

Tape I
Side I
Interview I

Q. This is Maurice Isserman speaking with Philip Gordon on July 30th, 1976.

Now, Mr. Gordon, where were you born?

A. In Rochester.

Q. And, when was that?

A. November the 7th, 1907.

Q. So, that makes you . . . 69.

A. Gonna be 69. Yeah.

Q. And, where were your parents born?

A. My parents were born in Russia.

Q. When did they come to this country?

A. In the early 1900s. My mother came in 1903, and my father came in February 1904.

Q. I see. And, had they known each other in Russia or they met here?

A. Well, they were second cousins, but they lived in different cities, and they knew each other, but they hadn't had any contact in Russia.

Q. And, they both came directly to Rochester?

A. Well, my father came first to New York, and he was there for about three months before coming to Rochester.

Q. Why did he decide to move to Rochester?

A. Because my family . . . when I talk about my family, I'm talking about uncles and aunts who had come to Rochester in the latter part of the 19th century. They came in the 1890s.

Q. I see.

A. My uncles, aunts.

Q. And, what did your parents do?

A. Well, my father was a tailor. My mother never worked any place. She was a housewife. She went to school in the United States. They say they were married in this country. So, actually, outside of my father being a tailor, they didn't do any . . . Of course, my father was in business for several years during the 1920s and '30s.

Q. Did he work in the garment factories here in Rochester?

A. Yes. My father worked in Bond's.

Q. And, were you the first child, or . . .

A. Yes. I'm the only.

Q. You're an only child?

A. No. I have brother and a sister. I say I was the first. I'm the oldest.

Q. Where did you live in Rochester, where were you born?

A. Well, I was born on Stephanie Place; if you're familiar with the city, it's off of Joseph Avenue. Right behind Number 9 School.

Q. Right.

A. And, when I was a year old, my parents moved to Bayden Street near . . . well, I talk about . . . you may not know this: Remember the Talma-Tarah (spelling?)?

Q. No.

A. No? Well, it was on Bayden Street. It was a Jewish center, and my parents moved to that area. And, then when I was about three years old, we moved to North Street, 800 North Street, and lived there until the early 1920s.

Q. Those were all predominately Jewish neighborhoods?

A. No. North Street was not a Jewish neighborhood.

Q. It was not.

A. I mean, Stephanie Place was off of Joseph Avenue. Bayden Street was very Jewish, but when my parents moved to North Street, the rest of the family thought they were moving out in the country.

Q. Oh, I see.

A. It's not a Jewish neighborhood on North Street.

Q. And, did your parents give you a religious education?

A. Well, we were Orthodox. I went to the Talmud Torah, which was a Hebrew School.

By the time I was, maybe, six years old until after my Bar Mitzvah, until I was pretty close to fourteen. I had more Hebrew education than the average youngster, but that was because I had . . . my mother's parents, my father's parents, my mother's grandparents were all living in Rochester at that time.

And, they were very Orthodox. And, I had a real Orthodox education.

Q. What synagogue did your parents belong to?

A. Well, it was called Nusbaum's Shul. But, today, it's on St. Regis Drive. But, originally it was on Chatam Street. Are you a Rochester boy? Are you . . .

Q. No. No.

A. You're not. You see, you wouldn't know a lot of this . . . these places that I mention, but the synagogue was torn down in the early, I think, early 1950s for the Hanover Houses. It was on . . . it was in the area where the Hanover Houses is now.

Q. Did your parents speak Yiddish at home?

A. Oh, yes. Yeah, they spoke Yiddish, and they spoke English fairly well, because they both went to school in this country.

Q. Oh, they did.

A. They went to Number 9 School. They went to the night school. Because they came here at an early age. My parents were seventeen when they came to this country.

Q. So, they didn't experience any great difficulty in learning English?

A. I don't think so. They learned. My parents . . .

Q. Did you speak Yiddish as a child yourself?

A. Yeah. I can speak it now.

Q. In your home?

A. Yeah. Of course, I don't have much opportunity now to talk Yiddish, but I can read the Yiddish paper. I can read, when I wish to, I can read a Yiddish book.

Q. Did your parents receive Yiddish periodicals in their home?

A. The Jewish paper, and the Jewish magazines, but nothing that I can recall specifically. I know we always had the (Unknown) in our house almost every day, because my father enjoyed reading it. And, we used to get Zionists' publications that were in Yiddish. So, but nothing out of the average . . .

Q. Were your parents . . . well, your father worked at Bond's, was he a member of the union?

A. Yes. Oh, yes..

Q. Was that before the Amalgamated, or . . .

A. Well, no. No. He came . . . my father was a member of the Amalgamated earlier when it was first organized. That was in 1917, '18, you know, during the years of the First World War, because he worked at that time for Cohen's Factory who . . . they were making garments for Stein & Block. That was a large clothing factory in Rochester in those years. And, my father was shop steward. He was a chairman as a union official with that . . . thing. So, he worked there I don't know how many years, but I remember when I was a little boy, I used to bring him lunch at the shop at that time. But afterwards, we left Rochester for two years in the early 1920s, and when we came back, my father went into business. We had the first Jewish delicatessen in Charlotte. We lived down at the lake when we came back from Chicago. And, we had a kosher delicatessen down there for about ten years. And, I went to Charlotte High School where I graduated. And, I was the only Jew in Charlotte during all the years that I was there.

Q. Who shopped at the delicatessen then; it was mainly non-Jewish clientele at

Q. (Continued) the delicatessen?

A. Yeah, well, it was not only Jewish clientele, because non-Jews enjoyed Jewish food, too. Most of our clientele were Jewish. But, people that came down to the lake, and they wanted a kosher meal, they'd come over to . . . we were about a block from the beach. And, we had an outdoor stand, a hot dog stand outside. We had Jewish hots. And, hamburgs . . . I mean, you know, whatever. In those years, there weren't as many delicacies as we have today. So, as I recall, outside of hots and hamburgs, we had . . . there was nothing else in the stand. If somebody wanted a meal, they had to go inside into our hotel. I forget what they called it, but it . . . Rose.

Rose: Yeah. New York (unintelligible).

Q. No. No.

A. What did they call the place in Charlotte?

Rose: Gordon's.

A. Gordon's Delicatessen, I guess, yeah. Gordon's Delicatessen.

Q. So, you graduated from Charlotte . . .

A. Charlotte High School.

Q. Did you have any education after that?

A. Yeah. I went to the University of Boston. I didn't graduate, but I went there for two years. And, actually, the reason why I didn't graduate was because I took a journalism course, and the journalism course was only a two year course. In fact, I was a member of the first journalism class at the University of Boston. And, it was a very intensive course that was based on the fact that they wanted that course for people who wanted to go into the newspaper business, and weren't interested in too much beyond that. In other words, outside of English, History, Literature, one course in Law, there was nothing else. I mean, it was all academic. I mean, there weren't . . .

A. (Continued) there were no language courses. At least they weren't required.

And, it was a type of university education that, you might say, a lazy boy could get through without too much . . . without too many problems.

Q. Let's return to your parents for a moment. How much education did they have?

A. Well, my parents . . . my father went to Fayder (spelling?), of course, in Russia. He had no further education beyond that. I mean, where they lived in Russia, you know, most Jews were barred from the public schools of that day. And, the custom was that when they were fourteen years old, you went to work! And, when my father was fourteen, he left his home town, and he went to an uncle in Vuma (spelling?) that was a big city in Russia, where they taught him to be a tailor. And, at seventeen, he left because otherwise, he'd have to go into the army. And, in those days, the army for a Jew in Russia was living death.

Q. Right.

A. And, my father, like a good many other Jewish boys, just ran away to escape the army, and he came to this country. In fact, my mother had done the same thing. When my mother was sixteen, seventeen, she also left home to come to the United States because there was nothing in Russia for them. I don't know if they had more ambition than the average person, but they were just very unhappy in Russia.

Q. So, your father was a shop steward in the Amalgamated?

A. Yeah.

Q. Was he active in other community organizations or . . . like the Workmen's Circle and . . .

A. Yes. He was a member of the Workmen's Circle from . . . when did he join? I was once in the Workmen's Circle, too. I was secretary for years. My father joined the Workmen's Circle, I think, in 1916 . . . yeah, about 1916, 1917. During the First World War period, and remained in until his death.

Q. Were there other organizations that he belonged to?

A. Of course, he was a very active member of the (Unknown) Synagogue. My father's been dead already since 1951, twenty-five years, and I'm just trying to remember what groups he did belong to. He did belong to other groups. He didn't belong the Odd-Fellows.

Q. Was he, say, a Labor Zionist or a Socialist?

A. Yeah, he was always a Zionist. Yeah.

Q. Did he belong to the . . . what is it . . . the local (Unknown) Zion?

A. (Unknown) Zion. He was a member of the Polizia (spelling). He was a member of the Socialist Party originally. I think, he dropped out after a few years. He wasn't happy with a lot of the people in the party. But, he wasn't active . . . Socialist. He was an active Zionist. He was active in the shul. He was active in the Workmen's Circle. Well, that's about all that I could remember off hand.

Q. How about your mother?

A. Well, my mother was a member of the . . . Rose.

Rose: (Unintelligible)

A. Do you remember where my mother belonged . . . there were no (unintelligible) women in those years.

Rose: She belonged to the Women's (Unknown) It's a ladies organization that helps the sick.

A. Yeah.

Rose: I don't know much more. They didn't have a sisterhood in your shul.

A. No. There was no sisterhood. But, I remember the Women's (Unknown) that she belonged.

Rose: Other, I don't know, charity organizations.

