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History of the Austin
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History of Austin Jewish Community

Class Project

Professor Anthony Grant
Sociology 321X

11 May 1900

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Professor Anthony Drum's Sociology 321K class, would like to dedicate this class project to the Austin Jewish Community. We hope that our findings will be of value, and that it will be just the beginning of a search for Austin's Jewish identity. There are six important aspects of Judaism which are central to our studies on, and these include:

Figures and Events Among Austin Jews

History of Austin Jewish Community

Changing Racialized Policies of Austin Jews

History of the Establishment of Jewish Institutions in Austin

Class Project

Jewish Merchants of Austin Street

ASJF-Society Professor Anthony Drum

Sociology 321K

We wish to thank everyone in the Austin community who made this class project possible. These people include those at the Jewish institutions who provided us with valuable data, those who gave us personal interviews, and those who pointed us in the right direction. And most importantly, we would also like to thank Professor Anthony Drum for his support throughout our research.

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Practice and Ritual Among Austin Jews

Important Jewish Families of Austin

Changing Residential Patterns of Austin Jews

History of the Establishment of Jewish Institutions in Austin

Jewish Merchants of East 6th Street

Anti-Semitism in Austin

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Chapter 1

Practice and Ritual Among Austin Jews

Jewish religious practices vary from strict orthodox to mildly reformed, and because there is such a wide variance we developed a study to determine patterns of religious practice among the Austin Jewish community. The sample was chosen on a basis other than truly random, since time and funding limitations did not permit a truly random sample. However, every effort was made to obtain a diverse and representative sample of the population. The participants were given surveys designed to measure the extent to which they practiced the religion. The survey included a background information section and qualitative section. The background information section provided questions and information on which to base the comparisons of data obtained in the qualitative section.

Several hypothesis were generated at the outset of the study, based in part on studies cited in Steven M. Cohen's book American Modernity and Jewish Identity, and in part by intuition. The first hypothesis concerned the effect of age on the amount of religious practice. According to studies cited in Cohen, age has a direct positive relationship on extent of religious practice. Therefore our first hypothesis depicts that with increasing age, an increase in religious practice would appear. With regard to occupation, an assumption was made that an increase in status of occupation would be associated with a decrease in religious practice. This hypothesis has also been supported in Cohen's book. The final major hypothesis deals with religiosity which seemingly decreases from generation to generation. For

example, a second generation American Jew would score higher than a fourth generation American Jew.

In addition to these hypotheses, participants were compared on other aspects in the background information section; however, no consequential hypothesis could be generated from the miscellaneous categories, because the sample included in the study was not a true random sample. In order to obtain a true random sample, one must give every element in the target population an equal opportunity to be included in the sample. In this case that would involve going through a large number of rosters and selecting names on a standard random basis, perhaps a coin toss. It would then be necessary to contact each subject through mail and ask them to please take the time to fill out a survey.

Time and funding limitations made this impossible; therefore, the sample which was used included eighty-three semi-random subjects. They were not chosen on an actual random basis, but rather of where they were at what time. In obtaining subjects, we chose several institutions which we believed to be representative of the religious attitudes of Austin Jews. For example, we went to Beth Israel to get a sample of reformed Jews; Agudas Achim for a sample of conservatives, etc. It must be emphasized that this procedure excludes a major portion of the Jewish population, namely those who are not affiliated with any Jewish organization. The complete list of institutions which we were able to

survey is as follows:

- (1) Temple Beth Israel, 3901 Shoal Creek
- (2) Congregation Agudas Achim, 4300 Bull Creek Road
- (3) Chabad House-Lubavitch, 2101 Nueces
- (4) U.T. Hillel Foundation, 2105 San Antonio
- (5) Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity, 710 West 28th
- (6) Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity, 2600 San Pedro
- (7) Sigma Alpha Mu Fraternity, 2501 Leon
- (8) Delta Phi Epsilon Sorority, 2505 San Gabriel
- (9) Jewish Community Council of Austin, 11713 Jollyville Road

We felt that this list (which includes most Jewish institutions in Austin) provided us with a somewhat broad range of Austin Jews in spite of the fact that the sample is not truly random.

The qualitative section of the survey was constructed by listing all major Jewish holidays. We broke the questions down into specific rituals and practices associated with each. It was also important to simplify the survey, so we made the answers to this section either a yes or no response. Furthermore, a list of practices concerned with daily life of Jews was created. This list included very common practices, such as lighting the Sabbath candles, and very orthodox practices such as not handling money on the Sabbath.

The background information section included questions about age,

detected, only a small number of classification variables were found to be relevant. These were age, sex, occupation, marital status, immigration classification purposes. After the construction phase was completed, the survey was administered to a small subsample of the target population. Several "bad" questions were found. Unfortunately, these questions were discovered after the completed survey was printed and

thus appear in the sample survey. The questions which were thrown out when scoring the survey were:

*27-Do you attend services on the third day of Yom Kippur?

*30-Do you prepare special foods on Yom Kippur?

*69-Do you wrap tefillin? (This was eliminated due to sex difference complications)

Once these bad questions were identified, a scoring key was developed. This was done by answering an extra survey in a fashion which would indicate a level of full observance of Judaism. The highest score obtainable was found to be 61; therefore, a 61 would indicate full observance of the faith.

All surveys were scored in relation to this key. The surveys were then sorted according to the various classification variables. The mean scores and standard deviations were computed from the data. Also specific questions which we felt might show differences across that

particular classification variable were computed in terms of percentages.

Although the background information section of the survey was

detailed, only a small number of classification variables were found to be relevant. These were age, sex, occupation, marital status, immigration effects, and self-classification. In our sample, occupation and income were found to overlap heavily (probably due to the large number of students in our survey).

With regard to occupation, our sample included only three of the five subcategories. The categories were students, skilled workers, and professionals. Twenty-five percent of those in the survey considered themselves to be professionals. For students, the mean total score was 36.6 with a standard deviation of 8.4. The mean score for the skilled workers was 45.2 and the standard deviation was 16.4. For professionals, the mean total score was 33.7 and the standard deviation was 12.08. Table 1 breaks down the category of occupation with respect to several specific rituals. In the age difference category, the 51-64 and 65 and older categories were lumped together because only one participant was older than 61. The youngest age cohort was 18-22. The mean score for this group was 36.2 with a standard deviation of 8.4. For the 23-35 group, the mean score was 40.37 and the standard deviation was 13.9. In the 36-50 age group, the mean score was 35.8 and the standard deviation was 10.1. For the oldest cohort 50 and above, the mean was 30.3 and the standard deviation was 9.4. Table 2 breaks down age classification further.

Another category of great importance is that of marital status. Again, the participants fell into only two of the five possible categories.

Among those single participants the mean score was 36.1 and the standard deviation was 9.52. In the married group, the mean score was 37.95 and the standard deviation was 12.27. Table 3 summarizes the facts relevant to marital status.

The category of self-classification refers to whether the participants called themselves reformed, conservative, orthodox, or other. Twenty-five percent of those in the survey considered themselves to be reformed; their mean score was 27.6 with a standard deviation of 8.67. Conservatives accounted for 55% of our sample, their mean score was 38.4 and the standard deviation was 6.9. Twelve percent of the participants called themselves orthodox. The mean score in this subcategory was 50.1 and the standard deviation was 5.97. Finally, only 8% of the sample fell in to the other category ; their mean was 30.83 and the standard deviation was 11.71. Table 4 summarizes factors relevant to self-classification.

Sex was another category which we concentrated on. For males, the mean total score was 35.5 and the standard deviation was 10.7. For females, the mean was a little higher than their counterparts at 38 and their standard deviation was 9.5. No specific factors were found to be consistently related to sex. Table 5 presents this information in a statistical format.

Finally, we looked at the effects of recency of immigration. For the first generation Jews, as well as that of the second generation, the mean

score was 42. The standard deviation for the first generation was 9.48, and for the second generation it was 10.8. For third generation Jews, the mean score was 36 and the standard deviation was 8.5. Of those who said they were fourth generation Jews, the mean score was 35 and the standard deviation was 11.5.

Our hypothesis that with increasing occupational status there would be a decrease in religiosity was supported by the survey. From our data, we also found that skilled workers were more religious in all aspects, except the importance for them that their children have a Bar/Bat Mitzvah and the observance of Chanukah. Their overall score was 8.6 points higher than the students and 11.5 points higher than the professional group.

The lesser emphasis on a Bar/Bat Mitzvah by skilled workers might be because a Bar Mitzvah has recently become more of a social occasion than a religious rite of passage. The high cost involved in the celebration probably dissuades many families from making this a priority. Also, some people stated that it was more important for their son to be Bar Mitzvahed, whereas, it was less important for their daughters to be Bat Mitzvahed.

It is also interesting to note that students had a higher overall score than professionals by 3 points. However students score lower on such practices as attending Sabbath services, lighting Sabbath candles and keeping a Kosher home. The low observance of the Sabbath by students

might be attributed to the fact that Friday night is more of a socially oriented evening than one reserved for religious worship. Also, dorm and apartment living conditions make it very difficult to keep Kosher.

The students outscored the professionals in the categories dealing with knowledge of the holidays, reading and understanding Hebrew, and in their observance of lesser festivals. This could be attributed to their probable exposure to the holidays through the University environment, recency of Hebrew school, or even by spending most of their time with their Jewish friends. Interestingly enough, it was most important to the student group (93%) that their children be Bar/Bat Mitzvahed.

The hypothesis that with increasing age, the greater the religiosity of the person was not supported by our survey. The most religious group was that of 23-35 with a total score of 40.4 and the least religious were those 51 and over with a total score of 30.3—a difference of 10.1.

In the 18-22 and 36-50 range, Conservatism was most popular, followed by Reformed and then by Orthodoxy. In the 23-35 group, Conservatism was still most popular, however Orthodoxy was second followed by Reformed.

In the 51+ group, 50% were Reformed with Conservative, Orthodox, and other divided equally at 16.6% each.

This indicates that there appears to be a growing population of young married couples that are becoming more religious. However, the

25-35 group was affiliated with the least number of Jewish organizations at 1.3.

The 18-22 group was affiliated with the most number of organizations at 1.9. This is probably due to the many student organizations in the university area.

Even though the 51+ group had the lowest total score and a 50% Reformed rate, they had a 100% attendance when it came to Sabbath services. They scored low on daily life practices but show their religiosity through synagogue attendance.

The difference between the single and married respondents was insignificant in terms of total score-only two points with the married group scoring higher.

As far as the singles, 31% of them kept a Kosher home; whereas, 45% of the married kept a Kosher home. Only 55% of the single respondents light the Sabbath candles, but 70% of the married group light the Sabbath candles. This could mean that a family life enhances the extent of religious observation in the home.

