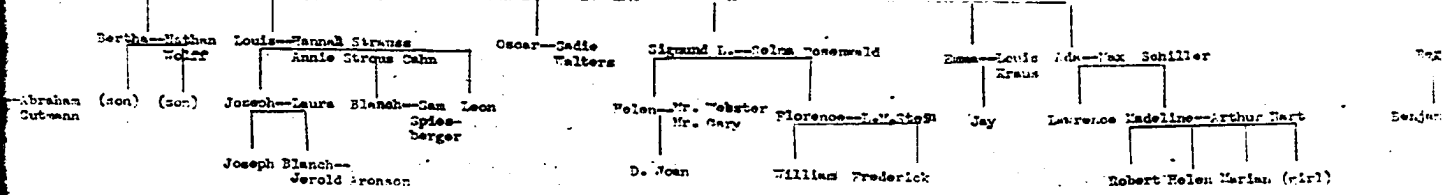
Levi S. Eisendrath—Julia Cohen
Helena Felsenthal

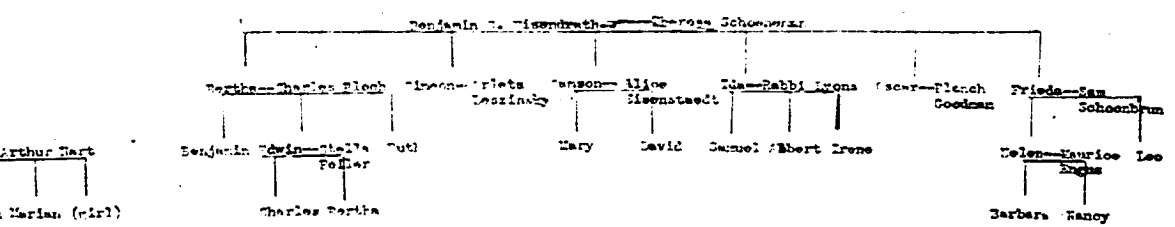
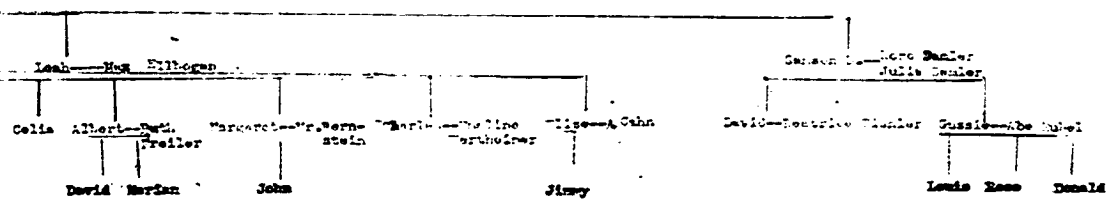


David S. Eisendrath—Leaette Loenstein



Levi S. Eisendrath—Julia Schon
Helena Felsenthal





THE FAMILY GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

MEMBERS OF THE EISENDRATH FAMILY NOW LIVING IN
OR ABOUT CHICAGO

(By Families)

1. Mrs. Jerold Aaronson (Blanch Eisendrath),--
The Poinsetta Hotel
2. Mrs. Mabel (Eisendrath) Bak,--5200 Sheridan Road
3. Mrs. Jack Bernstein (Margaret Ellbogen),--
5518 Everett Avenue
4. Mrs. Harry Birkenstein (Florence Weil),--
731 Junior Terrace
5. Mrs. Ralph Blink (Emma Eliassoff),--5527 Everett Avenue
6. Mr. Ralph Blink, Jr.,--5126 Kimbark Avenue
7. Mrs. Anton Burger (Blanch Regensburg),--
3800 Sheridan Road
8. Mrs. Albert Cahn (Elisen Ellbogen),--Glencoe, Illinois
9. Mrs. Sadie (Windmiller) Collier,--The Ambassador Hotel
10. Mrs. Jerome Deimal (Gertrude Eisendrath),--
3100 Sheridan Road
11. Mr. Abraham C. Eisendrath,--909 Foster Avenue
12. Mrs. Benjamin W. Eisendrath,--Winnetka (Living with
her granddaughter, Marie Schwartz)
13. Mrs. Barouch D. Eisendrath,--The Belmont Hotel
14. Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath,--The Drake Hotel (Now in
Paris with his son who lives there)

15. Mr. David S. Eisendrath,--The Windermere Hotel
16. Mr. Edwin W. Eisendrath,--200 East Delaware Street
17. Mr. Henry J. Eisendrath,--5480 Everett Avenue
18. Mr. Joseph L. Eisendrath,--The Shoreland Hotel
19. Mrs. Louis L. Eisendrath,--Living in Wilmette
20. Mrs. Nathan J. Eisendrath,--4200 Hazel Street
21. Mr. Nathan M. Eisendrath,--5465 Hyde Park Boulevard
22. Mr. Oscar B. Eisendrath,--Commonwealth Avenue
23. Mrs. Joseph N. Eisendrath,--The Ambassador Hotel
24. Mr. Philip S. Eisendrath,--652 Buena Avenue
25. Mr. Ralph Eisendrath,--5000 East End Avenue
26. Mr. Robert M. Eisendrath,--230 East Pearson Street
27. Mr. Samson B. Eisendrath,--1145 Chatfield Road,
Winnetka
28. Mr. Samson D. Eisendrath,--403 East 60th Street
29. Mr. Samson J. Eisendrath,--The Parkshore Hotel
30. Mr. Sigmund L. Eisendrath,--The Beach View Club
31. Mrs. Sigmund M. Eisendrath,--The Parkland Hotel
32. Mrs. William N. Eisendrath,--4441 Drexel Boulevard
33. Mr. William B. Eisendrath,--37 Ravine Terrace,
Ravinia, Illinois
34. Mrs. Herman Eliassoff (Rosalia Eisendrath),--
The Madison Park Hotel
35. Mr. Albert Ellbogan,--4725 Drexel Boulevard
36. Mr. Charles Ellbogan,-- Hyde Park Boulevard
37. Mrs. Max Ellbogan (Leah Eisendrath),--5555 Everett
Avenue

38. Mrs. Irving B. Eppenstein (Edna Eisendrath),--
1239 Scott Avenue, Winnetka, Illinois
39. Mr. Louis Fellheimer,--5423 Ingleside Avenue
40. Mrs. Joseph Finn (Mattie Regensburg),--The Belmont
Hotel
41. Mrs. Morris Flexner (Marian Straus),--683 West
East End Avenue
42. Mrs. Sidney Frisch (Hannah Louise Eisendrath),--
The Mayfair Hotel
43. Mrs. Edmund Ginter (Selma Wolff),--1237 North
Dearborn Street
44. Mrs. Gus Glickauf (Lulu Wolff),--1034 Sheridan Road
45. Mrs. Abraham Gutmann (Clara Eisendrath),--
4605 Drexel Boulevard
46. Mrs. Samuel Greenebaum (Paula Rosenthal),--1443
Winnemac Avenue
47. Mrs. Herman Heymanson, (Dina Wolff),--5901 Kenmore
Avenue
48. Mrs. Arnold Horween (Marian Eisendrath),--4441
Drexel Boulevard
49. Mrs. Arthur Hart (Madeline Schiller),--942 East
56th Street
50. Mrs. Milton Hirsch (Katherine Eisendrath),--
Highland Park, Illinois
51. Mrs. Dan Hirsch (Margaret Levy),--The Shoreland Hotel
52. Mrs. Jacobs (Millie Rosenthal),--

53. Mrs. William Kirscheimer (Elsa Levy),-- 953 Hyde
Park Boulevard
54. Mrs. Louis Kraus (Emma Eisendrath),--The Windermere
Hotel
55. Mrs. Harry Levy,--4719 Drexel Boulevard
56. Mrs. Simon Levy (Bella Wolff),--The East End Hotel
57. Frances and William Levi,--Forest Avenue, Wilmette
58. Mr. Robert Michaels,--824 Judson Avenue, Evanston
59. Mrs. Morris Nussbaum (Rachel Eisendrath),--1408
Albion Avenue
60. Mrs. Claude Nathan (Edith Eisendrath),--St. John's
Avenue, Highland Park, Illinois
61. Mrs. Dr. Harry Richter (Adeline Windmiller),--
1031 East 46th Street
62. Mrs. James Regensburg,--The Beachview Club
63. Mrs. Sam Regensburg,--The Windermere Hotel
64. Mr. Sigmund Rosenthal,--The Windermere Hotel
65. Edna Straus,--The Aragon Hotel
66. Ira Straus,--6755 Ridgeland Avenue
67. Mr. Samuel Straus,--The Windermere Hotel
68. Mr. David Straus,--
69. Mrs. Irving Schwartz (Marie Levi),--Orchard Lane
Winnetka, Illinois
70. Mrs. Sam Schoenbrun (Frieda Eisendrath),--The Parkshore
Hotel
71. Mrs. Jack Sloss (Fannie Regensburg),--The Windermere
Hotel

73. Mrs. Max Schiller (Ada Eisendrath),--The Madison
Park Hotel
74. Mrs. L. Montifore Stein (Florence Eisendrath),--
1301 Astor Street
75. Mrs. David B. Stern (Clara Eisendrath),--179 Lake Shore
Drive
76. Mrs. Mildred (Weil) Stern,--842 Gault Avenue
77. Mrs. Rose Weil,--5200 Sheridan Road
78. Mr. Sidney Windmiller,--
79. Sam Wolff,--1237 North Dearborn Street
80. Oscar Wolff,--1237 North Dearborn Street
81. Mrs. Nathan Wolff,--530 Cornelia Avenue
82. Harry, Sam and Adele Wolff,--838 Waveland Avenue
83. Mr. Leon Weil,--The Chicago Beach Hotel
84. Mrs. Rosa (Wolff) Lang,--1237 North Dearborn Street

MEMBERS OF THE EISENDRATH FAMILY NOW LIVING

OUTSIDE OF CHICAGO

(By Families)

1. The Charles Bloch family (Bertha Eisendrath),--New York
 - a) Edwin Bloch,--married
 - b) Benjamin Bloch,--married
2. Mrs. Evelyn (Glickauff) Bernard,--New York
3. Mrs. Helen (Eisendrath) Carey,--New York
4. Richard Eaton,--Paris
5. Simeon B. Eisendrath,--New York
6. Henry C. Eisendrath,--Biloxi
7. Nathan C. Eisendrath family,--Milwaukee
8. Samson C. Eisendrath family,--Milwaukee
 - a) Daughter, Ruth,--married
 - b) Daughter, Audrey,--married
9. David B. Eisendrath,--Milwaukee
10. Edwin N. Eisendrath,--Denver
11. Maurice N. Eisendrath,--Toronto, Canada
12. Juliette Eisendrath,--California
13. David Eliassoff,--New York
14. Mrs. Rose Emrich,--St. Louis, Missouri
15. Alfred Fellheimer,--New York
16. Mrs. Millie (Regensburg) Hamber,--New York
 - a) Son, Harvey married

17. Mrs. William Leeds (Claudine Hamber),--Boston
18. Mr. Bernard Jacobs,--California
19. Mrs. Ida (Eisendrath) Lyons,--Brooklyn
20. Mrs. Oscar Michaels,--Milwaukee
(His first wife was an Eisendrath)
21. Mrs. Harry Meisner (Alma Eisendrath),--Milwaukee
22. Mrs. David K. Moses (Leah Eliassoff),--New London,
Conneticut
23. Mrs. Ralph Obendorfer, (Cora Eisendrath),--Milwaukee
24. Mrs. Sam Rosenheim (Harriet Ellbogen),--St. Louis,
Missouri
25. Mrs. Abraham Rubel (Gussy Eisendrath),--La Porte,
Indiana
26. Mr. Jerome Windmiller,--Boston
27. Mr. Arthur Windmiller,--Gary, Indiana
28. Mrs. Bertha (Eisendrath) Wolff,--Cologne, Germany
29. Mrs. Oscar L. Eisendrath,--Baltimore, Maryland
30. Mrs. Juliette (Wolff) Fink,--Danville, Illinois
31. Mrs. Oscar Regensburg,--California
32. Mrs. Maurice Engus,--Detroit, Michigan

THE FAMILY HISTORY

The History of the Eisenrath Family

Unconsciously every individual's knowledge of his past family's history, of the lives of his ancestors,-- whether they were pre-American Revolution Americans or whether they were merely commonplace European peasants or the like,--tends to draw him closer to his known present day, living relatives, because they have something in common. And herein lies the reason why such a family history is of importance,--because its effect upon its members is an integrating force tending to establish some bond of family feeling or of family closeness among all those members who commonly are acquainted with it.

This following account of the Eisendrath family history is merely the sum-total of those past, traditional family stories and incidents which are retained commonly among the present day members of this Eisendrath family group. But because this study is to be such a one which aims to observe the Eisendrath family group from an objective point of view, all such related incidents are of much significance: the general knowledge of these stories among the Eisendraths, a common group influence, has been indirectly, as a result, a powerful force making for the group integration.

Dorsten, Westphalia, Germany in 1800 differed very markedly from the modern rural community which one now finds flourishing there. Small factories and local industries were just commencing then, and the first traces of an industrial revolution were apparent. But in another sense it differed more markedly from the present civilization found in this town, and that is in regard to religious discrimination and toleration. Dorsten then was very Catholic and there was a bitter dislike felt towards the Jews. There were a considerable number of Jewish families all of which were forced to live outside of the Dorsten city walls under conditions similar to those of the Ghetto. Indeed a present day proof of this feeling is to be found in the sign which still hangs over the Dorsten city-gate, reading:

Juden und Swine cum nicht herein.

Only once a week, on Fridays, were the Jews allowed to enter the city in order to purchase their meats and their other necessary foods,--and even then only humbly and amid much sarcastic laughter.

The Eisendrath Family in Europe

Living in this way, outside of the city, over a small store Samsen and Julia (Eisendrath) started their married life. They were married in Dorsten probably in the year 1807

Samson, the son of Nathan, came from Wurmstadt, while no history is known of the earlier life of Julia save that she was married at the age of fifteen. They, like the rest of the Jews then living just without the city limits of Dorsten, were very poor and oppressed.

Historically this period, the early part of the nineteenth century, was one of great political upheaval throughout most all of Europe. Napoleon was striving to increase his empire; and after his return to the throne in 1812 he conquered and then dominated over one German province after another. But Napoleon was known to have been kind and liberal to the Jews; and when he gained Westphalia, making his brother ruler of it, he issued an edict permitting the Jews to enter and reside within the city walls. He also compelled the Jews to take a last name,--previous to that time they had had only a given name, as, for example, "Abraham, the son of Isaac." Samson, probably already having a rather large family, wished to take for his last name something that would symbolize great strength and unity. Thus he could think of nothing more fitting than Eisendrath: Eisen meaning iron, which is the strongest of all metals, and drath meaning wire, the cord to bind the family together. The Eisendrath family moved into Dorsten where this father, Samson, became wealthy, running a large general store and delivering military merchandise. (1)

(1) A picture of this Dorsten home is now in the family archives; this house is still standing, but it is no longer owned by any member of the Eisendrath family.
For a picture of the house see page 151

Samson came to be considered as "the first Jew in the town of Dorsten", and was honored by having the title of a "First Class Citizen" conferred upon him, a very great honor for a Jew at this time. Money at this time was not paid out as it is now but the "geld" was measured with shovels, weighed, but not counted; and reckoned in this manner Samson was supposedly worth quite a fortune. He constantly helped the poor Jews living in Dorsten and in the surrounding neighborhood by loaning them money. Everybody in Dorsten liked the family, and they "had a good name which was uncommon (for Jews) at that time". Samson died at the age of seventy-one years, leaving to his widow his fortune as well as twenty-three children, sixteen boys and seven girls. There had been three sets of twins.

The names of many of these twenty-three children as well as the subsequent history of their descendants have been forgotten and lost track of. The breach in the family relationships that developed as a result of some of these children coming to America is typical of the breach that arises in connection with most all immigrants to this country and their relatives back in the Old Country. But it is known that only nineteen of these twenty-three children lived to manhood or womanhood. (1)

(1) The names of the boys now known are:

1. Barough (the oldest)
2. David
3. Nathan
4. Levi
5. Moses
6. Cosman

Many interesting incidents are told about Samson, the so-called founder of the Eisendrath family, which are rather significant in the light of the subsequent history of the Eisendraths in America. He was a jovial person, home-loving and congenial. He loved card-playing and drinking because they encouraged a friendly and informal atmosphere. Therefore it was not unusual for him to invite traveling merchants to his house and have them stay with him for several days; during these visits Samson and his guests would play solo continually for two or three days and nights, their meals being served to them on trays; and not uncommonly, it is said, that he would have to loan these salesmen money in order that they might pursue their journeys.

Two other rather amusing traditions are also told concerning this man. First of all, he was decorated three times by the King of Prussia,--decorated upon the birth of each seventh child. Then there is an incident often related as to how one day he returned from a trip and when one of

Continued from page 26

7. Benjamin
8. Oscar
9. Simeon
10. Abraham

The names of the girls about whom something is still known are:

1. Adelaide (Regensburg)
2. Bertha (Rosenthal)
3. Eva (Wolff)
4. Rosa
5. Bella (died in infancy)

his youngest sons, very small at that time, ran up to him to embrace him, throwing his chubby arms around his father's shins, Samson, flattered by such affection, leaned down and patted the youngster on the head inquiring: "Now, little one, pray whose child are you?"

The children were all well educated considering the significance of an education and the extent of such in those days. Each son was made to learn a trade. And all of the children were sent to convents which at that time was the only available means of getting a good education. Tanta Eva, (the youngest of the twenty-three children), said that she went to a "school that was in a convent for eight years as it was the only available means of getting an education." As to the extent of the religious life of this family little is known beyond that they were "Reform Jews", and that the father had his own "schule" or church in the house.

Julia Eisendrath, the mother of the twenty-three children, outlived her husband by many years, living to be past eighty-six years old. During these years she became the matriarch and sole ruler of the family. She was known to have been extremely pompous and proud as well as to have been rather a vain individual. Nevertheless she was efficient and must have been a remarkable housekeeper in order to maintain such a complicated household. All the children respected and loved her very much; and there was great cooperation in that home for all the older members of the family helped to raise

the younger ones. And here is found the first instance of the Eisendrath motto of "All for one and one for all". Another characteristic of Julia's was her extreme economy; she is remembered to have been rather "tight" as well as clever, as the following incident will show. Sam Wolff, one of her grandsons, lived with her for many years before he came to America, and as he says, he "was her pet". He tells of how she kept all of her fruits and jellies in a store-room on the second floor or the garret of this Dorsten house; and then he, and he only, was allowed to accompany her when she went up to the store-room for food provisions; and upon these trips he was allowed to take one piece of fruit for himself and after much pleading was given permission to take two more pieces, one for each of his two sisters. But one time, Sam says, another grandchild of Julia's, Henry, who roomed with him and who also went to the Gymnasium, tried to get some fruit from the store-room by crawling around the outside of the window and then getting into the room through this one garret window of this provision room; he thus got two loads of fruit, and then hid it in a basket under his bed; the grandmother "smelled the stolen fruit", went to the store-room and found that she had been robbed; she questioned Henry, but he denied the charge for "how could he have gotten into the store-room?"; finally she went upstairs and into his room and "made him produce the goods."

There are other recollections concerning Julia's



Julia Eisendrath
(Mother of the twenty-three
children)

character and personality. She was a petite person, quite a bit shorter than the average in stature. Tanta Eva has said the "she was remarkable as a beauty, having a beautifully graceful white neck and very small dainty hands." She was known to be vain and extravagant in her dress, always wearing a lace bonnet with long ribbon streamers "which she had had made", and her black taffeta dresses were always trimmed with fussy white lace collars and cuffs; she was always heavily bedecked with rings and other heavy jewelry. Her hair was brown, and was known never to have turned gray. This description of Julia very well corresponds with the portrait which the sons in America had painted from a photograph they had of her. (1)

Julia was also known to have been generous and charitable, giving much to the poor. There was a lodging-house in Dorsten to which she gave "mitz pah" for the poor; if any children were born there she gave money for their birth and thus she was called their Godmother. She also gave much to the Catholic sisters. It is known that when the townsmen of Dorsten wished to build a new church she contributed enough money for the erection of the tower and for the bell;

(1) As the sons had no photograph of their father,--for Jews had not believed in having pictures taken,--a portrait was painted composed of the features of the six sons who came to America, selecting those features from each brother which they felt most resembled those of the father; Nathan's nose and mouth are known to have been used. This picture cost \$600.00 alone, and it is doubtful as to whether or not it resembles the parent.

her name is still found there. She was much of a creature of routine, "retiring every night promptly at ten o'clock regardless of whatever was going on among the other members of the family. According to her German habits, after refreshing herself with fruit and drink, she would go to her room, prepare for bed, and then climb up into her high, queenly four poster bed which was all covered with many pillows. Just before her death the Catholic Nuns came to take care of her; and as they stayed in the house for sometime, she allowed them to build an altar in order for their prayers in her house.

The Eisendrath Immigrant Families in America

Nathan Eisendrath was the first Eisendrath to migrate to the United States, arriving sometime during the year 1848. Previous to his coming to America he had had a Calico printing and dying factory in Dorsten, his father having given him the capital necessary for this factory. In this small plant Nathan had as his foreman a man named Bittinger; constantly the contracts failed to be filled, and more money was demanded from the father; then suddenly one day Bittinger disappeared with over three-thousand dollars of the company's money, and no traces could be found as to his whereabouts. Nathan was much upset by this occurrence, as might easily be the case, and told his parents that he wanted to go to

America. But at that time in Germany, at least, it was considered disgraceful for any one to come to America as "only thieves and murderers went to America." But finally Nathan's parents allowed him to go; but they could not tell anyone in the town as to where he had gone. They sent a man along with him, entrusting money with him that was to take care of the boy. But after these two had arrived in America this man also disappeared leaving Nathan without a cent in a new, entirely foreign environment where he could not even understand the language. Somehow or other the lad came to Philadelphia where he became an errand boy in a drug store. At one time while he was delivering medical goods for this store he happened to come to the house of a former Dorstener; this man said that he had known a Samson Eisendrath back there, to which Nathan promptly replied, "That's my father". Immediately the man took an interest in the young stranger, taking care of him, and giving him his first real job in a book store.

But this job could not have lasted very long for our next knowledge of him, and that most facinating of all, took place soon afterwards when he was again penniless and without a job. He happened to pass a rather pretentious house in front of which there was a large coal heap. He asked the lady of the house if he could shovel it in for her, and upon her consent he started to work. After working conscientiously for some time he stopped to rest for a moment; looking

around he saw a very well dressed man "with a high silk hat" standing in the doorway. All of a sudden this man started, and then grinned, finally saying, "Kennst du mir nicht?"

Blankly Nathan shook his head.

The man repeated his question; gaining the same response from the boy, he added: "Put down your shovel; I want to talk to you."

And as Nathan still failed to recognize him, the gentleman said: "I am Bittinger. I am the man who stole your money. I came to America; and see, here I am very rich. Come inside and wash yourself, and I will give you back your money."

Nathan put his shovel down and went inside the house. And then that night for the first time he wrote home to his family in Germany, "for now he had something to tell them." Bittinger was already a wealthy banker in Philadelphia and owned several oil wells in Ledesville, Pennsylvania. He took the young Nathan into partnership with him; and it was in this way that Nathan got his first real, firm start in America.

Nathan was a good hearted young fellow, but, as one can see, he had a wander-lust disposition. He went to four or five different cities in the eastern part of the United States. The first position of any merit which he is known to have held was that of foreman in the soap factory of Drexel and Company. This was a small manufacturing plant

located in Philadelphia. (1)

Nathan, then, after this second comparatively short stay in Philadelphia went to Pittsburg where he remained, again, for only a short time. But previously, while in Philadelphia, he had married Helena Fellhiemer, a young German Jewish woman who had come to America at the age of nine years. And then just opposite Independence Hall in Philadelphia on Washington's birthday in the year 1852 their first son was born, whom they named Benjamin Washington Eisendrath.

In about the year 1853 Nathan Eisendrath came to Chicago with his family and settled down permanently, becoming the superintendent of the soap and candle factory of Charles Cleaver and Company. (2) While Nathan worked in this factory his family were living on the north side of the city; the factory was located on the south side; therefore he left his home on Monday morning and returned to his family again on Saturday, as the distance between these two parts of the city was too great to travel daily.

But, here again, his roving spirit came to the fore,

(1) Drexel and Company are today one of the great banking concerns of this country, and the statue of Anthony Drexel, the son of one of the partners of this soap business is located at the head of Drexel Boulevard in Chicago.

(2) The Charles Cleaver family are the founders of what is known as Cleaverville, a section of Chicago reaching from 39th to 43rd Streets near the lake from what is now Lake Park avenue to Ellis Avenue and Drexel Boulevard

and he soon became interested in four or five different business besides the "soap and candle" manufacturing. He was interested with Kraft and Roelle in the distillery business located in Riverdale. He also formed a bond and mortgage concern in 1856 known as "The Eisendrath-Syndacker Company",--later known as "The Nathan Eisendrath Company". He also became a manufacturer of bricks; and because he always kept his forces in this factory running at full speed, after the Chicago Fire he reaped a large fortune during the time of reconstruction.

And then upon his arrival in Chicago Nathan Eisendrath had written home to Dorsten telling his brothers and sisters to come to America. Certainly they could only envy his most remarkable success all of which he had made during five years in America. But the brothers were in the tanning business in Dorsten and were still rather dubious and sceptical as to the prospects which this wonderful land of opportunity might offer them. So Adelaide, one of the sisters, was the first of Nathan's own family to follow him, coming to America in 1856 and directly to Chicago, and even to his house to live. Indeed right away her aggressive personality was apparent. "Tanta Lenchen", Nathan's wife, was very economical and "most stingy with her food"; and Adelaide knew just what Nathan and her brothers liked. So she went to her brother after having asked her sister-in-law to let her do the marketing and having received "no" as the answer, and received the money

from him and consequently had her own way.

In regard to their life during the next few years little is known. But in 1858 Adelaide married Henry Regensburg, a tall gallant young man who, when he went to ask Nathan for his sister's hand in marriage, received this answer, that "yunge Adelaide must du von forne besehen, da hinter stecht nichts.",--meaning that he must look at her well from the front, and that no marriage settlement would be forthcoming, and thus that he must take her as she was. Henry Regensburg was a grocer having a store located on the North Side; so the young couple immediately settled down in that section of the city. The bride was immediately, also, taken into partnership in the running of the business which role she played very well.

One by one five of the brothers came to change their attitudes towards America, and came to Chicago, bringing their families with them. Although they all had, for the most part, tanneries outside of the town of Dorsten, the thought of going to America appealed to them for thus their sons would escape the compulsory military training. Cosman was the first brother to arrive, coming in 1859; then David in 1866 and Levy also during the same year; and then Benjamin and Moses in 1869. The next sister to migrate was Tanta Eva, the youngest of the twenty-three and rather the pet of the family. Finally some years later Bertha Rosenthal, her husband, and the four remaining members of her children came

over,--three of her children, Julia, Lena and Sigmund, had preceded her coming to America some years before. Thus the Moses Rosenthal family completed the nine families of the twenty-three children to come to America.

Cosman, as previously stated, was the second male Eisendrath to come to America, arriving in 1859. He brought with him his wife, Fanny Jacoby, and those of his children who had been born by that time. At any rate he soon had a family of eight children,--Samson, Henry, Oscar, Nathan, Abraham, Benjamin, Rosa (Emrich), and Lulu (Fink). Immediately upon his arrival in Chicago, Cosman took up trading in hides and leather; but in the following year evidence is found that he had become a grocer, opening a grocery store at 250 South Canal Street, over which he had made his home. He was known to have been quite a good business man, and soon had developed a large retail grocery store; he was, at that time, considered quite successful.

David Eisendrath, who was born in 1816, was the oldest member of the original family to come to America. He also had been in the tanning business in Europe, and some time before had married Lesette Loenstein. So when he arrived in Chicago in 1869 he had brought with him his entire family, Benjamin D., Rosalie (Eliaseoff), Adelaide (Strauss), Leah (Ellbogen), and Samson D. Eisendrath. And here again he started in the same business which he had been in in Germany, the leather business. He soon became prominent as a tanner; and in his factory on the North West Side of Chicago he was

one of the first leather manufacturers to color his leather which he made from calve's and sheep's skins.

About a year later Levi Eisendrath brought his family to Chicago. Of all the brothers Levi was thought to have the sweetest, most gentle and refined disposition; but his life is the only example we know of within the family which seemed to be filled with tragedy and unhappiness due to former, most unfortunate circumstances. He had been a highly educated man in Germany, very religious, and most successful in the grain business. His first wife, Julia Cohen Eisendrath, who was the mother of Julius and Bertha (Wolff) died after they had been married only a few years; the name of his second wife is not known; but it is with his third wife that he came to America, Helena Felsenthal Eisendrath, the mother of Louis, Sigmund, Oscar, Emma (Kraus) and Ada (Schiller) Eisendrath. In Germany this woman had given him a very good, happy home life as long as he had been successful; nevertheless she had never been very kind or motherly in her attitude towards her two step-children, Julius and Bertha. She was very proud and enjoyed the prestige she gained from being the wife of a successful grain merchant. But when Levy met with reverses and lost his fortune she refused to cooperate with him and succeeded in making his life most miserable. In America Levy Eisendrath first went into the liquor business, his chief motive being to regain his former wealth and to give back to his wife this prestige that she was so ambitious to regain; but within a few years he again drifted back into the grain

business.

During this same year, 1866, Nathan Eisendrath returned to Germany to make a visit; and upon his return to America he brought back with him Nathan Eisendrath, his young nephew, the son of his brother Moses Eisendrath. In America this young immigrant immediately started clerking in one of the family grocery stores.

Then several years later Benjamin S. Eisendrath came to America, the youngest of the boys of the family, and next to the youngest of the twenty-three children. He was a "good scout" as well as a clever, unmarried young business man. The spirit of "coming to America" had certainly, by this time, gripped the Eisendrath Family in Europe, and he was out to seek the romantic opportunities that America might offer. He became a partner in the concern, Schoeneman and Company, a packing business in Chicago which dealt in cattles, hogs and sheep. He soon afterwards married the sister of his partner, Theresa Schoeneman. This according to modern trends of thought might be considered to be a very good business policy, but was not particularly extraordinary then in view of the close relationship existing between business and home-life. This concern, Schoeneman and Comp any, also became very successful; a large export business was built up and the firm established branchhouses in Havre, Anthwerp and in several other large European cities. Sam Wolff, who came over to America with his oldest sister, Bella, in 1873 and who made his home with the Moses Eisendrath family (the last of the

brothers to emigrate) was employed by his Uncle Benjamin. Benjamin and Theresa Eisendrath came to have a family of six children: Bertha (Bloch), Simeon, Samson, Ida (Lyons), Oscar, and Frieda (Schoenbrun) Eisendrath. It was one of the saddest events in the Eisendrath family history when in 1883 Benjamin Eisendrath caught pneumonia and very shortly died, he being the first of the second generation of the family to die in America.

And then not long afterwards Moses Eisendrath and his family which consisted of his wife, Bertha Weil Rosenheim Eisendrath, and his four remaining children, Leo, Rosa (Weil), Hannah and Sigmund Eisendrath came to Chicago. Moses also started a small grocery store "with a bar" at 240 North Franklin Street, living upstairs. He was very jovial and hospitable, liking to drink moderately and to joke. Indeed it is told of him that when he was feeling jolly, children would come in and he would say to them: "The Irisher at the next corner sells it; I don't." He might, in modern terms of expression be called a "card" being extremely witty as well as a good father.

There were now seven Eisendrath families established in Chicago. Life was slowly becoming more adapted to American customs and manners of living. Indeed in 1868 there was a marked occasion,--the first marriage of an Eisendrath in America, as well as also the first of the third generation,--that of Julius Eisendrath, the son of Levy. This marriage was also a first instance of the family "shadchening" for he

had met Regina Marx at the home of his aunt, Fanny Jacoby Eisendrath. Regina was directly related to her. And then after the wedding ceremony, Julius and Regina climbed into the front of a wagon, their wedding presents from the family,--all furniture,--piled in the back, and started off for Homewood where they were to make their home,--this was their wedding trip. Julius Eisendrath was in the country produce and cattle trading business, and while out in Homewood their first son, Samson, was born. Then shortly before the fire of 1871 Julius and Regina and this one child of theirs moved back to Chicago. Julius bought two cottages which had been erected on leased land on Fifth Street (now known as Sangamon Street). David Eisendrath, the tanner, also lived on Fifth Street, just a few doors away.

The Chicago Fire

And then the Chicago Fire occurred! The fire, in its course, completely ruined and demolished so many of the Eisendrath stores and homes! And as their property composed almost their entire wealth, they were left almost poverty-stricken. Most of them found refuge at the homes of David and Julius, the only remaining houses of the Eisendraths. Here they were sheltered for a long time in the garrets or even in the sheds and the barns. Many were the conversations that took place at this time, for it was a serious matter to have to start all over again from the very bottom, especially

when their families had increased to so great a size.

There is a traditional story that in the Chicago Fire all that Nathan Eisendrath saved was his father's and mother's portraits, which he was supposed to have carried on his back during his flight. This is, undoubtedly, somewhat exaggerated for he was considered to be a very wealthy man, a millionaire of that time, and his capital was too well diversified to be swept out entirely in such a manner.

Adelaide and Henry Regensburg, who had become rather prosperous before this catastrophe, lost both their home and business which was completely wiped out. Henry was rather despondent, feeling that life was no longer worth living: here he had seven children to support, and "not one cent"! Everything was gone, and only poverty as the prospect of the future! He threatened to commit suicide. But here, again, Adelaide showed her remarkable dictatorial personality and her cleverness, responding: "Why Henry you are richer now than you were when you married me; just look, now you have seven children and a wife!" And, undoubtedly, it was through her remarkable cheerful attitude and her willingness to cooperate that he again came to his feet and built up one of the biggest wholesale and retail grocery stores in Chicago, his store at this time being located on the corner of Twelfth and State Streets, which then was a very high class residential district.

Cosman Eisendrath, also burned out, rebuilt his former store on the North Side and started over again. After a time

he sold this store and started another grocery shop at Kinzie and Wells Streets in partnership with Henry Regensburg, a nephew of the husband of Adelaide Regensburg. Entirely in keeping with his personality, in which business was a keynote, he attended his grocery very closely; it grew rapidly, and at the time of his death it had become a very well established organization.

And then the Moses Eisendrath family is the fourth family which was "hard hit" by the fire. For a while this family moved to and lived on the West Side of the city, on Front Street near Chicago Avenue. But in 1872 the family moved back to 231 North Franklin Street where Moses Eisendrath also started up his old business again; he stayed in this store until he retired in 1876.

At this time much of the family social life was centered around their "family business", their grocery stores. The following inter-family romance shows the importance of business contacts in the social life of the younger Eisendraths. When Adelaide Regensburg returned to Europe in 1876 she visited the town of Regensburg in Bavaria, Germany. Here she met Flora Loeser, then a young woman who, due to the fact that her father, formerly rather a prosperous banker, had lost his money, begged Adelaide to take her back to America with her. Adelaide brought her back with her and immediately upon the next day Flora began to work as cashier in the store. There always seemed to be a place for everyone in these grocery stores! Adelaide also took the young girl into her

home. And then Adelaide did her characteristic promoting,-- Nathan Eisendrath was also working in this store, and to make the long story short Nathan and Flora were married within ten months.

Then upon June 19th, 1880 the baby of the Eisendrath family, Tanta Eva Wolff, arrived in Chicago. It was a grand event for the family! She and her husband brought with them their eight younger children, Dinah (Heymanson), Selma (Ginter), Adelaide (Jacobs), Oscar, Benjamin, Nathan, Rosa (Hertz--Lang), and Lulu (Glicauff). The newly arrived family were taken to the home that the two eldest children of this family, Sam and Bella, had provided for them,--on Chestnut Street. It was a notorious occasion and much festivity was made of the event by all of the large family group. (1) Eva Wolff had stayed in Europe until the death of her mother, Julia, the founder and the matriarch of the family both in Germany and in America. Eva had finished up all of the Eisendrath business in Europe and then came to America. The name Eisendrath was used for only three years after that in the business which Samson, the father of the family group, had been the founder of.

(1) Of interest in connection with the marriage of Eva Eisendrath to Meyer Wolff back in Germany in 1855 Eva related that there were over two-hundred guests present as all the poor Jews from the neighborhood came; Sutro officiated. Sutro's son came to America, and he now owns Sutro Park in San Francisco.

Family Life in the Eighteen-Eighties

A more detailed picture of the life of the family at this time,--during the late seventies and the eighties,-- is related in a paper read by one of the Eisendraths (1) last year at an Eisendrath Cousins' Club meeting. This paper gives this member's impressions of the family as it formerly lived, as well as follows up the family history for some time.

"Of course I remember Uncle David's (one of the brothers of the twenty-three) family very well when they lived so near to us on Sangamon Street. Every Saturday morning my brothers and I were always dressed very neatly and went over to Uncle David's house for the blessing. Or as my Mother used to say, we went over to be "benched." This I can always remember most distinctly because he used to put his hands on our heads and pronounce the blessing.

"I can also recall distinctly the very fine spirit pervading in that house. I can still see Uncle David sitting with his two sons, reading Hebrew with them. I can still picture Tanta Setchin, the extreme busy-body that she was. And the wonderful kuchen at that house,--how vividly I can recall that! I remember the Schule Uncle David had in the basement of that house where Herman Eliassoff taught Hebrew to a number of Jewish children who would come there for

(1) From the report read by Samson J. Eisendrath, age 61

instructions. I cannot recall just at this moment whether this was before or after his marriage to Rosalia, anyhow they married.

"And then there were the big gatherings at the Eisendrath house. I used to see the other families coming over from the North Side as well as the South Side, driving past our house in their fine carriages. The women were arrayed in their grand hoop skirts,--they still wore them then,--and the men were squeezed in besides them in their white vests and high hats. They were certainly a bunch of aristocrats, at least to us, then living on Sangamon Street.

"The David Eisendrath family was always upheld to me by my Mother as being a "real model family". And even afterwards, when we moved away from Chicago, my Mother constantly repeated her hope that I would grow up to be a man like Benjamin. "He was so good to his parents and to his sisters and brother."

"And then in 1875 or 1876 B. D. and W. N. Eisendrath started their Eisendrath Glove factory right opposite our house. I used to go and help them, although I was then only a little shaver,--not more than five years old. You can imagine what my help was worth; I can't remember what my pay check was at that time. Once when going through the tannery, I ran into a big splitting knife and nearly cut my leg off! Uncle David carried me quickly into the office, and performed a most marvelous operation right there; and I did not need any other medical care. I still carry a large mark on my leg

due to this accident, but it at least showed to me the wonderful versatility of this man. Some years later, after graduating from high school, I came into Chicago to work in this very tannery.

"In 1877 we moved to Blue Island where my Father and my Uncle Heinbach (on my Mother's side), also a Dorstener or lantsman, went into the cattle business together.

"Blue Island had a monthly market to which the farmer always brought cattle to trade. My Father also opened up a store for them to trade in.

"At Blue Island we occasionally had Eisendrath family visitors. Tante Adelaide (Regensburg) was a frequent visitor. She would come out and buy milch cows. The Regensburgs had quite a commissary as you can imagine, and thus provided their own milk fresh from their own cows for their establishment.

"Many of the old time families had a family cow, and as cows after a time go dry, they would then come out to Blue Island and trade it in for a fresh one. Not so bad for my Father to be an Eisendrath then!

"My father in his store would also gather a surplus of butter and eggs, which were generally brought in to Uncle Henry Regensburg at Twelfth and State Street, or to young Henry Regensburg and Levi Windmiller on North Wells Street. I sometimes drove in on these wagons. They were provided with no egg crates as they are at present. Eggs were packed in barrels amid oats and grain in order to keep them from breaking. I remember going in once with a load of barrels'

full of eggs to Uncle Henry Regensburg's; and while they were taking off a barrel of these eggs from the wagon, the bottom fell out of the barrel, and about forty dozen eggs dropped to the sidewalk. Of course many of them smashed! You never saw two more excited men in your life than Uncle Henry and my Father. A crowd gathered while Uncle and Father tried to save all the eggs possible. Boys kept on stealing them as the eggs were being gathered in, and then throwing them on the gatherers. Both my Father and Uncle Henry were all covered with eggs before they got through.

"I used to see the nice Regensburg girls at times acting as cashiers in their family store. But they tell me that Tante Adelaide was the boss cashier. She came into the store at times to make cash, and what she did to the cash drawer was no joke,--at least not to Uncle Henry. She,--unfortunately for him,--considered the cash in the drawer her property. Those were the days before the cash register, or even the sales slip, and no one was so particular just so long as it remained in the family.

"The Twelfth Street store was the gathering place for the Elite of Chicago, and a day spent in that store gave one an opportunity to get acquainted with the best families of Chicago.

"The Regensburg's house on Wabash Avenue near Thirteenth Street was a gathering place of the young Jewish clan. It was right around the corner from the old Standard Club. The house had a great name for hospitality,--besides the

several beautiful and clever daughters, Thalia, Fannie and Millie. There was always a lot of company there,--especially on Sunday evenings when the young folks used to go for their Sunday evening meals because it did not cost them anything. Guests were fed in relays and Tante Adelaide always said that everybody,--no matter how many,--were welcome just as long as she had enough Kartoffel salad and Pickle-Fleish, and this supply always seemed inexhaustible.

"My Father made many trips to Chicago on business, and many a time I accompanied him. I remember well the visits to the Moses Eisendrath's who then lived on North Franklin and Pearson Street. I used to enjoy the wonderful hospitality of this whole family. Especially well can I recall Hanchen and Rosie, and then when Rose was first married to Emanuel Weil we went to visit them in their home just in back of the Eisendrath house on Pearson Street.

"Blue Island was a sort of Mecca for the new arrivals from Europe. The Chicago families would send the fresh arrivals out there. The Heinbachs came out, and Heinbach married my Mother's sister. The Miltenbergs came there, so did the Jacobys, Uncle Simon Jacoby being Aunt Fannie's brother. Later on the Greenebaums came, all landsleute from the Old Country. (The Greenebaums are now prominent tanners in Chicago, and Sam Greenebaum married Cousin Paula Rosenthal.)

"Father, Uncle Herman and I drove to town one day to call on Tante Eva and Uncle Meyer Wolff and their family.

They had just landed here from Germany and had been brought to a beautifully furnished home on Chestnut Street, all prepared for them by Sam and Bella Wolff. And believe me, that was some reunion. My Father and Tante Eva had been very close to one another in Europe and felt towards each other as sister and brother, or as mother and son. My Father's mother had died when he was a very young child and Tante Eva had taken care of him when he was a youngster, as she also did of his sister Bertha, who later married Uncle Meyer Wolff's brother, Nathan Wolff in Colonge,--she is still living and is considerably over eighty years of age, and this Wolff family of Colonge is one of which the Eisendraths can well be proud.

"Coming back to my story, at Blue Island we had the young folks particularly as our visitors. I can remember Dan Eisendrath, for one. He was already studying to be a doctor. Upon one of his visits he and I went into the country. Cherries were then just full ripe; it was June. We went to a farmer who I knew well; he gave us permission to pick all the cherries we wanted provided we would go up into the trees to take them. We did. And we kept on eating them all constantly. In time we had had enough. There was a river near by,--perhaps some of you remember the Calumet River at Blue Island! Well, Dan and I went in swimming with our bellies full of cherries. Pretty soon Dan got deathly sick. We had to carry him into a farmhouse and put him on a bed. But fortunately Nature soon came to his relief, and

what that farmhouse floor looked like when Dan once got started was no joke. He did not die luckily; he remained with us to save many a life since.

"Dan got back at me later on, though, when I came to live in Chicago. He invited me to go to the Medical College one summer evening. It was a very hot night. Dan was working on dissecting bodies. He had a cadavera which he was operating on. When we reached the dissecting room he took this cut-up thing out of a sort of a pickle vat; --and I had to help him. I did it for a little while; but the rest of the story cannot be told. Let it go that he simply got back at me for letting him go in swimming with a stomach full of cherries.

"At the age of thirteen I became the agent for the Chicago Newspapers in Blue Island, and then my real trips to the Chicago Eisendrath families started. I came in every Saturday night and stayed with some one of the families over night then to take the papers back to Blue Island with me on Sunday morning. I always enjoyed these visits to the various families. The Erie Street Eisendraths,--Uncle Cosman and Tante Fannie always had a cheerful home, with their house full of boys, Sam, Henry, Oscar, Nathan, Bennie, and Abe, and the two girls, Rosie and Juliette. Rosie was always gay and lots of fun; she could play the piano and would sing divinely,--I thought so at the time and still do.

"Of course, I went to my Grandmother's often. Uncle Louis was married, but there were Uncle Oscar, Sigmund, Aunt

Emma and Ada still at home. My Grandmother was a most ambitious woman, and so were her children. I remember a story of Uncle Louis' which has become famous since. He was the star salesman for Kahn-Nusbaum and Company, and used to get his income by way of commissions on his sales. One year when the year was up his firm figured up that Louis Eisendrath made more money than any partner. So they called him into the office for a conference and told him that they wanted him for a partner. Of course Louis was elated. Soon, thereafter, by way of additional importance Uncle Louis was given the key to the private washroom or the toilet room which only the partners were permitted to use. Well the year went by, and he found out that he got less than he would have received had he still been a salesman working on a commission basis. Naturally he was not satisfied with this new arrangement and went to his partners and gave back the key to the partner's toilet room saying he would rather use the one which was used by the boys as there was more money in it for him.

"Coming back to some recollections, shortly before I was thirteen years of age my Grandfather, Levi Eisendrath, insisted on my becoming Bar Mitz Va. He did not want me to be raised like a "goya". So it was arranged for me to come in to see him every Saturday for a lesson. I took one lesson from him; but during the next week he had an accident,--his horse ran away while he was driving,--and he died shortly thereafter. This was a sad loss to me! I completed my lessons with A. Zink, whom some of you doubtless remember.

"This Bar Mitz Va ceremony took place in the old Temple of Dr. Adler at Twenty-sixth and Indiana Avenue. The party afterwards and the presents from the "maspocha" were the great features of the occasion.

"Oscar Regensburg, Simeon Eisendrath, Dan Eisendrath and I were for many years very close friends, and later on I was often at Uncle Nathan's house on Wabash Avenue near Fourteenth Street, and his later home on Thirty-third near Vernon Avenue.

"When Dan became a doctor he made his office at first in his home. Thus all kinds of advertising matter came to the house and also many trial bottles of medicine, etc.. Once when there was company at the house and various things were being discussed Uncle Nathan commented upon the fact that he was feeling so good of late; that he was using a bottle that was doing him so much good,--it was some medicine that had come to the house for Dan. He was asked to show it to them; so he got the bottle which was nearly used up by then. It was labeled "Lydia Pinkham's Pills for Correcting Female Disorders."

The home of Uncle Benjamin and Tante Theresa on Twenty-fifth Street was always a welcome place to go to. There was that nice and lovely Bertha as well as Ida, Frieda, Simeon, Sam and Oscar. Bertha seemed an ideal to me. And one also saw there often a person whom I then thought and still do think one of the finest and one of the sweetest women in existance,--Fannie Haas. Fannie, I thought, was the

most beautiful young woman I had ever seen and when she later married Benjamin Eisendrath, it certainly seemed like a heavenly arranged affair. Bertha married Charles Bloch, the publisher, and later moved to New York. Dr. Stephen Wise told me himself that nothing gave him more inspiration than his friendship with Bertha Eisendrath Bloch, at whose home he was a constant visitor. I have a copy of Dr. Wise's oration on the occasion of her funeral two years ago. It is one of the greatest tributes possible.

"Ida Eisendrath married Dr. Lyons, the leading Rabbi of Brooklyn, New York."

The Subsequent History of the Eisendrath Family

And thus we come to the Eisendrath family in more modern times. The children had grown up and married; the parents, these old pioneer Eisendraths were slowly disappearing,--Nathan dying in about 1900, Adelaide in 1890, Benjamin in 1883, David in 1888, Levi in about 1890, Moses in 1900, Cosman in 1901, and a few years later Mrs. Bertha Rosentha, and the last, but never considered to be the least important member of the family, Tante Eva, passing away in 1923,--at the age of ninety years.

It would be too long a story to trace in detail the more recent part of the history of the Eisendrath family,--furthermore it is recent enough in occurrence to be gained from first hand information. But there are two or three

major events which are outstanding in the family memory, and mention should be made of them.

The first of these was a very tragic affair,--the Iroquois Fire in 1903. In this second catastrophe four members of the family were burned to death.

But in 1905 the family as a whole celebrated a most joyous occasion,--the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Eva and Meyer Wolff, which event in itself will become a tradition and a precedent in the history of the Eisendrath family. At this fiftieth wedding celebration which was given at the Ideal Club, there were over seven hundred guests present, over two hundred of which were the family. The party was a very gay one and according to German traditions much, but not too much, champagne was served.

There have been several other family parties and events which seem to be of less importance in relation to the family history in general. These events will be further discussed in the chapter dealing with the Family Events and reunions.

Thus ends the family history of the Eisendrath family of today. What it will continue to be in the future is still a question. At any rate, the least that is hoped for in this connection is that the traditional "Weddings and Funerals" will continue to be family affairs.

Perhaps one more factor ought to be added in this regard,--the significance of the family history to its individual members. Every Eisendrath is constantly reminded of

the fact that he is related all the other Eisendraths in the world,--so far as he knows. A rather anticipated question to be asked of the Eisendrath when he is making a new acquaintanceship is if he is related to such and such an Eisendrath, and if so how. All such questions bring back to the individual Eisendrath's consciousness his common Eisendrath past history, particularly the fact that this German Jewish family originated from a family of twenty-three children in Germany, that many came to America, and that they are all interrelated in some way or another. Stories such as the following are common among the members of this family, and ones which each Eisendrath delights in relating.

This coincidence arose about twenty-two years ago in this manner. Mrs. Fanny Sloss, the daughter of Adelaide Eisendrath Regensburg, wished to give a picture to one of her friends as a wedding anniversary present. As she had learned to know Pauline Palmer somewhat from the contacts she had had with her while she was taking painting lessons at the Art Institute, she asked Mrs. Palmer if she might buy one of her pictures to give as the gift. Mrs. Palmer invited her to come to her home on the North West Side in order to select one. Mrs. Sloss was very surprised to find that Mrs. Palmer was then living in the heart of the North Side German colony.

The first picture that Mrs. Sloss noticed as she entered Mrs. Palmer's studio, which was over the drugstore

her father kept, was a huge picture on the easel, which had as its subject a typical European village street scene.

The picture immediately appealed to Mrs. Sloss. She commented upon its realism and asked as to how Mrs. Palmer had come to choose such a subject for a painting.

Mrs. Palmer responded: "Oh, that! why I painted it last summer while I was spending three months visiting in Germany. I thought the scene was so quaint and picturesque."

"In Germany,-- Yes, it certainly is. But how did you happen to stay there for so long a time?" Mrs. Sloss ventured.

"Why my parents originally came from there. My mother was from Dorsten, Germany, and has always wanted to go back there just once more before she died. And so that is where we spent the summer."

Upon hearing that Mrs. Sloss exclaimed: "Why that's just the same town as my Mother came from!"

And then when she mentioned that her mother's maiden name was Adelaide Eisendrath it was Mrs. Palmer's turn to become excited: "My God! Adelaide Eisendrath! My Mother has always talked so much about her,--her old school chum."

Mrs. Sloss told her that her mother had then been dead for some time; but Mrs. Palmer insisted upon introducing Adelaide's daughter, at least, to her mother. Her mother was downstairs in the back of the store, a clean, neat, typically German old lady sitting there knitting. She was much elated, to say the least, over the coincidence of meeting her old

friend's daughter.

To make the long story short a visit was arranged between this old lady and Tante Eva, the only living member of the original Dorsten Eisendrath family. And during that meeting both old ladies were so excited over seeing each other once more and reminiscing that they sat there holding hands, and did not have time to even drink their coffee.

Mrs. Palmer gave Mrs. Sloss the original of this picture,-- the large canvas is now in the Art Institute.

This, then, is the Eisendrath family as pictured in the family memory and as told by the Eisendrath parents to their children. The question may be raised as to whether the facts previously mentioned in this Eisendrath family history actually occurred as they have been related. Undoubtedly some element of fiction and exaggeration enters into the way these stories are told today. But the significant point is not that of their accuracy, but rather the fact that they are told in this manner. Such have come to compose their common, traditional family history, and as such they are accepted and believed by the Eisendraths of today.

Having now traced out the family relationships and the common past history of this individual family, this study will now take up and discuss additional reasons as to why this family group has tended to remain a somewhat integrated group,--or why this common past family history means what it does mean to its individual members today.

PART II.

INTEGRATING FORCES IN THE FAMILY GROUP

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EISENDRATH FAMILY

Perhaps of greatest significance in accounting for the similarity of type of the Eisendraths have been the circumstances of their immediate social environment. For over the past two-thousand years wherever the Jews have settled they have tended to isolate themselves physically and mentally from all other groups of persons living within the same geographic environment in which they are living. Furthermore the German Jews are considered by many to be the purest Jewish racial stock in the world today. This belief is the natural conclusion resulting from the strong tendency of the German Jews during the past fifteen thousand years at least to marry only within their own social group and to associate to a large extent with only other German Jews. And thus it would naturally be expected that the German Jews of today would have certain somewhat distinctive physical, mental and social characteristics.

So, therefore, in that the Eisendrath family represents today a family composed almost entirely of German Jewish racial stock, we should expect to find a similarity of physical and mental characteristics prevalent among those who are members of this family group. In this way, allowing for the normal individual differences, the common Eisendrath type can be accounted for on the basis of the same

biological inheritance as well as the result of a similar geographic and social environment which has been more or less the same for all the members of the family group.

