

Chronicling a Community:

Milwaukee's Jews and the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle

Steve Byers, UW-Milwaukee

The year was 1921. Milwaukee and the United States were coming out of what would be called World War I into a decade of relative prosperity. But it was also a time of distress for some newer Americans because the World War had fostered a rise in nativism that had some of this nation's ethnic communities on edge.¹

To Milwaukee's Jewish community, it was the end of a period that had found that group almost tripling in size from an estimated 7,000 in 1907 to around 22,000 in 1922, with most of the growth coming from immigration, largely from Eastern Europe, according to historians Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner. Despite the heavy immigration, a sizable number of Milwaukee Jews at that time were able to speak English.²

That sizable Jewish population speaking English becomes important because two men came into this community to establish Milwaukee's first English-language Jewish newspaper.³ The two, Nathan J. Gould and Irving G. Rhodes, had published Jewish newspapers in other Midwestern cities and dreamed of a chain of Jewish newspapers throughout the Midwest. On December 16, 1921, the pair started the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, a weekly publication that continues today. They produced a newspaper that was considered distinguished and solid. It also became successful enough that they abandoned plans for other publications and centered their attention on Milwaukee and the *Chronicle*.⁴

Despite the importance of ethnic newspaper editors and publishers,⁵ there has been surprisingly little written about the *Chronicle* or Gould and Rhodes. In Swichkow and Gartner's book, *The History of the Jews of Milwaukee*, the *Chronicle* is mentioned only twice. Gould and Rhodes get only one mention each. If one accepts the importance of leaders in immigrant communities as important in boundary setting,⁶ and I believe that importance has been well-documented, and if one accepts the role of newspapers in early ethnic communities as a key identity-defining organization,⁷ again a well-documented role, then it would seem that the role of Milwaukee's first and only English language newspaper deserves more attention.

This paper focuses attention upon the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* and its founders by determining the leadership role of newspapers in the immigrant/ethnic community in general, that of Jewish newspapers and the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* and along with its leaders, Nathan J. Gould and Irving G. Rhodes, in the Milwaukee Jewish community. It will focus on the crucial initial five years of existence for the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* when the newspaper was forging its community ties.

IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA

Immigrants in America frequently banded together in communities of similar ethnic backgrounds. This gave those new Americans valuable grounding in what has come to be called

Americanization, a process of adapting to the new land's customs and language. Often, these communities guided the immigrant toward jobs, housing, even such things as ethnic grocers or clothing stores. These communities often were centered around a religious institution, a church or other place of worship.⁸ Americanization led to a new identity for the immigrants. They were now German-Americans, or Italian-Americans, or, as in the case of the community studied here, Jewish-Americans. Inevitably, these communities had leaders, individuals who helped bridge the contradictions between tradition and assimilation. Renegotiating an ethnic community's identity "was fraught with internal conflicts and dissension over the nature, history and destiny of its peoplehood," as stated in a Forum discussion in The Journal of American Ethnic History.⁹ Ethnic leaders presented to their followers the range of options that America held open. Because a structured immigrant community developed early in the assimilation process, community leaders included specific individuals who aided the traditional identity-defining organizations such as churches, fraternal associations and newspapers. These leaders came to be known as "ethnic mediators."¹⁰

Immigrant Jews faced particular problems from the 1880s through the period covered. This period of heavy immigration left them sharply divided by religious, linguistic, cultural and political differences.¹¹ There were all sorts of internal divisions, because this was an immigrant group from widely-differing geographic and cultural backgrounds. Historian Victor Greene said these divisions caused tensions as severe as those caused by anti-Semitism.¹² Earlier Jewish immigrants came from different geographical and cultural areas than those in the wave starting in the 1880s, thus differing in language and culture. Early Jewish immigrants came from England, Germany and Western Europe. Of the later wave of Jewish immigrants, the majority came from Poland, Russia and Eastern Europe.¹³ The coming of the great masses of the Eastern European Jews broke all the established uniform patterns of Jewish society.¹⁴ The older Jewish element resisted and resented the increasing number of Eastern European Jews with their different customs and language.

