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COVER PICTURE: Max and Trude Heller announcing Max's candidacy for mayor of Greenville, South Carolina, 1971. Heller's life and career are documented in the article by Andrew Harrison Baker in this issue. (Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Furman University.)

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PRIMARY SOURCES

"A Good Place to Emigrate to Now": Recruiting Eastern European Jews for the Galveston Movement in 1907

by

Joshua J. Furman*

Important Information About Emigration to Galveston (State of Texas), 1907[1]

In late 2019, the Houston Jewish History Archive at Rice University acquired a rare Yiddish pamphlet from 1907, *Important Information About Emigration to Galveston (State of Texas)*.[2] The pamphlet, a publication of the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO), was produced in Zhitomir (now Zhytomyr), a city in northwestern Ukraine, and distributed to eastern European Jews to encourage them to participate in a program that would procure free ship tickets for them to Galveston so that they might be resettled in a new community in the southwestern or midwestern United States. The brochure, now translated by Maurice and Judy Wolfthal, illuminates what the first waves of eastern European Jews to journey to Texas under the auspices of the ITO were informed about the trip they were about to undertake.[3] The pamphlet also offers a rare snapshot of Texas Jewish life in the first decade of the twentieth century, as its authors ventured to describe the Lone Star State and the various opportunities it offered to an audience that could hardly imagine the destination awaiting them at the end of an arduous three-week journey.

The pamphlet was produced in support of the Galveston Movement, an organized effort to rescue Jews from poverty and oppression in eastern Europe and provide them with job opportunities in cities and towns across

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the central United States. The movement brought almost ten thousand Jewish immigrants to America between 1907 and 1914. While that number represents only a tiny fraction of the 2.5 million Jews who immigrated to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars have nevertheless argued that the Galveston Movement (sometimes referred to as the Galveston Plan) played a significant role in the growth and development of new centers of Jewish life in Texas and the Midwest. The organizers of the plan undertook it to divert the Jewish immigrant flow away from New York and to disperse the newcomers throughout the American heartland. The story of the Galveston Movement, and the experiences of the thousands of Yiddish-speaking Jews who entered America through Texas rather than Ellis Island, provide a fascinating and useful counterpoint to the dominant narrative of American Jewish history that centers New York City and the Lower East Side as not merely the primary, but the universal hallmarks of the immigrant experience.[4] Studying American Jewish immigrant history outside of the New York metropolitan area and similar cities helps us to understand the larger picture through a comparative perspective.

The Galveston Movement

The origins of the Galveston Movement date to 1901, when a group of Jewish communal workers in New York established the Industrial Removal Office (IRO), an organization dedicated to alleviating the poverty, squalor, and overcrowding in the Lower East Side, the primary destination for the hundreds of thousands of eastern European Jews streaming into the city. Working with a series of local committees in cities throughout the Midwest and South, usually under the auspices of local B'nai B'rith lodges, the IRO worked to get struggling immigrants out of the slums by matching their skills and trades with employment opportunities far outside of New York. In this manner, Sam Zalefsky, who as a painter and wallpaper hanger struggled to make ends meet for his family in New York, received train tickets to transport his family to Fort Worth, Texas, where his wife Libby had relatives. Sam's son, Morris Bernard Zalefsky, shortened the family name to Zale and later became the president of Zale Jewelry Company, which grew into of one of the world's largest retail jewelry empires.[5]

This model for transplanting eastern European Jewish immigrants across the country to places where their job prospects could improve provided a template for the Galveston Movement to follow. According to David Bressler, manager at IRO headquarters in New York, the organization transported more than 29,500 immigrants between 1901 and 1907, its first six years of operation, and 85 percent of them remained in the towns to which they had been sent, a strong indicator of success. By 1922, when the IRO shut down, some seventy-nine thousand immigrants had been relocated away from New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia.[6]

Crowds on Hester Street, New York City, 1903.
(Wikimedia Commons.)

Although these figures might indicate proof that the IRO had succeeded in its goals, staff members and supporters grew frustrated by substantial and persistent difficulties in persuading Jewish immigrants to uproot from the Lower East Side and other major ethnic enclaves on the East Coast once they had set foot in them. As much as these ghettos offered poor housing, dirty air, and stiff competition for backbreaking labor

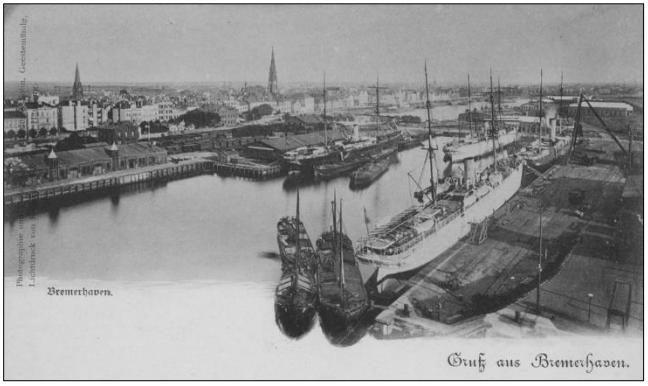
in sweatshops, they also offered the comforts of Yiddish theaters and newspapers, abundant kosher food, traditional synagogues, and a myriad of Jewish cultural and political organizations. Nevertheless, as the congestion and deterioration in the Lower East Side continued relatively unchecked, a number of American Jewry's most influential leaders grew alarmed concerning three issues.

First, they worried that the New York City Jewish community's capacity to provide charitable assistance to all those who needed it would soon be overwhelmed. Second, they feared that hard-line immigration restrictionist intellectuals and politicians would surely use the decrepit conditions of Jewish immigrant neighborhoods as justification for limiting, if not ending altogether, the pathway for eastern European Jews to seek refuge in the United States. Third, they were conscious of the strong possibility that the increasingly visible presence of poor Jewish immigrants in urban ethnic enclaves such as the Lower East Side would foment a wave of antisemitism that could easily trickle over against all Jews, even those elites like themselves who had become affluent and acculturated. Meanwhile, escalating antisemitic mob violence in Europe, including the notorious Kishinev pogrom of April 1903 in which nearly fifty Jews were killed and more than a thousand Jewish homes and stores looted and destroyed, heightened the sense of urgency among American Jewish communal leaders to take drastic action.[7]

Jacob Schiff, banker and philanthropist of German-Jewish descent, funder of the IRO, and arguably the most influential American Jew of his time, grew convinced that the only way to prevent further congestion and ghettoization in New York was to make sure that as few eastern European Jewish immigrants as possible set foot on Ellis Island to begin with. Instead, he proposed, they should be diverted to another American port as far to the west as possible, and, from there, immigrants with specific trades and skills would be transported to other hinterland communities that could provide them with employment. This plan would accelerate the assimilation process for the immigrants, who would be compelled to learn English and abandon most traditional Jewish rituals in order to make a living and fit in. Schiff hoped that this dispersal process would defuse many of what his class viewed as radical ideologies, from Zionism to socialism, that were attractive to oppressed and impoverished eastern European Jews. The plan would also contribute to the economic

development of dozens of cities across the country, strengthening the argument that Jews made useful citizens and that their immigration should not be blocked by Congress. Finally, Schiff's vision would ensure that the financial burden of assisting the immigrants would not be borne by New York Jewry alone.[8]

While Schiff provided crucial financial backing—five hundred thousand dollars to support the operations of the project on the American side—the day-to-day operations of the Galveston Movement were coordinated by two agencies, the ITO in London and Kiev and the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau (JIIB), with offices in Galveston and New York. The ITO was the creation of the English writer and activist Israel Zangwill, most famous for his 1908 play *The Melting Pot*, which cast America as the assimilating crucible that would save and harmoniously blend together immigrants of various European backgrounds. Like Schiff, Zangwill unalterably opposed Zionism as a solution for the problems of European Jewry. He formed the ITO with the goal of advocating the establishment of a Jewish state in a land other than Palestine. Schiff convinced Zangwill to engage the ITO as a partner organization to manage affairs in Europe. From Kiev, the ITO worked to recruit eastern European Jews for the project, creating and distributing the pamphlet under discussion in this article as part of an effort to advertise the advantages of immigration to the United States through Texas. They coordinated with the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* (Aid Society for German Jews) in Berlin to ease the movement of Russian Jews through central Europe to the port city of Bremen, their point of embarkation for the United States.[9]



Port of Bremen, Germany, c. 1900. (Wikimedia Commons.)

Rabbi Henry Cohen with the 1927 confirmation class of Temple B'nai Israel, Galveston. (Courtesy of the Houston Jewish History Archive, Rice University.)