Naturally one should expect to find that some change has taken place gradually in the family type,--that is if one believes ~~that~~ the environment plays some part in the make-up of the individual. Thus one should naturally expect that their new geographical environment and their newer type of urban living has had some influence in expanding their development in some directions, while at the same time, limiting their abilities or capacities in other ways. In that the Eisendraths have in the past tended to intermarry almost entirely within the German Jewish racial group inheritance would not be as strong a cause responsible for this evolution of type as would be the change in environment. But, then, granting that there has been this gradual change in the Eisendrath type, has it so affected the group that they have remained an integrated group as far as physical type and mental traits are concerned? It is needless to say that originally the family was one such unit for we have traced them back to just a single unit, the children of a single German father and mother. Indeed there was a striking resemblance between these nine German children who first came to America over fifty years ago: these six brothers and three sisters were all short in height, had typically stocky German builds and were all of ruddy complexion. A proof of this similarity of appearance would be the fact that the

individual features of the brothers could be so combined as to make up the portrait of their father. Mentally they were all known to be alert, active and intelligent while temperamentally they have been described as easy-going, jovial and phlegmatic.

But the more important aspect of this study is whether or not the family has remained an integrated group. Can traces still be found of their past heritages? Or has this biological and social inheritance been strong enough to act as an integrating factor within the family group? Therefore, let us analyze the family physical, mental and social types in order to determine what is the degree of unity found among the Eisendraths today based upon physical, mental and social characteristics.

The Eisendrath Physical Type

The Eisendraths in a broad sense all represent a certain type, not particularly unusual or startling, to be sure, but stable and honorable. This is further emphasized by the fact that every Eisendrath and every person claiming Eisendrath ancestry is aware of this Eisendrath character, its significance and prides himself in its past and present representation. But one cannot fully account for the similarity of the Eisendrath personality in this way. Undoubtedly the role of heredity has played some part in the course of the ensuing generations of the family mentally as well as

physically. The physical resemblance is very markedly apparent especially among the male members of the family group. In appearance an Eisendrath today is a stocky, heavy set, healthy and vigorous individual; he, perhaps, still reflects very strongly his ancestral environment as he is characteristically German in appearance. This latter point was impressed very strongly upon me when I was in Germany, for everywhere I would turn I was sure that I saw my father, and if I had not realized that I had left him at home, I am sure that I could have made myself perfectly at home there. The Eisendraths' rather round head, blue eyes, high cheek bones, predominantly large noses, full faces and ruddy complexions add greatly in giving them an appearance of perfect health. In height they are now closer to the average, but with still a striking tendency in several of the branches of the family to be shorter than the norm,--especially is this true in the Levi Eisendrath and the Eva Wolff families. Consequently the Eisendraths, with their stocky, well built physical appearance, as a whole cannot be considered handsome persons, but rather nice or clean cut looking. The young girls closely resemble the German type also, with their full faces and their broad figures. With the ensuing years both the men and the women tend to take on flesh; round-shoulderedness is also quite characteristic of these older Eisendraths.

The Eisendraths are in general a healthy family, far exceeding the age of the normal expectancy of life. The life



Genl. K. K. K.



Sept 1-1892

Mr & Mrs Nathan K. K.

chart in the case of 262 Eisendraths, recorded by generations, is as follows:

Generations	Average Age of Death	Number Dead	Number Living
1. First "	---79 years-----	2-----	0
2. Second"	---65 8/9 "-----	9-----	0
3. Third "	---57 1/4 "-----	25-----	34
4. Fourth"	---27 years-----	12-----	93
5. Fifth "	-----	-----	85
6. Sixth "	---4 years-----	1-----	2
Total of all the"		---46 years-----	49-----214

To be sure this brief statistical survey and total is not of great significance in that it can not take into account the age of death of those of the later generations that are still living which far outnumber those who have died and many of whom have already past the average age of death for their generation. Among the first two generations it is only of importance.

In regard to the purity of the Eisendrath strain, there does not seem to be any predominant inherited physical disease, the causes for the deaths in the family are those more or less to be expected. The probable cause of death for those who have died are:

Causes of Deaths by Generations

1. First Generation
 1. Old Age
 2. ?

2. Second Generation
 1. Old Age-----4
 2. Heart Trouble-----2
 3. Child Bearing-----1
 4. Pneumonia-----1
 5. Accidental-----1

3. Third Generation
 1. Cancer-----7
 2. Heart Trouble-----4
 3. Accidental-----3
 4. Diabetes-----1
 5. Pneumonia-----1
 6. Bright's Disease----1
 7. Heart & Kidney-----1
 8. Sleeping Sickness---1
 9. T. B. of the Hip----1
 10. Hunchback-----1
 11. Result of Operation-1
 12. Child Birth-----1

4. Fourth Generation-----	12
1. Killed in Fires-----	3
2. Heart Trouble-----	1
3. Pneumonia-----	1
4. Stifled in Operation	1
5. Operation-----	1
6. Child Birth-----	1
7. Influenza-----	1
8. Drowned-----	1
9. Accidentally shot---	1
10. Killed in the War---	1

5. Fifth Generation-----	0
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6. Sixth Generation-----	1
1. Pneumonia-----	1

Total of the Causes of Deaths

1. Accidental Killing-----	11
2. Heart Trouble-----	8
3. Cancer-----	7
4. Old Age-----	4
5. Pneumonia-----	4
6. Child Birth-----	3
7. From Operations-----	3
8. Diabetes-----	1

9. Bright's Disease-----1
10. Influenza-----1
11. Sleeping Sickness-----1
12. Physical Defect(hunchback)---1

It is rather interesting to find that the largest number of deaths due to a single cause is that resulting from accidents; to be sure six of these are due to large fires, four being killed in the Iroquois Fire and two in a large fire in Minneapolis. Heart Trouble in itself is rather a characteristic old age death and does not indicate any inherited trait. It may, perhaps, be of more significance to find Cancer as the third most prevalent single cause for as yet medical men are not decided upon the origin of this disease, or as to whether it is inherited or not. Diabetes has been often regarded as a Jewish sickness as it is more prevalent among Jews than Non-Jews. There are three or four cases of diabetic persons among the Eisendraths today, and it most likely has been more prevalent during the past than these figures show because very often diabetics die as the result of some other illness than diabetes.

The Eisendraths are an inactive group of individuals not engaging in physical activities, but preferring a social gathering or a long walk to any more strenuous physical exercise. Golf, if indulged in today might be called the

only physical recreational activity of the men. Of course, here again one must take into account the social as well as the ancestral backgroup of these people, as well as their physiques and their physical aptitudes. Germans, as a stock of people, are not particularly athletic, especially that strain from which the Eisendraths have originated: their physical build is certainly not that of an athletic person; furthermore the German plebeian classes have never had the time to enjoy an outdoor sports' life,--this fact is also particularly true in the case of the Jews. And, then, enhanced by their urban environment for the past three and four generations, the Eisendraths could not be expected to be otherwise. Nevertheless, it would be entirely wrong to say that they are not interested in athletic activities, or do not love to watch a good ball game; as spectators they make good appreciators of athletics. In fact last fall the family as a group took great pleasure and pride in an event which brought their name to the front in the athletic world,--that was the marriage of Marion Eisendrath to Arnold Horween, the ex-captain and present coach of the Harvard foot-ball team. He is, without doubt, the first real athlete to come into the Eisendrath family since its existence in its new American urban environment.

The Eisendrath Mental Type

The word "nealthy" most adequately describes the Eisendraths mentally as well as physically. They are always clean-minded and their manners seemingly most refined. Indeed, in a social gathering of the Eisendraths the writer has never heard a risqué joke told, unless whispered in a spirit of bravado around among the younger generation present; and often even now may the expression "nix fer die Kinder" be heard. This high-mindedness is thoroughly in keeping with their rather idealistic philosophy of life and with their attempts to live up to their conceptions of an honorable, "upright" citizen.

To a person not acquainted with the members of the Eisendrath family this description might give him the impression that the Eisendraths are very restrained and inhibited. But the Eisendraths are not so. Their simplicity and their congeniality naturally exclude all such thoughts from their minds. I do not mean to say that they do not enjoy a good innocent joke, for certainly at the Eisendrath family social gatherings no group of people could be more jovial, genial or light-hearted; there is always a spirit of congeniality that pervades through the group. Especially is this spirit typical of the older members of the family whose interests are still more or less tied up and inter-related,--the survival of the former feeling of "all for one and one for all".

In personality the two words most descriptive of the Eisendraths' behavior are conservatism and stability, which traits bring with them the other phases of character much in keeping. The Eisendraths are all serious-minded probably because they have been raised in an environment which made them realize that "Life is no laughing matter"; the fact that most of the older members of the family now living were forced to work while young naturally helps to emphasize this trait. And then among the younger generations of the family today the ambition to be worthy of being an Eisendrath as that name is regarded in the community is quite a potent factor in moulding them to carry on this spirit; to be sure, here their earlier home environment and their impressions of their parents are very strong influences.

The congeniality and the comfort-loving dispositions of the Eisendraths is also most consistent with their conservatism and stability. In large groups and amid strangers they are modest and retiring partially due to their self-consciousness. This same modesty is quite typically apparent in the behavior at family gatherings: there is no extremely dressed nor conspicuously behaved individual nor are there any discriminations made in terms of wealth or social standing made among those present. To be sure, those who are not congenial with their relatives would not be present at such group meetings; and in another sense those who still do attend these family gatherings today are the only ones who are interested in the large family group unity.

And then in regard to temperament, Germans as a race may be described as phlegmatic. They are slow moving but determined "when their mind is once made up". Such also is typical of an Eisendrath's temperament. They are, on the whole, easy going, even tempered, ambitious, simple, but positive and unswerving when once they have decided to do something. There is no instance of an individual in the family group having a quick tempered or a highly tense personality unless such can be directly correlated to environmental influences to be found on the non-Eisendrath side of his family. There are no cases of an inherited or temperamental insanity among the members. There would be no justification for an instability of temperament among such individuals particularly where the thought of being an Eisendrath brings with it such a marked degree of the necessary stimulation.

But in regard to social reactions, the behavior pattern is not so consistent nor so decisive. This trait of personality undoubtedly depends to a large degree upon the social situation as well as upon the early environment and the individual responses of the person. On the whole the Eisendraths cannot be classified as being either objective or introspective, for they are not outstandingly "direct, enthusiastic, explosive, or emotionally unstable" as in the case of the former; nor, on the contrary, do they appear to be introspective, indirect, secretive, evasive, unimaginative or seclusive. Nevertheless, this much is probably true,--that among themselves, with the barriers of self-reserve entirely

let down they are more expressive, enthusiastic and emotional than the outside world as a whole would believe would be possible. But towards the outside, their quiet reserve naturally would tend to make others regard them as more introspective. To be sure, among the individual members of the family there is great diversity as to this phase of characterisation, the women on an average tending to be more extravertive than the men.

In regard to the innate intelligence of the Eisendraths we have no definite proof as to where the members of the family would stand upon such a rating scale. Their quiet, slow manner of behaving and their "unworldliness" make them appear at a disadvantage at times. And yet being thinkers by nature and being quite thorough in whatever they do, one would expect them to be somewhat above the average in intelligence. The only specific proof we have of this latter fact is the following extract: (1)

J. L. Eisendrath, Banker, Scores High in Test

What do you know?

Try your fund of information on this set of questions. How many of them can you answer?

This test was submitted to Joseph L. Eisendrath, vice president and treasurer of Baer, Eisendrath & Co., investment bankers. Mr. Eisendrath made a score of 85.

What score can you make?

(1) Extract from The Chicago Herald and Examiner,--
December 7th, 1928

HERE ARE THE QUESTIONS

1. Of what state is Concord the capital?
2. What Congress is in session at present?
3. The name of what President has been given to the policy governing the attitude of the United States toward foreign interference in the American Continent?
4. What body of water separates England from France?
5. In what city did the famous Haymarket riot occur in 1886?
6. Within one degree, what is the normal temperature of the human body?
7. What is the object of the Sherman act passed in 1890?
8. What is the A. A. U.?
9. In what state is Mount Rainier?
10. For what number does the Roman numeral "L" stand?
11. What is the capitol of Spain?
12. What famous woman social worker organized Hull House?
13. What famous woman athlete recently was declared the most beautiful woman in America by Gertrude Atherton?
14. What is Hull House?
15. Which spelling is correct, "liquefy" or "liquify"?
16. Of what university is Mc Kinlock campus a part?
17. Who is the author of "Lord Jim"?
18. What are herbivora?
19. What great horticulturist died in 1926?
20. What is the meaning of the French "C'est la guerre"?

The Eisendrath Social Type

Indeed if there would be any basis for a belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics, we could trace much of the typical Eisendrath's behavior pattern back to his

original ancestors. Certainly the love of card playing has, with few exceptions pervaded: bridge, poker, Mah Jongg (still played to some extent) is as prevalent today as it was formerly, and card playing today is as much of a favorite pastime as traditions tell us it was in the case of Samson Eisendrath, the father of the twenty-three children. Today, also, it is entirely consistent with their home-loving life and their congeniality. Certainly today it is never difficult to make up a "family bridge game", and not many nights pass in which several such games are not in progress. Also the same spirit of congeniality characterizes these games: it is the love of the game itself and the sociability of it spurred on by the incentive of playing for some small stakes on the side that makes the Eisendraths a card playing family, rather than due to any pure instinct for gambling. Drinking in moderation might also be classified as a family heritage. Still a gambling spirit or a craving for excessive liquor would be entirely inconsistent with their conservatism and their idealism.

The Eisendraths are all conventional individuals; perhaps they might be called somewhat overly-conventional. Much of their behavior is guided by what they should do, by what others expect them to do, rather than by what they would prefer to do. Consequently in a given situation no one would think to criticize an Eisendrath's motives for his behavior as being dishonorable, unethical or underhanded. But, at the same time the Eisendraths' conventionalism deprives them of

much of the enthusiasm, initiative or originality possessed by individuals less closely bound by social and moral codes of behavior.

Thus in a family composed of such even tempered, moral individuals one would naturally not expect to find examples of outstanding individual talent. Particularly if such did exist among the older generations, no opportunity was allowed for its development. There are a few exceptions to this statement, the most outstanding one being that of Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath who was one of the few members of the third generation of Eisendraths who had a college education, and he is, without doubt, the most outstanding member of the family so far as social recognition is to be considered, being elected to Who's Who in America for his remarkable contributions to the medical profession. But among the younger men of the third and fourth generations a higher degree of individual expressionism is already to be found which is perhaps largely due to the marked change in the social environment, to the changed customs and mores of today as well as to the opportunities offered for higher education and a much greater degree of financial backing and security. Those among the Eisendraths who have gained some recognition due to their individual talents are:

1. Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath,--surgeon (Having specialized upon the studies of the Kidneys and Cancer)

2. Blanch Goodman Eisendrath,--writer of
short stories.
3. Richard Eaton,--writer of short stories and
a compiler of Continental short stories.
4. Simeon Eisendrath,--Architect
5. Alfred Fellheimer,--Architect
6. Dr. David Strauss,--surgeon

The majority of the remaining male members of the family as well as those women who formerly "helped out their husbands" and the few women today who are working, have chosen the business professions. In this field their success might be credited to their serious-mindedness, their keenness and their alertness, their ambitiousness and their resourcefulness. And also in this field the Eisendrath name is best known in connection with leather manufacturing, particularly the tanneries of Joseph N., and William N. Eisendrath. Furthermore Joseph L. Eisendrath, a partner in the bond and mortgage house of Baer-Eisendrath and Company is an outstanding figure in the present business world.

Perhaps the typical Eisendrath has been portrayed as being too ideal a type of person. But there are two traits which the Eisendraths dislike to admit that they have and always deny that these are a part of their make-up; but, just the same, these two characteristics are quite strongly imbued in all of their personalities.

The first of these traits is an excessive sentimentality. (1) This sentimentality is prevalent in every phase of their life,--in their love of simplicity, of the beautiful and sentimental in art and a dislike of all art (particularly modern art) which is not such, of the romantic theme in the "movies" and in books, as well as also in their attachment to their homes. It is probably a potent factor in making them such contented, conservative, home-loving people, and, undoubtedly it is a cause preventing them from becoming more illustrious and prominent citizens. But as a result of their complacency and of their perfect contentment with themselves as they are, they do not realize the influence of this excessive sentimentality and have never tried to overcome it; as, for example, loving only the simple and the sweet, they are shocked by a risque joke and opposed to anything which is not entirely ethical,--in this sense they are often called "Mid-Victorian".

There are two very potent causes accounting somewhat for this characteristic as well as probably several others. It is perhaps a heritage of their former German culture, for Germans are very romantic, idealistic and sentimental as a race. Secondly their pride in their own family, itself perhaps an expression of this sentimentality, has further stimulated them to idealize their family relationships and hope

(1) This trait has made the collecting of the material for this study rather difficult and also made the writing of these criticisms very difficult.

for their indefinite continuation. But certainly this same degree of sentimentality is not present among the younger Eisendraths; they rather openly rebel against it and often poke fun at their parents because of it.

The second characteristic is in regard to their race prejudice. First in connection with Jews of Russian ancestry, or "Kikes", as they are often referred to. There is a very definite feeling of their German Jewish superiority which is a rather common feeling among all German Jews of their social class; but it does seem rather surprising to find it prevalent to such an extent among the Eisendraths who are characteristically liberal and complacently unopinionated in so many other ways.

This feeling of superiority among the Eisendraths, where it is felt today, may be expressed in several ways. First by being rather careful of whom they prefer to associate with they thus limit their friends to those whose families are generally known among the German Jewish circles. While others mix more generally, in fact may come to have their closer friends among those whose parantage is not German; these Eisendraths have a feeling of greater freedom, ease, and assume a role of greater importance,--in other words they have among these groups of persons a typical feeling of superiority. To be sure many Eisendraths may have come to have close associations with Russian Jews; these friendships are the result of common interests, activities

and an enjoyment of these persons for what they offer, rather than for whom they are. Thus it may be said about the Eisendraths, as a group, that they never inwardly lose consciousness of their family background.

It is almost impossible to adequately analyze the causes for this "snobbish" or "clique-ish" attitude for it involves a very thorough analysis of a situation which, perhaps unfortunately, is so common among the German Jews as a social group. Perhaps, generally speaking, the three chief causes for this attitude might be said to be fundamentally jealousy, fear and a rather keen dislike of the Russian Jew as a social class. German Jews are jealous of the great amount of social recognition that these more active, more aggressive Russians are gaining; this social recognition brings with it a feeling of insecurity,--that these "Kikes" will become as prominent or more prominent socially than they; and, finally, the German Jews naturally dislike such swarthy, physically unattractive, nervously alert, shrewd, clever people and most emphatically rebel against being associated with such an entirely foreign type of people which many persons think of as "the typical Jew". There have been, as one can see, several racial intermarriages among the Eisendraths which invariably bring forth rather sarcastic comments from the other members of the family.

At the same time the social life of the Eisendraths is practically entirely limited to associating with other Jews. Indeed it is the expressed hope of every Eisendrath

parent that his or her children shall marry only a Jewish person. One Eisendrath when asked whether she would rather have her son marry a Gentile or a "Kike" was most positive in her preference of the latter.

The Eisendrath's feeling of superiority is expressed in another sense which is equally closely related to their feeling of family pride. This rather common Eisendrath trait is their over-sensitiveness. All people who have such a high conception of standards of morality, who attempt to live up to their standards and who are continually considering how others will judge them, act generally in such a manner in which their behavior will not be subject to criticism. In a sense such persons are constantly guarding themselves against criticism. And, as a result, they are not accustomed to being criticized. But, at the same time, such persons are not able to realize that no human being is perfect,--that they themselves may have faults. Consequently they are not able to accept criticism as helpful advice, but rather take it as a personal insult, brood over it, become morose and are not capable of benefiting by what they are told. Indeed, generally speaking, any criticism of any other Eisendrath relation is taken rather personally when made to another Eisendrath. Or any criticism of any unfavorable family characterization immediately meets with much opposition: the Eisendrath becomes disgusted with the person voicing the criticism and assumes an attitude

of abnormal disinterestedness in anything further this "criticizer" may say or do in this regard. But, nevertheless, this is not to say that the Eisendraths, themselves, are not prone to severely criticize and gossip about each other among themselves.

It is very interesting to note how quickly this false guard can be assumed by an Eisendrath. When some comparative stranger, unknowingly, starts to criticize one of an Eisendrath's distant relations, this Eisendrath will immediately feel that it is his duty as an Eisendrath to defend his family name from such criticism, and to stand up for his distant cousin no matter whether he really feels that such criticism is justified or unjustified.

In a sense this family pride is often exaggerated to the extent of being a false pride. In some cases it shows itself as social ambitiousness; but "social climbing" generally is not typically an Eisendrath characteristic. Most often this characteristic is apparent in the way an Eisendrath tries to evade any disagreeable issue. It is rather related to their sentimentality,--where everything is sweet and lovely, and where disagreeable experiences play no part; thus they do not know how to cope with the disagreeable. Furthermore their attitude towards Russian Jews is, in a sense, merely an outward expression of this deep-seated family false pride. Judging the Eisendraths as a typical middle class family this attitude of superiority is one of a pride without a justifiable cause. Of course their German Jewish religiousness

has typically encouraged the feeling that they are Jews and should be proud of it. Then carrying this same feeling over into the family they are Eisendraths and proud of that also. To be sure they may be rather proud of their ancestors of fifty years ago who were rather successful in their pioneering ventures in Chicago; but at the same time today it seems to be rather a defense mechanism: that today they themselves have not been proportionally as aggressive or as successful. Furthermore this false pride seems most apparent during periods of distress when an Eisendrath seems to lose his head almost completely, to be most pessimistic in his entire outlook on life, but, yet, at the same time he does everything to keep up his same previous appearance to the outside world. Due both to their kindness and thoughtfulness and also to this characteristic false pride they try to shield their family, appearing only extremely worried and pessimistic rather than explaining their troubles to their wives and children and thus gaining a sympathetic understanding and intelligent cooperation which would be far more beneficial under such circumstances,--but such an admission would be disgraceful to an Eisendrath. But not being honest with themselves and their own family it is impossible for the rest of their family to determine just where they stand or how grave is this financial or social situation; and thus there is a tension and a lack of a feeling of wanting to cooperate which makes the situation much more disagreeable.

Another expression of this false pride finds expression

in the extreme cautiousness which an Eisendrath takes to cover up anything seemingly immoral; they do not want others to even imagine that they ever have had bad or anti-social thoughts. Cases of insanity, whether found to exist within the family group or without it, can never be discussed openly with an Eisendrath for he cannot conceive of such as interesting, scientific-psychological or sociological phenomena. There have been several instances of insanity and of immorality within the Eisendrath family; these have been discovered only after much probing and "pumping"; and even then they are only admitted with many apologies and rationalized explanations as to their causes; but even then they cannot be discussed at much length because of this rather typically Eisendrath false guard. Furthermore because an Eisendrath cannot comprehend the sociological approach to abnormal psychological behavior, they cannot realize that such must have an underlying reason and a psychological cause; and thus their oblivious idealism tends only to blind them, to make them consciously evade the issue and to make them the more unreasonable. And in this sense, then, an Eisendrath is not a genuine being, but is almost always playing a part, trying to make the best impression upon others being guided by his own standards as to what is the best.

And consequently there is thus a definite family pattern to the point that the Eisendraths believe a divorce or anything tending to dishonor the family in the eyes of the

community to be disgraceful. Nevertheless there have been several divorces in the family during the more recent years, which, to be sure, reflect a more modern tendency. By generations the divorces in the family have been as follows:

1. First Generation-----0
2. Second Generation-----0
3. Third Generation-----2
 - a) Rosa W. Hertz Lang
 - b) James Regensberg
4. Fourth Generation-----3
 - a) Mabel E. Bak
 - b) Helen E. Webster Carey
 - c) Irene Lyons (twice)

But here of rather sociological significance is the fact that Irene Lyons is the daughter of a Rabbi, and that it is well known that in that family "Ida Lyons has had a great deal of trouble with her three children". James Regensburg has explained the circumstances leading to his divorce in the following manner: his wife was a member of a very prominent, wealthy family which would never allow her to adjust herself to her marriage or permit her to realize its significance, but constantly "took her off to Europe with them" and the like. Consequently her attitude towards her husband was that he was only her husband, and being nothing else counted for nothing else; he had no control over her. Therefore "Jimmy", rebelling under such circumstances, felt himself justified in divorcing her, and did so; nevertheless they are still good friends.

The family attitude in regard to remarriage is quite different; there is no feeling against it as is statistically well shown:

1. First Generation-----0
2. Second Generation-----1
a) Levi Eisendrath,
three times
3. Third Generation-----6
a) Sigmund M. Eisendrath
b) Louis L. Eisendrath
c) Rosa Wolff H. Lang
d) Samson C. Eisendrath
e) Nathan C. Eisendrath
f) Samson D. Eisendrath
4. Fourth Generation-----2
a) Helen E. W. Carey
b) Irene Lyons, twice

There is still, to some extent at least, a feeling against bachelorhood in the Eisendrath family. Such a feeling is often expressed as a regret that the family will not be further increased, and that it will perhaps die out within the next few generations. This feeling is probably not as strongly felt in the case of the unmarried women as in regard to the single men. But marriage and family life are undoubtedly the ideals of the typical Eisendrath. Yet there might be said to be rather a trend towards bachelorhood within the large family group, as the following record shows:

Single Males by Generations

1. First Generation-----0
- 2.. Second Generation-----0
3. Third Generation-----6
 - a) Sam Wolff
 - b) Oscar Wolff
 - c) Oscar C. Eisendrath
 - d) Philip Rosenthal
 - e) Benjamin C. Eisendrath
 - f) Oscar Rosenthal
4. Fourth Generation-----12
 - a) Sam Wolff (age about 33)
 - b) Ivan Heymanson (45?)
 - c) Robert Eisendrath (45)
 - d) Benjamin Bloch (38)
 - e) Jerome Windmiller
 - f) Arthur Windmiller
 - g) Sidney Windmiller
 - h) Dr. David Strauss (48?)
 - i) Ira Strauss
 - j) Louis Regensburg (50?)
 - k) Jay Kraus (38)
 - l) Richard Eaton

Single Females by Generations

1. First Generation-----0
2. Second Generation-----0
3. Third Generation-----1
 - a) Hannah Eisendrath
4. Fourth Generation-----6
 - a) Ruth Bloch (33 ?)
 - b) Celia Ellbogen (38 ?)
 - c) Elsa Eisendrath (40 ?)
 - d) Rachael Elliasoff (45 ?)
 - e) Julia Elliasoff (45 ?)
 - f) Edna Strauss (35 ?)

And then in summarizing the outstanding Eisendrath behavior pattern there is adequate basis for concluding that they are of a physically healthy and a mentally sound stock; they are, in general, of a phlegmatic temperament and have a stable character,--they are "good people". The Eisendraths, as a group, have no marked or outstanding individual talents, but are hard working and serious-minded persons, willing to work hard and persistently in order to gain their anticipated ends. Their philosophy of life is purely idealistic which is entirely in keeping with their love of the romantic, their sentimentality, and their home-loving, congenial and easily contented dispositions. Furthermore, the Eisendrath, on the whole, are quite representative of the German Jewish population of Chicago, both in their attitude towards the Russian Jews and towards Gentiles, as well as in their traditional feeling towards bachelorhood and towards re-marriage

Individual Characterization of the Un-Eisendrath

Eisendraths

But, perhaps, the more interesting part of this sociological study of the Eisendrath family type still remains to be discussed; this section of this chapter might be called the "un-Eisendrath" or the "non-typically Eisendrath" part for we shall be interested in discussing and analyzing the possible reasons for individual, outstanding psychological

situations that are found or have been found within this large family group. To be sure it is not possible to analyze each case as completely or as thoroughly as could be done, but, at any rate, they are significant enough in themselves that mention at least should be made of them.

There are five rather definite cases in the Eisenrath family which appear to be examples of the AEdopus Complex,-- where the son, an adult, prefers to remain in his home environment rather than to marry due to a rather strong attachment to his mother. In three of these five cases, the son is an only child, while in the other two the only other child has been married now for some time. In each of these cases the mother seems to have quite an aggressive, powerful personality and more or less completely dominates the individual family group,--in three instances to the point of almost entirely seeping out of her husband any personality he might have had formerly; while in the fourth case the woman has been a widow for some time. It would, indeed, be very interesting to make a more detailed psychological study as to the influences of their primary family environment upon these various individuals.

And then equally interesting from this standpoint of the early environment of the individual would be a more detailed follow-up study of the personalities of the children of Adelaide Regensburg, only three of which are living today. In this particular family group the mother was, without doubt, the matriarch and held the master hand within her own

family group. Her influence is reflected very markedly in these three remaining members. Fanny Sloss, having no family or children of her own, in her attitude and her behavior towards her husband, her relatives and towards the community as a whole, shows likewise an aggressive, dictatorial personality; she is most efficient as a manager, and rather instrumental as a promotor of activities. Millie Hamber, a younger sister, who moved to New York some years ago, and who has been left a wealthy widow, also has surrounded herself with a large, very devoted group of friends,--musicians for the most part,--over which she holds a marked and strong influence. And then in the case of James Regensburg who was the youngest member of this family, undoubtedly his sweet, passive personality is largely due to his mother's most affectionate attitude towards "her baby", as might be expected from such a mother; but during "Jimmy's" married life, his rather uncooperative and inconsiderate wife quite completely squelched him, and he, preferring to be a leader rather than an insignificant follower by his innate nature, endured these circumstances until he could no longer tolerate the humility of his situation; and now since his divorce, he, too, has surrounded himself with his own individual group of friends,--young fellows for the most part who respect his advice highly and who enjoy very much "pal-ing" around with him.

But by far the most clear cut example of the influence of an early family environment is that found in the personalities of the six children of Levi Eisendrath, another one

of the nine original Eisendraths who immigrated to America. Julius and Bertha Eisenrath were Levi's children by his first wife and were quite grown children when Levi, their father, married the third time. But this third wife was always extremely jealous of these two step children of hers because of the role they played in the life of her husband and more so because they were rather favorites of the large family group itself, (especially so in the case of Julius Eisendrath whom everyone knew was Tante Eva's pet). But she, herself, did not realize just how large a part she played in moulding their personalities so that they might come to be regarded thusly. She instilled in these two children an intense fear of her so that rather than going to her, as the most natural person to go to in any family group for love and affection, they found their outlet among the other members of the large Eisendrath group, who naturally liked these two children because of their "virtuousness", their serious-mindedness, their sweet and good personality traits, and out of sympathy because they realized how miserable were the home conditions under which these two children lived. Julius, the older child, later as a father was a very moral person, never allowing smoking, drinking or card playing in his home; he was a very serious-minded, highly self-respected, refined individual, reading being his favorite pastime and many an evening he and Professor Harper, later the first president of the University of Chicago, spent together out in his library in Blue Island reading Hebrew. But he, in turn, was

not tyrannical in his attitude towards his own children; he was undoubtedly very strict, but in spite of his stern disciplining there must have been a close bond of affection and respect existing between his four children and himself. This Julius Eisendrath has often been described as having had a very puritanical manner, even at times of having been quite intolerant of behavior which he did not consider social; but still, he was never a dominating personality. It is also significant to note in connection with this man that he was the only immigrating Eisendrath who, upon coming to America did not settle in Chicago; after coming to this country, except for a few years, he lived in two small towns just south of the southern boundaries of Chicago, first Homewood and then Blue Island. He was known to have disliked large cities and to have resented the fact that if he should have lived in Chicago he, too, would have become urbanized. When his daughter, his youngest child, was eighteen years old and became discontented with Blue Island because there was no social life for her in this small country town, his wife and his four children moved to Chicago; but he remained in Blue Island until his death, only visiting them during the week-ends. It was due to the fact that he failed to arrive in Chicago one week-end that his family realized that he must have been sick; upon arriving in Blue Island they discovered he had Pneumonia; and shortly after he died. But in many ways the four children of this Julius Eisendrath show the influence of his personality; they, likewise, have come to

have his virtuous, sweet and docile personality traits and his same idealism, but probably in a relatively less marked degree. The three that are now living are neither dominating nor aggressive in their behavior.

But Levy Eisendrath and Helene, his third wife came to have five of their own children. To her own children, and to them only was "Lenchen" tolerant and to some extent motherly. But everyone in the family was consciously or unconsciously aware of her ambitiousness, her pride and her selfishness. She always insisted upon living in the best neighborhoods,-- living for some time on Michigan Avenue right next door to the Greenebaums and the Loeb's, who were the first Jewish families of Chicago at that time, even though she was compelled to keep boarders in order to do so. Her older three boys, Sigmund, Louis, and Oscar (who died shortly after his marriage) were all very docile and sweet in their dispositions; they were forced, like Julius, to start working when they were very young, and continued until their mother's death to contribute to her support. The two girls, the younger children in the family, were undoubtedly very much closer to their mother, and still to some degree reflect their mother's personality; these two differ quite markedly from the other Eisendraths in the family group, being more nervous, more dominating and more extravertive in their personality pattern. Both were formerly very capable, popular young women, particularly was the younger one who was the only one given an education and who for some years was a school teacher,--

something which was very unusual among Jewish girls at that time,--and who has always been very musical.

But it is rather interesting from this psychological viewpoint to note that four of Nathan Eisendrath's sons quite completely withdrew from the family group after their marriages. And yet they might have been looked upon as the prospective centers of the future Eisendrath group for their father, Nathan, was certainly its outstanding leader fifty years ago. But there have been strong influences which have acted upon these four individuals later in their lives which tended to make them lose interest in their own relatives, such as, for example, their superior education, the influence of greater wealth which allowed them to have a better start in the business world and to sooner become more successful financially, to become more prominent in the community and to attain a comparatively higher social status and greater social prestige; and then the influence of their wives, who came from more prominent Jewish families in Chicago was also a factor. Benjamin Washington Eisendrath, the oldest son, being less successful financially and marrying a woman who was already related to and close to the Eisendraths, continued to play a role in the family group until his death; and now his wife is one of the most loyal members of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club which is the one remaining activity which is now carried on by the women whose families are still a part of the Eisendrath family group of today.

Again, psychological theories might be applied in the

case of the offspring of a fourth branch of the nine original Eisendrath families that immigrated to America,--that of Eva Wolff's family. Eva Wolff's husband, Myer Wolff had a typically extravertive personality and was known to have been a clever joker and a good public speaker. And in Dina Wolff Heymanson there are definite traces of this same characteristic personality: she is unusually quick and clever, loves to tell a story and knows that she can tell them well; she is always the speaker at the Eisendrath gatherings; and quite significant was the remark she recently made to the effect that when she was a young girl she had wanted to go on the stage but that her mother would not permit her to take up such a career and that she gave up her ambition because of her close attachment for her mother; but in other ways she was the only child of Eva Wolff who dared to rather openly oppose her mother's domination. She has probably always inwardly regreted that she did not become an actress, especially is this feeling apparent when she is relating funny little incidents or telling jokes. Here, perhaps, is an instance of a talent in the family which was never allowed to develop. Incidentally she is the only member of the family group who today still adheres very strongly to her early German environment: her conversation is preferably in German as are all her jokes; and it is she who, due to her prominent place in the family group, who does much to keep up the traditionally German phrases of expression.

Then, as to Sam and Oscar Wolff, the oldest and one

of the youngest of Eva Wolff's children, are now two typical old bachelors found in the large Eisendrath family group, Sam being over seventy years of age while Oscar is about sixty-five. They, of course, have perfectly, very complacently adjusted to their role in life, and both have gained rather outstanding names in their independent business pursuits. Perhaps a description of their present family life would be quite adequate here. Sam is the most passively dominating personality that I have ever met. While, at the same time, Oscar in his similarly quiet manner permeates sweetness and joviality, and his eyes are always twinkling; he seems to be rather apologetic of Sam's intense, uncomfortable silence and of his gruff way of ignoring one's presence if he so desires to. Their youngest married sister, Selma Ginter, who has no children, keeps house for them, or rather particularly for Sam. He has the choice suite on the third floor in the front of the old four story basement house of the Wolff family on North Dearborn Street; in his room his books, the pictures, the bedspread must be kept just so, as well as in perfect order must be the many pieces of perfectly fresh fruit, and so much water must always be in the thermos bottle on the table,--Selma sees to that! Selma and her husband's room is one-third the size of Sam's, furnished with much less choice pieces of their beautifully carved heavy oak antique furniture; while Oscar's room on the fourth floor is absolutely insignificant in comparison.

One explanation as to why Sam and Oscar are such

complacent bachelors seems quite obvious. In their early life in Chicago and up until the year 1923, when their mother died, this house was known to be a mecca, a meeting place of all the friends of the family as well as for the family itself. The children never had to leave their house in order to gain social contacts or social stimulation. Their own home life offered everything so completely and without any added effort on their part; so, consequently, having grown up and having previously adjusted themselves to such a home environment and perhaps realizing that such a home life could never be duplicated they were never, in the least, known to put themselves out socially except in their own home and never developed any strong desires or aspirations without their family circle. But there must, also, be some fundamental causes for the differences in the behavior and the attitudes of these three remaining members of this old Wolff family who now live together in this old home. Naturally these differences are based primarily upon personality differences allowed to develop in their earlier home environment: Sam has always been the main support of the family since they came to America just about fifty years ago; he was always known to be his mother's favorite and, consequently, the younger children in the family were accustomed to look up to him. Furthermore Sam is still the main support of the home,--it is his house,--as well as the best known in the community as a whole; he has made an outstanding name for himself having been a member of the Board

of Trade now for over fifty years, where he is known as "King of the Provision Pit"; he also served on three Liberty Loan drives; and is regarded by all as being in his subtle manner a very influential person. Oscar is president of The Myer Wolff Pick&e Company, the business his father established. While the present life of Selma Ginter is devoted almost entirely to playing to role of the housekeeper and the dutiful sister. (1)

Another interesting psychological case study is that of the later life of Rosa Eisendrath Emrich, a daughter of Cosman Eisendrath. As a young girl she is remembered to have been rather a remarkable singer as well as of having the

(1) My two visits to this Wolff house were fascinating just because of the family pattern now found in this home and because of the role of behavior and the interactions of the members of the household as it is today. The reason for these visits was because Sam had lived in Germany with his Grandmother, Julia,--the mother of the twenty-three Eisendraths,--for some time and is regarded as an authority on this phase of the early history of the Eisendrath family. At first Sam in particular impressed me as being very disinterested and indifferent in his attitude towards me; Selma seemed almost too enthusiastic and appeared to be constantly trying to compensate for Sam's manner. I soon realized that the only way in which I could make any headway during my first interview was to try to start an informal conversation among them all concerning the family directing it, if possible, along those lines about which I wished to get information. Selma immediately unconsciously cooperated, and gradually Sam, removing that barrier he had built up against me, showed signs of warming up considerably, and when I left after that first first visit I felt well satisfied that I had gained much information and that I had become a good friend of Sam's. After my second visit to this home upon which occasion I as well as my father and brother were invited for supper, I was completely reassured as to my conquest of Sam's friendship; I, too, felt his independent, quiet, subtle dominating personality. And I still regard very highly these three new friendships that I have made in that family as a result of this paper.

typically Eisendrath "sweet" disposition. She was very popular as a young lady. And of all the men who wished to marry her, she chose Myer Emrich, who at that time was a prominent attorney and undoubtedly the most highly respected of all her "beaus"; but he became insanely jealous of her, which probably was a leading factor preventing him from having the career he had formerly shown promise of having,-- he lost his social prestige and his high social standing in the community; he and his wife moved to Saint Louis, where he died shortly afterwards leaving his wife childless and penniless. She has now been doing secretarial work in a Jewish congregation in Saint Louis for some time.

Another unusual individual psychological characterization may be made in the case of Oscar Regensburg, the son of Adelaide Eisendrath Regensburg. At the age of fourteen he had Spinal Meningitis, which left him a semi-deaf-mute. But his role in life did not stop there, but rather had its beginning. To be sure he almost entirely withdrew from the Eisendrath family group as well as from his own more immediate family. He married a woman who had similarly become a semi-deaf-mute due to Scarlet Fever which she had had in her childhood. It is rather interesting to note that they had one child, a daughter, who is perfectly normal, a college graduate and who is known to be very intelligent. Oscar wrote much to better the situation of people afflicted like himself; and moving to Washington, D. C., he became the President of the National Deaf Mutes' Association. He died

of Bright's Disease at the age of forty-six. His wife and daughter are still living, his daughter being now about twenty; they are entirely unknown to the rest of the Eisendrath family, having never played a part in the Eisendrath family activities in the past.

And, finally, one more characterization may be made, that of Paula Rosenthal Greenebaum. Paula was born when her mother was past fifty years of age. When the Rosenthal family immigrated to America Paula was still a young girl. She was always known to have been very weak physically, quite stupid mentally and had a marked inferiority complex which might partially be accounted for because she was so much younger than her much older brothers and sisters. And then, of course, the fact that the rest of the Eisendraths paid no attention to her due to the fact that she was then a "greenhorn" might also have intensified her temperamental behavior pattern, and, consequently, enhanced her feeling of inferiority. She later married, but in the course of the ensuing years she has tended to become a complete stranger to the rest of her relatives. Her daughter is also felt by many to be subnormal in intelligence; and, then, again, the daughter's two children are also said to be mentally retarded.

Two other psychological cases might well be cited here, which although they have no connection particularly with the Eisendrath family as it exists today are rather interesting as psychological case studies. These two cases are ones of insanity which have occurred within the Eisendrath

family since its migration to America. Indeed these cases of insanity are not generally known by the members of the family today; they are certainly never discussed. And due to the expressed wishes of certain members of the family they have not been mentioned previously; furthermore they do not have any particular connection with or bearing upon the Eisendrath psychological type.

The first case is that of a Emma Eisendrath, a daughter of one of the twenty-three children who stayed in Germany. As a young lady she came to America primarily for a visit. But at that time she was known to have been suffering from some former "love affair" that she had had in Germany; and while she was thus visiting in this country she became insane. Nathan Eisendrath and Henry Regensburg sent her to an insane asylum where she lived until her death.

The second case is that of Natalie Regensburg Windmiller's youngest child. Mrs. Windmiller had had five children already and did not desire to have a larger family. When she discovered that she was again pregnant she went to every possible doctor and resorted to many means in order to lose the child, for abortion then, as now, was against the law. Furthermore, naturally, the mother during her state of pregnancy was most despondent. Very soon after the birth of this child the mother died, and the child, at first seemingly normal, was soon found to be imbecilic. It was sent to an institution where it is still living, now being thirty years

old.

Conclusion

And thus, in conclusion, with few exceptions there is a marked similarity of type which still exists among the Eisendraths of today, both in regard to their physical appearances, their mental and tmeperamental characterization and their social attitudes, opinions and prejudices. And these psychological cases which have been described do not in themselves wholly differ from the behavior pattern of the typical Eisendrath. Indeed the Eisendraths in general are so similar that it is possible to speak of and to describe an Eisendrath family type of individual.

But in a sense it is not so surprising to still find a distinctive Eisendrath type. For naturally this similarity of characterizations might be accounted for either as a result of a similar biological inheritance or as a result of a similar cultural environment or as due to the effect of both of these influences working together. Therefore the question as to whether one believes heredity or environment is the more important factor in achieving the personality of the individual is of little importance, for both have been very similar for all the Eisendraths of today. But although an individual's physical type has undoubtedly a biological basis it also appears to be influenced by the habits and

acquired characteristics of the individual and by his attitude of self-consciousness in regard to his physical appearance. We can see, for example, that in the case of the Eisendraths their physical type is similar first due to their German inheritance enhanced by their present mode of living, particularly their habits of eating, lack of exercise, their posture and dress, and their consciousness of their physical appearance. And, similarly, although biologists might account for the similarity of temperaments and innate mentalities of the members of the Eisendrath family as a result of their biological inheritance, yet no one can deny the importance of the influence of the social attitudes, traditions and standards of behavior of the older members of the family in moulding the opinions, habits and behavior patterns of the younger Eisendrath

And, then, what has been the effect of this similarity of type as an integrating force within the Eisendrath family? If noticeable differences in physical type and temperament are the bases upon which social distance and prejudices take root, whether they be personal or racial, then the opposite should be equally true,--that where one finds a common physical type and similar mental, temperamental and social make-ups, one should at least expect to find mutual understanding between those within the group of such persons. And, thus, we have at least the foundation for friendly relations among the Eisendraths and still a possibility for having a unified, integrated social family group.

BUSINESS OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEN

AND EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS

BUSINESS OCCUPATIONS OF THE EISENDRATH MEN

Fifty years ago Chicago was not the specialized business metropolis that it is today: trading and transporting were the most common business occupations; and there was only one outstanding manufacturing industry,--meat packing. The International Harvester was also manufactured in Chicago at this time, but was not as large an industry then as it is now. Thus at this time it is only natural to hear of the Eisendrath grocery stores. But smaller manufacturing industries were already developing so that very shortly after this time Chicago became known as a manufacturing center; this trend was also reflected in the family for many of the Eisendraths, more accommodated to their new urban environment by this time, became manufacturers,--tanners to a large extent. And then these manufacturing units, continually expanding, tended to become larger and still larger units with the result that outside capital and outside investments were necessary to swing the former individual enterprises. So, therefore, more recently Chicago shows a trend of becoming a banking center, being second to New York in the number of its banking and brokerage-house concerns. Then simultaneous with this period of expansion Chicago naturally developed a need for professional men: more lawyers were necessary to look after the legal affairs of its large corporations and

and its larger population; more architects were required to plan the new larger manufacturing plants and banks and central business offices as well as the new stores and residential units; and so also more doctors, teachers and other professional men were welcomed.

It is natural to find the Eisendrath men following these two more recent trends. Two added influential reasons would also make this more likely in the case of the Eisendraths. First because they are Jews, and Jews, characteristically an urban class of people, have traditionally for centuries been money lenders, bankers and brokers; and thus in a new and developing urban environment rapidly and easily one following another they would return to their old traditional occupational pursuits,--into stock brokerage houses, into bond and mortgage investment companies and into other allied concerns. Then, secondly with a longer and a better education, a college education, the younger men in the family are able to equip themselves immediately for higher class, "white collar" jobs; and thus those just starting in business now no longer want to be plain salesmen or even manufacturers, but rather financiers or professional men.

It will be very interesting to examine more in detail how this trend is reflected in the occupational pursuits of the Eisendrath men. In that it is impossible to determine the present age of each individual Eisendrath or at what age he started his business career, it will be necessary to reckon this trend by generations, assuming that the first

generation, the father of the twenty-three children in Germany, started his business career roughly speaking around 1800; the second generation began in America from about 1850 to 1880; the third extended from about 1889 to 1910; the fourth started around about 1910 and extends up to the present; while the men of the fifth generation are just starting out in the business world within recent years.

Business Occupations by Generations

A. First Generation (1800)

1. Samson N. Eisendrath,--General Store and Delivering Military Merchandise.

B. Second Generation,-- (1850-1880 in America)

1. Nathan S. Eisendrath,--Soap and Candle Manufacture, Distillery, Grocery, and Banking and Realestate Business
2. David S. Eisendrath,--Leather Manufacture
3. Levi S. Eisendrath,--Distillery and Grain Business
4. Benjamin S. Eisendrath,--Meat Packing Business
5. Moses S. Eisendrath,--Grocery Business
6. Cosman S. Eisendrath,--Grocery Business
7. Henry Regensburg,--Grocery Business
8. Myer Wolff,--Pickle Business
9. Moses Rosenthal,--retired

(In Europe many of the second generation of Eisendraths were known to have been tanners.)

C. Third Generation

1. Benjamin W. Eisendrath,----Glass, Wholesale Furniture, and later realestate
2. Joseph N. Eisendrath,-----Glove Manufacture
3. William N. Eisendra th,----Leather Manufacture
4. Abraham N. Eisendrath,-----Wholesale Clothier
5. Daniel N. Eisendrath,-----Doctor (Surgeon)
- 6
6. Julius L. Eisendrath,-----Country Produce & Cattle dealer,--dealer in hides and kept a country store
7. Oscar L. Eisendrath,-----Clothing Material Business
8. Sigmund L. Eisendrath,-----Clothing Manufacturer
9. Louis Kraus,-----Clothing Material Business
10. Max Schiller,-----Millinary Business
11. Louis L. Eisendrath,-----Clothing Manufacturer, Banker
12. Benjamin D. Eisendrath,----Leather Manufacturer and Meat Business
13. Herman Eliassoff,-----Writer and Editor of the "Reform Advocate"
14. Simeon Strauss,-----Lawyer
15. Max Ellbogen,-----Wholesale Jewelry
16. Samson D. Eisendrath,-----Leather Manufacturer

17. Simeon B. Eisendrath,-----Architect
18. Samson B. Eisendrath,-----Insurance (formerly
clothing)
19. Oscar B. Eisendrath,-----Metal Lighting Fix-
ture Manufacture
20. Charles Bloch,-----Book Publishing
21. Rabbi Lyons,-----Rabbi
22. Sam Schoenbrum,-----Clothing Manufacture
23. Nathan M. Eisendrath,-----Grocery Business
(Retired)
24. Leo M. Eisendrath,-----Leather Manufacturing
25. Emanuel Weil,-----Leather Manufacturing
26. Sigmund M. Eisendrath,-----Leather Manufacturing
27. Levi Windmiller,-----Retail Grocer
28. Jacob Sloss,-----Cotton Waste Goods
Manufacture
29. Sam Regensburg,-----Mail Order Business
30. Sol Hamber,-----Cigar Manufacture
31. Oscar Regensburg,-----President of the
National Deaf Mutes'
Association
32. James Regensburg,-----Malt Supplies Manu-
facturing
33. Samson C. Eisendrath,-----Furniture Business
34. Henry C. Eisendrath,-----Grocer
35. Oscar C. Eisendrath,-----Traveller
36. Nathan C. Eisendrath,-----Grocer
37. Abraham C. Eisendrath,-----Furniture Business
38. Benjamin C. Eisendrath,-----Druggist (Chainstore)

39. Myer Emrich,-----Lawyer
40. Sol Fink,-----Automobile Supplies
41. Sam Wolff,-----Member of the Board of
Trade
42. Simon Levi,-----Bottle Label Manu-
facture
- 43.. Herman Heymanson,-----Pickle Manufacture
44. Jacobs,-----
45. Oscar Wolff,-----Pickle Manufacture
46. Benjamin Wolff,-----Bond Brokerage Business
47. v Nathan Wolff,-----
48. Jack Lang,-----
49. Edmund Ginter,-----Furniture Business
50. Gus Glickauf,-----Pickle Manufacture
51. August Fellheimer,-----Meat Packing
52. Henry Regensburg,-----Retail Grocery and Ship
Supplies
53. Sigmund Rosenthal,-----Wholesale Cigar Business
(Retired)
54. Oscar Rosenthal,-----
55. Philip Rosenthal,-----
56. Samuel Greenebaum,-----Leather Manufacture
57. Jacobs,-----

D. Fourth Generation.

1. Edward Levi,-----Clothing Business
2. William B. Eisendrath,-----Leather Manufacture
3. Claude Nathan,-----Glove Manufacture
4. Milton Hirsch,-----Clothing Business
5. Robert N. Eisendrath,-----Glove Manufacture
- 6
6. Edwin W. Eisendrath,-----Leather Manufacture
7. Arnold Horween,-----Leather Manufacture
(Harvard Football
coach)
8. William Eisendrath, Jr.,-----Leather Manufacture
9. D. B. Stern,-- -----Banker, (Investment
Company)
10. Richard Eaton,-- -----Writer, Publisher
- 11
11. Oscar Michaels,-----Meat Packing
12. Ralph Obendorfer,-----Children's Clothing
Manufacture
13. Harry Meisner,-----Lawyer
14. Jerome Deimal,-----Broker
15. David B. Eisendrath,-----Leather Manufacture
16. D. K. Moses,-----
17. Ralph Blink,-----Printing Business
18. David Eliassoff,-----Ladies' Ready-to-wear
Business

19. Samuel Strauss,-----Musician (Pianist and
composer)
20. David Strauss,-----Doctor (Physician and
surgeon)
21. Ira Strauss,-----Lawyer
22. Morris Flexner,-----
23. Sam Rosenheim,-----Wholesale Millinery
24. David Ellbogen,-----Wholesale Jewelry
25. Albert Ellbogen,-----Wholesale Jewelry
26. Jack Bernstein,-----
27. Charles Ellbogen,-----Wholesale Jewelry
28. --Albert Kahn,-----Realestate Business
29. David S. Eisendrath,-----Lawyer
30. Abraham Rubel,-----Electrical Goods
Manufacture
31. Samson J. Eisendrath,-----Millinary (Chain Store)
Formerly Leather and
Glove Manufacturer
32. Henry J. Eisendrath,-----Stock Broker (Formerly
in the Leather
Business
33. Nathan J. Eisendrath,-----Wholesale Millenary
34. Abraham Gutmann,-----Store Fixture Manu-
facture
35. Joseph L. Eisendrath,-----Banker, Bond and
Mortgage Business
36. Sam Spiesberger,-----Clothing Business

37. Montifore Stein,-----Broker
38. Gary,-----
39. Jay Krays,-----Sears Roebuck,--
Manufacturer of Musical
Instruments
40. Lawrence Schiller,-----Salesman
41. Arthur Hart,-----Ladies Wearing Apparel
42. Benjamin Bloch,-----Architect
43. Edward Bloch,-----Publishing Business
44. Maurice Engus,-----
45. Leo Schoenbrun,-----Architect
46. Edwin N. Eisendrath,-----Wholesale Bread Business
47. Robert N. Eisendrath,-----Furniture Business
48. Jacob Eisendrath,-----Doctor
49. Harry Birkenstein,-----Metal & Paper Mills
Sup plies
50. Alfred Stern,-----Women's Garment
Manufacture
51. Leon Weil,-----Leather Manufacture
52. Cohn,-----Wholesale Cigar and
Tobacco Business
53. Jerome Windmiller,-----Cotton Waste Goods
Manufacture
54. Arthur Windmiller,-----Contractor

55. Sidney Windmiller,----- --Contractor
56. Harry Richter,---- -----Doctor (Surgeon)
57. Harvey Leeds,-----Cotton Waste Goods
Manufacturer
58. Harvey Hamber,-----Realestate Business

59. William Kirschheimer,-----Wholesale Paper
Business
60. Dan Hirsch,-----Mattress Manufacture
61. Harry Levi,-----

62. Ivan Heymansonn-----Pickle Manufacture

63. Bernard Jacobs,-----

64. Harry Wolff,-----
65. Sam Wolff,-----

66. Richard Wolff,-----

67. Bruce Barmack,-----Doctor
68. Lewis Glickauff,---- -----Lawyer

69. Louis Fellheimer,-----Architect
70. Albert Fellheimer,-----Sausage Casing Manu-
facture
71. Joseph Finn,-----

72. Louis Regensburg,-----Carpet Manufacture
73. Anton Burger,-- -----Pipe Manufacture
74. Sam Greenebaum,-----

E. Fifth Generation (Present time)

1. Irving Eppenstein,-----Bond & Mortgage
Business
2. Philip Eisendrath,-----Brokerage Business
and newspaper
writing
3. Ralph Eisendrath,-----Paper Box Manu-
facturing
4. Maurice Eisendrath,-----Rabbi
5. Arthur N. Eisendrath,-----Chicago Mail Order
Company
6. Julian Gutmann,-----Store Fixture
Manufacture
7. Joseph L. Eisendrath,-----Bond and Mortgage
Business
8. Jerome Arronson,-----Millenary Business
8. William Lane,-----Lawyer
10. Irving Schwartz,-----
11. Harry Birkenstein, Jr.,-----Leather Manufacturing
12. Walter Burger,-----Architect
13. Robert Michaels,-----Furniture Business

Summary of Generations by Occupational
Classifications

1. First Generation,-----	1
A. Trade and Transportation-----	1
1. General (retail) store--	1
2. Second Generation,-----	9
A. Trade and Transportation-----	5
1. Retail grocery store---	3
2. Wholesale Trade, etc---	2
B. Manufacturing-- 8 -----	2
1. Leather-----	1
2. Pickles-----	1
C. Commercial-----	1
1. Banking, Real estate, etc--	1
3. Third Generation,-----	57
A. Manufacturing,-----	20
1. Leather-----	7
2. Pickles-----	4
3. Other Articles-----	9
B. Trade and Transportation-----	18
1. Retail Stores-----	7
2. Wholesale Stores-----	9
3. Transportation-----	2
C. Professional-----	8
1. Lawyers-----	2
2. Doctor-----	1
3. Architect-----	1
4. Writer-----	1
5. Rabbi-----	1
6. Others-----	2
D. Commercial-----	3
1. Banking-----	1
2. Brokers-----	2
E. Unknown-----	8

4. Fourth Generation-----73

- A. Manufacturing-----23
 - 1. Leather-----8
 - 2. Other Articles-----15
- B. Trade and Transportation-----16
 - 1. Wholesale-----13
 - 2. Retail-----5
- C. Professional-----16
 - 1. Doctors-----4
 - 2. Lawyers-----4
 - 3. Architects-----3
 - 4. Publishers-----2
 - 5. Contractors-----2
 - 6. Musician-----1
- D. Commercial-----7
 - 1. Banking-----2
 - 2. Brokerage-----3
 - 3. Real estate-----2
- E. Unknown-----11

5. Fifth Generation--- - -----13

- A. Commercial-----3
 - 1. Bond & Mortgage
business-----2
 - 2. Broker-----1
- B. Professional-----3
 - 1. Rabbi-----1
 - 2. Architect-----1
 - 3. Lawyer-----1
- C. Manufacturing-----3
 - 1. Leather-----1
 - 2. Other-----2
- D. Trade and Transportation-----3
 - 1. Wholesale-----2
 - 2. Retail-----1
- E. Unknown-----1

This summary portrays the characteristic trends in American business and occupational pursuits as well as the changes one would expect to find in an immigrant family and its descendants. The difficulty which prevents one from drawing any definite conclusions from these charts is that there is such a diversity in ages between the different generations, the Levy Eisendraths and the Rosenthals being fully a generation ahead of the other branches of the family. Nevertheless there seem to be several marked changes in occupational trends. First the family has developed to be entirely an urban family so far as business occupations are concerned. While the original member of the group, Samson Eisendrath back in Dorsten, Germany, lived in a small urban community, his occupation could almost be classified as rural in comparison to his descendants: he had a general store which is characteristically a rural occupational pursuit. But the family in America lives with few exceptions, if any at all, in large cities: Chicago for the most part, New York, Milwaukee, and St. Louis; and the men pursue entirely characteristically urban occupations. As to the various occupations, there seems to be a further correlation with the general business trends apparent in urban cities in the United States; especially does this correlate with the trend found among the Jewish population.