THE MILWAUKEE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The split between the older and newer Jewish immigrants was especially rough in Milwaukee where the older Jewish community, following the example of other U.S. Jews, had formed an identity fundamentally similar to the majority Germanic culture, separated primarily by different religious beliefs.¹⁵ But the newcomers, most coming from Eastern Europe and Russia, believed that Jews were a people apart, not just another religious group.¹⁶ This is important since the older Jews, especially those coming from Germany, had sought acceptance by defining Jewish identity solely as religious in nature, relying on America's belief in religious freedom to prevent Jews from being singled out for harassment. This strategy had been successful.¹⁷ Milwaukee's early Jews had found a comfortable niche among the educated German elite of the community. Jews had been in Milwaukee since the early 1840s,¹⁸ forming the community's first Jewish congregation in 1848.¹⁹ By 1875, a census of Milwaukee's Jewish community released in 1875, showed a total of 2,068 Jews living in Milwaukee. But by 1895, owing to heavy immigration from Eastern Europe, Milwaukee's Jewish population had grown to 7,000, and it continued to grow, to 10,000 by 1907, 15,000 by 1912 and 20,000 by 1917, when it leveled off with the virtual shutdown of immigration in 1924. By 1929, Milwaukee's Jewish population was estimated at about 25,000.²⁰

Milwaukee was considered a good place for Jews. It was a religiously tolerant community, and, as mentioned, Milwaukee's primarily German-stock older Jewish community had become part of the city's German culture.²¹ In the early part of this century Jews throughout America began to look outside their local community.²² They became involved in two political areas: Socialism and the growing Zionist movement, which urged the return of Jews to Palestine. These had the common aim of introducing the Jews as a people into the mainstream of modern history by linking them to the movements that were shaping the future of western mankind.²³ The assimilation of Milwaukee's Jews into America's mainstream can be tracked by studying the decline of the German language in Milwaukee Jewish temples at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. Where German once was the only language spoken in those temples, the last German-language holdout voted to switch to English in 1912. This reflected the community's overall switch to the majority language.²⁴ The German-centered Milwaukee Jewish community saw its role to "Americanize" the new Jewish immigrants in language, culture and even religion.²⁵

THE IMPORTANCE OF ETHNIC NEWSPAPERS

Nine years later, the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* was founded in Milwaukee at an important time. Along with other parts of the U.S., Milwaukee was hit with a wave of anti-Semitism in the '20s. Urgent community efforts were made to demonstrate Jewish patriotism and Americanism (these, unfortunately, had almost no effort in abating the anti-Semitism). But central to those efforts in Milwaukee was the support during that period of the fledgling *Chronicle*, published in English and strongly American in outlook.²⁶

In a community as diffuse and literate as that of American Jewry, the press plays a special role in decision-making by determining the kinds of information about Jewish life presented to its diverse audience, controlling its flow and shaping the channels of information within the community network as a whole.²⁷ The Jewish press thus became a community builder and teacher.²⁸ In a book on the organizational dynamics of American Jewry, Daniel J. Eleazar summed up Jewish community leadership as falling into three broad areas: 1) congregational (rabbis, boards), 2) community (communal workers, cosmopolitan volunteers), and 3) peripherals (academics, youth and women). "Finally," he wrote, "there is the Jewish press, which stands a class apart."²⁹

Newspapers are important to all immigrant communities.³⁰ Ethnic groups are constantly recreating themselves and boundaries must be repeatedly renegotiated, and the press played a vital role.³¹ The ethnic press mainly was informational, carrying news of the country of origin, of compatriots elsewhere in the U.S., and, of course, the local community. It also socialized its readers to the United States as it educated them and itself became a tool of adjustment.³² It didn't matter if a community had a number of non-literates, because issues of ethnic newspapers were shared.³³ The content of Jewish newspapers falls into five major categories: defending religious beliefs, inspirational and culturally important history, editorials and official announcements, news of home and community and foreign and national news.³⁴ To journalism historian Barbara Straus Reed, "Readers come to define their Jewishness through the publication they read."³⁵