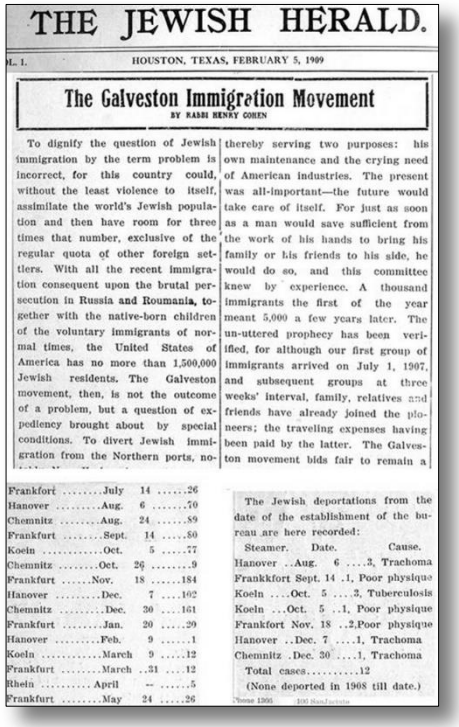
Having secured the services of the ITO to handle matters in Europe, Schiff then brought the IRO and David Bressler on board to oversee operations in the United States. Bressler's assistant, Morris Waldman, accepted the assignment of finding an alternate American port that could serve as a hub for transporting thousands of immigrants into the country's interior. Although New Orleans and Charleston came under consideration, ultimately Galveston was chosen as the base of operations for this new initiative. Galveston offered several advantages: a direct connection to Europe through regular steamship travel from Bremen, Germany; links to numerous cities across middle America by rail; and a landing spot deemed too small and unattractive, such that immigrants would prefer to move on to other destinations rather than remain in Galveston. The island was also home to the energetic and universally admired Rabbi Henry Cohen of Congregation B'nai Israel, the best-known Jewish leader in Texas at that time. Born and raised in London, Cohen was well-acquainted with Israel Zangwill from their time together at the Jews' Free School. The rabbi

quickly became an enthusiastic ambassador for the movement and its most visible advocate. He routinely met the immigrants upon arrival, assisted with the procurement of kosher food and temporary lodging for them, interceded with immigration authorities when necessary on their behalf, and helped them board the proper trains to their final destinations.[10]

Once Schiff and his partners settled on Galveston as the focal point for the project, the JIIB was organized there in January 1907, under the direction of Morris Waldman, to coordinate the care of immigrants upon arrival and their transportation to their ultimate destinations, as well as to oversee the process by which immigrants were matched with job opportunities in different communities. The JIIB instructed the ITO in Europe with guidelines as to the most desirable trades that potential candidates for successful immigration could offer. The list included tinsmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, and cabinetmakers. The JIIB explicitly counseled the ITO against sending Jewish ritual functionaries, such as kosher slaughterers, or anyone firmly committed to traditional Jewish practice and unwilling to work on the Sabbath.[11]

The first boat with Galveston Movement immigrants, the SS *Cassel*, docked on July 1, 1907, bringing fifty-six new Jews to American shores.[12] Cohen and Mayor H. A. Landes were on hand to welcome them. In an oft-repeated anecdote about this first encounter, after the rabbi translated the mayor's official greeting to the immigrants into Yiddish so that they would understand, one of them reportedly stepped forward and offered words of gratitude and amazement, which Cohen translated in kind: "We are overwhelmed that the ruler of the city should greet us. We have never been spoken to by the officials of our country except in terms of harshness, and although we have heard of the great land of freedom, it is very hard to realize that we are permitted to grasp the hand of the great man."[13] Newspapers promoted and praised the Galveston Movement in its early years. An editorial in the *Houston Post* in August 1908 applauded the initiative to bring Russian Jews to Texas: "With no desire to butt in ahead of other States which are anxious for an industrious and law-abiding population, we should like to call attention to the fact that Texas has room within her borders for all the Israelites of the world, and then some."[14]

In his editorializing about the Galveston Movement, Rabbi Cohen echoed a similar theme, presenting the Jewish immigrants entering Texas



THE JEWISH HERALD.

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The Galveston Immigration Movement

BY RABBI HENRY COHEN

To dignify the question of Jewish immigration by the term problem is incorrect, for this country could, without the least violence to itself, assimilate the world's Jewish population and then have room for three times that number, exclusive of the regular quota of other foreign settlers. With all the recent immigration consequent upon the brutal persecution in Russia and Roumania, together with the native-born children of the voluntary immigrants of normal times, the United States of America has no more than 1,500,000 Jewish residents. The Galveston movement, then, is not the outcome of a problem, but a question of expediency brought about by special conditions. To divert Jewish immigration from the Northern ports, no- thereby serving two purposes: his own maintenance and the crying need of American industries. The present was all-important—the future would take care of itself. For just as soon as a man would save sufficient from the work of his hands to bring his family or his friends to his side, he would do so, and this committee knew by experience. A thousand immigrants the first of the year meant 5,000 a few years later. The un-uttered prophecy has been verified, for although our first group of immigrants arrived on July 1, 1907, and subsequent groups at three weeks' interval, family, relatives and friends have already joined the pioneers; the traveling expenses having been paid by the latter. The Galveston movement bids fair to remain a

Frankfort	July	14	26
Hanover	Aug.	6	70
Chemnitz	Aug.	24	89
Frankfurt	Sept.	14	50
Koeln	Oct.	5	77
Chemnitz	Oct.	26	9
Frankfurt	Nov.	18	184
Hanover	Dec.	7	102
Chemnitz	Dec.	30	161
Frankfurt	Jan.	20	20
Hanover	Feb.	9	1
Koeln	March	9	12
Frankfurt	March	31	12
Rhein	April	--	5
Frankfurt	May	24	26

The Jewish deportations from the date of the establishment of the bureau are here recorded:

Steamer.	Date.	Cause.
Hanover	Aug. 6	3, Trachoma
Frankkfort	Sept. 14	1, Poor physique
Koeln	Oct. 5	3, Tuberculosis
Koeln	Oct. 5	1, Poor physique
Frankfort	Nov. 18	2,Poor physique
Hanover	Dec. 7	1, Trachoma
Chemnitz	Dec. 30	1, Trachoma

Total cases.....12

(None deported in 1908 till date.)

Henry Cohen's column about the Galveston Movement, Jewish Herald, *February 5, 1909. (Newspapers.com.)*

as hard-working individuals who would be easily assimilated into America's socioeconomic structure and culture. Simultaneously, Cohen was careful to position eastern European Jews in rhetorical proximity to other white races in America, seeking to temper suspicions about their racial status and fitness for citizenship. Writing in the *Houston Post* in December 1908, Cohen claimed that America could, "without the least violence to itself," easily accommodate all of world Jewry "and then have room for three times that number, exclusive of the regular quota of other foreign settlers." To strengthen his presentation of eastern European Jewish immigrants as nonthreatening, Cohen argued that such an influx of "able-bodied" men was precisely the solution to the persistent labor shortage in the South and West: "[T]o this end the Jewish artisan and laborer, fortified by industry and abstemiousness, and well-disciplined by salutary religious laws and customs, could contribute in measure."[15]

Cohen then envisioned eastern European Jews taking their place in America's racial landscape: "With the Teuton and the Slav, as well as with

the scions of the Latin races, he [the Jew in America] would make excellent citizenship, with no possible chance of his returning to his mother country—step-mother country, rather—when he had accumulated a little money." Unlike other white ethnic groups, most notably Italians, who frequently came to America with the intention of staying temporarily while they worked to earn money to send back home and then returning to their countries of origin in Europe, Cohen asserted that the Jews coming to the United States were coming to stay and had no other home. In grouping eastern European Jews with other white ethnics in their character traits, Cohen strongly suggested that no matter what first impression these Yiddish speakers might make, they had more in common with white American Protestants than with the nation's Black and Hispanic minorities. Regaling his audience with tales of newly arrived Jewish immigrants requesting that he procure newspapers, English dictionaries, and a chess set for them, he assured the readers of the *Houston Post* that "[t]his country need have no fear of this class of alien."[16]

Despite its propitious beginnings, the movement faced insurmountable challenges from the start. Periods of economic depression in the United States limited job opportunities for immigrants and placed undue pressure on host communities to meet their commitments of accepting specified numbers of immigrants. Legal challenges hindered the movement's progress, as organizers were accused of violating American immigration laws that forbade entry to anyone whose passage was sponsored. Possibly because of this suspicion or antisemitic motives, customs officials at Galveston were notoriously more strident in deporting Jewish immigrants for supposed cause than were their colleagues in New York. According to JIIB records, the percentage of those arrivals excluded or deported at Galveston approached 6 percent by 1914, whereas at northern ports the percentage never rose higher than 1.1 percent. The arduous and uncomfortable journey from Bremen to Galveston, which lasted around three weeks, posed an additional challenge. Immigrants complained of cramped living conditions, terrible food, and even abusive treatment by the crew aboard their ship. As word of deportation threats and perilous travel reached from America back to Europe, the ITO struggled to find recruits. By spring 1914, due to these daunting and seemingly insurmountable challenges, leaders of the movement voted to end the program

by September of that year. They were, of course, unaware that the outbreak of World War I in August would have led to the same result.[17]

The Galveston Movement in Historiography and Popular Culture

No longer an obscure phenomenon, the Galveston Movement has sustained the attention of historians and storytellers since the 1970s, when the first scholarly articles appeared. Bernard Marinbach's groundbreaking book, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (1983), remains the definitive account. That same year, Dallas-based filmmakers Allen Mondell and Cynthia Salzman Mondell produced *West of Hester Street*, a dramatic retelling of the Galveston Movement story that cast actors in the roles of key figures such as Jacob Schiff, Israel Zangwill, and Henry Cohen. The docudrama depicted the perspective of a Galveston Movement immigrant relating his experiences to his grandchildren at their Passover Seder table. The film and the teaching guide created to spark discussions about the movement and American Jewish immigration history greatly contributed to increasing awareness among scholars and the general public.[18] In 1985, playwright and actor Mark Harelik created *The Immigrant*, a play based on the experiences of his grandparents, Haskell and Matleh Harelik, who came to Hamilton in central Texas via Galveston in 1909. The play has been staged hundreds of times across the United States and Canada since its inception, and was adapted into a musical in 2000.[19] Finally, an exhibit on immigration through Galveston, curated by Suzanne Seriff and entitled *Forgotten Gateway: Coming to America Through Galveston Island, 1846–1924*, included a substantial component related to the Galveston Movement. The exhibit debuted at the Bullock Texas State History Museum in Austin in 2009 and went on to installations at the Ellis Island Museum in New York City, as well as institutions in Galveston and Fort Worth.[20]

The most detailed memoir about the journey to Galveston from eastern Europe comes from the pen of Alexander Gurwitz, who left the Ukraine in 1910 with his wife and four youngest children when he was fifty-one years old. Gurwitz was not a conventional Galveston Movement immigrant in that he did not emigrate under the aegis of the ITO and paid his own passage with the intent of joining relatives in San Antonio, but he took the same journey as the other immigrants. In his seventies, Gurwitz composed a memoir in Yiddish, *Memories of Two Generations*, in which he described his childhood and traditional upbringing in eastern Europe, his

West of Hester Street, dir. Allen Mondell and Cynthia Salzman Mondell, 1983. (Media Projects, Inc.)