The nine original Eisendrath brothers in America followed primarily two types of occupations: trade and

transportation,--three having grocery stores, one being in the meat packing and exporting business and one in the grain business; and manufacturing,--two were manufacturers, one of leather and the other of pickles. David Eisendrath, the leather manufacturer, had been a tanner in Europe and started out immediately in this same occupational pursuit after his arrival in America; but Myer Wolff, who became the manufacturer of pickles was for some years in the grocery business in Chicago before he became a manufacturer. The eighth member of these immigrating brothers, Nathan Eisendrath, having become interested in so many occupations and businesses,--a grocery store, soap and candle manufacturing, brick manufacturing, as well as in the banking and the real-estate business could only justly be classified as a capitalist. The ninth brother was never in business in America. Thus, proportionally for this generation in regard to occupational pursuits the following percentages are found:

1. Trade and Transportation-----61.2
2. Manufacturing-----24.6
3. Capitalist-----12.2

But the third generation already shows a difference in occupational pursuits. The grocery business has decreased greatly in proportion,--six of the fifty-six, or roughly one-eleventh of the members of this generation having retail grocery stores in comparison to the one-third in the second generation. Manufacturing takes the lead, especially here in

the manufacturing of leather which is significant as it tends to become a family industry among at least two of the families,--the David Eisendraths and two of Nathan Eisendraths sons. The professions have developed to some extent due to the greater opportunity for education and the lessening of the necessity of the younger members of the family to work at an early age, which was already true among certain of the families. Commercial occupations are still rather insignificant. Proportionally in this generation the divisions is as follows:

1. Manufacturing-----41.0
2. Trade and Transportation-34.0
3. Professional-----15.0
4. Commercial-----2.0

In the fourth generation this same trend is further developed. Manufacturing is still the leading occupational pursuit,--the manufacturing of leater still being in the lead. Trade and transportation is second, but there is a most remarkable growth in the professions and also an apparent slight increase in the commercial occupations. Thus here one finds:

1. Manufacturing----- 31.5
2. Trade and Transportation-- 21.9
3. Professional----- 21.9
4. Commercial----- 9.6

The number of members of the fifth generation now in the business occupations is still relatively small. But among these young people the professional and commercial pursuits show an increasing increase, entirely surpassing trade and transportation, while the manufacturing pursuits have decreased proportionally. In two of the three cases of individuals in the manufacturing occupations the son has entered into the "family occupation". In all cases the Eisendraths are either officers of the company for which they are working or employed as "White Collar" employees; none of them are doing actual manual work. The division among the thirteen of the youngest generation is:

1. Professional-----23.1
2. Commercial-----23.1
3. Manufacturing-----23.1
4. Trade and Transportation--23.1

To be sure, in general, there has been a tendency for the son to follow in the same occupation of his father; especially, as was just pointed out, is ~~this~~ true in the manufacturing occupations, (that of leather in particular).

The influence of business upon the large family group, or rather within the individual families has entirely changed. It is evident how important the family business was during the second generation where all the members of the

family of necessity cooperated with the father of the family: the children were made to help in the stores, and the wife, also, at first took an active part in the running of this family store. The Regensburg grocery store was especially known in this connection as all the children and all the new-coming immigrant relatives were immediately given a "job" in it. In the case of the Nathan Eisendrath family, alone, this cooperation was not necessary or required; and, also, Nathan's five boys were given a better education than the others, and therefore, had a better training and equipment for their future occupations.

But with the next generation this pioneering activity is not found. American customs had changed; the Eisendrath family was now established and this cooperation was not necessary in order to support the family. The women's part in the family, on the whole, stops with the managing of the home. And thus there comes to be the marked division of labor in the modern Eisendrath family, which is typical of all urban family life: the father's role is to support his family, allowing his children to have a good education,-- generally a college education; the mother's role is to manage the household, and as she thus has much time for society, she therefore tends to be the more social member of the individual family group; the children, until prepared to follow some occupation, spend their time pursuing their education.

In conclusion it seems that the Eisendrath family group as a whole are advancing together although some have

have progressed further than have others along these occupational trends previously noted. The stage reached by the individual Eisendrath correlates rather directly with his income. The family business progression exemplifies very clearly a certain generalization which is most typical of Jews. Very rarely do Jews work up within a business, as, for instance, to a bank president from the bank messengerboy; but, rather, would they enter the banking profession as an officer of the bank after having accumulated their wealth in some other manner. Among the Jews this gradual evolution is easily understood, particularly among Jewish immigrant families in the past such as was formerly the case with the Eisendrath family. As immigrants they enter whatever pursuit they can in order to make enough money to live; but as they become established and as they accumulate some wealth they become manufacturers, starting up their own factories, whether they be tanneries, food products companies or merely men's tailoring or women's dress-making establishments; but as they again accumulate a surplus income proportionally greater than that required in their business they become bankers or investment brokers, thus economically dividing their risk in diversified interests. It can perhaps be assumed that this same process will hold true in the case of most early pioneering Chicago families.

The Extent of Education within the Eisendrath

Family

This general increase in wealth within the family naturally exerts its influence upon the individual members of the individual family groups. The first effect of economic advancement to be considered is the trend in the family towards an increasing amount of education. To be sure, this factor of a higher education may be an important factor in the family business trend in that the greater the education, the greater proportionally will be the individual's capacities for making money.

But, at the same time, a better, fuller, and a more extensive education for both men and women is in itself an independent and a distinct urban influence. All of the better and larger educational institutions are located in or near to large urban communities, and the majority of their students come from urban families.

But the more general opportunity to gain a higher education is a comparatively recent development. And the more or less universal desire for a college education on the part of men and more especially women, at least among those of the higher classes, has just recently come into the mores of the middle class American population. Then, again, it often seems true that these improved methods of an urban institutional education have become disintegrating forces in the family life,--for they have taken away from the family

unit and institutionalized the former family function of education, and they have thus drawn the interests of several individual members away from the family group and have then specialized them.

Naturally, in regard to our Eisendrath family and the extent of the education of its members, one should not expect to find a higher education, as such is conceived of now, prevalent among the older generations. There was no desire nor need for such then. Furthermore, there was no time to be spent in gaining one for the individual families being larger the financial aid of each individual was required as soon as possible. And another factor working against a higher education would be that the average Eisendrath family did not have the wherewithal to spend in providing a higher education for its children.

But today a high school education is taken for granted by the children of middle class urban families. And at the same time college educations for the children are talked of, planned and the necessary money saved for such long before the child is ready to go to college; college has come to be taken for granted as the fourth stage in the completion of the education of the child by many middle class parents. This, today, is the general attitude of the Eisendrath family towards education.

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to gather complete records as to the amount of education received by the earlier Eisendraths; nevertheless a more or less general

summary as to the extent of the education of the later generations and their members can be given.

Concerning the education allowed the members of the second generation our only evidence as to the education of these twenty-three children is based upon the report of Eva Wolff and those of her children. It is believed that they all received the average German education given at that time,-- that is, going to the Gymnasium or to the convent in Dorsten. Each boy was made to learn a particular trade into which he later was allowed to enter.

The education offered to the members of the third generation Eisendraths was probably not as extensive on the whole as that of their parents. The families were pioneers. Thus many of the children were forced to help out in supporting the family at a very early age. The average education offered in America was also much less than today; college education was not thought of by the average middle class members. Nevertheless the average education of this generation of Eisendraths was through the high school. But those training for the professions were given a somewhat better preparation. Those of this generation receiving a better education were:

1. Daniel N. Eisendrath,--Johns' Hopkins University and a European training
2. Simeon B. Eisendrath,----Manual Training School and the Massachusetts Inst. of Technology (he won a scholarship to the latter and taught night school for some time).

3. Joseph N. Eisendrath,--taken to Europe for a finishing education.
4. William N. Eisendrath,--taken to Europe for a finishing education.
5. Abraham N. Eisendrath,--taken to Europe for a finishing education.
6. Samson Regensburg,--taken to Europe for a finishing education.
7. Samson C. Eisendrath,--taken to Europe for a finishing education.
8. The Wolff and the Rosenthal families received their educations in Europe before they came to America.
9. Rosa Emrich,-----trained to be a professional singer.
10. Juliette Fink,-----trained to be a dramatic teacher
11. Ada Schiller,-----trained to be a teacher.

We have previously noted the greater percentage of professional men in the fourth and fifth generations, thus necessitating their superior education. Furthermore, the length and the extent of educations in America, on the whole, have been increased: by this time college educations were usually included in the training of those whose parents could afford them. Thus the majority of the younger Eisendraths of more recent years who have grown to "college age" have been given the opportunity of gaining a college education.

Those of the fourth generation having received or now gaining some sort of a higher education are:

1. Claudine Leeds,--studied in Lausanne, Switzerland;

given a singing training.

2. Harvey Hamber,---Yale
3. Adelaide Richter,-- Nurses' Training
4. Jacob Eisendrath,--Doctor's training
5. David Strauss,--given a medical education
6. Ira Strauss,--given a legal education
7. Samuel Strauss,--given a musical education
8. Audrey Eisendrath,--given a musical education
9. David S. Eisendrath,--given a legal education
10. Alfred Fellheimer,--given an architectural
training
11. Benjamin Bloch,--given an architectural training
at Cornell
12. Leo Schoenbrun,--given an architectural training
at Cornell, the Boston Institute
of Technology, and in Europe
13. Lewis Glickauf,--given a medical education.
14. Richard Eaton,--Harvard and abroad
15. William Eisendrath,--Yale
16. Mary Eisendrath,--receiving a musical education at
Oberland College of Music

Those receiving a more general college education:

1. Edwin Bloch,--New York University
2. Ruth Bloch,--New York University
3. Samuel Lyons,--New York University
4. Albert Lyons,--New York University
5. Irene Lyons,--New York University
6. Helen Schoenbrun,--The University of Chicago

7. Edwin B. Eisendrath,--Yale
8. Edith Eisendrath Nathan,--Vassar
9. Marion Eisendrath Horween,--The University of
Chicago
10. Edwin B. Eisendrath,--

Those of the fifth generation having gone to college or who
are now at college:

1. Edna Eisendrath Eppenstein,--The University of
Chicago
2. Maurice Eisendrath,--The Hebrew Union College
3. Juliette Eisendrath,--The University of Minnesota
4. Philip Eisendrath,--Northwestern University
5. Ruth Eisendrath,--Northwestern University, and
The University of Chicago.
6. Marie Schwartz ,--Northwestern University
7. William Levi,--Illinois and The Kent School of
Law
8. Fances Levi,--The Milwaukee Downer
9. Walter Burger,--Cornell and the Boston Institute
of Technology (Architectural
training)
10. Harry Birkenstein,--The University of Ohio
11. Robert Michaels,--The University of Wisconsin
12. Katherine Collier,--Smith College
13. Joseph Finn,--Yale
14. Jane Finn,--Lawrence College
15. Ralph Eisendrath,--The University of Ohio

16. Hannah Louise Eisendrath,-- The University of Chicago and Cooking School
17. Joseph L. Eisendrath,--TheUniversity of Chicago
18. Blanch Eisendrath,-- The University of Chicago
19. August Fellheimer,-- receiving a legal training at The University of Chicago
20. Henry Fellheimer,--at the University of Chicago

And now, in summarizing the apparent trends as regard business interests and the extent of education in the Eisendrath family two forces undoubtedly at work are: disintegration in the form of further specialization; and at the sametime integration of a rather marked degree. The family has remained a cohesive whole in that all of its members have developed and are further developing in the same direction and in general are at the same point in the same trend. In regard to occupational pursuits the men are no longer store-keepers, few are manufacturers, while the majority are coming to follow commercial and professional pursuits. As for education, all the families have the same attitudes,--toward higher education; and all the children, if they so desire, will be allowed to have a college education. Thus Professor Ogburn's concept of a Canmuck Jargon can be adopted in regard to business occupations and education in relation to the Eisendraths,--further individual specialization but with still common interests and more or

less equal standards of living, and thus making for a common foundation upon which to build up an integrated whole.

FAMILY ECONOMY

FAMILY ECONOMY

In the realm of society an individual's income is an important factor in determining his relative status in the community, his associates and his friends. Particularly in large communities is wealth an important criterion: in smaller communities there can be no such choice as to whom one associates with; but in a large community offering such a great assortment of individuals friendships narrow down, for the most part, to common interests and like behavior.

Generally speaking, an individual's interests and behavior are almost entirely guided by his standard of living; and one's standard of living is directly correlated with his or his family's economic income. And thus it would most naturally follow that an individual's friends would be chosen from those persons who have more or less the same economic status as he has.

Blood relationships, also, tend to be dropped when there is a marked inequality of economic income existing between two related families. But with the Eisendraths, at least among those still a part of the larger family group, these blood relationships are still claimed. Therefore one should suspect that all the Eisendrath families still have more or less the same economic income. But is this found to be the case? This, then, leads us to an analysis of the

economic status of the individual Eisendrath families as members of the larger family group. Yet, to be sure, in discussing the family economic standings we are dealing in relative values; and as we have no absolute criterion upon which to base conclusions we will, for the most part, be interested in comparing the economic status of the individual families to the other Eisendrath families considered as a group.

But, first, let us determine in general the economic standing of the whole family in relation to the community. Judging from the location of the individual families, all living in the "better residential zones" of Chicago, we may immediately conclude that the family as a group is above the average for the American family in economic status. And except for several exceptionally wealthy Eisendrath families, we might call the individual families representative higher middle class families. The standard of living among the Eisendraths is relatively high judging from outward appearances: none of the women are compelled to work although some few do in order to keep themselves occupied; many of the families live in the better hotels where the rents are comparatively high; the women are always dressed well and fashionably; all the families enjoy a sociable life, spending above the average amount for luxuries and recreations; while the relatively high standard of education,--through college,--is another indication of a higher than average standard of living.

Indeed all together the Eisendraths might be called quite representative of the older German Jewish population of Chicago in which social environment they have developed. Fifty years ago they were also, at that time, representative of this same element of the population, then living upon a much smaller income, having larger families and a lower standard of living as was typical of the German Jewish pioneering families in Chicago. But if we take into consideration the gradual change that has come about from the average living conditions then and those found now, we may still say that relatively the Eisendraths' economic status has not changed. Fifty years ago it was proper for the children to work in the family store; their education was rarely as lengthy, complete or expensive; travelling was not as extensive; there were fewer luxuries which we now regard as almost necessities; and all together all living was closer to the margin of the family income.

But in many instances these immigrant Eisendraths, pioneers in the Chicago industries, established businesses which either their descendants developed into larger, more profitable businesses,--such as, for example, the David Eisendrath Tannery or the Regensburg Grocery Store,--or they allowed their sons to gain a better foundation and to start upon a higher economic level. Particularly was this true in the case of the sons of Nathan Eisendrath, three of whom had^a European education. Then, naturally, the status and standard of living of all these old German families increased

as they became more established, and the newer immigrants came to fill their former places; but in the community they continued to hold about an equal status. The girls, for the most part, married German Jews who had likewise the same relative economic standing as did they. And thus, now the family, having maintained this same relationship with the German Jews in the city, might still be considered as representative of it.

But in regard to the relationship of the individual Eisendrath families to the larger family group, we naturally find more diversity today than formerly, for not only are there more individual families today, but also the whole range of their economic incomes is infinitely larger. Although we find no entirely dependent families today as there was one fifty years ago, and each family is thus self-sustaining and independent, still our range of inter-family economic status is greatly larger. Fifty years ago families were either more affluent or less affluent judging by the way they lived; but today we can distinguish several intermediate stages in this scale of their standard of living. And thus by means of outward signs and symbols,--luxuries more or less taken for granted and unnecessary recreations indulged in by some,--we can determine the individual families' relative standing in the larger family group.

First of all, belonging to a Country club is undoubtedly a luxury, and, therefore, might be called an indication

an indication of a higher than average family group standard of living. Twenty-two of the Eisendrath families belong to four of the various Jewish Country Clubs around Chicago. But among these four clubs there are marked differences as to their respective social standing as determined primarily by the income of their members. Lake Shore Country Club, in Glencoe, is known as "the Millionaires' Country Club"; it is the most exclusive, the most luxurious and the most extravagant, and its members are almost entirely of the wealthiest Jewish class in Chicago. Northmoor Country Club in Highland Park, being the newest, probably comes next as to exclusiveness and in regard to the relative economic status of its members. Then Ravisloe Country Club, in Homewood, because it is the oldest Jewish Country club about Chicago, has more recently dropped into third place; its standards now are not as high as formerly for it has been forced to sacrifice its exclusiveness in order to keep up its membership; and, furthermore, many of its former members are now living on the North Side of Chicago or on the Northshore and find it more convenient to belong to the Northshore clubs. And finally, Idlewild, in Flossmoor, is still lower in standing because it has taken in many Russian Jewish members which always tends to lower the status of a club. Thus memberships are relatively cheap to buy and worthless to sell at Ravisloe and Idlewild; at Northmoor there is now a long waiting list; while it is impossible to get into Lake Shore because all the memberships are handed

down from father to son. The other Jewish country clubs about Chicago, of which there are several, are almost entirely Russian Jewish country clubs, and we should naturally not expect to find members of German Jewish families belonging to them. But at least within the scale of these four previously mentioned clubs, we may conclude that exclusiveness as to the type of Jews admitted and the economic status of its members are very closely correlated within each individual club. The division of these twenty-two Eisendraths as to the respective clubs to which they belong is as follows:

To Lake Shore Country Club-----10
To Northmoor Country Club-----8
To Ravisloe Country Club-----3
To Idlewild-----1

It seems rather significant to note that the lower one descends in the status of these clubs the fewer Eisendrath families belong to them, although the average relative statuses of the individual families is not the same as those shown by this list. It is true that these twenty-two families either take "belonging to a country club" for granted or enjoy the country club life sufficient to sacrifice other luxuries in order to belong to one. But the majority of the other families have never belonged to such country clubs and do not feel the necessity of belonging to one; while some few families have dropped out of the clubs because they could not

afford to keep up their membership,--the men in these families who wish to play golf do so at the daily fee or the public park courses.

Then another indication of a higher economic standing would be shown by whether the family have an automobile, and if so what kind of a machine it is. To be sure in Chicago this is not as good a criterion as it would be in a district just out of the city, as, for instance, on the Northshore, where the use of an automobile is more of a necessity. In Chicago where there are more developed and more convenient means of public transportation many families have never started "the habit" of having a car of their own. Particularly would this be true of older persons who have never had one and who would not care to drive their own machine and yet could not afford to have a chauffeur. Probably this is true in the case of many of the Eisendrath families who could easily afford to have a car of some sort, but do not own one because -- the necessity is not so vital as to warrant the added expense for its upkeep. But, in general, the division as to the type of cars owned by those Eisendraths that have cars is more significant than that between those that have machines and those that do not. Statistics as to whether they have cars or not for fifty-eight Chicago Eisendrath families is as follows:

- A. 12 families have cars with chauffeurs.
- B. 19 families have cars without chauffeurs.
- C. 27 families have no cars.

I do not know the makes of all the cars that have chauffeurs, but in regard to five of the, four are Pierce-Arrows and one is a Cadillac. At least two of these families have more than one car.

The types of cars which thirteen of the nineteen families with cars that do not have chauffeurs are as follows:

- A. 3 have Packards
- B. 3 have Buicks
- C. 1 has a Cadillac
- D. 1 has a Locomobile
- E. 1 has a Studebaker
- F. 1 has a Chevrolet
- G. 1 has a De Soto
- H. 1 has a Pontiac
- I. 1 has a Ford

Then, again, the contributions which each family donates annually to charitable institutions is roughly another fair index as to the family's economic status. But the donations to the "Jewish Charities" of Chicago alone, as is printed on their list, is perhaps in itself not so significant in that some families have other charitable

organizations to which they are contributing; while, furthermore, some people do not make contributions to the charities in accordance with their yearly incomes.

Thus as a result of these previous analyses,--upon the basis of belonging to a country club, of owning an automobile, and of the individual family's donations to the Charities, together with my familiarity with the individual families as they live, the following fifty-eight Eisenrath families divide themselves quite definitely into six different groups according to their relative economic status. These fifty-eight families do not include all of the Eisenrath families living in or about Chicago: all of the younger married couples whose status is perhaps not as yet determined have been omitted; also the status of several of the widows who either live with one of their children or alone is very hard to determine and, therefore, they have not been included; finally there are several families upon which additional data was not obtained. But as to these fifty-eight families, the division in regard to economic status is as follows:

- A. 5 are outstandingly wealthy
- B. 8 are wealthy
- C. 11 are affluent
- D. 16 are "well-off"
- E. 15 are comfortable
- F. 3 are more-or-less dependent

These fifty-eight families include the majority of the Eisendrath families living in or about Chicago today. But it would be wrong to say that this grouping is typical of the rest of the families for they most probably fall, for the most part, into group E; at any rate, they cannot be more well-to-do than the average of the family of one would be able to recognize at once their economic status on such a family relative economic scale.

The place of residence of the individual families within the Jewish community would naturally be of general significance in regard to economic status. But within the family, in itself, not too much stress can be placed upon the individual family locations. Nevertheless several trends do seem apparent. Those eight families living on the North-shore are all younger families, and only two of them are "wealthy" (three of them were not included among the fifty-eight families previously mentioned). But in Chicago there is rather a marked tendency to find the wealthier Eisendraths living in hotel apartments or kitcheneting. Thus, now, correlating the members of these various groups, first as to where they live in or about Chicago, and secondly as to how they live, the following is true:

A. Locations of the families

1. Those in Group A. -----5

a. 3 live in the Gold Coast area

b. 2 live on the South Side (both travel much)

2. Those in Group B. -----8
 - a. 5 live in or near the Gold Coast Area
 - b. 2 live on the South Side.
 - c. 1 lives on the North Shore

3. Those in Group C. -----11
 - a. 2 live in the Gold Coast area
 - b. 6 live on the South Side
 - c. 2 live on the North Side
 - d. 1 lives on the Northshore

4. Those in Group D. -----16
 - a. 12 live on the South Side
 - b. 4 live on the North Side

5. Those in Group E.-- -----15
 - a. 8 live on the South Side
 - b. 4 live on the North Side
 - c. 3 live on the North Shore

6. Those of Group F. -----3
 - a. 2 live on the North Side
 - b. 1 lives on the South Side

B. Types of homes.

1. Those in Group A. -----5
 - a. 2 are living in hotels; both travel much
 - b. 1 lives in a large apartment building
 - c. 2 live in homes.

2. Those in Group B. -----8
 - a. 4 live in hotels
 - b. 1 lives in a large apartment building
 - c. 2 live in apartments
 - d. 1 lives in a house

3. Those in Group C. -----11
 - a. 4 live in hotels
 - b. 1 lives in a large apartment building
 - c. 1 lives in an apartment
 - d. 5 live in homes (2 in the same home)

4. Those in Group D. -----16
 - a. 2 live in hotels
 - b. 1 lives in a large apartment building
 - c. 6 live in apartments

5. Those in Group E. -----15
 - a. 2 live in hotels
 - b. 8 live in apartments
 - c. 5 live in homes

6. Those in Group F. -----3
 - a. 3 live in apartments

But there is one more correlation which may be made in regard to the economic status of the Eisendrath family and one which is most important as concerns this thesis,--

the relation between the economic status of the individual family and its interest in the large family group. Therefore, the question remains to determine whether family income is or is not an integrating factor in the family group of today. Indeed the fact is immediately apparent that the wealthier families have almost completely withdrawn from the large family group of today. Those that are still within this larger family unit are mainly those families falling within Groups C., D., and E., where the economic income is not so different so that these families do not vary greatly in the luxuries indulged in or in their interests, habits or in their standards of living. The way in which this trend works out in regard to the women of these various economic groups and their interest in the Eisendrath Cousins' Club is as follows:

- a. In Group A, 1 of the 5 is somewhat interested in the Eisendrath Cousins' Club.
- b. In Group B, 3 of the 8 are interested in it.
- c. In Group C, 6 of the 11 are interested in it.
- d. In Group D, 14 of the 16 are interested in it.
- e. In Group E, 13 of the 15 are interested in it.
- f. In Group F, 1 of the 3 is interested in it.

Thus, while this list is incomplete, nevertheless it shows the importance of economic status in connection with family unity. Although several of the young couples

omitted as well as several of the widows not included are still a part of the family group, there is enough information here to draw at least one conclusion: that the great majority of those families who are still members of the family group have relatively an equal economic status.

FAMILY DWELLINGS AND FAMILY MOVEMENTS

Family Dwellings and Family Movements

In tracing the change of residences of the Eisen-
draths in Chicago there is revealed concretely and vividly
the ebb and flow of population movements in the modern city.
Studying the successive locations of the different members
of this large family group discloses the factors governing
the growth of the city and the shifts in residence of its
citizens. Predominant among these are: the development of
the system of transportation and communication; change in
type of dwelling as from the single house, the apartment
the residential hotel and the kitchenette apartment; and the
segregation in location and movement of homogeneous cultural
and economic groups.

Every change in the form of communication
or lines of transportation is a stimulus for some
behavior adjustment on the part of the person and
the group. In the midst of such changing scenes
the city-dweller lives. His fixed relations are
few and slight, his transient relations many and
tense. The fixed relations insure stability of
purpose, responsibility in conduct, and purposeful
orientation. The transient relations stimulate
restlessness, purposeless movement, and irrespon-
sible conduct.

The abode tends, then, to be the symbol of
stability in the life of the individual, and the
road becomes the symbol of mobility or transiency.
In the one, he has a fixed sustaining relation,
and in the other he is beset by change and dis-
organization. The more a community or any point
in a community is accessible to the lives of move-
ment, the more stimulated and mobile is its popu-
lation and the more difficult it is for the abode
to protect itself against the invasion of outside



1772.

Original Home of the Eisendraths in Germany

stimulation. For this reason, the most mobile centers of the city are the points most easily invaded by the stranger. High mobility has replaced the community interest with one of anonymity.

(1)

It is interesting to consider how this increase in means of communication has completely and very rapidly changed the type of homes, let alone the family life, of its residents. Seventy-five years ago the apartment house or the "flat" was unknown, and only fifty years ago such buildings were just beginning to be the vogue. The following is a significant article published in Harper's Weekly in the May seventh issue of 1870:

"There are at the present time quite a number of "Apartment Houses" being erected in different parts of our city. (In New York.) These houses will contain suits, each complete in itself, including parlor, dining-room, kitchen, bath-room and bedrooms. It is indicative of the probable popularity of this style of building, that in one which is nearly finished on Eighteenth Street, every suit was rented before the foundation was laid. Some very handsome "Apartment Houses" are already projected. People of moderate incomes are weary of paying enormous rents, and welcome the prospect of cheaper and yet comfortable quarters."

(2)

And, now, having already past through the "Apartment House"

(1) Anderson and Lindeman; Urban Sociology, p 150

(2) Taken from an article in Harper's Weekly,--except found in the issue, Vol. XIV, No. 697, May 7, 1870, page 295

stage, "kitchenetting, still more compact and yet just as complete, is the latest vogue.

Chicago, shows very definitely this trend: from the large, ugly, poorly heated homes of fifty years ago to the typically three story flat buildings, then to larger unit buildings, and recently to the apartment hotels themselves. Indeed, in connection with the introduction of the apartment house into Chicago, it is interesting to note that Simeon Eisendrath thirty-five years ago gained much renown for putting up one of the first apartment buildings on the South Side.

This trend may be correlated with the different types of homes in which the Eisendraths have lived in during the past fifty years. Fifty years ago each Eisendrath family lived in a large, individual house. Indeed, these homes were comparatively so large that many of the individual families took in boarders partly in order "to fill up space". At that period there were many unmarried Jewish men in Chicago most of whom had just come from Germany. But the whole attitude towards boarders was entirely different at that time: people were more discriminating as to whom they took as boarders,--either this man was a relative or a "Landsman" from the Old Country or a helper in the family store; and thus the boarder and the family were of the same social status, members of more or less the same social groups, and, moreover, this roomer was considered as a part of the family

group and played an active part in its life.

By the year 1900 the gradual change to smaller homes was apparent, and several families were even then living in "flats". The keeping of boarders had been practically dispensed with. The houses were characteristically of stone, three stories high, having ten, eleven and twelve rooms with two, possibly three bathrooms, and a few extra washbasins "stuck in" here and there in convenient places throughout the house; the rooms were large, and made light and airy from the greater amount of window spacing then provided, although they were by then built up one against another with no yard in between. The houses were narrow, ranging from twenty-five to fifty feet in width and set up right onto the street, with little or no grass patch in the front, while the yard in back extended back to the alley. But the most outstanding room of all as to space was the kitchen, which with its large Butler's pantry, its other closets and the basement store rooms was the largest room in the house. The stone houses now on Grand Boulevard around Forty-third Street represent those that the Eisendraths lived in at this period.

But within fifteen years there was a very sudden jump to the apartment building, which was much smaller and "more modern" in its conveniences and in its layout. The rooms were, of course, smaller and often the former second parlor was done away with, the little sun-perch being substituted in its place. The homes were warmer in winter as the heating facilities were much improved, the buildings were

constructed better and the rooms were more compact, no longer having any of those far away attic rooms which had always proved themselves to be a drain on the central heating system in the former city house. But the most complete change was in the kitchen: to be sure, there might still be a butler's pantry, but now there would only be one or two, at most, other closets instead of the formerly three or four; there were no longer the enormous basement store-rooms; and the kitchen, itself, was much smaller and more compact.

But today the most typical form of family abode found among the Eisendrath families is the apartment hotel kitchenette. Fiske, in his book, The Changing Family, describes very well this new type of dwelling and its manner of living which he calls "the questionable art of condensed living." His description of this manner of living is as follows:

"The hall bed-room, the collapsible day bed and the breakfast nook euphenism are here to stay, and the tenement couch which hardly rests between day and night shifts is still a menace. Space costs so terribly, every square foot is counted. This was always true among the poor. The new symptom is the fact that it now prevails throughout the city middle class." (1)

In recent years another trend is apparent in the family,--the trend to the suburbs. Several of the younger families are now living in homes again out on the North Shore, while other families are anticipating such moves.

(1) Fiske, George W.: The Changing Family, p 65

Statistically in fifty-four individual Eisendrath families, (determined upon the basis of living and eating together), there are now found the following types of dwellings:

1. In houses-----9 families
2. In apartments-----18 families
3. In hotels-----27 families

Of the families living in homes, only one is found in Chicago,--the Wolff family living in the old original house into which they moved almost fifty years ago. This family unit in itself is abnormal in that it consists of two bachelors, one widowed sister and the youngest sister and her husband; there have never been any children living in the home.

The eight other homes are in the suburbs and are more or less complete family units:

1. The Levi family in Wilmette,--consisting of
Mr. Levi and his two children (ages 23 and 19)
2. The Samson B. Eisendrath family in Winnetka,--
Mr. and Mrs. Eisendrath and their two
children (18 and 14)
3. The Eppenstein family in Winnetka,--Mr. and
Mrs. Eppenstein and their daughter (age 7)
4. The Irving Schwartz family in Winnetka,--a young
married couple.

5. The Albert Cahn family in Glencoe,--consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Cahn and their two children (ages 6 and 4)
6. The William B. Eisendrath family in Highland Park,--Mr. and Mrs. Eisendrath and their two sons (ages 16 and 13).
7. The Milton Hirsch family in Highland Park,-- Mrs. and Mrs. Hirsch and their one son (2 years)
8. The Claud Nathan family in Highland Park,-- Mr. and Mrs. Nathan and their five children (ranging in ages from about fourteen to five).

All of these families live in the North Shore suburbs. Of the eighteen families living in apartments, three live in large apartment buildings, the other fifteen in the average sized Chicago flat building. As to the size of these individual families:

1. 1 family has 6 members.
2. 8 families have 4 members.
3. 7 families have 3 members.
4. 2 families have 2 members.

While those living in hotels or apartment hotels show themselves to have still smaller family units:

1. 2 families have 4 members
2. 3 families have 3 members

3. 15 families have 2 members
4. 7 persons live by themselves

The different types of families living in these three ways are worth noting. Those living in houses and apartments are for the most part complete family units,--a husband, a wife and the children. But in the hotels the broken family unit predominates:

1. Those living in hotels with four in the family:
 - a) 1 is a family with 2 parents and 2 children.
 - b) 1 is a family consisting of 1 parent and 3 children.
2. Those living in hotels with three in the family:
 - a) 2 are families consisting of 2 parents and 1 child.
 - b) 1 is a family consisting of 1 parent and 2 children.
3. Those living in hotels with two in the family:
 - a) 8 are husband and wife.
 - (1) 4 of these couples have never had any children.
 - (2) In the case of 3 the grown-up children have left their original family.
 - (3) 1 is a newly-married couple.
 - b) 7 are broken family units consisting of 1 parent and 1 child (in all cases the child

is a grown-up).

4. Those living alone in hotels
 - a) 4 are widows
 - b) 2 are single and unmarried
 - c) 1 is a divorcee

German Jewish Population Movements in Chicago

In order to trace the movements in the residences of the Eisendraths within Chicago, from time to time, during the past seventy-five years, it is first necessary to trace the movements of the German Jews, as a group, in Chicago. In general, the movements of the members of the Eisendrath family have been those typical of this racial class of people.

Anyone who has studied the growth of cities realizes that they are ever expanding in area, and that each racial group of the population is constantly moving en masse farther outward away from the heart of the city, following rather definitely certain radial lines, such as important street-car lines or other similar means of affording transportation down into the loop or business section of the city. In a broad sense, the German Jews have followed the boulevard systems, both on the South Side and then again on the North Side.

The growth and the movements of the German Jewish

population may be briefly described. In 1818, with the population of the country being about 9,000,000 persons, there were only about 3,000 Jews in the entire United States. Very few, if any, Jews at that time were living even as far west as Cincinnati. The first Jew to settle in Chicago, J. Gottlieb, came in 1838. In 1840 four more Jews arrived: Issac Ziegler, the first Jewish peddler in the city; two brothers, Benedick and Jacob Schubert, the first Jewish tailors; and Philip Newberg, the first Jewish real-estate dealer. Benedick Schubert a few years later built the first brick house in Chicago. In 1846 there were just enough Jewish men in Chicago to hold a Minyon Service,--ten men being required. (1) In 1846 ground was purchased for a Jewish burial ground, the cemetery usually being the first active function of a Jewish community; this one acre purchased from the city was located then east of the city limits along Lake Michigan and was what is now a part of Lincoln Park. In 1847 the co-religionists and members of this Burial Ground Society,--about twenty all together,--assembled in the Rosenfelt and Rosenberg Dry Goods Store at 155 Lake Street and formed the first Jewish synagogue, Kehilath Anshe Mayriv, (K. A. M.), the burial ground being turned over to it.

In 1850, when the population of Chicago was 29,963, there were roughly two hundred Jews living in the city, only

(1) A Minyon Service is a traditional Jewish service held on the evening after the burial of a Jew.

twenty-eight of whom were contributing members of the synagogue. Its first services were held on the third floor of a building on the south-west corner of Lake and Fifth Avenue, (Wells Street); "The narrow, uninviting entrance was unpleasantly obstructed by the goods of an auctioneer who occupied the store below." (1) In 1851 this first Jewish synagogue, on Clark Street, was dedicated. And during this same year several of the younger Jewish men organized a benevolent society, which they called "The Jewish Benevolent Society",--this proved to be the beginning of the Sinai Congregation.

The influx of Jews from 1850 to 1880 was gradual, these Jews coming mainly from Bavaria and "the Jewish Palatinate". They settled on both the West Side and then somewhat later on the North Side of the city,--the whole North Side was then predominately German. These Jews were "upright", fairly independent individuals, but not rich, for "the rich Germans seldom emigrate." They were rather well situated as compared to the Germans then found in the various branches of commerce; they ran clothing stores, cigar and tobacco businesses, peddled (then a respected trade), and there was even a Jewish plumber, a Jewish joiner and a Jewish carpenter. "There were no millionaires," but all felt fairly independent, establishing businesses that grew with the country. The Fair, now a large department store, was

(1) Eliassoff, H.: The Early History of the Jews in Chicago, in the Reform Advocate, March 15, 1901, p 286

then the first Emporium of its kind; Mandel Brothers grew from the jobbing dry goods store of Rosenfelt and Rosenberg which had been established in 1842; there were also the large clothing stores of Schlessenger and Mayer, of A. M. Rothchild, and of Strouss, Eisendrath and Company which had been established earlier.

In 1880 there were 12,625 Jews in Illinois and about 10,000 in Chicago, according to the figures which were published in the pamphlet of the Union of the American Hebrew Congregation by William B. Hackenberg. There were now ten congregations with 567 members. Already the Jewish population had become divided,--the Fire having done much to scatter the previously contented immigrant colony. As is always characteristic of the wealthier Jews to settle among the foremost families of the community, many of the more prominent Jewish families began to move to the South Side, settling between about Twelfth and Twenty-Fourth Streets on Wabash Avenue, Michigan Boulevard and Indiana Avenue for the most part. Meanwhile many of the older Jewish families were still living on the North Side,--on Dearborn, La Salle Avenue, on Chestnut Street and thereabouts.

But the South Side of Chicago has always tended to develop more rapidly than the North Side, and its residents have moved more often. The later immigrant colonies including the Russian Jews, the Italians and the Negroes tended to push the better residential classes and these German South Side Jews further south. The North Side Germans, still

predominating up to the present time and including many of the most prominent Jewish families, were less molested by the newer arrived immigrants, for their neighbors were still for the most part the Germans and the Irish. Then the better means of transportation was a large factor in the more rapid development of the South Side. At first the river, with only one bridge across it for sometime, was a distinct disadvantage for the North Side population; while even today the means of transportation on the North Side are far behind the South Side in their development,--there being no Illinois Central, and nowhere's near as complete a boulevard system as yet. Around 1890 the boom of the approaching World's Fair did much to develop the further South Side property which previously had been entirely swamp land and marshes. Thus the better residential classes and the South Side Jews moved farther south, the center of the Jewish community now being around Thirty-Third and Michigan and Indiana, with a gradual trend still further southward and eastward so that around 1900 the better class of the South Side Jewish families were located on or near Grand Boulevard, between about Fortieth and Forty-Seventh Streets.

By 1900 the Jewish population in Chicago had increased considerably. In 1901 there were 1,058,135 in the United States, about 100,000 of whom lived in Illinois. All together there were about 75,000 Jews living in Chicago: 20,000 of these were German Jews, 50,000 the Russian-Polish, and 5,000 Austro-Hungarian (Czecho-Slovakian) Jews. At this time

there were seventy-eight Jewish congregations, forty-five benevolent societies, twenty-five ladies' societies and charities, ten social clubs and twenty-five Jewish cemeteries. There were only five large Jewish Reform Synagogues or congregations: on the South Side there were K. A. M., Sinai and Isaiah; and on the North Side there were the two, Temple Sholom and Temple Emanuel. The other congregations were Orthodox, smaller and newer being those of the Russian, Polish and Roumanian Jews for the most part. Then there were the three German Jewish social clubs, The Standard Club, then at Twenty-Fourth and Michigan Boulevard, The Lakeside Club at Fortieth and Grand Boulevard, and on the North Side there was The Ideal Club, at Chestnut and La Salle Streets. Among the Benevolent Societies were The Johannah Lodge, The Sarah Greenebaum Lodge, The Council of Jewish Women, and The Baron Hirsch Society; each temple, also, had its Ladies' organizations. The Maxwell Street Settlement was one of the first settlements in the city, and at this time many of the older Jewish residents would go over to the settlement to teach classes,--in sewing, in music as well as in English and in citizenship. The Jewish Manual Training School, then on the West Side was the first of its kind in Chicago. The Michael Reese Hospital, then comparatively new, was one of the largest charity institutions in the city at that time.

But the migration of the Negroes had started before 1900, and increased very rapidly during the World War. They literally swarmed into the South Side Black Belt, and

encroaching more and more upon the South Side Jewish residents driving them farther southward and eastward into what is now known as the Kenwood-Hyde Park district,--Drexel Boulevard between Forty-Fourth and Hyde Park Boulevard; and to the east, to Ellis, Greenwood and Woodlawn Avenues fast becoming the higher class Jewish residential district.

But more or less gradually within the last fifteen years these Jews have followed mainly two trends: the first movement being further eastward and southward along Hyde Park Boulevard and to the large apartment hotels,-- first The Chicago Beach Hotel, The Madison Park, The Cooper Carlton (now The Del Prado) and The Sisson (now The Beach View Club); and then to The Shoreland, The Windermere and The Flamingo; also The Piccadilly, The Aragon, The Fairfax and other less high class hotels. (The Windermere is now about fifty percent Jewish, the Flamingo fifty-four percent; while the Parkshore Apartment Hotel, next door to the Flamingo, is only about forty percent Jewish.) Most all of these hotels have tried to keep down the percentage of Jews living within them: The Windermere at first would not take Jewish families, while the Flamingo, at one time much over sixty percent Jewish, is aiming to strike a fifty-fifty percent average. During the last two years the Sisson, first taken over by the Cambridge Club and now recently renamed "The Beach View Club", has tried to exclude many of its Jewish residents, but several of the foremost and wealthier Jewish families still reside there. The Del Prado, having

recently taken over the Cooper Carlton, has also done much to raise the standard of the Jews living there by bringing into it many of the residents who were living at the former Del Prado Hotel on the Midway. Several of the very recently constructed South Side skyscraper apartment hotel buildings in the region known as the Chicago Beach Area, just north of the Chicago Beach Hotel, will not permit Jews, although hundreds of them have already flocked to those buildings in this area which will permit them,--to The Barklay, to The 5000 Cornell Building and The 5000 East End. But the aristocracy of the South Side Jews has greatly fallen partially due to the fact that many of the Russian Jews are now moving into Hyde Park, and there is still quite a bit of prejudice prevalent towards them on the part of the German Jews; and partially due to the second, more recent South Side Jewish trend.

This second trend has been to the Chicago suburbs, to the North Shore towns. This jump is only natural, for in a sense, they are being squeezed out of the South Side: as their residential area is falling in social status and they cannot move farther south because the Woodlawn district is already well developed and, furthermore, is even now a less desirable district to live in than is Hyde Park, these Jewish families must make a jump to a location of equal social status as that to which they are accustomed. But those families which are moving out North are in general the younger married couples having no children or just one or two

"youngsters". To illustrate how suddenly this movement has taken place, twenty years ago one family of Eisendraths moved to Winnetka; at that time there were only three other Jewish families living in Winnetka, perhaps four or five more in Wilmette, and none (to the knowledge of the members of this family) in Highland Park or in the suburbs farther north. Meanwhile three country-clubs and a Jewish synagogue have been organized on the North Shore. Highland Park and Ravinia now seem to be the preferred towns; nevertheless Wilmette, Winnetka and Glencoe have many Jewish families,--particularly those families which moved out first; but Evanston has relatively few Jews even today. The residents in the town of Kenilworth have long had an understanding that their property should not be sold to Jews, this being the only suburb where anti-semitic prejudice has been developed to such an extent; and, consequently the writer knows of only two Jewish families which live in Kenilworth.

The German Jews on the North Side of Chicago have made fewer movements as well as shorter jumps in these longer intervals. Many of these very old, prominent Jewish families are still living in or are now returning to the Gold Coast Area; The Ambassador Hotel East is probably the most exclusive spot in this area, as well as in all of Chicago itself. Streeterville hotels, The Drake, and farther north, The Belmont, The Webster, The Parkway and The Beldon-Stratford compose the larger North Side apartment hotels. The German Jewish population is spread about this area hugging

rather closely to the Lake Shore Drive, the Park, and still farther north, to Sheridan Road. Relatively few German Jews live farther north than Wilson Avenue, (4600 north), while the center of this North Side community might be considered to be the location of the new Temple Sholom, at Stratford Place and Sheridan Road. But it is very interesting to note that relatively many fewer of those North Side Jews have moved out to the suburbs. Another interesting fact is that the wealthy Russian Jews have tended to jump entirely beyond this nearer North Side district, to Buena Avenue, Junior Terrace and the wealthiest to beyond Wilson Avenue and into the Rogers Park district. To be sure, many have become intermingled with the German Jewish colony as on the South Side.

Churches are usually supposed to most definitely follow the trend of the community, moving from time to time in order to again be at the center of their congregation. Therefore, the movements of the four larger and older Reform Jewish synagogues will further clarify these trends which have been described:

1. Temple Kehilath Anshe Mayriv

- A. Founded in 1847

- B. Locations:

1. 1847--1850,--Rooms on the third floor of a building on the corner of Lake and Wells Streets.

2. 1850,--Clark between Quincy and Adams
(on the site of the present Post Office;
there is today a tablet on the Clark
Street side of the Post Office commemor-
ating this old temple).
3. 1854,--The temple structure was moved to a
lot purchased on the northwest corner of
Wells and Adams, where the first Jewish
day school in Illinois was established.
4. 1867,--Moved south to the northwest
corner of Wabash and Pecks Court, and it
was one of the few buildings in Chicago
which was spared by the Fire; it burned
to the ground in 1874.
5. 1874,--Moved to Indiana Avenue and 26th
Street, purchasing the church and property
of the Plymouth Church.
6. 1890,--Moved to the \$110,000 temple its
congregation had erected at thirty-third
and Indiana Avenue
7. 1925,--Moved to its present location at
Fiftieth and Drexel Boulevard.

2. Temple Sinai

- A. Incorporated in 1861 (The first meeting was
held at Greenebaum Brothers, at 5 West Clark
Street in 1858.)

B. Locations:

1. 1860,--In the Tram Building on Monroe between Clark and La Salle Streets.
2. 1863,-- Moved to the temple and school building erected at Dearborn and Van Buren Streets.
3. 1871,--Burned out by the Fire; then bought the property and a two-story frame building on the south-west corner of Indiana Avenue and 21st Street.
4. 1911,--Moved to its present \$500,000 temple and social center on the south-west corner of Grand Boulevard and Forty-sixth Street.

3. Temple Isaiah

A. Founded in 1895 by the members of the Zion Temple (on the West Side) who had moved to the South Side and who desired to worship at a more convenient location. Rabbi Stolz who had been the Rabbi at the Zion Temple became the first Rabbi at Isaiah.

B. Locations:

1. 1896,--The Oakland Club Hall on Ellis Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street
2. 1899,--Moved to the \$50,000 temple at Vincennes Avenue and Forty-fifty Street.
3. 1928,--Moved to their present location on

the north-east corner of Hyde Park
boulevard and Greenwood Avenue.

4. Temple Sholom

A. Organized in 1867

B. Locations:

1. 1867,--had a \$6,00 frame synagogue on Superior Street near Wells Street which was completely wiped out by the Fire in 1871.
2. 1875,--the congregation was re-organized, meeting in various churches on the North Side.
3. 1882,--Moved to a one-story building on Rush St. and Walton Place.
4. 1892,--erected a \$40,000 temple on the corner of La Salle Street and Goethe Street.
5. 1911,--moved to the temple and social center at the corner of Pine Grove and Grace Streets.
6. 1930,--moved to its present location on Sheridan Road between Stratford Pl. and Cornelia Avenue.

5. The North Shore Congregation

A. Organized in 1913

The only activities of the congregation at this time were the Sunday School which met at the various homes of the children, and then the yearly "Holiday Services" which were held in the Winnetka Women's Club.

B. Locations

As the meeting places of the congregation jumped around a great deal definite dates cannot be given as to its various locations. In about 1915 the Sunday School as well as the Holiday Services began to be held in the Winnetka Women's Club,--the Sunday School continued to meet there until the recent erection of a separate Jewish synagogue in 1928. Then in 1922 when the Friday Evening Services were started these meetings were then held in the Glencoe Christian Science Church, as the congregation had grown too large for its former hall, and also the majority of its members were now living farther north so that Winnetka was no longer the center. But it was not until 1924 that the Congregation engaged its own Rabbi,--up to that time these services were conducted alternately by the three South Side Rabbis, and the Congregation, itself, was definitely affiliated with the South Side Sinai Congregation. The Holiday Services were,

throughout this period, held in the Winnetka Congregational Church for the hall in the Glencoe Christian Science Church was too small to hold all the members attending these services. A year previous to the building of the present temple the Friday services were again held in Winnetka, in the new Masonic Temple, which was still much larger than the Glencoe hall. But since 1928 all the religious services and the Sunday School activities take place at the new North Shore Temple in Glencoe, at the north-west corner of Vernon and Lincoln Streets. Since this time many organizations have been organized,--those that are usually associated with Jewish synagogues, i. e., the Men's Club, the Sisterhood for the women, the Junior Sisterhood for the younger girls, a dramatic club, and also a confirmation and a post-confirmation class.

Individual Eisendrath Family Movements

The individual Eisendrath family movements have taken place within the general trend of the German Jewish movements. Each and every individual family movement definitely follows out the general trend. It is not, therefore,

necessary to trace each individual movement of each member of the entire family group, or even of the forty-seven concerning whose movements a definite record has been procured. But, rather, the apparent trend may be illustrated by giving examples of those within the family, for the most part of the older members, who are the most representative of this group.

1. The Wolff Family

1. Previous to their coming to America in 1880,--
Dorsten, Germany.
2. 1880,--On Chestnut Street near Chicago
Avenue.
3. 1890,--1237 North Dearborn Street, their
present address.