THE JEWISH PRESS

The Jewish community had been served by a non-English-language press in the past. Now, English-language became most important. Jews of the pre-1880s immigration had committed themselves to education and Americanization. That led to the ascendancy of the English language in the Jewish community.³⁶ A newspaper printed in English became a unifying force within a Jewish community that was dispersing itself among city and suburbs. Unlike some other ethnic groups, Jews spread about their communities. What came to be called the Anglo-Jewish press (because it was printed primarily in English) linked a dispersed, highly suburbanized population to the local network of Jewish life.³⁷ It fostered, moreover, a feeling of unity and consensus within that community. It was a forum for the Jewish community to discuss problems that had arisen with the arrival of the large numbers of Yiddish-speaking and culturally different Eastern European Jews.³⁸ Paradoxically, the mass emigration of non-English speakers from Eastern Europe directly led to the growth and quality of the Anglo-Jewish press. The presence of a highly visible Yiddish-speaking population heightened the self-consciousness of the established Jews, now mostly middle-class and well-integrated into American life. Also "a host of new problems involving the integration of new immigrants into society required public discussion and communal solutions," according to Victor Greene,³⁹ adding to the importance of community newspapers.

The Jewish press differed from that of most other ethnic groups.⁴⁰ English wasn't the only language for Jewish newspapers. The most successful Jewish newspaper nationally, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, edited by Abraham Cahan, was in Yiddish. Many communities, including Milwaukee, also had Yiddish publications, although they lost ground in the early part of this century, generally to English-language newspapers. There also were continued attempts to build a press publishing in the Hebrew language. It didn't last because it refused to address itself to the tastes of its potential public. It set itself up as an intellectual press, which gave it little rapport with the larger American Jewish audience. Also, Hebrew periodicals often expressed contempt and dislike for America, which limited their appeal in a Jewish community determined to assimilate.⁴¹ As one historian of the ethnic press, Michael Gary Brand, said of the Hebrew-language press: "The mass of Jews in America was not ready to respond to its 'non-Americanization' message."⁴² In fact, the English-language press took a strong toll on this segment of the Jewish press.⁴³ Localized American press historically has drawn its strength from its ability to embody community identity that gives people roots and defines them. That was the role of the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, according to Sylvia Bernstein a long-time staff writer for the *Chronicle*:

"While all papers are published for, by and of the people, with Jews it's more so. 'It's the nature of the business,' [Irving G.] Rhodes said after I reported to him that a suburban matron had called charging discrimination against her club because she felt its effects deserved front page space. 'Since the paper was Jewish, it partially belonged to her, didn't it?' "⁴⁴

Milwaukee has had several Jewish newspapers. Milwaukee's first, the *Zeitgeist*, was published in German by a Milwaukee rabbi from 1880 to 1882. Next, in 1914, came the *Wochenblatt*, a Yiddish newspaper. However, by 1925, it lost what distinction it had and remained an inconsequential mouthpiece for its editor, publisher Isador Horwitz, until it folded in 1932. One

cause of its decline, according to Louis Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, was the establishment in 1921 of the *Chronicle*.⁴⁵ There was another attempt at a Yiddish-language newspaper, the *Mihwauker Idische Shtimme*, which lasted just a year from September 1930, to September, 1931.⁴⁶

THE WISCONSIN JEWISH CHRONICLE

The year 1921 was a good time to start an English-language newspaper in Milwaukee. A historian of American ethnic newspapers, Sally Miller, says that newspapers appeared when at least the nucleus of a particular community existed to which a publication might give form.⁴⁷ To Swichkow and Gartner, that was 1921, when the "reading audience existed in sizable numbers and interest in local and general Jewish affairs had been stimulated by the World War."⁴⁸