None of the respondents categorized themselves as divorced or separated. This could mean one of two things. It could be that divorced individuals may isolate themselves from the religious community and were therefore difficult to survey, or that there is a very low divorce rate among Austin Jews. Another fact that can alter the data is that most

students are not married. The reasons for the responses that we received could be any of these three, or a combination of any of them.

In our study of self-classification, we found that respondents were extremely accurate in self-conception with regard to Reformism, Conservatism and Orthodoxy.

The Reformed at 25% were the least religious with a total score of 27.6 and the Orthodox at 12% were the most religious with a score of 50.1 out of a total possible score of 61. As for writing, 100% of the Reformed write, handle money, or operate electricity on the Sabbath, but only 20% of the Orthodoxy write on the Sabbath or handle money and 60% operate electricity and 40% drive on the Sabbath.

Although only 19% of the Reformed Jews have ever read any Talmud, 37% of the Conservatives and 40% of the Orthodox have read Talmud. As far as the Orthodox were concerned, all of them could read Hebrew.

On keeping a Kosher home 4.8% of the Reformed, 39% of the Conservatives and 80% of the Orthodox kept this tradition.

It appears that the major differences between the Conservatives and the Orthodox seem to come out most under the daily life rituals and not in their observance of the holidays.

The variance within the groups was very low. The variance of the scores decreased as religiosity increased. This indicates that there is less variation among the Orthodox and greater variation amongst the

Reformed. The survey was most reliable for predicting Orthodoxy than Reformism.

The sex differences on total score were very small. Men scored three points lower than women. However, the scores of married men equaled those of their wives. This could once again indicate that family life increases the amount of religious practice in the home. The introduction of children probably increases the desire to carry on "Tradition."

Our hypothesis that religiosity would decrease with succeeding generations appears to be supported by our survey. There is no difference between first and second generation respondents with a total score of 42. However, with third generation Jews, there appears to be a 6 point drop and then a leveling off by the fourth generation.

The results of our survey for the most part supported our assumptions about the Austin Jewish community. Also our sample of Austin Jews appears to be fairly consistent with the larger American Jewish population with regard to Cohen's Studies of Practice and Ritual among American Jews and those discussed in Dr. Drum's class.

TABLE #1

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Student</u>	<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Professional</u>
1. Do you keep a kosher home ?	31%	60%	36%
2. Do you attend Sabbath services ?	48%	80%	74%
3. Is it important for your child to be Bar/Bat mitzvah ?	93%	80%	89%
4. Do you light the Sabbath candles ?	51%	80%	57%
5. Do you observe Rosh Hashana ?	98%	100%	84%
6. Do you observe Yom Kippur ?	95%	100%	84%
7. Do you observe Passover ?	100%	100%	100%
8. Do you observe Chanukah ?	96%	80%	94%
9. Do you observe Purim ?	63%	80%	57%
10. Do you observe Sukkot ?	48%	80%	42%
11. Can you read Hebrew ?	81%	100%	63%
12. Number surveyed	58	5	19
13. Total Score	36.6	45.2	33.7
14. Standard Deviation	8.4	16.4	12.1

Table #2

<u>Age</u>	<u>18-22</u>	<u>23-35</u>	<u>36-50</u>	<u>51+></u>
1. Reformed	26%	18%	16%	50%
2. Conservative	63%	43%	58%	16.6%
3. Orthodox	6%	25%	8%	16.6%
4. Other	4%	12.5%	16.6%	16.6%
5. Do you keep a Kosher Home ?	30%	50%	41%	16.6%
6. Do you attend Sabbath Ser. ?	42.8%	75%	66%	100%
7. Do you say prayer before you eat. ?	36.7%	50%	33%	33%
8. How many Jewish org.'s are you affiliated with ?	1.89%	1.31%	1.75%	1.33%
9. Number surveyed	44	16	12	6
10. Total score	36.2	40.37	35.8	30.3
11. Standard Deviation	8.4	13.9	10.1	9.4

TABLE #3

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>
1. Do you Keep a kosher home?	31.6%	45%
2. Do you light the Sabbath candles ?	55%	70%
3. Is it important that your children have a Bar/Bat Mitxvah ?	95%	95%
4. Number Surveyed	63	20
5. Total Score	36.1	37.95
6. Standard Deviation	9.52	12.27

TABLE #4

<u>Self-Classification</u>	<u>Reformed</u>	<u>Conser.</u>	<u>Ortho.</u>	<u>Und/other</u>
1. Total Percentage ?	25%	55%	12%	8%
2. Do you keep a kosher home ?	4.76%	39%	80%	-
3. Do you drive on the Sabbath ?	95.2%	98%	40%	-
4. Do you write on the Sabbath ?	100%	96%	20%	-
5. Do you handle money on the Sabbath?	100%	89.2%	20%	-
6. Do you operate electricity on the Sabbath ?	100%	98%	60%	-
7. Have you read Talmud ?	19%	36.9%	40%	-
8. Number Surveyed	21	46	10	6
9. Total Score	27.6	38.4	50.1	30.83
10. Standard Deviation	8.67	6.9	5.97	11.71

TABLE #5

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. Number Surveyed	48	35
2. Total Score	35.5	38.0
3. Standard Deviation	10.7	9.5

TABLE #6

(Effects of Immigration)

<u>Genration</u>	<u>1st (Self)</u>	<u>2nd (Parents)</u>	<u>3rd (Grd-Prnt)</u>	<u>4th (Grt-gpts)</u>
1. Total Score	42	42	36	35
2. Standard Deviation	9.4	10.8	8.5	11.5
3. Number Surveyed	6	11	36	26

Austin is an important city in the State of Texas, as well as the nation, and it offered hope for immigrants who wanted to settle themselves and their families. The Jewish immigrants from Germany and Russia included such families as the Henry Hirsfelds, Louis Novys and the Re Korns, all of which have contributed much to Austin's Jewish community. Each family struggled, but succeeded in their efforts to become successful in Austin. Each has played an important part in the social aspects of the Austin Jewish community. They also contributed to

Chapter 2

Important Jewish Families
of Austin

Henry Hirsfeld was born on November 22, 1834, at Schneidernuche, Posen, Germany, and migrated to Mobile, Alabama. In 1860, at the age of 16, he moved to Texas and settled in Georgetown. Upon arrival, he engaged in the mercantile business. Soon afterward the Civil War broke out and he enlisted as a private in Captain Posey's Company, where he fought with undaunted courage. Henry remained in the war for four years, after which, he came to Austin and started a business with the father of W. J. Suter. This joint existence was for a brief period; the partnership dissolved, and Hirsfeld continued the business alone. Hirsfeld was for years a very familiar figure in Austin, and in his nearly thirty years in the mercantile business, he made many friendships. During his last twenty years he was

Austin is an important city in the State of Texas, as well as the nation, and it offered hope for immigrants who wanted to settle themselves and their families. The Jewish immigrants from Germany and Russia included such families as the Henry Hirsfelds, Louis Novys and the Joe Koens, all of which have contributed much to Austin's Jewish community. Each family struggled, but succeeded in their efforts to become successful in Austin. Each has played an important part in the social aspects of the Austin Jewish community. They also contributed to the Austin economy, where each became successful businessmen. The families of these men are still residing in Austin, and remember the stories told to them by their important relatives.

Henry Hirshfeld was born on November 22, 1834, at Schneidermuche, Posen, Germany, and migrated to Mobile, Alabama. In 1860, at the age of 16, he moved to Texas and settled in Georgetown. Upon arrival, he engaged in the mercantile business. Soon afterward the Civil War broke out and he enlisted as a private in Captain Posey's Company, where he fought with undaunted courage. Henry remained in the war for four years, after which, he came to Austin and started a business with the father of W. J. Sutor. This joint existence was for a brief period, the partnership dissolved, and Hirshfeld continued the business alone. Hirshfeld was for years a very familiar figure in Austin, and in his nearly thirty years in the mercantile business, he made many friendships. During his last twenty years, he was

actively affiliated with the Austin National Bank (opened April 16, 1890 and now known as Interfirst Bank)—first as one of the bank's incorporators and then later as one of the Vice-Presidents. Due to ill health, he soon was forced to retire from an active business role. Hirshfeld was a member of a number of lodges and social groups: a charter member of Hill City Lodge of Masons, a member of Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and a leading member of the Austin Saengerrunde. Hirshfeld was also the first president of Austin's Temple Beth Israel; however, soon after retiring, he passed away. Hirshfeld's death was keenly felt by the directorate of the Austin National Bank and its President gave the eulogy at Hirshfeld's funeral:

"Mr. Hirshfeld was a keen and careful businessman, but in all his dealings, justness and fairness proved the keynote. During his life, he took a high standard of honor and from this never deviated or departed. In the conduct of the affairs of this institution, I always found his (the bank) counsel sound and both personally and in a business way I feel his death is a distinct loss to us."

Hirshfeld was survived by his wife, Jennie Melasky, and six children.

The Hirshfeld's first son, Morris Hirshfeld, was born on August 25, 1875, in Austin. He was not born in a hospital, but rather in a small rock home. This is still the present Hirshfeld two-story stone home at Ninth and

Lavaca. Morris received a good education because he was able to attend both the old Jacob Bickler School and an Austin Public School. While attending school he had high aspirations of following his father's footsteps into a banking career. In the summer of 1891, Morris started working at the Austin National Bank as a collector. Amazingly enough, after completing his education, he joined the bank's staff in 1892. Morris served as a bookkeeper and as a teller, when he had first become a permanent employee of the bank. Ten years later, he was named as an assistant cashier and was advanced to the post of cashier in 1908. Morris was elected as a Vice-President in 1919 and at his death was serving as first Vice-President. From his association with the bank, some forty-eight years, Morris became one of the most important people in Austin. Consequently, Morris's acquaintances began to reach past Austin, and to prominent people throughout Texas and the Southwest. Hirshfeld was known for the many welfare and charitable activities in which he participated. He was also a lifelong member of Temple Beth Israel and a longtime member of Hill City Lodge and B'nai B'rith.

Another son, Jake, was born to Henry and Jennie Hirshfeld in 1880. He was a graduate of Bickler's Boys School and attended Texas A & M College, but this did not lessen his patronage of the University of Texas athletic teams. Like his dad, Jake was also a businessman. He was co-owner of the clothing firm of Hirshfeld and Anderson until the firm

dissolved in 1932. Between then and the time that Jake joined the bank's directorship, he was semi-retired. Because of his contributions, Jake will be remembered as one of the finest of men with a kind, happy and helpful disposition.

Marie Hirshfeld Hanna is the granddaughter of Henry Hirshfeld. She remembers stories of her grandparent's times in Austin. She said, "My grandfather went with a pack on his back and got to Austin.... He also served with the Hood's Brigade." Her family was reformed and she remembers going to Temple on Friday nights. Marie first lived in East Austin and at sixteen moved to Mobile, Alabama, where she later opened a general store. In Mrs. Hanna's house, there is a picture of her grandfather's family, which included her as a child. She was proud of her heritage and how her grandfather succeeded in Austin. The Hirshfeld's, with Henry as the backbone, have left an everlasting effect on the Austin Jewish community.