The cast of the Alley Theatre's 1987 production of The Immigrant: A Hamilton County Album. *(Courtesy of Alley Theatre, Houston.)*

life as a kosher butcher and religious teacher there, his voyage to America through Galveston, and his impressions of San Antonio in the early decades of the twentieth century. Translated into English by Rabbi Amram Prero of Congregation Agudas Achim in San Antonio, the memoir was later published with historical footnotes and commentary by historian Bryan Edward Stone in 2016. Gurwitz's description of the passage to Galveston is an invaluable source for examining how immigrants were screened for health concerns prior to boarding and for understanding how class divisions manifested themselves on the ship, among other topics.[21]

Most recently, in the pages of this journal, Stone analyzed statistical data collected by the JIIB about the age, gender, occupation, and destinations of the Galveston Movement immigrants. The bureau kept meticulous records about the immigrants under their charge and tallied the numbers of immigrants sent to each of 235 cities and towns in the United States. Stone's work indicates that the Midwest received the largest share of immigrants as a region, with Kansas City, St. Paul, and Omaha taking in the most arrivals. At the same time, according to the JIIB's statistics, four of the top ten destinations were cities in Texas—Houston, Dallas, Galveston, and Fort Worth—in spite of the fact that some movement organizers expressed serious reservations about the immigrants remaining in the Lone Star State rather than spreading out across the country. The data discloses the number of small communities that received placements: Victor, Colorado, took in seven eastern European Jewish immigrants under this arrangement, for example, while DeRidder, Louisiana, accepted two and Bowman, North Dakota, took in one—one of fifty-eight communities that became home to a solitary new arrival.[22]

The profile of the typical immigrant, according to Stone, was a male in his mid-thirties, a demographic group that would fit the organizers' goal of resettling the "most employable" eastern European Jews. Of those immigrants who declared a trade or profession, the most common was men's tailor, followed by clerk, shoemaker, and carpenter. Stone found more than five hundred self-declared "housewives" among the 1,225 female immigrants older than fifteen, and 1,271 children younger than fifteen who entered through Galveston. Accordingly, he concluded that "the Galveston Movement was not exclusively, as it is usually depicted, a

job placement service. It was, rather, a form of Jewish family service, facilitating the immigration and placement of entire families" in hundreds of destinations across America.[23]

The translation and publication of the ITO's 1907 pamphlet, *Important Information About Emigration to Galveston (State of Texas)* makes a significant contribution to the body of scholarly knowledge and creative portrayals of the Galveston Movement, as the most preeminent example of prescriptive literature yet available related to this effort. What enticements and arguments did the ITO use to sell the program to eastern European Jews? What instructions did immigrants receive to help them prepare for the journey? What impressions of Texas and the United States did the ITO create in order to convince potential immigrants to leave eastern Europe for an unknown destination across the ocean? How does the pamphlet compare to other examples of "push" literature in American Jewish immigration history?

Analyzing the Pamphlet: Understanding the Recruitment Effort

The ITO directed a network of more than eighty committees across the Pale of Settlement, which was charged with the task of recruiting candidates for immigration through Galveston. To support this effort, the committees distributed literature in Yiddish produced with information supplied by the JIIB that described the emigration process, gave advice on how to prepare for the trip, and detailed the opportunities and advantages they claimed Texas and the American West would offer to new immigrants.[24]

One such pamphlet, *United States via Galveston*, aimed specifically to advise immigrants how to dress and remain healthy aboard ship during the three-week voyage. The need for immigration candidates to arrive on American shores in good health was paramount since American inspectors would immediately disqualify anyone with a detectable infirmity. Trachoma, an infectious eye disease and a particularly worrisome ailment, served as a red flag for inspectors. Four eastern European Jews were deported from Galveston in September 1907 as a consequence of a trachoma diagnosis. Accordingly, the ITO pamphlet instructed immigrant recruits "against the practice of bathing their eyes with salt water" while at sea, so that they might avoid suspicion of disease and the fate of deportation.[25]

Important Information Concerning Emigration to Galveston represents a significant entry in the genre of recruitment literature in the history of Jewish immigration to the United States. Its central theme, depicting Texas and the American heartland as places of opportunity and prosperity for those willing to work hard, are echoed in other essays, pamphlets, and letters that circulated among European Jews in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Penina Moïse, born in Charleston in 1797 to a family with roots in Alsace and the West Indies, was among the most preeminent American Jewish women of the nineteenth century. She became a well-known poet and columnist and composed nearly two hundred hymns for the worship services at Charleston's Beth Elohim, many of which were adopted by the Reform movement. In 1820, following a series of devastating antisemitic riots in central Europe, Moïse composed a poem entitled "To Persecuted Foreigners" in which she called on her fellow Jews overseas to "Fly from the soil whose desolating creed/Outraging faith, makes human victims bleed." In America, according to Moïse, Jews no longer suffered under cruel despots or feared such outbreaks of mob violence. She urged her readers to "Brave the Atlantic—Hope's broad anchor weigh/A Western sun will gild your future day."[26]

Echoing similar themes, Max Lilienthal, a Munich-born rabbi who emigrated to America, wrote a series of letters during the 1840s for the German-Jewish periodical *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* that extolled the benefits and privileges that Jews enjoyed in this "God-blessed country of freedom," compared to Europe with its limitations on Jewish civil rights and outbreaks of violence, which was nothing but "a bad dream." Lilienthal urged those "willing and able to work, ready to overcome the first hardships that meet everyone coming to a strange country" to journey to America, where they could pursue economic advancement unhindered by restrictions on their choice of residence or occupation, as was the case throughout much of Europe.[27]

Whereas these examples of "push" literature—a genre of writing encouraging immigration that spanned editorials, poetry, and family letters urging Jewish emigration out of Europe—emphasized America as a land of ideological freedom and physical safety, the ITO's 1907 pamphlet underscored the economic potential of Texas and other destinations in middle America. Its recruitment strategy rested squarely on presenting eastern European Jews with a vision of the better standard of living that

awaited them overseas, in conjunction with the job placement service that it offered through the JIIB. "Our Committee over there [the JIIB] looks for employment for everyone, and is capable of finding work for everyone who is able to work," the ITO announced.[28]

However, the ITO simultaneously attempted to manage expectations about career opportunities and the pace of advancement. While craftsmen could expect to find employment, those seeking to make a living in commerce would have to bide their time until they became acclimated. "As a rule, an immigrant can't become a businessman as soon as he arrives, only later, when he has mastered the language (English) and has gotten used to the place. In the beginning you just have to work at anything," the pamphlet advised. In a footnote, readers were further warned to temper their hopes for a quick rise up the socioeconomic ladder. Although many from the first groups of arrivals had found "stable employment" and sent for their families, nevertheless, "every emigrant, even a craftsman, must be ready for the possibility that he may have to labor for some time in some other craft, and as a result have to work harder and for lower wages." While an adjustment to American labor standards and working conditions might result in a temporary demotion and lower income, and the ITO could not guarantee job placement in a specific trade, it assured candidates that the JIIB would work tirelessly on their behalf and that "every emigrant who has the strength and the desire to work can certainly be sure that, with effort, he will more assuredly and more quickly earn a living in that place than in New York."[29]

Candidates were also instructed that Jewish teachers and ritual functionaries would not find employment as such in America due to their lack of English skills.[30] Despite this "need not apply" approach to Jewish educators and professionals, which fit the organizers' desire to promote assimilation among eastern European Jews, Bryan Stone found eleven kosher butchers listed in the occupations of Galveston immigrants and speculates that rabbis and *melamdim* may have made up some percentage of the sixty-four teachers among the ranks of new arrivals.[31]

