1900

July 6: On June 26, Moses Kugelmass (1868-, 1874-, 1875- or 1876-1942) sailed from Liverpool. German lines charged more for the Atlantic crossing to North America than did British lines so many immigrants elected to go to England to reduce the cost of their passage on the final leg to the New World. Ten days later he arrived in Montreal, Canada, aboard the RMS Lake Megantic, a steamship owned by the Beaver Steamship Line, a subsidiary of Elder, Dempster Line, one of the UK’s leading shipping companies. RMS was the abbreviation for Royal Mail Ship, which signified that the line and the Royal Mail had contracted for a ship to carry mail from Great Britain to the ship’s homeport.¹ On the ship’s manifest Moses claimed that he was going to New York to stay with a sister-in-law.

Many literate immigrants received pamphlets before they undertook their journey which provided them with information and the dos and don’ts about all aspects of the journey. They undoubtedly received some coaching from the ticket agents whose job it was not only to sell the tickets but help the travelers arrive as safely as possible. Immigrants were warned in advance of what immigration control agents, official border inspectors and steamship authorities wanted to know about their circumstances - biographical data including age and occupation - their destinations, the amount of money they had (they were told to say a given amount to convince authorities that they were not paupers) and who they would be staying with. Moses claimed he was a tailor and gave his age as thirty-two about which we are uncertain. The claim that he had a sister-in-law to stay with is plausible but we have no documentation to vouch for it. The complete array of questions and answers for Moses is taken from the manifest which follows:

LAKE MEGANTIC SHIP MANIFEST OF ALIEN IMMIGRANTS²

NAME: Moses Kugelmass

AGE: 32 [b.1868?]
OCCUPATION: tailor

MARITAL STATUS: S [Scribbled; the only options are married or single. His marital status was signified by ditto marks (from the entry immediately preceding his although the preceding entry was an 8-year-old girl. Was it a transcribe's error? Was Moses not telling the truth with this and other answers? Many immigrants feared being returned for appearing to be poor, sick, burdened with debts and family, unable to support themselves, and without family ties in the US. Many immigrants were coached to line tune their biographical data in order to provide plausible and welcome responses that would permit them to cross the border into the US.]

ABLE TO READ / WRITE: no [Uncertain - he may have known how to read and write Yiddish]

NATIONALITY: Russia [He was an Austrian subject.]

LAST RESIDENCE: London [A way station before going to Liverpool. On the manifest page with Moses Kugelmass's entry is a word written on a slant in the Last Residence space for the preceding entries for the two children (on three consecutive lines including the line with Moses' entry) is what appears to be Borodinska. Since the space was small and the handwriting too large for the space, this name extended to the columns and line of the entry for Moses Kugelmass. A search did not turn up a proper place name for Borodinska although it was found as a family name, a street name and a bridge name. While it was written clearly, could the ship's officer recording the information have misheard Horodenka or Gorodenka and written Borodinska?]

SEAPORT FOR LANDING: Quebec

FINAL DESTINATION: New York

WHETHER HE HAS A TICKET TO THE DESTINATION: yes

BY WHOM PASSAGE WAS PAID: self

WHETHER IN POSSESSION OF MONEY, IF SO, WHETHER MORE THAN $30 [CANADIAN OR US CURRENCY?] AND HOW MUCH. IF $30 OR LESS: $100

WHETHER EVER BEFORE IN THE US: no

WHETHER GOING TO JOIN A RELATIVE, AND IF SO, WHAT RELATIVE, THEIR NAME AND ADDRESS: sister-in-law brother [No name or address provided.]

EVER IN PRISON OR ALMSHOUSE OR SUPPORTED BY CHARITY, IF YES STATE WHICH: no

WHETHER A POLYGAMIST: no

WHETHER UNDER CONTRACT, WHETHER EXPRESS OR IMPLIED, TO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES: no

CONDITION OF HEALTH, MENTAL AND PHYSICAL: good

DEFORMED OR CRIPPLED, NATURE AND CAUSES: no

CONTRACT TICKET NO. 5009.