2. Bella Wolff Levi and her family, who followed the
South Side Trend.

1. Until 1880,--Dorsten, Germany
2. 1880,--Chestnut Street near Chicago Avenue
3. 1885,--249 La Salle Avenue, (near Chicago
Avenue)
4. 1889,--Whiting Street, one block north of
Wells Street
5. 1891,--247 North La Salle Avenue
6. 1899,--Surf Street, one block north of
Diversey Boulevard

7. 1907,--4905 Vincennes Avenue (a house)
 8. 1915,--5336 Michigan Avenue (an apartment)
 9. 1917,--The Lakota Hotel at Thirtieth and
Michigan Avenue
 10. 1924,--The East End Hotel, their present address
(kitchenette)
3. Most representative,--the moves of Fanny Regensburg Sloss
on the South Side.
1. 1863,--born and lived on Indiana Avenue on the
near North Side (a house)
 2. 1865,--Erie Street near Clark Street (house)
 3. 1871,--Michigan Avenue and Fourteenth Street,
after the Fire (house)
 4. 1873,--1241 Wabash Avenue (house)
 5. 1885,--Twenty-fourth and Wabash Avenue (house)
 6. 1890,--3424 Wabash Avenue (house)
 7. 1893,--4208 Grand Boulevard (house)
 8. 1912,--Forty-sixth and Drexel Boulevard (apartment)
 9. 1923,--The Windermere Hotel (Kitchenette)
4. The movements of Rosalia Eisendrath Eliassoff show very
completely first, those of one of the original Eisen-
drath families, the David Eisendrath family, and then
her own individual family becoming characteristic of
a South Side German Jewish family.
1. Born in Dorsten, Germany, and came to Chicago

in 1867

2. 1867,--Came to a house on Illinois Street,
living with the Cosman Eisendraths at first
3. 1868,--House on North Avenue near Larrabee
4. 1869,--House on Rokus Street, a block west of
Milwaukee Avenue
5. 1870,--Fifth or Sangamon Street (house)
6. 1872,--House on Michigan Boulevard between
Twelfth and Fourteenth Street.
7. 1873,--"Court building" on Milwaukee Avenue
8. 1874,--House on Elston Avenue
9. 1876,--House on Cass Street, near Illinois Street
10. 1878,--House on South Green Street
11. 1879,--94 East 25th Street (house)
12. 1883,--House on 26th Street between Wabash and
Michigan Avenue
13. 1884,--House on Cottage Grove Avenue
14. 1885,--67 Eda Street (36th Place) (house)
15. 1897,--3710 Forest Avenue (house)
16. 1899,--3338 Prairie Avenue (house)
17. 1906,--5256 Indiana Avenue (apartment)
18. 1918,--5938 Indiana Avenue (apartment)
19. 1920,--The Madison Park Hotel (kitchenette)

5. The locations, in order, in which her sister, Leah
Eisendrath Ellbogen has lived are as follows:

1. 54 Fifth or Sangamon Street (house)

2. 1217 Michigan Avenue (house)
3. 3356 Vernon Avenue (house)
4. 3700 Forest Avenue (house)
5. 5131 Madison Avenue (house)
6. 4832 Woodlawn Avenue (house)
7. 4529 Greenwood Avenue (house)
8. 1340 East 48th Street (apartment)
9. 5555 Everett Avenue (Jackson Towers Apartment Building)

6. Nathan and Flora Eisendrath, rather an exceptional family in this regard, lived on the West Side long after the other families that had lived there, had moved away: Nathan had a grocery store on the West Side

1. 1880,--Butterfield Avenue (house)
2. 1881,--345 West Van Buren (house)
3. 1896,--321 Racine (house)
4. 1906,--5145 Prairie Avenue (house)
5. 1909,--5748 Calumet Avenue (house)
6. 1917,--5007 Grand Boulevard (house)
7. 1926,--5465 Hyde Park Boulevard (apartment)

7. Marion Straus Flexner represents another South Side trend,--that of the younger generation

1. 3943 Ellis Avenue,--from her birth to her marriage (house)
2. 5050 Drexel Boulevard (apartment)

3. 1337 Early Avenue (apartment)
 4. 6735 Clyde Avenue (apartment)
 5. Lived in Athens, Ohio, for one year (apartment)
 6. 1751 East 67th Street (apartment)
 7. 1744 East 69th Street (apartment)
 8. 6839 East End Avenue (apartment)
 9. Now building a home in Gencoe (house)
8. But Mrs. Flexner's sister, Edna Straus, now living alone shows a different trend.
1. Previous to her birth her parents lived at
32nd and Vernon Avenue
 2. 1887,--Moved to 3943 Ellis Avenue (born here)
(house)
 3. 1912,--5050 Drexel Boulevard (apartment)
 4. The Elms Hotel
 5. The Cooper Carlton Hotel
 6. The Aragon Hotel
9. Elsa Levy Kirchheimer's movements are representative of the more complete family group of today.
1. Born on Whiting Street (house)
 2. 1891,--247 La Salle Avenue (house)
 3. 1899,--Surf Street (house)
 4. 1907,--4905 Vincennes Avenue (house)
 5. 1912,--4712 Ingleside Avenue (apartment)
 6. 1925,--953 Hyde Park Boulevard (apartment)

10. Florence Weil Birkenstein illustrates the North Side trend.
 1. 1883,--born in a house on Pearson and Franklin Streets
 2. 1889,--449 La Salle Avenue (house)
 3. 1903,--2021 Lane Place (house)
 4. 1910,--450 Wrightwood Avenue
 5. 1920,--731 Junior Terrace (apartment)

11. Mildred Weil Stern has made just as few moves during the last forty years.
 1. 1891,--449 La Salle Avenue, born (house)
 2. 1913,--914 La Fayette Avenue (apartment)
 3. 1917,--911 La Fayette Avenue (apartment)
 4. 1923,--842 Gault Avenue (apartment)

12. Blanch Regensburg Burger in her moves also represents the North Side trend.
 1. 1882,--born in house on Ohio and La Salle Streets
 2. 1884,--Erie and Huron (house)
 3. 1888,--Wells and Kunzie Streets (house)
 4. 1889,--Indiana and Dearborn (house)
 5. 1894,--La Salle and Division Streets (house)
 6. 1904,--Lake View Avenue and Deming Place (apartment)
 7. 1919,--540 Stratford Place (apartment-house)

8. 1929,--3800 Sheridan Road (large apartment building)

13. And, finally, the movements of Rose Greenebaum Eisen-drath, before the death of her husband and since his death represents a trend characteristic of the wealthier class of German Jews:

1. 1892,--4262 Lake Avenue (married) (house)

2. 1898,--Winnetka (house)

3. 1905,--4800 Grand Boulevard (house)

4. 1922,--4600 Drexel Boulevard (house)

5. 1928,--Purchased a farm in Vermont and she spends her summers there

6. 1930,--Ambassador Hotel East (kitchenette)

7. 1931,--Has recently purchased an adobe house in Phoenix, Arizona, where she plans to spend her winters. Previous to now she has been spending her winters in California.

In these thirteen examples, as well as in the other sixty-odd families who are still a part of the active Eisen-drath family group, one integrating factor is apparent as a result of the individual family movements. There are three marked centers of the family: the South Side group being still the largest, the North Side group, and those living in the North Shore suburbs:

1. South Side-----37 families
2. North Side-----20 families
3. North Shore-----8 families

Only three of the families living on the North Shore are still active members of the family group; they all live in Winnetka. Those living on the North Side all live definitely in the North Side Jewish residential district save the two who live at the Wolff home at 1237 North Dearborn Street, which location in itself is very near to the Gold Coast area, and which was formerly in the heart of the German Jewish community. But on the South Side there is a decided concentration, especially so because so many of these families live in the South Side residential hotels.

It is rather interesting to note the concentration of these South Side families living in the large apartment hotels, as these hotels themselves are very concentrated, all being within almost the same square mile. The distribution of these families is as follows:

- A. 2 families live at The Madison Park Hotel
- B. 1 family lives at The Chicago Beach Hotel
- C. 1 family lives at The East End Hotel
- D. 2 families live at The Shoreland
- E. 2 families live at The Parkshore Apartment Hotel
- F. 2 families live at the Beach View Club
- G. 6 families live at The Windermere Hotel

- H. 1 family lives at The Poinsettia
- 1. 1 person lives at The Aragon Hotel

Thus particularly on the South Side with these eighteen Eisendrath families, together with all those other families living in apartments located within this radius, all still living in such relatively close proximity it would naturally be expected that they maintain at least some degree of family relationship. This is particularly true in the case of four of the families living at the Windermere Hotel.

Interesting and significant is the fact that each individual Eisendrath family has made so many individual movements in its residential locations. More significant is the fact that they have continued to reside in close proximity to each other. When one realizes that Chicago is over two hundred and ten square miles in area the fact that all the Eisendrath families, over eighty in number, live so definitely in three small sections of the city is worth noting. To be sure there must be several important causes, all of which working together, govern the individual Eisendrath family movements.

First there is the natural growth of the city and its further increased development of means of transportation and communication. In the particular districts in which the Eisendraths live these factors may easily be picked out. In Hyde Park there are the boulevards, the Illinois Central and the

busses which first allow for and then later afford the chief means of transportation. In Lincoln Park there is Sheridan Road, the bus system and the elevated. While the North Shore population is entirely dependent upon the improved service of the Northwestern, the North Shore Electric, and Sheridan Road for their means of transportation and communication with the loop.

Secondly, a more immediate cause is that found in the environmental conditions of the locality lived in. As the city grows and the population expands, the more prosperous of the socially less desirable classes living nearer to the loop tend to push outward buying or renting property in the higher class districts. This inevitably brings down the social status of the higher class neighborhood in direct proportion to the number of the less desirables living in that locality at a given time.

Thirdly there is the natural factor brought on by the trend of the times: primarily by the change in the decreased size of the family, by so-called "urbanization", by the improvements in the manner of living of the family within the city, and, still more important, due to the tremendous size of the city and its proportionally increasing land values. Families of the type which the Eisendraths represent no longer need the large homes of fifty years ago: their families no longer consist of eight, ten or twelve members plus a few boarders taken in to fill up the extra space. Surely an apartment and under certain conditions a

kitchenette will better supply their wants and their needs. Again they do not want the responsibility of owning their own homes; they are restless, easily tiring of living in the same more monotoneous lay-out of rooms. This is further enhanced by the fact that due to their past experiences they know that it will only be a question of time until the less desirable classes will encroach upon them, again forcing them to move farther out. And thus consciously or unconsciously realizing the factors governing the growth and expansion of the city, builders always put up the newer, more expensive types of residences in the newer, higher class neighborhoods where their first tenants will be of the higher social classes and where their future, consequently, will be greater and longer lived. Thus from an economic point of view the supply of these newer residences, always guided more or less proportionally by the demand for them, is the natural means necessary for the gradual expansion of the higher class residential districts.

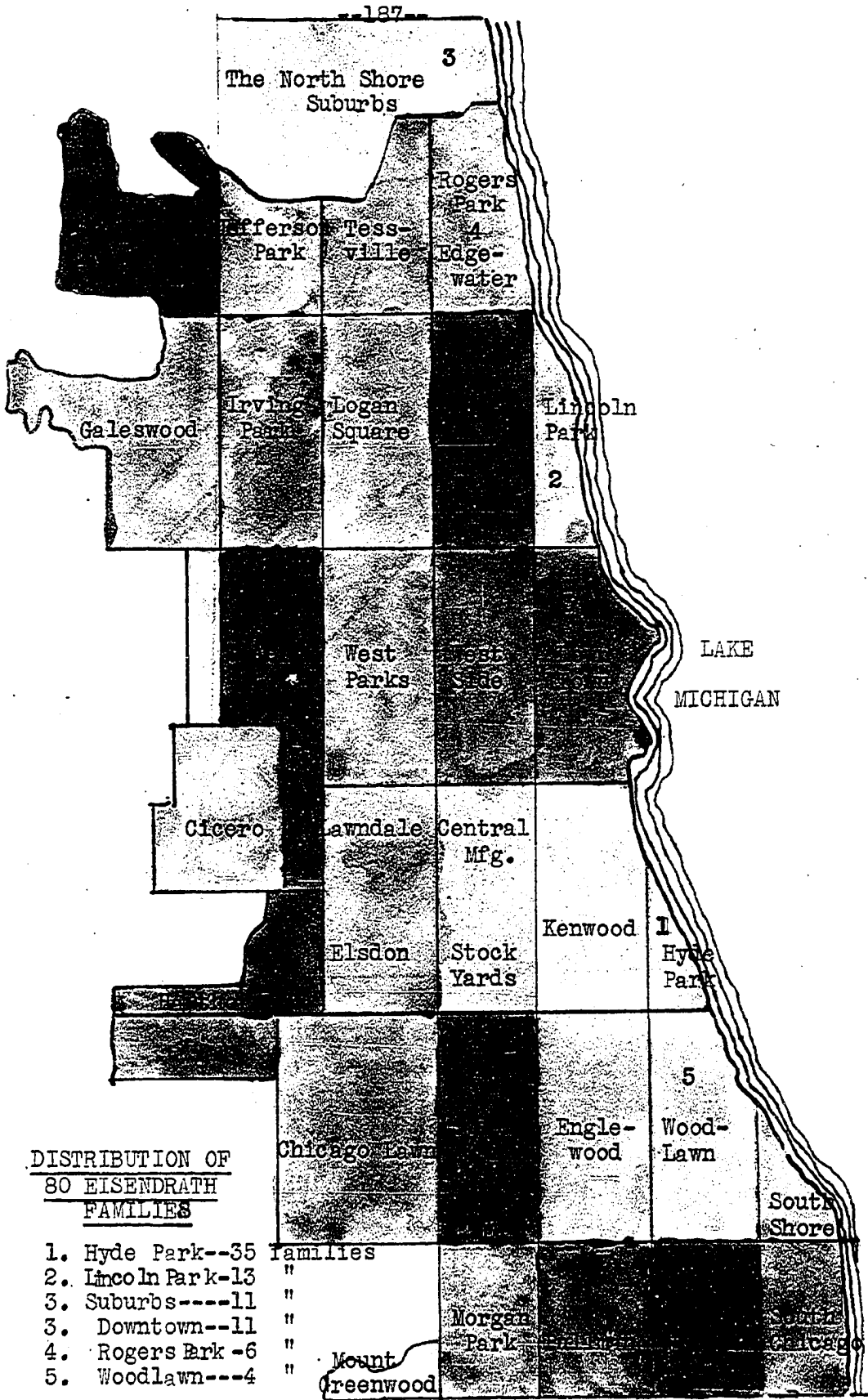
Finally, and undoubtedly in this study because it is a study of a particular group of persons, of greatest importance are the factors brought on because of the Eisen-draths belonging to a certain economic and cultural group. In general the economic factor is very significant: in the long run the newer residences built in the newer localities are the higher priced because they are in the more desirable locations as well as being new. The first always to move, then, are those who economically can best afford to and most

desirous of moving. Therefore in general the price of rents within a given district will be in direct proportion to its age. And it may be said that generally speaking within a particular section of the city at a given time its residents are all more or less of the same economic class. And aside from certain exceptions due to direct causes found within the environment itself, all the land values and rental prices are the same. The Chicago Hyde Park district, the Lincoln Park district and the suburbs are today populated by persons of a higher middle economic class. It has been pointed out in the previous chapter, "The Family Economy", how this factor works out in the Eisendrath family group.

In analyzing the movements of a certain individual the economic factor, in the main, supplies the means, but the stimulus for moving and the particular new district moved into are social or cultural factors. People move in order to get away from the socially less desirables who are encroaching more and more upon them; where they move to is guided by where their friends and where those of their same cultural-economic status have moved to previously. Entirely as a result, then, of cultural segregation in Chicago one finds the three definite German Jewish colonies today which have already been noted within this chapter, Hyde Park, Lincoln Park and the North Shore suburbs.

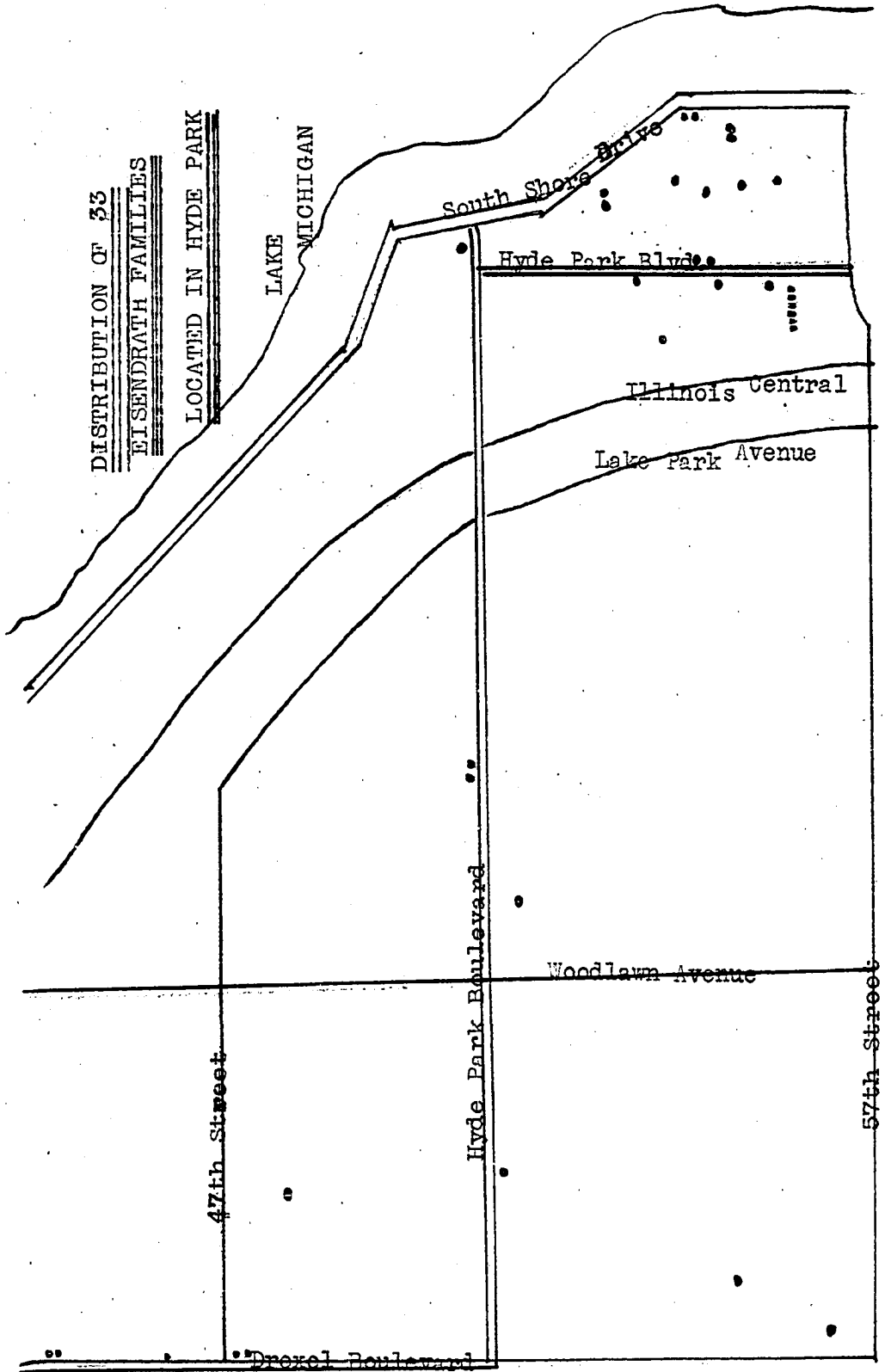
And, in review, the Eisendrath individual families have closely followed in general the trend from large homes to apartments and now many to hotel kitchenetting, because

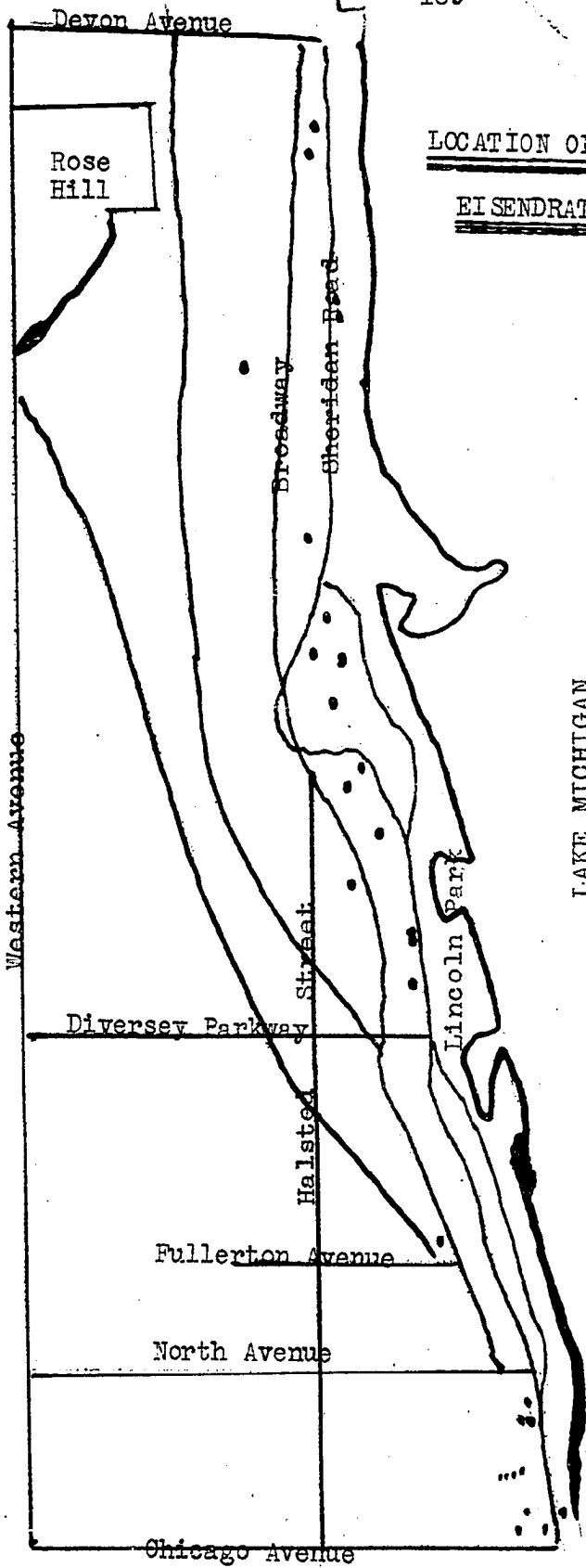
they are cheaper, newer and more convenient as well as the type of living found to such a large extent within the districts in which they now live. In all ways have they typically passed through the characteristic movements in regard to the residential locations of the German Jewish population of Chicago. Thus, as a result, they today are living, broadly speaking, in the same fashion and very definitely in the three small German Jewish communities in Chicago, where they might naturally be expected to associate with each other in varying degrees of intimacy. Yet, if it were not for some sort of group organization it might not be expected that those living in the three separate communities would be integrated into a larger family unity. The discussion of this group unity will be reserved until later.



DISTRIBUTION OF
80 EISENDRATH
FAMILIES

- 1. Hyde Park--35 Families
- 2. Lincoln Park-13 "
- 3. Suburbs----11 "
- 3. Downtown--11 "
- 4. Rogers Park -6 "
- 5. Woodlawn---4 "





LOCATION OF 30 NORTH SIDE

EISENDRATH FAMILIES

LAKE MICHIGAN

INDIVIDUAL EISENDRATH FAMILY LIFE

AND THE INTERESTS OF ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

Individual Eisendrath Family Life and the
Interests of Its Individual Members

What has happened to the individual Eisendrath family group life as a result of their new type of living in their new environment? How has the life of the individual Eisendraths changed and why? Or what have been the influences of the urban environment not only on the family group but on the individual which indirectly affects the family group? And granted that there has been some change, how has this change tended to effect the larger family group unity? Or in other words are the individual behavior patterns and the individual interests of the members of the Eisendrath family group still integrating forces?

Indeed one can say that improvement in the means of communication and transportation together with the development of machinery is largely responsible not only for the growth of cities, for the change in the type of family home, but also directly or indirectly for the kind of family life led as well. An amusing yet interesting contrast as to the former type of family life and that which is found today is that expressed in the following excerpt:

----The family was once the all-functioning unit of primitive human society; not so much an institution in society as a microcism, a society in itself. There was nothing necessary it could not or did not do for itself, within the range of its own felt needs. Its wants were kept simple, within the scope of limited means and experience. There

must have been many vague hungers in more fastidious hearts; and with our richer life today we wonder how they could possibly have been comfortable or happy. But one does not pine for what one knows naught of, nor really suffer for the lack of undreamed-of comforts. Pricilla Alden never was crazy for a radio or to hear the ~~vita~~-phone; or green with jealousy over Mistress Bradford's new Cadillac coupe. She cared more for a grand baby than for a baby grand. She never had the leisure, anyway for bridge, golf, light opera, or the annual banquet of the collegiate alumnae, or the convention of the Colonial Dames. She would probably rather be than see one. She lived sublimely immune to all these future interests of her sadly flustered posterity; and possibly even happier than they, in her simple life of multifold industry. (1)

Characteristics of Eisendrath Family Life 50 Years Ago

Even in the Eisendrath family this change in the times has left a marked impression upon the personalities of its individual members. Fifty years ago the Eisendrath families were poorer, immigrant families. Most of them were supported by small "family grocery stores". Each individual family then was more or less a self-sustaining social unit largely dependent upon the resources of its own members. The families were much larger, as were their homes. The children were an asset rather than a liability. There was much less importance made of a formal education for the children. Certainly there was no such thing as "leisure" as this term is conceived of now; but all were compelled to do some sort of work during their otherwise "spare time".

There was some division of labor within the family unit for each member had his own job to attend to, whether

(1) Fiske, G. W.: The Changing Family, p 23-24

it was at home or in the grocery store; but the largest burden of the work fell upon the wife or mother for the greater part of her life was devoted to the routine within the home: of managing, baking, cooking, sewing for her large family,--as well as being a co-manager in the family store. And indeed, the entire life of the family was so tied up with the grocery store that it was always thought of as the family store rather than the father's business. Individual outside interests were almost always subordinated so that the whole family "turned to" and engaged in work of common interest.

There was little time nor need for out-of-the-family social activities. Social life was for the most part participated in by the whole family group and usually restricted to the home. Each family still had some of its own methods of educating the younger members, whether in the form of cooking lessons given by the mother, sewing lessons or private piano lessons, Hebrew lessons or German classes. And the very fact that something was expected of each child had a very direct effect upon the personality of the child: he learned to take part in real work, achieving real results rather than just pretending to; and thus working and playing with older people and sharing in the problems and pleasures of the family, he earlier came to understand the direct relationships of causes and results, good and bad, developed a maturer mind and a greater self-confidence. Then, again, the religious life was much stronger and there were many more religious ceremonies carried on in the home. Furthermore each family was a

self-protecting unit, both from within and without: it took care of its own sick and those within the group that needed help; while the status of the family in the community could only be reckoned by the family as a group rather than by the standings of its individual members. Each Eisendrath family was more completely then than now an economic, social, educational, religious, protective and affectional primary group unit. As a result, there was a much greater degree of neighborliness and hospitality within the home and even, perhaps, more individual family pride.

With the behavior and the interests of each Eisendrath so definitely and almost entirely tied up with the welfare of his individual family group there naturally resulted a strong family clan feeling formerly. All the Eisendrath families were markedly similar and their activities and interests were just the same. The large family social life was almost the only out-of-the-immediate-family-group activity. Each large family social meeting was of real interest to each member of the individual families. Participation in the large family group activities could be reckoned by family groups rather than by individuals.

Characteristics of Modern Family Life

The modern urban family groups of the Eisendraths differ widely from the homogeneous family groups just described. Furthermore it is difficult to describe a typical,

modern Eisendrath family group for all are so different in size and in the individual family life that none could be said to be representative of the entire family group. But in general the smaller family groups have tended to become decentralized. In place of the family industry is now the father's business. Social activities are definitely related to out-of-the-family-group groups. Education is also an out-family-group activity almost entirely, institutionalized and formal. The religious life in the family, for the most part, has been discarded. To be sure the family is still a self-protecting unit at least to some extent: they take care of their sick,--but more directly under the supervision of a doctor,--while it is generally understood that each member can individually and independently take care of himself. And thus it may be said that the individual Eisendrath families are coming to be more of intimate groups bound together only through affectional ties rather than through economic, social, educational, religious and protectional as well as affectional interrelations.

Such heterogeneous urban family units as just described are not likely to be factors in creating a larger family group feeling and organization. Interests in the larger family group activities can no longer be an affair of the whole individual family, but merely of the response of one or two of its members: the women only attend the Cousins' Club meetings; the men, on the whole, show little active interest in their distant relatives; while the children are almost

totally ignorant of who their second, third, fourth or fifth cousins may be.

Therefore the reason for the survival of some degree of family group unity must be accounted for as due to certain urban influences upon its people which have apparently affected all the members of each Eisenrath family group within the last fifty years, and which more directly allow for some group feeling to survive. It is most evident that such a discussion as to why there may still be a large family group feeling must be reckoned more through the individual Eisenrath's behavior and interests rather than through the family patterns of behavior.

This naturally leads to a more detailed discussion of several important environmental forces,--important because of their influence upon the individual members of the family group. Or what, generally speaking, has been the affect of the urban environment upon the solidarity of the family groups?

Urban family groups are usually assumed to be decentralized. But the fact that the Eisenraths are a Jewish family may be a strong force in allowing for at least some degree of family closeness. A Gentile woman who married a Jew has remarked that in the Jewish families in Chicago the familial ties are much closer than those among the Gentile families. Mothers seem to be more selfish, keeping their children to themselves regardless of the children's individual desires. Also bearing on this point is the large

number of older bachelors within the Jewish community, who instead of marrying have remained at home with their mothers. This, strangely enough, is contrary to the Jewish traditions which have always encouraged marriage especially among the men. Furthermore among the German Jews, at least, the family groups have not tended to spread out all about the country to the great extent found in families of other classes; but they have tended to settle in a great majority in one community. In the Eisendrath family today, out of about one hundred and fifteen families only twenty-nine do not live in or about Chicago. Of these latter eighteen are women who have married men from other towns or cities while only eleven are men. To be sure Jews as a class have never been pioneers,--perhaps because of the stress Judaism has placed upon a simple home life. But, generally speaking, this same family feeling is not so characteristic of the Russian Jewish families, about which it is often said that when one son makes enough money he moves to the North Side or to the South Side of Chicago, for instance, and forgets his old family relations still living on the West Side.

And then there are other reasons which might partially account for the stronger family feeling found among the German Jews. Due to the average German Jew's race consciousness,--which the Russian Jews have not as yet appeared to be as sensitive to,--his social life has been almost entirely limited to within his own smaller racial group. It has been the Russian Jews who in great numbers have entered into city

politics. The German Jews, with few exceptions, having taken no active interest to any great extent in the political or the social life of their urban community, have tended to remain more conservative. Consequently the forces of urban life have not tended as strongly to disintegrate their individual family groups.

Then the very fact that the family groups are so much smaller in size today tends to be a strong integrating force in the small family group. With fewer children parents undoubtedly show more personal attention to each individual child, and psychologically all young children seek for individual attention. Gaining more attention from their parents one should naturally expect the children to have unconsciously developed strong parental affections. When the children have grown up there naturally remains a strong affection towards their parents,--in many cases it comes to be one of responsibility for the actual support of their parents.

In urban communities the attitude often felt by young Gentile children towards their Jewish school-mates is also significant. At an early age the Jewish child is frequently called a "Jew-boy" and singled out in a group. He becomes self-conscious before he is aware of the significance of his nick-name. This consciousness makes him remain apart from the group, and sends him back to his home and family for sympathy, response and recognition.

Finally the German Jews as a class in the urban

population cannot be considered to be typically urbanized as yet. Their migration to this newer environment has been comparatively recent,--almost entirely within the last seventy-five to forty years. And those Jews who have migrated for the most part came from the smaller German towns. Thus the influence of the urban environment has, perhaps, as yet not been wholly felt. The parents or the grandparents of the present generation were mostly all native-born Germans and brought over with them the traditions of the small town German Jews. These traditions, in turn, were strongly impressed upon their children in their early home environment. The persistence of these German traditions will be later noted in the present living members of the Eisendrath family,--in the chapter on Family Traditions. Furthermore Chicago even so recently as only twenty-five years ago was certainly not the typically "urban community" which it is today. And, therefore, it is only the so-called "modern younger generation" who have grown up in a wholly urban environment. And it is indeed doubtful whether in so short a time,--in one generation,--the urban influences could be strong enough to overthrow all the traditions and overcome all these psychological and social forces of German Jewish family life.

Granting that the individual Eisendrath families have not become centrifugal groups having no apparent unity or home life, yet unquestionably the family relationships have changed. There must necessarily be some cause or causes for this change in attitudes and behavior. Perhaps this change

is largely accounted for as a result of the changed personality and interests of its members. But these differences are directly or indirectly the result of urban influences.

Cities, in general, recognize one of their urban dwellers for what he is rather than for who he is, who his family was, and where he came from. Occasionally one may be given credit because he claims relationship to some one else whose credit is known to be good; but, more often, more accurate, personal references must be offered. In the economic, the social, the intellectual or the art world people are more often recognized for their own individual talents, personalities and for what they, themselves, offer rather than for what their parents did for them. Persons would naturally only be accepted as individuals in such a competitive environment in which each one and everyone is more or less individually and independently competing for status,--whether among men, for the most part, in the business world, whether among women in the social world or in club work, or among children in the academic or the sports' world. Urban life naturally fosters comparatives and superlatives, and only those that excel survive. Or, it may be said that, in general, all persons gain status according to their own merits. A premium is always placed upon the best: it is the quickest, keenest business men that excel; or the more attractive, the more active, or the more clever women that gain most recognition; while it is the best students that are rewarded with

honors. In the Eisendrath family group, for example, the hostesses at the Cousins' Club meetings are always competing to make their meeting outstanding whether it be by having a more elaborate luncheon, an extra-special dessert, by having individual favors or giving bridge prizes, or by meeting in a small unique restaurant.

It is only natural that the larger the community the greater proportionally will be the amount of competition, for the greater will be the number of persons competing. If this competition were the only factor involved in urban living one would undoubtedly find the average resident of a large metropolitan center, such as Chicago, a purely selfish, self-centered person. But all human beings have also a social nature; every normal human being needs the association of others directly or indirectly. And in an urban environment this trait is also emphasized: the immensity of the size of this large urban community is so real,--one is constantly seeing and bumping into so many hundreds of different persons,--that the individual consciously or unconsciously realizes that he would be utterly lost if he did not identify himself with some specific group of persons, whether it be a neighborhood group, a church group, a racial group, etc.. In the Eisendrath family is seen the socializing influences of the German Jewish community: every Eisendrath is identified with it; he has his place within it; his family name is well known throughout it; and his social activities are to a great extent restricted to it.

People as a result of the greater amount of competition have tended to become more materialistic and motivated. In a sense each person regards everything he does or everything he comes into actual contact with as a means to a selfish end. "What's there in it for me?", or "What'll I get out of it?" are rather common expressions. People rarely go visiting any longer merely for the sake of visiting. Evenings spent socially are in the form of bridge games, or "going places", to movies, for instance, in order to be amused; while the art of conversation has been lost by many for "there's not enough in it".

Another form of materialism is expressed in the rise of the value of the dollar. There is much truth in the saying that "money is our God". Everything is reckoned in terms of its money value rather than in terms of its intrinsic worth. Indeed just the other day an Eisendrath relative stated that she always hated to give her sister-in-law presents for her sister-in-law, in turn, always felt obliged to spend just the same amount for the presents she gave to her in return.

So many things in urban life are done merely for the sake of appearances. Diamond rings are judged more by their size than for their depth or color. Diamond bracelets are chosen in preference to pianos. Indeed at the Eisendrath Cousins' Club it is rather interesting to count the number of women who in winter appear in caracool or sealskin fur coats while those that do not have fur coats are always very

sensitive and apologetic. Families, in general, feel that they are judged more by where and how they live rather than what they do. Consequently most urban families "live beyond their income" in "trying to keep up with the Joneses" in outward appearances at least, living in the present and leading a "happy-go-lucky" existence. Many young couples are married on practically nothing, are able to save up very little if anything, and consequently the thought of old age is most horrible.

And money, it is true, is the standard fundamental to social ratings,--at least in Jewish circles. Small crowds and cliques are made up almost entirely according to standards of living. Young unmarried men often very openly admit that they are looking around for a wealthy girl whom they want to marry. And when a new engagement is announced one hears repeatedly the remark: "I don't know the young man but they say that he has lots of money."

Equally strong has been the influence of thinking in terms of money in bringing about a change in the moral standards of urban-dwellers. Competition has come to make much of their behavior stimulated by selfish rather than social ends; but now in many activities formerly unnecessary incentives are added in order to make the effort worth while, and gradually the incentive rather than the original end is coming to be the driving force. Formerly bridge games for money were considered disgraceful; but now people, having become accustomed to playing bridge for money, never enjoy

a game for just purely the fun of playing, and, therefore, bridge games are made up according to stakes rather than the personalities of the individual players. In nearly all of the Eisendrath family bridge games the question of "What shall we play for?" is to be anticipated at the start; but, to be sure, the range of stakes does vary. Yet the love of the game, generally speaking, is still stronger than the so-called "gambling instinct" in that no good player enjoys playing with "beginners" just in order to take their money.

Then, again, football games, baseball games and horse races are only enjoyable to many spectators with a bet on the side. Indeed an Eisendrath matron tells of sometimes giving her negro maid a few dollars to play for her on the horse races. The tremendous popularity of the stock market as purely a gambling game and now the growth of other forms of speculation,--of dealing in futures in grains, hogs, butter and eggs, poultry, hides, etc.,--are just other expressions of the changed standards. In connection with this money-mad zest of people today another Eisendrath relative expressed it as, "Everyone seems to have lost sight of the finer goal that formerly religion gave to us."

Furthermore city life has changed the mental attitudes of its people. Urbanites are keener, quicker, more sophisticated and less emotional. The rising standards as to the amount of education gained by the younger generations is not only a cause but also a result of this change in mentality. The time and expense, particularly of college

educations, would not be offered by parents to their children if they were not felt to be of some benefit; while the effect of an education in learning how to think regardless of the facts learned is unconsciously an influence upon the psyche of the individual. The popularity of lectures,--one can always hear lectures in most varied fields of thought,--and the raising of the standard of these lectures are other symptoms. The intellectualizing of religion is another positive sign that the average layman must be dealt with on a higher intellectual level. The popularity of psychology today is thought of by many to be a fad; but, at the same time, it shows an effect upon urban life; "That's the psychology of it" is a favorite expression, whether appropriate or not as used. Again in golf games, in bridge playing or in playing the stock market people are constantly discussing their plays in terms of the science of or the theory of the game. But, to be sure, many of these persons have never had even the education now offered to the average school child. But the very fact that people do use these expressions shows that they are trying to reason out some problem,--they are trying to think. Mrs. Rose Greenebaum Eisendrath, without doubt the most outstanding Eisendrath woman in the community and the one who is particularly well known in the musical world said in an interview that she never even finished grammar school; but she, herself, accounted for her position today as due to an "intellectual curiosity" which she has always had. Perhaps it might be said that all urbanites have

an "intellectual curiosity" in varying degrees.

It is almost taken for granted that urbanites are more active, more nervous and tense. But are they, all other things remaining the same? They have not the endurance nor the physical strength of those of the farming class, nor are they, on the whole, as energetic. But it is rather miraculous how rapidly the nervous system of the urbanite has adapted and adjusted itself to its new environment of constant stimulations and distractions, of noises, of objects dashing by at the rate of thirty, forty, fifty miles an hour, of strange people and strange objects, of constantly being threatened with greater dangers and with greater fears, and the like. And then people are forever catching trains, rushing to keep appointments, dashing out to grab a bite to eat, eating at irregular hours and getting irregular hours of sleep. Some people admit that they now can concentrate better amid distracting stimulations than when alone,-- working downtown in a busy office, or studying in a fraternity house; or driving a car amid a traffic jam is another such example; while at golf where concentration is so intense, most good players are not bothered by distractions. An Eisendrath by marriage, who was born and raised in a small town in Indiana and who **did** not move to Chicago until after her marriage some twenty **odd** years ago said that she can always work better at home with her radio going. When asked if she would like to live again in her former small town environment she answered most positively that she would die

from the monotony of it.

Again, it is amazing how resourceless the average urbanite has become. They can do little for themselves except through the medium of money. Social evenings, as already pointed out, spent "just talking" are comparatively rare. Men prefer spending Saturday and Sunday afternoons playing bridge, golf, going to movies or working just to be amused rather than working in their garden (which they no longer have), reading or belonging to social discussion groups. The same is even more true of the modern housewife of more moderate means who finishes her home responsibilities after sending her children to school and telephoning her food order to the grocer,--the rest of the day is her own to do with as she pleases; either she must consciously fill her leisure time with luncheons and afternoon dates and dinner parties and club work, or work in order to remain a social being. But no one does anything creative, or anything without outside stimulation. The point is not entirely that living conditions have become too easy for them, but also that to a large extent they have been deprived of the means of doing things for themselves.

Partially as a result, urban individuals are criticized as being less progressive and ambitious than are persons growing up in smaller communities who later in life migrate to the cities. Particularly might this be truer of Jewish persons. In small towns schooling is more appreciated in and of itself: there are fewer distracting influences;

classes are smaller and the school standards are higher because the competition is between fewer persons and is more individually felt,-- everyone knows just how everyone else in the class stands. Jewish children mix more freely with Gentile children, which gives them a certain refinement, broadmindedness and roundedness that the city Jewish children do not seem to have. And at the same time there is among people born and raised in an urban environment a certain smugness, narrowness and submissive self-contentedness which is the result of their limiting themselves to just the same crowd of persons during their whole life. And it is certainly true that such self satisfaction and such self-contentedness are detrimental to progressiveness.

And then, again, equally strong as is the urban force making for individuality has been its influence making for standardization. Among the reform Jews to be different than the average is to be pointed out as "a freak". and reform Jews, as a group, do not want to be different; consciously they have tried to lose their identity: they have dispensed with the dietary laws; they are totally ignorant of the Jewish religious services formerly carried on in the home; they have forgotten the customary distinct Jewish language if they ever knew there was such; they only poke fun at the Jewish dialogue as they have heard it; many have changed their names; and there is some truth in a statement Dr. Emil Hirsch has been reported to have made in speaking of a certain individual in his congregation, "He has changed

his nose, and now he is a 'Goy' forever."

The products of our machine age are, in general, to a large extent responsible for such standardization in living as is prevailing now. Hats, clothes, furniture, machines, equipment used for amusements and recreations, foods, etc., all conform to similar patterns because they are made by the same or similar machines in wholesale lots. Individuality in food is lost because bought breads, cakes and canned goods are easier to prepare and cheaper; frozen desserts made in the frigidaire are also less bother to make than "Bundt Kuchens"; old fashioned stews smell too strongly to be made in an apartment of two or three rooms; while there is too much left over on roast-beefs, baked hams or legs of lamb since the families have grown so small, so lamb chops, liver and bacon or chopped round-steak have largely taken their place. Then the radio broadcasts "canned music" as do the newspapers publish standardized news, while movie goers see the same pictures at different times and at different places.

But kitchenetting* is in itself the acme of standardization. Most all hotel apartments are identical in the size, shape and furnishings of their apartments,--in order to gain the most efficiency at the least cost, but never stressing comfort, individuality or any personality. As a result kitchenette apartments are neither restful nor inviting; and their layout soon becomes boring and monotonous; and the hospitality of its inhabitants can no longer be of the generous expansive type found formerly. But, at the

same time, kitchenetting is social living in that so many families of the same social class are herded here and all live in a similar manner; and in the lobbies, the card rooms and the hotel dining rooms the social life is carried on without the former effort of entertaining. To be sure, it is just this point that makes kitchenetting appeal to older people; to the older Eisendraths living alone or those whose children have married this type of hotel sociability naturally would be very convenient.

And, finally, in that urban life offers so many diversified interests no one can any longer attempt to be a "jack of all trades". Gradually each urbanite develops into a rather standardized special type. American business men have often been called typical Babbitts, while the idle women spend most of their time either doing club work, in going to concerts, in going to movies, in "lecturitising", in luncheoning, in card playing, or the like. Contacts with the other parts of the city are few, if there are any at all. One woman is quoted to have said that she did not know that any other class of people existed other than her own social class and that of her servants. But if people have interests in the same activities, there is rather a natural basis upon which friendships can be built. And if friendships are formed in this way, the correlary must also be true,--in order for group unity there must be some unity of interest, the degree of unity varying directly according to the degree and the intensity of these common interests.

Interests of the Individual Eisendraths

Then to make a more detailed study of the Eisendraths as regards their individual interests one should expect to find a certain degree of common interests still existing among them in order to make possible that degree of family organization that still does exist, the Eisendrath Cousins' Club. This family organization, as shall later be more clearly understood, does not function today particularly as formerly, but it continues rather due to the common interests and the like patterns of behavior of the women, its goal being one of sociability. If this club is made possible through common interests, what are the more important general interests of the individual members of the family and to what degree is there still rapport within the family?

The diversity of interests of 101 Eisendraths might be said to be as follows:

A. Interests of 33 Eisendrath men

Interests (aside from business)	No. Interested	% of Total
1. Cards,-----	22	66.66
2. Reading,-----	15	45.45
3. Theater,-----	15	45.45
4. Movies,-----	12	36.36
5. Athletics,-----	10	30.30
6. Philanthropic interests,-----	5	15.15

Continued from page

Interests (Aside from business)	No. Interested	% of total
7. Educational Interests,-----	3-----	9.09
8. Religious activities,-----	3-----	9.09
9. Art,-----	3-----	9.09
10. Travel,-----	2-----	6.06
11. Finance,-----	2-----	6.06

(1)

B. The Interests of 43 Eisendrath women

Interests (Not including house or family)	No. Interested	% of total
1. Cards,-----	31-----	72.09
2. Theater,-----	21-----	48.83
3. Reading,-----	17-----	39.53
4. Movies,-----	15-----	34.88
5. Music,-----	10-----	23.25
6. Educational Interests,-----	7-----	16.27
7. Philanthropic Interests,-----	7-----	16.27
8. Athletics,-----	5-----	11.62
9. Travel,-----	4-----	9.30
10. Business,-----	3-----	6.97

(1) This information was gained in two ways: (1) upon 19 men by their answers to the writer's questionnaire; and 14 men by the writer's personal opinion as to their interests due to her personal acquaintance with them.

Interests (Not including house or family)	No. Interested	% of total
11. Art,-----	2-----	4.65
122 Dancing,-----	2-----	4.65
13. Religious Activities,-----	1-----	2.32
14. Writing,-----	1-----	2.32

(1)

C. The Interests of 25 Children (all 18 and over)

Interests	No. Interested	% of total
1. Reading,-----	18-----	72.00
2. Athletics,-----	17-----	68.00
3. Cards,-----	13-----	52.00
4. Movies,-----	13-----	52.00
5. Theater,-----	12-----	48.00
6. Educational,-----	8-----	32.00
7. Art,-----	3-----	12.00
8. Music,-----	2-----	8.00
9. Acting,-----	1-----	4.00
10. Law,-----	1-----	4.00
11. Finance,-----	1-----	4.00

(2)

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- (1) This information was gained in the same manner: regarding 39 from questionnaires, and regarding only 4 from the writer's personal opinion of them.
- (2) This information was similarly gathered: regarding 16 from questionnaires, and regarding 9 from the writer's personal opinion of these individuals' major interests.

D. Then at one of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club meetings last spring the women were asked to list their "Outstanding and general personal interests and activities". The following chart is based directly upon these replies of 25 women:

Outstanding and General Personal Interests	No. Interested	% of total
1. Housewife and family,-----	16-----	64.00
2. Cards,-----	11-----	44.00
3. Music,-----	9-----	36.00
4. Movies,-----	7-----	28.00
5. Theater,-----	6-----	24.00
6. Charity,-----	6-----	24.00
7. Clubs,-----	6-----	24.00
8. Travel,-----	6-----	24.00
9. Business,-----	3-----	12.00
10. Art,-----	3-----	12.00
11. Educational Interests,-----	3-----	12.00
12. Temple Sisterhood Work,-----	3-----	12.00
13. Dancing,-----	2-----	8.00
14. Athletics,-----	2-----	8.00
15. Religious Activities,-----	2-----	8.00
16. Writing,-----	1-----	4.00
17. Dramatic Reading,-----	1-----	4.00
18. Languages,-----	1-----	4.00
19. Baking,-----	1-----	4.00
20. Everything in General,-----	1-----	4.00

Thus one can be quite safe in concluding that each individual Eisendrath has at least one particular or special out-family-group interest. But here the particular interest is to determine why there still should be, today, some group unity, especially such a form as is found among the women. A brief analysis of the information found in Table D. is significant in this regard. This information was gathered in the following manner: after the luncheon at the club meeting on March 21, 1930, sheets of paper were distributed and every woman was asked to list her "Outstanding and General Personal Interests and Activities". Thus having little time to reason out their replies they listed those that were uppermost in their minds, and, therefore, probably the most significant. But, perhaps some of these women were also consciously listing those that would give the examiner of these records a better impression of them: such interests as card playing and love of the movies are of more general interest than have been reported.

But it is interesting to note how diversified these women's dominant interests have become. Fifty years ago "interest in the family" would have been almost the only expected reply. But here among twenty-five women, twenty-three of whom are married, nine have completely forgotten to mention their household or family interests; then the very fact that ten women reported their home interests as "household" or "housewife" and only six as "mother" or "family" (these

have been added together on the chart) might even be significant to mark the trend previously noted in family life and the unconscious changed attitudes of these women.

Another rather interesting point is shown in the fact that only three are interested in doing anything creative or anything by themselves: one writes, one plays the piano and lists "baking" as a major interest, while a third is interested particularly in dramatic reading. But the rest of the interests are group activities or interests that afford social contacts: attending concerts, travelling, movies, or card games and the like. This is quite significant, generally speaking, in that these twenty-five women are rather characteristically individualized, conventionalized social beings. Their interests are those standardized interests representative of the women of their social class: these women have interests such as playing cards, attending concerts, going to the theaters or to the movies, travelling and club work, rather than, for example, working or doing anything creative, or even having any educational interests.

And then, what would one conclude to be the natural outcome of these individual diversified interests? They are so common to all these twenty-five women in the group that they have become integrating forces in bringing them together. Thus these women, having smaller or no families, having no home responsibilities as formerly, having much less interest in their individual homes, have developed such individual interests that have lead to a more social type of living.

They all equally enjoy "cards" or the type of social life that such games bring with them, and thus they like the type of recreation that this Eisendrath Cousins' Club offers; and, therefore, they have formed this group-club in order to afford themselves another outlet for sociability and not for familism.

To be sure there is individual variation among these women as to the interest they take in the type of social life that the club offers. Naturally those in the group who spend the majority of their days in luncheoning and bridge playing would be the most regular members, while those who have no interest in or nothing in common with this type of club life would naturally not be present at its meetings. And thus it might well be said that the interests of these twenty-five women are those of a rather selected group, among whom one would expect to find a rather high correlation of common interests.

THE EISENDRATH FAMILY, THE COMMUNITY,

AND THE PERSON

The Eisendrath Family, The Community, and

The Person

Every individual Eisendrath has some form of status or rank relative to all the other people living in Chicago. Each necessarily, then, has a conception of his role. Naturally these conceptions vary as do their conceptions of the status of their Eisendrath relatives. Some are recognized as playing more important roles within the community: they are more outstanding because they are wealthier, because they are better known as a result of their greater philanthropic interests, or because they are prominent as writers, doctors, lawyers, architects, etc.. But the majority of the Eisendraths are not outstanding citizens; roughly speaking they might be called representative of the higher middle class of society socially as well as financially. There are some few within the family whose status is relatively higher than is the average of the family considered as a whole.

In what way is family status related to family unity? This family unity is achieved through each individual's identification of his status with that of the entire family group. He is proud of the role of his family, in its entirety, in the community. And then each Eisendrath likes to be identified with those relatives who have been in the past and who are now outstanding persons. The very fact that

all the Eisendraths in Chicago, and most probably all persons by that name in the United States,^{are related} is of much significance. For "wherever an Eisendrath goes, someone is bound to know another Eisendrath"; this is a unifying force in itself,--for his family name is recognized, known and identified with someone of whom he knows he is not ashamed and to whom he wishes to claim relationship.

Indeed it is often heard and repeated that the Eisendraths are not ashamed of any of their relatives and that "the family name is one of which every Eisendrath can well be proud." "Its record has been good; all of its members have been known as honest citizens; and its name has never been dragged into the courts or been identified with anything that would degrade the name, Eisendrath." (1) But what has been the reaction of each member of the family group to this family pride? Simply that every Eisendrath is willing, in fact eager, to know who his relatives are; he wants to know these persons with whom he is constantly identified with and reminded of: he is anxious to be able to more than claim relationship to those whom other persons or strangers ask him about, but rather, to know them more intimately and thus to have these others associate him closely as an individuality along with the other Eisendraths that they know. The Eisendrath family status is an integrating force working for the family group unity.

(1) Statement made by Mrs. Blanch Burger in an interview.

The prestige of the Eisendrath family rests largely, although not entirely, upon the achievements of those Eisendraths who have been more outstanding in the community. But herein lies a paradox. It is only natural that those who have themselves achieved greater ends and brought renown upon the family name would be those more specialized in their interests. In consequence they, themselves, have tended to withdraw from the family group and to be the least integrated in it. Thus although many of these more prominent Eisendraths are no longer active or even particularly interested in their Eisendrath relatives, their position in the community, nevertheless, is reflected upon these other relations.

Formerly, fifty years ago, with a highly developed degree of "family self-sufficiency" there was no need for, nor any time allowed for active participation in larger community activities. Outside activities, as such, were restricted to religious activities, which then played a much more important role in the everyday life of the individual Eisendraths. At that time Nathan Eisendrath, the most well-to-do of the original Eisendraths, gained the most prestige socially, and was the only Eisendrath who was a more or less outstanding figure in the community.

But the Eisendrath men of this first generation in America as well as those of the next generation were all aggressive particularly in their business pursuits. Starting out in new businesses, for which many of them had had no

previous training, they achieved quite remarkable success. Certainly the Regensburg Grocery Stores were outstanding concerns in the earlier history of Chicago. But, then, as tanners the Eisendraths have been even better known; both because of the many Eisendraths who had large factories,--and the name Eisendrath is still of great importance within the tanning industry; and, also, because of the originality of these former Eisendrath tanners. Indeed one Eisendrath who has done much travelling about the United States stated that the name, Eisendrath, has become so identified with tanning,--that the Monarch Leather Company, which is generally known to be an Eisendrath leather manufacturing company, make a certain type of glove used by most all firemen and engineers,--so that wherever one goes are persons,--even the small country general store manager,--familiar with the name, Eisendrath.