Louis Novy, through his many contributions to the Austin Jewish community, will always be considered a prominent figure in Austin's Jewish society. The native speaking Russian was one of nine children and had little education. He was born in 1891 in the town of Kenschin, Russia. Louis and his brothers were forced to steal potatoes from the rich. At the age of 14, Nowordworski worked in a hog hairbrush factory to help his family pay for food. He had heard that in America, "money was given out

freely to everyone." He decided that this was his chance to be successful, so Louis Novy came to the United States in July, 1912. He traveled in a trailer with his brother to America. Novy, then named Leiser Nowordworski, settled in Galveston Bay. After three weeks of travel, Nowordworski landed in Galveston and headed toward Dallas where he found employment in a candy factory. This was his first job in America and according to his daughter, Lena Novy Podolnick, her father turned his passion and hobby towards candy. It was at this candy factory that his employer changed Nowordworski's name to Louis Novy.

After being in Dallas for a while, Novy decided to travel around Texas. He settled first in Temple, and at a later date he moved to Austin. It was in Austin where Louis met Minnie Lown, his wife-to-be, who was a native Austinite. Lown was the daughter of an Austin Variety Store owner who had migrated from Germany. In 1917, the Novy's were married and later had two children: Harold C. (Buster) Novy and Lena Novy Podolnick.

Novy had a great desire for the theater and road shows. After moving to Austin, he started out with small jobs, which did not pay very much. Through hard work, he succeeded in the theater business. Consequently, Novy felt that all young people should be given a chance to succeed; therefore, he gave jobs in the theaters not only to his two children, but to others as well. Louis, through his vast experience, worked

his way to become President of Trans-Texas Theaters. Additionally, because of his success in the theatrical business, he became well-known in the industry.

Louis Novy and his family attended both Temple Beth Israel and Agudas Achim. Before working in the theater, Novy did odd jobs for the Temple. His family always remained active in both congregations. His wife, Minnie, was very much involved in the Jewish Women's Association and even served as its' President. She also helped with the synagogue's association to help with social service in Austin. Their two children both attended Hebrew School, but only Buster celebrated his Bar Mitzvah.

As Louis Novy got older, he became involved in Austin politics. He became great friends with Lyndon B. Johnson. Lyndon attended Novy's children's weddings, bris', and later, a pallbearer at Novy's funeral. Novy became quite popular in this part of the country. He booked important road shows for such stars as Fammie Brice, Helen Hayes, Katherinbe Hepburn, and Victor Moor. While establishing his success, Novy always believed that America was truly "the land of opportunity," and thus he became a very prominent and prosperous Austinite.

Lena Novy Podolnick, Louis' daughter who was raised in the West Enfield section of Austin, still lives here in Austin with her husband, Earl, who is currently also involved in the film and theater business. Mrs. Podolnick fondly remembers her father and says, "He was once the manager

of the Old Hancock Opera House (now the Capitol Theatre). My brother and I used to have small jobs around there and this had an influence on my life." Lena is now involved in the theater business with her husband. She says that the involvement in theater with her father "was a fluke, a mere accident, and what a wonderful accident it was." Lena graduated from the University of Texas with a history degree, because her father believed in education and saw to it that both of his children were well educated. She also remembers her mother's involvement in the Temple, "My mother was always busy with Hadassah and social service groups." Lena as well as her parents will always call Austin their home.

The Novy family has been involved in Austin since Louis Novy landed here in hope of a future. The successful Jewish family had been, and still is, well-known in Austin. Louis Novy's death in 1958 was a major setback for the family, but because of his contributions to the Austin Jewish community, his family will always be considered an inspiration to Austin and to the Jewish community.

Joe Koen's contributions to the Austin Jewish community, also made his family a notable name in Austin. Joe Koen came to the United States from Russia, in 1882. He arrived in New York and traveled southward to Waco. He stayed in Waco for a little over a year and he then left for San Antonio. He visited Austin on his way to the Alamo City, where he fell in love with the town, and decided to go no further. Instead, in

1884, he opened a store that specialized in jewelry, musical instruments, and watch repair. His first store was located in the Avenue Hotel on the corner of Eighth Street and Congress Street. He opened with only \$40 to his name, and after two years he was ready to move and expand his business. The new store was located on East Sixth Street. Joe was a very popular and talented man. As an expert watch inspector, he was the divisional inspector of watches used by trainmen of the Southern Pacific, Missouri-Pacific, and M-K-T lines. His son, William, went into business with him and ultimately took over when Joe Koen died, in February, of 1944. ~~Joe joined his father in the jewelry business after he~~

~~graduated~~ William Koen, Sr. was born in 1898. He was educated in the Austin School District and attended the University of Texas. At the age of eighteen, he went into business with his father. William was instrumental in bringing the prestigious lines of crystal, china, silver and porcelain to the booming Austin community. The store was no longer just a place to buy jewelry and have repairs done, but it became a store where one could always find that "special gift." His business mind went hand in hand with his compassion and generosity towards others. William has devoted a great deal of time to synagogue, church, civic and philanthropic work. Among them, he served as past president of Temple Beth Israel, the Hillel-B'nai B'rith Building Fund Treasury Board, and he has been honored by the Austin Council of Christians and Jews. He has been involved with the

Rotary Club Board, Headliners, Chamber of Commerce, Austin Community Council, Travis County Grand Jury. He also served as President of the Symphony and was the head of the Lasker Long Education Fund at the University of Texas, which provided money for students to borrow in order to continue to obtain a higher level of education. Mr. Koen sat on many Board of Directors, such as: the State School for the Deaf, Austin Preschool Hearing Service, and the Holy Cross Hospital Board. Despite all of his community accomplishments, he maintained his position as Joe Koen and Son for many years until his son, William Joe Koen, Jr., took the helm.

Billy Koen, Jr. joined his father in the jewelry business after he graduated from the University of Texas. Since he joined, he has opened two more stores serving four generations of Austin and Central Texas families. His son, Bill Koen, III, is planning to join the legacy sometime after his graduation from the University of Texas, in 1986.

All of the aforementioned families contributed much to Austin and its Jewish community, ranging from one of Austin's most prominent pioneer families-the Hirshfelds and their establishment of the Austin National Bank, to the Novy family and their participation in the theatre and production areas, on to the Koen family and their extensive participation in the jewelry business. Through their active participation in the Temples and other Jewish organizations, each of these families added to the growth of Austin's Jewish community.

Chapter 3

Changing Residential Patterns of Austin Jews

Many studies are currently being conducted on the changing residential patterns of the American population as a whole. Recent studies have shown that in the United States, the general trend of redistribution for residents of the larger cities is from out of the main city and into the suburbs. These movements are, primarily, the result of the expansion of the cities themselves as well as the increased wealth of many of the residents. A study of the changing residential patterns of the Jews in Austin shows that Austin residents are following trends similar to those of any other expanding city in the U.S. Furthermore, Jews in Austin are participating in the population redistribution, characterizing the American population as a whole.

Today, in Austin, there remains distinct areas of Jewish concentration. Nevertheless, the Jewish community is more graphically dispersed than the Jewish community of the late 19th century. The first Jewish settlers arrived in Austin during the mid 1800's. By 1875, approximately fifteen Jewish families were known to be living in Austin. Most of these early settlers were German Jews. Since the Jewish people of Germany reflected the reform aspect of Judaism, so did these first settlers. As for the businesses of these early Austinites, few records of early Jewish peddlers exist. Instead, early settlers were virtually all involved in some kind of retail business. The early trend was to move away from general merchandise stores and into specialty shops. This

trend is reflected in the large number of men's clothing stores, and liquor stores, and tobacco stores that were operated by Jews in 19th century Austin:

William and Emmanuel Moses sold men's clothing and shoes.

Leon Seligman sold wholesale wines, liquors and cigars.

Isaac Stein sold china, glass and crockery.

Leopold Littman made and sold cigars.

Joe Koen was a jeweler.

Sam Hirshfeld and George Ash sold men's clothing.

There was no Jewish working class in Austin at this time. Virtually, the entire Jewish community was engaged in some form of retail sales. The only exception was a land agent named Phineas De Cordova. During this time period, most merchants lived on top of their stores; therefore, the area most suitable for Jews to settle was the central downtown area. An obvious assumption as to the reason that the Jewish settlers moved into the same area is primarily based on their similarities. These few Jewish families shared a unique religion, unusual customs, and a foreign language unfamiliar to most non-Jewish Austin residents. (Map #1)

The Jews began to establish themselves in Austin between 1875-1900. The new Jewish settlers to Austin were overwhelmingly from Germany, and consequently were reform in their religious practices. In fact, until 1900, only reform services were performed in Austin. During