Readers across the Jewish community depended on the *Chronicle* to keep abreast of social events, club news, local editorials and columns by Jewish savants because no other such organ existed then.⁴⁹ And as Irving G. Rhodes told his staff in later years, the *Chronicle* reminded Milwaukee Jews of their Jewish heritage and their community. "How else could *Chronicle* readers know whose daughter was going to marry whose son? Which friend's child earned a Ph.D.? What was the Jewish interpretation of national and international news?"⁵⁰

The Chronicle clearly was interested not just in communication but consensus-building in its community. Looking back at the *Chronicle* four decades after its founding, Swichkow and Gartner commented that it was a publication that "generally swept communal issues and disputes under the rug." They said that just by reading its pages, one would be hard-pressed to know there were any splits in the community.⁵¹ That appears to come from the policy of the publisher Gould's and editor Rhodes' commitment to seek to unify the community

Because few letters or other direct insight into the thoughts of Rhodes and Gould are available, it is very instructive to look at the archived letters of Rabbi Joseph Baron who in 1926 joined Milwaukee's most important Jewish congregation, Congregation Emanu-El, five years after the founding of the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, and who kept copies of his extensive correspondence. A 1926 letter, his first mentioning the *Chronicle*, talked about how "the Jewish press and pulpit have a common cause and many points of contact."⁵² He then talked about how he was looking forward to cooperating with the newspaper "in our sacred work." His final mention, 25 years later, was in a letter praising the newspaper and its leaders as having "served faithfully the best interests of a great and growing Jewish community for nearly three of the most momentous decades ever."⁵³ What makes these especially interesting is a letter two years after that, oh so hopeful, initial letter to Nathan Gould reading:

Even though you have not yet done me the courtesy of complying with, or as much as acknowledging the receipt of, my letter of Dec.30, 1927, and am sending you herewith, as per your request, a brief message for your Rosh Hashana [sic] paper.

As for encouragement for the hopes and ideas that I have in connection with my congregation, I frankly do not expect it from your paper any more, or at least not yet, and to quote the spirit of Mordecai's message to Esther, -- salvation will come without your intercession or co-operation.

Just the same, you have my sincerely good wishes for a really happy year."⁵⁴

Gould's reply summed up his dedication to a behind-the-scenes role. After expressing surprise at Baron's bitterness, he wrote: "I am ready to assist you as far as I can in any of your undertakings, but I can only do so through the paper.... My relation to the community is that of a journalist not as a crusader. The *Chronicle* would be a failure if I attempted to set myself up as a provocative communal leader, and so for all practical purposes I remain in the background of personal leadership. Any deviation from that policy has been detrimental to the paper."⁵⁵

Both Gould and Rhodes chose to lead behind the scenes, with their newspaper expressing its heartfelt desire to lead by example, not by activism. In a front-page editorial in its initial issue, the newspaper's role is spelled out clearly:

The *Chronicle* will . . . contain matter of interest to every member of the family. It will serve as your community bulletin, reporting the activities of all Jewish institutions -- Congregations, Charities, Lodges, Clubs, Societies and other communal organizations. The *Cronicle* [sic] will present in dignified journalist fashion the news of Jewish interest from all over the world through its national and international news services. . . . The *Chronicle* represents no particular section or group of the Jewish people. It is a medium of expression for ALL the Jewish people of every shade of opinion. It will not propagandize, it will only report. It shall be all that its name implies -- A JEWISH CHRONICLE.⁵⁶

RESULTS OF A CONTENT ANALYSIS

A cursory content analysis suggests how well the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* fulfilled its self-proclaimed mission of consensus. The first five years' editions of the *Chronicle* were analyzed using criteria for content analyses of newspapers established by Guido H. Stempel of Ohio University.⁵⁷ This study was conducted of the front pages and editorial pages of editions of the *Chronicle* during its first five years of existence. The analysis found that, of stories given prominence either by position or by headline size,⁵⁸ a third were of local subjects. While no attempt was made to scientifically subdivide those stories into categories, virtually all of those stories involved charity drives; announcements of upcoming community events or reports on such events; plans for local religious buildings; appointments of Jews to religious, business or civic posts; and obituaries of local Jews. National and international Jewish news comprised 59 percent of the stories. The most popular national topics included anti-Semitism, immigration, charity drives, Zionism and national speeches. There were only four front page editorials noted; three concerned progress of the *Chronicle* and the other commented on a charity drive.⁵⁹ The majority of *Chronicle* editorial page editorials (55 percent) concerned local topics with the most popular comments concerning local civic groups and religious holidays.⁶⁰