A. (Unknown) I remember she was a member.

Rose: The old . . .

A. That was . . . they had a home in the early years for travellers where they can stay overnight.

Rose: And have a meal.

A. Yeah.

Q. Where was that located?

A. That was on Kelly Street located. And it was right next door to the home where my grandparents lived. And, my father . . . my mother was a member of that organization. And, outside of that and the Women's (Unknown), I don't remember what other groups she belonged to.

Rose: Well, you seem to know a lot about your parents (unintelligible)

A. Don't interfere . . . it's all . . .

Q. No. That's fine. No. It's fine. No. Actually, most of my interviews have been, sort of, lots of people were in the room and conversations. . . I've just been talking to many people, so I'm trying to pick up what was going on in the 1920s in Rochester. Well, your parents were active in important circles. Did you have any experiences with their activities when you were a child, say, go to their summer camps or . . .

A. Well, yes. We used to go to the (Unknown), which is the Workmen's Circle summer camp north of Toronto, and I don't know how many summers we went there, but two or three anyways. In fact, I continued . . . did you go with me to (Unknown)?

Rose: Yeah. We had (Unintelligible) with us.

A. Yeah. Even after we were married, I mean, I continued. . . I went with my wife.

Rose: They had special things for (unintelligible).

A. Yeah. Because I became a member of the Workmen's Circle in 1935, and I'm a member to this day. And, I was secretary for the Workmen's Circle for . . .

A. (Continued) until I became too ill. I had a stroke, and I couldn't (unintelligible), so I had to leave . . . I had to leave the job; I didn't leave the Workmen's Circle. And, my parents were members . . . both of my parents were members of the Workmen's Circle, my mother and my father until their death.

Q. It was quite a large organization.

A. Well, now it isn't; it was. In those years, it was probably the largest Jewish Organization.

Q. Can you give me any idea of how large the membership was, say, at different times . . . say, in the '20s, in the '30s?

A. The only thing that I can give you is for Rochester alone.

Q. Yeah:

A. After all, the Workmen's Circle is a national organization. But, when my parents joined the Workmen's Circle, and when I joined, there were six or eight branches. Today there's only one branch, because they get very few new members now, because there are no immigrants anymore. And, the average American Jewish boy isn't interested in the Workmen's Circle's activities, so the membership that was over 500 when I became a member, is down to less than . . . a little less than a 100 today. About, I think Michael told me about 90, 95.

Rose: Very few.

A. Yeah. About 90, 95 members.

Q. When you said that you were secretary, was that of your branch, or of the entire . . .

A. Secretary of the branch. No, of the branch.

Q. Do you know if the records of the local or of any of the branches still exist?

A. I imagine they do, and I think you'd be able to get them. Manuel Hoffman (spelling?) would have them.

Q. Oh. Alright. Actually, I'm gonna speak to him in a couple of days, so.

A. Yeah. He lives in this project, and I imagine he'd be someone to contact, because he would have a lot more information than I would have on the Workmen's Circle.

Q. What other kinds of activities did the Workmen's Circle sponsor?

A. Well, the Workmen's Circle sponsored not only an old age home which is in New York City, it's a very large old age home for Workmen's Circle members and their families. That is, when I say families, I mean wives or husbands. They sponsor the summer camps, and they sponsor more than one summer camp. The one that I went to is the closest one to Rochester. It was about forty or fifty miles north of Toronto. The (Unknown) they called it. And, it was a very good camp. And, of course, they sponsor lectures, plays, concerts, I mean, like most organizations. They have a full complement of activities.

Q. When . . . alright. Can you . . . when your family moved to Chicago, and then you returned here, and then you went to BU. What were the years that you were at the University of Boston?

A. University of Boston from the fall of 1925 until '27.

Q. And then, did you return to Rochester?

A. Yes.

Q. . . . after that?

A. Yeah. Then I returned personally to Rochester. And, I went into business. As I say, my father was in business at that time, and I started my own little business also.

Q. What was that?

A. I had a book store.

Q. Where was that?

A. Literary shop on East Avenue.

Q. And what sort of books . . . just give me a general . . .

A. Well, I sold new books, stationery, what else did I have . . . I don't think I had much else. Yeah. Books and stationery.

Q. East Avenue. That was downtown?

A. Yeah. Downtown. In fact, I was located right across the One Eleven East Avenue Hotel. In fact, at the time it was the Sheridan Hotel.

Q. And, how many years did you have that store?

A. Well, I had that store from . . . I'll probably have to look in my own . . . memory book.

Rose: About three years.

A. What?

Rose: Three years.

A. About three years I think it was. From '30 . . . let's see, I worked for the (Unknown) from '33 to '36. I had the book store from 1930 to 1933. Yeah.

Q. And then, you went to work for the Ledger . . .

A. Yeah. The Jewish Ledger.

Q. The Jewish Ledger. That's a Rochester . . .

A. Right. The Jewish Ledger. Yeah. For three years.

Q. You were a reporter?

A. Well, I was . . .

Rose: Editor

A. A little more than a reporter. I was in charge of the (unintelligible) all the editorial work.

Q. That's a weekly paper.

Rose: Yeah. Show it to him.

A. Yes. Right behind you.

Q. What was the circulation when you were editor?

Rose: It was all Jewish (unintelligible) from Rochester.

A. When I was editor at that time, it went to practically every Jewish home in the area, because we didn't put too much pressure on people paying. A lot of them . . . well, you know, it was the depression years. Well, you see, you're too young to know what was going on at that time. But . . .

Rose: It was very bad.

A. It was the . . . The price of the Ledger at that time was . . .

Rose: Five cents.

A. Three dollars a year, I think. If I remember correctly. There were very few, yeah . . . you see. Ten cents a copy, three dollars a year. This was in 1925. And, there weren't too many people who could even afford \$3.00 a year. So, of course, most of the income came from the advertising anyways. So, they sent the Ledger, I think, every home that was on the Jewish Community files. And, I think, we sent out about 3,000 papers a week.

Q. Was it . . . it was English language then?

A. Yeah. Oh, it was all English language. And, they had a good many special issues, you know, every holiday there was a special issue where they would send it to every Jewish home that they had on the records.

Rose: They do it today.

A. They do it today, too. They send complimentary copies.

Q. Is this sponsored by anybody, or is there . . .

A. No. It's private. It's private. No. When I worked for the Ledger, it was owned by the Byman's (spelling?). Agusta and Joseph Byman. They were a Jewish couple that come from Philadelphia; they had a paper in Philadelphia, and they established the Ledger in Rochester. And, they also established a Buffalo and Syracuse edition, and then an edition in Albany.

Q. How did you happen to get this job?

A. Well, how did I happen to get the job . . . I don't know. You see, I . . . all my life I've been very interested in newspaper work. And, as I say, I originally intended to go into newspaper work, and that's why I went to the University of Boston, to study journalism. And, when I got through with my journalism, I just couldn't find a job. I had applied in any number of newspapers, locally and even in Boston. They just had . . . there was . . . I mean, there was a period of time when they didn't need or they didn't want any extra help, and I just couldn't find a job. So, I went back in Rochester and worked with my dad, and then started my own little store. And, meeting the Bymans, being in contact with them, they knew of my interest and whatever little ability I had. I used to do a lot of writing for the Democrat and Times Union. When I say writing, I'd write letters from time to time on different things. And, very frequently, they were published. And so, I was fairly well known in the community, and the Bymans approached me and asked me if I'd be interested in coming to work, and I think I accepted the job right away. I mean . . .

Rose: Things were bad, you were . . .

A. Yeah. Things were a little bad.

Rose: Very bad.

A. I was very happy to have an opportunity, even though the money that they paid was nothing to brag about. But, I really loved . . .

Rose: Things were very tough in 19 . . .

A. '32.

Rose: . . . '32. '32.

A. Yeah. So, I was very happy to get the job at the time, and I enjoyed working there. I don't know if I should mention . . . what?

Rose: How long did you work there, and then you started for the Rochester . . . er, the Amalgamated?

A. About three years.

Rose: Oh. Three years.

A. I worked three years there before I went to work in the union. And, I might have worked at the Ledger more than three years, if not for the fact that I decided to get married and have a baby, and things being as tough as they were, I needed a little more money than the Ledger was paying me. And, I asked for an increase, and instead of getting an increase, I got my walking papers.

Q. So, when did you get married?

A. I got married in 1932, January of '32.

Q. And, you were how old?

A. How old was I?

Rose: Twenty-four.

A. Twenty-four.

Q. And, how old were you then?

Rose: I was twenty-five.

A. She was an old lady.

Q. And, when did you come to Rochester? Were you born here also?

Rose: No. I was five years old when I came here.

Q. Where were you born?

Rose: Russia.

Q. Russia. You came with your parents then?

Rose: (Unintelligible)

Q. Did they have family here before?

Rose: Well, you know how it is. I had an aunt here and an uncle. And, Rochester was a very good city for tailoring. It had many factories here.

Q. You say your parents were garment workers also?

Rose: They were (unintelligible).. And, that's how people came to Rochester, because

Rose: (Continued) of that. About five or six . . . there were many, many little shops. If you're a tailor, Rochester was a good place for it. That's all.
(Unintelligible)

Q. And, you had children?

Rose: Two.

Q. A son and a daughter, or . . .

Rose: That's right.