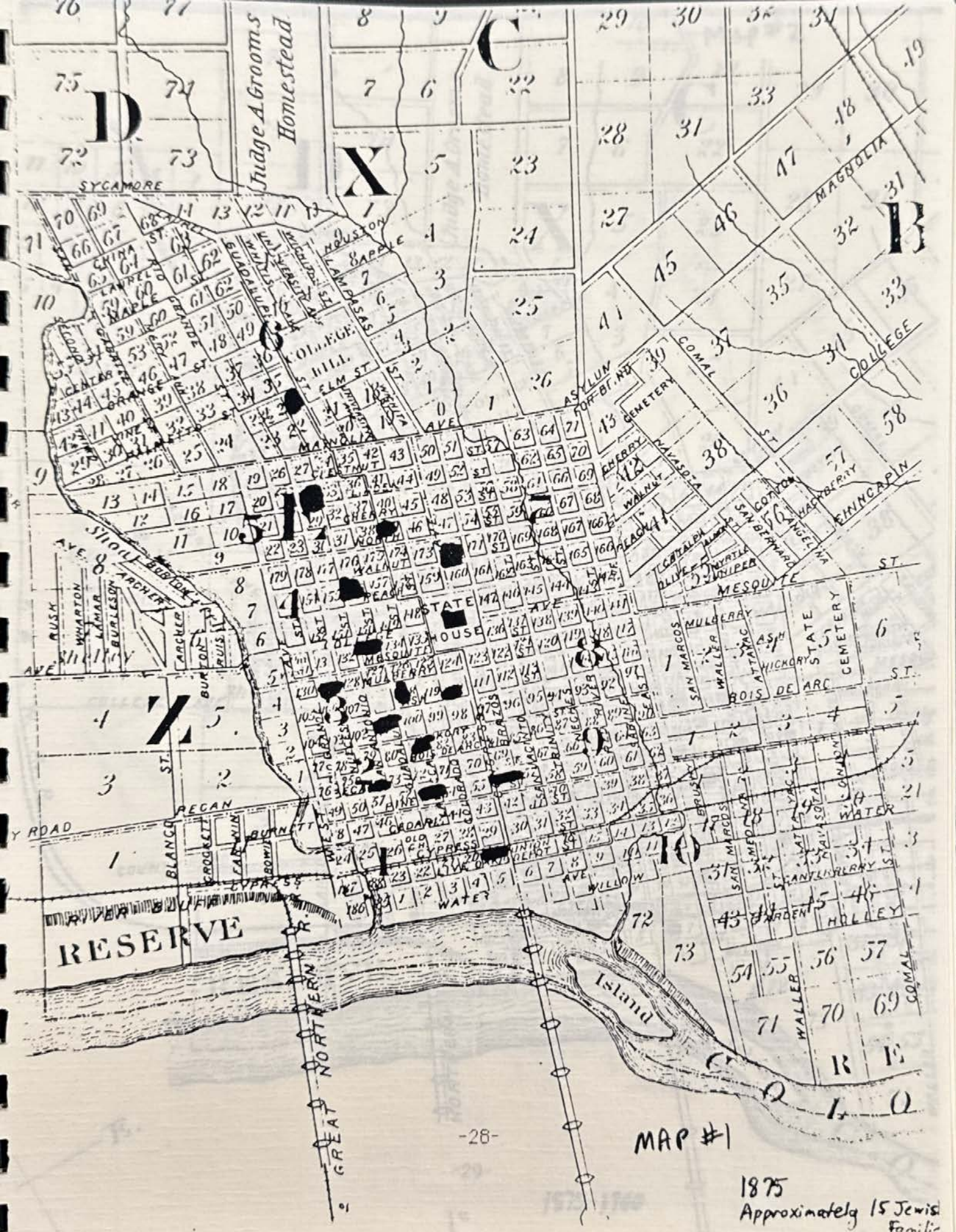
this time period, only two Sephardic families moved to Austin from Spain; the rest were from Germany. Because of the establishment of the European Jews in Austin, several organizations were started. On July 9, 1875, the first permanent Jewish group was organized in Austin-the B'nai B'rith Lodge. In 1876, Congregation Beth Israel was organized as the first reform congregation in Austin. They elected Henry Hirshfeld as their first President, and the congregation made plans to raise money to purchase land for a synagogue. In 1884, Temple Beth Israel moved into its synagogue on San Jacinto and 11th. Other organizations that were established by the Jewish community were the Ladies Aid Society, the Cemetery Association, the Literary Society, a youth organization, and a publication society. During this period of the late 19th century, most Jews remained in the downtown area of Austin. Needless to say, the first synagogue, Temple Beth Israel, was erected in the heart of the Jewish community. The main reason that there was little or no change in the residential patterns of the Jewish Austinites was due to a lack of development in Austin itself. The residents, primarily, had no place to move. Furthermore, there was little means of transportation for traveling. Merchants also found it more convenient to live above their businesses, and after establishing for themselves a strong community, felt hesitant to pursue further expansion. (Map #2)

The earliest migration out of downtown occurred between 1900 and

1945. This migration was triggered by the college boom in Austin as well as the United States as a whole. During this time, many Austin, Jewish teenagers were sent to Universities (especially the University of Texas) to be educated in businesses that differed from the trades their fathers and grandfathers learned. As a result, many of these early college students became knowledgeable professionals and better merchants. Since these young businessmen were in the position to become wealthier than their parents, they moved away from home-farther northwest from downtown Austin. However, during the early 20th century, the whole nation went through a transition of world wars and depressions. This, obviously created stagnant growth in Austin, as well as throughout the United States until post war years. (Map # 3)

A progressive movement of Austin Jews to the Northwest Hills area occurred after 1945. The main factor behind this migration was the tremendous expansion of Austin. Until the mid-21st century, Austin remained an underdeveloped "Hick Town." However, recently, there has been a sudden migration of people into Austin. This, in turn, is forcing the establishment of many Austin suburbs. Another reason for the movement out of central Austin is the improved transportation system. By the 1950's, most middle-class American families owned at least one car. Nevertheless, for those who were less fortunate, the city of Austin created a mass transit system. This enabled businessmen and women to

travel to and from their jobs in Austin Proper. Another important factor expressing the changing residencies of Jews towards northwest Austin concerns itself with money. During the post war years, Jews became wealthier. They expanded their businesses throughout the entire Austin area. There was also an increase in Jewish professionals (doctors, lawyers, scientists, etc.) who had higher incomes than most other merchants. A newer profession in the Austin area was the emergence of real estate speculators. The sudden expansion of Austin created a need for these people. Because Austin Jews were becoming wealthier, they were able to invest their money in nicer, more personalized homes. In order to do this, many Jewish families moved out to the suburb of the Northwest Hills and built or modeled their own homes. One reason that the Jews chose the Northwest Hills area was for its beauty. The synagogues, which also attracted the Jewish residents, were also established in this Shoal Creek area. Furthermore, to explain the reason that most Austin Jews still live near each other is a simple social factor. This underlying factor deals with the concept that Jews "flock" together simply because they feel they have something in common with one another; whether it be background, religion, customs or just a feeling of similarity. (Maps # 4 and #5).



Judge A. Grooms
Homestead.

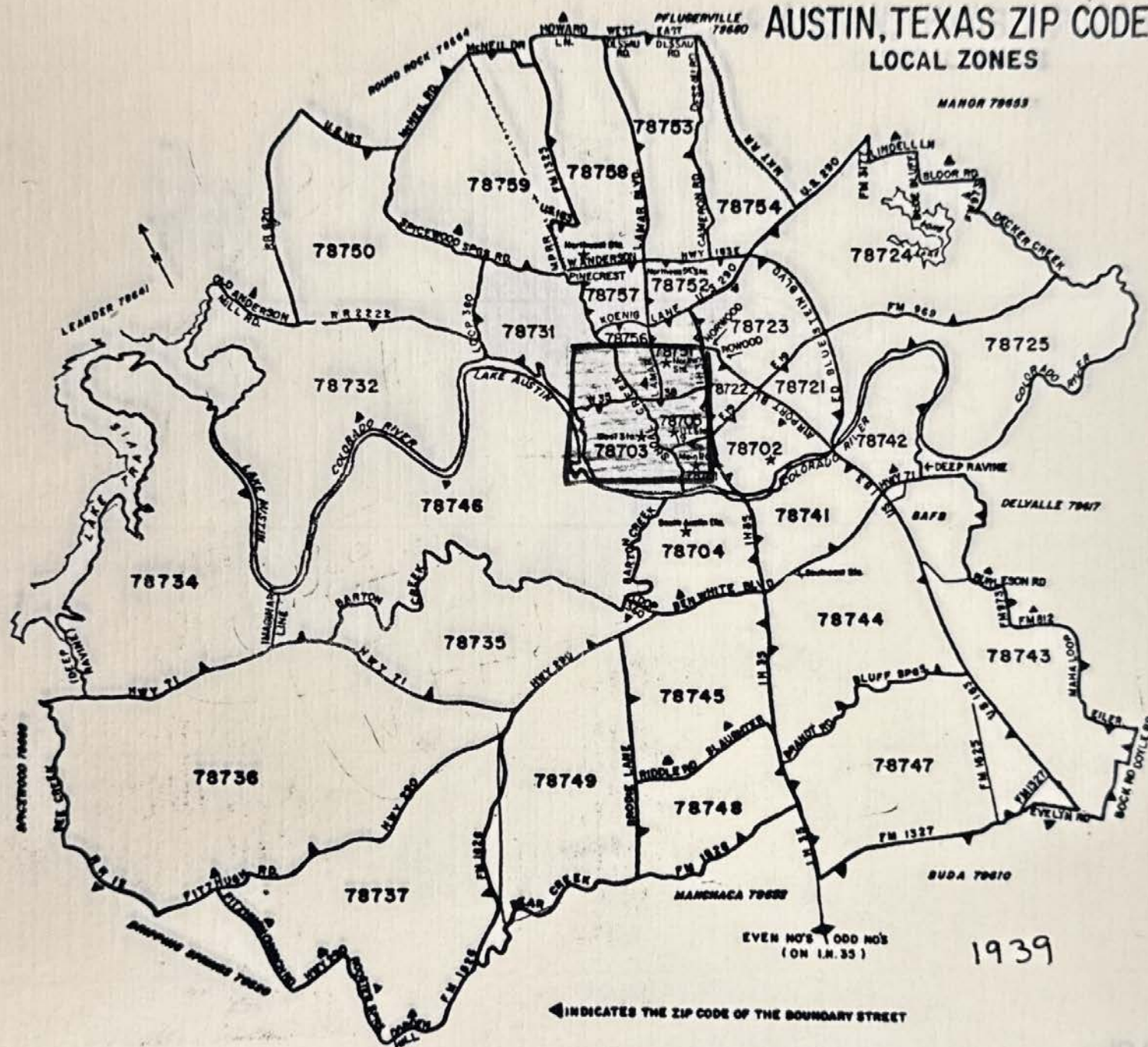
Harris
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Gov. E. M.
Pease

RESERVE

Island

AUSTIN, TEXAS ZIP CODE LOCAL ZONES



1939

Founded September 24, 1876, Temple Beth Israel is Austin's first and oldest Jewish synagogue. On this day, the small Jewish population of Austin met at Odd Fellows Hall to organize their religious life. Temple Beth Israel began with the collection of private donations of those present at the September 24th meeting, a total amount that reached \$1600 from an estimated party of thirty people.

The small party of Jews that met at Odd Fellows Hall elected Mr. Henry Wrenfeld as the first president. He in turn appointed the officers to whom was given the responsibility for locating a plot of land that would become the future site of Temple Beth Israel's synagogue.

Chapter 4 History of the Establishment of Jewish Institutions in Austin

The year 1877 was a year of Jewish growth to the little congregation. On May 26, 1877, the Temple officers purchased the new location of Temple Beth Israel's synagogue for \$2500. The plot was located on San Jacinto and 11th Street, and was then fenced off until 1881.

But 1877 is also marked by the opening of Austin's first Jewish Sunday school, created by the Temple's second president, Mr. J. M. Davis. Mr. Davis set out to hire a Sunday School teacher at \$50.00 a month, the first of whom was Dr. Gluck. The Sunday School grew so large that the space in Odd Fellows Hall had been saturated to a point that it became necessary to rent space at the bank that was located across the street from the Hall. At this time there was an estimated flock of 100 at the

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congregation.

In the 1860's, the Temple was not yet fully organized and only High Holiday services were conducted with Rabbis contracted by the Hebrew Union College. Furthermore, Torahs had to be donated by other synagogues. The income the Temple received was not only of personal pledges but also in the form of admission fees for the High Holiday services. But in 1861, the income being received was not sufficient to meet the needs of the new synagogue project and pay rent at Odd Fellows Hall. Therefore, the officers decided to close all facilities until a solution could be reached.