The study does support the observation by Swichkow and Gartner that the *Chronicle* did not report community controversies. At least, none was observed in the five-year period studied. From this, especially given the extensive number of local stories reported and given the fact that

the Milwaukee Jewish community was relative large and disparate, it appears that the publisher and editor of the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* intentionally chose to focus their efforts on consensus-building. This is buttressed by the words of those leaders themselves in editorials marking anniversaries of the founding of the paper. Four are worth noting: An editorial marking "our first anniversary" praised the *Chronicle* for its mission as a "community bulletin to the organizations and activities of the Jewish people of Milwaukee," saying its "publicity" for activities and social and personal columns "have served to acquaint all the people of the community" with personal news, and that its advertising columns "have contained announcements of the most prominent firms in the city and state."⁶¹ An editorial celebrating its second anniversary said: "this paper has without question been instrumental in aiding through its printed voice the success of the many Jewish communal enterprises that have developed for Milwaukee a reputation as one of the best organized Jewish communities in America." Later in the same editorial, it said: "in the short span of a few years it has developed from an ambitious journalistic experiment to the proportion of an established institution in the state of Wisconsin. It has become in fact what it was intended to be -- the medium of expression for all Jewish people of this city and state."⁶² A 1923 editorial marking a decision by the national Union of American Hebrew Congregations to discontinue publication of its bulletin said it had been a good decision because the bulletin was no longer needed:

The weekly local Jewish newspapers in America is the greatest force outside of the synagogue and school in keeping Judaism alive. It is read by thousands of Jews who otherwise would hardly ever come in contact with things Jewish. In its presentation of news of local Jewish events and of the doings of local Jewish organizations, in its timely publication of national and international news of Jewish interest, in its unprejudiced and purely journalistic presentation of all Jewish movements, in its editorial comment and even in its social and personal columns, it constantly keeps Jewish interest of Jews and Judaism alive.⁶³

Finally, in an editorial marking the completion of five years of service, the *Chronicle* said of its policy: "It has been militant only when the good name of all Jewry was involved, never to advance the interests of one group of Jews over another group of Jews. It has been the aim of the *Chronicle* to develop a Jewish consciousness without adjectival distinction and has sought common ground of Jewish interest upon which all classes of Jews could rally."⁶⁴

Another way to measure the success of the *Chronicle* and its editors is to look at others' opinions on how well it filled its self-appointed role: In a letter marking its first anniversary, A.P. Rosenberg, chairman of Zionist Organization of Wisconsin, said the *Chronicle's* future was assured "if your present policy of conservatism, fairness and fearlessness is continued."⁶⁵ In the same issue, Rabbi Samuel Hirshberg of Temple Emanu-El called the *Chronicle* "a paper for all the Jews of the city and the state, and not for any particular section or class of them." He said the newspaper "presents with complete fairness and entire absence of all bias, the views and interests of all."⁶⁶ A similar view was voiced in 1971 as the *Chronicle* celebrated 50 years of publication. Louis J. Swickow, who have given the newspaper short shrift six years earlier in his history of Milwaukee Jews but was now representing the Beth El Ner Tamid Synagogue he served as chief rabbi, said: "Because this publication has always aimed at making its weekly issues a forum for the entire Jewish community, the columns of the *Chronicle* have voiced and reflected the

diversified views of all segments of Milwaukee Jewry."⁶⁷ A letter contained in an appreciation book upon Rhodes' 70th birthday from Melvin F. Zaret, retired executive vice president of the Milwaukee Jewish Federation, called him "one of the most distinguished leaders ever in this community.... There are not many people who can have the kind of impact on a community that he had."⁶⁸ Another letter in the collection, from Philip Slomovitz, editor of a Michigan Jewish newspaper, said Rhodes had been a major factor in elevating standards of the English-Jewish press and "in proving his community with one of the best periodicals in America. If I were to list the five best English-Jewish weeklies in this country, I would definitely include among them the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*."⁶⁹ Finally, in an editorial upon Rhodes' death in 1977 quoted in the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, the *Detroit Jewish News* said he had elevated the *Chronicle* "into one of the most readable, most attractive English-Jewish newspapers" and called him "a leader in his community."