Q. Okay. Well, in 1936 then, you, I believe it's 1936.

A. In 1936 I went to work for the Amalgamated, yes.

Q. And, in what capacity did you . . .

A. Well, I started as a . . . actually, I started in the political . . . I went to work there in June, 1936, and it was the time that the American Labor Party was organized by the Amalgamated to help the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And, they needed somebody to do some outside work in connection with the activities of the American Labor Party. And, I had been active in politics even before I went to work for the Amalgamated. And, I enjoyed going out and seeing people, talking to them, and advising them that if they were interested in political activity, they should join the Labor Party, because that was the vehicle by which labor would be able to vote for Roosevelt without aligning themselves with the old-line parties. Like, of course, labor wasn't . . . at no time was interested in the republican party, but a lot of people were hesitant about even voting for the Democratic Party, because most Jewish people were socialist oriented.

Q. So, this was a way of smoothing the transition?

A. Smoothing the transition, yes. And, we . . . that first year in 1936, I think, the Labor Party got better than 13,000 votes.

Q. In Rochester.

A. In Rochester. Which was the highpoint of . . .

Q. You said that you had been politically active prior to this?

A. Yeah.

Q. How was that you were . . .

A. Well, politically active in the sense that back in, I guess, my first vote, I think, in 1928 . . . let's see 1907 . . . yeah, 21. I cast my first vote in 1928. And, that was a time when Al Smith was Governor of New York, was the democratic candidate for president. And, because of the fact that he was a Catholic and a liberal, there was a lot of opposition to him. I mean, he was very popular among the workers' and the average person, but he was very . . . he was slight by business and by people who weren't familiar with his activities. And, I went out at that time on a route . . . Today, you don't do it, but in those years, it was hitchhiking. I mean, you went out on the road, I mean, and I went out that summer to thumb my way around the country just to sample the opinion of people on the candidacy of Al Smith. And, I wrote letters back, I mean, while I was away, I wrote letters back to the Democrat & Chronicle. And, a number of the letters were published. I mean, it wasn't a paid . . . But, it was . . . But, personally, I found it very, very interesting and very enlightening, because I was able to see that Al Smith had no chance at all. I mean, he couldn't possibly be elected, because of the fact that people were . . . well, I don't know what you want to call 'em. Today, I mean . . . they just weren't as educated then as they are today. Of course, it was the days before television, and whatever information they got from Al Smith . . . about Al Smith, was the newspapers. And, ninety percent in the country, as far as I could see, were opposed to him.

Q. Well, how about in Rochester? Was there considerable support for Smith here?

A. Well, there was considerable support for Smith. In fact, I think, he actually carried Rochester in the election, but that was due only to the fact that

A. (Continued) Rochester had a very strong labor movement, and labor gave Smith their solid support.

Q. How about in the Jewish Community?

A. Well, he had the support of the Jewish Community, yeah. Al Smith . . . he was tops as far as the Jews were concerned. Because it was a very important factor that he had an accent, Al Smith. You know, talking on the radio, if you didn't know who he was, you'd say, 'Who is that foreigner? What does he think he's gonna take over the . . .' You know? It was a bad situation all around. But, he had been a very, very popular governor. I don't know how many terms he had been elected governor, I don't recall how many terms. But, he was on the same order as Franklin Roosevelt, and Laymen. Democratic governors, I mean, who were very popular, and who actually brought New York State up to the point where it was the Empire State.

Q. So, you must have been an early Roosevelt supporter, also?

A. Yes. Oh, yes. I was a Roosevelt supporter right from the beginning. Yeah.
Yeah.

Q. How was Roosevelt viewed in the Jewish Community? Was he given support right from 1932 onwards, or . . . ?

A. Well, you know Roosevelt had, I should think, 99% of the Jewish Community was for Roosevelt. In fact, they looked upon him as a god.

Q. Is that right from 1932? Or was that something that developed?

A. In 1932 they had known him because he had been governor of New York State. He was elected governor, I think, in 1928 or '26, I don't recall. It must've been '28, because he was governor until he was elected president in '32. And, he was a very, very popular, extremely popular governor. And, the same as president. He was probably the most popular president that this country has ever had.

Rose: He was the one that closed all the banks (unintelligible).

Q. So, in 1936 you went to work for the Amalgamated, and you were mainly involved in . . .

A. Well, I started, yes. I went in . . . primarily I went to work for the political campaign, but as soon as the political campaign of 1936 was over, I was taken into the Amalgamated office, and I worked in the office until I retired in 1974.

Q. Were you hired by Abe Chapman?

A. Yes. Yeah. He was manager, and still is. And, after I had worked there for seven years, I was promoted to the employment department and took over the management of the employment office. And . . .

Q. What was the function of the employment office?

A. Well, the employment office took care of all employment in the clothing factories of Rochester. In other words, every clothing factory, and originally there was a good many of them, they would call our office and give me, or the girl that answered the phone, a list of people that they needed for the factory, whatever jobs, whatever qualifications they needed. And, it would be my job to find people for those vacancies. And, I would go through my files, see who I had listed for that particular job, call that individual, give them a pass to go to the factory to get the job. Now . . .

Q. Then Amalgamated had a fairly strict control over hiring?

A. We had not only fairly strict. We had . . .

Q. You had absolute control.

A. . . . we had control, I mean, over the hiring. And, that continued until 1968 when we discontinued the employment department. And, the reason for discontinuing was the fact that conditions had changed that where when I started in the industry there were hundreds and thousands of immigrants coming into

A. (Continued) this city, many of them tailors, there was very little problem in finding qualified help for the different factories. But, as the years went by, immigration dried up, and it was more and more difficult times, as far as individuals were concerned. They were dropping away from the clothing industry. They were dropping away from all industry. They were going into business. People that were coming to this country in the later years, didn't come here to look for jobs, they were coming in here to look for opportunities, business opportunities. And, practically all the people I was getting in my office were Puerto Ricans, colored, and from the lower . . . lower ends of . . .

Rose: They were unskilled.

A. Unskilled help. So, after a good deal of thought, Mr. Chapman, the officers of the union, decided that we had better get out of the employment business and let the factories handle their own headaches.

Q. Is that when you retired from the union?

A. No. No. I retired six years later, as I say, in '74. But, we gave up the employment office in '68. Between '68 and '74, I was doing general office work, publicity, a lot of writing, I mean, doing secretarial work, and odds and ends.

Q. When you started in the employment office, you must have had no difficulty filling the jobs. There must have been a great deal of unemployment.

A. No. No. I had very little difficulty, because there was a good deal of unemployment. And, my office used to be filled with people looking for jobs.

Q. What proportion of garment workers in the city, would you say, were unemployed at that time?

A. Well, it's hard to say, because I don't think I kept any figures of how many were unemployed. All I can tell you is that when I started in 1936, there were better than 13,000 garment workers listed on our union files. When I

A. (Continued) retired in '74, there were probably less than 4,000 garment workers. Not that the union had grown any smaller. In fact, we had grown larger, because through the years, the union had organized scores of factories that were outside of clothing. In other words, box factories, food factories. We organized Xerox before it was Xerox when . . . when Haloid, which was the beginning of Xerox . . . When I started in 1936, there were 13,000 or more clothing workers in the Rochester factories. And, when I left in 1974, there were probably a little less than 4,000, but the clothing workers . . . the union itself has grown by involving a good many other factories that can't be classified as clothing. Our largest concern now is the Xerox Corporation.

Rose: They even had (Unknown) on, the (unintelligible) company.

A. Well, they're out of business . . .

Rose: I know. But, I mean, it's . . .

A. I mean, we had a lot of factories. And, the union has not lost membership even though the clothing industry has gone done considerably over the years.

Q. In the '30s, were there (unintelligible) share the work? How did you decide who was gonna get hired when an opening came up?

A. Well, you see, the union always had a share of the work. In other words, if there were two people working on a garment, each individual . . . both of them had to have equal time. In other words, if there was only two hours work, one worked an hour, the other one worked an hour. And, if there were two garments, one garment went to one worker, one garment went to the other. However, it never got to the stage, at least not during the time that I was in the union that the real bad times were before in the 1930s: '31, '32, '33, the years before I came into the union. That's when they were really bad times. But, from 1936 on, actually, things were fairly good. I mean, there were periods

- A. (Continued) of unemployment, of course. Periods when, you might say, there was a depression in the industry. But, by and large, things went along pretty smoothly, because the industry, by that time, was already regulated. The last clothing factory in Rochester was organized in '37, that was Michael Stern's. And after Michael Stern's was organized, everything ran smoothly, because if things were slow in one factory, the worker could be transferred to another factory. The union had control of the employment situation in such a manner that we could always shift people where ever they were needed. And, very frequently, especially after Bond's came in, Bond's was booming. Bond's would have a good deal of work when maybe Levy Atler's or Michael's, or some other factory would slow, we'd just switch from the other factories, we'd switch people over to (unintelligible) and fill in where ever they needed extra help. So, I don't recall that there was any, at any time, any serious problem.
- Q. So, most of the workers in the garment industry probably didn't just spend their whole working life at one factory. They probably moved . . .
- A. Well, a good many people worked in a number of factories, but people like my father, or other people who are highly skilled in certain categories, spent practically all of their working life in the one factory. Because, very frequently you came up to the situation where this specific factory didn't want to release a worker even when they didn't have too much work, because they wanted to hang onto that worker. They didn't want that worker to go to some other factory. They'd be afraid they wouldn't come back.
- Q. Let's see. Where were we? I'd like to ask you a question about . . . the union had its own unemployment compensation, so to speak.
- A. Yes. We started it seven years before the government took it over. And, we paid the worker an amount commensurate with his earnings. I took care of that

A. (Continued) for a couple of years in the early 1930s, well, about '37, '38. And, the worker would come to the union office to register. The same as they go today to the employment office. And, after the week of unemployment, they got . . . it was small amounts in those years, of course. The average check, as I recall, might have been \$12.00, \$14.00, \$15.00. I mean, that was about the average unemployment check.