Even as it meticulously detailed the opportunities awaiting Jews in America, the ITO invested considerable energy in the pamphlet in dissuading its audience from considering the more conventional path of immigration through Ellis Island and putting down roots in New York. Echoing the concerns voiced by Schiff about the dangers of continuing to

overpopulate the Lower East Side with more eastern European Jewish immigrants, the ITO encouraged its recruits to think of middle America, not the Big Apple, as the place where their ambitions would bear the most fruit. This "large, rich region," an area encompassing Texas, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, and other states, "is now at the same level where New York was 25 years ago, before it was flooded with immigrants," the pamphlet read. While the laws and customs of the United States, guaranteeing freedom and equality to all, were equally applied in every state of the Union, the brochure counseled that immigrants would find higher wages and cheaper food in these other destinations as opposed to New York, along with warmer weather (at least in Texas).[32] Whereas statistics from the United States Bureau of Labor supported the cost-of-living claims about the advantages of settling outside the Northeast, data for 1906 suggests that wages varied regionally according to occupation.[33]

In the event that an immigrant failed a health inspection upon arrival, they would be deported back to Europe at the expense of the steamship company that transported them. So as not to aggravate the companies that the movement depended on—and to avoid giving

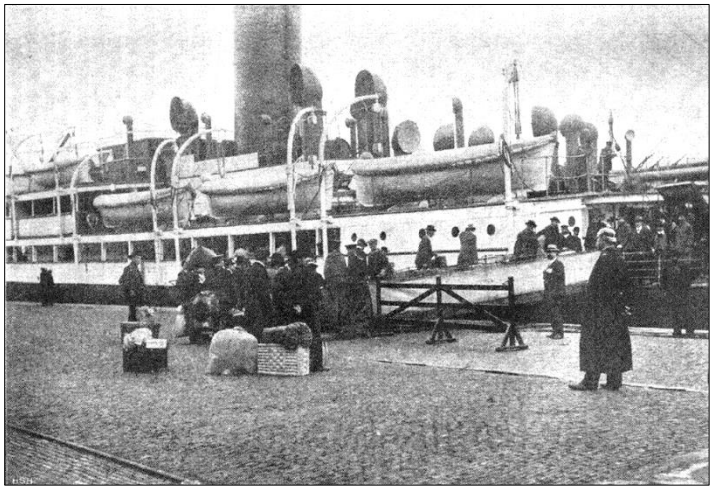
Immigrants at Ellis Island, New York, are inspected for trachoma, c. 1910. (National Park Service.)

credence to the impression popular at the time among staunch anti-immigration activists that eastern European Jews were bringing dangerous diseases to American shores—the pamphlet stressed that only those in perfect physical condition should present themselves as candidates for emigration via Galveston.[34] "You have to be totally healthy," the ITO advised. "American officials will not permit entry to the sick, the weak, those with trachoma infections in the eyes, . . . mange, . . . a bald spot in the middle of the head, lung problems, serious nervous diseases and so not capable of working," and therefore all candidates were instructed to seek medical guidance to address any questionable conditions prior to preparing for emigration. In an indication of the primacy of concerns surrounding trachoma, regardless of symptoms, the ITO directed all candidates to consult an eye doctor. Immigrants were strongly forewarned that they traveled at their own risk and that their expenses would not be refunded. "If there's the slightest doubt, it's better not to travel," the pamphlet read. "We take absolutely no responsibility if someone is prevented from entering on the grounds of health."[35]

For those considering emigration who could pass a health inspection, the pamphlet detailed the step-by-step process that would take them from their homes in eastern Europe to Galveston and from there on to a new life in another American city or town. Although immigrants bore the responsibility for their travel expenses to Bremen, the ITO paid for kosher food and lodging for them while they waited, as well as the cost of their ship tickets to Galveston. The pamphlet includes a table of estimated costs of train travel from the border control station to Bremen and then again for the ship tickets, presumably to illustrate the financial benefit the ITO offered Galveston Movement candidates and to prepare those emigrants who chose to pay their own costs. The projected expenses for bringing children of various ages are included along with the cost of tickets for adults, which adds further evidence to Bryan Stone's assertion that the Galveston Movement was not simply an effort to provide eastern European Jews with American jobs, but also a means of transporting entire families.[36]

The pamphlet includes fascinating information about packing recommendations for the journey. Because of the expense of bringing luggage aboard the German trains that carried immigrants from the border to Bremen, the pamphlet's author advised readers to bring "just the

necessities: clean, white underwear, washed and pressed; bedding; your best clothes; shoes or boots," along with an overcoat and a blanket to keep warm above deck. Travelers were further warned only to bring small bundles since large trunks could not be brought aboard the trains.[37] From these guidelines, we can imagine the difficult choices that individuals might have had to make about which family heirlooms or luxury items to take and which to leave, and we can retrace the administrative steps that a Galveston Movement immigrant would have taken to get the proper papers for the journey.



Jewish immigrants boarding
a Galveston-bound ship in Bremen, Germany, 1907.
(Sechster Geschäftsbericht (1907) des Hilfsvereins der Deutschen Juden,
or Sixth Annual Report (1907) of the Aid Societies for German Jews.)

Furthermore, the pamphlet helps us understand how the ITO tried to sell eastern European Jewish immigrants on the Galveston Movement as a chance to find opportunity and prosperity that New York could no longer offer them, and how the ITO tried to warn away candidates who could not pass health inspections. These strategies were critical to the project's success, if it were to have any hope of meeting Jacob Schiff's ambitious goal of settling upwards of twenty-five thousand Jews in the far-flung communities of the American hinterland.[38] That the project ultimately faltered for reasons already discussed does not detract from the

pamphlet's ability to convince hundreds of immigrants to journey across the sea for Galveston in the final months of 1907.

Texas and its Jewish Communities in 1907 in Reality and as Presented in the Pamphlet

Beyond what the pamphlet tells us about the Galveston Movement recruitment effort, it contains an interesting description of Texas near the turn of the twentieth century as well. Today 176,000 Jews reside in Texas, concentrated primarily in the large metropolises of Dallas and Houston, with other communities of note in cities such as Austin and San Antonio. In contrast, in 1899, just a few years before the publication of the ITO's pamphlet, the entire Jewish population of the Lone Star State numbered only fifteen thousand.[39]

From letters, stories, and rumors circulating around eastern Europe, Jews dreaming of a better life in the United States might have had a vision of what the Lower East Side was like. But what about Texas? What opportunities could it offer compared to those awaiting in New York, which, despite the dreadful tenement buildings and garment sweatshops, still carried the appeal of flourishing Yiddish newspapers and theaters, familiar synagogues, comforting foods, and various Jewish cultural and political organizations of every ideology and inclination? To convince immigrants to choose the Galveston route, the ITO had to sell the potential immigrants on its version of a different kind of Promised Land.

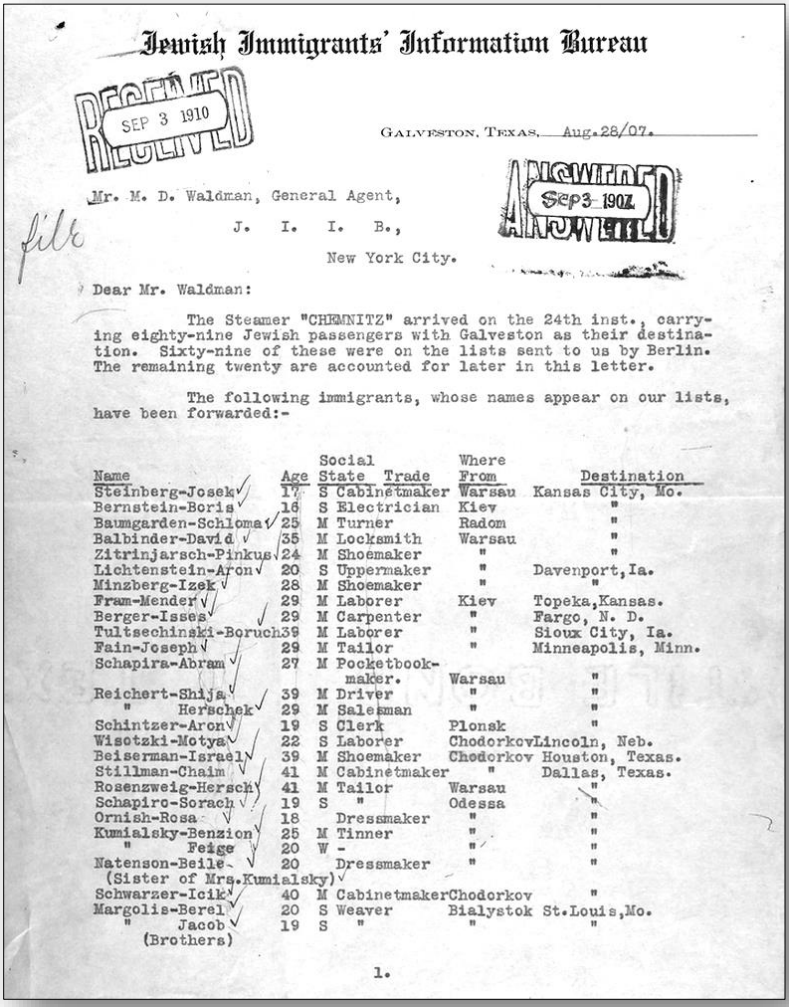
Still, the fact that the pamphlet devoted several pages to a description of Texas is extremely surprising, given that in the original plans and negotiations that established the Galveston Movement, organizers with the JIIB explicitly directed the ITO to discourage immigrants from remaining in Galveston or other Texas destinations. For its part, the Galveston Jewish community was loath to become permanent hosts for thousands of new immigrants who were likely to need charitable assistance as they worked to reestablish themselves. From the beginning, all parties involved understood that Galveston was to serve merely as the port of entry and nothing more. Ultimately, fewer than three hundred immigrants put down roots on the island. The program was designed to get immigrants off the docks and onto trains headed for their final resettlement destinations as quickly as possible and ideally the same day that they arrived. In

the event that they needed to stay in Galveston for a night or two, the JIIB provided them with shelter and kosher food.[40]