As told by Reverend H. J. M. Chumaceiro, Rabbi of New Orleans, the Jewish populus of Austin gave more pledges to the Temple in the fight to reactivate the Temple. The implemetation of a membership fee had been voted on and approved by the congregation. Therefore, the Temple would be capable of charging for individual membership within Beth Israel, creating another source of income and giving special priviliges to members.

At the end of this same year, due to good fortune, a contract was signed by the Temple officers, giving permission to a contractor to proceed with the building of a new synagogue. By 1864, the new synagogue was half built and a loan for an addditional \$2500 was needed to complete the new temple.

The turning point for Temple Beth Israel, that point which marked the permanent facility for Austin Jews, was in 1947, when an all time

high of 200 families were members of the Temple. A 200 family membership was reached by the Temple due to the growth of the Jewish population in Austin. Three years later marked the beginning of the Beth Israel Nursery School and the presence of a permanent rabbi. But it was not until 1956 that Temple Beth Israel would be capable of holding services on every Friday night and Saturday. With all the changes in facilities and the expansion of religious services, the Temple officers found themselves forced to move to another location to accomodate the demand. In 1957, the congregation built and moved to their current location at 3900 Shoal Creek Road. Today, Temple Beth Israel conducts services in Reform style. The group has broken old traditions by having the first female cantor and for having a completely black choir at one point. The membership is presently around 300 families and the temple has one of the largest Jewish Sunday Schools in Austin. Temple Beth Israel has become a historical spoiler of Austin's rich background with over 100 years of existence. The beginning of the Temple is shared by the same date Alexander Graham Bell patented the telephone and the day Mark Twain's The Adventures of Tom Sawyer became the number one best seller. Maybe these coincidences are the reason Temple Beth Israel is a successful and permanent Jewish facility for Austin Jews.

The second congregation to be established in Austin was

Congregation Agudas Achim. This congregation dates back to 1914 when a group of Orthodox Jews from Austin and surrounding areas began to meet at the home of Mr. and Mrs. I. Frank at 1st Street and Brazos. Here, services were led and plans were made to form Austin's first Orthodox Jewish synagogue.

In 1915, the members of the Jewish community rented a hall at 7th and Congress Avenue, but because of a misunderstanding with the owners, only Rosh Hashana services were allowed to be held there. Yom Kippur services were held in the home of Mr. and Mrs. I. Laibovitz, at 7th and Nueces. Sabbath services continued to take place in the Laibovitz home while the High Holiday services each year took place in a rented room on Congress Avenue until 1922.

To build membership, members of the community offered home hospitality for those members who had to travel into Austin from neighboring towns and cities. Their endeavors were rewarded because membership grew so rapidly that by 1922, a synagogue was desperately needed to accomodate the growth of the congregation's size.

On February 16, 1924, Congregation Agudas Achim was chartered. The first officers of the new Orthodox synagogue were President Israel Cohn and Vice-president Abe Schwartz. The first spiritual leader, cantor, and teacher was Mr. B. Tannenbaum. The first official synagogue was an old one-story building located at 7th and San Jacinto Street. This building

soon became the center of religious and social activities for the Orthodox Jewish community of Central Texas.

By 1930, the community offered homes and financial assistance to encourage Jewish people to move to Austin. Membership increased so rapidly that the congregation decided it was time to purchase land on which to build a larger synagogue. A site was chosen at 10th and San Jacinto. In mid-1931, the building stood completed. The dedication of the new, beautiful two-story building took place on September 6, 1931. Mr. Israel Cohn was re-elected as president of the new synagogue. The first rabbi of the Congregation Agudas Achim was Rabbi Harold Katz.

As the congregation continued its rapid growth, it became evident that a new type of service was needed that would be attractive to the youth of the community. In 1948, the members of the congregation voted to become a Conservative synagogue to fulfill the needs of these youth. Agudas Achim's congregation became affiliated with the Conservative movement and joined the United Synagogues of America. Rabbi Benson Skoff became the synagogue's first Conservative rabbi.

To better serve the community's needs, a contract was signed on July 23, 1958 for the purchase of property at 4300 Bull Creek Road. By 1962, the building at 10th and San Jacinto was sold to the U.S. government and construction of the new synagogue and school building began.

On September 6, 1963, the religious dedication of Congregation

Agudas Achim was held, exactly thirty-two years after the date of the dedication of the first Agudas Achim in Austin. The official dedication was set to take place on November 24, 1963. Jim Novy's good friend, Vice-president Lyndon Baines Johnson, was to participate in the dedication. But when the special day finally arrived, the congregation members joined the rest of the nation to mourn the tragic death of President John F. Kennedy. However, as had been promised, on December 30, 1963, Lyndon Baines Johnson did deliver the keynote address at the dedication dinner, but with the official title of President of the United States.

Today Congregation Agudas Achim, still located at 4300 Bull Creek Road, offers many services to the Jewish community of Austin. Besides being the center of religious services and studies, Agudas Achim offers an ever-growing Hebrew school, youth and adult organizations, special holiday programs, and community service projects.

The first Hillel unit was established at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana in 1923. Ben Frankel, who was a student rabbi serving a congregation in Champaign-Urbana, noticed that Jewish students did not have a place to go where they could share their culture. So after his ordination, he returned to the University of Illinois and he became the first Hillel director. Ben Frankel received backing from the B'nai B'rith foundation for Hillel in 1925. After this, Hillel foundations spread across

the country. By 1952, Hillel units had 204 locations across the U.S.A., Canada, and Israel. Today, Hillel foundations can also be found in Great Britain, South America, and Brazil.

Hillel was founded at the University of Texas at Austin in 1931. It cost \$2 to become a member of this program. Hillel's purpose was and still is to bring together Jewish men and women and to teach them the meaning of their Jewish past and present. In 1931, Hillel was located on the "Drag," Guadalupe Street, above the Texas theater. This housing was accomodated by rental.

A Hillel building dedication took place at U. T. on Friday, September 22, 1950. The present Hillel building is located on 2105 San Antonio and the building was erected by the Texas State Conference of B'nai B'rith from contributions made by the Jewish citizens of Texas. Dr. H. J. Ettlinger, who had been a professor of pure math for 35 years by 1947, was the chairperson of the statewide Hillel building fund campaign. He was instrumental in getting Hillel built and he continued to work actively at Hillel after the building was erected. Dr. Ettlinger then became the National Hillel Director. He is still alive today.

Two architects designed the Hillel building, N. Straus Nayfach and Howard P. Meyers. The building was originally planned to be across the street from where it now stands so the architects had to flip-flop their plans in order to accomodate the change in location. However, this caused

the ark to be faced in the wrong direction. Because of this, the Orthodox Jews will not pray at Austin's Hillel. Hillel's facilities include an entrance lounge, a chapel, a seminar room for classes, a large recreation room, a library, and a large kitchen.

Other people who became strongly involved in Austin's Hillel were William M. Nathan (first vice-chair), William J. Koem (first treasurer), and Elconan H. Saulson (first executive secretary).

The Torah at Hillel was a gift from Congregation Shearith Israel of Dallas. During Hillel's dedication, Agudas Achim's Cantor and Rabbi, Hirsh Jacob, read from the Torah.

In 1959, there were 688 Jewish students at the University of Texas at Austin. At this time, Hillel's mortgage still needed to be paid off. Seventeen thousand dollars were still needed to be raised.

Three publications kept students aware of Hillel activities even before Hillel had its own building. These publications were The Texas Hillel, Hillel Happenings, and the Hillel Scribe. The first volume of the Hillel Scribe was printed on December 7, 1929; Hillel Happenings was first published in 1947; The Texas Hillel was first published in 1950, when the Hillel building was beginning to open. These publications told about activities, sorority and fraternity sports, pinnings, speakers coming to the University of Texas, and weddings.

Today, Hillel serves 350-400 students. About a fifth of its

members are young, working single members of Austin. Rabbi Kozberg is the director of Hillel, Patti Jacobs is the program coordinator, and Sylvia Seguin-Smith is the administrative assistant. Hillel's activities include lox and bagel lunches and two Friday night services. One of these services is egalitarian and the other is traditional. Hillel also offers meal plans during the major holidays and classes on Wednesday nights. The rabbi counsels people who need help and students are told about exchange programs to Israel. Hillel also has programs with the fraternities and sororities, Israeli dancing on Sunday nights, and a night when they show movies. Jewish writers, poets, comics, and artists come to Hillel to speak.

In the late months of 1954, President Saul Gellman of the Austin Jewish Federation put together a committee to revise the form and the scope of the Federation. The Federation needed to revise its program because it was rapidly losing leadership and workers. On May 8, 1955, the presidents of nine major Jewish organizations of Austin and key members of the Federation met to discuss the preliminary draft of the new constitution that would revolutionize Austin's Federation. About a year later, a meeting was held at Hillel to vote on the new constitution. This constitution was accepted almost unanimously on May 17, 1956. At that moment, the Jewish Community Council of Austin (JCCA) was born.

The first president of the JCCA was DR. Morris Polsky. He said that JCCA represented the very spirit of the Jewish communal group. Today, it

still represents that and more. There are many committees within the JCCA. These committees include: community calendar committee, committee on political issues, arbitration committee, community relations committee, allocation committee, the mother's day out program (child care for infants), a pre-school program, and a senior citizen program. To this, every Wednesday night a speaker comes to the building to

talk. On December 6, 1956, the first event sponsored for Austin's Jewish citizens was held at the Hillel Foundation. Mr. E. H. Saulson, who was the chairperson of cultural activities, initiated the event. Various well known Jewish writers, poets, comics, and artists came to Hillel to speak at this event.

After this first event, JCCA's office was moved to an office building on Balcones Street and JCCA's activities were held in various places across town. Then, on February 12, 1984, the permanent home for the Jewish Community Council of Austin opened. The building was originally called the Jack Friedman Building, for he made it possible for JCCA to lease the building from him. Just this past January, JCCA finally purchased the building. It is located on 11713 Jollyville Road. Funding for the JCCA building and its programs come from Jewish members of the Austin community and both national and international groups.

The Jewish Community Center publishes a newspaper that keeps its 1600 members informed about all that JCCA is doing for Austin. In 1984,

JCCA's paper, The Jewish Outlook, won an award for publishing the "Best Newspaper with Ads".

Today, Marilyn Stahl is the executive director of JCCA. Rabbi Kozberg gives Friday morning Shabbat services for pre-schoolers. All the committees and programs described above are still running smoothly. In addition to this, every Wednesday night a speaker comes to the building to talk, and at least 50 people usually attend this. The program director, Sherry Morris, gets the senior citizens together. This program is a great contribution to the Austin community.

Before a discussion of the history of Chabad house in Austin, it may be interesting to note what the concept of "Chabad" is. Chabad-Lubavitch Chassidism is a system of Jewish philosophy dating back to the Baal Shem Tov (1698-1760). Chabad teaches recognition and understanding of God. This includes a unique relationship with God through three intellectual qualities: Chochmah (wisdom), Binah (understanding), and Daas (knowledge). The initials of these three Hebrew words form the word "Chabad".