Q. A week?

A. A week.

END OF TAPE I, SIDE I, INTERVIEW I

Tape I
Side II
Interview I

Q. So . . .

A. And, the amount they got from the union and unemployment insurance, was probably about a third . . . about a third of their average weekly earnings if when they were in the shop.

Q. That was '36, the \$45.00 for a 40-hour week or a 44-hour week?

A. Well, actually, they didn't work . . . no. There was no 44-hour week at that time. I don't think they even worked 40 hours. Do you remember at that time how long you worked? It was 37 hours, 36 hours?

Rose: Thirty-six.

A. Thirty-six hour a week they worked in those . . . This is my sister-in-law, by the way. My wife's sister. No. They worked a 36-hour week, actually. They started to work 40 hours . . .

Rose: There wasn't enough work to live that way.

A. During the war, when most of the factories turned to more production making uniforms and all, and then they worked 40-hour weeks. I don't recall that they ever worked more than 40 hours.

Q. So, that must have been very expensive for the unions having such a large number of unemployed and having to . . .

A. Well, as I say, the unemployment wasn't too much of a problem, because of the fact that the work had been regulated to a point where . . . well, there was equal division of work. I mean, whatever work there was, was equally divided among the people, and there weren't too many lay-offs. I mean, there was a period of time when Bond's slowed down. And, I remember my father was out of work for maybe seven or eight weeks at one time. But, I think, as I recall, there was only one year. I mean, the next year it was okay. I mean there was

A. (Continued) no lay-off. So, during that period of time that . . . they were paid weekly for the time that they were off. Of course, the pay . . . the amount that they got wasn't sufficient, but it was assumed that a worker saved a little bit of money while he was working. And, nobody was destitute. At least, I don't recall that there was any destitution.

Q. So, was there a seniority factor at work in terms of who got a job?

A. Well, there was a seniority factor to some extent in the highly skilled . . . highly skilled categories, but if a person wasn't a skilled worker, there was no seniority factor. There was equal division work. In other words, one union member was as good as the next union member. And, as long as you were a member of the union, he was entitled to the same number of hours as the next (unintelligible) men. That held true for people in the individual shops. It didn't hold true for a person at Hickey's or against a person in Bond's. I mean, it, naturally, would be impossible to regulate it in that manner. You regulated the work in the section. In other words, people who are pocket makers, they were in one category. People who were sleeve sewers, in another category. People who were finishers, needle workers, in another pack. Each category had its own method of regulating their activity. And, it worked pretty good. I don't know. I never . . . I didn't have too many problems. In later years, I was doing a good deal of social work with the members. I mean, I was advising them on social problems, on family problems, and other things. And, I don't recall that there were too many problems with our people. By and large, they were all happy, satisfied. Naturally, people were never forced to work. If they weren't satisfied, they quit and go. And, of course, a good many people quit and went into business and left the industry. But, people who remained and worked stayed on the job and worked.

Rose: (Unintelligible).

Q. Were there . . . well, the union at that time was mostly Jewish, wouldn't you say?

A. No. It was not mostly Jewish. Not by a long shot. Of course, the clothing industry originally was staffed by Jews and Italians. Italians, I think, were tailors, too, you know. They . . . And, but . . . over the years, there were a lot of Poles came in, a lot of Ukraines. We got to a point where, actually, the Jews were in a minority.

Q. At what time was that?

A. Well, it was even before I came in. When I came in 1936, there were probably 3,500 Jews in the clothing industry. In fact, I don't recall that there was ever more than that at any time. I know that when the clothing industry . . . when the union started in 1914, 1915, 1916, in Rochester, they had as many as 20,000 Jews in the clothing shops. But, as things improved a little bit, as things in the First World War, things got a little bit better, people went out into other industries. The Jewish population in the clothing industry dropped. As I particularly used to say, 'What Jewish man in his right mind wanted his son to come into the clothing industry?' They wanted a son to go into the professions, into jobs that they didn't want their children to go into the clothing industry. So, actually, I remember at one time we took over collections for the Welfare Fund. It was, I think already it was, 1940. I don't recall if it was during the war or immediately after the war, but before the State of Israel was established in the early 1940s. We found that a good many Jewish people weren't contributing . . . were not contributing to the Welfare Fund. And, I mean, I felt and Mr. Chapman felt that it wasn't right. That as union members, we had an obligation to support our charitable . . . the same as we supported the Community Chest. We had the same . . . we had the same . . . you know. Since I got sick, I find it difficult to express

A. (Continued) myself. It's just . . . I just can't find the words that are proper for the occasion. But, anyways, we decided that we were gonna . . . we were gonna contact every Jew in the clothing industry and see that they made a contribution to the welfare fund. So, one year we voted that there . . . in those years there were Jewish locals, there aren't anymore now. But, Local 14 was a Jewish local. And, Local 14 voted that they were contribute one day's pay to the Welfare Fund that particular year. And, it was my job to take care of it . . . to see that everybody was gonna follow that fact. So, I got the names of every Jewish worker in the clothing industry, and I think there were only 1,850 at that particular year. Which was about 500 less than we actually had figured on.

Rose: This is chocolate.

Q. Oh, thank you very much.

Rose: Would you like (unintelligible)?

Q. No. This will be fine. You're very kind.

A. Put some cream in it . . . it might be . . . So, anyways, we got about approximately 1,850 people. They contributed a day's pay which ranged from \$10.00 in change for the lower paid workers, up to, maybe, as much as \$30.00 a day, I mean, for some of the higher skilled workers. And, we collected a pretty substantial sum for the Welfare Fund that year. But, we never did it again because there was . . . not that there was much opposition, but a lot of people felt that it was nobody's business how much they earned. You know, when you took a day's pay off of an individual, you could tell from that day's pay exactly how much that person was earning. And, it was a matter of public record, and they felt that it wasn't good from that angle. So, we never did it again. But, what I wanted to point out was that the number of Jews in the clothing industry had fallen off considerably over the years, and, as I say,

A. (Continued) it come down to the point where, today, I doubt that there are more than two or three hundred Jews in the entire clothing industry of Rochester, today.

Q. Were there a lot of other points of intersection between the union activities and the Jewish Community? I mean, that's one good example of one.

A. Well, as far as the Jewish Community was concerned, (Unknown) Chapman being a Jew and I being a Jew, and having several other Jewish officers in the union, we always cooperated (unintelligible) whenever we could. But, as a labor union, you couldn't do it official without doing the same thing for the Catholics, or Protestants, or Christian-Scientists, or whatever. I mean, it wouldn't be under the union constitution. You couldn't just turn the union over for a Jewish activity or for . . .

Q. So, these were many informal . . .

A. It was informal and, you might say, off the record. It was alright to give the day's pay for the Jewish people, because it was done by the Jewish group, and nobody else was involved in it. Nobody else, even though there were a number of non-Jews who voluntarily gave to the Welfare Fund as a matter of sympathy and personal feeling, but as far as actual union cooperation with the Jewish Community, there couldn't be any without the union cooperating with every other group which they did in every possible way.

Q. Do think you were every any tension or friction between Jewish and non-Jewish members of the union?

A. Not to any great extent. There was tension and friction at the time the world war during the Holocaust. The Nazi propaganda. But, that was all private, personal. There wasn't any major . . . I know there were cases where individuals would attack Jews. I mean, not as individuals . . . physical attacks, but, attack them at union meetings. But, we cracked down on those. I mean,

A. (Continued) we eliminated it, as far as possible, we eliminated it. I know there were foremen who were Nazis, who were (unintelligible) in every sense of the word. And, the union was able to drag them out of the industry. We just saw that they were taken off the job and eliminated. They just weren't permitted to work anymore. And, we never would permit any racial discrimination of any kind. In fact, we were probably the first industry in this city that gave jobs to colored, the Negroes. There were times that Kodak and Bausch's would turn away . . .

Rose: (Unintelligible)

Q. So, the nature of the garment industry in Rochester, of course, it changed a great deal.

A. Oh, it changed considerably, yeah.

Q. Did that cause a great deal of hardships for people who were in the Amalgamated or for any . . .

A. No. No. I think it caused a great deal of hardship, because most of the Jewish people that worked in the industry, either retired or went into other business. I mean, I know dozens of former Amalgamated members who are very prominent members of Jewish Community today. Business people. They ~~were~~ after all, the clothing industry was only a stepping stone to higher things. A lot of the lawyers and doctors in town used to spend their summers working in the clothing factories, because they couldn't get a job any place else for six or eight weeks during the summer, and I went out of my way to give them jobs, as many of them, jobs that I could. And, when the summer was over, they went back to their studies or went back to whatever activities that they were doing. I don't think they were any the worse for having worked in the clothing industry. But, I didn't see any problems as far as I know.