In keeping with the wishes of the Galveston Jewish community and not wanting to alienate any of its local partners, JIIB officials initially advised the ITO to downplay Texas as an appealing destination. On the final page of a copy of this pamphlet that can be found in the ITO organizational records in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, Morris Waldman, the first manager of the JIIB's Galveston office, wrote, "These cities and the whole state of Texas offer only limited opportunities, and only for a small minority of our people. The opportunities in Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota are greater. We suggest that you do not emphasize Texas but the states we have just mentioned. Please say that Galveston is being used by us *only as a port of entry* [Waldman's emphasis], that none of the immigrants will remain here."[41]

Despite Waldman's intentions, a small number of early immigrants elected to remain in Texas. Four of the arrivals who came aboard the SS *Cassel* on the maiden voyage of the Galveston Movement in July 1907 went to Fort Worth because one of them, Joseph Zubrowsky from Zhytomyr, who self-identified as a blacksmith, had a relative there, and three of his fellow townsmen pushed to join him. "I had not intended to place any [immigrants] in the South, during the summer," Waldman confessed in a report to David Bressler, either because he feared the extreme heat would come as an unwelcome shock to the eastern Europeans, or because job opportunities would be harder to come by in the summer months. That these four men had their way suggests that the organization was willing to accommodate immigrants' wishes, within the broader guidelines and goals of the movement.[42]

If some immigrants remained in Texas because they chose to do so, others found a home there because Jewish community leaders in the state lobbied for them for stay. In a report that Bressler sent to Waldman in New York City in late August—they seem to have swapped offices for a brief time—he noted that, of the eighty-nine immigrants who arrived a week earlier on the SS *Chemnitz*, eight went to Dallas, "rather an unusually large number for that city." Mr. Waldstein, the agent representing the Dallas Jewish community in conjunction with the JIIB, came to Galveston and "volunteered to take that many, in fact, he selected them himself; otherwise, I should not have sent more than half that number to that city."[43] In



Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau

RECEIVED SEP 3 1910

GALVESTON, TEXAS, Aug. 28/07.

ANSWERED Sep 3 1907

Mr. M. D. Waldman, General Agent,

J. I. I. B.,

New York City.

file

Dear Mr. Waldman:

The Steamer "CHEMNITZ" arrived on the 24th inst., carrying eighty-nine Jewish passengers with Galveston as their destination. Sixty-nine of these were on the lists sent to us by Berlin. The remaining twenty are accounted for later in this letter.

The following immigrants, whose names appear on our lists, have been forwarded:-

Name	Age	Social State	Trade	Where From	Destination
Steinberg-Josek	17	S	Cabinetmaker	Warsau	Kansas City, Mo.
Bernstein-Boris	16	S	Electrician	Kiev	"
Baumgarden-Schloma	25	M	Turner	Radom	"
Balbinder-David	35	M	Locksmith	Warsau	"
Zitrinjarsch-Pinkus	24	M	Shoemaker	"	"
Lichtenstein-Aron	20	S	Uppermaker	"	Davenport, Ia.
Minzberg-Izek	28	M	Shoemaker	"	"
Fram-Mender	29	M	Laborer	Kiev	Topeka, Kansas.
Berger-Isses	29	M	Carpenter	"	Fargo, N. D.
Tultsechinski-Boruch	39	M	Laborer	"	Sioux City, Ia.
Fain-Joseph	29	M	Tailor	"	Minneapolis, Minn.
Schapira-Abram	27	M	Pocketbook-maker.	Warsau	"
Reichert-Shija	39	M	Driver	"	"
" Herschek	29	M	Salesman	"	"
Schintzer-Aron	19	S	Clerk	Plonsk	"
Wisotzki-Motya	22	S	Laborer	Chodorkov	Lincoln, Neb.
Beiserman-Israel	39	M	Shoemaker	Chodorkov	Houston, Texas.
Stillman-Chaim	41	M	Cabinetmaker	"	Dallas, Texas.
Rosenzweig-Hersch	41	M	Tailor	Warsau	"
Schapiro-Sorach	19	S	"	Odessa	"
Ornish-Rosa	18		Dressmaker	"	"
Kumialsky-Benzion	25	M	Tinner	"	"
" Feige	20	W	-	"	"
Natenson-Beile (Sister of Mrs. Kumialsky)	20		Dressmaker	"	"
Schwarzer-Icik	40	M	Cabinetmaker	Chodorkov	"
Margolis-Berel	20	S	Weaver	Bialystok	St. Louis, Mo.
" Jacob (Brothers)	19	S	"	"	"

1.

Letter from David Bressler to Morris Waldman containing a list of immigrants who arrived on the SS Chemnitz *on August 28, 1907, showing their names, ages, occupations, places of origin, and destination cities. (JIIB Records, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History, New York.)*

this case, Waldstein, possibly sensing an opportunity to bolster Dallas's Jewish community, seized the chance to bring immigrants there. Perhaps due to this demonstration of interest from at least one local community, Bressler wrote to the ITO from New York in November 1907 to indicate that the JIIB had now added several cities in Texas to its roster of destinations, since "while we wish special stress laid on the fact that Galveston itself offers no opportunity for the immigrant, the State of Texas is otherwise not barren of opportunities for the newcomer."[44]

However, not all Texas Jewish leaders rejoiced with the charge of welcoming Galveston Movement immigrants. In December 1907, Rabbi Wolf Willner of Houston's Congregation Adath Yeshurun wrote an exasperated letter to Waldman, announcing that the community could not accommodate additional immigrants. According to Willner, those who had moved to the city thus far were struggling to keep jobs and make ends meet, and now his committee, tasked with aiding them, was two hundred dollars in debt. According to the rabbi's tale of woe, one such immigrant, a man named Salzberg, left a decent situation in Bremen, where the local rabbi convinced him to emigrate through Galveston with the ITO. He ended up in Houston, where he first "went around idle for 6 weeks, till at last he got a job out of pity with enough to keep body and soul together and not a cent to spare for his family in Europe." After this ordeal, Willner claimed, Salzberg "is not inclined to write a letter of thanks to the [ITO], and does not bless the rabbi in Bremen."[45]

Portrait of Rabbi Wolf Willner from The Golden Book of Congregation Adath Yeshurun, *1942. (Courtesy of the Houston Jewish History Archive, Rice University.)*

In blistering language, Willner blamed the ITO and its committees in Europe, whose staffers he wished to have "rapped over the knuckles" for what he viewed as the unethical practice of competing in "a foul race" to send over as many immigrants to the American heartland as possible without any verified assurance that these Jewish communities could actually deliver what the ITO promised in terms of job security and wages. Furthermore, the rabbi railed at the ITO's advertising campaign, referring to the pamphlet translated here: "The men show me the 'Yiddish' pamphlets circulated in Russia. Did you ever see one? From the way Houston is spelled therein . . . we can tell they were written in New York, where they have 'How-ston' St., and therefore by men who had to rely on their inventive genius—what harm does it do them to burden our communities, and to make men unhappy?"[46] From the unrealistic expectations of the ITO and the JIIB, to the bungling of the pronunciation of his home city, Willner blasted the organizers of the Galveston Movement as being completely out of touch with conditions on the ground.

Regardless of Willner's complaints, as soon as Texas Jewish communities were cleared to receive Galveston Movement immigrants without hesitation on the part of the JIIB, the state quickly became the most popular choice for settlement. After a long and arduous journey, it stands to reason that immigrants would have little interest in venturing much further if given the chance to settle in Texas. According to 1913 statistics analyzed by Bryan Stone, Texas received over two thousand immigrants via the JIIB, about 26 percent of the total number of participants registered with the organization. Several hundred more eastern European Jews, including Alexander Gurwitz and his family, entered Texas as "courtesy" or "reunion" cases, traveling to Galveston independent of the ITO or to reunite with relatives already living there. From an initial refusal and reluctance to aid in the development of Texas Jewish communities, the JIIB went on to play a significant role in settling Jews across the state in the larger cities as well as in smaller towns such as Corsicana, Port Arthur, and Palestine.[47]

Although the sources of information that the ITO drew on to describe Texas to eastern European Jews are unknown, the content reads as a fairly accurate rendering of local conditions. Seeking to impress its audience, the pamphlet introduced Texas to readers as the largest state in America, which it was before Alaska gained statehood in 1959—larger

than France, for point of reference. Its land was ideal for raising cotton and cattle, and, aside from the humid Gulf Coast region, newcomers could look forward to a salubrious climate highlighted by temperate winters. The state served as home to a diverse array of ethnicities, including "Englishmen, Spaniards, Germans, Frenchmen, Negroes, Indians, and others," yet the lack of a large population relative to the state's tremendous size suggested that Texas "still has lots of empty space for new immigrants."[48] Here again the ITO set up a stark contrast for its audience between Texas, with its wide-open spaces and warm weather, and the crowding and cold that awaited them in New York.