The former idea of "family self-sufficiency" has been lost today. It more or less ceased to exist after the third generation had married. New interests were developed. Some gained more extensive educations. Others, no longer starting at the bottom of their trade or business pursuit were allowed better opportunities to gain more prominence. In this third generation is the beginning of a wider diversity of interests and a specialization in occupational as well as in social activities.

But there is one trait that does not seem to be as apparent in the Eisendrath men of today as it was formerly:

EXTRACT FROM

HIDE AND LEATHER

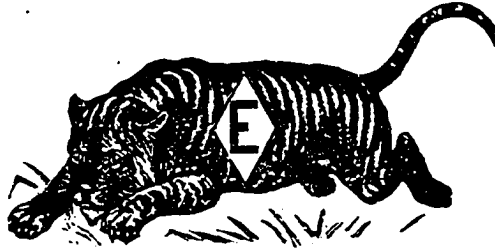
CHIEF OFFICE, 154 LAKE STREET, CHICAGO.

THE NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SHOE AND LEATHER MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES

[ISSUE OF JUNE 23, 1904.]

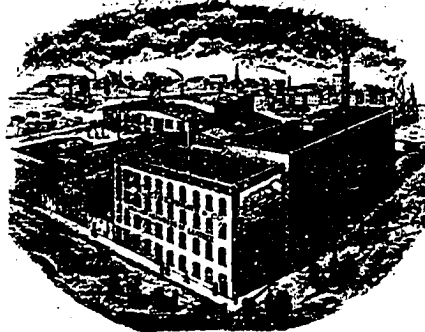
THE TANNERS AND THE TIGER.

Some ten years ago, when Mr. W. N. Eisendrath introduced the dongola process of making leather in Chicago, it was new in the West. A prominent shoe manufacturer in Chicago willingly tried this leather, and was so well satisfied that he advised Mr. Eisendrath to adopt some significant trade mark—a tiger, for instance. "Not only does your leather remind me," said the shoe



man, "of the toughness and strength of a tiger, but it seems to take hold of your customers with a clutch that is not easily shaken off." Mr. Eisendrath adopted the suggestion, and leather bearing the tiger stamp soon became widely known and appreciated.

Mr. Eisendrath has earned the reputation of being a shrewd, far-seeing manufacturer. He was born in Chicago, where he has lived continuously, excepting two years while at school in Europe. In 1875 he entered the tanning business, devoting his attention to the production of glove leathers. Hearing of the success of the dongola tannage in the East, Mr. Eisendrath went to James Kent, of Gloversville, N. Y., and learned from him the secret of making dongola leather, a secret which has revolutionized the upper leather industry in less than ten years. From a modest beginning, in 1875, the Eisendrath tanneries now comprise three four-story buildings, located on two plots



—one, 165x300 feet with ample docking facilities; and one on a triangular piece of ground with an area of 30,000 square feet, with a private railroad switch connected with the magnificent system of the Chicago and North Western Railroad, and leading to their own hide sheds and shipping department. Fourteen thousand pieces of calf, kip and horsehide are worked in weekly. These are put through the famous Eisendrath process. The calf and kip are manufactured to imitate kangaroo, and for Russia leathers. It is said that some of the leading shoe manufacturers prefer "Tiger" kangaroo calf to the genuine kangaroo—another example of the beneficent effect of a good trade mark.

W. N. Eisendrath & Co. are said to be the largest tanners of horsehides in this country. From these they make Cordovan goloshes for the shoe trade, and imitation buckskin for glove makers and manufacturers of sporting goods, such as shooting coats, etc. This horsehide leather is a beautiful, soft material, smooth as velvet, soft as silk and tough as rawhide. The latest production is "Sandow" kid, made from selected small hides. This fine leather has a smooth, soft finish, combined with the qualities which have made Sandow, the athlete, famous.

The Eisendrath leathers, for hand and foot, stand high in the leather market, owing to their character and honesty. It is generally admitted that for elegance and finish they are unexcelled. W. N. Eisendrath & Co. became incorporated in January, 1893. The present officers are—W. N. Eisendrath, president; E. V. Gale, secretary; S. J. Eisendrath, superintendent of tannery; Henry J. Eisendrath, assistant superintendent.

they do not seem to be as aggressive as were the second and third generation Eisendraths. Consequently they have not been relatively as successful financially, as a group, as were their original ancestors in America. But naturally it is obvious that the social conditions were very different sixty years ago. Chicago was merely a small, pioneering, growing city, and its industries were still to be developed. Therefore it was far easier to gain recognition formerly than it is today with all the big concerns formed and the "big people" made. And then each person out of a population of some odd three million is relatively much more insignificant than formerly when the population was at most one-hundred thousand. At present it takes a person of much greater individual initiative and of greater innate ability proportionally to make his name known or his influence felt in his community than it did fifty or sixty years ago.

In recent years several members of the Eisendrath family group, by their business or their professional ability, or by their community activity, have gained particular social recognition. They either have held or do now hold a position of prominence within their particular field of activity. These persons are:

- I. Simeon B. Eisendrath,--formerly one of the members of the Chicago Building Commission, and for a short while the Illinois State Architect. (Due to the fact that he did not wish to play politics he resigned

his position.)

2. Joseph N. Eisendrath,--formerly a leading tanner in Chicago.
3. William N. Eisendrath,--formerly a leading tanner in Chicago.
4. Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath,--a noted physician and an authority upon kidney diseases.
5. Alfred Fellheimer,--architect;--specializing on railway terminals. (He was recently invited to London for consultation upon the building of railroad terminals in England.)
6. Sam Wolff,--called "King of the Provision Pitt" in the Chicago Board of Trade; he served on three Liberty Loan drive committees during the World War.
7. Richard Eaton,--writer and publisher. (He now publishes the annual book of "Continental Short Stories.)
8. Blanch Goodman Eisendrath,--short story writer and poetess. (She has written several stories which were accepted by the Saturday Evening Post.)
9. Bertha Eisendrath Wolff's two sons,--political

officials, judges in Cologne, Germany.

Two Eisendraths, due to their past record of achievements, have their names appearing in Who's Who in America. These two persons are:

1. Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath
2. Blanche Goodman Eisendrath

Who's Who of Chicago is a book that is published more to serve as a reference book, including the names of "men and women of good standing and reputable vocation",-- those most representative of Chicago. The publishers do not "insert any names because of financial consideration." Those male members of the Eisendrath family whose name appears in the 1926 year book of "Who's Who in Chicago" are:

1. Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath
2. Henry J. Eisendrath
3. Louis Eisendrath (died)
4. Samsen J. Eisendrath
5. Sigmund L. Eisendrath
6. Sigmund M. Eisendrath (died)
7. William N. Eisendrath (died)
8. Joseph Finn (died)
9. Emanuel Weil (died)
10. David B. Stern
11. Oscar Wolff

12. Myer S. Emrich (died)
13. Dr. David C. Straus
14. Ira E. Straus
15. L. Montifore Stein
16. Max Ellbogen (died)
17. Dr. Harry Richter

(1)

In 1902 an issue of the Reform Advocate, a Jewish weekly magazine, was devoted to "The Early History of the Jews of Chicago". The names of the outstanding Jewish men in Chicago at that time were listed with a brief descriptive, biographic paragraph telling of their outstanding achievements. Short biographic descriptions of the following Eisendrath men were included:

1. Nathan Eisendrath

Mr. Eisendrath was born in Dorsten, Prussia in the year 1823, and came to America in 1848. He is one of the Jewish pioneers of Chicago and has for many years occupied a prominent position in the business world. He helped to establish the North Side Congregation in which he held the office of President for several years. He served the United Hebrew Charities as an officer for six years and for one year, 1874-1875, he was president of this association. He is a member of the Congregation, Keliyah Anshe Mariv and for a number of years was one of

(1) This book, "Who's Who in Chicago", only includes those men who are living at the time of its publication. Several of these Eisendraths have died since the publication of this volume in 1926.

the directors. He married Miss Helena Fellheimer of Bavaria and nine children were the fruits of the union, four of whom are living, Benjamin W., William N., Joseph N., and Dr. Dan N.. Some years ago he retired from business to enjoy in his old age the rest which he so well deserves. Mr. Nathan Eisendrath is the pioneer of the Eisendrath family in the United States.

(1)

2. William N. Eisendrath

---Vice President of the American Hide and Leather Company, is a native Chicagoan. He was born December 5, 1853. His father, Nathan Eisendrath, now a retired capitalist, was a pionerr and one of Chicago's most respected citizens.

William was educated in the public schools and in a college preparatory school in this city from which he went to Brussels to finish his education.

Mr. Eisendrath has been a member of Sinai Congregation for the past seventeen years, for two years he was its treasurer. He is an active member of the Associated Charities and was a director of the Jewish Training School.

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3. Louis L. Eisendrath

Mr. Eisendrath is a son of Levi and Helena Eisendrath and was born in Germany, and came to this city when still a boy. He received his education in the American schools. He has been a prominent merchant for many years, and he is one of the firm of Strous, Eisendrath and Drom. Mr. Eisendrath is a member of Sinai Congregation and the Standard Club, and he is a contributor to the Associated Charities. He married Hannah Eisendrath and they have three children living, Mrs. Blanch Spiesberger, Joseph and

(1) Eliassoff, H.: The Reform Advocate, Mar. 15, 1901, P317

(2) Ibid: P 393

Leon Eisendrath.

(1)

4. Simeon B. Eisendrath

Simeon B. Eisendrath, the well known architect was born in Chicago in 1868. He received his early education in his native city. While a student of the high schools he was elected by the teachers to receive the honorary scholarship of a full course at the Chicago Manuel Training School. He spent two years at the Boston School of Technology. He was with the well-known Chicago architects, Adler and Sullivan for two years.

In 1890 he started his independent practise. In the first year of his practise Mr. Eisendrath was engaged as an expert by the county rendering valuable assistance in the successful prosecution of Cook County's famous bodle case in which fraudelant contracts in connection with Cook County building operations were exposed saving the city thousands of dollars.

In 1889 Mr. Eisendrath was appointed lecturer in the architectural branches in the Chicago Evening High Schools which position he retained until 1893 when owing to the increase of his private business he was obliged to decline reappointment.

He built the Michael Reese Hospital Annex for women and children, the Michael Reese Training School for nurses, the Home for the Aged Jews and the Chicago Home for the Jewish Orphans.

In 1893 he was appointed by the mayor of Chicago as commissioner of buildings. As the head of the building department of Chicago, Mr. Eisendrath instituted many practical and important reforms.

In 1894 Mr. Eisendrath resigned as Building Commissioner on account of the pressure of his private business. The press of Chicago commented editorially favorably on the service which he rendered to the city and expressed their regret at his resignation stating that the city loses an honest and capable official.

(2)

(1) Ibid.: p 393

(2) Ibid.: p 389

5. Max Ellbogen

Mr. Ellbogen was born in Austria in 1846 and was educated in his native city. His parents were Joachim and Esther Ellbogen. At the age of seventeen, in 1863 he came to America and settled in Chicago. He first found employment with Mr. B. Berlitzheim in the dry goods line; then with Mandel Brothers and S. Klein in this line; he remained until 1868, and then entered the wholesale jewelry establishment of Mr. John Kahen & Bros. as a travelling salesman. In 1872 at the death of Mr. J Kahen he went to Wenall and Hyman. In 1877 he formed a co-partnership with Mr. Sigmund Stein, a fellow salesman; the wholesale jewelry house of Stein and Ellbogen soon gained a high standing in the commercial world. Several years ago the business was incorporated and Mr. Ellbogen was chosen as president.

Mr. Ellbogen makes frequent trips to London, Paris and Austria to purchase stock and has become an excellent judge of gems, and the plant of Stein and Ellbogen is now the largest west of New York. Mr. Ellbogen is vice president of the Jewelers' Association of Chicago.

He is a member of Sinai Congregation and the Lakeside Club. He is a liberal contributor to the Charities and every good and beneficial undertaking by the community is sure of his encouragement and support. He married Miss Leah Eisendrath, a Chicago girl of high attainment and they have six children, Harriet, David, Celia, Albert, Margaret and Charles.

(1)

6. Herman Eliassoff

In March 1873 Herman Eliassoff, the writer came to Chicago from Ogdensburg, New York where he was officiating as minister and teacher during the year 1872. Mr. Eliassoff was then a very young man, hardly twenty-five years of age. Upon the recommendation of Rev. Dr. Nachol, the Rabbi of

(1) Ibid.: p 392

congregation K. A. M., Mr. Eliassoff was elected as the first Rabbi of congregation Rodef Sholem.

(1)

There is much variation in social status among the remainder of the members of the Eisendrath family group. In an urban community, and particularly within the Jewish colony within a large city, social standing is very closely correlated with wealth, as previously mentioned. Not only is the standard of living of the individual family units regulated by family's monetary income; but there is also a strong feeling within the community group that each family's donations to philanthropic organizations should likewise be in accordance with its income. And, thus, the best means of determining the social standing of the various family units in the larger Eisendrath family group would be by determining their contributions to charitable institutions. In Chicago the Jewish philanthropies are very well organized, with the "Chicago Jewish Charities" as the central organization to which the majority of the smaller Jewish charitable organizations belong and from which they receive their necessary funds. Therefore a list of the contributions of the individual Eisendrath families to the "Chicago Jewish Charities" would give a rather good basis for determining the social status of these individual family units. The following list shows these contributions to the "Chicago Jewish Charities" for the year 1928:

(1) Ibid, : p 347

1.	Mrs. Abraham C. Eisendrath-----	\$50
2.	Mrs. B. D. Eisendrath-----	300
3.	Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath-----	275
4.	Edwin W. Eisendrath-----	300
	Mrs. Edwin W. Eisendrath-----	100
5.	Elsa Eisendrath-----	15
6.	Henry J. Eisendrath-----	50
7.	Joseph L. Eisendrath-----	400
8.	Mrs. Joseph N. Eisendrath-----	1,000
9.	Katherine E. Hirsch-----	300
10.	Robert Eisendrath-----	400
	Mrs. Robert Eisendrath-----	10
11.	Samson B. Eisendrath-----	25
12.	Samson J. Eisendrath-----	200
	Mrs. Samson J. Eisendrath-----	10
13.	Philip S. Eisendrath-----	10
14.	Sigmund M. Eisendrath-----	75
	Mrs. Sigmund M. Eisendrath-----	10
15.	Sigmund L. Eisendrath-----	750
	Mrs. Sigmund L. Eisendrath-----	100
16.	William B. Eisendrath-----	600
	Mrs. William B. Eisendrath-----	50
17.	Mrs. William N. Eisendrath-----	500
18.	Claude Nathan-----	500
19.	David B. Stern-----	100
20.	Arnold Horween-----	50
21.	Sam E. Spiesberger-----	25
22.	L. Montifore Stein-----	3,000
	Mrs. L. Montifore Stein-----	25
23.	Jay Kraus-----	20

24.	Sam Wolff-----	\$100
25.	Ivan Heymanson-----	100
26.	Mrs. Benjamin Wolff-----	10
27.	Simeon Straus-----	250
	Mrs. Simeon Straus-----	25
28.	Dr. David C. Straus-----	60
29.	Ira E. Straus-----	40
30.	Morris H. Flexner-----	10
31.	Leah Ellbogen-----	600
32.	Albert Ellbogen-----	100
33.	Celia Ellbogen-----	10
34.	Charles Ellbogen-----	75
35.	Joseph Finn-----	1,000
	Mrs. Joseph Finn-----	25
	Joseph Finn, Jr.-----	10
	Jane Finn-----	10
36.	Samuel Greenebaum-----	50
37.	Irving B. Epstein-----	100
38.	Sam Schoenbrun-----	1,000
39.	Emanuel Weil-----	150
40.	Harry Birkenstein-----	350
	Mrs. H. Birkenstein-----	25
	Harry Birkenstein, Jr.-----	5
41.	Leon Weil-----	100
	Mrs. Leon Weil-----	100
42.	Mrs. Jerome L. Deimal-----	50
43.	Mrs. Herman Eliassoff-----	10
44.	Ralph Blink-----	25
45.	Dr. Harry Richter-----	150
46.	Mrs. S. H. Regensburg-----	50
47.	James Regensburg-----	100

48. Jacob M. Sloss-----\$50
Mrs. Jacob M. Sloss-----50

But among these forty- eight families there is quite a marked range in the amount contributed to the charities annually, if this one list for the year 1928 can be taken as typical of the yearly contributions of each of these families. Roughly classifying these names the foallowing would be found to be true:

- a) 8 families give annually \$500.00 and more to the Jewish Charities
- b) 12 families give annually between \$100 and \$500 to the Jewish Charities
- c) 6 families give amually \$100 to the Jewish Charities
- d) 21 families give annually less than \$100 to the Jewish Charities

But it is further significant to note that only one family falling into the Class (a), those donating annually \$500.00 or more to the Jewish Charities of Chicag9 is actively interested today in the Eisendrath family group; a second is rather passively interested in the activities which may take place within the family group; but the remaining six families have almost entirely withdrawn from the family circle.

In Class (b), those who contribute from one-hundred to five-hundred dollars annually, there are six families that

are still actively interested in the family group, while one has very recently re-joined the group activities; but the other ~~five~~ families show no interest in the present family group.

In Class (c), those who give one hundred dollars annually, five of these families are now active members of the larger Eisendrath family group; and only one family in this group has never shown any interest in the family group activities.

In Class (d), or among those whose contributions are less than one-hundred dollars thirteen families have still retained a family group feeling; while thirteen have more or less withdrawn.

This classification cannot be said to be exact nor complete because many of the members of the Eisendrath family group do not appear as contributors to the Jewish Charities of Chicago. Furthermore, many of these persons appearing as contributors to this organization do have other philanthropic activities to which they lend support. But, at the same time, this classification does show a trend: that those with a much higher than the average family social status have almost completely withdrawn from the family group and take no part or interest in this group's activities; while those who are still within the family group are those who have more or less the same social standing in the larger Jewish community and within the city itself.

In the light of the integration of the Eisendrath

family this chapter is of much significance from a sociological point of view, for the concept discussed is purely a sociological concept. Sociology is the study of the influence of the group upon the individual members. In this chapter the group is the community, and the phenomena mentioned and discussed in this chapter exist as a result of the influence of this larger social group upon the individual Eisendraths.

An individual's social status is a relative term, because all persons differ as to their position or standing in the community. In general an individual's social status is synonymous with his relative position or standing in the community. But a person's status is an intangible, reciprocal social phenomenon; it is rather an individual attitude. One becomes conscious of himself and of his status within a given social environment as a result of the way in which his actions and gestures are defined by the actions and the gestures of others towards him in response.

Naturally individual persons differ as to their conception of their rank or of the degree of their importance in the community. Some hold more important positions and are better known throughout the community than are others; but these others, realizing the higher position of these better known individuals, act accordingly towards them; and thus these few, as well as the rest of the community, would conceive of their status as being relatively higher. Therefore this concept, status, is an individual term as well as

being a relative one which is based entirely upon the attitudes and the behavior of others toward the person concerned.

And, curiously enough, in the Eisendrath family it is evident, as this chapter has shown, that the individual's reaction to his social status in the community is an important force making for or against the large family integration. In brief it has been found that those with relatively the same social standing have remained a part of the group, and those widely differing from this average have withdrawn.

THE JEWISHNESS OF THE EISENDRATH FAMILY

The Jewishness of the Eisendrath Family

Students are not agreed as to whether the Jews are a religious or a racial group of persons. Therefore in this chapter the subject to be discussed naturally falls into two parts: a study of the Eisendraths considering Judaism as a religion; and then a study of the influence of Judaism upon the Eisendraths considering the Jews as a separate and distinct cultural group. To what extent has Judaism tended to hold them together as a family group? This subject is of much significance because the Jews as a group of people have clung together now for many thousands of years.

But, first, what is the role of religion within the Eisendrath family as a sum-total of the religious attitudes, behavior and practises adhered to by its members. Has it tended to change during the past fifty to seventy-five years since the Eisendraths first immigrated to America? And then, if the role of religion has changed, how has it changed; in its extent or in its form or in both extent and form?

Religion, as a pure concept, is very intangible and difficult to define. But in order to have some sort of a definition as to what this major concept may be Professor Hayden's definition is of much value: that religion is "a shared quest of the good life."

Taken thus naturalistically, the religions

of the world may be understood as the manifold ways in which human life has sought to mold a cosmic process to the service of man's growing ideal. The living heart of every one of them was the quest for the values of the good life to be enjoyed by all. Other phases of religion were always incidental to this.

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But in order to have a common religion, all the adherents of a certain religious creed must have more or less of a common background, common traditions and common social customs and ceremonies; indeed the stronger are such factors and the more all-important are they in the behavior pattern of the individuals of the group, the stronger proportionally will be the role of religion within the group. Particularly in the Jewish religion is seen the influence of a common past environment of the Jewish people and of their similar social heritage. The three most important ideas in the Jewish religion are both the result and the cause of much of their suffering. These beliefs are: first the theocratic concept of God; the belief that the Jews are the "Chosen People"; and the doctrine of the Messianic Hope. It is only natural that the Jews oppressed for so many centuries should reflect in their religion their quest for deliverance; in a sense, then, to the oppressed Jews freedom was the "good life" which they were in quest of.

The very marked change in the Jewish religion during the past century in America and in certain parts of Europe

Hayden, A. E.: The Quest of the Ages, p XIII

can now be explained. When the Jews were delivered from their former oppression at least two, the latter two, of their religious beliefs were greatly weakened: they could no longer hope to be delivered from their oppression because they had been delivered from it; and their feeling that they were a "Chosen People" was largely a compensatory defense mechanism resulting from their being oppressed and suppressed in almost every way. Almost immediately after Napoleon liberated the Jews in France and in Germany, the Reform Movement in the Jewish religion was started in Germany. And it is this Reform Judaism that the majority of the German Jews brought to America.

But this Reform Judaism, in a sense a moderated Judaism, has a very different conception as to the doctrines of Judaism than does its predecessor, Orthodox Judaism. The belief as to the coming of a real Messiah has been dropped entirely from the Reform prayer books; and such principles as the following are generally adhered to in Reform Judaism:

The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish State under a descendant of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth, but the union of all children of God in the confession of the unity of God, so as to realize the unity of all rational creatures and their call to moral sanctification.....

We look upon the destruction of the Second Jewish commonwealth not as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel, but as a result of the Divine purpose revealed to Abraham, which, as has become ever clearer in the course of the world's history, consists in the dispersion of the Jews to all parts of the earth, for the realization of their high-

priestly mission, to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God.....

The belief in the bodily resurrection has no religious foundation, and the doctrine of immortality refers to the after-existence of the soul only.

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Thus, gradually, Reform Judaism has evolved into a very different form of a Jewish religion, calling for a different type of religious observance than does Orthodoxy. But this change in Reform Judaism is one that has covered a period of over seventy-five years, for the Reform Jews of fifty years ago were much more like the Orthodox Jews in their religious practises and in their religiousness itself. In general religions appeal to mankind through two means: through the intellectual and through the emotional life of the individual. But the trend in Reform Judaism is to sacrifice its ritual and ceremonial, emotional appeal, in order to emphasize the intellectual phase; and thus, as a result, today the weekly ritual in the Sabbath Service, most generally held on Sunday morning, has been reduced to a minimum and the sermons are on common cultural, intellectual subjects that will interest the congregation as a whole; it is only in regard to the Jewish Holidays, the services of Yom Kipper and Rosh Hashona in particular, that the ritual still is the predominating part of the service. The daily religious observances in the home as well as those which formerly took place upon the Sabbath Eve have been entirely omitted.

(1) Greenstone: The Messiah Idea in Jewish History, p 263

But viewed from another angle Reform Judaism directly reflects an urban influence. Up until the liberation of the Jews by Napoleon during the first part of the last century the Jews were segregated and isolated from the rest of the community in which they lived; indeed in Dorsten, where the Eisendrath family originated, the Jews were not allowed to live within the city walls. Until this time the Jews were comparatively free from any urban influences, at least so far as their religion was concerned. They lived entirely within themselves, educating themselves, providing their own social and cultural activities and marrying only within their own group. Indeed the synagogue was always the center of the community; its purpose was always threefold,--devotional, educational, and communal. This is still true of the Orthodox community, a description of which follows:

----While the Jew is not only not forbidden, but enjoined to indulge in private devotion at his home, and at times also at the homes of others, he is always expected to give proof of his identification with the congregation by attendance at set public services. The synagogue is considered the means for the preservation of the Jewish religion. "Do not separate thyself from the congregation" is made the basis of this duty. On week days public services are conducted twice daily in the synagogue, in the morning a little after sunrise, and in the evening shortly before sunset. On the Sabbath and on every holiday, services are conducted on the eve of the day, in the morning, the afternoon and evening.

Every synagogue is also a school. There the young are taught the branches necessary for an active participation in the public devotion and for the proper understanding of the literature and history of Israel. In many a synagogue we may find classes for adults meeting daily for the purpose of studying the Old Testament, the Mishnah,

the Talmud, the Midrashim, and later Rabbinical works. This fact accounts for the name "Schul", or "Schule", as applied to the synagogue by German Jews and Jews of German extraction.

Until recently almost every synagogue was the center of Jewish social activity. Whatever charity had to be dispensed among the deserving poor was furnished by the persons in congregational authority. In fact all communal affairs were discussed and settled in the council of the synagogue. Such is still the case in the smaller Jewish centers.

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Almost of just such importance were the first Jewish synagogues already founded in Chicago over fifty years ago, and even then known as Reform synagogues. Although attendances at the services by then were not so regular, and the sermons for the most part were conducted in German rather than in Hebrew, and although the Dietary Laws were not enforced; yet the synagogue was still the center of the Jewish community life socially, religiously and philanthropically. In education the American public schools had already taken from the "Schule" their responsibility of educating their younger members, but every representative young Jew still took lessons in Hebrew either in classes at the synagogue or through private tutoring.

But Reform Judaism has come to show the influence in America of its urban environment in more ways than one. First there has been the formalization of its religion into a faith; and the emotional fervor it formerly held upon its members has been lost; furthermore its elaborate synagogue

(1) Rosenau, W.: Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs pp 13-15

ritual has been changed to a formal, intellectual concern; and no Reform Jew now thinks of going to the synagogue daily for services (which are no longer given) if he thinks of going at all. But in every other way the former services and duties of the synagogue have been lessened: the Reform temple is no longer thought of generally as a place of learning, the ability to read in Hebrew as well as the necessity for the younger Jewish children to even attend the Sunday school are no longer requirements of Reform Judaism. The Reform synagogue is certainly no longer considered to be the center for the social and the philanthropic activities of its members although it may have organized "Men's Clubs", "Dramatic Clubs", "Temple Sisterhoods" and adult reading classes to which the members of the congregation are invited to join; but the synagogue, now called a "Social Center" may foster recreational activities and lecture courses which are open to the general public. The very fact that these former synagogues are no longer called synagogues but rather temples with their social centers is rather a significant fact in marking the change in its importance in the behavior pattern of its members.

Indeed of interest here in the description Issac Berkson gives as to the range in the variability in the retention of Judaism in America; he divides the Jews in America into six groups as follows:

1. Cultural Allegiance, ---maximum expectation
10 % of the Jews. These Jews have a complete

knowledge of the language, literature and of the scope of Jewish literature, etc..

2. Synagogue and Ceremonial Allegiance, (Orthodox Jewry),--15 %
3. & 4. Formal non-functioning Religious adherence,----50 %
To these Jews Judaism means nothing; ancestor worship, superstition and a lack of initiative tend to keep them from intermarrying with Gentiles.
 3. Conservative Jews
 4. Reform Jews
5. Social and Philanthropic connections only,----15%
These Jews are not unwilling to intermarry
6. Severance of ethnic relations and intermarriage,-----10%

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The members of the Eisendrath group, for the most part, fall within Berkson's fourth classification of Jews in America, of Reform Jews and have now formal non-functioning religious adherence; none fall into the first two groups, as having cultural allegiance or of being Orthodox Jews; some few have only social and philanthropic connections with other Jews; and while there have been several intermarriages with Gentiles these have not lead to a complete severance of relations with the Jewish community. But there have been certain well marked signs that tend to show the gradual drifting away from religious or synagogue observance during the last fifty years.

In at least six of the nine original Eisendrath families in Chicago fifty years ago religion in the form of religious customs carried on in the home and in attendance

(1) ¹ssac Berkson: Theories of Americanization, pp 113-116

upon the Sabbath services was of much importance. In four of these families the father was one of the twenty-eight charter members of Temple Sholom which was founded in 1868. Then Levi Eisendrath, another one of the original immigrant brothers, was for many years a director and for several years the president of Kehilath Anshe Mayriv congregation. One of the daughters in the sixth family, Rosalia Eisendrath, a daughter of David Eisendrath, married the well known Hebrew teacher of that time, Herman Eliassoff. And then some years later Ida Eisendrath, a daughter of Benjamin Eisendrath, a seventh branch of the Eisendrath family in Chicago, married Rabbi Lyons of Brooklyn, and thus her former family environment must also have been as equally religious as were the other Eisendrath families.

But although the Jewish religious spirit then was much stronger among the Eisendraths, they, as representative of the early German Jews in Chicago who were for the most part Reform Jews, had already diverged from true Orthodoxy in many of their religious customs and practises. The first Jewish synagogue in Chicago, K. A. M., was dedicated in 1851, thirteen years after the first Jew had come to Chicago. Already at this time the Rabbi upraided his congregation for their neglect of the purity laws, "declaring that the punishment of God shown in the recent death of several young married women" (1); thereupon, it is reported, the president of the

(1) Wliassoff, H.: The Reform Advocate, March 15, 1901, p 287

congregation in indignation immediately left the temple,-- that is the last incident heard of in regard to the enforcing of Orthodoxy among these Jews. Already at this time, too, the period of the Sabbath, (the day of Saturday), was more or less violated: men left the synagogue hurriedly to return to their places of business, while most of the younger men no longer attended the Sabbath services at all. As early as 1871 Sunday morning services as well as the traditional Sabbath services were given; Dr. Kohler, Rabbi of the Sinai Congregation was the first to introduce them, his purpose in starting them on Sunday mornings being "because that seemed a good time to assemble the people, in view of the decay of synagogal attendance on the Sabbath". (1) For many years there was no Jewish religious school, which is one of the first pre-requisites in an Orthodox Jewish community. These, for the most part, German Jews realized that to conform to the Jewish laws literally meant their return to the Ghetto of the Middle Ages, to similar social situations as those in which such Jewish laws had been evolved. Furthermore, many had already been imbued with the progressive German spirit of Reform before coming to America. And the others "quickly learned that all religion is for the living and not for the dead, and recognized the fact that in order to live a religious life they must first lighten the ship of its balance." (2)

(1) Enslow, H. G.: Kaufmann Kohler, The Am. Jewish Year-book 5687, p 244

(2) Eliassoff, Herman: History of the Jews of Chicago, in the Reform Advocate, Mar 15, 1901, p 286

When Nathan Eisendrath first came to Chicago during the eighteen-fifties he found all the Jews already living in Chicago Reform Jews of the type just described; and even if his family in Germany had been more Orthodox, a fact which cannot be determined now, he naturally found it necessary to identify himself with this newer type of Jews. Then as his brothers and sisters later followed him to America and settled near him in Chicago they, also, followed him in joining Reform Jewish synagogues and in becoming members of the Reform Jewish community. This fact is rather evident in a point already mentioned, that in the organization of the Reform synagogue, Temple Sholom, on the North Side of Chicago in 1867, four of the charter members were Eisendraths: Nathan Eisendrath, Moses Eisendrath, Cosman Eisendrath and Henry Regensburg.

In the home life of the Eisendraths undoubtedly more of the religious customs were then carried on than are now. The recollections of the older Eisendraths now as to the religiousness of the family during their early childhood are quite hazy. But from certain scattered incidents and facts that have been recalled conclusions may be drawn. First of all, almost all of the children in the families had to take private lessons in Hebrew aside from their regular Sunday school education. The Bar Mitzpah or the Confirmation, (the graduation from the Sunday school), of each one of them was then an occasion of much ceremony within the family group.

In one family at least, the Moses Eisendraths, the "separate dishes" were kept according to the dietary laws of the more Orthodox Jewry. Although the children in this family soon gave them up Moses Eisendrath and his wife adhered to them until their death. Later on when these two old people lived with their daughter, Rosie Weil, they would sit at one end of the table, and almost totally apart from the rest of the family they would eat their separate dishes according to their more Orthodox mode of living. Furthermore pork, ham and bacon and the other foods forbidden by the Dietary Laws were rarely, if ever, found in the Eisendrath homes. Even today are found remnants of this Jewish traditional feeling,--pork is never served. One Eisendrath will not eat it, saying that the thought of eating it makes him sick.

Barough D. Eisendrath, the son of David Eisendrath throughout his later life always "kept the Sabbath", that is, would not do any work upon this day. This necessarily means that in the David Eisendrath family the Jewish traditions concerning the Sabbath as a day of rest were strongly adhered to.

It is rather generally felt that Levi Eisendrath was the most religious of the nine original Eisendrath brothers and sisters. He was known to have "laid the Tyfillan" each Friday morning,--that is to have strapped his wrists with leather bands and then to read verses from the Talmud,--an old Jewish custom. But very significant is the story told

concerning his death. He was driving about collecting the necessary food for the religious "Ceder", which yearly is celebrated on "Pesach" in memory of the liberation of the Jews out of bondage in Egypt, and which yearly was an occasion of much religious festivity and rejoicing in this Eisendrath home. Suddenly at about four in the afternoon of this day before "Pesach" he realized that he must hurry if he was to be home before sundown,--according to the religious traditions no Jew was supposed to be out working or driving after sundown upon the eve of a holiday. In his haste it is thought that accidentally he stepped upon his horses reins; the horse started up and the buggy ran over him. His horse, so the story is told, ran home riderless; and it was thus learned that Levi had been seriously injured. But in spite of the fact that he could not direct or even attend the "Ceder" service in his home, Levi insisted that it be carried on without him. Very shortly after this request he lost consciousness and died.

But today the means of expressing adherence to Judaism has greatly changed. To be sure, there are several Eisendraths who are outstanding in their religious interests. But for most of the members of the family annual contributions to the Jewish charities and perhaps some additional Jewish social service work together with attendance at the Temple during the holidays and maybe occasionally attending the Sunday morning service during the winter is the extent of

their religious life. The five Eisendraths who might be called outstandingly religious today are: Maurice Eisendrath, a Rabbi of a Reform Jewish congregation in Toronto, Canada; Blanch Burger and Louis Regensburg who are directors and quite active in the activities of the Temple Sholom; and Joseph L. Eisendrath and Jay Kraus who are directors of the Sinai Congregation. Jay Kraus is also rather outstanding in his Jewish philanthropic activities,--aside from being an usher at the Temple,, he is president of the Deborah Boy's Club, a club organized to provide means of recreation as well as social and educational stimulation among the poorer Jewish boys living on the West Side of Chicago.

As regards the temple attendance of the other members of the family, the following summary regarding twenty other, more or less typical Eisendraths may be considered to be quite representative of the extent of religiousness in this regard within the family group today:

1. 2 families attend the weekly services regularly.
2. 5 families attend the weekly services fairly regularly.
3. 2 families attend the weekly services occasionally.
4. 4 families belong to congregations but do not attend the weekly services.
5. 7 families do not belong to congregations.

The attendance at the temple services during the Jewish Holidays is undoubtedly much greater than this sample would seem

to indicate, for such is about the only Jewish religious tradition that has survived. But, to be sure, Yum Kipper is no longer a day of fasting for any of them; and most all of the former religious customs and ceremonies carried on in the home have been entirely lost: for example, instead of Chanukkah and Purim celebrations, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's Day and Easter have become the occasions for holiday and family dinners, if not for actual celebrations in themselves.

There is only one Eisendrath family whose members have become such ardent Christian Scientists to the point of not associating with the other Jews in the community in which they live. This family now lives in Milwaukee. And perhaps their loyalty to Christian Science may be explained as a result of their living in Kenosha, Wisconsin for many years. There was no Jewish community in Kenosha so, quite naturally, they came to identify themselves ^{with} the Christian Scientist Church in the town, and to associate only with Gentiles. This family moved to Milwaukee several years ago; although there is quite a large Jewish community in Milwaukee the children in this family are still being sent to a Christian Scientist Sunday School, rather than to that of the Jewish congregation, and the family has no affiliation or interest in any of the Jewish activities carried on in Milwaukee.

Several other Eisendraths may have taken up Christian Science; but they have not become so loyal to it as to have lost their identity in the Jewish community. There is only

one Eisendrath who has changed his name, and thereby lost his identity as a Jew,--this is Richard Eaton who now lives in Paris.

And thus, in the main, as Berkson has pointed out, the only real Jewish interests for many members of the Eisendrath family are their philanthropic interests. These may take the form of their annual contributions to the Jewish Charities, or in actual work done for such organizations as "The Mothers' Aid", "The Temple Sisterhoods", "The Miriam Club", or "The Junior Co-operatives", and the like.

Therefore the conclusion can be drawn that today Jewishness considered from a religious standpoint is not so much of an integrating factor. Fifty years ago, undoubtedly, the place of religion in the family pattern was of much greater importance, although the families within the Eisendrath family group were already muchly divided as to the congregations to which they belonged: four belonged to Temple Sholum, at least one to Sinai Congregation and several to K. A. M.. But now the Eisendraths are much more spread out as regards the congregation to which they belong, if they belong to any: some belong to K. A. M., some to Sinai, others to Sholum, while still others, fewer in number, are members of Isaiah and of The North Shore Congregation.

But, from another angle, their religious life might be considered to be an integrating force in allowing the family to hold together: they have all changed gradually and at an equal pace from being as religious as they were formerly

to being what they are today; so that now their religious interests and their religious activities, whatever there may be of them, in general are about the same for all the members of the family group.

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(1) In regard to the gradual decrease of Judaism from a religious point-of-view Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, the young Eisendrath Rabbi of the fifth generation of Eisendraths, has recently advanced to the writer the following statement:

I have reread the chapter (on the Jewishness in the Eisendrath Family from a religious point-of-view) and on the whole I think it covers the ground adequately. There is one thing I might suggest relative to the disintegrating influences in family life as affected by religion. You know that the Sabbath, for example, has always been a family night originally in the home and more recently under the influence of the late evening service in the synagogue. Due to the general breakdown of the Sabbath in the Jewish life, which, of course, in turn is due to economic circumstances primarily, this has proved to be a decided disintegrating influence in family life.

The Jewishness in the Eisendrath Family From a
Racial Point-of-view

And, now, secondly it is even more interesting to consider the Eisendraths as members of a Jewish racial group. But as such have the Eisendraths tended to remain an integrated unit, or have they tended to become disintegrated? According to the ~~more~~sociological conception of this term, race, a race is a group of persons tending to isolate themselves and to marry only within and among themselves, and thus tending to perpetuate their own rather distinct physical and mental characteristics as well as their distinct social heritage,--their separate culture. And according to this broad definition of a racial group it is quite evident that the Jews may be considered as a separate and a distinct race. For centuries they have tended to isolate themselves more or less socially even though they have continued to live in great proximity to other races of mankind. Characteristically, also, they have always tended to be an endogamous group, Jews only marrying other Jews. They have tended to inherit, as Jews, a distinct culture made up not necessarily of a distinct language, literature or art even though such does exist, but rather of more or less distinct traditions and social customs. And if such a sociological definition

for a race can be accepted, one can even account for the so-called "Jewish religion" today as the sum-total of many traditional Jewish racial beliefs, ceremonies and social customs which in the past have become set apart, institutionalized, and thus called the "Jewish religion". The Jewish race as a distinct race is very old,--over three thousand years old,--and the only hints that exist as to its origin can be traced from its mythology which have now become a part of its religion. But many of the traditional Jewish beliefs and social customs have been evolved during the intervening centuries, for they were the mores or the customary ways of doing things for the welfare of the group resulting from their social environment during these periods of time.

The Eisendraths, then, are Jewish from this standpoint of belonging to a distinct racial group. The Eisendraths are generally known and have always for the past century been known as Jews, both within the Jewish community and within whatever larger community they have lived. Then, again, the vast majority of the Eisendraths have tended to marry only within their own Jewish racial group; and, indeed, there is a strong feeling within the family as a whole that each of the younger Eisendraths should only marry a Jew, preferably a German Jew. Furthermore, there still does exist a certain amount of social isolation between the Eisendraths as Jews and the outside Non-Jewish world. The very fact that they all now live within the somewhat scattered, to be sure, German Jewish communities in and about Chicago is

very significant in this regard. And, finally, as Jews, they have inherited many traditional feelings, or beliefs and attitudes as well as many social customs which will be discussed later in more detail. Therefore it is most evident that the Eisendraths are individual members of this larger racial group, the Jewish race.

But, then, as members of this Jewish racial group, how has their more recent urban environment effected them? Have the influences of this newer social environment acted as forces tending towards disintegrating the Jewish race as might be illustrated by the behavior and the attitudes of the Eisendraths?

The Jewishness of the Eisendrath family has not decreased within the last fifty years,--Jewishness here considered as the result of belonging to a distinct racial or social group. If anything this feeling of being a Jew socially has increased. By being characteristically Jewish it is not meant that the Eisendraths have those characteristics rather associated with the "typical Jew",--being dark, swarthy complected, having distinctly Semitic features and being loud-mouthed, shrewd, and of decidedly nervous temperament, and the like. But the Eisendraths have become more Jewish during the past fifty years in that they have more fully limited themselves to associating with only other Jews. And within these past two generations the social distance felt between Jews and Gentiles, as felt by the members of the Eisendrath family, has increased; the Eisendraths who were

formerly representative of the pioneering Jews in Chicago are now established and generally known as Jews, and all of the primary relationships that once existed between the Eisendraths and Gentiles have tended to disappear. Indeed those former Eisendrath family grocery stores were of important sociological significance in this regard, for each customer's relationship, whether he be Jewish or Gentile, with his grocer then was much more sociable and personal and much more of a primary relationship; but today, generally speaking, all of these former Eisendrath primary contacts with Gentiles have come to be rather secondary. Except for one family group, (the Wolffs living on North Dearborn Street), all friendships with Gentiles have tended to become rather impersonal, which are characteristic of all secondary contacts, and such that do exist are due mostly always to mutual interests rather than due to mutual enjoyment of each other as personalities: no such relationships now exist as, for instance, that known to exist between Julius Eisendrath and Professor Wm. R. Harper, for these more primary contacts of the Eisendraths have come to be almost wholly with other Jews. The average Eisendrath woman belongs only to Jewish social clubs; the Eisendraths live within the Jewish communities; the majority of their donations to philanthropic causes are given to Jewish organizations; if they are sick they prefer to have a Jewish doctor, and going to a hospital is almost synonymous with going to the Michael Reese Hospital. And, again, when one of the younger Eisendraths is going to

college it is naturally assumed that he will be associating mostly with other Jewish students; the parents of the child even hope that this will be true, for afterwards when this child becomes a regular member of the Jewish social community, which will be the case after he finishes college, it will be the Jewish rather than the Gentile friends which he makes at college that will be his closer associates.

But along with this rather gradual limiting of themselves to only the Jewish community, the Eisendraths' consciousness of being Jews has correspondingly increased. The average Eisendrath grown-up person is very Jew-conscious; and when in the presence of Gentiles this consciousness is the first barrier which must be overcome; and as it can only be overcome by having mutual common interests and more primary contacts, which the average Eisendrath no longer has, it can most likely never be outgrown. This Jewish consciousness naturally makes them restrained and ill-at-ease when in the company of Gentiles, more refined and more quiet and consciously trying to create a good impression upon these relative strangers rather than to be thought of as being "typically Jewish". Many of the Eisendraths are even self-conscious before their own servants in their own households, hushing up discussions upon Jewish subjects, for instance, when the maid is in the dining room serving the dinner. Another expression of this Jew-consciousness is that when they are among Gentiles they are forever looking for and pointing out to each other the Non-Jewish traits of these

persons: that they seem to be so much more quiet and refined; that they do not seem to be as well dressed or care so much about their appearance; while at theater the Jews seem to parade about the lobbies in greater proportion during the intermissions than do the Gentiles. But only when in the company of other Jews is the greater part of this self-consciousness on the part of the Eisendrath gone. But if the general interest is held within this Jewish group the Eisendraths, as representative, more cultured and refined Jews, may be noisy and much more highly emotional: the most enjoyable part of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club is that this self-consciousness is entirely gone and, consequently, wherever the meetings of the club are held, in whatever large hotel dining room and card room, the mutual inter-group interests are so well developed that it has been said, more in jest to be sure, that "They (the Eisendraths) are the noisiest bunch of women that ever got together."

But the Jews, generally speaking, comprise very definitely a fighting minority group. In the world's population of over 1,700,000,000, the Jews number approximately 14,000,000. But even this would not be of any unusual significance if it were not for the fact that the Jews were not such a scattered racial group. For many centuries the Jews have been a decentralized group, having no so-called "home land"; and wherever they have now settled, in every continent on the earth, they comprise a minority group. And thus wherever they are found today, they are ambitious to gain superiority;

so, naturally the Jews are always eager to laud members of their race who have achieved outstanding feats. But their decentralized unity has placed the Jews into a very unique position: as Americans, the American Jews can accept Washington and Lincoln as fellow Americans and as compatriots of their country; but as Jews they will never let the world forget that Disraeli, the Rothchilds, Karl Marx, Einstein, Sigmund Freud or Alfred Adler, and many others similarly prominent in their field of thought or action were Jews; while every American Jew loves to think of the Jews as being in control of the motion picture industry, as well as being powerful in the theatrical, the musical and the art world, and of having outstanding representatives in almost every one of the sciences and the professions. Yet one never hears them brag or even speak about their less illustrious members which comprise their greater bulk; and they always try to cover over, to shield or to ignore and disregard the fact entirely that many of their numbers have been notorious as criminals and anti-social beings. For example, one always hears of the Jewish students that are leaders of their college classes in scholastic standing; but, at the same time, nothing is ever mentioned about the large numbers of them that either flunk out or leave the school before graduating.

As can easily be seen, every Eisendrath, as is characteristic of every Jew, takes almost a personal pride in the achievements of some other outstanding Jew. Somehow consciously or unconsciously there is assumed to be some

common bond of relationship existing between this person and the Eisendrath; this feeling is not the result of trying to trace any blood relationship, similar interests or even a similar social environment, but merely because both of them are Jews. The Jews are the only race that most emphatically have claimed a common descent; the Jewish religious prayers are filled with this idea of the common brotherhood of all Jews; over and over again in the Jewish religious services does one hear such expressions as the following repeated: "Praised be Thou, O Lord our God, God of our fathers, Abraham, Issac and Jacob, great, mighty and revered God." (1) But how can this religious belief be justified as a racial characteristic? In answer it might be said quite positively that to the typical Eisendrath as an average Jew there is rather an unconscious, unjustifiable feeling that there is an innate difference between a Jew and a Gentile, and that the social environment of the Jew means nothing; one often hears that "'So and so's' mother or father or merely his grandfather was Jewish", and, therefore, he can be identified by the Jews as being Jewish whether he is in reality Jewish or not. And the fact that some Jew has, of his own accord, turned to be a Gentile or a Christian Scientist or even married a Non-Jew makes no difference in this feeling of closeness, for the fact that he was born a Jew, and that his parents before him were always known as Jews still remains unaltered.

(1) The Union Prayer-book for Jewish Worship, edited by The Central Conference of American Rabbis, p 20

And then more often unconsciously and yet at times quite consciously and openly the Eisendraths, as do most Jews, are comparing the respective merits of certain rival Gentile and Jewish institutions or organizations, and through mainly rationalizing convince themselves at least of the superiority of the latter. To be sure such a feeling is in itself harmless for it is never openly expressed without these Jewish groups,--for the Eisendrath's self-consciousness together with his innate docile, thoughtful nature restrains him from allowing such to become more than an expressed feeling expressed among fellow Jews. To be sure this sublimated form of the feeling that "I am a Jew and proud of it" is partially a genuine racial pride and due to the fact that the average Eisendrath associates only with other Jews. But, at the same time, it is strongly and unconsciously a defense-mechanism: that the Jews are a minority group and as such are made to feel inferior in so many ways that they naturally cling to and harbor an exaggerated feeling of personal pride if any one of their fellow Jews does excel in some certain way. And also as a result of the anti-Semitic prejudice which they themselves have felt or know to exist they naturally feel closer to this person, assuming that he must have gone through all sorts of disagreeable experiences and felt all these prejudices, but became successful inspite of them all. And from this feeling it is a very natural, clear, but at the same time a most illogical step to the feeling that most Jews more or less unconsciously harbor and one which has

given rise to much anti-semitic prejudice: 'that this outstanding individual, having suffered prejudice has excelled because of his innate ability and his superior intelligence; he is a Jew; he is superior; but I am a Jew also, and therefore I must be a superior person'. Most unfortunately this feeling has become rather prevalent among Jews although they are no longer taught that they are of the 'Chosen People' in order to be convinced that they are Jews and should be proud of it; rather they are made to feel and try to make themselves feel that they are superior at least in some ways. Such reasoning, although psychological phenomenon, is wholly unscientific and unsociological; but at the same time it has come to be a part of even the Jewish religiousness and may be one reason why the more conservative leaders of Jewish thought tend to be opposed to the social sciences. And such a feeling together with the fact that the average Jew during the past at least has had little of a more general higher education,--of sociology and of psychology in particular,--have done much to bind the Jews together. But, then, again, the question as to whether a higher education and a training teaching a more scientific reasoning can do much to overcome such a deep-seated, unconscious feeling is rather doubtful.

But, then, there are many other ways in which one may note the prevalence of Jewishness within the Eisendrath family group. First of all their general physical type is still recognizeably Jewish as well as German: their tendency

towards a shorter than average stature, their long, downwardly hooked noses, their expressions are rather typical of the German Jews in Chicago at least, even though their hair may not be straight and black, their eyes dark brown, nor their complexions swarthy and dark,--their appearances, for the most part, are rather familiar to other German Jews in the community at least. Then, again, the fact that all the Eisendraths live definitely within one of the three German Jewish communities is typically Jewish. Very important in the light of being Jewish is the fact that social standings both within the family itself and in the standing of the Eisendraths in the community is unreflectively reckoned almost entirely in terms of their financial success. But, finally, of most sociological significance are the Jewish customs and traditions which are still very much a part of the behavior patterns of the members of the family group; many of these characteristically Jewish ways of behaving are mentioned and discussed or alluded to throughout this study. The older Eisendraths are especially conscious of their Jewish traditional customs and beliefs: for example at a recent luncheon of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club three times the remark was made in the course of the conversation of a group of certain women, "Oh that is an old Jewish custom!" But the younger members of the family who have most definitely adopted many traditional ways of doing things from their parents are not aware of the fact that these traditions are, for the most part, Jewish.

And thus, in conclusion, the influence of Judaism can plainly be seen upon the Eisendraths, understanding by Judaism the attitudes, beliefs and customs which they have come to have as a result of their belonging very definitely to the Jewish racial group found in Chicago. This fact has influenced them to think, to feel and to act and react alike in many ways and in ways which are a very significant part of their make-up. And thus it has not only done much to establish this common bond of feeling within the Eisendrath family group, but also through its traditions it has acted as an actual integrating force,--the traditional of family feeling and family unity,--its strength as such will be determined more definitely in a following chapter on the family traditions.

In review, in this chapter the direct influence of Judaism upon the members of the Eisendrath family has been the subject of interest. This subject has been treated and discussed from two angles: first from the point-of-view of this concept, Judaism, being purely a religious one; and secondly from the standpoint of Jewishness being a racial characteristic. In discussing the former angle it was discovered that Judaism considered purely as a religious concept or classification has come to be rather an inactive force or influence upon the members of the Eisendrath family group. And as such it might only be considered an integrating force making for the family group unity because, due to the

gradual lessening of the hold of the Jewish religion upon its Jewish people during the past seventy-five years, the Eisendraths have, as a group, become less and less religious so that now they are all equally religious, or more correctly equally not religious.

But in considering Judaism from the second standpoint, as a racial classification, immediately its influence as an integrating force is evident. Not only is it a strong influence upon all Jews, limiting them mentally and classifying them physically; but as a result of its influence upon its individual members it has established a strong common bond among the Eisendraths. Or it may be said that directly its influence may be seen upon the psyche of the Eisendraths as Jews, and indirectly it may be cited as a potent guiding force determining along with its many other influences where the Eisendraths live, how they live,--their family life,--and how they behave,--as a result of the part Judaism plays in making up their traditional and customary ways of acting.

THE FAMILY TRADITIONS

Eisenrath Family Traditions

Traditions are social heritages. By definition traditions may be the transmission of knowledge, of doctrines, of beliefs, of attitudes or of customs from generation to generation. In order to achieve a group continuity there must necessarily be common interests, aims and purposes among the members of the group, and these, themselves are, for the most part, the result of common traditional attitudes, beliefs and customs. (1)

Traditions are understood to be based upon past habits; they are former customs, beliefs and attitudes which are still existing and are still carried on into the present. A society that is dominated by traditions is always known to be more conservative than progressive. And social-unity is always strongest in a conservative or custom-bound society. Oriental family groups are the most unified because they are the most conservative and the most strongly ruled by past customs and conventions. But European families, also, on the whole, tend to be more unified, more conservative and have more respect for their family traditions than have American families. But in America, in general, we are more largely ruled by conventionalism in contrast to "custom-traditionalism"; we are more progressive as individuals; and in order to

(1) See Park and Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology, pp 200-202

achieve individual initiative we have sacrificed, for instance, our family-group unity based upon family traditions. Therefore, the hypothesis may be offered that the degree of family group unity is directly correlated with the number and the intensity of the traditional beliefs, attitudes, and customs that are transmitted from parents to their children and are followed in the group.

In the Eisendrath family these traditional customs, attitudes and beliefs are the integrating forces for which the similar physical and mental characteristics, the common business and educational interests as well as the like social interests, the equal economic statuses, the common social standings and the proximity of the individual family residences have laid the foundations. Thus the unity in the Eisendrath family group will be developed to just such a degree as are its common traditional attitudes, customs and beliefs prevalent among the present day members of the family group. What are these family traditions? How strongly are they found at work within the group?