Q. What caused the decline in the clothing industry?

A. Well, imports had a lot to do with it. Changing styles and conditions. You see, if you weren't so young, you'd understand how things have changed over the . . . over even the past 30, 40 years. At one time, a man wouldn't be found out on the street without a suit. I mean, whoever thought of going outdoors without a jacket and without being dressed up. Today, who wears a suit? The only people that buy . . . the only time they buy a suit is to get married or, they say, to lay in to get buried. That's all. Otherwise, they don't need suits. Everything is sport clothes. Everything is casual wear. You wear a pair of slacks, you wear a leisure coat, something. You don't a suit. Who needs a suit? Jewish people buy suits for Yenta, but the (unknown), the (unknown) don't buy suits for Christmas. So, the clothing industry . . . You know, I had a record once that in the 1920s, early 1920s, Rochester alone manufactured better than 30,000,000 units of clothing. A unit means, not only, not a suit, but a unit would a sport . . . a sport coat or slacks, or something like that. So, it manufactured better than 30,000,000 units of clothing. When I retired in 1974, it had gone down to something like 15,000,000 units. But, about half or less. And, I think, (unintelligible). So, I don't recall how many clothing manufacturers were in Rochester, but there were at least 30 or more. I'm talking about 1936 when I started there. Better than 30 clothing factories in the City of Rochester. Today, you have 5 or you have . . . you have less than 5 actually. You have Hickey's, Michael Stern's, Bond's, Tanya Clothes went out of business two years ago since I retired. Actually, you have only three large factories there. There are a couple of smaller ones that I'm not mentioning. But, there are only three large factories left in the City of Rochester. Although, 30 that were here 30 years ago.

Q. In those three remaining factories, is there still a Jewish presence in the work force?

A. The only . . . I don't think any of the factories have any Jewish . . .

Michael Stern's Frankenstein is a . . . he's a Jew, I mean, he's half a Jew, because he doesn't participate in any Jewish activities. But, he's a Jew. Hickey Freeman is not Jewish.

Rose: (Unintelligible) was.

A. Well, what was, was was. We're talking about now. Originally, a lot of the factories were in Jewish hands. Today, none of them.

Q. How about the work force?

A. I just said, the work force today is probably, I don't think they have 400 Jews in the clothing industry today. I mean, off-hand I haven't made any record. I don't know, because I haven't, as I say, I've been out two years already. But, when I left there was very little Jewish work force left.

Q. Many of the factories were owned by Jews and a large proportion of the union rank and file was Jewish as many of the union leaders were Jews, do you think that that contributed to the relative peace between employers and employees in the garment industry in Rochester?

A. You know, from the time that the union was organized until the strike of . . . how long ago was that strike? Four years was it? Well, about four years ago there was a strike . . . about four years ago. But, from the time the union was organized until that strike of four years ago, there was uninterrupted period of peace. Because, as I said, the industry had been so regulated that everything was running smoothly. There was no friction between the industry, between the union of . . . Whatever friction there might have been in an individual market, was settled in that market. The same as Chapman in Rochester was able to settle whatever friction there might have been between Michael Stern's and the union, or between Bond's and the union, or between Hickey's or whatever industry it was, whatever factory it was. You can't (unintelligible). You can't say that this is the reason for it. But, we in the union

A. (Continued) always kept a close relationship with the industry. During the time that I was employment manager, it was seldom that a day went by that I didn't go into the factories. I would take a couple of hours, and I'd go through every factory to find out: is there anything that we can do to help? Is there any problem that has to be adjusted? Is there anything that . . . any problem that . . . A worker, for instance, maybe, dissatisfied. Is there anything that we can do to help? Is there anything we can do to help the manufacturer maintain his production and to keep the work force working. I mean, we went out of our way to cooperate and to help in every possible manner. And, I'd say that the industry in Rochester was equally as cooperative. That . . . that was true up until the time when the industry changed hands, when . . . there are very few, I don't know of any clothing factories today that are in the same hands that they were when I started in 1936. They've all . . . er, Hickey Freeman, for instance, has gone with Hart, Chapner & Marx (spellings?). They made an understanding with them where . . . Bond's: The old timers died, retired, and they sold the business to newcomers. Even Michael Stern's has changed hands on a couple of occasions over the years. Several other factories have gone out of business where . . . as I say, conditions, imports, and changing conditions just made it impossible to keep the business going. And, even though the union tried to help in every possible way, did help in many ways, yet we couldn't save those factories that had outlived (unintelligible). And, after all, the clothing industry in Rochester is a very, very old industry.

Q. Well, I still have a lot of questions.

END OF TAPE I, SIDE II, INTERVIEW I

Tape II
Side I
Interview II

Q. This is Maurice Isserman speaking with Philip Gordon in our second interview in his home at Hill Court. Did you continue to be active in politics after the 1936 election?

A. Yes. Actually, I have County Committee Member, a Democratic County Committee man for . . . well, up until two years ago when I got sick. I had to leave, but for about twenty-five years I was a County Committee man. And, I was active at every election, at every opportunity that presented itself. Because, being an officer of the union, the union was involved in politics. Every year since Roosevelt . . . it started in '32, but they became much more active in '36. And, since '36, the union has been very, very concerned about the political situation. And, every union officer was active in politics.

Q. Was that just on national elections or on the local level also?

A. We paid more attention, of course, to national and state elections, but we were also active, very active, in local elections. Especially when it came to electing people whom we were interested in getting into office.

Q. What form did that activity take?

A. Well, that activity took the form of sending literature, mailing personal letters to every union member advising them, not exactly who to vote for, but our opinion on the issues and what stand we should take on whatever matter it was that was being presented to the electorate. And, in fact, for a number of years we were primarily the major factor in the local political scene, because on several occasions, we were able to elect congressmen . . . because this was years back, but there was a congressman, a Brien that we felt was a very good man. He was a predecessor of Horton who is now a republican. But, we were

A. (Continued) always a democratic party. But, once or twice there were good republicans whom we supported. In fact, we supported Horton every time he ran, because we always felt that a label didn't mean anything, that as long as he was in sympathy with our principles, we didn't care if he was a republican or what. We felt he was a good man, and we voted for him. And we helped to elect him. And, there were other local officers that we supported over the years, and there were times we helped to elect a mayor in Rochester. Elect councilmen, though years back there were no councilmen; there was supervisors, there was ward supervisors. And, where we had many of our members particularly in the Jewish sections or the (unintelligible) sections. Well, our votes was enough sometimes to carry an election. And, that is why we were active, and we stayed in politics. And the union, even today, is busy in politics.

Q. Have you read Matthew Josephson's biography of Sydney Hillman?

A. Yeah. I've got it. Do you want to see it?

Q. No. I was looking at it last night, and he credits Hillman and the Amalgamated with the swinging the 1944 election to Roosevelt. Do you think that's an accurate assessment?

A. Well, I wouldn't say the '44, because by that time, I think, Roosevelt had a . . . a universal mandate. I can't see where we swung it. I think we were just one of many groups in the country that supported Roosevelt, and gave him the huge majority that he had. Every time he ran.

Q. Well, that's the . . .

A. So, I think it was the 1936 where they said the Amalgamated through the American Labor Party that might have swung the elections.

Q. Well, he was talking about '44 because he was also talking about that Roosevelt's famous remark, "Clear it with Sydney."

A. Well, that was a lot of . . . That was just off the record that he . . . I

A. (Continued) mean, I remember that . . . It made quite a sensation, and the republicans tried to use it as an anti-Roosevelt statement . . . They tried to make Roosevelt as someone who's . . . I'm just trying to . . . it's difficult for me to get the words in the proper focus. But, they were jealous of the huge majority that Roosevelt was able to draw from the ranks of labor. Because he had, I think, in the 90% of labor supported Roosevelt every year, every year that he ran. And, the republicans picked on that one remark in an attempt to show that Roosevelt was interested in labor more than he was in the rest of the American people. And, that if Roosevelt could be re-elected, Sydney Hillman would be the boss, not Roosevelt. Which was ridiculous on the face of it, because the only way that he used the remark was that he wanted Sydney Hillman to advise on the question of a vice-president. The "Clear it with Sydney" was only on the question of the vice-president, on the question of whether Truman should be picked or some other candidate.

Q. Well, on the local level, I mean, Rochester has traditionally been a republican city, and yet it voted for Roosevelt. Do you think that the Amalgamated . . .

A. Amalgamated . . .

Q. . . . swung the election in any sense?

A. Yes. In 1936, for instance, the American Labor Party drew 13,000 votes in Rochester. I should say in the Rochester area. For Roosevelt, and even though that 13,000 didn't in itself swing the city to Roosevelt, it did a great deal to bring the vote up to the huge total that Roosevelt received. You see, the question that arose at that time was whether labor was going to have a party of its own distinct from the democratic party, distinct from republican, and distinct, of course, the socialists of that time were also a party, but they didn't cut any ice because practically every individual who was formerly active in the socialist party became a labor man. And, the American Labor Party drew

A. (Continued) not only the former socialist votes, but they drew a lot of the . . . many of the labor votes that sometimes might have gone to republicans because of the fact that there might have been a candidate on the republican party that was favorable to labor and that labor wanted to support. And yet, if that candidate was on the American Labor Party, they got the American Labor Party vote, and the 13,000 votes which was the highpoint of the labor party vote in that year was a claim to something way out of the ordinary, because never in the history of Rochester had any third party, so to speak, received anywhere near such votes. And, we felt very proud because we felt that the Amalgamated as the major factor in the American Labor Party was responsible for drawing out the people.

Q. Well, when did the Amalgamated withdraw from the American Labor Party?

A. When the communists took over, because sometime in the 1940's probably in . . . during the war period, in '42, '43, I don't know exactly when we was through. Chapman would be able to give you that information, because he was the major leader of the American Labor Party, and he would have all the facts on that. You haven't interviewed him yet?

Q. No, I haven't.

A. No. Well, he would be able to clear that. But, I don't remember exactly when they were through, but it was in the 1940's, because we were active '36, '37, '38, '39, '40, '41, '42. In '42, I think, we dropped activities.