To further its mission of recruiting eastern European Jews for job opportunities, the pamphlet described the nature of the local economy and Jewish communities in Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin, Waco, and El Paso. While Galveston boasted the largest port in the region and a significant manufacturing sector, with specialization in such industries as "iron pipes, door and window frames, knitted bags, clothes, fruit preserves, mineral waters, [and] artificial ice," readers were warned that "the cost of living is not cheap here" and were presented with projected expenses (in dollars) for rent and various foodstuffs on the island.[49] Portraying Galveston as a prohibitively expensive place to settle was likely a method by which the ITO and its partner constituencies hoped to dissuade recruits from planning to stay there after they arrived.

The pamphlet introduced eastern European Jews to Houston, just fifty miles northwest of Galveston, even if it confused the proper pronunciation of the city with the more familiar street in Manhattan. It described Houston as "a very important industrial city" and an important transportation hub. According to the pamphlet, job opportunities in the railroad industry, as well as in clay and porcelain manufacturing, were plentiful there for "healthy, capable workers." A community of 2,500 Jews supported "its own synagogue, several prayer and study houses, and various charitable institutions and associations."[50]

In fact, Houston at the time had three synagogues: Congregation Adath Yeshurun, which was traditional, as was the newly formed Congregation Adath Israel, and Congregation Beth Israel, the oldest house of worship in Texas, which by that time had adopted Reform Judaism in its ritual and theological outlook. Presumably the ITO (or whoever furnished the information to it) assumed that Beth Israel, which used an organ and

the Hebrew Union Prayer Book in worship, would have no appeal or significance for an eastern European Jewish audience unaccustomed to such innovations, and thus did not even bother to mention its existence.[51]

Other Texas cities offered varying kinds of opportunities that the pamphlet described in accurate detail, from San Antonio, described as a prosperous agricultural center, to Dallas, the "best-known city in America" for manufacturing saddles and harnesses, to Fort Worth, the "center of the cattle and meat trade," to Waco, with jobs for construction workers, shoemakers, tailors, bakers and watch makers. Sometimes the pamphlet indicated the presence of a Jewish community in a given Texas town by its population, as was the case with Dallas. Elsewhere it listed the names of traditional synagogues in Waco and El Paso to satisfy the curiosity of potential settlers.[52] In short, while Texas offered the rudimentary necessities of Jewish communal life for those who needed it, the ITO presumed that the primary attraction of the Lone Star State for immigrants was the wide variety of jobs supposedly available. Providing them with these jobs and securing for them a safe environment that would promote their acculturation into American life were the central missions of the Galveston Movement.

Conclusion

Prescriptive literature such as the pamphlet analyzed and translated here cannot take the place of memoirs, letters, and other primary sources in helping us to understand what Galveston Movement immigrants experienced in their journey across the sea, or what happened to them after they left the island and dispersed across the American heartland. Nonetheless, we learn intriguing details about the journey itself—the costs involved, the steps required in preparation for the trip, and so on.

The true power of prescriptive literature, in this case, lies in its ability to pull the curtain back on the organizers of the movement and visualize the rhetorical strategies they developed to sell eastern European Jews on the idea of uprooting their lives and taking a chance on Galveston and especially the opportunities that lay beyond. In casting New York in a negative light, the authors of the pamphlet hoped to divert as many immigrants from Ellis Island as possible. Conversely, by presenting Texas as "a good place to emigrate to now," a vast frontier with boundless room for new arrivals, plentiful jobs in a variety of industries, and just enough

Jewish communal infrastructure to satisfy those who would be interested, the ITO cast the Lone Star State as an alternate Promised Land for those Jews seeking a fresh start in 1907.

This discussion also introduces the critical component of whiteness and racial identity to the scholarship of the Galveston Movement and furthers our understanding of how Jewish Texans worked to position and represent themselves as Anglos, part and parcel of the state's white majority, even as they endeavored to maintain their distinct religious and cultural traditions in various ways.[53] Rabbi Cohen's arguments to the *Houston Post* in 1908, directed at a general audience and crafted in an era of considerable xenophobia and hostility toward Jews and other southern and eastern Europeans in American culture and politics, sheds light on yet another important rhetorical strategy in use prior to World War I. Just as eastern European Jews needed to be convinced that Texas could offer them a viable new home, so too did Texans need to be convinced that their state should welcome them.

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Important Information About Emigration to Galveston (State of Texas), 1907

Jewish Territorial Organization
Central Emigration Bureau for all of Russia in Kiev

Important Information Concerning Emigration
to Galveston (State of Texas)

Published by Eliahu Feinberg in Zhitomir

1907

[Yiddish translation by Maurice Wolfthal,
Russian translation by Judy Wolfthal, 2019]

1. Galveston is a port that is connected by trains to a large, rich region with many cities with factories and large businesses. The whole region is now at the same level where New York was 25 years ago,

before it was flooded with immigrants. For that reason Galveston and the whole area (the southwestern states of the United States of America: Texas, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Missouri, Dakota, and still more states) are a good place to emigrate to now. Craftsmen in every trade can earn a very good living, and workers, also.* There's a place for commerce, too. As a rule, an immigrant can't become a businessman as soon as he arrives, only later, when he has mastered the language (English) and has gotten used to the place. **In the beginning you just have to work at anything**. You cannot get employment as a ritual slaughterer, a rabbi, a cantor, or a teacher, because you have to know English. The climate is good, warm. Food is not expensive (cheaper than in New York, in any case). Wages are higher than in New York. The laws and statutes are the same as in the rest of America. The people are civilized and friendly to Jews.

2. Our Committee over there looks for employment for everyone, and is capable of finding work for everyone who is able to work. The Committee there will pay the train ticket from Galveston to where you settle down.

3. You have to be totally healthy. American officials will not permit entry to the sick, the weak, those with trachoma infections in the eyes (or eye inflammations or chronic styes), mange (even the slightest trace of healed trachoma or mange), a bald spot in the middle of the head, lung problems, serious nervous diseases and so not capable of working, whoever has a sickly appearance—and the same regulations apply over there. Whoever doesn't feel well must consult a medical specialist here first (Everyone has to consult a medical specialist of the eyes even if they don't feel sick). If there's the slightest

* We have already gotten good news from our first emigrants who have stable employment, and some of them are already asking their families to come to them. Nevertheless every emigrant, even a craftsman, must be ready for the possibility that he may have to labor for some time in some other craft, and as a result have to work harder and for lower wages, especially because not everyone who calls himself a craftsman really knows his craft, and the way of working over there is somewhat different than here. For that reason we take absolutely no responsibility for obtaining a specific job with specific wages. But our Committees over there strive with all their might on behalf of their brothers. Therefore every emigrant who has the strength and the desire to work can certainly be sure that, with effort, he will more assuredly and more quickly earn a living in that place than in New York.

doubt, it's better not to travel. We take absolutely no responsibility if someone is prevented from entering on the grounds of health.

4. Our emigrants are sent in groups from Bremen. Everyone can leave their homes on their own. Traveling by train to the border, and then crossing the border, are the responsibility of the emigrant: his travel expenses are his concern. (In cases where the emigrant encounters difficulties or obstacles, he can turn to us by writing accurately, telling us where his official, police-registered residence is; where he is living now; and which documents he has. And we'll help him.) We will take him under our protection and at our expense from the border (that is, from the border control station) by train to Bremen and from Bremen by ship to Galveston. The sea voyage takes about three weeks. In Bremen, during the three or four days of waiting for the ship to leave, the emigrant will have lodgings in an emigrant shelter and kosher food at our expense.

5. Whoever feels totally healthy, according to American regulations (see paragraph 3) should send us the train fare from the border to Bremen (see paragraph 8), to the address of Dr. Mandelstam in Kiev. Then we will send him an official voucher right away for travel from the border control station to Bremen. We have committees in many places where they can bring the money and obtain the voucher on the spot (see paragraph 10).

6. We are sending along a questionnaire and we ask you to fill it out with clear answers and send it back right away. This is important so that we may let them know in Galveston about you in advance, so that they may prepare for you even before you get there. And we will let you know in advance when, how, and across which border it will be best for you to travel. We will telegraph if time is short.

7. At the Prussian border control station you will show the voucher to the representative from the Hilfsverein Committee, where you should go if the need arises.[54]

8. Cost of travel from the Prussian border control station by train to Bremen and from Bremen by ship to Galveston:

Adults over 12: train one ticket 7 rubles, ship 63 rubles. Total 70 rubles

Infants less than 1 year old: train 0 rubles, ship 9 rubles 50 kopeks. Total 9 rubles 50 kopeks

Children 1–4 years old: train 0 rubles, ship 31 rubles 50 kopeks. Total 31 rubles 50 kopeks

Children 4–10 years old: train half ticket 3 rubles 50 kopeks, ship 31 rubles 50 kopeks. Total 35 kopeks

Children 10–12 years old: train half ticket 7 rubles, ship 31 rubles 50 kopeks. Total 38 rubles 50 kopeks

Note: The fares are from these border control stations: Ottlotschin, Ostrowo-Illowo, Posen, Myslowitz. They are more expensive from other places. See the table in paragraph 13.