CONCLUSION

The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle and its founders, Nathan J. Gould and Irving G. Rhodes, set out to create a newspaper to serve as a community focus for Milwaukee's Jews, to create a unified Milwaukee Jewish community behind the German Jewish leadership that existed in Milwaukee at that time. They chose to create a different kind of Jewish newspaper leadership than that of the best-known Jewish newspaper editor, the flamboyant Abraham Cahan of *the Jewish Daily Forward*, who took a very public role in speaking and writing of an evangelical nature.⁷⁰ From comments of others both during the initial five years of the newspaper's operation covered in this paper and at later periods, its commercial success in the more than 75 years since its founding, and in a content analysis of its first five years, it appears that Gould and Rhodes succeeded in establishing the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* as that community "bulletin" they set out to create. As to its success in Americanizing Milwaukee's Eastern European Jews, Switchkow and Gartner repeatedly reported on the city's "stable" Jewish community and its integration into Milwaukee society after the unsettling years of massive immigration, Americanization and founding of the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*.

NOTES

1. Louis J. Switchkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, The History of the Jews of Milwaukee, (Philadelphia, Pa.: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), 285.
2. Switchkow and Gartner, History of the Jews of Milwaukee, 67-68.
3. Earlier newspapers the pair founded were in Detroit, Kansas City and Indianapolis. Eward F. Perlson, "History of The Chronicle Accents 50 Years of Epochal World Events," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, 17 September 2971, 10.
4. Switchkow and Gartner, History of the Jews of Milwaukee, 334.
5. Sally Miller, The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook, (New York, N.Y.: Greenwood Press, 1987), xv.
6. For a comprehensive discussion of the role of ethnic leaders in American immigrant communities, see Victor R. Greene, American Immigrant Leaders 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity, (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1-16.
7. *Ibid.*, 13.
8. Gerald Herbert Gamm, Neighborhood roots: Exodus and stability in Boston, 1870-1990,

- (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1994) 83-91.
9. Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozetta and Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A perspective From the U.S.A.," Journal of American Ethnic History 12: no. 1(Fall, 1992), 16.
 10. Greene, American Immigrant Leaders, 14.
 11. Conzen., et. al., "Invention of Ethnicity," 15.
 12. Greene, American Immigrant Leaders, 14.
 13. Daniel J. Elazar, Community and Polity: the Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry, (Philadelphia, Pa.: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976), 38-39.
 14. Ibid., 22.
 15. Kathleen Neils Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City, (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 107.
 16. Elizabeth Rose, "From Sponge Cake to *Hamantashen*: Jewish Identity in a Jewish Settlement House, 1885-1952," Journal of American Ethnic History 14, no. 3, (Spring, 1994), 6.
 17. Ibid.,5.
 18. Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee, 166.
 19. Bayrd Still, Milwaukee: The History of a City, (Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1965), 92.
 20. Switchkow and Gartner, History of the Jews of Milwaukee, 67-68.
 21. Ibid., xi.
 22. Ibid., 345.
 23. Ibid., 235.
 24. Ibid., 200.
 25. Ibid., 170, 260, 285.
 26. Ibid, 280-285.
 27. Elazar, Community and Polity, 291.
 28. Barbara Straus Reed, "The Antebellum Jewish Press: Origins, Problems, Functions," Journalism Monographs, (June, 1993), 27.
 29. Elazar, Community and Polity, 268.
 30. Miller, Ethnic Press in the United States, xii.
 31. Conzen, et. al., "Invention of Ethnicity," 5.
 32. Miller, Ethnic Press in the United States, xv.
 33. Ibid., xiii.
 34. Reed, "The Antebellum Jewish Press," 5.
 35. Ibid., 30.
 36. Arthur A. Goren, "The Jewish Press," The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook, ed. Sally Miller, (New York, N.Y.: Greenwood Press, 1987), 204.
 37. Ibid., 207.
 38. Ibid., 204-205.
 39. Greene, American Immigrant Leaders, 204.
 - 40 Goren, "The Jewish Press," 203.
 41. Michael Gary Brand, "All, All Alone: The Hebrew Press in America From 1914 to 1924," American Jewish Historical Quarterly 59, no. 2 (December, 1969), 173.
 42. Ibid., 174.
 43. Edward Hunter, In Many Voices: Our Fabulous Foreign-Language Press, (Hormar Park, Ga.: Norman College Press, 1960), 111.
 44. Sylvia Bernstein, "The Lion at 340 N. Milwaukee," Insight Magazine, *The Milwaukee*