Q. When you decided that the communists took over, that wasn't in Rochester, that was on a state level?

A. That was the whole state. On the statewide level, yeah. Yeah, they sort of seized the party at that time, New York headquarters, and they were able to manipulate it in a manner that we couldn't go along. And, so, the Amalgamated and other neighboring unions went to. The (Unknown) Garment Workers' who were

- A. (Continued) also active in the labor party. They withdrew at that time. And, then . . . in fact, labor as a whole withdrew, I think, around 1944 labor was out of the American Labor Party, as far as any activity was concerned.
- Q. So, in '48, for example, most people in the Amalgamated did not support Henry Wallace? That's correct?
- A. No. No. No. Henry Wallace ran (unintelligible), he was not supported. Well, he ran in, I think, Wallace ran in '44, didn't he?
- Q. Well, no, he was Roosevelt's vice-president until '44. So, I don't think he ran then. I think he ran in stages. The first independent campaign in '48.
- A. Was it? I don't recall. No. But, we did not support him. No.
- Q. Alright. Um . . . The Amalgamated has, in recent years, been organized, it seems, in different groups of workers. You mentioned the box factory and Xerox. Was that any deliberate decision? I mean, did you see that the garment industry in Rochester was on the decline, and then decide to go out and . . .
- A. No. It was never . . . No, it was never a deliberate decision. The Amalgamated has always organized people who wanted to be organized. In other words, there were groups in Rochester that wanted to form unions, and no one was interested enough to help them. So, the Amalgamated sent our people, our organizers, to work with those groups and help them get started. Now, it wasn't only box factories, it was food workers, it was the Rochester . . . button factories, a number of other . . . And, the Amalgamated never organized them with the intention of having them just as part of the Amalgamated. We organized them because it's our business to organize workers. In other words, we organized the textile workers. Of course, they're now part of the Amalgamated because, I mean, they just became part of the Amalgamated this year. But, up until this year, they had their own organization, their own union. But, there were several textile plants in Rochester who were not organized, and they wanted

A. (Continued) organization, so the Amalgamated went and organized them. And, until such time that they were taken over by their own union, they remained a part of the Amalgamated. Let's see . . . we organized at least four box factories that I know of. Some of them are out of business today, but a couple of them still remain.

Q. When was that?

A. In 1937 when the Roosevelt New Deal and . . . what was that about? Was it the Wagner Act, or was it . . .? Anyways, when Roosevelt started and the mass organization began in this country. So, we organized box factories; we organized food workers; we organized small, several small textile factories. Button factories. There were two or three . . . at one time, there were two or three button factories in Rochester. Now, there's only one, I think. But, that one's still part of the Amalgamated. We organized the Haloid, which grew into Xerox. And, you see a good part of that is there were no other labor groups in Rochester that had the facilities for organizing people, and these groups were small, had no support from anyone, and they wanted to organize, and we felt it was our job as a labor union to help them organize. And, we did that. I recall, in '36 and '37, you probably read of the sit-down strikes that took place at the (unintelligible). And, we had three or four large sit-down strikes that we had . . . that we supported and that grew into pretty good labor unions.

Q. So, you must've had a large staff of organizers at that time?

A. Yeah. We had. We had a large staff of organizers at that time.

Q. How large was it?

A. Well, let's see . . . There was (Unintelligible). Well, at least five. More when needed. We had help brought in from other cities or from the New York office if necessary. I mean, once or twice on a big strike came along . . . Like, I remember the one at the button factory when I had to have extra help.

A. (Continued) (Unintelligible) had extra help. St. Joe paper box company, they had extra help. But, by and large, most of it was handled through the Rochester office's staff. But, we had five or six permanent organizers on staff.

That is, during the '36 . . . during the years when major organization work was going on. I . . . by '38 and '39, most of the organizing was finished, as far as Rochester is concerned.

Q. Most of the high officers of the local, seem to have been Jewish, and it seems that that generation, that sort of first generation of organizers, is now stepping down, like yourself, or will soon be like Chapman, you know, he's in his seventies or eighties now. So, will the next generation of leaders in Rochester be Jewish or where will they come from?

A. No. You see, in fact, when it came to actually organizing work, I can recall there was only one Jewish officer outside of Chapman that was active in organizing work. That was Oscar Smith who died several years ago. Most of them were Italian, Irish, Polish, in fact, I go over . . . let's see here. I did mention (Unknown) who was an organizer, he was a Polish organizer. John McMann, he was, of course, an Irish organizer. There was Plotty and Chacha who were Italian. There were a couple of other Italians, Parentti I remember. You see, most of these people have died already, so I sort of don't recall them. But, I remember Parentti as an organizer. There were a couple of others that Italian, whose names I don't recall because they've been dead for years. But, I knew them, and there were no organizers in Rochester who were Jewish outside of Oscar Smith and Chapman, who was the overall manager of . . . And, I was never an organizer. I was always an office worker. Other Jewish officers in the union were active in the various jobs, and the only activity they took in organizing was marching on the picket line, which I did frequently. But that doesn't mean organizing. I mean, we just marched as part of support for the union.

Q. Do you think that the Jews were more likely to be elected as shop stewards than non-Jews?

A. Well, are you talking about the future?

Q. Well, no. In the past.

A. Well, in the past, there were many Jews who were shop stewards, because the Jew is usually more devoted to the individual's welfare. Even when he's working, he's more in sympathy. He has more, well, I can't get the word out. But, he . . . when it comes to the Jewish heart, it can't be compared to . . . But, actually, looking at the make-up of the union today, there's no future for the Jews. I mean, there are a few Jewish chairmen, yes. But, nothing compared to what . . . to what there were. When I started in '36 (unintelligible) up to 1940 or '45. But, the Jews, by and large, have retired or left the industry, or gone into other fields. And, the clothing industry today is Italian, Puerto Rican, Colored, Polish, and that's about it.

Q. When Chapman steps down, who is likely to replace him?

A. Your guess is as good as mine. I have an idea that they'll have to send in someone from New York, because I don't know of anyone in Rochester who, first: who has the ability that Chapman has; second: anyone who is in the position to take over, because the job that Chapman has requires a thorough knowledge of the clothing industry nationally and locally. Because, you've got to have connections with the clothing manufacturers. And, not only clothing manufacturers, you've gotta have connections with the various industries that are organized and are under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated. And, I don't know of anyone who would have that when Chapman steps down.

Q. Well, it would be hard to find someone with fifty years experience.

A. Well, as I say, there is no one. There is no one with the amount of experience, because the one or two men who might have taken over, unfortunately have died

A. (Continued) during the past . . . in fact, one died just two weeks ago. Others died over the years who were young people who might have worked into Chapman's office. In fact, Chapman might have been keeping them on the staff for that purpose, because they were his assistants, and always worked with him. And, unfortunately, they died young. So, I don't know. The only man who is available now . . . I saw him a couple of weeks ago. He tells me that he's gonna retire. He's gonna be 64 in a week or two. Week or two, month or two. And, he's planning to retire. So, I don't think there's anyone left that's . . . Can you think of anyone that . . .

Rose: No. I like Rudolph Miller, but he's not interested. He has no children; his wife works; he works. But, see (unintelligible) headaches for him. He wants to go Florida and enjoy himself.

A. Yeah. He's the one that I . . .

Rose: What does he need, problems? But, he's far from having the ability.

A. No. He wouldn't have . . .

Rose: He's okay, but he's not extra brilliant.

A. No. So, as I say, I don't . . . I couldn't think of anyone.

Q. Well, how about the future of the Amalgamated in Rochester in general? Do you see (unintelligible)?

A. Well, the future of the Amalgamated, as far as I know, is bright, because, as I say, the organization is diversified, even though the clothing industry has dropped down considerably. The clothing workers are only a third of what they were twenty years ago. Yet, the union as such has grown because of the growth of Xerox, and because of the growth of some of the box factories and other industries that are contributing to the welfare of the union. I can't see that the union is gonna suffer any in the near future as long as the economic conditions remains stable. And, I'm sure that the workers are happy with their

- A. (Continued) union. They have excellent conditions.
- Q. The . . . I'd like to talk now about the Holocaust in Europe. When did you personally first become aware of what was going on in Europe?
- A. Well, we in the union became aware of it during the war period. Not nearly as much as eventually showed, but we knew about it from the refugees that had been brought over to this country primarily through the Jewish Labor Committee. They brought over a good many writers and professional people from Poland. They were able to rescue them and . . .
- Q. This is after the war had begun?
- A. Yeah, after the war . . . oh yes. During the war. Because, we worked very closely . . . I say we, I mean my office and the union, worked very closely with the refugee committee in Rochester that was looking for . . . finding jobs and homes for these people that they were bringing over.
- Q. How many refugees came to Rochester?
- A. Well, I can't tell you exactly. You'd have to get that from the Jewish Social Service Bureau. But, there were several hundred that I know of who were clothing workers who came and were placed in the clothing industry. See? And we gave jobs to. They brought . . . oh, families, as I recall, from Poland, the Ukraine. How they got them out through the war, God only knows, I don't. But, they were able to bring them here, and because the industry was, at that time, very, very, busy . . . you know, with the draft taking so many of the people out of the shops because we weren't what you would call an essential industry, so none of our people were exempted from the draft. So, there were always jobs available, and I was able to place. I was thankful, in fact, that I was able to place so many of the refugees that came. And, the stories they had to tell were just out of this . . . unbelievable. But, that was part of our job, and we did it the best we could.