9. Baggage

On Russian trains, a ticket permits one *pud* free of charge.[55] On the ship every adult passenger is permitted 6 *pud* free of charge. Baggage on German trains is expensive, so it's better to bring along less, in other words, just the necessities: clean, white underwear, washed and pressed; bedding; your best clothes; shoes or boots. It can't hurt to have a warm overcoat and a blanket for the deck on the ship. It's easier to pack several smaller bundles, so that you can bring them into the train wagon. Large trunks are not permitted in Prussian train wagons.

10. You can bring money to these Committees to get vouchers:

Kiev, Professor M. E. Mandelshtam, Aleksandrovska No. 27

Warsaw, Jewish Territorial Emigration Bureau, Pruznaya No. 9

Warsaw, Information Bureau, Granicznaya 10-13

Odessa, Editors of the newspaper "The Jewish Voice," Remeslennaya No. 7

Zhitomir, Mr. I. I. Kulisher

Vilna, Mr. Leon Ilich Broydo, Sadovaya No. 15, apt. 5

Bialystok, Board of the company, residence in Grodno Province

Pinsk, Mr. P. Mandelbaum

Kovno, Mr. Sh. Uryson, Banking Office

Lodz, I. M Shlyamovich, Przejazd No. 50

Yelets, Orlovsk, Mr. Dr. M. L. Goldenberg

Libava, Dr. Yulii Levitan

11. Abroad you can turn to:

Berlin, Hilfsverein, Lützowstrasse No. 8

Bremen, Dr. Klatski, Hilfsverein Committee, Düstrnstrasse No. 132

Important Information About Emigration to Galveston (State of Texas)*, 1907, p. 5, showing the list of fares from Bremen to Galveston. (Courtesy of the Houston Jewish History Archive, Rice University.)*

Galveston (America): Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau, Galveston, Texas, America

12. These ships leave from Bremen every three weeks on Thursday

Name of the ship: Russian calendar date / Jewish calendar date

SS Hanauer: August 30 / Tishrei 4
SS Köln: September 20 / Tishrei 25
SS Frankfurt: October 11 / Cheshvan 16
SS Hanauer: November 1 / Kislev 29
SS Köln: November 22 / Kislev 8
SS Frankfurt: December 13 / Tevet 21

Note: We will announce the schedule of later ships at the appropriate time.

You should leave home about eight days before the ship leaves.

Some Facts About the State of Texas

The state of Texas is the largest of all the United States. It occupies 262,290 English square miles, and is larger, for example, than all of France. Its soil is especially fertile for grazing cattle and cotton plants. Except for its southern section, its climate is good for your health, especially in the winter months. The population of the state consists of Englishmen, Spaniards, Germans, Frenchmen, Negroes, Indians, and others. There are Jews in significant numbers only in the larger cities, especially Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Galveston. The population of the state is approximately 3,000,000 people. Compared to its huge area of territory, its population is very small. The state still has lots of empty space for new immigrants.

The following large cities are in Texas: Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Galveston, Fort Worth, Austin, Waco, El Paso, as well as many smaller cities.

Galveston is the largest port in Texas and the surrounding states. The city has large businesses and factories. The main industries in Galveston are iron pipes, door and window frames, knitted bags, clothes, fruit preserves, mineral waters, artificial ice. The city counts more than 40,000 inhabitants, a number of Jewish communities among them.

In general the cost of living is not cheap here. A one-room apartment is four dollars a month, two rooms six dollars, three rooms eight dollars or more. These are the prices of the most necessary foods: bread five cents

a pound, kosher meat fifteen cents a pound, milk five cents a quart, eggs 30 cents a dozen.

Houston is fifty miles from [the] Galveston port, where the ships from Europe dock. Houston is a very important industrial city. More than 5,000 workers work in its railroad workshops. In addition to the railroad workshops, there are large factories for carriages and wagons, bricks and ceramic tiles, clay and porcelain pots, bowls, plates, and other clay and porcelain wares, large mills and other workshops where healthy, capable workers can find employment. The population of the city is 60,000, among them 2,500 Jews. The Jewish community has its own synagogue, several prayer and study houses, and various charitable institutions and associations.

San Antonio is one of the most important business cities in Texas. It has many big companies of agricultural products, furniture, clothing, and other wares. San Antonio's industries are not well developed. The city has several mills, beer breweries, dairies, cement factories, wood products, and others. The main industries are saddles, harnesses, and confectioneries. The population of the city is big: 50,000 people, 1,200 Jews among them. The Jewish community has two synagogues and various charitable organizations.

Many Belgian gardeners have settled around San Antonio. Since the climate is very warm, and vegetables grow all year round, they send out wagon loads of green cucumbers in the winter months, green onions, carrots, turnips, watermelons, etc., to New York, Boston, and other big cities, and they make quite a good living.

Dallas is a big city with well-developed businesses and factories. Dallas is an important industrial city, known especially for its large workshops where special saddles and harnesses are crafted. It is the best-known city in America for that. Anyone who knows that craft well is certain to find employment in Dallas. In addition, there are large mills, sawmills, factories of wood products, metal, beer breweries, oil factories, and other industries. Carpenters, mechanics, and construction workers have the best employment outlook. Dallas has a population of 75,000 and a well-organized Jewish community with 1,600 members.

Fort Worth is the center of the cattle and meat trade in Texas. Grain and flour are also big business there. The main industries are mills, slaughter houses, iron foundries, and factories for all kinds of machines and

Important Information About Emigration to Galveston
(State of Texas), *1907, p. 8, "Some Facts About the State of Texas."*
(Courtesy of the Houston Jewish History Archive, Rice University.)

tools. There is work for various construction workers, shoemakers, bakers, tailors. Other important industrial and commercial centers are Austin, Waco, and El Paso. The city of **Austin**, the capital of Texas, is 81 miles from San Antonio. It has a few factories for iron wares, mills, leather works, oil factories. Austin's main commercial products are cattle, fur, wool, oil, grain. It has businesses in dry goods, pharmaceuticals, plowing machines, and various agricultural tools. **Waco** is an important center of the cotton trade. The factories and workshops of Waco produce iron wares, saddles and harnesses, clothes, mineral water, and other products. There are jobs for construction workers, shoemakers, tailors, bakers. Waco has a watch factory.[56] **El Paso**, on the border between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, is important in the cattle business. There are large iron foundries and cigarette factories in the city. All of these cities have Jewish congregations: In Waco the congregation Agudat Yaakov, in El Paso the congregation "Har Sinai," etc.

There are about 20,000 Jews in all of Texas, most of whom are employed in commerce.

Jewish Territorial Organization
Central Emigration Bureau for all of Russia in Kiev

NOTES

[1] Brochure provided to potential immigrants by the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO). Translated in 2019 from the Yiddish by Maurice Wolfthal and from the Russian by Judy Wolfthal. Houston Jewish History Archive at Rice University, Houston, TX. Used with permission.

[2] I am grateful to Rabbi Barry Gelman of United Orthodox Synagogues in Houston, who first alerted me to the availability of the pamphlet on the rare Judaica book market.

[3] Maurice Wolfthal has translated Max Weinreich's *Vos volt yidish geven on hebreyish?* (*What Would Yiddish be Without Hebrew?*); Yitzkhak Erlichson's *Mayne fir yor in sovyetrusland* (*My Four Years in Soviet Russia*) (Boston, 2013); excerpts from Nokhem Shtif's *Yidn un yidish* (*The Jews and Yiddish*) for *In geveb*; Bernard Weinstein's *Di yidishe yunyons in amerike: bleter geshikhte un erinerungn* (*The Jewish Unions in America: Pages of History and Memories*) (Cambridge, England, 2018); Nokhem Shtif's *Pogromen in ukrayne: di tsayt fun der frayviliker armey* (*The Pogroms in Ukraine 1918–19: Prelude to the Holocaust*) (Cambridge, England, 2019); the foreword to Isaac Rivkind's *Der kamf kegn azartshipiln bay yidn* (*The Struggle Against Gambling among Jews*) in the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* (2019); and Mendl Mann's *Dos faln*

fun berlin (*The Fall of Berlin*). His translation of Shmerke Kaczerginski's *Khurbn vilne* (*The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Vilna*) is under contract with Wayne State University Press. Biography taken from *In geveb: A Journal of Yiddish Studies*, accessed February 23, 2021, https://ingeveb.org/people/maurice-wolfthal). Judy Wolfthal studied Russian as an undergraduate and Yiddish at the YIVO summer program in New York and at Oxford University. She has worked as a cataloguer and reference librarian at the University of Texas and the Jewish Public Library in Montreal.

[4] On arguments for the lasting significance of the Galveston Movement, see Bernard Marinbach, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (Albany, NY, 1983), 181–95; Bryan Edward Stone, "The Galveston Diaspora: A Statistical View of Jewish Immigration Through Texas, 1907-1913," *Southern Jewish History* 21 (2018): 146–47. On classic treatments of American Jewish history that take the Lower East Side experience as paradigmatic, see Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York, 1976); Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880–1920* (Baltimore, 1992).

[5] Jack Glazier, *Dispersing the Ghetto: The Relocation of Jewish Immigrants Across America* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), 15–24; Hollace Ava Weiner, "Removal Approval: The Industrial Removal Office Experience in Fort Worth, Texas," *Southern Jewish History* 4 (2001): 1–44; Lauraine Miller, "The Zale Story: Diamonds for the Rough," in *Lone Stars of David: The Jews of Texas*, ed. Hollace Ava Weiner and Kenneth D. Roseman (Waltham, MA, 2007), 148–61.