The Eisendrath family traditions probably derive their origin from a combination of old German customs and Jewish traditional attitudes and beliefs. Germany had probably been the social environment of the family for several centuries at least previous to their immigrating to America. The ancestral Eisendraths had become accommodated to the German ways of living. They spoke the German language altogether. They associated only with other Germans. They were educated

in the German schools. They ate only German food. Thus they came to look like and to act as did other Germans. But it is rather interesting to note that the Eisendrath families are somewhat divided as to the type of German customs to which they adhere, as is Germany itself. The Southern German dialects, dishes of food and many of their customs are very different from the North German ones. The Eisendraths came originally from Northern Germany; but some of the men during the past generations in America have married women whose families were of South German origin. In these families South German traditions and customs have prevailed,--particularly has this difference been noticeable in their type of cooking.

In the case of Judaism, it is almost impossible now to determine just how often or how strongly are the influences of these Jewish traditional beliefs and attitudes for they still very strongly, yet almost entirely unconsciously, are dominating forces in the behavior pattern of each individual Eisendrath. "Jewishness" may not be outwardly expressed in the form of abiding by the dietary laws, in keeping the Sabbath or attending the Sabbath services, or even in keeping and celebrating the Jewish holidays; the Eisendraths might in no sense be called "Typical Jews"; but, yet, in their subtle way, Jewish forces are still prevalent within the family group. Each Eisendrath, for example,--as does the average Jew of today,--feels much closer to another Jew than he does to a Gentile, which, for the most part, is the result of their common traditions. This very factor has probably been

the most important force in building up the feeling of solidarity that has existed among the Jewish people for many thousands of years. The general attitudes which the Eisendraths have concerning Gentiles and Russian Jews,--which is both a cause and a result of this existing social-distance,--are, at the same time, certainly traditional feelings. All the Eisendraths early in their lives are made conscious of the fact that they are Jews; and none of them, at least none of those now within the family group, would intentionally deny that they are Jewish. And the very fact that the Eisendraths prefer to associate with only Jews, German Jews mostly, is not only in itself a very potent Jewish attitude, but it is also the means by which other Jewish beliefs, superstitions, customs and expressions have been passed down for many generations as Jewish traditions. Another typical example is the feeling very strongly held within the Eisendrath family group that each member of the family should marry only within the German Jewish social group in America; this is wholly a traditional feeling, the result of their association with this social group.

But more fundamental to this immediate study of the Eisendrath family group, indeed the very reason why such a study is now possible, is another very outstanding Jewish traditional feeling,--that of familism. The family group spirit existing today within the Eisendrath family group is not typical of the average American family of the same social

and economic statuses; undoubtedly this feeling is traditionally Jewish, while the means of outwardly expressing it may be German. (1) In the past these Jewish family traditions were naturally stronger for the modern forces which urban life today has brought about tending to disintegrate the family have also had their effect upon the large Jewish families. But in the Jewish religion the "Hearth",--representing the home,--has always and still is the symbol of unity; Judaism is thought by many to have survived only by means of the Jewish home life that its religion has fostered and encouraged for so many centuries. For example, Judaism has always encouraged marriage at an early age, and large individual family units. But the social conditions of the Jews in the modern urban environments have been stronger forces opposing the older Jewish traditions and they have done much to alter these former Jewish customs and practises. Remnants of these Jewish beliefs are still expressed among the Eisenraths: in regrets if the younger members of the family do not marry; in the feelings that the family will die out because its individual families have become so much smaller; in the education and the training of the children, particularly so with the younger girls, who are brought up with the idea of their ultimate marriage.

In their purely religious practises and religious

(1) A discussion of this point will be reserved for chapter, "The Eisenrath Cousins' Club".

behavior there is no doubt of the fact that the Eisendraths have lost a great deal of their former Jewish social characteristics. The Eisendraths are not today religious people,-- that is, beyond the point of belonging to some Reformed Jewish Congregation and in having some few of its members directors and actively interested in certain religious organizations. To go to temple, except "on the Holidays" when traditionally every good Jew still feels duty-bound to attend, is synonymous to going to hear an interesting lecture; Reform Jews today attend the Sunday morning services more for the motive of stimulation rather than for any purely emotionally religious outlet; again, others may go to temple more to be seen or to see other people, thus making a social occasion out of it. There is no religious spirit felt in the homes; all of the many former Jewish religious customs and practises formerly a part of the home life of every Jewish family, such as the lighting of the candles on the Sabbath Eve or the "keeping of the sabbath", have long been forgotten. The "Ceder Service" in the home has more recently been disregarded; the Sunday School children, rather, attend the temple "Cedar" in order to learn what the traditional custom was, and there are served with matzos and horse-radish and apple sause, formerly a traditional part of the dinner; while old Ceder songs are no longer sung and undoubtedly the formerly traditional spirit of sociablity and festivity are gone through its changed form.

Many of the children of the second and the third

generations of Eisendraths were confirmed, or graduated from a religious "Sunday School",--they were "Bar Mitzpahed" as it was then called. But to them even then the meaning of this religious experience was almost entirely interpreted in terms of the presents they would receive and the large social gathering that would take place in their home purely in their honor after such an occasion. To be sure many of the modern generations have been confirmed from "Sunday School"; but certainly fewer than in the preceding generation. The practise of paying "Confirmation calls" upon the day of confirmation of some younger Jewish child is still a practised tradition and gifts may be given to the confirmed child; but, in general, much less fuss is made over the occasion than formerly.

The Eisendraths' conception and philosophy of life is almost entirely idealistic. The men, for the most part, aside from being serious-minded, hard-working and ambitious persons are rather overly trusting; they are always willing to help a friend out, and always sympathize most sincerely after hearing a hard luck story, never doubting its veracity. This feeling is rather the outgrowth of the old traditional spirit of "all for one and one for all". Perhaps due also to their serious-mindedness, their earnestness and their sincerity as well as their "gullibleness" and their lack of originality they are not themselves good jokers. But, certainly, no Eisendrath would intentionally tell a falsehood. While in the writer's own family life, she has

long felt that her father, an Eisendrath, most perfectly illustrates in his preaching and in his behavior the Jewish religious maxim of "Do unto others as you would be done by". But, unfortunately not every other person has such a trusting idealism; and thus the typical Eisendrath may often and easily be taken advantage of. "He's a good Schnuck" is a very appropriate German expression often used to describe certain typical Eisendraths,--in other words, "He'll put himself out to do anything for anyone else". or "He's a good one to take advantage of". Formerly this idealism was undoubtedly a result of, and also a part of their religiousness; today the outward expression of religious practise or purer religiousness has decreased greatly within the family group, but this traditional religious idealism has remained.

In other ways the Eisendrath family is teeming with subtle traditions in the form of traditional customs and German Jewish expressions of speech. Naturally the similarity of their personality type and their common social environment, within the German Jewish community, has done much to make these former customs survive. For in the German Jewish social group these customs are similarly upheld in all the other family groups; they comprise the marks of distinction, so to speak, of this group in contrast to other social groups. (1).

(1) But as to just what are all of these traditions it is rather hard for a member of the family to determine; having been raised in an Eisendrath environment the writer has acquired many of them in her daily life and they

The Eisendraths have all always enjoyed the same type of amusements and entertainment,--preferably small social gatherings within the home; they are home-loving individuals. Indeed the Eisendrath type of sociability, in itself, has come to be considered as rather traditional, and is still expressed to a large extent as it was formerly, often within and among the members of the family group, whenever possible within the home, and done in a "Gemuthlichkeit" (simple, unpretentious) manner. Card playing and drinking very moderately are also still the chief means of expressing this feeling.

The Eisendrath social gatherings are traditional. Due to their permanence and their regularity today they might almost be called an Eisendrath institution. It was purely to keep up another of the "family traditions" that the Eisendrath Cousins' Club was formed: to maintain the feeling of closeness between the members of the family group. This feeling, then, is not only instrumental in keeping up the family relationships, but it is also basic to a certain feeling of family pride that the members of the group now have: that they have traditionally held together. And, then, based upon this traditional closeness with its natural end, the Eisendrath Cousins' Club has come to take the form of a family symbol or ceremony.

At the Eisendrath social gatherings as well as in the

have become a part of her behavior pattern so unconsciously that he is no longer conscious of the fact that they are traditional.

social home life of the members of the family is found another traditional expression of the family: their love and appreciation of an abundance of good food, German food in particular. Many of the women have retained recipes of German dishes, and often prepare their food in the typically German fashion. Germans are well known for their "kuchens" and their "schnecken"; they have an individual style of "frying spinach blended with onions", or of serving "sweet-sour beans", and similar dishes. Matzos-kloese are the favorite dumplings served in clear soups made from meat broths; but green kern soup is a distinctly German type of soup. While gaensegrieben and gaenseklein (fried goose skin and fricasseed goose), pickled herring, or German pancakes are still rare treats. And then beer, whether real or near beer, is often served with the evening dinner and always is found upon the spread of "Aufardum" served later in the evening. And therefore each family cook-book is enormous and contains many delicious recipes not found in "Settlement Cook Books", (The Settlement Cook Book, itself, is compiled by a German woman), or in the daily menus of most typically American families.

A young woman in the family makes this following statement:

Rarely have I dined at the home of any member of the Eisendrath family without asking the rather customary question of "May I have your recipe for making such and such a dish", or "Can I see your cook-book sometime?" Indeed my first recollection

of my own grandmother is in connection with the delicious "gum cookies" as we then called them, or anise drops, that we used to get there. Furthermore the very fact that these recipes are so willingly offered to me shows a traditional generosity and eagerness to teach others which is a part of the psychological make-up particularly of the Eisendrath women; to a large extent this trait is the result of a feeling of personal pride, satisfaction and self-esteem,--they love to receive compliments upon their cooking, and most of them still do know how to cook.

But all Germans are known to be big eaters. All their distinctive foods are very rich, heavy and most extravagant: they always contain much butter, and there is no hesitation about using twelve eggs to make a "Blitz Torte", a traditional type of cake, which some younger members of the family being less German and perhaps more Jewish would not wish to carry on. And here is revealed one cause for the physical type which is so prevalent among the older members of the Eisendrath family: they have always been accustomed to eating such rich, heavy, fattening foods, so that later in their life, having never participated in real, physical exercise, the women in particular having no other pastime other than card playing, social teas and eating, they consequently take on more weight and become very "softig", as they themselves admit. Among these older members, at least, the modern methods of dieting or of reducing have never been adopted.

The Eisendraths traditionally have been very liberal and generous within their homes, loving to entertain. First there are the traditional stories as to the liberality or the

generosity of the original Eisendrath family in Germany: of how Julia Eisendrath donated the bell to the Catholic Church in Dorsten; of how travelling salesmen would stay at their home for days at a time; and then of how many of the nieces, nephews and grandchildren of this original Eisendrath couple made their home at this rather large Dorsten Eisendrath house while they attended the "Gymnasium" in Dorsten. Then there are instances of this same spirit of generosity among the second generation Eisendraths fifty years ago in Chicago: their homes were open to everyone, and those in the family were particularly welcomed. At that time many visitors from the Old Country would stay at these large Eisendrath homes for three, four and five months at a time. Furthermore, any person from the Old Country who had known the family over in Europe, was immediately taken into the homes. They were very hospitable and charitable in the spirit of "all for one and one for all"; especially is there proof of this feeling in connection with the experiences the family passed through after the Chicago Fire in 1872. Then many of these original families took in boarders or roomers, not primarily because of any particularly urgent need for a larger financial income, but more because of their hospitality. Today evidence of this same spirit may still be found: they always make very generous and hospitable hosts when entertaining; and they always prefer to do the entertaining themselves rather than going out to be entertained, and thus an Eisendrath, at least, always feels that he will

be most heartily welcomed at another Eisendrath's home even if he should just unexpectedly "drop-in" upon them.

Traditionally the Eisendraths, as a group, have not shown any particular interest in the more cultural activities. Formerly they may have loved good music as some of them did, attending the Opera upon more or less "state occasions"; but their appreciation of music was neither thorough nor deep. To be sure they realized the worth of a good, practical education as is shown by the number of the younger members of the family who were allowed to study in Europe, and also judging from the number of private lessons each child was given. But the older Germans have never been in favor of "higher educations"; many of the older generations were never allowed a college education because of the opposition of their parents. Even today many of the Eisendraths, who have allowed their children to go to college, fail to see its usefulness. There is still quite definitely a feeling that education, even in college, should be practical training fitting the younger Eisendrath for some particular future pursuit: the boys who had college educations have, for the most part, specialized, taking architectural courses, in the Schools of Commerce, or in the law school, or the like; while several of the boys who did not thus specialize left school before graduating. With the girls the same phenomenon is true, and, perhaps more pronounced for every girl is expected eventually to marry. But until she is married there is the feeling that she should be trained to

be able to take care of herself if any emergency should occur and she should be thrown upon her own resources in order to support herself: five of the girls left college without finishing in order to be married; another has become a social service worker; another a commercial artist; one girl, still getting her training, is specializing in musical appreciation with the object of teaching it in a few years; still another was serving her apprenticeship in hospitable dietetics before she recently became engaged; while only one member of the family, after having taken a business or stenographic course, has returned to college to do post graduate work, and she is constantly referred to by the other members of the family as the "smart one". In general the Eisendrath parents allow their children to have college educations because they can afford it and because other children from families of the same social class are going to college. It is up to the child to go and to stop going if he so desires. But, at the same time, it is more imperative that each child should be able to do something, that something being of his own choice. And then, having their own standards of "culture and refinement", the Eisendraths as a group are not particularly interested in movements for the advancements of cultural interests. The only very notable exceptions to this statement are in the cases of Dr. Daniel Eisendrath, and the families of William N. and Joseph N. Eisendrath, who still living in Chicago, have, nevertheless, to a large extent withdrawn from the family group; (but it is most

interesting to note that Joseph N. Eisendrath, himself, was well known to have been markedly opposed to so-called "higher educations".)

The Eisendraths have always prided themselves in the unusual size of the weddings and funerals of those within the family group. They have taken great pleasure in calling them "family events". No wedding or funeral formerly ever took place without as full a representation of the family relatives as possible. Weddings, which usually took place within the larger homes formerly, have always traditionally been events of much celebration: the champagne and the grand meal that are usually served at Jewish weddings are very important means for making the occasion one of much gaiety and rejoicing. But although the Eisendrath weddings in more recent years may not have been so large, and certainly not large enough to include all the members of the family of today, yet the entire family generally takes much interest in every such event. Most every Eisendrath relation not invited to the wedding sends his telegram of congratulation to the newly married couple on their wedding night. And the engagement reception, which takes the form of an open house reception given by the bride-to-be's family upon a Sunday afternoon and evening soon after the engagement has been announced, is much of a family event, for all the Eisendraths are anxious to meet the new bride with her "nice young man". And if the new member of the family is to be a girl, this bride is immediately invited to become a member of

the Eisendrath family group; thus extending to her a membership in the Eisendrath Cousins' Club is an expression of a traditional family spirit.

The members of the Eisendrath family often use many rather traditional expressions of speech: many expressive German or Jewish words or phrases, which, of course, are merely instances of family heritages for the majority of the Eisendrath family members of today are Americans by birth. For example the phrase "nix fer die Kinder" is a most typical expression. Some others which are most easily explained are: "Mischpoka" meaning relatives; "Schlemeil" and "Doppus", synonyms for a rather careless, sloppy person, a fool; "Gemuthlich", an adjective conveying a meaning of a comfortable, simple, congenial way of doing something; "Dankeschon", or "thank you"; and "Gezundheit", or "God bless you". "Genug" is often used to mean enough. "Schmus" and "Schmuser" are most realistic expressions: "schmus" means rather meaningless, gossipy talking,--"a lot of words"; and "Schmuser" is a person who does a lot of meaningless talking, a verbalist. "Sauris" is a good synonym for trouble. "Schabas" is the Yiddish word for holiday, and the expression "Mak Schabas damit" is an interesting phrase, meaning "why all the full" or "why do you make so much of it", (literally "why make a holiday of it?") Also "neb" and "nebich" are most simple words explaining rather a state or feeling of bla-ness. Of course one should naturally expect to hear German words used to describe various kinds of foods, such as: Kuchen,

Schnecken, Strudel, Aufardum and the like. And then, not so original, but still most descriptive Jewish expressions, such as "Kike", "kosher", and the indefinable "yo and osser" are rather commonly used.

There are several traditional stories that the Eisen-draths tell concerning the original Eisendrath family of twenty-three children. First is the famous legend concerning merely its tremendous size. Next there is the story concerning how the name "Eisendrath" was selected. Then the stories how Samson Eisendrath could not tell his own children is one which the Eisen-draths love to tell. The fact that this father was decorated three times by the Emperor of Germany for each seventh child is another favorite story. Perhaps it might be said to be rather characteristic of the Eisen-draths to love to relate funny incidents or jokes about themselves and their relatives.

In the naming of the succeeding male members of the Eisendrath family, a Jewish tradition has been carried on more or less: that the son should have as his second name the first name of his father. In the third generation of Eisen-draths in America the only exception to this tradition was in the case of Benjamin Washington Eisendrath, who because he was born on Washington's birthday right opposite Independence Hall, was given the second name of Washington. But in the later generations there are several instances of where this tradition has not been carried out.

It is in point to note the apparent repetition of certain Christian names, in particular those more characteristically Jewish. This phenomenon was formerly more noticeable among the male members of the family. But in the later generations the more modern, more typically Americanized Christian names, such as Richard, Robert, Harry or John have become more popular names for the younger children. A statistical analysis of these first names shows:

For the men, those most common:

1. David,-----9 times
2. Samson,-----8 times
3. Joseph,-----6 times
4. Oscar,-----6 times
5. Benjamin,-----6 times
6. William,-----6 times
7. Nathan,-----5 times
8. Robert,-----5 times
9. Edwin)
10. Leo)
11. Louis)
12. Harry)-----3 times
13. Sigmund)
14. Richard)

Among the women no one particular Christian name is so outstanding. Their first names seem also to be less

German and less Jewish; perhaps this may be because in the Jewish religion, folklore, and in the Jewish beliefs the male has always been the stronger and the predominating sex. Those first names repeated most often among the females in the Eisendrath family are:

1. Adelaide,-----4 times
2. Helen)
3. Ruth)
4. Edna)-----3 times
5. Rosa)
6. Blanch)

Thus it can easily be seen that the Eisendrath family group has many common traditional customs, attitudes and beliefs, all of which are not generally felt to be typical of the average large family groups found in the urban environment of a large American city. And largely because the average American family group has lost consciousness of its common traditions they have ceased to have the group unity that exists in the Eisendrath family.

The transmission of traditions is purely a sociological phenomenon requiring some sort of a group made up of persons for their continuity, whether this group be a family group, an institution or a racial-social group, or the like. For within these groups in which there is some degree of common interests common traditional customs, beliefs and attitudes find an outlet for expression; without such a group

environment these traditions, losing their social value as well as their means of expression, cease to be. And here is formed rather a vicious circle: group unity, as one can see, allows for the transmission of social heritages, but, at the same time, the social heritages transmitted in the form of traditions are one of the main forces making for the group continuity.

And thus although the list of traditions still found today within the Eisendrath family group which have been mentioned in this chapter and those scattered throughout this thesis may be quite incomplete, at least these traditions, as group phenomena, still play a very important role in the behavior pattern of its members. Naturally all the Eisendraths are not Eisendraths because of them; but those who are members of the family group are members because of them.

But if traditions, and particularly traditions of familism foster conservative behavior, then it will follow that the degree of conservatism found within a group, a family group especially, will be directly correlated with the strength of the common traditions and the common feelings of familism found to exist among the members of the group. The conservatism of the Eisendraths is due naturally to their temperament, as we have seen, but also to their common traditional customs, attitudes and beliefs. A more detailed study of this tradition of familism will be made in the

following two chapters upon "The Family Organization and Control" and "The Eisendrath Cousins' Club".

THE FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

Family Organization and Control

The existing large Eisendrath family group organization is the result of common traditions which more than fifty years ago were built up upon the foundation of common interests and a feeling of close interrelationship. Without question large family organizations, such as this found among the Eisendraths, are unusual phenomena to find existing in an urban environment. And wherever such a family group does exist one may see most definitely the strength and the important role which common traditions play in the behavior pattern of the individuals.

As a result of its normal expansion in size and due to its changed social environment the Eisendrath family group unity has changed in intensity, in intimacy, and in the form of organization in which it finds expression. In this chapter, in portraying the changing form of group unity, it is important to bear in mind that the family is first of all itself a traditional expression; and, second it is the end result of all the various integrating forces.

The Eisendrath family as a social group typifies the gradual change that has been quite apparent in all social organization during the last hundred years. What were the social conditions existing at the time of the origin of the Eisendrath family in 1807? Life was then predominately agricultural and the majority of the population was living

in small town communities. The great industrial revolution, which later lead to a complete revolutionizing and reorganizing of society and the growth of large urban communities, was just beginning to be felt. The Jews are by nature predominately an urban race of people and, according to history, have not been a farming people for many centuries. Samson and Julia Eisendrath, both Jews, were living at the time of their marriage in the small rural community of Dorsten, Westphalia, Germany. Samson followed a typically more or less small town occupation,--keeping a country store. And, again, a hundred years ago Samson and Julia could have twenty-three children for each additional child was not a great expense. Then too, the older children of the family shared with their mother the responsibility of caring for the younger children.

This patriarchal family group was a "grand family" unit composed not only by the immediate members of the family but by also the nephews and the nieces in the household. As to who was the natural ruler of this household before the death of Samson, no one knows; but, at any rate, after his death there is no doubt that the mother, Julia, was the "Matriarch" of the family group,--she held the master hand and it was she who had complete charge of the "family affairs". And, according to Mr. Sam Wolff, who lived for sometime under her domination, not many things "got by" her.

When the various representatives of the Eisendrath family came to America they brought with them their

traditional German mores and customs which had been thoroughly ingrained upon them. To be sure they followed the natural path of procedure, so typical of all immigrant families and relations, in settling near to one another. Furthermore the fact that they were in a foreign environment where everything,--the people, the language, the social and economic organization, in fact all life itself,--was so entirely different from what they had been accustomed to certainly emphasized and probably exaggerated this feeling of solidarity between the members of these second generation Eisendraths and their children. In addition the family unit was so large and complete in and of itself that there was no need for any extensive outside interests. And with the very vital economic interest so close to each of the individual families they did not desire nor have any time for "society" as it probably existed then. Moreover there was a strong bond of sympathy which further bound them together: they were, one and all, pioneers in America and going through alone and together the same necessary readjustments to the American customs and ways of living. Therefore, differences in ages as well as to the generation that each Eisendrath belonged to made little difference to these persons. (1)

But the adult immigrant Eisendraths never fully came to realize the influence of America. They themselves never

(1) As we have already noted, many of the third generation Eisendraths were born in Europe.

had to make the complete adjustments to American customs that their children unconsciously and naturally accepted. German was always spoken in the homes, and the children probably inwardly rebelled against it as well as the other particularly foreign mannerisms of their parents,--just as do all American born children of immigrant parentage. Many of these children, members of this new generation growing up in America were forced to go out and work while they were still very young,--whether to help out in the family store, to sell news-papers, or merely to take care of their younger sisters, brothers and relatives. This element of "all for one and one for all" and the sympathy which then existed between these younger members of the family, as well as the fact that at each age group there would be at least ten or a dozen " just such lovely related companions" tended to bind together the third generation,--and still does now to a large extent for although these members are now the older members of the family they are the ones who have the most truly "family feeling".

The fact that seven other Eisendraths came over to America, alone or with their families, within a short period after Nathan Eisendrath had arrived, was significant. The family pattern became fixed and quite unconsciously the members, most particularly the children, began to assimilate American customs and ways. The three members of the Rosenthal family, (which was the ninth family to immigrate), who preceded the other six members of this family group in

coming to America, were immediately taken into the larger family group as it existed in America at that time. The young people all became knit together and equally together became acclimated to their American environment. So when sometime later the remainder of the Rosenthal family came over they were not taken into the family group, but the children in particular, were regarded as immigrants and as "green-horns" by the younger children of the Americanized Eisendrath families. And even the opinions of these young American Eisendraths of the Wolff family, which had come to Chicago almost ten years previous to this Rosenthal group, was that they were too foreign and different in their type of living for close association. Certainly it seems significant that within so relatively a short a period of about forty years such a social-cultural barrier should have arisen to the point of excluding the family of a sister, (who, incidentally, was one of the oldest children of the twenty-three.) And consequently, also of importance, the descendants of these latest arrivals have never become acquainted with the Eisendrath family, and today are hardly known by the rest of the group; but the descendants of the first three members of this Rosenthal family who immigrated at an earlier time are quite influential and very representative members of the Eisendrath family today.

Then gradually the older members of the family, the second generation of brothers and sisters were gradually disappearing, and the death of each one prophesized more

emphatically the final loss of this former family interdependence. For as the third generation Eisendraths grew up their interests had come to be largely without the family group; many had become more or less specialized in different fields of activity. Not only did a breach in the family interdependence develop, but already some families and certain individual members of families had become more prosperous than others. This former type of family solidarity entirely disappeared upon the death of "Tante Eva" in 1923, who previous to her death held a "matriarchal" sway over the remaining members of the family; nevertheless it had been almost gone in spirit for some time previous.

The children of the third generation have never realized this former Eisendrath spirit as it formerly existed. It has always seemed so romantic and idealistic and so thoroughly foreign to their customs and manner of living. They have grown up to take for granted a more comfortable early home life, a fairly, if not typically, modern American mother and father who may perhaps still be a bit sentimental as regards the family. Yet it would be quite wrong to say that there is no family loyalty existing among these younger generations, who, on the whole, are growing up today. It is there, but based upon a different background and expressed in a different manner. After all, second, third and fourth cousins are never so very close, especially when their immediate family interests and family statuses have become so very diversified, and when one has so many cousins all

equally distantly related. The Eisendrath family loyalty to them is more of a feeling of pride in their family. All of their ancestors, or all that they have heard of, have more or less been successful. Some of them are quite outstanding figures in their fields. Furthermore, this feeling is enhanced by the unusualness of the situation,-- that they can boast of something that few other Americans can brag of, and that being that their grandparent or great-grandparent was one of twenty-three children; and, finally, wherever an Eisendrath goes he is bound to meet someone who has known, knows or has heard of another Eisendrath. Being confronted so often with the remark, "Are you related to so-and-so by the name Eisendrath?", naturally makes this Eisendrath rather curious to know who this other Eisendrath is and how he is related. Maurice Eisendrath, now a Rabbi in Toronto, Canada, said that before he graduated from the Hebrew Union College he was called upon to officiate in many congregations, visiting during this period of probation congregations in Texas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Minnesota, and Michigan; and wherever he went he was always bound to be greeted by someone who knew an Eisendrath from somewhere. So one day he went to one of his older Eisendrath relatives who knows the family quite well, and asked him to chart out all the different relationships for him so that he might answer more assuredly and intelligently as to how he is related to such-and-such an Eisendrath.

Leadership

Whenever a group of persons assemble together, as have the Eisendraths, certain individuals are chosen to be the leaders of the group while in other groups the leaders just naturally assume the role of guiding the others and at the same time the others unconsciously become the followers: certain persons are often spoken of as "born leaders" while other persons are leaders because of their ability or due to their past training in some certain type of work thus equipping them to assume a role of leadership. But particularly interesting in view of a psychological-sociological study of the Eisendrath family is the fact that there have always been certain members of the family playing certain roles of leadership within the family group,--such as the family advisor, the family law-giver, or the family sympathizer.

In the early history of the family in America, Nathan Eisendrath, more or less its founder, acted as its advisor and was its outstanding leader; he was the only member of the family that everyone respected and stood more or less in awe of. Furthermore he was not only the person instrumental in bringing over most of the other Eisendraths, but he was also the first to gain any economic or social prestige in the community. He was always consulted before any important changes were made by any of the members of the family,--such

as taking up a new occupation or profession, before moving or, in fact, even before any of the male members of the family considered proposing to some lady and marrying. It was he to whom the other Eisendraths trusted their extra capital for investment in oil ventures and the like.

The law-giver and the more or less ruler of this first family group was Tante Adelaide Regensburg. By temperament she was a more aggressive individual, "a promoter" as well as a very social being. The Regensburg home was always considered to be the gathering place of the family, and many more family gatherings were held there than in any of the other homes; to be sure, the Regensburgs were known to be "more comfortable" financially than many of the other families, and, therefore she had the "wherewithal" necessary to entertain so often. She, too, was always looked up to as a leader or manager of the big family social events; she was always consulted as to what kind of food to serve for "she knew just what kind of food the Eisendraths, her brothers, most enjoyed". She was a natural leader for her strong personality unconsciously dominated and directed the activities of the followers. She was sometimes called the family "Shad-chen", and there are many instances of her "marrying off" the younger members of the family, particularly in the case of Nathan and Flora Eisendrath, and then in the case of Henry Regensburg, her husband's nephew and Lena Rosenthal, her own niece.

But the family "pet" was always Tante Eva Wolff,--

the youngest of the twenty-three children, which fact in itself carried a certain amount of prestige. It was to her that everyone went to first for sympathy. But she had that kind of a personality that always drew others to her. Her older brothers and sisters regarded her as the "baby of the family" and seemed to put themselves out more for her and to be closer to her than to the others. But she outlived all of her older brothers and sisters; and for many years, until her death in 1923, she was rather the matriarch of the Eisendrath family in America, and a sole force unconsciously keeping the large family group together.

And now in later years, since the deaths of these former leaders, others have come to take the places of these three persons. Naturally due to the fact that the family has so increased in size, and due to the more immediate interests of each individual or individual family, the group has lost most of its primary group closeness; consequently its leaders cannot be as prominent or as influential now as formerly.

Aside from the fact that no Eisendrath man could be as influential a member within the family group as was Nathan Eisendrath, no one of the Eisendrath men who have succeeded these pioneer Eisendraths, has had as aggressive, as progressive or as dominating a personality as did its first family advisor. But the family has continued to look up to one of its wealthier male members to be rather their financial advisor. For sometime Louis Eisendrath rather

acted in this capacity; and since his death, his son, Joseph L. Eisendrath, has come to take his place in this capacity.

Another curious example of the importance of heredity is the succession of Fanny Sloss, the daughter of Adelaide Regensburg, to the position of a family social leader. She has a more or less dominating personality similar to that which was so apparent in her mother's behavior, and she, likewise, has her mother's ability to arrange and manage. But there are also other women in the Eisendrath group who have as dominating, if not more extravertive, a personality and who now are the leaders in the group,--such as, in particular, would be Dinah Heymanson, a daughter of Tante Eva Wolf.

As regards the family favorite, or the one to whom many Eisendraths still go to for sympathetic understanding, this role also has been greatly lessened and several Eisendrath women might be picked out as such. Mrs. Julius Eisendrath is now the oldest living member of the family, having been eighty-eight upon her last birthday in March 1930, would probably be thought of first in this capacity. Every Saturday afternoon many members of the family very informally come to call upon her; and here also is one of the last remnants of the former informal "gathering spirit" of the Eisendrath clan. But, unfortunately, of late her mind has become rather dimmed and she herself cannot add anything to the conversation; but her mild, sweet, passive personality always being present, adds a certain indescribable atmosphere to

the situation. Among the more active and the younger members of the family group one woman that might still be picked out in this capacity is Blanch Burger; she, also, has this same sweet, sympathetic personality and an ability of humanely understanding others. She is one of the younger Eisendrath members who is most interested and active in keeping the family group together.

Family Behavior Patterns

But it would be also interesting to follow up and determine which of the two sexes entering into and involved in the Eisendrath marriages has played the predominating role in directing and controlling the individual family group. To be sure the family is too large at present for any such a sociological study to be made. But in viewing certain individual families it seems that the women, Eisendrath by descent, have been the natural leaders,--this fact was certainly self-evident in the case of two of the nine original Eisendrath families in America, that of Adelaide Eisendrath Regensburg and of Eva Eisendrath Wolff. But in the case of families in which the husband or father is of Eisendrath descent he seems to take a little more interest in his family than does the average man, but still he plays a very insignificant role in regard to disciplining and controlling the behavior of his family,--they are too conservative, too perhaps idealistic, and too sentimental to be active dominating personalities.

But the influence of this Eisendrath father, as a sentimental, home-loving, unpretentious and serious-minded parent, is rather a potent unconscious and subtle force; and it is due to their father's easy-going, lenient attitude towards them that makes these children respect their father, regard him more or less as a pal, and are usually desirous of pleasing him.

There has been, nevertheless, during the last fifty years a noticeable and a significant change in regard to the role of importance that the children play in the individual family's behavior pattern. Such a trend is typical of the change in the character of all American families during the last generation or two. It was formerly not surprising, and entirely in keeping with the characteristic traditions of the German family pattern, to hear that Adelaide Regensburg, for instance, often expressed an opinion that "Children should be seen and not heard." But such an opinion is not so often expressed today, if it should still be felt; and in the Eisendrath families the children play a very much more important part than formerly. This change in attitudes and behavior might be partially due to the change in the general social attitudes in this regard, partially in many cases due to the fact that the children themselves are securing better educations than their parents had; and because the families are smaller, having fewer children, and no longer are as interdependent, each individual is regarded more as an entity than formerly. In classifying the modern Eisendrath family

one is, therefore, justified in calling these family groups characteristically of the "consensus" or equalitarian type of family organization.

Another very marked change in the family patterns is the decrease in the size of the individual families and thus a proportionally decreasing increase in the size of the family group. This is accounted for by the decreasing birth rate and the increasing number of persons who, of marriageable age, do not marry; this, again, reflects the modern urban trend in this connection. The following is a statistical summary by generations of the Eisendrath family in regard to these sociological factors:

A) AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY UNIT

1. First Generation

1. Samson and Julia,-----23 children

2. Second Generation

Parent	Number of Children
1. Eva Wolff,-----	10
2. Nathan Eisendrath,-----	5
3. Levi Eisendrath,-----	7
4. Adelaide Regensburg,-----	6
5. Benjamin Eisendrath,-----	6
6. David Eisendrath,-----	5
7. Bertha Rosenthal,-----	7
8. Moses Eisendrath,-----	5

Parent No Children
 9. Cosman Eisendrath,-----8

Average,-----6 5/9

3. Third Generation by 9 branches of Second Generation

Ancestor	Average No. of Children	Most Chil.	Least Chil.
1. Eva Wolff,-----	1 5/8	3	0
2. Nathan Eisendrath,-----	2 2/5	4	1
3. Levi Eisendrath,-----	2	4	0
4. Adelaide Regensburg,-----	1 2/3	5	0
5. Benjamin Eisendrath,-----	1 2/3	3	0
6. David Eisendrath,-----	5 2/5	8	2
7. Bertha Rosenthal,-----	2	3	0
8. Moses Eisendrath,-----	2	3	1
9. Cosman Eisendrath,-----	<u>1 2/2</u>	5	0

Average,-----2 1/10

4. Fourth Generation by 9 branches of the Second Generation

Ancestor	Av. No Chil.	Most Chil	Least Chil.	No. Mar. (3rd)	Women over 40	Women Under 40
1. Eva,-----	1 1/2	2	1	4	0	4
2. Nathan,-----	1 2/3	3	0	9	1	8
3. Levi,-----	2 1/9	4	1	9	6	3
4. Adelaide,--2-----		3	1	4	3	1
5. Benjamin,--1 1/3-----		2	0	3	0	3
6. David,-----	2	4	0	13	8	10
7. Bertha,-----	2	3	1	5	5	0

4. Fourth Generation,---continued

Ancestor	Av. No. Children	Most Chil.	Least Chil.	No. Mar. (3rd)	Women over 40	Women under 40
8. Moses,-----	1 1/6	3	0	6	6	0
9. Cosman,-----	<u>1</u>	1	1	3	1	2
Average,-----	1 1/2					

5. Fifth Generation by the 9 branches of the Second Generation

Ancestor	Number of Children (Chil. in 6th Gen.)
1. Eva Wolff,-----	0
2. Nathan Eisendrath,-----	0
3. Levi Eisendrath,-----	1
4. Adelaide Regensburg,-----	0
5. Benjamin Eisendrath,-----	0
6. David Eisendrath,-----	1
7. Bertha Rosenthal,-----	0
8. Moses Eisendrath,-----	0
9. Cosman Eisendrath,-----	0

(All women married of the fifth Generation under 40 years of age.)

B) Marriage Rate by Generations of Eisendraths

1. First Generation

	Number	Married	Unmarried
1. One Eisendrath,	-----	1	-----0

2. Second Generation

	Number	Married	Unmarried
1. Nine Eisendraths,	-----	9	-----0

3. Third Generation (by descendants of the 9
Eisendraths in the second generation)

	Family	No.	Married	Unmarried	Died before Mar
1.	Eva W.,	---10	---8	-----2	
2.	Nathan,	---5	---5	-----0	
3.	Levi,	---7	---7	-----0	
4.	Adelaide,	--6	---6	-----0	
5.	Benjamin,	--6	---6	-----0	
6.	David,	---5	---5	-----0	
7.	Bertha,	---7	---5	-----2	-----2
8.	Moses,	---5	---4	-----1	-----1
9.	Cosman,	---8	---6	-----2	-----
	Total	59	52	7	3

4. Fourth Generation (by descendants of 9 Eisendraths
in second generation.)

Family	No.	Of Mar. Age	Married	Unmar.	Died before Mar. Age	Unk.
1. Eva Wolff,	--13--	---12---	---4---	---8---	---1---	
2. Nathan,	---12---	---10---	---9---	---3---	---2---	
3. Levi,	---14---	---14---	---9---	---2---	---1---	---2---
4. Adelaide,	--10--	---8---	---4---	---4---	---2---	
5. Benjamin,	--10--	---9---	---3---	---6---	---0---	
6. David,	---27---	---24---	---18---	---6---	---3---	
7/ Bertha,	---10---	---9---	---5---	---1---	---1---	---3---
8. Moses,	---8---	---7---	---6---	---1---	---1---	
9. Cosman,	---9---	---8---	---3---	---5---	---0---	
Total	113	101	61	36	11	5

5. Fifth Generation (by descendants of 9 Eisendraths
in second generation)

Family	No.	Of Mar. Age	Married	Unmar.	Died
1. Eva Wolff,	--6--	---0---	---0---	---6---	---0---
2. Nathan,	---17---	---3---	---1---	---16---	---0---
3. Levi,	---18---	---11---	---6---	---5---	---0---
4. Adelaide,	---8---	---1---	---0---	---8---	---0---
5. Benjamin,	---4---	---0---	---0---	---4---	---0---
6. David,	---24---	---7---	---2---	---22---	---0---
7. Bertha,	---8---	---4---	---0---	---8---	---0---
8/ Moses,	---7---	---2---	---5---	---7---	---0---

Family	No.	Of Mar. Age	Married	Unmarried	Died
9. Cosman,	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	93	28	14	77	0

6. Sixth Generation (by descendants of 9 Eisendraths in second generation.)

Family	No.	
1. Levi,	<u>2</u>	(1 died) (Not of Marriageable Age,--Unmarried).
2. David,	<u>1</u>	

Summary

Genera tions	No.	Of Mar. Age	Married	Unmarried	Died before Mar.	Unk.
1. First,	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
2. Second,	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
3. Third,	<u>59</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>
4. Fourth,	<u>113</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
5. Fifth,	<u>33</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>?</u>
6. Sixth,	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>

Family Reunions

But family reunions are the only objective means by which to measure the degree of organization within a large family group. And, furthermore, they are of greater importance because they represent family ceremonies; and the importance of ceremonies alone in the behavior of the individual is inestimable:

---Ceremonial, public opinion, and law are characteristic forms in which social life finds expression as well as a means by which the actions of the individual are co-ordinated and collective impulses are organized so that they issue in behavior, that is, either (a) primarily expressive,--play, for example, or (b) positive action.

A very much larger part of all human behavior than we ordinarily imagine is merely expressive. Art, play, religious exercises, and political activity are either wholly or almost wholly forms of expression, and have, therefore, that symbolic and ceremonial character which belongs especially to ritual and to art, but is characteristic of every activity carried on for its own sake. Only work, action which has some ulterior motive or is performed from a conscious sense of duty falls wholly and without reservation into the second class.

(1)

Fifty years ago Eisendrath family reunions and family gatherings were rather frequent and played an important role in the behavior pattern of the individual Eisendraths;

(1) Park and Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p 788

these family parties, if they might be called such, were always simple and informal, and always held within the individual homes of the members of the family; and some one or more persons from each family group would be invited to the gathering. But, as a result of this type of sociability there were formerly no outstanding social events within the family group.

Today social entertaining has become more formal and more selective. One Eisendrath cousin may be giving a large social affair, which no longer takes place within his or her home, to which many of the Eisendrath relatives are invited just because these relationships are still recognized. Or entertaining may be done by having very selective dinner parties to which certain relatives may be invited because they will fit in with the other guests who are to be present. To be sure one still finds individual family bridge games which take place when one family calls upon another. But rarely, if ever, does one hear of the informal "at homes" or the Sunday night suppers that were formerly the chief means of entertaining.

Then, again, formerly weddings and funerals were felt to be particularly family events of great importance. But during the more recent years these, also, have played a lesser role in the family pattern,--not because such occasions have not taken place. Perhaps partially due to the feeling that weddings, if to be "family affairs", must necessarily be very large in order to include the family, the weddings

have tended to become very small affairs,--and just including the immediate family. Funerals, to be sure, might be regarded as more important family affairs because many of the Eisendraths recognize an obligation to attend them; and, consequently, deaths and funerals have been a more powerful force tending to unify the family.

The first outstanding formal family reunion was the affair given in 1905 to celebrate the Golden Wedding of Eva and Myer Wolff. (1)

The second, all inclusive family event, to which all the older Eisendraths were invited was the elaborate "Egyptian party" given by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. Eisendrath in 1923 in celebration of their twentieth wedding anniversary. All the guests were requested to come to the party, given at the Standard Club, in Egyptian attire.

A third family reunion was the dinner party Ada Schiller gave upon her sixtieth birthday two years ago at the Madison Park Hotel. The guests, of whom there were over sixty, were limited entirely to Eisendrath relatives. After the dinner Mrs. Schiller's grandchildren provided some entertainment, reciting a poem in honor of their grandmother's birthday and singing a few popular songs; the remainder of the evening was spent in card playing.

During the Christmas vacation in the year 1928, three of the younger Eisendrath girls gave large "debut parties"

(1) See page 56

to which their numerous cousins were necessarily invited. These large Christmas holiday affairs have traditionally come to be regarded by the German Jewish community as debutante or "coming-out" parties; between two-hundred and fifty to four-hundred guests are usually invited.

Blanch Eisendrath's formal dance started the Christmas season of such parties during that year. Blanch Eisendrath is the daughter of Joseph L. Eisendrath. This affair was given on the evening of December 21st, 1928, at the Standard Club. It was, undoubtedly, the largest and the most elaborate affair given during that Christmas season. About three-hundred and fifty guests were present. The partners were assigned and the dancing started at about 11 P. M.. A most elaborate meal was served at about 12:30 P. M., during which first a moving picture was taken of the party that included snatched views of all the individual tables and snap shot views taken during the intervening dances; and then an entertainment ensued.

The second of the large Eisendrath debutante parties was that given by Jane Finn with Frances Alschuler on December 24th at the Blackstone Hotel. This party was smaller having about two-hundred and fifty guests present. The party, due partially to the smaller size of the ballroom and to the fewer guests as well as to the less pretentious decorations and favors given to the guests, was much more informal in spirit.

But the most typically informal, as well as the last

affair of this Christmas season, was the winter sports' party given by Mr. and Mrs. William B. Eisendrath for their niece and nephew, Frances and William Levi. It was given on December 28th, 1928, at the Lake Shore Country Club; and all the guests were instructed to come in winter sports' attire. Although this affair was not much smaller in size than was the second Eisendrath party, its purpose and the general attitude of the guests stimulated most markedly a spirit of informality and congeniality: sports' attire was worn in place of formal evening dress; ham and pie were served as parts of the supper in place of squabs and elaborate parfaits; furthermore, those who came to this party, were the younger, more enthusiastic "young people" who would naturally best appreciate such an affair. After the supper the guests made themselves at home doing whatever they pleased,-- talking, playing bridge, or dancing; nevertheless, no one chose to participate in winter sports.

The most important form of the Eisendrath family reunions are the monthly meetings of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club. A more detailed description of these meetings as well as a discussion as to the functioning of this organization will be treated in the following chapter. Undoubtedly this club is the most significant factor in keeping up the family-group spirit as its members are those who are most anxious to retain the bond of family relationships. Although the meetings have come to be more or less formal luncheons and bridge parties, an atmosphere of informality is rather

fostered by the members. The following poem read by Dina Wolff Heymanson, its "selected" honorary president at the first Cousins' Club meeting in October 1927, very well portrays the spirit of the club and also gives a concrete example of the typical Eisendrath attitude:

Good Friends all, I give you greeting
At this merry cousins' meeting,
Where we find it most amusing
To be feasting here and shmoozing--
Where it's natural that I rejoice
And that I give my feelings voice
In welcome to you friends so dear
Who joyfully have gathered here
To show that we together hold,
Just like the Eisendraths of old;
Thanks to Emma Kraus, Ray Rosenthal
Who gave us the first chance this fall
To meet our cousins and the rest
That live way north, south, east and west.
Therefore don't know of any reason
Why we won't have a busy season
Of cousins' parties just like this
Where not one member we should miss.

These monthly gatherings that we have,
We eat, we play, we talk and laugh,
Were started only so that we
Once every month each other see,
But mainly they were instigated
To prove that we are all related
And this relationship we treasure,
Are proud of it beyond all measure;
Therefore uphold this club of cousins
Until its members count by dozens,
For we don't look, from first to last,
What social standing, wealth and caste,
But all the Eisendrath relations
Are welcome to participation;
And if a member or his guest
Has talent let them do their best
In song or dance, piano playing,
In speech, reciting, funny saying,
Please do your part just to amuse us;
Don't hesitate or seek excuses;
Your efforts us to entertain
Will certainly find no complaint.

Such relatives that don't show up
Invite them to our cousins' club
Whose motive is to make those glad
That may feel lonesome sick or sad
For our club here I justly site
Is merely for "Gemmitlichkeit",
Which means congeniality
Among the whole darn family.

Today the Eisendrath family group unity is only expressed through more formal means or in the form of an institutionalized organization typically reflecting an urban influence tending towards formalization and institutionalization. Within seventy-five years at most, and for the most part fifty years, the large Eisendrath family group has changed from a matriarchal form of family organization and control to a more democratic or consensus form, and from a closely knit, interdependent primary social group to a more formal secondary group, just as, simultaneously its environment has changed from a village community to a large metropolitan urbanized center.

"---the neighborhood or the village is the natural area of primary contacts and the city the social environment of secondary contacts. In primary associations individuals are in contact with each other at practically all points of their lives. In the village "everyone knows everthing about everyone else." Cannons of conduct are absolute, social control omnipotent, the status of the family and the individual is fixed. In secondary association individuals are in contact with each other at only one or two points in their lives. In the city, the individual becomes anonymous; at best he is generally known in only one or two aspects of his life. Standards of behavior are relative; the old primary controls have disappeared; the new secondary instruments of

discipline, necessarily formal, are for the most part crude and inefficient; the standing of the family and of the individual is uncertain and subject to abrupt changes upward or downward in the social scale."

(1)

But even though the form of the Eisendrath family organization seems to have changed as a result of the change in the family interrelationships during these past years in an urban environment, nevertheless the very existence of some form of a large family group organization is proof in itself of integrating forces at work within the group tending to establish rapport among the members and a unity in the group as a whole.

(1) Park and Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology, pp 285-286

THE EISENDRATH COUSINS' CLUB

The Eisendrath Cousins' Club

The Eisendrath Cousins' Club held its first meeting as such in February 1920. Each female member of the family was formally invited to attend this social gathering. "Fully twenty-five" attended. The club immediately assumed the form of an organization with such unwritten by-laws as: that the cousins should meet once a month; that each one who desired to join the club should pay one dollar yearly; and that one of the women should act as secretary and social chairman arranging for and notifying all the members of the meetings,--where and when they would take place, and who were to be the hostesses. These meetings were at first held in the homes; the ladies came in the afternoon, and a luncheon meeting was then quite an event, given only to celebrate such an occasion as a wedding anniversary or a birthday. Mah jongg, bridge, and poker were played by some of the women; the others talked and some did fancy work. Often two or more of the members joined together in giving the parties, but usually one person was hostess alone. During these first few years three of the older Eisendrath women representatives were still living, and their presence at the meetings was greatly appreciated by the others, Tante Eva, Tante Theresa, and Julchen Fellheimer. The first meeting of the year, 1922-1923, which was held in October, was a luncheon; and at this meeting a motion was passed that in the future "only

coffee, cake, nuts, and candy shall be served during the afternoon and each one is asked to hold the meeting at her home; there shall be no more spreads, no more hotel affairs, unless for a specific occasion, and it should be announced at the previous meeting." (1)

Membership in the club for the year 1926-1927, reckoned by those paying dues, was twenty-eight. Quite unconsciously the now traditional custom of serving luncheon at some hotel was started at the first fall meeting of 1926. Since then the membership has gradually increased so that now there are between fifty-five and sixty members; sixty-one cards were sent out announcing the last meeting. There are usually between thirty-five to forty women at each luncheon. The increase in the membership and in the attendance is on the whole accounted for by the increased interest of the younger women members of the family in such an organization, many of whom previously did not know of the existence of such a family club, and, of course, others who have recently married into the family. It is rather interesting to note that there is quite an argument going on within the club at present: one of the members wishes to give her meeting in her home, serving the ladies a simple plate luncheon; but the secretary of the club is very much opposed to this idea, and the members, themselves, are very divided in their opinions in this regard.

(1) From the Secretary's records of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club for Dec. 11, 1922

The club has no other purpose other than to keep up the spirit of family sociability. Remembering the former spirit that existed in the family many years ago, the organizers realized the necessity of having some definite organization by which the family would be kept together and through which the new members of the family could become acquainted with it as it now exists, if they wished to keep the family together; and being on the whole very social beings they felt this means of accomplishing their end would afford them a very pleasant means for social entertainment. The meetings are held once a month,--on the third Tuesday,--starting with the October gathering and ending with the May meeting. The women that attend the reunions most regularly are predominantly the older members of the family, and for many of them it is almost their only remaining contact with the other members of the family group. The club is most proud of itself, so to speak, judging from the attitudes of its members; they realize its unusualness of character particularly among one of the largest Jewish families in Chicago today. And there is a constant drive on, on the part of most of the members, to create a greater interest in the club among the non-members in the Eisendrath family, and thus to enlarge its membership.

The club represents a local group in the sense that all of its members live in Chicago or in the suburbs of Chicago; it is thus definitely an urban group of people to be found at these club meetings, as is the family itself quite

urbanized now. Of interest in this connection were the German speeches given by two of the members at the first club meeting last fall: Mrs. Levy had just recounted her experiences in trying to trace the development of the Eisendrath family in Europe while abroad that summer, having found only the graves of the former Eisendraths to mark the place of origin of the family in Dorsten; and then her sister arose and expressed the feeling that now, since Dorsten was no longer the home of the Eisendraths, Chicago should be considered the center, the heart, of the family. Almost all of the Eisendrath individual families belonging to the club live on the South Side of Chicago, in the Hyde Park section of the city, and the majority of the club's meetings are held on the South Side in some one of the large hotels in this region; the first meeting this year was at the East End Hotel, the next at the Windermere, the third was at the Chicago Beach, and the last was on the North Side, at the Belmont Hotel. But it is also significant to note the attitude of the members toward visiting relatives, which rather reminds one of the psychological attitude people take toward strangers. These visiting relatives are most heartily welcomed at the club luncheons; and much of a fuss is usually made about them, partially because they are more impartial, unbiased and ignorant of the more or less petty local prejudices, and partially because their presence at the meeting is very flattering to the others,--that during their stay in Chicago these visitors consider the Cousins' Club of great enough importance

that of all the other things they could be doing they should come to one of its meetings.

There is always an attitude of conflict or rivalry in the Eisendrath family between those who are members of this family club and those who choose not to belong. There is a feeling among the members that the others consider it beneath themselves and their social role to belong to such an organization. The members, in general, especially the older members, cannot realize why every female member of the family does not at least join the club. To be sure, those who are members of the club might be said to be the most representative of the women in the Eisendrath family, having no particular responsibilities other than managing their very much simplified household and having no outside interests other than "society" or "social events" and bridge parties; so they cannot understand that many of the women who do not belong to the organization feel that they can spend their time to better advantage pursuing work that they are more interested in or among people with whom they have more in common, (such is true of the one branch of the family which has almost entirely withdrawn from the rest of the group). Several of the non-club members feel that in the past the club has done things rather purposely to hurt their feelings, and therefore they will have nothing to do with it; these women are the only ones that are openly and consciously in conflict with the club itself.

Forces of competition are apparent within the group,--

in the behavior of the ladies present. First, there is the competition of the different hostesses,--to try to outdo the last hostess and to make her party the best, the most elaborate or the most original. The upward trend of the luncheons in this regard is certainly obvious when one realizes how the attitude of the club members only five years ago was strongly in disfavor of serving a luncheon at all; this factor is quite significant in the personality pattern of the Eisendrath women in general, being rather generous but at the same time quite motivated and ostentatious; and, furthermore, serving a great abundance of food is rather an old German custom. But now that the luncheon has become a traditional part of the club meetings, along with the luncheon the hostesses at the more recent meetings have either served a much more elaborate meal, given favors to all or awarded prizes to the winners at the card games. Thus, indeed, the meetings might more correctly be called parties, for such is certainly the atmosphere that is created at them. The women have thoroughly adjusted themselves to the idea of lunching together in such a manner; they rationalize in order to justify their change in attitudes: as one member said, "It is so much more sensible having it a luncheon for as formerly serving at three or four o'clock such an elaborate meal always spoiled one's supper, and this way it seems so much more sociable." Then another form of competition during the meetings is the afternoon card games which so definitely show the competitive spirit which has been developed among the

Eisendraths,--particularly so is the invariably noisy poker game organized at each meeting. The women who play bridge, are, on the whole, good players as would be expected judging from their love of the game. But there is still another attitude of competition which the group has, all together, in regard to other similar groups,--other family groups: they pride themselves in their feeling that theirs is the best family club that they know of.