Chabad arrived to Texas in 1972 with Rabbi Shimon Lazaroff. His mission was to establish Lubavitch centers throughout the state. His task was especially difficult due to the fact that most Texans had never even seen a Chassid in their lives. In the summer of 1972, Rabbi Lazaroff and two rabbinical students began touring the state of Texas. Together they

visited every village, town, or city that had a Jewish community in it.

Because of the large concentration of Jewish youth, the rabbi decided that Austin would be an ideal place to set up a Chabad center. He began with one pupil, a pharmaceutical student at the University. They held study sessions in his apartment. Soon they had five students, then ten, then twenty, until they had almost ninety members.

In 1973, they rented quarters at a Jewish student center. In 1974, they bought the present Chabad House at 2101 Nueces. The first rabbi of Chabad House was and still is Rabbi Moshe Traxler, who took his post in 1980. Rabbi Traxler, incidentally, is the same pharmaceutical student that was Rabbi Lazaroff's first pupil. Rabbi Traxler now works with Rabbi Levertoff, a recent addition to Chabad House.

Chabad House in Austin offers many services to Jewish youth today. Jewish studies classes, holiday and other special events programs, Shabatons, concerts, community service projects, kosher meals, Shabbat services, and a day camp are some of the many services offered by Chabad.

Formed in 1982, Congregation Beth El is Austin's youngest and smallest congregation, with a membership of eight families. Congregation Beth El has three founders that were originally members of Congregation Agudas Achim, but for some unpublicized and unspoken reason the three founders split off from Agudas Achim to create their own congregation that became Beth El. The three founders, Dr. Jack Baumel, Mr. Mauri

Shapiro, and Dr. Sol Stavchansky, became the successive presidents of Congregation Beth El.

The only facilities the Congregation now offers are Friday and Saturday services; the Beth El Sunday School closed last year due to the lack of children attending and of new member entry.

Congregation Beth El is located on 3700 Hancock Road in a storefront of a small shopping center. Most of the data received about the congregation is second-hand because of the unwillingness of the past and current presidents to release any information about Beth El. Like all beginning institutions, Beth El is fighting an up-hill battle to survive, and is possibly facing the same barriers other congregations of Austin have faced in their respective beginnings.

East Sixth Street was built up as a Main Street, second only to Congress Avenue in importance. It was the Capital city's main thoroughfare to the rich farmlands and older, settled communities to the east of the little frontier town of Austin.

In the late 1800's, Peron Street (later renamed 6th Street) was the center of commerce. When the Capital Building was opened, a commercial shift began to focus on Congress Avenue. Austin began to grow northward and not downtown streets were developed, so Austin had the capability to grow into a big city like all the other big cities in Texas.

Chapter 5

6th Street then became a street similar in appearance to Grand Street in New York, covered East 6th Street for the working class to shop in. A secondhand suit cost approximately \$7.50 in an average used clothing store.

The stores on 6th Street were run mainly by the Jews, Greeks, and Lebanese. The Jews emigrated primarily from Poland and Russia; some were from Germany. Few Sephardic Jews came to Austin. The reason for this is unknown. The Jewish community in Austin was very closely knit and remains virtually unchanged today.

The Jews lived on 7th Street in the late 1800's and the early 1900's in order to be in close proximity to their shops on 6th Street. Several Jews also owned shops on Congress Avenue which catered to a more elite clientele. In the late 1800's, 6th Street was extremely different from the

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In the late 1800's, Pecan Street (later renamed 6th Street) was the center of commerce. When the Capitol Building was opened, a commercial shift began to focus on Congress Avenue. Austin began to grow northward and her downtown streets were being numbered, so Austin had the capability to grow into a big city like all the other big cities in Texas.

Sixth Street then became a street similar in appearance to Orchard Street in New York, covered with outlet stores for the working class to shop in. A secondhand suit cost approximately \$7.50 in an average used clothing store.

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6th Street we know today. At that time, Trolley cars and horses ran up and down the street which was composed of brick pavement. In 1866, 6th Street had not been paved and was merely a dirt road with shops scattered sparsely throughout.

With the assistance of several interviews with Jonas Siberstein, Sol Guinsberg, Guy Sawyer, Sol Gellman, and Louis Schwartz, along with extensive research, greater insight as to the changes that have occurred on 6th Street over the years was able to be obtained.

Jacob Schmidt is credited for starting a successful business known to many of us as Yaring's. This family owned business has been operating for more than 50 years in Austin and presently consists of ten dress shops.

Jacob Schmidt was among those arriving in the wave of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe to the United States around the turn of the century. He came to escape the poverty, persecution, and political tyranny of the Old World. Jacob, seventeen at the time, was not like the many who emerged from steerage at Ellis Island unwittingly, to exchange one ghetto for another on New York's Lower East Side. Sweatshops, dark tenements, and narrow streets congested with people were not in his plans.

After working for a few months in a slaughterhouse and brewery in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Jacob boarded a train that took him to Sequin, Texas, where a colony of Eastern European Jews had settled.

William Mendlowitz, a merchant, lent him enough money to buy a covered wagon, a mule, and dry goods to peddle among the farmers of Central Texas. By means of his characteristically transitory occupation, Jacob sold calico, domestics, socks, shoes, and work pants.

A year after Jacob had come to America, a teenage girl named Bertha Yahr also arrived. Leaving her parents and siblings at the age of 15, she sailed to Galveston and then took a train to Seguin, where she was hired as a nanny for the children of her uncle, William Mendlowitz, the very man that put Jacob Schmidt into the peddling business. One can easily assume what happened. Bertha Yahr took Jacob Schmidt's name in marriage. Twenty-five years later he would honor her by naming a new store after her family name. Though slightly modified from the original Yahr, the store would be called Yaring's.

The first Yaring's store opened on Congress Avenue in 1936. Shortly afterward, the family dry goods store the Schmidt's had on 6th Street was sold.

Jacob Schmidt died in 1964, but Bertha is still living at the age of 93. Leon Schmidt, son of Jacob, presided over the expansion of Yaring's into one of the largest specialty stores in Texas. Now his son and daughter are also part of the business. While Yaring's survived and grew, virtually all the other family stores from downtown retailing have disappeared.

The hard work and sensitivity to their customers that the Schmidt's

are known for is part of the simple, but successful formula that has been passed on from one generation of Schmidt's to the next. This success is marked by the several Yering's stores that are still located in Austin today.

In the 1890's, Jake Silberstein, Jonas' grandfather, came by covered wagon to Texas and settled on 6th Street and Adiak. He earned his living selling pots and rugs from his wagon.

Jonas' father was born in 1892 and owned a hat shop called M & S Silberstein. He was in business in the late 1920's and remained in business until the depression. Jake owned a store on East 6th Street around the turn of the century. Rent for a building on 6th Street averaged about \$75.00 a month at that time.

Jonas was raised on 7th Street, and saw East 6th Street depreciate in value throughout the years. His family still owns land on 6th Street. His entire family has remained in Texas since settling here in the 1800's. Jonas and his family are active members of the Jewish community and own a store on Guadalupe which sells miscellaneous items from clothing and hats to old slot machines.

Joe Joseph, Guy Sawyer's grandfather, and Jake Silberstein were traders in their early years. Guy's grandmother owned the land from Fourth Street before the railroad tracks to Adiak were built.

Joe Joseph now owns Triple J Tavern on East 6th Street and has

been called the "mayor" of East 6th Street by some.

Louis Schwartz is a vibrant, seventy year old man, who was born in 1914 in Austin, Texas. He is the son of Jewish immigrants. His father was originally from Grodno, Poland.

His parents landed in Philadelphia, but did not stay long due to poor business. They then moved to New York, but once again moved away, and headed for Austin for the same reason for which they had left Philadelphia - business. They chose Austin because Louis' father's sister and her husband lived here.

His parents opened a store in 1928 on 419 East 6th Street. The store was called A. Schwartz. It was a small department store, selling clothing and shoes for men, women, and children. Louis Schwartz worked for his father and can recall several things about the store. He remembers prices being \$.98 for a dress shirt, \$.25 for socks, \$1.98 to \$3.98 for shoes, and \$.98 for khaki pants. Louis' father would go to St. Louis to buy merchandise from the jobbers, unlike today's merchants who might go to the Dallas market.

Most of their customers were black, white, and hispanic. They knew the family was Jewish, but there were never any problems dealing with their ethnic background. Louis Schwartz is proud to be Jewish and never had a reason to hide his background.

The Schwartz's lived a block from the store. They were therefore

conveniently located within walking distance of the shop. A. Schwartz was open six days a week, excluding Sundays.

The Schwartz's had the store until 1946 when Louis' father chose to retire and the landlord decided to buy back the building. Today, Dan McKlusky's butchery stands where A. Schwartz was once located. On the Dan McKlusky's menu there is a history printed of all the businesses that once operated in that building. The brief description of the Schwartz's store reads, "From 1928 to 1946, Abraham and Ethel Schwartz operated a successful dry foods store in the Hamilton Building. They witnessed the neighborhood's transformation from the economic disaster of the Depression to an entertainment capitol for thousands of G.I.'s during World War II."

Louis Schwartz finds 6th Street very different now from when his parents had a store on it and had played a role in its development. He recalls 6th Street as a strip of clothing stores, quite a different setting from the many clubs and restaurants that took their place.

After his father's retirement, Louis worked at Stein's clothing store on Congress. After this, he and his wife opened a liquor store, while Louis took a job at Dillard's.

Other recollections Louis has of his childhood is that he knew no language other than Yiddish until he started kindergarten, at which point

he learned English. Another interesting anecdote is that he was the only Jewish football player at Austin High School.

Schwartz has been working at Dillard's for 21 years and can be found in the men's department today, willing to share stories of the past.

Sol Ginsburg is a soft spoken, intellectual businessman who helped form the history of 6th Street while establishing himself in business. In the year 1913, Sol Ginsburg's father escaped Russia and came to Austin to open a small army-navy store on 6th Street. Ten years later he sent for Sol, his two sisters, and his mother.

Sol was fourteen years old when he came to Austin. He had to learn English while attending public school. In 1928, Sol graduated from Austin High School with a straight A average. His dream was to be a math professor. While in school, he graded math papers for his teachers. He later attended college, and graduated from the University of Texas at Austin.

In 1933, after the death of his father, Sol moved to Washington for six months. However, he did not like it there. He then returned to Austin to open his first store, The Lucky Strike Dress Shop. By means of his father's connections and hard work, his store did very well. Sol recalls another owner of a store on 6th Street telling him that he would go under. This did not stop him, however, and soon he had a store on every block. He had seven to eight stores on 6th Street and a total of twelve stores in

Austin. *on the University Drag, Cuddshupe. His daughter now owns a store*

Sol Ginsburg was known for his diplomacy with his managers. Through kindness, he would encourage his employees to work harder. He did all the buying for his stores, so usually he could be found in New York. However, when in Austin, he would spend most of his time at his stores making sure everything was running smoothly. In addition to all this, Sol gave every manager a list of what the ideal manager should accomplish every day.