NOTE: ...There is as yet no evidence of exactly how Moses traveled inland from Lemberg or Horodenka, although he undoubtedly went by railway to a western European coastal port .... These ports serviced the migrant trade who then went by sea to England, ultimately to depart from Liverpool. We do not know what intermediate stops Moses made alone, if any, without his wife and children, as he
proceeded to the final step in his emigration into the US at the Quebec border crossing. The distance from Lemberg to the port of Rotterdam is 875 miles on a straight line between these two points on the map. Given the state of transportation in Eastern Europe at that time, which was relatively good depending on what country you were passing through, and the constraints imposed by topography, one cannot imagine the journey to have been anything other than long, arduous, uncomfortable and uncertain.\(^3\)

Although we know nothing of Moses' own journey, a similar journey has been recreated in great detail in part from the accounts of many emigrants. While most of the travelers in these accounts were Russian Jews, which included Poles within the Russian Empire, the routes east to west were almost the same for all Eastern European emigrants. The experience was nearly universal, with some emigrants being luckier than others. That is, many of the innocent travelers survived the travails successfully while others were cheated of their money, their steamship tickets and some of their lives, all in an effort to escape the misery at home and go on to a better life. If Moses and later Sarah and her two children experienced even a part of what this story tells, they had a lifetime of vivid and disturbing memories to relate.\(^4\)

Moses and later Sarah may have relied on the steamship/railway ticket agency personnel to help them plan a travel schedule. While they took different routes to their departure places, they all had the same needs for food, personal hygiene and rest on their journeys. It has been pointed out that the costs of food and lodging were most often bundled into the overall price of the combination railway-steamship ticket bought by the traveler near home or sent from America by a family member.\(^5\) Many emigrants received their tickets from family members in America, and Jewish emigrants everywhere relied on local Jewish charity organizations to provide assistance with their needs.\(^6\)

Moses went alone on his migration journey while later on in her travel to America Sarah had herself and two children to care for. If Moses crossed into Germany (we still don't know his exact departure point to England but we are assuming it is Rotterdam) as did Sarah and the children, he would have

\(^3\) “Of importance is also transit trade between Western Austria and Germany, and the countries on the Black Sea, which is supported by the long railway lines traversing Galicia. These are the Karl Ludwigs-Bahn from Cracow via Lemberg to Brody and Podwołoczyska (connection with Russia to Kiev and Odessa), the Lemberg-Czernowitz Bahn (connection with Romania to Jassy and Galatz) and the Galician Transversal Line (from Saybusch via Sandec and Stanislau to Hussiatyn). From Galicia three railroad lines connect with Hungary; they cross the Carpathians at Zwardon, Leluchow and Lupkow, through tunnels. A fourth line from Stryi to Munkacs is under construction. The total length of the Galician railroad lines is 2462 km. Further there are 12,500 km of roads, mostly well-constructed and well-maintained.” Meyer's *Konversationslexikon 1885-1892*, (Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, Leipzig und Wien, Vol.6, Articles: Galizien. Several articles about Galicia in the *Lexikon* are at www.retbibliothek.de/retrobib/stoebern.html?bandid=100154. In that era, railroads charged passengers by kilometers covered, so the cheapest ticket would be the shortest distance - after you discount the less likely use of secondary routes.


\(^5\) Prof. Drew Keeling, University of Zurich, e-mail 3/7/12.

encountered a German control station, a system of checkpoints along Germany's eastern border put into effect to monitor the entry of foreigners. When they arrived in Hamburg, Sarah had the tickets for their departure on the SS Graf Waldersee; .... Since it was a vessel of the HAPAG line, as ticket holders Sarah and the children would have access to Ballin Stadt, a resort-like facility that the steamship company provided to people awaiting their departure date. These accommodations may have been the best living quarters Sarah was to experience until she moved with Moses from the Lower East Side and later when she reached her old age and lived with one or the other of her grown daughters.