The club itself, in the actions of its members, has certain customary and characteristic ways of acting; and certain members are more outstanding and their personalities, therefore, make them more influential,--and to such the new members must become adjusted. Naturally at first a newcomer feels strange, out-of-place, and self-conscious among such a "noisy bunch of women", none of whom put themselves out particularly for this one's interests, and so many of whom are total strangers to her. And then the invariable questions which are asked, such as "Who are you?", "What's your name?", or "In what way do you come into the Eisendrath family?" make this individual more ill-at-ease. Because she feels that she should belong, ~~that~~ she is qualified for membership, she attempts to adapt herself to the group and tries to fit in,--all along with a relative degree of conscious effort on her part. Thus the process of being assimilated into the group is a longer and an entirely unconscious process,--until the feeling of self-consciousness is lost. Particularly is this true in the case of the younger members

who are not used to be out at social parties where they and their grandmothers and their grandmother's friends are to be treated alike. Familiar faces must become more intimate and the newcomer must come to feel that she is contributing something to the club, and that she can be regarded as a more active member of the group and have a place in it in the attitudes of the other members toward her. Thus the length of time necessary to become assimilated rather varies inversely with the previous familiarity of this new member with the family as a whole. Significant in this connection is one of the answers the writer received to her questionnaire; one new member of the club, who had attended at the time of writing her answer two club meetings only, answered the query as to her opinion of the Eisendrath family as a "family group" as follows: "I have not had sufficient experience to voice a general opinion." In this remark she shows that she is aware of the fact that the club members have customary ways of acting which are entirely new to her, that until she feels that she knows these ways better and can adjust herself to them she prefers not to express an opinion; her behavior at the meetings very definitely illustrates this conclusion.

The Eisendrath Cousins' Club is both a formal and an informal group. Its very formalized name shows that it has become more impersonal than it was formerly when it had no name; and certainly the idea of calling it a "Cousins' Club" is more remote than if it were called a "Family Club". The

present club is the more impersonal, ceremonious outgrowth of the former more informal primary group that existed fifty years ago; at that time the contacts were very intimate and face-to-face and the relationships of the members were greatly more interdependent. But as the children of the members of this former group grew up each became more specialized in his or her own interests; each had his or her friends who were closer than "blood-relations"; and thus gradually the larger family relationships became more remote and secondary, and slowly the family spirit of interdependence and sociability was receding. So true was this that one can easily understand how now many Eisendrath relatives are complete strangers. Meanwhile the family was spreading out in area: some were still North Siders, more were moving further south and a few were living on the Northshore. And thus it became necessary, in order to have family social gatherings among such a widely diversified and dispersed people, to resort to a more organized, more dependable, and a more formal type of organization than there had been previously. But the older members of the club who used to be very close to one another still look forward to these monthly meetings in order to keep up their "intimate, face-to-face relationships" or friendships, and to be with "so-and-so" or her children who now attend the club meetings and to whom they naturally feel very close; one often hears these older ladies exclaim, "My how plainly I can remember the time when you were born!-----". But the younger members who are now joining the club regard

it more as a secondary group; naturally they would never become very intimate with their mother's or their grandmother's friends; and, for the most part, those who are also younger have grown up in entirely different social groups, and within such they have had little contact or little in common with other social groups. Thus with the younger members the contacts formed through the Cousins' Club are more ceremonious, conscious and objective. And, also, these younger ones are the ones who quietly play bridge during the afternoon in some less conspicuous corner and resent the loud, spontaneous noise made by the older women playing poker. And their acquaintances never become more personal for they rarely see one another except at these family affairs. (The writer has been attending the club meetings regularly now for over two years, and as yet she does not know the names of many of the women.)

Thus the primary element of the club depends upon the attitudes of the individual members to a great extent,--in how imbued she has become with the "family feeling". And thus it is logical to conclude that each year the club is becoming more formal, more ceremonial and more elaborate,--more impersonal and more objective. The sudden very definite jump from an afternoon meeting to a luncheon and the afternoon gathering, and from a home to an hotel party is therefore of great significance in this regard,--showing the change in its organization. But the complete adjustment of the members to this change,--in that no meeting during the

past two years has been held in a private home and that many are opposed to again gathering in such a way now,-- shows the completeness of this change in attitudes.

But compared to other clubs the Eisenrath Cousins' Club is very informal in its organization, using very little or none of the usual formal parliamentary procedure. Club meetings are held on the third Tuesday of each month starting with the October meeting and running up through the May gathering. The club officers consist of a president,--a purely honorary position,--and a corresponding secretary who carries on all the necessary club work. These officers were appointed, not elected. The presidency was given to Mrs. Dina Heymanson last year because she, at the meetings, spontaneously acts as such; it is always she who has a few words to say in praise of the family, and unconsciously she is the "ring leader" of the group. But it was the secretary, Mrs. Flora Eisenrath, who did most to organize the club: she held the first meeting in her apartment, and now she is the "mainstay" of the club; being an elderly woman and one of the surviving members of the older family spirit, she naturally depends more upon the club for a social outlet. It is the duty of this corresponding secretary to select the two members to be the hostesses at the coming meeting,--each person is supposed to be a hostess once every other year, (the younger members are not called upon). Then she sends out cards notifying each member as to the location of the coming

meeting and announcing who shall be the hostesses; the acceptances or the regrets of the individual members are sent to those giving the meeting and all the personal arranging for the party is left to the latter. The secretary has kept a note-book of the records of the club meetings which give little more than the time, the place and the hostesses of the past meetings,--there is naturally little else to be recorded concerning these meetings for rarely are there open discussions as to any club business of which practically none exists. And finally the secretary is responsible for the collection of the club dues, of one dollar a year per member, and she is in charge of dispensing with it. It has been said the the Eisendrath Cousins' Club is the best managed club in existence in that it invariably comes out ahead each year, its only real expense being the printing of the post-cards and the stamps used. The rest of the money is given to some needy charity. Whenever any member of the family dies some of the club money is then given to a charity in his or her name; or if any member of the club is sick candy or flowers are sent to her. If any member suggests any immediate and worthy charitable cause money is sent to it. While if some Eisendrath is married a telegram is always received by the newly married couple on their wedding night signed "The Eisendrath Cousins' Club". The expense budget for the year 1928-1929 is as follows: (1)

(1) Record of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club, 1928-1929

Expenses

1. Post cards	\$7.50
2. Postals, Nov.-	.50
3. Postals, Jan	1.50
4. To charity for Sigmund Eisendrath	3.00
5. To charity for Joseph Finn	3.00
6. Book	.50
7. Candy to Emma Kraus	1.50
8. Candy to Saddle Eisendrath	1.50
9. Candy to Rae Eliassoff-	1.50
10. Flowers to Margaret Hirsch	3.50
11. To charity for Emanuel Weil	3.00
12. Telegram to Leah Ellbogen's boat	.75
13. To Lulu Glickauf	<u>2.50</u>
Total Expenses	\$ 29.25

Cash on hand October 31st, 1929 \$ 42.00
(Received October meeting 1929)

The expense of each of the meetings offers one of the problems of the club. In former years when coffee, sandwiches and cakes were served in the afternoon, the expenses of the refreshments were not great and the various members gladly volunteered to be hostesses at the ensuing meetings; but now that each member realizes that a luncheon is to be served, no one volunteers to be a hostess, and, furthermore, the club has increased so in size that it is almost impossible to take care of so many individuals in a private home or an apartment, and certainly not in a kitchenette. Thus the expense of one meeting to each of the hostesses, if there be

two, is between \$25.00 and \$30.00, the luncheon being about \$1.25 a plate together with the candy, nuts, cigarettes, cards and often the prizes or favors provided by the hostesses. Someone has suggested that it would be cheaper and also save the secretary the embarrassment of calling upon the members to be hostesses if everyone paid for their own lunch. But this suggestion has been generally criticised and correctly ignored, for, as can be easily seen, it would spoil the "party-like" spirit of the organization. Everyone looks forward to being someone else's personal guest, to be welcomed by her when she comes to the meeting and to be obligated to her,--to thank her,--when she leaves. Furthermore the hostess enjoys acting as such. The whole idea is most typical of the Eisendrath family spirit, a love of entertaining and being entertained.

For several years there was quite a problem of policy in the club: who was to take the next meeting? And the secretary always waited until some one offered to be the hostess. Thus up to this last year the club schedule was quite irregular. Meetings were held upon any day during the week or in any week during the month provided someone volunteered to give them. But starting with last year the secretary adopted the principle of calling upon those women who had not given the luncheon for two years, and thus all were to be hostesses according to a set order. Furthermore the club, by a general vote, has decided to have its meetings upon the third Tuesday of each month. Thus it has in these two

ways become more definite, formal and organized. But rather a reactionary feeling to this is the criticism that "we have had too many meetings already this year, having had four so far", a statement made by one of the members of the club in January last year.

Another criticism of the activities of the club is the one to be expected from such members that have outside, cultural or economic interests and those that naturally feel that an afternoon spent thusly is precious time lost. These women feel that the afternoon which is now spent in card playing should be devoted to some sort of a reading or spent in some way as to stimulate cultural thought. But such a suggestion is in itself futile; these women, realizing this, have quite definitely become the more irregular attenders;-- and those of the entirely social natures are the steady ones and the ones that compose at least three-fourths of those present. From time to time papers have been read during the luncheon and impromptu speeches have been given. But these have pertained entirely to the Eisendrath family, lauding its spirit, praising its merits and intentionally omitting its faults; of course this flattery stimulates the family solidarity but does nothing to stimulate individual thinking. Indeed several meetings ago when the writer was asked to read a paper on the Eisendrath family she chose the most flattering and the most amusing parts of a paper she had written regarding the family; but even in reading this short paper of eight typewritten pages it was very difficult to hold the

attention of the women. After the paper was finished there was much spontaneous enthusiasm, many expressing wishes that they would like to help the writer in giving her the information that she wished to gain; but these promises were soon forgotten and she received only three more answered questionnaires as a result of the reading of this paper. Not only would it be impossible to get the women interested in any other type of entertainment than the one they now have, but, furthermore, it has been found impossible to centralize the attention of the group for more than five to ten minutes. Thus it is improbable that the social pattern of the club will be changed in the future.

As a group the women are of practically the same social status and thus among themselves they are very free and prone to criticize certain members of the family who do not belong to the club, interpretating their lack of interest to the fact that "they feel it beneath them to belong." But there is one member of the club who is decidedly above the others in her social status and who whenever she happens to be in Chicago upon the day of a meeting will come. It is most interesting to watch the attention shown her, and how certain of the women always rush to sit at the luncheon table around her. This woman, herself, is most simple and unpretentious; she always leaves right after the luncheon. She appears to have been rather bored and it is probably chiefly out of respect for her husband that she attends these

meetings.

Another curious incident occurred when Mrs. Robert Redfield was asked by one of the members of the club to be a guest at one of the meetings. The hostess had been told who she was,--that her husband was a professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago and that her father was Dr. Park, also a professor at the University. The minute she arrived at the meeting she was immediately introduced to everyone. The comments heard later upon her presence at this meeting were very amusing and quite "typical" of the Eisen-draths. One of the ladies at the other end of the long luncheon table was being constantly reminded to sit up straight because Mrs. Redfield was looking at her. Several of them afterwards were curious to know what Mrs. Redfield thought about the group, she seemed to be so quietly observing everybody,--in other words it very much flattered them that they should be put up for show as something unusual, something quite remarkable and something for which they themselves felt that they should be commended. Their self-consciousness was naturally to be expected.

This same phenomena was even more apparent in the recent publicity the family received from articles concerning it published in the Chicago newspapers. The majority of the women heartily enjoyed and were greatly flattered by it; only three or four of the extremely modest members were not in favor of it, calling it "cheap publicity". The Chicago Daily Tribune reporter came out to interview mem-

members of the club personally; his one comment after speaking with various of the members while they were seated at the luncheon table was: "They don't want this publicity, no, not much!"

Another interesting fact is the seating arrangement at the luncheon. Naturally there is no pre-arranged plan as to the seating of the guests. But, in reality, it is usually about the same, the same groups of women always sitting together. This seating is not based upon the closer family relationships but upon the closer personal friendships; as one member said, "I always try to sit next to so-and-so and so-and-so because they are my buddies." In this way the club seems to become a large assemblage of smaller primary groupings. Similarly the same bridge games are played and the same women play at the poker game each meeting.

And now, in conclusion, this family club is a group persisting because of its group valuation,--because of the integration of its members, their similarity of interests and habits. In type it is largely a nationality group,--composed of persons of German origin or of German ancestry, all of whom being Jewish; it is entirely a local Chicago group; while within the group in the actions and the interactions of the members one can note the processes of conflict, competition, accommodation and assimilation taking place. It is a primary group so far as the attitudes of some of its older members are concerned, but it has become almost entirely

formal in regard to its behavior pattern.

The Eisendrath family's continued solidarity is largely due to the influence of this club. It emphasizes the blood relationships and is, in itself, a tradition or a cultural heritage. Finally it is only a material symbol making for a group loyalty or group honor, while, at the same time, it is only a specialized organ of the large family group. The club, itself, does a great deal to further unify its members,--because it affords a touch communication, emotional intercourse, direct and indirect stimulations and reactions; and thus it is, in itself, a strong socializing agent and integrating force.

Social control in the group is for the most part a result of the similar customs and traditions of the individual members of which the club, itself, is only a ceremony or of which it is only a symbol. But this symbol has come to be a permanent institution, characteristically an organization which has been formed about the traditional idea that it should be merely a means for sociability; its behavior pattern or its manner of functioning has developed in such ways as will be the most suitable for achieving its purpose. And, furthermore, as an institution it entails a certain amount of routine procedure.

The Eisendrath Cousins' Club is a society based upon sentiment, whose members have common traditions and a common goal. And as a result of the similarity in the physical and the mental characteristics of the Eisendraths, of their com-

cultural and economic interests and their status in the community, of their more or less identical social environment and of their common traditions and customs, attitudes and beliefs, the family Cousins' Club was organized and continues to function.

If this family group is to be regarded as unusual in an urban environment,--if it is a cultural lag,--therein lies the importance of this study. A "government de-facto", or one in the making, is the best means of studying an independent nation for one is thus studying the social forces and causes which make for an ultimately recognized, independent government. And in a similar manner the Eisendrath family may be studied as an "urban family de-facto". The large family unit is not yet a totally disorganized group, as is usually thought to be typical of a large urban family. But this large Eisendrath family group certainly shows a rather definite trend towards becoming disintegrated and disorganized,--having within the last fifty years changed from a closely knit, interrelated, interdependent primary group to an organized, formalized social relationship only. And thus the integrating forces, which have persisted for over these fifty odd years in this urban environment, are still strong enough to achieve some form of a large family group unity.

PART III.

DISINTEGRATING FORCES IN THE FAMILY GROUP

THE EISENDRATH FAMILY LIFE FIFTY YEARS AGO,

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO? AND NOW

The Eisendrath Family Life Fifty Years Ago,

Twenty-Five Years Ago, and Now.

The city,----- is something more than a congeries of individual men and of social conveniences,--streets, buildings, electric lights, tramways, and telephones, etc; something more, also, than a mere constellation of institutions and administrative devices,--courts, hospitals, schools, police, and civil functionaries of various arts. The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly of human nature.

(1)

The urban environment tends to develop certain traits of personality in its people, which rural persons do not possess to so marked a degree. But the process of becoming urbanized, like that of becoming Americanized, is a slow and a gradual one. Both processes connote a disarding of former traditions and customs, and an adopting of those traditions and customs prevailing in the new environment. As a result of these gradual, more or less unconscious processes the individual changes his attitudes and social valuations. In the Eisendrath family this process of

(1) Park & Burgess: The City, p 1. (In Art. by Park: The City)

Americanization and urbanization has taken place within the last fifty years. It can perhaps best be described by a contrast of family life fifty years ago, twenty-five years ago and now.

The Eisendrath Family Life Fifty Years Ago

What were the family events and activities fifty years ago? What types of family interrelationships existed then? Over how much of the normal life of these individual Eisendraths did their family life extend?

The first form of family group life was quite typical of all immigrants,--that of trying to bring the rest of their family from the Old Country over to America to join them. The first Eisendrath immigrant, Nathan Eisendrath, back in the eighteen-fifties wrote home to persuade his brothers to follow him to this new country which offered so many better opportunities and so much more personal liberty than did Germany. But this enthusiasm was greatly augmented after 1856 when Adelaide Eisendrath (later Regensburg), its most ardent exponent, came over to join her brother. In the year 1886 the last of the nine Eisendrath families arrived in Chicago. But a strong attachment to their German relatives remained with these immigrants until the death of their mother in 1880. Since then the original German Eisendrath family group has become very scattered and disorganized. Those families still in the Old Country have spread out and

settled in many different parts of Europe,--in England, in Amsterdam as well as in Germany itself. Naturally the American born members of the family had very little or no interest in their far off European relatives. The last two families to arrive in Chicago, the Wolffs and the Rosenthals, came over to join the members of their respective families who had already previously migrated. Their families were already complete in size and most of the children were full-grown at the time of their migration. During these thirty odd years over which these migrations took place,--from 1848 to 1886,--there were many single migrations as well as these complete family movements. As each individual Eisendrath or as these Eisendrath family groups came to Chicago they would first live with or near to their other relatives. They would turn to both Nathan Eisendrath and Adelaide Regensburg for advice, thus binding the family groups together economically and socially. Both Nathan and Adelaide returned to Germany on subsequent visits and brought back with them several of their young nephews and nieces. The two oldest of the Wolff family this came to America with Nathan and places were made for them to live with their relatives in Chicago. Adelaide was particularly well known for her practice of making room for these newcomers that she brought back with her in her own home and of putting them to work immediately in their grocery store.

Naturally there thus arose a second form of family

interdependence,--financial assistance. Only two avenues of industry appear to have been open to the new arrivals,--the leather manufacturing industry or the retail grocery trade. Nathan Eisendrath, having already become settled in America, and as a result of his many business enterprises having already made his fortune, alone became a capitalist and a banker. Nevertheless, two of his sons became tanners: William N. Eisendrath and Joseph N. Eisendrath. Adelaide Regensburg's husband was a grocer, running a small retail grocery store in Chicago already before they were married. David Eisendrath had been a tanner in Europe before he came to America, and thus he started his own tannery in the United States. Cosman Eisendrath started a grocery store with his nephew, the other "Henry Regensburg". And all the young nephews and nieces that came over to America were first started in the then well-established Regensburg Grocery store,--that of Adelaide Eisendrath Regensburg's husband. Then Benjamin Eisendrath, a younger brother, stepped from the retail grocery business in which he was first trained after his arrival, into the wholesale meat packing industry. Another nephew, Julius Eisendrath, the oldest son of Levi Eisendrath, became a trader in cattle and poultry in Blue Island, Illinois, selling much of his meat to the various small individual Eisendrath family grocery stores, and many of his hides to his relatives then in the tanning business.

The old type of "family grocery store" provides an

interesting contrast with the modern "Chain Store". Fifty years ago the atmosphere of the grocery store was one of friendliness and personal interest rather than that striving for perfect efficiency. It was like the small country stores still found in the very small rural communities today. There were no paid sales-clerks as the members of the family were sufficient. No salaries were paid to the members of the group for their help. All the children were found waiting on the trade Before school, after school or instead of going to school if necessary. No bookkeepers were needed for there were neither charge accounts nor large, complicated bank accounts, the family removing from the cash drawer whatever cash they needed. At this time there was no form of commercial advertising as we find today, the only type used then was sociability. The largest of the Eisendrath "family grocery stores" fifty years ago was that of the Regensburg family at Twelfth and State Street, in the neighborhood in which all of the richest Chicagoans then lived. There was a newly installed telephone in this store, but it was never used for "ordering over the telephone" for few of its patrons had telephones in their homes. It was very thrilling for the customers to come into the store and to be allowed to use this store phone to call up their husbands at their places of business. Then every Friday morning would be the marketing time for all the housewives in the neighborhood; and then the "swells" would come to the store to do their week's marketing, often buying more than ten dollars' worth of food,--

which then purchased an enormous amount of food. Afterwards Mr. Regensburg would often serve these regular customers beer and ryebread. Sitting down with them, eating and drinking with them, he would spend a sociable half an hour or so.

Another spirit pervaded the old time grocery store,-- that of "patronizing your relative" in order to help them along instead of as now, "to get things at wholesale prices". Several of the Eisendraths kept their own cow in order to get their own fresh milk. Whenever this cow became old or "dry" as they would call it, they would go way out to Blue Island to get another cow from their relative out there, while it would certainly have been more convenient and more satisfactory to get it at the Stock Yards, then located nearer to the heart of the city.

Another form of family economic relationship were the oil well ventures in which the various members invested money upon the advice of Nathan Eisendrath. Nathan was known as the advisor, more or less as the family patriarch. No one would make any vital business changes without first talking it over with him. Everyone in the family looked up to him and felt that his advise could not be wrong. When he would advise his relatives to invest money in enterprises that he was interested in they would have more confidence in his advice than does the ordinary businessman have in that of his today. Unfortunately some of these investments that he recommended later turned out unsuccessfully.

Closely related to this type of economic inter-

dependence, was the form of family philanthropy. There were no formally organized community charities in existence at that time, so, naturally, there was real meaning to the saying "Charity begins at home." Of course the more affluent families in the group had a certain feeling of pride in their family, or in their name and what they wished it to stand for. They naturally would not want others in the community to discover that some of their relatives were starving or in want. There were two of the Eisendrath families that were more or less dependent upon the rest of the family, particularly the Rosenthal family, and to a lesser degree, the Cosman Eisendraths. It was usually Nathan Eisendrath or the Regensburgs that helped them out; Tanta Eva Wolff often slipped them money, and the Moses Eisendraths, although not as affluent themselves, would give them clothing or necessities in the form of presents. Clothes, in the form of "hand-me-downs" were often given to the relative most eligible in size. Help was not as often given in the form of money as we find nowadays for there was then a great deal of individual family pride; it was usually just lent or borrowed.

An incident quite typical of this spirit is the following. Adelaide Eisendrath Regensburg was asking her husband to lend some one of her relatives some money, "Give them some money, a couple of hundred dollars or so."; her husband's reply to this was that it was always for her family, not his, that she asked him for money. Thereupon she answered: "Thank God you can afford it; who will help our

brethern if we do not." It is only natural that there had to be some form of charity at this time, especially when families were so much larger in size and when the standard of living itself was so much nearer to the marginal income of the family.

Along with this well developed family economic interdependence and strong feeling of familism one should naturally expect to find a closer social relationship existing. The social activities fifty years ago were relatively fewer than those found in urban life today; therefore it is not enough merely to mention what they were at that time, but one must always bear in mind the much greater role that they played in the entire social life of the individual, and thus discount them accordingly.

The family social life was to an even larger extent carried on by the women then than it is today: men worked harder physically during the day and were tired at night; and, furthermore, the distances between the individual families, although actually not nearly as great as today, were relatively much greater for they did not have automobiles, taxis or busses to get places in. How much narrower and more restricted must necessarily have been the social activities of the women then! The home was a much more dominant and time-consuming responsibility. There were always children to think and worry about. Monday would be the family wash day, without the aid of the washing machine. Tuesday would

then be the family ironing day, without the use of the electric iron. Friday, at least Friday morning, would be devoted entirely to marketing; on one day there would necessarily be the weekly family baking to do,--all the breads, cookies, kuchen and cakes to make which we now depend upon the neighborhood grocer to supply or order from the "Home Delicacies", and of which much more was consumed per person at that time. Then there was all of the family mending to be done, the sheets, table-clothes, curtains and napkins, etc., to be hemmed, fussy white poplin dresses to be entirely embroidered by hand, sweaters to be knit, and then weeks at a time had to be given over to working with the family seamstress. There were always five, six or seven or even more children and a husband, and often a family boarder, to be cared for. No wonder that the wife had no time for or interest in the latest lecture on "The Psychology of Culture" or "The Art of the Far East", or even the latest vogue in interior decorating, nor any interest in reading, bridging or just "running downtown to look around".

There was some truth in the sayings that a woman was formerly the servant or even the slave of her husband, or that traditionally the ideal Jewish wife (or woman) is a mother and her role in the family pattern is that of a good house-keeper, a good cook and a diligent needlewoman.

Fixing the marriages of the young people was traditionally an old Jewish social custom. Traces of it fifty

years ago were still to be seen in the Eisendrath family,-- of premeditatively and intentionally introducing the two young, eligible persons, of consciously throwing them together as much as possible, and then of talking the one into liking, loving and finally marrying the other. Thus although there was literally no longer the so-called "Jewish Shadchan", the traditional marriage agent, and the girl's chances for marriage were not wholly dependent "upon the size of her dowry and the family reputation for piety, learning and philanthropy" (1), nor were the highest virtues of the bridegroom then considered to be "excellence in Talmudic study, which surpasses in value a splendid pedigree or a dazzling income bedimmed with ignorance" (2), yet there were rather definite examples of maneuverings to fix up matches for the younger Eisendraths, and there was much talking among the older ones as to who would be the best suited for "so-and-so". Such would naturally be expected where Jewish traditions and customs still had a greater hold upon the individual, where social life was more restricted, and where family life was developed to a much greater degree. The two women in the Eisendrath family, Adelaide Regensburg and Eva Wolff, the outstanding social leaders in the family life at that period, were, likewise, quite generally known in the capacity,--as Shadchens. The whole previous training of the girls, in the family and in the home, had been guided by the goal of

(1) Cohen, Israel: Jewish Life in Modern Times, p 41

(2) Ibid.

matrimony,--in the art of good housekeeping, her cooking lessons, her sewing lessons, her music lessons as well as her home training and duties were all felt necessary in order to fit her to be the perfect, refined and cultured Jewish wife. So when these girls became eligible for marriage either Adelaide Regensburg or Eva Wolff would give consciously, long-thought-out dinner parties or evening social gatherings in order to introduce them to some eligible young man, to further or to fix up a match for them. There was a spirit of openness about the whole thing; all the older people were consciously and curiously awaiting the outcome, and the young people also knew the intentions of their older relatives. But this type of "shadchening" was only a natural phenomenon then: the young Eisendrath girls were constantly meeting unattached nephews or cousins of their relatives by former marriages within the homes of their relatives. Several of these situations which culminated in "matches" were Lena Regensburg's marriage to her uncle's nephew; Julius Eisendrath married his aunt's cousin; Bertha Eisendrath who married her uncle Myer Wolff's brother; Julchen Rosenthal made the second marriage into the Fellheimer family; while Benjamin Washington Eisendrath married his first cousin, Mary Fellheimer, making the third marriage between these two families.

But in other cases the fixing of marriages was even more pronounced. In the Wolff family there were ten children, six girls and four boys. The girls in particular were

very conscious of their mother's intentions. Bella, the oldest girl, did not want to marry the man her mother had selected for her as "he was not her ideal"; but she married him, and now after over forty years of married life, seems to have adjusted very well to this situation, being a very normal, social being, at least in outward appearance and behavior. Some feel that Adelaide Wolff Jacobs died while she was still young "because she didn't like her husband". Rosy was divorced from her first husband, remarrying a New Yorker. Dina, while very young, ran off and married a man of whom her mother did not approve; this was most typical of her, for of the ten children she was the most extravert, and the one who most opposed her mother's domination, and now of the eight children still living she has by far the most personality,-- in fact she has the most personality of any of the Eisendraths, being the most dramatic, the most expressive, the most emotional, as well as the neatest and the most particular. Selma, the youngest of the ten, had the greatest freedom; she married a Gentile and continued to live with her mother. She has never had a home of her own nor any children, and after her mother's death has continued to keep house in this same Wolff home which belongs to her bachelor brother, Sam. But the fate of the brothers was different; Eva was known to have been more selfish with her boys, more or less keeping two of the four from marrying. It is felt by several that Sam, her oldest child and her main support in America, wished to marry at one time, but that Eva objected to it;

consequently she was always more liberal and tolerant of his behavior in other ways. Oscar never had any such a romance, according to the knowledge of the other Eisendraths, his life was always apparently sublimated to the immediate life of this individual family.

There were three marriages between the Eisendraths and Baltimore families. The first was that of Oscar Eisendrath and Sadie Walters. Then that of Sigmund Rosenthal and Rae Ring was supposed to have been more or less of a fixed affair as Rae was the oldest daughter in a large family and her parents were rather anxious to make a match for her. Then the marriage of Emma Eisendrath and Louis Kraus is further interesting in that it shows another Jewish tradition still rather prevalent at that time. Older brothers were reared with the feeling or the responsibility that they should not, almost could not, marry themselves until their younger sisters were married and thus provided for. Louis Kraus had a younger sister, and it was Tanta Eva who fixed up this sister's marriage with her own doctor, that allowed the marriage to take place between Emma Eisendrath and Louis Kraus.

Fanny Regensburg was another one of the younger members for whom Eva tried to find a man; Fanny was engaged several times as a result of this "maneuvering", finally marrying Jack Sloss which marriage some feel was a "fixed affair", and Mr. Sloss was immediately taken into the family, and even into the Regensburg Grocery Store.

The men were, on the whole, freer to marry whomever and whenever they chose. The four younger of Nathan Eisendrath's five sons, coming from the most prominent Eisendrath family, married into three of the leading Jewish families in Chicago at that time, two brothers marrying two sisters.

There have been no intermarriages within the Eisendrath family itself although there have been intermarriages of Eisendraths with their non-Eisendrath relatives, such as the case of Benjamin Washington Eisendrath previously mentioned. A comment has been made to the effect that both Samson and Henry Eisendrath would have married their third cousin, Blanch, Burger, but that the fact that she was related to them hindered their marrying her.

There were four instances of intermarriage with Gentiles at this period, and it is rather interesting to note that only one has taken place since this time. One of these intermarriages was in the Wolff family which was never known to be religiously Jewish. Two others took place in the Cosman Eisendrath family. The fourth was that of the deaf-mute, Oscar Regensburg who married a Gentile woman who was similarly afflicted. At this period there was only one Eisendrath woman who died not having been married, this being the hunch-back daughter of Moses Eisendrath, her parents having raised her with the conscious intentions that she should never marry. Three men remained bachelors: the two in the Wolff family and one in the Cosman Eisendrath family.

The family social life, the social gatherings, was largely carried on by the women. Such activities as there were then took place in the form of informal card parties, birthday celebrations, Sunday family visits and any other rather special occasion that might arise from time to time. Two homes, the Regensburg and the Wolff homes, were the most outstandingly social; in these two most often the family gatherings were held.

Already at this time social clubs were being formed, and it was the vogue for each Jewish family to join either one or the other of them,--the Standard Club, the Lakeside Club or the Ideal Club. But such activities as these clubs might offer,--dances for the most part,--did not interest the older people. The younger people had also organized small literary clubs among themselves, meeting usually once a week, on Sunday afternoons preferably. Each week the members of these clubs prepared and delivered rather elaborate talks and speeches which they gave among themselves. These clubs were not confined to the family group, but often one member would introduce and initiate another one of his young relatives into his group. But, in general, there were very few similar out-of-the-family-group activities carried on by the older members of the family.

It was the older Eisendrath women who gathered together once a month or so to spend a sociable afternoon with each other. This was the first family club, very informal and simple and the embryo, at least in spirit, of the modern

Eisendrath Cousins' Club. Probably the majority of these meetings were also held at the Regensburg home at Twelfth and Wabash Avenue, then one of the largest homes of any of the Eisendraths, a basement house with sixty-five windows, and located in the "swellest" district of the Chicago Jewry. Adelaide Regensburg was a woman who was used to having people come to her; she rarely put herself out to call on the others,--"She was not great on going out". As would naturally be the case, the others formed the habit of coming to her. And then, if Adelaide wished to have her women relatives over upon a certain afternoon, the news would spread around among them that "Adelheite" would be "zu Hause" on such and such a day. Then early in the afternoon of this day all the women would congregate at the home of the hostess. They would sit around and talk about their families, their children or the latest news or gossip of the time; or they would all together play lotto or klupfen, a game which was something like slap-jack; each would put a penny into the pot in the center of the table. Before the cards were dealt out and then played, the proceeds would go to the winner. At four o'clock it would be coffee time, and all would go downstairs to the basement dining room where in a most "becovet" (simple, unpretentious), fashion all would sit around the table to enjoy their "Kaffee und Kuchen". The table had already been prepared with many varieties of yeast-made cakes set in the center of it: apple kuchen, Bundt kuchen, Simmit Kuchen, Cinnamon Kaffee kuchen, smaller individual

prune cakes, schnecken, and several kinds of rich butter cookies.

Every Saturday afternoon there was known to be an "open house" at the Wolff home on Chestnut Street, and all the families,--the men, women and their children,--would drop in. Tante Eva, the matriarch of the family, kept track of every one in the family, and seemed very hurt if any of her relatives neglected her by not coming to see her. If certain members of the family did not come to visit her for some time, she would find some way of letting them know that she had missed them and that she was interpreting their absence as a personal insult. But this Wolff home always permeated a more foreign atmosphere than did the other Eisendrath homes, German rather than Jewish; there was always more eating, drinking and singing,--"carousing",--going on there than in any of the other more Americanized homes. Then at these Saturday gatherings others, besides the family, would be dropping in,--Germans and Irishmen in particular, who were relatively less refined and less cultured than the Eisendraths,--at least according to the Eisendraths' own opinion of themselves. Thus many relatives resented going to such a hilarious gathering and meeting people whom "they were not especially proud of"; but still they felt rather duty-bound to pay their respects to this matriarch.

Another form of family social activity were the annual birthday parties of the older Eisendrath women. Birthdays, then, for the most part were not reckoned by the dates

upon which they fell, but by the number of days they came before or after the nearest Jewish holiday: thus if a person was born a week before "Purim", the birthday was always celebrated the week-end before "Purim" regardless of when on the regular calendar that holiday fell during that year. The celebrations themselves were very extensive,--especially those of Tante Eva. Particularly in her case the occasion was a three-day affair, lasting from Friday through Sunday. Everyone of the relatives, including the oldest and the youngest members of the family groups, was expected to come at some time bringing with him some kind of a gift in order to show their respects. On one certain day the South Siders would be expected, on another all the children, and then Sunday afternoon was always supposed to be the general family day when the whole family,--the husband, the wife and all of the children,--would be welcomed. One of the older women, Fanny Eisendrath (Cosman's wife) always celebrated her birthday on the fifth of July by giving a luncheon at the Bismarck Gardens. According to reports there were usually over a hundred persons present, including all the women members of the family and some close friends. The younger married relatives would be dropping in all day long, and the table was continually being set and reset with food for those that had just arrived. The presents were often put on a table for the guests to admire. Thus these birthday celebrations were events or institutions which all the family might yearly

anticipate attending.

Weddings, although often traditionally spoken of as "family affairs" were not always fifty years ago large enough to include all the relatives. Gradually, more and more, they were becoming smaller affairs to which only the immediate family and the most intimate friends of the bride and the groom were invited. The great majority of them took place in the home of the bride. Then naturally the size of the wedding depended upon the financial status of the family as well as upon its sociability. All of the Wolff weddings were large affairs to which the entire family were invited: Bella's, Rosy's, Adelaide's and Lulu's were particularly large. Several of the Regensburg weddings were also large,--those of Millie to Sol Hamberger, of Sam to Bella Strauss, and later that of Jimmy to Amy Falk. The other Eisendrath families either being less affluent, or less sociable, or having previously become further withdrawn from the large family group circle were more particular as to whom they invited to these wedding ceremonies and why each guest was invited.

In the narrower sense, funerals were most particularly family affairs, the most complete family reunions of all. There was always a larger proportion of the family present at these occasions than at any other family gatherings for the men in the family would always feel duty-bound to attend these ceremonies. They were, thus, in this way, the

most complete and the most sociable of all the family gatherings. Indeed, one of the Eisendrath women, after the funeral of her husband is known to have said that "Blood is still thicker than water"; and it was not until his death that she realized the size, the strength and the loyalty of the family.

Weekly Sunday activities also showed up another phase of the family social life. Sunday afternoon was always set aside as being the family visiting time. The father would hitch up the horse and the buggy and the family all very well dressed,--literally "in their Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes",--would start out driving. Thus they would go to call on some of their relatives, the children often being allowed to choose which one of their favorite aunts they wished to call on during that afternoon.

In the summer Sunday was often the day devoted to family picnics; Jackson Park or some place near Blue Island, where one of the Eisendrath families was then living, was usually the spot chosen for such events. As both places were relatively far away and much less accessible than they are today, it would be pre-arranged just where and at what hour all the individual families were expected to assemble. These family picnics always afforded a very happy, simple means of recreation. Each family brought its share of the food. After the meal had been finished the children would usually go off to play games by themselves while the older

folks would remain seated and spend the rest of the afternoon talking until time to call the children, to clean up the remnants of the lunch,--usually only waste paper and crumbs,-- repack what they wanted to take home with them.

On Sunday evenings there was generally "open house" at the Regensburg home. Every relative and any friend that he would wish to bring along was always welcomed by this family and immediately invited to stay for supper. Thus many of the young people, particularly the young men, formed the habit of just managing to arrive there a little before supper time. Afterwards the older people would "leave the young folks to themselves", sometimes to play cards in the second parlor while, at the same time the younger folks would sing songs, play sharades or guessing games or once in a great while all together, almost on a moment's leave, they would go downtown to theater, all taking the street-car or walking down to the theater,--the tickets were only a dollar apiece, and this form of a "lark" always constituted an especially "big time". Sometimes on summer Sunday evenings, or other evenings when there were callers, the entire family, company and all, would congregate on the front porch, the older members sitting up on the small, open porch in the large wicker chairs, while the younger ones, having rolled down the red plush stairs-carpet, would assemble on the steps.

There was one other form of family behavior quite

typical of the Jewish community as a whole, which still to a lesser extent survives. This was the habit of one family imitating another whether in associating with the same persons outside of the family, in copying from another any new recipe, to join the same clubs, to live in the same neighborhood. Perhaps this factor is greatly responsible for the fact that so many of these old Jewish families have more or less clung together during these fifty ensuing years. It has kept their interests more or less centered so that now their behavior is still, to a marked degree, the same. Fifty years ago there were some rather interesting examples of this phenomenon. So many of these families had the same doctor while all of them had the same "baby doctor".

Another instance of this factor of imitation is observed in the education of the children. All the children of the more progressive Jewish families were forced to take many private lessons aside from their other daily chores, duties and school work. The same teacher tutored separately the children of all the various families. After the children had finished school on this certain day they would have to come right home to be tutored in Hebrew by Mr. Zink, or to take their German lesson from Mr. Eliassoff, or to prepare for their music lesson with Mr. Heue. The girls took sewing lessons together from one particular teacher. These lessons were in addition to the customary tasks of their family life. Thus the childrens' whole days were filled with compulsory activities and were allowed no time, or very little, for

recreation and freedom. The evolution of education is interesting,--from entirely within the home to entirely without the home. Here fifty years ago is seen an intermediate stage: the parents that could afford it, did not watch over their children or work with them, but employed others to tutor them privately within their homes. The children were allowed little freedom even in their work. The whole theory of education then,--of stimulation from without, and of dictating to the child what was right and what should and must be done,--was entirely contrary to the more modern theories of education which aim to stimulate individual initiative, creative activity and individual reasoning on the part of the child. The children themselves resented being forced into such conventional behavior patterns, but their opinions were disregarded. They despised all their teachers, who had only old fashioned ideas of how children should be taught and disciplined. Indeed, as one older relative said: "It was such an impractical education; we could speak Hebrew and perfect German, but we didn't know how to have a good time.

From this brief portrayal of family life fifty years ago in a Chicago family, it is quite apparent that in a half century family relationships and social life have undergone great changes. Formerly all wants and desires were more modest, and their satisfactions more complete. In a close family group naturally the human wish for affection and response more adequately found expression since each individual

was so much more a part of the community and each person, as a result, gained more individual recognition. The wishes for security and for new experiences were relatively on such a smaller plane. Family life itself supplied so much greater a part of these desires that each person was in all probability more contented and not as restless as are individuals today. Life in general was, apparently, much more wholesome and, in a certain sense, more social fifty years ago than it is today.

Individual members of the individual families varied somewhat in the degree to which they felt these family relationships, but much less than is found among the members of families today. The closeness of the family group has always been inversely proportional to the degree of out-family-group contacts that the individual members of the family might have. The children naturally had the most outside contacts fifty years ago through their public schooling. They were thus not as fully imbued with the genuine family-clan feeling. Their friends were chosen even then more because of common interests rather than because of family relationships. But the spirit of family loyalty was still felt very strongly by the men although they did not find as many opportunities as did their wives of expressing it. One example of this feeling was that of Moses Eisendrath, who after retiring from his grocery store occupation would walk over daily to Tante Eva's home to spend the morning with her. Another case was that of Julius Eisendrath, who lived

in Blue Island, but came to Chicago almost every Monday; Tante Eva always looked forward to seeing him at some time during that day. Other men were also known to be very fond of this last surviving member of the original Eisendrath family, particularly the two sons of old Nathan Eisendrath, Joseph N. Eisendrath and William N. Eisendrath.

A genuine family feeling and a true family loyalty was an uppermost sentiment in the case of many Eisendraths. Rosie Eisendrath Weil, Moses Eisendrath's daughter, was always known to be the first to arrive if anyone of her relatives was sick or in need of help of any kind. When horse and buggy riding became the vogue way back in the eighteenthies almost every afternoon Adelaide Regensburg would drive to the North Side of Chicago to take her sister, Eva, out riding in Lincoln Park. Such an afternoon's pastime today,--automobile driving with one's own sister just for the sake of merely driving about,--would be almost unheard of now.

Fifty years ago people, personalities were more enjoyed and appreciated for their own sake, in contrast to the spirit that is found today where social contacts are merely a means to the more selfish end of the individual,--to learn from others, to teach others who thus in this one sense at least are the inferiors, or to do something cooperatively together. Rarely are women content to spend an afternoon in just talking as they did formerly. And in general fifty years ago people were perfectly happy in just "being," rather

than as now in always "doing" or "acting".

Family Life Twenty-Five Years Ago

Twenty-five years ago there was very little or no outstanding expression of the family interrelationship to be found among the Eisendraths,--only a rather empty, meaningless family loyalty. The former typical means of expressing family sociability had, for the most part, ceased to be. Whatever was done to express this family feeling was done more because it was considered to be a family duty rather than a mutual pleasure. By this time almost all of the older original immigrant members of the Eisendrath family had died; Eva Wolff was the only one still living of these older people and she still continued to hold her "open house" all Saturday afternoon, but the family visitors were fewer and the lapse of time between the visits of the individual members were longer. Furthermore Eva Wolff no longer held such an important or dominating position in the family life which seemed to be too disorganized to have any larger group life. The idea of the family "shadchening" had also been entirely lost for each one of the younger generation was then growing up in his or her own crowd which was entirely independent of any family relationships.

The family economic interdependence had also rather suddenly ceased to exist. Each family was interested only in its own individual financial success. There were no longer any family businesses such as the groceries had been but each

father managed his own business affairs which were entirely apart from the home life of his family. There were no longer any of the large family group investment interests such as the oil well ventures had been. Several of these investments had been failures. Each man felt he was better able to take care of his own interests now. There had been no successor to Nathan Eisendrath as absolute patriarch of the large family group. All the men were now established in businesses of their own and did not feel that they had time nor sufficient interest to be concerned with the financial status of their relatives. There were still four grocery stores which had all grown considerably and which were now looked upon as old, long established and reliable Chicago firms. The Regensburg store, now on Forty-Third Street near Grand Boulevard, was more of a "play-thing", in order to keep the "Old Man Regensburg" and his son-in-law, Jack Sloss, busy for they no longer depended upon the income of the store for their livelihood. The Eisendrath family was now known more for its clothing stores, and most particularly for its tanneries for there were then five large Eisendrath tanneries all running entirely independently of each other.

There were no longer examples of the former spirit of family charity and family self-protection. If any families became dependent it was never known to the rest of the larger family group members. The individual families might still be very close, as was, for example, the Wolff family. And Rosie Weil, who was still living and now quite old, was the

only Eisendrath who still continued to visit the sick members of the family.

The family had greatly spread out in space: some had gone further north, but the majority had moved to the South Side of the city and were now living around Grand Boulevard and Forty-Third Street, then the nucleus of the South Side Jewish Community. The Wolff family, alone, had continued to live in the same house. In social status the families had likewise become spread apart: some of the men of the younger generation who had been financially successful had become social leaders; others were less often heard of; while still others were never heard of, and if their names should be mentioned it would be rather understood that they had not fared as well as the others,--they were, in a sense, the family poor relatives who were carried along as "Eisendraths" and acknowledged as relatives just because they were bloodily related.

Funerals, undoubtedly, were still the only more complete type of family unions that had still survived. It was still considered to be one's duty to pay one's respect to one's deceased relatives, but more out of feeling for one's parents who had felt so very close to this older relative who had just died. For certainly there could be no genuine feeling of bereavement when there was no longer any basis for such a sentiment.

Socially as well as economically the lives of the different Eisendraths had come to be lived entirely

independently of each other. There were no longer any informal afternoon social gatherings. Out-of-the-family-group contacts had come wholly to fill the ordinary routine of the lives of the individual members of the family. Literary clubs had been succeeded already by golf clubs, settlement house groups, or just small social "crowds". Ravistoe, the first Jewish Golf Club about Chicago, had been organized in the late nineties and already for several families Sunday was the one day during the week which the family, or at least the men in the family, spent at the country-club. Other men would spend their Sunday afternoon playing poker or some other card game. At any rate it is easy to see that Sundays, also, were no longer family visiting days.

Birthdays, likewise, were no longer celebrated as they had been formerly. If they were celebrated they were no longer the large family group affairs of fifty years ago. There were only two weddings of members of the family which were exceptionally large and to which many of the Eisendrath relatives had been invited,--those were the weddings of Tante Eva's granddaughters, Elsa and Margaret Levy. In fact there was only one large event which took place at this time which could be called a family affair, where all the members of the family were invited,--and that was the Golden Wedding of Tante Eva and Myer Wolff in 1905.

The Modern Family Life

The modern Eisendrath family life in appearance seems to have developed again more of a family feeling. Some of the members of the group can now appreciate what they lost in discarding their former family interrelationship,--at least so far as family sociability is concerned. More or less thoroughly Americanized and urbanized, many of them can look back upon their early environment and appreciate the significance of the simple, wholesome type of sociability that their grandparents enjoyed. Perhaps there is even an element of pathos in the lives of those older women who always attend so religiously all the family parties given now. They can often be heard reminiscing about little incidents of their early childhood or recounting stories about the early life of the original Eisendraths.

The Eisendrath Cousins' Club reflects a revival of the old family sociability although in a changed form. Those, within the Cousins' Club group at least, have relatively the same financial status and the same social standing within the community as fifty years ago. These, more typically urbanized, to be sure, have still in general the same common interests, live the same type of lives, and, in the main, associate with the same larger group of people. It is interesting to realize that the club was organized by the most German member of the group and it has survived to a

large extent due to her efforts. She is the club secretary and assumes all the responsibilities connected with the organization and does all the club work. She is also the only member who is proposing constantly other family gatherings such as a evening family reunion for all the members of the family. Whenever Dina Heymanson, the most active member at the meetings, makes an impromptu speech on "family loyalty" or some similar subject she always does so in German although she can speak perfect English.

This club has continued now for over ten years only because its meetings are enjoyable to its members. But the organization of the club and its whole spirit are entirely different from that spontaneous, informal, "becovet" atmosphere of fifty years ago: it is more elaborate, more organized, more conventional, more formal and typically modern in its pattern of procedure. The luncheon always consists of modern hotel food served in a formal, efficient manner; the subjects of conversation at the meetings are not as often about one's children but about oneself or about other persons in the community, about subjects of general interest at that moment. Immediately after the meal is finished the card games are organized and the rest of the afternoon is spent in playing bridge or poker,--certainly none of the members do any sewing and rarely do any of them spend these two hours in just talking.

There is today almost no mutual interest in the family just for its own sake. Indeed there is not enough

interest even to organize and have this evening meeting which Flora Eisendrath has proposed at so many of the meetings of the Cousins' Club. A vote upon this subject was taken at the last meeting last year; of the thirty-eight members that were present at that time, the replies were as follows: seventeen said that "they would be interested in such an event", nine were indifferent, and twelve replied that they were absolutely opposed to it. Even this vote cannot be taken as representative for it must be discounted by the fact that several of the members at least voted "Yes" in order not to hurt Flora Eisendrath's feeling. But the Cousins' Club itself continues, not because it is a family club, and it is enjoyed not because it is a family "get-together", but rather because some of its members welcome an opportunity of being with certain other of their relative-friends and because it is, in general, just another means to another pleasant end,--one of sociability.

There are now no other expressions of other family relationships. Funerals, to be sure, are still attended by many members of the family group, but no one any longer feels duty-bound to go. Weddings could no longer be expected to be large family affairs. Economic interdependence has ceased to such an extent that most of the Eisendrath men do not even know what type of business many of their relatives are in; it is only those men that are outstanding in the business world, such as the three remaining tanners, that are generally known. And if one relative should patronize another it

is certainly not to "help him along", but rather to get things better, cheaper or with less effort.

And just as in business, so in the every day social life of the individuals selfish ends dominate each individual's behavior. No man would think of staying at home on Sunday just to call on any one of his relatives. Perhaps in the winter there may be several family Sunday dinners given or Sunday card games in session between members of the family. But in the summer Sunday is the one day during the week that most every wife knows that she can make no plans for her family. If it is a nice day the men cannot start for the golf club or the public course links early enough; and, if it is raining one would not want to exert himself as much as to go calling anyway. Evenings are also spent in various ways to gain selfish pleasures,--going to the movies, to theater, to dances or playing bridge,--whether amusements be done with one's relatives or one's friends makes little difference.

The young people in the Eisendrath family today have as yet had no kind of social gathering for the younger Eisendrath cousins, and individually have shown little interest in the proposal. The only family interest of these younger members is one of curiosity,--rather to know who their cousins are. But, at the sametime, each Eisendrath will claim his relationship to every other Eisendrath he knows to be his cousin, no matter how distant the kinship

may be. To be sure the hope has often been expressed that the Eisendrath Cousins' Club will last forever, but such opinions are expressed by the older members of the Cousins' Club. As yet there are very few of the younger members of the family that attend the club meetings, none of whom are at all active.

The Eisendrath Cousins' Club, interestingly enough, is now greatly dependent upon our modern means of transportation, the automobile in particular; otherwise the scattered group could not hope to assemble in the numbers that they now do. Thus one of the strongest factors working for the disorganization of the Eisendrath family life again, in a sense, is aiding in reuniting the larger family unit.

But the men in the Eisendrath family are not nearly as aggressive today as they were fifty years ago. Perhaps one factor responsible for this change is the very fact that now they are working as individuals entirely and wholly independent of each other, and not as members of a group. If "strength lies in numbers", the decline in the solidarity of the large family group means a decrease in the stimulation to effort of its individual members.

All in all the individualization and the relative independence of persons today is perhaps more apparent in regard to family sociability and family interrelationship than in any of its other aspects. Indeed all personalities are moulded into more or less fixed, conventionalized, standardized

individual patterns of behavior. All of our larger social institutions tend to foster and favor individual initiative by means of individual recognition and by treating the individual as an individual rather than just as a member of a group; such an aim is dominant in our political life, our economic life, our religious life, (1), in our type of philanthropy, and in our methods of education. But perhaps it most completely dominates our social life. In an urban environment everything is entered into with a competitive spirit; individuals are stimulated to excel by added incentives,--whether it be to win at cards, to win at golf, to be the most attractive at a dance, to be the best read, the most versed or the most accomplished at anything.

(1) In the Reform Jewish Synagogues the subjects for the Sunday sermons are always ones of rather general, individual interest.

THE CHIEF CAUSES FOR THE FAMILY DISINTEGRATION

The Chief Causes For Family Disorganization

In the brief summary of the family life of the Eisen-draths fifty years ago, twenty-five years ago and now there has merely been an attempt to record historical facts, as it were, to describe conditions as they then existed or do exist now. Few, if any, reasons have been given to account for the changes and trends revealed. The influence of an urban environment is a main factor. But what are the elements in an urban environment? In itself city life is so complex, and acts and reacts so differently upon each individual, that it is not enough to say that the urban influence upon family life has tended to disorganize the large family group, or has tended to break up the rapport that formerly existed between the members of this larger family group. Therefore, the attempt will now be to analyse these changes and to seek out their causes.

The influences of urban life do not merely react on the family group as a whole; if this were the case the family life would not have so suddenly been destroyed. But, rather, it affects the individual as a member of the group. It stimulates each individual so differently that, as a result, his interests may become entirely different from those of the remainder of the family. The effects of urban life on the individual Eisendrath families and the separate reactions of their members tended to destroy the larger family-clan

interrelationship and social life. To make a most thorough study of the Eisendrath family disorganization it would be necessary to make an individual analysis of every member of the large Eisendrath family both in the past and now in the present, and to determine how urban life has affected him. It would, however, be impossible to determine all the influences acting upon all of these persons, both those dead and those living. The greatest interest centers in the living: for they should show the more complete change than those that died in the past and who more or less faithfully adhered to their former traditions and social customs.

Undoubtedly the break-up of the so-called "family regime" started with the Industrial Revolution when the newer type of economic life gradually changed from the agricultural stage to our modern, industrial, mechanical plane of which cities and large metropolises are the natural outgrowth. But, as often we find to be the case, the non-material culture lags behind the material advancement. In our present civilization, within the last fifty years at least, we have gone through and are still going through a rather definite period of what the German sociologists term an "Aufering",-- a clearing up and a discarding of our old, unadapted, meaningless folkways and mores, particularly so in regard to family customs and traditions. Consciously or unconsciously all of our old social customs are being questioned; a more rational order is now being established; and nothing is being done without a reason or without some

utilitarian motive. Certainly in the Eisendrath family the lagging family social traditions and customs were discarded in the past and it can now be considered more of a representative urban family.