Q. Do you think that people in the union were aware of what was going on earlier than, say, the people in the larger communities, Jewish or otherwise?

A. Well, they were in one respect, because we used to have speakers come in from the New York office who would tell us things that you wouldn't read . . . that you couldn't read in the papers, that weren't published in the papers. And, they would come with various reports. I remember one man came direct from Germany. I think he was just before the war started. I think he came in 1939, before the war started. And, as it happened, he wasn't Jewish, but he was a labor leader. Not only a labor leader, but he was a clothing . . . a leader in the clothing industry in Germany. And, he came to Rochester. And, he gave the most remarkable talk that I've heard before or since. He told us exactly what was going on under Hitler, the way they were treating Jews, what their intentions were for the Jews. And, of course, many of us didn't even take it, didn't feel that that . . . we couldn't believe that a country like Germany could turn on its people. How many Jews were in Germany? Five hundred thousand at the time? They had . . . there were 60,000,000 Germans, 500,000 Jews? How could the Jews be responsible for all the troubles that were having . . . taking place in Germany? And, here they were picking on the Jews. And, this fella was telling us. In fact, he told us about the Holocaust, and we didn't even know it.

Q. Do you think that that was a common reaction, that disbelief?

A. Yeah. Sure it was a common reaction. Because . . . how many people in this country could believe that those things would happen? Who would believe the concentration camps? The ovens? The murders and tortures? I mean, you just couldn't believe those things. Sure, you could believe an individual, or this particular person was tormented or tortured, or everything was taken from them. But, you couldn't picture it happening to a half a million people throughout the

- A. (Continued) entire length and breadth of Germany. And, I don't think any of us believed until '42 or '43 when the actual proof came through, when we had the eyewitness accounts from these people who were brought over by the Jewish Labor Committee, and who actually told it as it was. But, early I don't think anyone had been able to believe what was going on.
- Q. Do you think that the American government was somewhat remiss in not spreading the news about what was going on? I mean, to have . . . the Roosevelt administration has been criticized, I know, by many American Jews for that.
- A. You know, you talk now, it's after the fact. During the time . . . during the period of the war, I don't recall that there was any criticism of the administration other than the fact that at one period, they refused to permit the ship load of survivors or refugees from Europe to land in the United States. And, there was a good deal of commotion . . . among the Jewish Community, yes. I don't recall that it . . . that anybody else was interested, because these refugees were all Jews. But, among the Jewish Community there was a great deal of activity. And, I remember we sent telegrams at that time urging Congress to . . . to forget about the Immigration Act, and as a matter of humanity, to permit these refugees to land. But, I don't recall that they did. I think the . . .
- Q. No, they didn't.
- A. . . . ship was turned aside and was sent back to Europe. That was early in the 1940s. Early in the war.
- Q. Well, after the war, were . . . let's see . . . Amalgamated, or were you personally very active in raising money to help the survivors?
- A. Well, we helped in raising money in every Jewish Welfare Fund Campaign. After all. And, after the war, particularly before the founding of the State of Israel and immediately after the founding of the State, we raised a hell of a

A. (Continued) lot of money.

Q. When you say we, who's we?

A. Well, I'm talking about the Amalgamated and the Jewish Community. Because, there were still a lot of Jews in the clothing industry at that time, and we were able to help raise large sums from the clothing manufacturers, from the industries that were affiliated with us, and from the people in our shops, and . . . I remember one year, when was it, 19? Do you remember, Rose, when it was when we got the campaign, we . . . people were shoveling money? Remember when I was raising money for the Welfare Fund, what purpose was it? It was the 1940s, I remember . . . can't remember. I think it was in '47 when there was a terrific need for bringing over a lot of survivors from the concentration camps. It might have been '46, the year after the war. And, funds were needed, way over and above what they ordinary would require for relief and welfare. And, we felt we had a duty to bring in as much money as could be raised. And, we didn't confine our campaign to Jews only. We took in everyone that we could. In fact, that was the year, I think, that even the Italians were in on it. We got \$100.00 from Terriono.

Rose: Oh, I remember.

A. You remember that year?

Rose: Oh, yeah.

A. Lloyd Bock, I mean . . .

Rose: Yeah.

A. . . . he gave \$100.00. I mean, we got considerable sums of money from . . . the various individuals who normally wouldn't give a nickel. They weren't even Jewish, but because of the union . . .

Rose: I think that wasn't for Israel.

A. Well, it was for freeing the refugees from the gas. To bring in from the concentration camps. To bring them over.

Q. Was there a continued influx of refugees to Rochester after the war?

A. Yeah, they brought quite a few in, but not too many, because most of them, as far as I know, were . . . weren't being brought directly to Rochester. They were coming to this country, as many as could get in, and the only ones that were brought here were qualified tailors. Because, we used to have a . . . we would be required to make out a . . . like an affidavit certifying that in this particular factory, jobs . . . a job was available for this and this individual, and they'd match up that affidavit with the one of the refugees who came over. And then, he'd be shipped into Rochester. And, we had many come to Rochester after the war.

Q. Now, some of those people still living in Rochester?

A. Oh, yes. A good many of them. Yeah. In fact, they're part of the new American group. They were all refugees. In fact, do you know where the new Americans . . . where they . . .

Rose: Where they meet now?

A. Yeah. Where they meet, yes.

Rose: They were meeting at the (Unknown).

A. Yeah. They used to . . . I don't know where they meet now. They don't any more. Now, you know, by this time, they've become Americanized most of them.

Q. What was the new Americans? Sort of a fraternal order?

A. They were all . . . they were a group of refugees, most of them who had come from Germany or Poland.

Rose: More from Poland.

A. Yeah. More from Poland and Germany, and most of them were veterans of the concentration camps.

Q. Is this just a Rochester group or . . .

A. The Rochester group.

Q. . . . was it a national group with the Rochester . . .

- A. No, it was a Rochester group, the New Americans. But, they had the same sort of groups they had all over the country. I mean, where ever they had large Jewish Communities, because. . . in fact, the Workmen's Circle in New York City organized a separate branch of New Americans who were East German refugees. And, some of them came into the Workmen's Circle in Rochester. Not many. Michael Hutton can give you more information on it. But, they still have their branch. I think they still participate in Jewish activities, and in the Jewish Community Council, and in the JYMA, and elsewhere.
- Q. You seem to have been a supporter of Israel from . . . a long time even before the establishment.
- A. Oh, yes. When I was a little kid.
- Q. And, in 1948, was there any kind of a celebration or observance in Rochester when the State of Israel was established?
- A. You know, I can't tell you that because when the State of Israel was established, I think I was in New York at that time. That particular week. I remember the celebration and activity in New York, but I don't remember in Rochester of any . . . But, there must've been, because there being so many Zionists here, and we had our own headquarters, our Labor Zionists Poliseum (spelling?) headquarters, Bucken Park. A very large group, and I know there must've been quite a celebration and quite a bit of activity. But, that particular week, I think, it was in May of 1948. It was a convention of the Amalgamated, and I was away at the convention. I was away for that entire week. And, I remember the New York activities, but I have no recollection of what happened in Rochester.
- Q. Do you think that . . . well, several people have suggested that in the early years, in the '20s and '30s, there was not that much Zionist sentiment among Jewish workers.
- A. Not that many, but I tell you, there were a few very active and dedicated

A. (Continued) Zionists, and they carried on activity. There weren't many. I remember the meetings we used to come to, so what if you had twelve, fifteen people? You had a big meeting.

Q. What do you think accounts for the shift in sentiment?

A. Well, the creation of the State of Israel.

Q. So, do you think that it was at that point and after that Zionism became . . .

A. That the Zionists actually grew. Because there was so much enthusiasm, and every Jew felt that now as a country . . . You felt taller. You felt a little prouder than you did previously. And, it awaken a great deal of activity among young people who normally wouldn't be interested and weren't interested in any special Zionist activity.

Q. Have you yourself been to Israel?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you go?

A. Three years ago.

Q. And a . . .

A. I'd like to go again, but my wife . . . she can't take the hills. Have you been to Israel?

Q. No.

A. Well . . .

Q. Very hilly.

A. It's a very, very hilly country, and every time you go through the mountains, well, I wasn't afraid, but she was terrified.

Rose: The roads were rather narrow, and you looked out and think, 'Oh, my God!' It's terrible.

Q. I see. Now, I forget. How many children did you say you had?

A. Two.

Q. Two. And, what do they do?

A. Well, my son is manager of a branch factory in Miami, Florida. He's in charge of the plastic . . . what do they make?

Rose: Sun glasses . . . from five to ten dollars.

A. Like sun glasses? Yeah.

Rose: You know, sun glasses. Not good glasses. (Unintelligible)

A. But, isn't it plastics that they . . .

Rose: Plastics.

A. Yeah. Plastics for glasses, yeah. So, he runs the office. And, my daughter is in the office of the Town Taxi in Rochester here.

Q. So, she's still is in Rochester?

A. Yeah, she's a . . . an office worker.

Q. What . . . how much education did each of them have?

A. Well, my son graduated college, graduated Long Island University. My daughter is a high school graduate. She . . .

Rose: She was exceptionally good in math. She graduated in '25 when financially, things were bad. But, she was always excellent in math. She never got anything less than an "A". So, she went nights, to night school at Monroe Community and took up calculus, I guess. Advanced math (unintelligible). She was doing volunteer work at the Benjamin Franklin tutoring the kids that were poor in math. That's volunteer.