[6] David Bressler, "The Removal Work, Including Galveston," speech to National Conference of Jewish Charities, St. Louis, May 17, 1910, box 1, folder 6, IRO Collection, American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS), Center for Jewish History, New York; Glazier, *Dispersing the Ghetto*, 196. For an appraisal of the IRO's successes and limitations, see Weiner, "Removal Approval," 33–35. Weiner argues, following the conclusions of Jack Glazier and Richard Rockaway, that the IRO grossly exaggerated their retention rates, and that the majority of immigrants sent to towns such as Fort Worth, Indianapolis, and Detroit moved on rather quickly. Weiner's research found that nineteen out of seventy-two IRO families, or 26 percent, remained in Fort Worth as of 1920, a higher figure than the other cities studied.

[7] Weiner, "Removal Approval," 5–6; Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 124–25. On the Kishinev pogrom, see Steven J. Zipperstein, *Pogrom: Kishinev and the Tilt of History* (New York, 2018).

[8] Bryan Edward Stone, *The Chosen Folks: Jews on the Frontiers of Texas* (Austin, 2010), 83–84.

[9] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 9–13; Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 126–27.

[10] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 11–12. Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 125.

[11] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 13–14.

[12] Morris Waldman to David Bressler, July 3, 1907, Records of the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau (I-90), box 2, folder 38, pp. 19–22, AJHS, Center for Jewish History (hereafter cited as JIIB Records), accessed April 10, 2021, https://digipres.cjh.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE131974. I am grateful to Bryan Stone for sharing this source with me.

[13] "Jewish Immigrants," *Galveston Daily News*, July 2, 1907.

[14] "Texas Has Room," *Houston Post*, August 4, 1908.

[15] Henry Cohen, "The Galveston Immigration Movement," *Houston Post*, December 20, 1908, rpt. *Jewish Herald* (Houston), February 5, 1909.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 29–33, 40–55, 103–104, 142–45; Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 128–30. Stone speculates that the "extended voyage at sea" before arrival at Galveston, which regularly included a stop in Baltimore or Philadelphia, may have contributed to a significant deterioration in the immigrants' health, factoring into the higher deportation rate there.

[18] Ronald Axelrod, "Rabbi Henry Cohen and the Galveston Immigration Movement, 1907–1914," *East Texas Historical Journal* 15 (1977): 24–37; Gary Dean Best, "Jacob H. Schiff's Galveston Movement: An Experiment in Immigration Deflection, 1907–1914," *American Jewish Archives* 30 (1978): 43–79; Marinbach, *Galveston*; Allen Mondell and Cynthia Salzman Mondell, dirs., *West of Hester Street* (Dallas, 1983); Ronald Axelrod, "Study Guide for West of Hester Street" (Houston, n.d.), accessed March 30, 2021, https://www.mediaprojects.org/discussion_guides/dg_west_of_hester_street.pdf.

[19]Mark Harelik email to author, January 21, 2021. Mark Harelik, *The Immigrant* (New York: Broadway Play Publishing, 2012).

[20] On Seriff's *Forgotten Gateway*, see Humanities Texas: Exhibitions, accessed February 9, 2021, https://www.humanitiestexas.org/exhibitions/list/by-title/forgotten-gateway-coming-america-through-galveston-island; and Bryan Edward Stone, "Exhibit Review: Forgotten Gateway: Coming to America Through Galveston Island, 1846–1924," *Southern Jewish History* 12 (2009): 264–67.

[21] Alexander Z. Gurwitz, *Memories of Two Generations: A Yiddish Life in Russia and Texas*, ed. Bryan Edward Stone, trans. Amram Prero (Tuscaloosa, 2016), chs. 13–14.

[22] Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 134–37, 141.

[23] Ibid., 142–45.

[24] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 21.

[25] *United States via Galveston*, ITO Papers, A36/95, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, quoted in Marinbach, *Galveston*, 27.

[26] Penina Moïse, "To Persecuted Foreigners" (1820), in *American Jewish History: A Primary Source Reader*, ed. Gary Philip Zola and Marc Dollinger (Waltham, MA, 2014), 69; Pamela S. Nadell, *America's Jewish Women: A History from Colonial Times to Today* (New York, 2019), 29–31; Jay M. Eidelman, "Penina Moïse, 1797–1880," Jewish Women's Archive, accessed March 30, 2021, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/moise-penina.

[27] Quoted in Avraham Barkai, *Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820–1914* (New York, 1994), 5, 27.

[28] Jewish Territorial Organization, *Important Information Concerning Emigration to Galveston (State of Texas)* (Zhitomir, Russia, 1907), trans. Maurice Wolfthal and Judy Wolfthal, 3, Houston Jewish History Archive, Rice University, Houston.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 142–43.

[32] Jewish Territorial Organization, *Important Information Concerning Emigration*, 3.

[33] According to statistics compiled by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1907, the average cost of food "per workingman's family" was about 325 dollars in 1906 in the South, compared to 370 dollars in the Northeast. However, charts of comparative wages by occupation and region reveal a far more mixed picture. See "Wages and Hours of Labor In Manufacturing Industries, 1890 to 1906," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* 71 (July 1907): 18, 26–60; and "Retail Prices of Food, 1890 to 1906," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* 71 (July 1907): 191, accessed February 23, 2021, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/bulletin-united-states-bureau-labor-3943/july-1907-477634/retail-prices-food-504444?start_page=196.

[34] For a broader discussion of deportations of American Jewish immigrants and the efforts of Jewish lawyers to combat them, see Britt Tevis, "'The Hebrews Are Appearing in Court in Great Numbers': Toward a Reassessment of Early Twentieth-Century American Jewish Immigration History," *American Jewish History* 100 (July 2016): 319–47. On the prevalent belief among anti-immigration advocates in Congress that eastern European Jews were sickly and physically and mentally deficient, see Congressional Committee on Immigration, "Temporary Suspension of Immigration" (1920), in *The Jew in the Modern World*, 3/e, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (New York, 2011), 568–69.

[35] Jewish Territorial Organization, *Important Information Concerning Emigration*, 3–4.

[36] Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 145. Because the pamphlet lists ship departures from Bremen beginning August 30, 1907, it must have been published earlier that summer.

[37] Jewish Territorial Organization, *Important Information Concerning Emigration*," 5.

[38] Stone, *Chosen Folks*, 85.

[39] Jewish Population in the United States by State (1899–Present), Jewish Virtual Library, accessed February 9, 2021, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jewish-population-in-the-united-states-by-state.

[40] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 22–23.

[41] For the Waldman annotation, see illustration 20 in Marinbach, *Galveston* (no page number); see also Marinbach, *Galveston*, 23.

[42] Morris Waldman to David Bressler, July 3, 1907, JIIB Records. Hollace Weiner found a similar situation in Fort Worth, whereby the IRO facilitated the chain migration of family members and friends to a specific desired location to reunite with loved ones or to follow acquaintances. See Weiner, "Removal Approval," 1–2, 17–22.

[43] David Bressler to Morris Waldman, August 28, 1907, JIIB Records, box 2, folder 41, pp. 38–42, accessed April 10, 2021, https://digipres.cjh.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE130693.

[44] David Bressler to Clement I. Salaman, November 20, 1907, quoted in Marinbach, *Galveston*, 23.

[45] Wolf Willner to Morris Waldman, December 20, 1907, JIIB Records, box 3, folder 51, pp. 4–5, accessed April 10, 2021, https://digipres.cjh.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE131275.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Stone, *Chosen Folks*, 91–92; Stone, "Galveston Diaspora," 134–37.

[48] Jewish Territorial Organization, *Important Information Concerning Emigration*, 8.

[49] Ibid., 8–9.

[50] Ibid., 9.

[51] On the early history of these Houston Jewish congregations, see Anne Nathan Cohen, *The Centenary History: Congregation Beth Israel of Houston, Texas, 1854–1954* (Houston, 1954); and *The Golden Book of Congregation Adath Yeshurun: Commemorating Fifty Years of Service to the Jewish Community of Houston, Texas, 1891–1941* (Houston, 1942).

[52] Jewish Territorial Organization, *Important Information Concerning Emigration*, 9–11.

[53] For more on Jewish Texans' relationship to whiteness and Anglo identity and how this dynamic was reflected in the writings of Henry Cohen, see Stone, *Chosen Folks*, 5–6; see also, Allison E. Schottenstein, *Changing Perspectives: Black-Jewish Relations in Houston during the Civil Rights Era* (Denton, TX, 2021).

[54] The *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* (Aid Society for German Jews) was formed in 1901 to improve living conditions for Jews in central and eastern Europe. During the Galveston Movement, the organization helped facilitate the movement of Jewish immigrants across the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany to the port at Bremen. "Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden," *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* Second Edition (Detroit, 2006).

[55] A *pud* (or *pood*) is a Russian unit of measurement equivalent to 16.4 kilograms or about 36 pounds.

[56] The copy of the pamphlet in the collection of the Houston Jewish History Archive is torn in one corner, so a small amount of text is missing. The full page, however, was reproduced in Marinbach, *Galveston*, illustration 20, which Maurice Wolfthal used to produce a translation of the complete text.