Journal, (August 20, 1972), 12.

45. Switchkow and Gartner, History of the Jews of Milwaukee, 334.

46. *Ibid.*, 335.

47. Miller, Ethnic Press in the United States, xv.

48. Switchkow and Gartner, History of the Jews of Milwaukee, 285.

49. Bernstein, "The Lion at 340 N. Milwaukee," 11.

50. *Ibid.*, 10.

51. Switchkow and Gartner, History of the Jews of Milwaukee, 335.

52. Rabbi Joseph Baron to Nathan Gould, 11 August 1926, State Historical Society, Fromkin Archives, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

53. Rabbi Joseph Baron to Irving J. Rhodes, 22 February 1950, State Historical Society Collection, Fromkin Archives, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

54. Baron to Gould, 31 August 1928.

55. Gould to Baron, 12 September 1928.

56. Unsigned editorial, *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, 16 December 1931, 1.

57. Procedures were adapted from Guido H. Stempel, "Content Analysis," Research Methods in Mass Communications, ed. Guido H. Stempel and Bruce H. Westley, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989), 124-148. It involved analysing front pages and editorial pages of the first edition of each month plus the annual Rosh Hoshannah and anniversary editions during the initial year of publication, then the first edition of each three month period plus the two anniversary editions and one edition chosen at random for each of the subsequent four years.

58. Position means touching the top of the page regardless of headline size. Headline size means that all stories with a headline of more than one-fifth of an inch (14 points) in height were counted.

59. Results of content analysis of Page One of the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*: Total stories fitting criteria (14 point headline or top of page display) numbered 367. These broke down into the following categories (established by Barbara Straus Reed as typical of ethnic newspapers): National and international news (of Jews and Jewish matters), 215 or 59 percent; News of home and community, 122 or 33 percent; Editorials and the publications' notices, 11 or 3 percent; Defining religious beliefs, 10 or 3 percent; inspirational and cultural history, 9 or 2 percent.

60. Editorials broke down as follows: Of 117 editorials in the period studied, 64 (or 55 percent) were on local subjects and 53 (or 45 percent) were on national subjects. The five most popular local subjects were: Celebrating holidays (13), honoring civic organizations (13), giving to charities (12), honoring local persons (8), commenting on religious questions (6). No attempt was made to further categorize editorials on non-local topics although numerous editorials were noted on the subjects of immigration policy, anti-Semitism and the deaths of prominent Jews.

61. *Chronicle*, 15 December 1922, 4.

62. *Ibid.*, 14 December 1923, 4.

63. *Ibid.*, 6 July 1923, 4.

64. *Ibid.*, 24 December 1926, 4.

65. *Ibid.*, 15 December 1922, 1.

66. *Ibid.*, 15 December 1922, 6.

67. *Ibid.*, 17 October 1971, 1.

68. Melvin F. Zaret to Milwaukee Jewish Federation, 8 June 1970, Milwaukee Jewish Federation archives.

69. *Chronicle*, 7 April 1977, 4.

70. Greene, American Immigrant Leaders, 102.