Much has been written as to how urban life has tended to disrupt the family, and much literature can be found as to how the former in-family-group functions have been removed from the individual family pattern, institutionalized and have now become out-family-group functions affording out-family-group contacts and develop to a much greater extent individual interests without the family rather than within the family group. Typically, the former type of family was held together by "economic, religious, protective, educational, recreational, social status and affectional" bonds. (1) And in modern life "these functions or bonds are being less identified with the family and more with institutions outside the home." (2) The automobile, and all forms of faster and better means of transportation, are often cited as disrupting factors, but nothing seems to have been written to show how these urbanizing influences have reacted upon the individuals of a family to make them less or more congenial as the case might be. What factors and forces, therefore, seem to be the most immediately responsible for the change or the disintegration of the larger Eisendrath family group.

(1) Anderson and Lindeman, Urban Sociology, pp 333-334

(2) Ibid, p 334

Naturally there are some factors that would tend to disintegrate such a large family group regardless of any other additional influences upon it,--regardless of the more indirect and more subtle forces of urban life. These more natural factors will first be stated, their importance discounted and born constantly in mind. First the Eisendrath family has, in America alone, increased tremendously in size,--from nine families originally to over a hundred and twenty-five individual families; relationships have become more complex, and the families further removed in space. It is very important to bear in mind that Chicago, fifty years ago, was a comparatively young and undeveloped metropolis, and kin-families naturally lived closer to one another, particularly related immigrant families in a strange and new environment. As the city grew and expanded further in area and as these families, meanwhile, became more adapted to their new surroundings, these individual Eisendrath families were constantly moving and spreading further apart so that now some are living in the South Side area, some in the North Side section, some in the North Shore suburbs, while only one family group has remained where it was originally. Also it must be assumed that each member's individual life was likewise expanding and broadening as well as becoming more specialized, so that there was a much greater diversity of interests among all the members of the large family group; and these interests, as we have also found, have affected the individuals attitudes towards his other

relatives either for or against family organization.

Then what are these causes which have seemed to be the most prevalent in the group tending towards its disintegration? What, in more detail, are the forces which in the past have tended to influence one individual or one smaller Eisendrath family group more than the others resulting in its breaking away more or less completely from this kinship organization?

The first factor was the relatively new type of marriage in which the males fifty years ago to a larger extent, and the females to a lesser extent had a free choice in selecting their mates. In Germany where the matches of the children had been pre-arranged for the most part and fixed by the parents, marriages naturally had presumed some common social relationship upon which basis the match had been arranged. Although we do not know of any intermarriages among the bloodly related Eisendraths, at least among those who have been in America during the last seventy-five years, yet there were undoubtedly in Germany and formerly in Chicago more inter-clan family marriages among the Eisendraths, more marriages between the Eisendraths on the one hand and another similarly large family group. For example there were three marriages which occurred over fifty years ago between the Eisendrath family and the Fellheimer family. And this would naturally be the case where the social contacts of the family were necessarily so much smaller. Even in Chicago fifty years ago the Jewish social circle from which one could

choose had increased tremendously in comparison to that in Germany. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why "Shadchening" as a business has been outgrown. And it was only to be expected that these new persons marrying into the family group, each bringing with him relatively different interests, customs and cultures, and contacts, would do much to disintegrate and to disorganize the larger family unity. Furthermore, traditionally among the Jews, as is true of any race whose people have more of a matrilineal form of family organization, the man marries into the wife's family and out of his own. Of course the extremes of this matrilineal or clan tradition were never practised, but it is still rather true among the Jews that the individual family remains closer to the wife's or mother's relatives, if there be such living nearby, than to those of the husband or father. Therefore each marriage of a male Eisendrath in particular has tended to further break up the former group unity. The very fact that each individual man did not entirely withdraw from his own family after his marriage but was still considered to be a part of it, and yet, at the same time, he came to more strongly reflect his newer, more immediate, changed cultural environment tended to destroy the rapport he had formerly had with the rest of his family, and this changed attitude would be felt and reacted to on the part of these other Eisendraths.

Of course some men withdrew from the family group more entirely than did others, and in other cases the new

wives entered more into the Eisendrath family group. One cause was usually responsible for this former factor: where the wife was herself the member of a more or less prominent large family unit then living in Chicago, she tended to draw her husband away from his family into hers: such was the case of William N. Eisendrath and the Lowensteins, Joseph N. Eisendrath and the Greenebaum family, Daniel N. and Abraham N. Eisendrath and the Rosenbaum family. such was also an influence in the case of three of the original Eisendrath brothers in Chicago: Cosman's wife, Tante Fanny, had some relatives living here with whom she was known to be very close; Tante Theresa, Benjamin Eisendrath's wife, after the death of her husband withdrew almost entirely back into her own family; while perhaps largely as a result of the closeness of his maternal family relationships Benjamin W. Eisendrath married his first cousin, Mary Felleimer. but in those cases of marriage where the wife had migrated by herself and had left her family back in the "Old Country" or in some other city or town in the United States, or, again, if her family were smaller and of much less prominence socially in Chicago, she would tend to align herself more strongly with her husband's family: such was the case in the marriage of Flora Loeser Eisendrath, Bella Strauss Regensburg, or later of Rae Ring Rosenthal, Bess Allman Eisendrath and Annie Strauss Eisendrath, and more recently of Blanche Goodman Eisendrath.

A second cause for the family disintegrating is one rather common among the German Jews in America,--of differences in economic or financial status. This factor is most significant among all the Jews in America for it is very definitely correlated with the trend away from Orthodox Jewry,--the more successful the family is financially the less Orthodox it becomes. While to the truly Orthodox as well as the un-Americanized Russian Jewish immigrant in the United States religious fervor, piety, and "devoting oneself to the study of the Talmud" still holds the position of highest status in the community, rather than that of higher financial status. And, thus, it is those of higher financial rating which rather characteristically show signs of becoming Americanized, less religious and of withdrawing from their original Orthodox environment.

But to the German Jews, who for the most part are the liberal Reform Jews in America, social status in the community as well as in the country as a whole is determined almost wholly by means of relative financial successfulness. Indeed many of the more wealthy Jewish families today do not affiliate themselves with any Synagogue or religious organization. But in the financial realm there are several quite definite determinants of social distinction: first through the Jewish philanthropies, one's contributions being regulated relative to one's income; and then, the country clubs, with their social rating, is another most significant determinant; social and business clubs are also means of

judging income although they are not as significant, there being only two large combined Jewish business and social clubs; and, of course, where one lives, who one associated with, and what crowd one is a member of are very significant.

Naturally fifty years ago, when these differences were just beginning to exist, those more affluent families had the greater means and more opportunities to enter into the family life; and their homes became the popular entertainment centers, and they themselves became the social leaders within the group. While, at the same time, those who did not have the "where-with-all" to likewise entertain in their homes were the followers, and gradually they were more and more weeded out of the circle. These latter were always conscious of the social obligations which they were incurring by always being entertained by their relatives; they realized that the others were wondering why they never asked them to their homes. And naturally they were more conscious of their inferiority because of their closer interests, and their realization of how they were struggling to get along: their homes were smaller, less pretentious and less presentable; they could not afford,--or at least felt that they could not afford,--to prepare such elaborate spreads as they found at the Wolff or the Regensburg homes. Furthermore their feeling of inferiority was reflected in their personalities: they were less hospitable and constantly defending themselves, apologizing for themselves and "making matters worse"; and

gradually they were dropping more and more out of the family activities. The rest of the family did realize the cause for the attitudes of these members, and they, also, reflected it in their attitudes towards them, first excusing them and then gradually dropping them, inviting them less frequently to the social functions they might have. This would be only natural under such a regime of social life,-- one of mutual hospitality and of entertainment done more in the "give and take" spirit and such where all the entertaining was done in the homes.

Then, going to the other extreme, the children of the more affluent Eisendrath families came to have higher social aspirations in the community. There was nothing new, exciting or thrilling about always being with "the family"; and already fifty years ago there were some social distinctions made among the Chicago Jewry. Thus some of the children of the wealthier branches withdrew entirely while others showed their remaining family spirit by trying to "egg" the rest of their relatives into following them to take advantage of the good reputation that the name Eisendrath had in the community.

Now rather briefly can be shown the working of these two extremes of this one factor within the family group. The two families in which this latter extreme was most dominant were: first, the Nathan Eisendrath family; and second, the Regensburg family. In the former family money allowed the five sons to have better educations and to gain a higher

degree of culture with the results that four of the five brothers were eligible to become members of the highest Jewish social set, married accordingly into the most prominent Jewish families, and as far as the family group life was concerned they and their descendents ceased to be members of the family. And then Benjamin W. Eisendrath, the oldest son, being the least successful and furthermore marrying his first cousin who had already been more or less drawn into the family environment and the family circle, alone remained close to his Eisendrath relatives.

The Regensburg children did not care to narrow their lives to just keep up their position in the family, and each one withdrew more or less from it. The subsequent behavior of these children is very interesting when analyzed in terms of personalities, as each of the six children came to play a different role. The social leader was Millie; she had the dominating personality. She was the most social, and had the greatest social aspirations. Being the youngest girl her role in the family work was the easiest. She was always encouraging her sisters and brothers as well as her cousins to seek higher social positions,--"they could afford it so why not take advantage of their opportunity." She was rather disgusted with her younger cousin Blanch Burger, for instance, who was a bashful, reticent, naive young lady. Blanch, herself, has told of the long lectures she used to receive from Millie as to how she always "seeked below"; while it was the "Elkins and the Sterns" that she should associate with; she

should fuss more with herself, buy better looking clothes, more becoming hats, and "forget herself". Millie herself was "rich", had a great deal of social poise and a very domineering, matriarchal personality; although she was not brilliant, she ruled her entire branch of the family. She was typically modern and always "up to date" even to the smallest detail in her whole manner of behavior; she smoked cigarettes already thirty-five years ago much to the disgust of her relatives. She was considered to be very beautiful at that time and was very popular, so popular that, as her sister has said, "she tired of her Chicago suitors and was always looking forward to meeting some one from out of town, and who would be handsome and rich." Of course her behavior was very severely criticized and censured by the other Eisendrath families; but her only response to all this gossiping that she heard being whispered about was "why should she bother about them anyway?" As one of her cousins said, "She got so that she didn't care about the rest of the family at all." In everything that she did she flaunted the grace and the airs of a grand lady: she would always drive around in the latest and the most luxurious, most attractive model of rigs, for example. And, furthermore, everyone catered to her; she was then, and probably still is the most outstanding social figure of the family. She married a New York man while still young, moved to New York and has there further satisfied her social ambitions. Before her stroke several months ago, she had gained quite a reputation for

holding "very exclusive" soireés to which the leading musicians and musical critics of the country are invited.

"Tally", the oldest of the children, married when she was only sixteen. Physically and mentally she was still very immature. Her husband was also in the grocery business, as were so many of the Eisendraths at that time. But Mr. Windmiller's grocery store then was still very small; later he became quite wealthy through his practice of supplying ships with their food supplies. But "Tally", pushed on by Millie, was also socially ambitious; it was felt by many that at first after her marriage she was too ambitious and much more extravagant than she should have been or could afford to be.

After the death of Mrs. (Adelaide Eisendrath) Regensburg, Fanny, the next to the oldest daughter, assumed her mother's role in the household. As she now says: "I was always home; Millie was always out; she was much more interesting and more interested in others; I guess I was more easily satisfied because my life was so filled with household duties, and I didn't have as much time for social life. I was always tired out by the time evening came." She related vividly one experience. One evening at about eight o'clock she was already in bed and Millie was out. She heard some one pulling vigorously on the cord which rang the bell that echoed so lowly throughout the entire Twelfth and Wabash Avenue house. She knew that no one else would answer it so she got up, tossed on a wrapper, and with a candle in her hand hurried downstairs into the kitchen and dining room to

open the door. It was the telephone man. Then the two made their way up to the living room which was on the second floor of this basement house, where she got a chair and started to jump up on it to light the gas. The man begged her to let him light the jet. But all that she can then remember is standing up on the chair, lighting the fuse with the remark: "No, I'm used to it; please don't bother me.",-- that was forty-five years ago. In her attitude towards other people, however, she also reflected Millie's influence. She was constantly discriminating between people in terms of their social status. But, to be sure, her early responsibilities and her rather unattractive looks were definite drawbacks to a social career. She has been described as "Cinderella's older sister, worshipping and waiting hand and foot on the princess, her sister Millie". And then probably chiefly due to her homely appearance and her mature personality at such a young age it was "hard for her to get married". For some time she was rather felt to be a "family out-cast" because of this. The Wolffs were always trying to fix up a match for her. She was engaged several times and did finally marry when quite a bit older.

Two of the three boys in the family were also staunch followers of Millie; the third son, Oscar, was a deaf-mute, so that due to his physical handicap he was quite ineligible for a prominent social life. He broke away from the family group largely because of his affliction, becoming very interested in bettering conditions for the deaf and dumb. Sam, also,

married into a prominent Jewish family, the Strauss family of Ligonier, Indiana. The death of his two daughters, burned in the Iroquois Fire, is said to have later changed his whole life, probably bringing him into closer contact with his family again. His widow, whose own family is very spread out throughout the country, is now quite a regular member of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club.

Jimmy, the youngest of the family, was always looked upon by his older sisters and brothers as the baby of the family. He had very little individuality or distinct personality. Being constantly pushed on by Millie, he married one of the granddaughters of Elias Greenebaum. Since his divorce he has gained a reputation as being a "good sport" and loves to be called a "high stepper"; but, in general, he does not associate with any of the Eisendraths except those of his own immediate family.

A smaller family income than the average is in general associated with a relatively inferior social status and a correspondingly lessened interest in the family group life. The other seven of the original Eisendrath families had a lower financial status,--more closely resembling the family average,--and a correspondingly lower social standing in the community. And most of them have come to have poorer than the family group average and more "dependent" individual families. The members of these latter are rarely seen, and in several cases have never been seen or heard of by the rest

of the Eisendrath group.

Due to some extent, at least, to this cause almost the entire Benjamin Eisendrath family withdrew from the rest of the family. Benjamin Eisendrath died while still young, leaving his family in only very moderate circumstances. His wife, Tante Theresa, had quite a struggle in raising her family of six children. Then, too, feeling closer to her own relatives in Chicago, she undoubtedly felt freer in accepting help from them. The other Eisendraths all liked her, and her children, and would have helped out if they had been asked to. But her children, particularly her boys, while still young, had to work hard and thus did not associate much with their younger cousins. The result of their earlier environment is still with them; in personality they are now quite different from the rest of the Eisendraths. Having once broken away from the family group most of them have never come back into the group although their financial status is now no longer a factor. Three of these children have drifted away from Chicago: Bertha and Ida married and moved to New York City, while Simeon later moved East also. Samson Eisendrath and his family live very modestly in Winnetka, and he, particularly, has no interest whatsoever in his more distant relatives. Oscar and his wife have traveled a great deal; and up to this year Mrs. Eisendrath confesses that she knew nothing about her husband's family. Only this year, (1929) has she become acquainted with them

through attending the meetings of the Cousins' Club which she was asked to join. Due to **her** husband's financial success the family of Frieda Eisendrath Schoenbrun would now be considered to have more than average social prestige. Frieda, however, more than any other Eisendrath, definitely admits that she is now not the least bit interested in her more distant relatives.

A third factor which has also tended to break up the group is manifest in conflicting temperaments and personalities. Naturally in a small town where out-of-the-family contacts are fewer, petty grievances between individual members of the town group are outgrown or endured just because they must be tolerated,--nothing else can be done about it. But in the social world, just as in the financial and educational spheres, social behavior in an urban environment can be largely the result of distribution and selection. In larger cities, the social groups are larger; and therefore, people can be and are more selective in their associations; furthermore having more friends none of their friendships are as close or as personal as those which exist in smaller communities. To a large extent, gang life, crowd life and club life have succeeded the "my chum" or "my best friend" stage. Friendships can also be more easily broken. Formerly there were only two ways out of a disagreement: either to get over it or to carry on a personal feud for life. But now, in our cities, if neither party cares to give in nothing much is

lost as each can more or less easily make other friendships and live just as full a life entirely independently of each other.

Thus in 1880 were seen traces of the breaking up of the family and the dropping of certain relatives of the group by the rest because of conflicting temperaments, disagreements and petty irritations. In a sense this factor is more fundamental, and in another sense it is less basic than the other two factors already discussed; at any rate, it is very often found working with either one or the other of them. Fifty years ago people were less tolerant than they are now; people today are more broad minded, giving less and expecting less in return. There is now more of what Carlyle would call "Hero Worship" than fifty years ago: people are more tolerant of other personalities because of "what they are" rather than formerly when people were judged by "who they were" almost entirely. Some few individuals may be carried along by a group today regardless of their financial status providing their personalities are pleasing enough or their reputations are well known enough to compensate for their deficiency on the other rating scales.

But, on the other hand, temperament and financial status are generally very closely connected: the persons having smaller incomes have less means and fewer opportunities for developing their abilities and capacities or for becoming as refined and cultured as those of greater affluence. Then people of more culture and refinement are less tolerant of

those who have less culture and refinement and prefer not to associate with them. In the five Eisendrath families still to be discussed temperament differences seem to have played a greater part than in the three already discussed, the ninth, the Moses Eisendrath family, having had and still has the most family loyalty of all of the original families. These five families will be discussed beginning with those who have more completely withdrawn from the group to those who are still more or less a part of the family group.

The Cosman Eisendrath family shows the working of all three factors which probably have resulted in their breaking away from the present group more wholly than any of the other original families. They were, fifty years ago, the least affluent of the financially independent families. For this reason and because Tante Fanny, Cosman's wife, had a few of her own relatives in Chicago, and even more because she was rather disliked by the other women, their seven children, who are all still living, have completely dropped out of the family group. The fact that this family, fifty years ago, kept boarders was not an objection for many of the other families likewise kept them; but the other women, knowing the Cosman Eisendrath family's economic situation, resented Fanny's behavior,--she was too aggressive, too progressive and tried to be too modern. She was undoubtedly a keen and a smart woman, but she likewise had certain characteristics along with her other deficiencies for which the others could not forgive her. She became the most Americanized, bragged

the most about her children and tried to appear "very high brow" always. At the same time her husband, Cosman, was probably the least aggressive of the six brothers, "never being able to make a decent living", and "wouldn't go out for trade"; but several Eisendraths now feel that his children were spoiled by their mother and that their extravagances were the cause of his ruin. At any rate even fifty years ago this branch of the family did not play much of a part in the larger family group, and the eight children, (six boys and two girls) were hardly known by their other younger cousins. Their subsequent behavior reflects this earlier environment and this attitude of the rest of the family. Two of them married Gentiles. Today the standard of living of the only three children known is entirely different than that of the other families. Furthermore only one of the seven children's families now live in Chicago, (one son died in Africa of the Sleeping Sickness). Samson, the oldest, now lives in Milwaukee where he has a small grocery store. Although he claims to be still rather interested in the Eisendraths as a family, he knows nothing about the subsequent history of the Chicago Eisendrath families, nor do the latter families know anything about his subsequent life. Nothing has been heard concerning the four other brothers of this family; two are supposedly living somewhere in the South, while another is a druggist in Chicago. Rosa Eisendrath Emrich, as a girl, was more popular among her cousins than were her brothers. She could sing very well and many

of her male cousins liked her because of this ability of hers. Probably chiefly due to her later unhappy married life, she also withdrew. Her husband lost his money and they moved to St. Louis. He died shortly thereafter. She is now the secretary of a Jewish congregation in St. Louis. Nothing more is known as to her life, and her name, likewise, is now never mentioned. Finally Lulu, the youngest child, never did play a role in the large family group; as one of the family has described her later life: "She married a "kike", moved to Danville, Illinois, and has buried herself there."

The Rosenthal branch of the nine Eisendrath families affords a very interesting analysis of personalities in terms of temperament and social-financial status even within this branch itself. Three of the children, Julchen, Lena and Sigmund, came to America before the rest of their family, which was the last of the nine families to come to America. But these three children were taken into the Chicago group upon their earlier arrival; they became Americanized and either through their own efforts or through marriage they became financially independent. They and their descendents are still within the large family group. Their parents and the rest of this Rosenthal family did not come to America until many years later. In Chicago they remained quite poor and dependent upon the rest of the Eisendrath families. Bertha Rosenthal was the oldest daughter in the original family of twenty-three children, and thus together with the strong

filial bond which then existed, all of her relatives were constantly "doing" for her. Furthermore a rather "queer strain" seemed to have run through all of the seven Rosenthal children. First of all the three youngest children, Oscar, Paula and Millie have never had anything to do with the larger family group, from the start being considered to be "greenhorns", too dumb and too different. Sigmund, although still a member of the family group, is not very popular because he is less refined, coarser and "too stingy". His wife, Rae, although quite sickly now, is very well liked by the other Eisendraths. Because of her heart trouble they are forced to travel most of the time, being in Chicago very rarely now. Julchen, the oldest daughter, was also considered by many to be very coarse. When her husband was very successful financially "she lived up to her part as a grand dame". Her husband, August Fellheimer, was a banker and a director in the firm, "Schoenamen Meat Packing Company", which was largely an exporting company sending its products to Germany for the most part. When, however, very suddenly Bismarck prohibited the importation of hogs into Germany this company wasted millions of dollars worth of meat. Just a little after this tragedy the one daughter in this family died. Some feel that this was the reason why August Fellheimer took to drinking and became an habitual drinker. He also dragged his unmarried brother-in-law, Philip Rosenthal, into the bad company which he would meet every night in the saloons. Both men died drunk,--Philip dying as a result of a

horrible accident, of being caught while totally drunk within the cogs of a wheel at the Chicago Water-Works Plant.

The Lena Rosenthal Regensburg family have remained the most active members in the larger family group of all these seven children. Lena, herself, was not as popular among the other Eisendrath women as are her three children. Blanch Burger has always been a "favorite", and Mattie Finn, being more aggressive and like her mother, is also well liked, while Louis Regensburg, their bachelor brother, although he takes no active interest in the family group, is a very likeable person. Some people have felt that it was largely due to Lena's marriage to Henry Regensburg, the nephew of the other Henry Regensburg, Adelaide Eisendrath's husband, that this former family remained so closely a part of the group,--this double relationship naturally bringing the families closer together.

An analysis of the David Eisendrath family is also interesting. Visits to this home fifty years ago were never nearly as much enjoyed as those to the Adelaide Regensburg or the other homes. Tante Lenchen, David's wife, was very reserved and modest to the point of seeming quite inhospitable. Although the family was then quite wealthy, their home was not at all "showy"; there was rather an atmosphere of paucity and closeness about it; everything about it seemed limited, and when any entertaining was done in that family, it was done in rather a "stingy" and "sneigh" manner,--as if

they were always conscious of the cost of entertaining and could not afford to spend any more. Four of the five children have remained in the family group being the followers rather than the leaders.

Barouch Eisendrath, the oldest son, died several years ago, but his wife was always very popular among the Eisendraths, even before her marriage. Her aunt had been Mrs. Benjamin Eisendrath, and as this Mrs. Barouch Eisendrath explains, she grew up with the Eisendraths. Now she is quite wealthy and travels a great deal; but whenever she is at home she is a very regular and enthusiastic member of the Cousins' Club meetings. None of her five living children are particularly interested in the larger family, three of them living in Milwaukee.

Rosalia Eisendrath Eliassoff married Herman Eliassoff, the rather well-known German and Jewish scholar of fifty years ago. She is of a very reticent and retiring nature, and was certainly never her husband's mental equal as are none of their children. The Eliassoffs have always lived in a rather modest fashion. Today Mrs. Eliassoff together with her two daughters and her one granddaughter-in-law would be counted as very regular, inactive members of the Eisendrath group meetings.

Adelaide Eisendrath Strauss died while she was still very young. Her family drifted away from the Eisendrath group; and it was not until just recently her two daughters were again more or less discovered by their Eisendrath

relatives. These two women have become members of the Cousins' Club and are very generally liked although they are neither of them regular or active members of the club. The three Strauss sons, two of whom are married, have continued to be entirely apart from the rest of the Eisendraths.

Leah Eisendrath also married a man mentally her superior, Max Ellbogen. When he died, several years ago, he left her quite wealthy. Thus she is able to afford more, to give more to the group than her sister Rosalia,--for instance, her car is always counted upon to take some of the ladies to the club meetings. But Leah, herself, is also modest, retiring and "straight-laced". None of her children play a particularly active part in the family group although her one unmarried daughter, Celia, and her daughter-in-law, Albert Ellbogen's wife, are irregular members of the organization.

The fifth child of David and Tante Lenchen, Samson D. Eisendrath never amounted to much financially, and has completely withdrawn from the family,--just as completely as if he did not live in Chicago. Likewise, his two children, David and Gussy, have never shown any interest in the Eisendrath family.

The Levi Eisendrath branch has stayed within the family group almost entirely,--all excepting Bertha Eisendrath Wolff who now lives in Cologne, Germany. The descendants of this family have played quite a significant part in the larger family group activities. Tante Lenchen, the third wife of

Levi, the wife he brought over with him to America, was rather generally disliked by the others. But her children (Levi died soon after their arrival in Chicago), particularly the two girls, Emma Eisendrath Kraus and Ada Eisendrath Schiller, were very close friends of the Regensburg girls, growing up in the same crowd. But because Julius, the step-son of Lenchen, was never close to his ^{step} mother, he became, therefore, closer to his other Eisendrath relatives, particularly Eva Wolff. This allowed him to transfer to his children his family loyalty, although his wife, now a very old, feeble person, has never been very active in the group, having lived more within her own immediate family; nevertheless Regina Eisendrath is an important figure in the Eisendrath family today in that many of the Eisendrath women go to call on her on Saturday afternoon.

The Wolff family, in appearances at least, fifty years ago, twenty-five years ago and even now has played a dominating role in the family activities. Tante Eva was always quite the matriarch around whom the whole family life centered. Her part within the Eisendrath family was very similar in many ways to that of the Matriarch in the book called "The Matriarch" by E. B. Stern; in this book the Matriarch is portrayed as the central figure in the family because she made herself the central figure,--at first she was the most aristocratic, the most generous and the most benevolent of individuals and then everyone had to bow down to her in gratitude;

but then later when she lost her power she appealed to her relatives by means of being the most pathetic, the most pitiful and the mildest of persons. Tante Eva played just such a part in the Eisendrath family: everyone had to make a fuss about her because they were always so indebted to her. Her generosity was more to expand her own ego than to do anything out of genuine hospitality. Indeed it is rather agreed now that she did more to break up the family than did any other single individual. She was constantly talking against and gossiping about the other members of the family in order to gain the sympathy of one of her Eisendrath relatives, and thus she was constantly in her rather mild way turning one Eisendrath against another and always spreading false rumors. Indeed the Wolff house was rather felt to be the "hot-bed of gossip". All those with petty grievances would come to Eva and pour their troubles out to her; as a result Eva kept the family so stirred up, so divided against itself and in such a constant turmoil that finally those who wished to have any self-respect stopped associating with their relatives.

Eva made her entire individual family most dependent upon her. Sam, her oldest son, supported her, and thus he was her favorite and was allowed the most freedom. But she continually gave the money Sam gave to her to her other children; and thus in the Wolff family there has never appeared to be any inequality so far as money is concerned. In themselves they were always very clannish and self-sufficient,--

if one member of the family wished to go to the country for a vacation they all went along, and "Sam would finance the trip".

The type of behavior found in this home was different from that found in any of the other Eisendrath homes,-- gayer, more hilarious, freer and less refined. It was not American, yet not strictly German and certainly not Jewish. The children never knew their cousins very well, for all but two of them did not come to America until they were grown up; and the two others, Sam and Bella, who had come over to America six years previously, were also grown up and strongly German in their habits. The girls were never as well educated as their Eisendrath relatives. They all worked in the family grocery store until quite suddenly and phenomenally Sam made a great deal of money through his seat on the Chicago Board of Trade. And it was then that Eva started to play the grand lady helping her sister, Brina (the Rosenthals) and the others if any help was needed. Indeed it is said that there was only one family that Eva did not rule in one way or another, and that was the Nathan Eisendrath family. It was always considered to be a gala-day when any one from that family would come to call on her. She always looked up to Adelaide Regensburg, but appealed to her strongly through pity; one of Adelaide's own daughters explained that the reason why Adelaide and Eva later in their lives used to go driving every afternoon within Lincoln Park was partially because Adelaide felt sorry for her sister who always seemed to

be so very lonely.

And now, today, the Wolff family is quite divided as to the interest of its members in the Eisendrath group as it now remains. Bella, the most Americanized and the one who was least under her mother's influence, and Dinah who quite openly rebelled against her mother in regard to her marriage as well as Rosy Lang and Mrs. Nathan Wolff, a daughter-in-law, are all active in the modern family group, particularly Bella and Dinah. The other children have rather completely lost interest in their more distant relatives. All together the whole Wolff family has continued to be quite self-sufficient having their own, closer and more immediate family group where the standards are still quite different.

Finally, the descendents of the Moses Eisendrath family branch have, in general, shown consistently the most family spirit. The Moses Eisendrath family, itself, was always modest both in their standard of living and in their manner of living. The two parents as well as their five children have definitely remained members of the larger Eisendrath family group.

Nathan Eisendrath, their oldest son, and his wife have remained more foreign and typically German in their social customs and in their manner of living. Flora, Nathan's wife, who came to America over fifty years ago, was the organizer of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club, and is now its most active member. If there might still be considered to be such

a person in the family as a family shadchen, she would be the one, for she tends now to have more strongly that old German Jewish traditional spirit than does any one of the others. She, herself, is a very active individual, but in the group itself she is rather subordinated because she is now rather old, old-fashioned and markedly foreign.

But even more outstanding formerly in regard to family loyalty was Rosa Eisendrath Weil, another one of Moses and Bertha Eisendrath's children. It was rather agreed by all that up to the time of her death she had the strongest filial feeling of all the Eisendraths. It seemed to be rather a "creed" with her. But there was rather a paradoxical note in her personality for although very modest and saving in her own home life, she was always the first one to visit any sick Eisendrath, always bringing him some sort of a present. She would visit all of the Eisendraths, rich and poor, and agreeable and disagreeable. The consensus of opinion is also that she, during her life, had the "finest feeling and the most outstanding character" of all the Eisendraths. It is also interesting to note that she, again, was the founder of the Weil Family Club of today. Her three children, although they have not the same feeling of loyalty that she had, are still quite active and representative members of the family group.

Leo Eisendrath, also, but to a lesser extent, had this family loyalty, and his daughter Mable Bak is now a very regular member of both the Eisendrath and the Weil Clubs, (her mother having been the sister of Rosa Weil's

husband). Sigmund Eisendrath, Moses Eisendrath's fourth child, who died last year was also close to the rest of the Eisendraths. And, finally "Little Honchen" (Hannah) Eisendrath was the fifth child; although she was a hunchback and always quite sheltered, everyone who knew her speaks very highly of her.

There have been, undoubtedly, other social forces which in the past and now in the present have tended to further disintegrate this Eisendrath group unity; but, in general, these factors have been influential in certain specific cases and have not been as generally felt as those which have been previously mentioned. Any influence upon the individual which tends to make him develop specialized individual interests or interests which are different from those of the rest of the Eisendraths are disintegrating factors. The individualized business interests of the men are certainly not the same integrating forces that the old family grocery stores formerly were. At the same time the higher education that many of the younger members of the family are now gaining tend to develop in these persons interests that are not common to the other members of the family group; particularly would this be true in that the interests of the more typical Eisendrath are not educational,--the women, especially, are interested in social rather than cultural activities.

Most of these disintegrating forces have been at work in the family group during the past fifty years, working

gradually and unconsciously. But the very general family gossiping, perhaps largely due to the influence of Tante Eva Wolff, alone was a conscious force; furthermore it was so strong a force in the breaking up of the family that it might also be called an immediate factor in the disorganization of the family. These family disputes, differences of opinion, peeves, and small feuds started and were spread about through gossiping, with the result that almost as soon as the original Eisendraths had died,--all except Eva, who greatly outlived them all,--the family loyalty seemed to have entirely disappeared. Then the family unity passed through a long "storm and stress" period. Nathan's sons were quite "peeved" at the way the rest of the family criticized their father's bad advice. Millie's actions had displeased many of them. Others were very jealous of one another. But all together they were all shocked at the type of life being led at the Wolff home. Then, also, with the death of the older members the family leaders were gone. There was no longer a Nathan to advise the family; no one could or cared to take Adelaide's place as the social leader of the family. Eva, although still living, was now visited more out of pity and duty by many rather than because of love and family affection. In fact one comment that was made as to the first meeting of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club is very significant in regard to the attitudes of its individual members towards each other: these members of the third and fourth generations had heard so much gossip floating

around one about the other, and had criticized each other so much that at first they were all smiling and giggling at each other behind the other's back. They were all very surprised that they got along as well as they did, and, furthermore, could actually enjoy each other's company. Now, of course, this inter-family gossiping has been largely forgotten; even if it is still remembered it is by no means as generally circulated as formerly for there is no such appropriate way for its publication, and, furthermore, the members are not enough interested in each other to bother themselves about it.

And thus, we can now more clearly understand and visualize the family life which was found to exist within the Eisendrath family, first that which existed fifty years ago, then that of twenty-five years ago, and finally that found today. Certainly fifty years ago it was apparent that the family unit was to a large extent a complete social world in itself. Then twenty-five years ago, as a result of inter-marriages, differences in social-financial statuses, temperamental differences resulting in petty grievances, gossiping and inter-family wrangling, as well as other less general influences, the former unity of the group had been almost entirely lost. While now, comparatively recently, after all this family gossiping had ceased and the grievances been forgotten, a new, more formal, less intense family feeling has found expression in the family "Cousins' Club". This club

was at first rather an experiment: all the members of the entire family now living in Chicago were invited to join; and just those who had any family loyalty, or any of the former traditional Eisendrath spirit left have helped to make it a permanent institution.

If it can be assumed that this Eisendrath Cousins' Club expresses outwardly and visibly the extent of the large family spirit and family loyalty that now exists, we have been able to trace the gradual change in the family group tending towards its ultimate disintegration. Although it may be the wish of each member of this family club that the organization may be a permanent one, just how long this one remaining form of family organization will be continued among the Eisendraths is still a question.

Conclusion

Conclusion

And, now let us briefly summarize the outstanding points in this study of the Eisendrath family. A more or less concrete picture has been presented of the functioning of the family group during the past fifty years. The social forces at work within this group have been analyzed. The gradual change in the interrelationships of the members of the family during these past years have been described, and, so far as practicable, explained in relation to changes in the urban situation.

Today the only remaining expression of the former close familism is that of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club, which is, in itself, an Eisendrath institution, a society or a family group composed only of Eisendrath relatives and which either is now or is tending to become more of a secondary group.

This family club is an unusual organization to have been founded within an urban environment. Only three other large families, known to the writer, have such family clubs or organized groups: the Greenebaum, the Felsenthal and the Weil families who have similar family organizations,--all German Jewish families ancestrally. (1) Although the

(1) For added information concerning the functioning of these family clubs see Appendix, pp 432--437

Eisendrath Cousins' Club functions in a typically modern manner and also shows traces of the German influence upon the behavior of its members, its underlying idea, or rather the cause of its existence is Jewish,--due to the characteristically strong feeling of familism. Because the Eisendrath families are no longer economically nor socially interdependent, this club, aiming for family sociability, has been most instrumental in keeping the individual families together.

But this feeling of familism among these Eisendraths, although rather strongly a Jewish traditional feeling has been made possible only through other integrating forces. First one must realize the rather unusual general interest which the Eisendraths take in their common past history and their curiosity as regards their family relationships. Furthermore there is significance in the comment frequently made that everyone in the German Jewish Chicago community seems to be related to an Eisendrath in some way or another; perhaps this impression is the result of the fact that the family in itself is so large, but also because all the family relationships are so readily recognized and claimed, although the manner as to how these relationships have come to be may not be known.

The common physical and mental characteristics of the Eisendraths of today have been described. The rather remarkable and striking similarity of the Eisendraths in regard to their physical appearance, in their mentality and in their personality type has been noted. Such a common basis is

psychologically an important and perhaps a fundamental factor in order to achieve a feeling of closeness.

But this similarity of the Eisendraths extends farther than merely their common physique and mentality. And, indeed, because of this similarity one might almost have expected to find as highly a developed degree of similar behavior patterns and common interests as is found to be existing among those Eisendraths who are still active in the family group in existence today.

Business occupations, although no longer limited to the running of family grocery stores or to the manufacturing of leather as was the case fifty years ago, nevertheless have changed gradually and generally at an equal pace for all of the Eisendrath families, so that now the general business interests of the men in the family are the same. And directly correlated with this trend has been their more or less equal change in economic and social status within the larger community, Chicago, so that now those still a part of the family group of today have more or less the same financial and social standing.

Furthermore this traditional feeling of familism has, in actuality, been greatly enhanced as a result of the very similar and equal changes in the individual Eisendrath families' homes. Their movements have been those of representative German Jewish families in Chicago. Today can be seen not only the general changes in their living conditions during the past fifty years, but also their general, individual

family movements in location. Because the German Jews of Chicago are now to be found quite definitely within three communities in or about the city, the Eisendrath families, all living within these three sections, are living alike and associating with the same class of Jewish people; and within each community each Eisendrath family is living in close proximity to the other Eisendrath families living within that district.

But when we came to consider the family traditions and the family organization we realized that we were discussing the actual, actively integrating family group forces for which those factors which we have just previously mentioned laid the foundation. And we not only recognized the Eisendrath Cousins' Club as a traditional family custom or ceremony, but also as the present form of the Eisendrath family organization, and as such we were able to picture the actual degree of integration existing within the Eisendrath family group of today.

But underlying each and everyone of these integrating factors and of greatest importance has been the force of Judaism. In that in this study we are approaching this family group from a sociological point-of-view we have been able to accept "Jewishness" from the standpoint of being characteristic of a distinct social-racial group of persons. Indeed we have seen the importance of their being Jewish in the Eisendrath physical and mental type, in their individual behavior patterns and interests as a result of their being

members of the German Jewish racial group; while perhaps most clearly could we see its influence when we discussed their "Jewishness" and their family traditions. If we may assume that it is common traditions and similar customs that enable such a family group feeling to survive, we have been able to realize the potent, yet subtle, influence of Judaism in making such possible.

In discussing the forces of disintegration which have played a part within the family there was first noted more in detail as to just how these forces have tended to effect the family interrelationships. The close family group life of fifty years ago was described as well as its changed form found twenty-five years ago, and that secondary form, in comparison, found now. Indeed we may readily assume that the natural growth of the Eisendrath family, making the Eisendrath relationships of today already quite distant, and allowing for the development of more immediate interests together with the so-called "modern social forces tending towards formalization, institutionalization and secondary relationships" have been of greatest importance in changing the actual, active form of family group relationships within the past fifty years. But, so far as could be determined, the major causes as to why many of the individual Eisendrath families of today are no longer a part of the active family group found now are: first, through marriage into other similarly large, more or less closely unified family groups; then, as a result of marked deviations

from the general, common Eisendrath social-economic status,-- either from that of those still a part of the family group of today, or as a result of such a deviation at some former time; and, finally, due to temperamental differences which resulted in petty grievances, inter-family gossiping and wrangling. In most cases the withdrawing of an individual family was found to be the result of a combination of these disintegrating forces.

In conclusion some forecasting may perhaps be made as to the probable future of this family group and of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club. At the present time the integrating forces have been strong enough to achieve the present degree of unity, although now functioning in a secondary group form of a club. But with the play of urban influences continually becoming more and more pronounced within the family one must expect to find a gradual strengthening of the disintegrating forces making for the family disorganization, together with a corresponding weakening of the forces making for the family group unity.

At present the two forces are constantly pulling against each other, those of the family group heritages versus those of metropolitan conventionalism. And it has been shown that at each time the disintegrating force comes into play it tends to act against the family group unity,--as, for example, in the cases of marriages into other large family groups, through differing economic-social statuses, and through living without

the so-called German Jewish residential areas previously described. Although the integrating forces are, to be sure, still at work now, continually they are becoming less and less active. It is undoubtedly interesting and of importance to speculate as to the future influence of these integrating forces.

At least for some time to come some of the family history will continue to be told from one generation to the following generation: certainly the story of the twenty-three children will not die out so quickly. But as the time goes on the family history becomes less realistic and more romantic. And just as the romantic element in art has no recreative appeal to the observer, so, too, the romantic past family history will no longer be an active force in holding the family group together. Already it is almost pure romance to the younger generation of Eisendraths to hear of how fifty years ago their ancestors had such a strong feeling of "all for one and one for all"; having such a changed family feeling they are not able to realistically picture what this former feeling really meant; instead they criticize such as being unique, novel, highly sentimental and romantic because it is so entirely out of keeping with their ordinary daily lives. Naturally this former spirit appeals to them as a "pretty story" because it is so typically "old fashioned"; but, at the same time it is one which has no further influence upon their personalities.

So, too, the so-called "family characterization" might

also be said to be coming less and less pronounced. Through the forces of intermarriage as well as those of the gradual expansion and change within the city, bringing with it higher educations, more specialized interests, better communication and wider and infinitely more contacts, one should naturally expect to find a greater amount of diversity among the future Eisendraths. If there is such a physical type as the American type evolving, which some anthropologists seem to believe to be the case, the Eisendraths will lose their distinctly German physical characteristics and become American; indeed already the younger generation shows less of a tendency to be shorter than the average in height, a trait which was so markedly apparent fifty years ago. But the mental and social character of an individual corresponds closely to the quantity and quality of his social contacts. Here, again, it is apparent as to what the greater number of out-of-the-family-group contacts have already done to the younger generations: they surely have not the same degree of sentimentality nor the same idealistic philosophy of life as have their parents, the older Eisendraths of today who form the great bulk of the family group now functioning.

Similarly the family economy shows the same trend,-- that of a single family economic status of fifty years ago to those of great diversity in standing today. And already there has been found to be a rather marked correlation between similar economic statuses and the family unity. Thus if there be grounds for assuming that this apparent trend towards greater

diversity in the family economic statuses is to continue in the future here will be found a very potent blow at the family group unity.

This same phenomenon is also very actively at work in the family movements and in the individual family life. Surely one is justified in saying that each successive German Jewish residential area is larger, more spread out in space than the preceding one from which these Jews have moved. In 1880 all the German Jews lived in much closer proximity,--almost within about three square blocks on the Near North Side of Chicago and about one square mile on the West Side; now there are three residential areas in which the German Jews live: Hyde Park being about three and a half square miles, the North Side Lincoln Park area of about four square miles, and the North Shore suburbs, the most recently developing area which again is much more spread out than either of the former two districts. A first most obvious factor strongly working for this gradual expansion in area should be the gradual growth of the German Jewish population in numbers within the last seventy-five years, from ten thousand to over seventy-five thousand. Secondly each of their successive movements has been and certainly will continue to be into a district less distinctly that of exclusively their own racial population: the Grand Boulevard section, smaller in size, was more predominantly German Jewish than is the larger Hyde Park section, while in the suburbs the German Jews certainly form a minority racial

group. Thus the individual families will tend to become more and more spread apart.

In the trend of individual interests increasing diversity is apparent,--from the single interest of that of the home and the family for the women to those many resulting from out-of-the-family-group contacts and influences. But it has been found that among those now within the family group there is still a rather high correlation of similar interests; and at the same time it has been noted that those Eisendraths not within the family group are those having interests not similar to those within the group. Continuing this apparent trend into the future there might be fair reason to assume that this increasing diversity and specialization of individual interests will act among the younger generation of those families who now comprise the family group so as to pull them farther and farther away from each other so that they like those who have already withdrawn from the family circle will have no common interests.

In the chapter on the "Family, the Person and the Community" it was shown how the outstanding Eisendraths in the Community were active influences making for the family group unity. But it has also been noted throughout this thesis that the Eisendraths of today are not nearly as aggressive, progressive or as outstanding as individuals proportionally as formerly. Thus there is reason to expect that, all things being equal, in the future this force of reflected family pride will also become weaker and weaker. Those remaining within

the family group as long as there be such will most probably continue to be those having similar social statuses, a factor seemingly necessary for the formation of the group; but by removing the possibility of outstanding Eisendraths one takes away an active force making for the active family group feeling,--one of being an Eisendrath and "being proud of it".

Similarly the gradual weakening of the ties of Judaism from a religious point-of-view has been noted. And perhaps this might be very significant in that sixty years ago religious Judaism and the status of the family in the community were very closely bound together,--the position of the families in the community were very largely determined by the outstanding activities of the men in their religious interests. But now this religious Judaism shows a definite trend leading to its ultimate disappearance. At the same time the Eisendraths have almost entirely remained within the German Jewish racial group, and as Jews they have perhaps become more "Jew conscious". Because of their belonging to this racial group certain marked traditions, Jewish in attitude and belief, German in expression, are still apparent and active within the group. But is there any reason to assume that these traditions will continue or even continue to hold the family group together? Furthermore is there any reason to believe that this cultural identity of the Eisendraths with the Jews alone makes for the abnormal amount of family feeling now present within this family? Or even if we say that Judaism has stimulated in the past and might now still stimulate more family feeling than do other racial

groups this cultural trait, then, cannot be called strictly or uniquely Eisendrath when it is to be found among all Jewish families. Undoubtedly the Eisendraths, as Jews, will continue to be "Jew conscious", but at the same time their whole group is being similarly influenced by their urban environment,-- to form different mores and social customs. And as Jews they will continue to hold together, but as a result of the advantages and opportunities and influences that city life offers them their Jewish traditional familism will probably die out and they will come to associate perhaps only with other Jews on the basis of similar interests rather than because of blood ties.

Finally in discussing the family organization and control the immediate forces making for the family group unity, the weakening trend was also already noted,--the change in the functioning of the group from one of a primary group to one of a distinctly secondary group. To be sure the family group in its entirety has increased tremendously in size, which fact in itself might be considered a strong disintegrating force. And undoubtedly there are now forming much smaller primary family groups among the different branches of the Eisendrath family. But in regard to the larger groups one sociological phenomenon is apparent. One of the strongest forms of social control within a group is that of outstanding leaders. But the positions of the leaders in the Eisendrath family group have been greatly weakened in importance. So greatly have these positions changed that now it is rather

difficult to pick out just who might be called the outstanding leaders of the family group. Undoubtedly the family group still does have leaders,--their positions being vastly different and infinitely less significant from those in the family fifty years ago. But it is true that just so long as there continue to be leaders within the family group and enough interest upon the part of the other members of the family to allow these leaders to direct the family group activities, just so long may there be any hope for an actively functioning family group.

Thus it is apparent that the so-called "integrating forces" still making for the family group unity of today are themselves becoming weakened. They have already become greatly weakened in the past, thus allowing for the change from a close primary group knit together through economic, religious, protective, educational, affectional, and social bonds, to a formalized, conventionalized, entirely socially functioning secondary group, the Eisendrath Cousins' Club. And it does seem rather logical to interpret this secondary functioning group symbolically as a mid-point between the former family group feeling and the loss of this feeling entirely at some time in the future.

The family feeling will continue to exist for some time to come, to be sure. But as such in the future it may not be an active, organized, functioning activity, but rather more of an interest,--an interest upon the part of the Eisendraths to know who their relatives are and why, to learn about the former

family group or groups. But this feeling is in no way as unusual or as unique as is the present functioning of the Eisendrath family group; everyone has to some degree at least a natural curiosity concerning his family's past history and to know of whom his relatives might be, particularly those who are or were outstanding as individuals.

But as to the immediate future of the family there are two important active forces which, all things remaining the same, will tend to hold the family group together for at least the next few years. The first is a force coming from within the family group,--that of having some sort of perhaps mildly influential leaders of the group, individuals sufficiently interested in the family to continue to stimulate and direct its activities. But will there ever continue to be Eisendraths of such a type? Certainly at the present time none of the younger generation seem to be of this type. Secondly a very subtle but still at the present time a strong external force making for the family unity is that of the family pride spurred on by the competition of this group with other similarly active family groups. The members of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club realize that their club is unique among family groups; but due to competition they are not contented: they wish to be the most unique family group, the most active, the most outstanding among all those groups that they know of. From a sociological point-of-view, then it seems most probable to predict that only just so long as these two actively

integrating forces are present in the functioning of the Eisendrath family group, the one internal and the other external, just that long will there be found this active family group organization, the outward symbol of the family group feeling.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A.

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APPENDIX B

It has been previously mentioned that the Eisendrath Cousins' Club is not the only organized family club to be found among the large Jewish families in Chicago. The Greenebaum, the Felsenthal and the Weil families have similar organizations,--all German Families ancestrally.

The Weil family club is in many ways more organized than the Eisendrath club; at any rate, a contrast of the two is most interesting. This Weil club is eighteen years old; thus it is only natural that it would have a more fixed social pattern. The club has between twenty and twenty-five members. Its purpose also is "for sociability". No luncheon is served; the women assemble at the home of the hostess early in the afternoon. Instead of card playing, the women chat among themselves; sewing hospital bandages has been recently introduced into the group and most of the women respond favorably to this additional form of entertainment. The difference in the attitudes of the two groups in this regard is most apparent. Rather interesting is the comment one of the members of the Weil Club made in this connection: she believes that the difference between the two clubs to be that the Weil Club is more of a homogeneous group particularly in regard to social status, and therefore the group inter-relationships are closer; but in the Eisendrath club, which is naturally larger because the family is much larger, there

is a greater range relatively in the social standing of the members, and consequently a greater diversification of social attitudes. The Weil club is definitely much more of a primary group; its greater degree of homogeneity would naturally partly account for this fact. There is no German spoken at the meetings of the Weil Club.

But in two other ways the latter club shows itself to be much more organized. First as regards the selection of its president who is elected annually. There were originally five Weil brothers and it is traditional that each year another Weil descendent is president, starting with a descendent of the oldest Weil brother and rotating each year for five years to a representative of the next younger original Weil brother's family. Secondly there is a definite procedure as to who will have the next club meeting. The hostesses are automatically, alphabetically selected, starting with the one whose last name comes first in the alphabet and proceeding in turn through the alphabet until each of the members has had the club meeting. As there are only afternoon refreshments served there is no hesitancy about being hostess. Again, traditionally, the afternoon for the meeting is the last Friday in each month, and by announcing at the meetings where the next club afternoon will be held there is no necessity to send out postal-cards informing the members as to where and when the next meeting will be held. Because the club is much smaller, its meetings can be held in the private homes which naturally makes it more informal

and adds to its primary group attitude.

Finally the Weils traditionally have one evening meeting a year, a "Weil dinner", to which all the members of the family twelve years old and over are welcomed. Usually between sixty and seventy persons attend this meeting which is held in some large hotel or club room. Either, or both, card games and music are provided for the evening's entertainment. All the arrangements for the dinner are made by the president of the club; after the dinner she makes her speech "of welcome to all". The whole club rather revolves around this one evening meeting, (which is usually given in the spring); there is planning, arranging for it and just talking about it for months in advance.

Finally it is rather interesting and quite significant to note that the Weil Club was first started by an Eisendrath by descent who married a Weil, Rosy Eisendrath Weil. Formerly it undoubtedly more closely resembled the former type of family afternoon sociability found among the Eisendrath women of fifty years ago,--at any rate that was the original purpose for the club. To be sure, since its origin it has changed much in form, procedure and in organization.

It is further of interest to note that there is the greatest amount of competition between this Weil Club and the Eisendrath Club, at least in the attitudes of their respective members. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the members of these two clubs are more nearly on the same economic and social plane of society; being both German Jewish families

there are many close friendships existing between the members of the two clubs, while today three members of the Eisen-drath Cousins' Club belong to the Weil Club as well.

The Greenebaum Club has been more or less of an organized club for about forty years; for that many years, at least, they have had their annual New Year's Eve family celebration. The women members of the family have a monthly luncheon at Marshall Fields, each one paying for her own luncheon. But most interesting in connection with their family ceremonies is their bi-annual Greenebaum Auction Sale, for which each member donates all her old clothes that she no longer has any use for; these are auctioned off among themselves,--no outsiders are allowed. The proceeds from the auction are sent to the "Sarah Greenebaum Memorial", the childrens' hospital of the Michael Reese Hospital, while all the clothes not disposed of are given to "Rest Haven", a home for sickly or homeless women.

Undoubtedly the reason why there is less rivalry between the Greenebaum family and the Eisen-drath family club, although there is one Greenebaum who married an Eisen-drath, is because the two families are of such different social status. Economically the Greenebaum family is usually considered to be of high financial standing although many of their members are of the same status as the average for the Eisen-drath family. But, at the same time, the Greenebaum

family members might be said to be much more cultured and progressive. In regard to their interests and their sponsoring of many varied, progressive, cultural activities they are an outstanding family, not alone within the Jewish community but within the city and in the country at large. Many of the women are regarded by others as the most intelligent, the most charming, and the most outstanding leaders of all women of this age. It is indeed considered, at least by others, to be an honor to belong to this family club. Incidentally therein lies the reason, undoubtedly, why Mrs. Rose Greenebaum Eisendrath is an active member of the Greenebaum Family Club while she is not a member of the Eisendrath Cousins' Club,--her activities and her interests are those of a Greenebaum and not of an Eisendrath.

The Felsenthal family, a fourth family group, is also perhaps more organized than the Eisendrath family group. The activities of this club consist of the monthly meetings of the women, a large family group reunion held each winter and a picnic held each summer.

In the Felsenthal family there is now much interest shown in this family activity. The reunions are greatly enjoyed by both the men, the women and the children of all ages. At the last winter reunion, held at the Auditorium hotel one-hundred and fifty Felsenthal relations were present ranging in age limits from three years to eighty-seven years of age. Undoubtedly in the women's monthly organization there is much

diversity in ages of the women active in the club. The younger members show more interest in the club than do those in the Eisendrath Cousins' Club: the present president of the Felsenthal club is one of its younger married members.

The Felsenthal family was the last of the four family groups to migrate to Chicago, its ancestor coming to America in 1864. This family group is unique in that it can trace its own origin to a single ancestor who migrated to America; in the other three families the migrations were made by the children who, leaving their parents in Germany, came to this country.

In still another sense this family differs from the other three. Formerly it was known as a West Side Jewish family,--the other three were North Siders. Perhaps this might be one factor in accounting for the fact that this Felsenthal family has never been particularly closely associated with the other three family groups, its members today having fewer contacts with these other groups.