Among his many stores are included: The White House, The House of Bargains, The New York Store, The Texas Outlet Company, The Fashion Shop, and as previously stated, his first store, The Lucky Strike Dress Shop. He had numerous other stores in small towns throughout Texas.

Sol remembers how different 6th Street was from today. "You could buy a pair of shoes for \$2.95 and I paid my managers \$12.00 to \$15.00 a week."

Sol does not consider himself a very religious man. However, he does see himself as a traditional Jew. He considered changing his name for convenience (because people had a hard time spelling and remembering it), but not because it sounded Jewish as many other businessmen were apt to do. However, he decided against changing his name because he is proud of being a Jewish merchant.

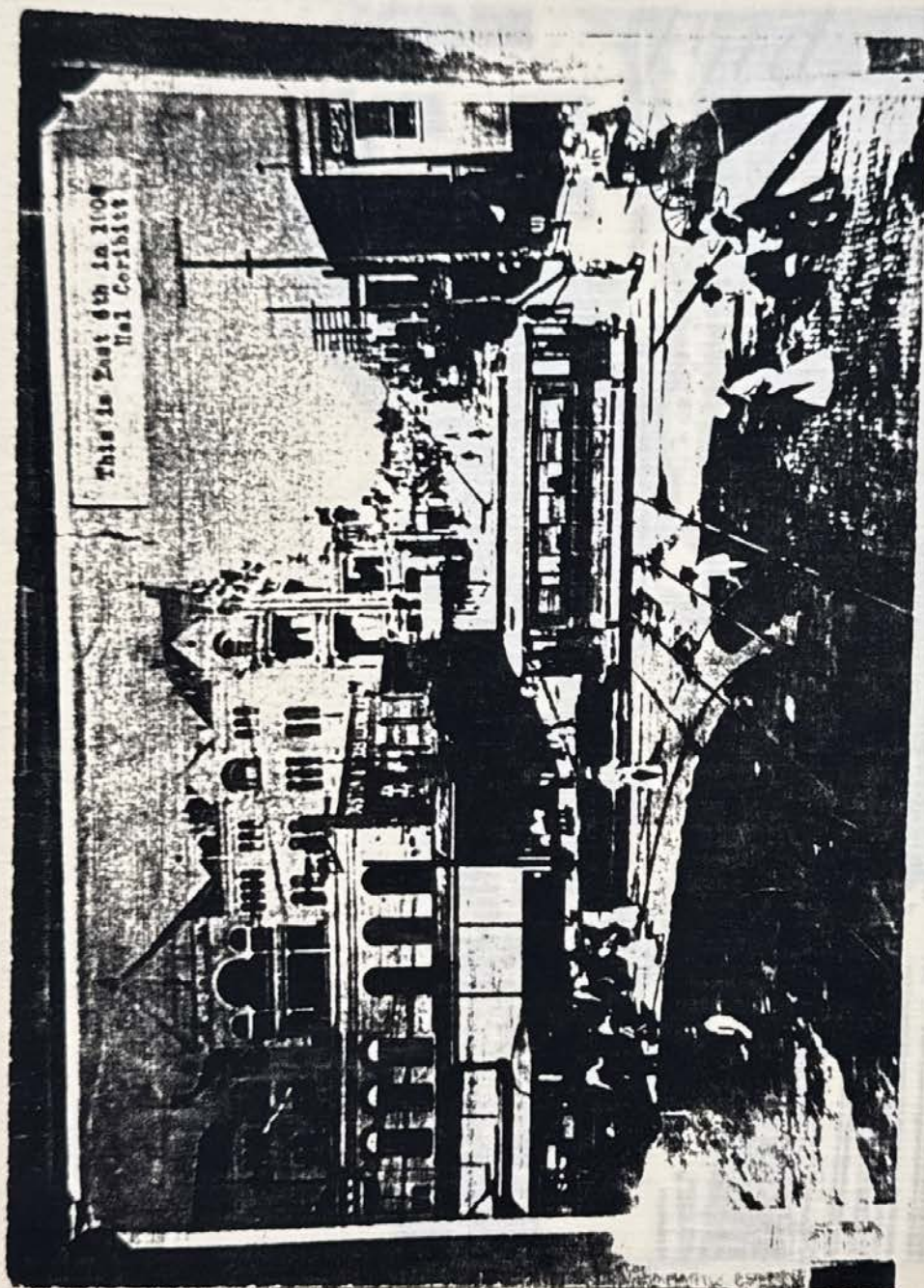
Sol closed his last store, Michael's Mens Wear, last year. It was

located on the University Drag, Guadalupe. His daughter now owns a store on the Drag called Chasnoffs. Sol is retired but has written an autobiography for his family. He has made his mark as a successful merchant of 6th Street and Austin.



6th Street and Austin

"A"



Look down East Sixth Street

"B"



Look down East Sixth Street

The term anti-Semitism is for many people as terrifying to contemplate as it is to experience. History shows that in areas where anti-Semitism does exist, the prejudice can range from mild social limitations to violent and horrifying pogroms. Anti-Semitism is not always highly visible within a community and tends to surface at times of economical, political, and personal crises. The end result of this is that anti-Semitism is neither easy to detect or measure, nor is it a predictable tendency within society.

Chapter 6

Although the term "Anti-Semitism" is a relatively new expression within the English language, the idea itself is not unique or original. The term anti-Semitism - the hatred in Austin of the Jewish people - can be traced as far back as early Christian Europe, where the Jews first encountered organized opposition that can be defined as anti-Semitic. It was especially prevalent during the Middle Ages, when Jews were expelled from Christian Spain, Portugal, France, and England as "Christ Killers". Quotations in Renaissance Europe also show obvious segregation concerning the Jews. Anti-Semitism is still present in the modern world, and can be seen in the constant oppression of Jews in Russia, or for example, in the exclusion of Jews from specific country clubs.

In *Anti-Semitism: A Case Study in Prejudice and Discrimination*, Milton J. Singer explains that the term "anti-Semitism" was first utilized in 1873 by Wilhelm Marr, a German journalist, in an attempt to express

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In Anti-Semitism: A Case Study in Prejudice and Discrimination, Milton J. Yinger explains that the term "anti-Semitism" was first utilized in 1873 by Wilhelm Marr, a German journalist, in an attempt to "express

and encourage opposition to Jews." It was also an attempt to classify the Jewish people as a race, and therefore make them seem different from the rest of the population in Europe. However, use of this term implies that all Jews are Semitic in origin. What Marr did not realize - or perhaps chose to ignore - was that the Jews are a diverse group of races who are not all Semitic in origin. Therefore, the fallacy of this term is to imply that Jews are a distinct race instead of a mixed culture.

Even though anti-Semitism had been present in Europe for centuries, it was Wilhelm Marr's concept of anti-Semitism which was brought over by new immigrants to America. The first major group of Jewish immigrants, a relatively small number of Spanish, German, and Western European Jews, were highly educated and quickly assimilated into American society, causing relatively little prejudice to develop. The Jewish population grew very slowly within America for the first century. However, the era of 1880 marks the beginning of a new wave of Jewish immigration to the United States, both in the number of Jews who did immigrate and the education level and skills of the immigrants.

This group of immigrants was predominantly composed of Jews from the Pale in Russia and were less educated than the earlier Jewish settlers. Furthermore, they tended to practice Judaism and its traditions in a manner much like that of the old country. Consequently, the new wave of immigrants did not assimilate into the American culture as

swiftly or smoothly as the previous group, and this tended to foster anti-Semitism.

Poverty and despair pervaded ghetto life within New York and Philadelphia. The direct result of this was that large number of Jews within the ghettos founded, joined and supported many new radical groups. One of the largest and best known of the groups was the International Lady Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

These new and radical movements caused strife not only between Jew and non-Jew, but also marked a division within the American Jewish community itself. Among the problems caused was a division between earlier Jewish immigrants (1st and 2nd waves) who were already financially and economically established, and the Jewish laborers (3rd wave) who recently just immigrated to the United States; there was also a greater degree of structural, cultural, and identificational assimilation among the Jews from the earlier waves at this time. One could thus conclude that the anti-Semitism first encountered in Europe was brought over with to the U.S. by non-Jewish and Jewish immigrants. Furthermore, the division between different Jewish groups may have enhanced and encouraged the non-Jewish community to foster anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism still exists in America today; statistics from the Anti-Defamation League reveals this. In the 1984 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidences produced by the ADL, 377 reported incidences of anti-Semitic

nature occurred in 1980 in the U.S. In 1981, the rate of incidences almost tripled to 974. The ADL report indicates that a large majority of the reported cases occurred in New York, California, and Maryland, totaling 395. However, a highly visible amount did occur in Texas and this indicates its existence.

It must be noted that the ADL deals only with reported cases of anti-Semitism. There is evidence that a majority of anti-Semitic acts in Texas remain unreported to the ADL. Specifically, there are no reported incidences in Austin for 1984. Extensive research in Austin media centers (radio, newspaper, and television) and interviews with Austin community leaders show otherwise. Anti-Semitism does exist in Austin. However, due to the sociological and economic composition of the city, the incidents of anti-Semitism are not of significant importance to the Jewish community.

The Austin community is composed of a diverse group of people. Residents tend to be young, highly educated, and have liberal tendencies. Furthermore, Austin is a university town; the University of Texas, St. Edwards University, and Southwest Texas University are all located in close proximity to the capitol. Sociologists class Austin as a "Yuppie" city - consisting of young people entering the professional world. There is also a general lack of radically prejudiced groups based in Austin.

Although the Ku Klux Klan is not based in Austin, the group does

influence community opinion in a variety of ways. The KKK is composed of white, Anglo-Saxon males who are Protestant and American born. Among their tenets is WASP supremacy. In Texas, however, anti-Semitism is not within the main thrust of their campaign. Rather they claim to work toward eliminating the illegal alien problem.

Their actions contradict this claim. Recently, the KKK sponsored a series called "Race" on Austin Community Television (Public Access Channel 10). The series dealt with five issues, among which was an interview with members of the Institute of Historical Review which is based in California. This segment of the series claims that the massacre of six million Jews in Nazi Germany never occurred. The airing of this show indicates that the KKK asserts anti-Semitic tendencies; the fact that the show was shown in Austin on PAS - whose policy is to air only locally sponsored programs - indicates that anti-Semitism does exist in Austin.