Q. Either of your children married?

A. Oh, yes. Both married and each has two children of their own.

Q. And, have they given your . . . have your grandchildren received religious training?

Rose: Oh, yes.

A. Yeah. My grandson, certainly . . . well, my younger grandson is . . . goes to

A. (Continued) Fayder (spelling?) now on Long Island.

Rose: He's only nine years old.

A. Kids aren't that young. And, my oldest grandson, who's gonna be twenty-one pretty soon, he's going to Denver University, but he went to Talmud Torah, and he . . . You know, most children, they Bar Mitzvah and they're all through with their Jewish education. But, he got it. My daughter had a very good Jewish education.

Q. Then do you think that your grandchildren are exceptions to, sort of, the general trend in . . .

A. No, I don't think that they're an exception to the general trend. But, I think that as the generations go on and on, each generation has a little less Jewish education than the previous generation. Which is too bad, but there's no way that I know that you can avoid it.

Q. Do you see intermarriage as being a problem for the Jewish Community?

A. Well, it probably is, because . . .

Rose: Their own thing is (unintelligible).

A. Intermarriage is . . . nephews, nieces, I mean . . .

Rose: (Unintelligible) is very much opposed to it. But the young. They say, "What's the difference (Unintelligible).

A. Intermarriage is a bad situation because eventually . . . I don't think it's gonna destroy the Jewish people, but it's going to weaken . . . it is weakening the Jewish race.

Rose: Because when they get married, if they have a child, their child is Christian. (Unintelligible).

Q. Well, what would you see as the future of the Rochester Jewish Community? Obviously there's been very great changes in the years that you've been here.

A. Well, as I see it, the Orthodox is getting more Conservative, and the real

A. (Continued) Reformed is getting a little more Orthodox. Gradually, it's winding up into a Conservative. Because, the Conservative congregation in Rochester, Temple Beth El, is growing, as far as I know, by leaps and bounds. The Reformed congregation growing also, but more slowly. Yet, the Reformed congregation has a lot more Jewishness in its schedule today than it ever had that I can recall. Years back, there wasn't any difference between the Temple B'rith Kodesh and the Unitarian congregation. I used to say, "What's the difference? You go to the Unitarian Church, it'd be the same thing." But, in recent years, I've gone to Temple B'rith Kodesh on various occasions, and there's so much more Jewishness.

Rose: The new rabbi is wonderful. Rabbi Miller is like . . .

Q. You think it's his influence that caused this transition?

A. Yeah.

Rose: I like him better than Bernstein. Bernstein is wonderful, but I like this fella.

A. But, as I say, I think that the ultra-Conservative are getting a little more, a little closer to the essence of Judaism. And, this strictly Orthodox are gradually dying out because we don't have any new ones to take their places. Our . . . the younger people in the Orthodox families maintain the tradition in so far as they can. There is so much pressure from the surrounding . . . I mean, your every day life demands certain things that's very difficult to conform with Orthodox Jews. It's a . . . I live in an Orthodox home. I've always been Orthodox. But, that doesn't mean that I don't go out and eat, and live a normal life. Alright, so I don't eat ham and bacon or anything . . . But, I go out and I eat. So, they tell me sometimes, 'You're a hypocrite,' because I go to shul every Saturday, and then after shul, I may go out downtown, maybe, and stop in some place and have a bite. A hypocrite.

A. No. Of course it is. I don't feel that it's hypocrisy. I feel that I'm fulfilling my own desires to live as an American and to live as a Jew. And, I don't believe that there's any conflict between the two.

Q. So, you seem to be saying that there's gonna be a . . . more of a religious unity within the Jewish Community?

END OF TAPE II, INTERVIEW II, SIDE I

Tape II
Side II
Interview II

A. When I was working for the Jewish Ledger, so . . . a very prominent Jewish businessman, who was a leader of the Jewish Community at that time, celebrated his 25th wedding anniversary. And, he celebrated by having a banquet in one of the downtown hotels. Of course, it wasn't kosher. You wouldn't expect it to be kosher, because he was a member of B'rith Kodesh, I mean, he wasn't Orthodox in any sense of the word. But, the night of the banquet, it happened to be the first night of (Unknown). And, I took a personal offense to that, a very deep offense. I felt that for a leader of the Jewish Community, even though he himself didn't believe in the Jewish faith as such, he was Reformed, yet, it was a slap in the face to all Orthodox Jews in Rochester to have a banquet on the first night of (Unknown). Do you remember that?

Rose: No I don't.

A. Well, anyways, he's long since dead, but anyways . . . Well, I wrote an editorial for the Jewish Ledger at that time, a very strong editorial. And, I'm even surprised that they printed it. They did, though. And, this particular businessman went into a towering rage. Oh, he raised hell. And, what he did was: remove all his advertising from the Jewish Ledger, and . . . In fact, up to this day, they don't advertise in the Jewish Ledger even though he's been dead 30 years already. And, there was such a commotion over the editorial that my boss, Byman, said, "What's the sense of making such a fuss over it? So, what? So, what? After all, he didn't believe in Passover." To him it was a natural. After all, it was his wedding anniversary." I said, "Look. (I said.) He had a perfect right to do what he wants. (I said.) But, he had no right to publicize it in the newspapers where they had this picture of him and his wife on the front page cutting the cake, an anniversary cake, making such a big deal out of it when you've got 20,000, maybe not 20,000 [redacted]."

A. (Continued) Orthodox Jews, but you've got thousands of Orthodox Jews in Rochester who take a deep offense at that. And, as a Jewish paper, I feel that it's our job to show him where he was wrong. I personally feel that he owes an apology to the Jewish Community, because he's supposed to be a leader of the Jewish Community. He's looked upon as a leader." See? Well, nothing happened beyond that except, as I say, they withdrew the advertising from the paper. But, there were a number of letters that I had praising me for the editorial, telling me that I did a good thing, and actually, I noticed a year or two later, this particular person was no longer elected to some of the head jobs that he kept, that he had kept for years, because of this . . . on the strength of his money and the fact that he was supposed to be a leader of the community. I never felt that having money permitted you to laugh at . . . and, to me, it was laughing at a person's religion.

Q. That's an interesting story. Do you think that a similar situation could happen today?

A. No. I mentioned it because I don't think it would happen today. I doubt . . . Because, I don't of anyone in Rochester, in the business world, who would openly publicize a violation of Jewish ethics, you might say. Just . . . what I objected to in this particular case was the publicity. Of course, he was doing it for . . . he got a business angle. I mean, that was valuable publicity to him. But, I couldn't see regardless of how much publicity . . . I felt that it was an insult to the Jews of Rochester.

Q. Well, with this growing religious community, do you think that there's also been a softening of social divisions within the Jewish Community?

A. I don't think there any divisions of social . . . there aren't any social divisions as such.

Q. Do you think that there used to be, but there aren't any now?

A. Well, it used to be at one time . . . it was very, very unusual for a very

A. (Continued) wealthy Jew to come to a meeting of, say, just the ordinary every day Jew . . . When I say a wealthy Jew, I'm referring primarily to the Reformed Jews and the Orthodox Jews. There were very little mixture between the two. Today, they work together on all committees and all groups. Nobody questions whether you're Orthodox, or whether you're not Orthodox, you're a Jew, that's all. So, today, I think there's a much closer unity between all elements of the Jewish people. Reformed, Conservative, and Orthodox. I can't remember in years past that ever was that unity.

Q. Let me tell you a story that someone told me: A woman who is a member of the Amalgamated, and she was very active and had always been active in Jewish affairs, but I asked her if she was ever in (Unknown), and she said that no, that was for the rich people, and the rich people, and the middle class people, and the workers had their own organization.

A. Pioneer Women.

Rose: That's right.

Q. Do you think that was . . . Well, do you think that in the past, that was a common attitude among people who, maybe, were in . . .

Rose: No. It serves everybody. I was just about 19, I joined the, like, juniors of (unintelligible). I was a poor kid from the other side of the track, and so was everybody else! My group, they were all poor kids and we joined. And, we were glad to get our dues. I mean, but of course, the Hadassa (spelling?) is . . . I also belong to the Pioneer Women that works for the children of Israel. And, (unintelligible) rich class than the Hadassa. (Unintelligible)

A. Yeah, but they still work together at the same . . .

Rose: Oh, yes. They do.

A. I mean, after all . . .

Rose: There's no (unintelligible). There's no (unintelligible) there.

A. There all . . .

Rose: But, (Unintelligible)

Q. So . . .

Rose: You interviewed some of these from the Amalgamated?

Q. No. I interviewed a number of people actually.

Rose: Did you?

Q. So, again, you see, sort of, a trend towards unity in the . . .

A. I think there's not only a trend toward unity, that the future of the Jewish people depends on being unified. And, I see the State of Israel is the factor that's unifying every Jew.

Q. So, you seem fairly optimistic then?

A. I am. I'm very optimistic. Yeah. Of course, I can see the drawbacks, and I can see the problem where . . . because the younger people are not getting a Jewish education today. So many thousands of young people that don't have any sort of a training in Judaism outside of, maybe, Sunday School, which means nothing, actually. And yet, the Jewish heart remains, I mean, as they say, no matter how far you stray, when Yom Kippur comes, you usually go in for an hour or two in the synagogue. And, that's gonna be the saviour of the Jewish faith. Because . . . as long as a Jew remains (unintelligible) doesn't necessarily depend on his having any formal education or any Jewish training. He's a Jew at heart . . .

Rose: It's in his blood.

A. . . . and, he can be . . . Blood will tell.

END OF TAPE II, SIDE II, INTERVIEW II