The anti-Semitic events that were documented, showed that many of them occurring in Austin take place on the U.T. campus. Perhaps the most visible form of anti-Semitic displays is vandalism. The Daily Texan documented 3 incidents which occurred on campus. The first event, in 1979, involved a set of stolen documents from an exhibit of Israeli cultural life, sponsored by B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. This incident connects anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism. Because the exhibit was

non-political in nature, the theft and destruction of the photographs exceeds the limits of anti-Zionism (the hatred of Israel) and reveals a racial prejudice.

Another incident occurred in July, 1982, shortly after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Anti-Zionist slogans were painted on the walls and doors of the Hillel Foundation, saying, "Jews, Yes! Zionism, No! Long live the PLO!"; "Israel out of Lebanon!"; and "Stop killing our people!". The vandals' slogans were not necessarily anti-Semitic because they differentiated between Israel and the Jews. However, because they appeared on the Hillel Foundation, a non-politically aligned organization, this act has definite anti-Semitic overtones.

A third event took place in April, 1983 at both Chabad House and The Sigma Alpha Mu fraternity, where vandals painted swastikas as well as slogans denouncing and degrading Jews. At the same time, a rock was thrown through the window of the former president of Hillel with a swastika painted on the rock, over a star of David. These events occurred after Israeli Independence Day and Israel Awareness Week. There is little doubt that no differentiation between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism existed. The acts were a show of overt and blatant anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism is also present in the fraternal system at U.T. The most prominent of the incidences occurring in relation to this system happened in April, 1982, and involved "Fight Night", a yearly event during

the Fraternity "Round-up". The Sigma Chi fraternity allowed a blatantly anti-Semitic advertisement appear in the Friday Night Fight program booklet. It included, "a photo of Alpha Tau Omega member Clark McNaught with drawings of a yamulke on his head and a noose around his neck. Also printed on the ad was a star of David with a dollar sign in the center, and the message, 'Rabbi David Tightwad McNaught, Temple of the Closed Purse - P.S. I got this ad wholesale . . .'"

There have been other alleged incidents of anti-Semitism on the campus, however, they have never been documented. Among the charges have been: segregation against Jews by fraternities, bomb threats, rocks thrown through windows, telephone threats, and swastikas on apartment doors. Many of the acts which are considered anti-Semitic are never reported because many people do not feel they are worth worrying about. Some may not consider these acts to be anti-Semitic, but merely practical jokes. These unreported acts should concern the Austin community because they indicate that a lack of knowledge exists concerning anti-Semitism.

The reaction of the Austin community to anti-Semitism is diverse. The Community Relations Council (CRC) is a reactionary group established for the purpose of representing the Jewish population at large. Dr. Sidney Weintraub, chairman of the CRC, said, "It is represented by as many of the Jewish organizations as possible, rabbis and community leaders. The CRC

deals with many aspects of Austin community, including public education, public schools systems, and community relations. Anti-Semitism is also considered a responsibility of the CRC."

When a problem does occur, the sub-committee chairman goes to the source of the problem first; if the problem cannot be solved in this manner, then the committee attempts to provide a feasible alternative. Prevention, in the case of the CRC, is not the key to dealing with anti-Semitism; rather, the CRC attempts to deal with anti-Semitic acts on an individual basis.

One such instance of the CRC's work is indicated by the action members took when the Austin American Statesman printed a cartoon by Ben Sergent picturing Begin carrying a Torah, supported by two missiles. The members contacted the editors and publishers of the paper and demanded that a retraction be made to the Jewish community, or financial support would be immediately withdrawn from the paper. As a direct result, a retraction was printed and an apology made by the paper.

The Anti-Defamation League also deals with anti-Semitism in Austin. A branch of B'nai B'rith, they are represented locally by Irwin Salmonson; however, their regional office is located in Houston. In contrast to the CRC, they deal with anti-Semitism on a case-to-case basis. The ADL believes in solving a problem quietly and efficiently, but will not hesitate to use confrontation if necessary. Prevention, therefore,

is the key to the ADL.

Jewish community leaders also play an important part in reaction to anti-Semitism. One such leader is Weintraub, of the LBJ School of Public Affairs, the current CRC chairperson. Another is Marilyn Stahl, current director of the Jewish Federation of Austin. Like Weintraub, she feels that anti-Semitism does not play a major role in the lives of the Jewish community. However, she does feel that prevention by education is the key to circumventing anti-Semitism. In this manner, Stahl asserts, the CRC and Federation help prevent anti-Semitism.

Sheldon Sklar, former president of the Jewish Federation, agrees with Weintraub and Stahl. He asserts the anti-Semitism is not a problem in Austin because it is a town of "Yuppies" and students. Because these people are new to the community, and are trying to establish themselves, they worry more about money and work than the threat of anti-Semitism. Consequently, the CRC and Jewish Federation do not play a major role in Austin.

Christian Community leader Larry Wessels - assistant editor of Believers Guide Magazine and director of Dayspring Evangelism - feels anti-Semitism does exist in Austin but to a minimal degree. "Society," he says, "has become more open and not as private. It is hard to get someone to join your religion if you have an anti-Semitic attitude."

A questionnaire distributed to a group of predominantly Jewish

university students reinforces the opinion of the community leaders. The majority of students state that anti-Semitism exists but only in isolated incidences. Most stated that the only times anti-Semitic events occurred was when a swastika was drawn on Hillel or Chabad House, and that it existed at a very low level in Austin. This indicates that the students do not feel that anti-Semitism plays a vital role in their lives in Austin.

The same questionnaire distributed to a group of Jewish elementary school students indicates that the younger generation feels that anti-Semitism does exist in Austin along with other prejudices. Most of the children defined an anti-Semite as one who hates Jews for no apparent reason. However, many of the children did not differentiate between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. They are the same, according to most of the children, because both are aimed against Jews. Because of their age, the attitudes and ideas of the children reflect those of their parents and teachers, and consequently could be viewed as an accurate reflection of the opinions of the Austin Jewish community. Anti-Semitism does exist in Austin, in view of these results.

A survey taken from Anti-Semitism in America by Harold E. Quinley and Charles Y. Glock was distributed to 163 students at the University of Texas at Austin campus in an attempt to measure anti-Semitic attitudes. The group was composed of both graduate and undergraduate students, and included 137 white caucasian students, 17 hispanics, and a remainder

classified as "other". The group was subdivided into age categories: 24 and older, 21-23, and 19-20. The data was further analyzed by the number of years lived in Austin, subdivided into: less than 1 year, 1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years, and more than 10 years. One non-Jewish group, Catholics, were included in the survey. Because the sample number was small, the results of the survey cannot be assumed to be a completely accurate assessment of the university population.

The null hypothesis of this survey was that the group would not be anti-Semitic. After analyzing the data, the statistics show that the null hypothesis must be accepted. In other words, the entire group may or may not be anti-Semitic; more conclusive evidence can only be obtained through further study.

Of the various races surveyed, the white caucasian correlated the closest to the group mean. It must be noted that white caucasians composed 84% of the surveyed; the results of the survey may have been directly affected by this.

Ten percent of the group surveyed were hispanics, who also tended to correlate very closely to the sample mean. However, in the case of question 2, there was a significant amount of deviation from the norm. In answer to, "Jews stick together too much," 35% of the hispanic group felt this to be true in comparison of the 25% caucasian.

Since Catholics were the only religious group of significant number

(21%), they were the only ones analyzed. The Catholics directly coincided with the sample mean.

In accordance to the data recording the number of years lived in Austin, it is interesting to note that students who lived in Austin less than one year and those who have lived in Austin for more than three years, correlated to the sample mean. However, those who have lived in Austin from 1-2 years had a significant increase from 17% to 23% in answering yes to question 4 which states, "Jewish people have irritating faults."

The final analysis was done according to age range within the group. The oldest group surveyed correlated to the mean closely except in the case to question 4. They had a rise of 28% as compared to the population mean of 17%. Those from the 19-20 age group also correlated closely except for the significant rise concerning question 10 which states, "Jews don't care much what happens to any but their own kind." This age group rose to 20% as compared to 15% of the whole. The 22-23 age group also correlated very closely to the sample mean.

After examining all the data, it is apparent that anti-Semitism does exist in Austin. Because Austin is composed of various ethnic and political factions, Jews are only one of the many concerns. Furthermore, Jews are not at the bottom of the pecking order. Therefore, though there may be underlying currents of Anti-Semitic attitudes in Austin, the

Jewish population does not feel threatened, nor do these acts worry the majority of the population. Consequently, the Jews in Austin do not allow anti-Semitism to play a major role in their lives.

2. Do you think there is a significant amount of anti-Semitism in Austin? Give some examples, if possible.

3. Do you think there is a significant amount of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism? Please give some examples, if possible.

Awareness Survey

1. What is Anti-Semitism?

2. Do you believe Anti-Semitism exists in Austin? Give some examples, if possible.

3. Do you think there is a difference between Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism? Please explain your answer.

Awareness Survey

1. Have you ever been confronted by acts of Anti-Semitism? (Yes or No). If yes, please describe the incident(s) in detail. Please include why you think this was an Anti-Semitic act or occurrence.

2. Can you recall any incident(s) in Austin (on or off campus) which you consider Anti-Semitic in nature? (Yes or No) If yes, please describe the incident(s) and explain why you think this was an Anti-Semitic act or occurrence. Please include dates, if possible (month & year).

3. Do you believe Anti-Semitism exists in Austin today? Why or why not?

(optional question) Are you Jewish?

HERE ARE SOME STATEMENTS OFTEN MADE ABOUT AMERICAN JEWS. PLEASE CIRCLE
WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING:

1. Jews always like to be at the head of things.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
2. Jews stick together too much.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
3. Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get ahead.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
4. Jewish people have many irritating faults.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
5. The trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they are so shrewd that other
businessmen don't stand a fair chance in competition
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
6. International banking is pretty much controlled by Jews.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
7. Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
8. Jews have too much power in the business world.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
9. Jews are not as honest as other businessmen.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
10. Jews don't care much what happens to any but their own kind.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
11. Jewish people have too much power in the United States.
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
12. If you were an employer hiring a new employee, would it make a difference to you
if he were Jewish? a. yes b. no c. no opinion
13. If you were moving to a new house and found out that your new neighbor was
Jewish, would it make a difference?
a. yes b. no c. no opinion
14. Do you think that colleges should limit the number of Jews that they admit.
a. yes b. no c. don't know

FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY:

DATE OF BIRTH (MM/DD/YY): / /

YEARS LIVED IN AUSTIN:

LESS THAN 1 1 TO 2 3 TO 5 6 TO 10 MORE THAN 10

RACE:

CAUCASIAN BLACK HISPANIC ORIENTAL OTHER

LEVEL OF EDUCATION:

SOME HIGH SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE SOME COLLEGE COLLEGE GRADUATE GRADUATE DEGREE

FILL IN RELIGION:

INCOME:

UNDER \$5000 \$5000-10000 \$10000-20000 \$20000-30000 \$30000+

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