An English historian of migration ponders the claim that the sea route from Western Europe went directly to Liverpool, which, he says, it did not. Emigrants on the move from Western Europe took a sea route to another port in England - Hull, Grimsby or Humber, for example - and from there the travelers went by railway to London where they remained. Jewish travelers often went by a fast canal boat to London where several charitable Jewish organizations provided food and shelter during the waiting period. When their ship was nearly ready to depart Liverpool for ports in Canada or the US, the travelers transited from London to Liverpool by railway. Steamship and railroad companies worked together closely to provide the orderly and on-time connections from one place to another. In fact, modern European railways were vital to the inland part of the migration journey at the start of the 20th century. In the first decade of the 20th century migrants like Moses and Sarah Kugelmass made the railway trip from Eastern Galicia to Berlin and then on to the major ports of embarkation, which were Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Antwerp. The railway journey took about one week or longer given the distance from near the Russian border with Eastern Galicia westward to Berlin and on to Hamburg.

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7 The HAPAG shipping company had originally built emigrants’ accommodation on Amerikakai (America Quay) in 1892, but conditions there were poor, and the facility soon proved too small to cope with the steadily growing influx of emigrants. When, in 1898, the site was reclaimed for the construction of waterfront sheds, HAPAG began constructing the Emigration Halls on the site occupied by the present-day BallinStadt Museum. The halls were built in stages from 1898 to 1907. The new Emigration Halls were built on a six-acre site provided by the City of Hamburg on the Elbe River’s Veddel Island and formally opened on December 20, 1901. They comprised 15 buildings: a reception hall, five sleeping and living quarters, two hotels, a dining hall, church, music hall, administration building and basic hospital, as well as a luggage shed and a stable. Only three years later, the facility had reached the limits of its capacity and required substantial extensions. The City leased HAPAG an additional 10.6 acres at a price of 12,000 Reichsmarks per year and provided a further 1.5 acres free of charge for quarantine barracks. HAPAG invested a total of around three million Reichsmarks in the construction of the Emigration Halls - including the extensions, which it referred to as “the world’s biggest inn”. After the end of World War II the Emigration Halls were used as temporary homes for bombed out Hamburg citizens. Some of them stayed until the 1960’s, when the Emigration Halls were officially condemned as uninhabitable. At www.ballinstadt.net/BallinStadt_emigration_museum_Hamburg/English. A description of the circumstances and lodgings in Ballin Stadt in Hamburg and lodgings in Liverpool, where the English steamship companies used local boarding houses, is in Nadell, The Journey to America by Steam.


9 “Between 1850 and 1900, the average travel time from a village in Central Europe to any place in North America that was
Isaac later claimed his father set sail from Rotterdam, which was indeed a port of embarkation but less used. Isaac also claimed Hamburg as his father’s embarkation port. Hamburg was a major embarkation center and the embarkation point for direct migration to North America as well as for the short trip to England on the faster and cheaper indirect route. As for the Hamburg-America Line (later HAPAG), for the years 1856-1939 it had a Hamburg-Quebec-Montreal route, and many of its vessels took that route. There is no evidence that the SS Graf Waldersee (originally the SS Pavia), the vessel claimed to be the one on which Moses boarded, sailed the Hamburg-Quebec route for 1901 to 1903. The Pavia was built in 1898 and renamed the Graf Waldsee the following year, and its route was Hamburg to New York. Isaac may have conflated the separate journeys of his parents, mixing up embarkation points and destination ports.

Moses Kugelmass’s name does not appear on the All Hamburg Passenger Lists, 1850-1934- Outbound results. However, Scheine (Sarah’s middle name, also misspelled in passenger records as Schleime, age twenty-nine) Kugelmass, her son Eisik, age eight (Isaac - but written in a German transliteration - and we know he was Isadore), and daughter Ides, age five (also written as Jacs, both poorly transcribed renderings of Ida) appeared on the ship manifest of the SS Graf Waldsee for its departure from Hamburg on July 5, 1904, sailing via Dover and Boulogne to New York, arriving July 17, 1904. The variability of birth years and spelling of names was a consequence of immigrants perhaps not having cleanly written official documents (other than proof of a departure tax payment) and having to repeat names and show their documents to hordes of officials of different nationalities who cared little how correct their transcriptions read under the pressure of time and the numbers of people they had to process. Even so, there is an unsettling premonition about seeing Isadore named as Eisik in Hamburg at age eight before he knew where that name would take him.

The quarters for Sarah and the children were known as Zwischendeck (between deck), which was the lowest priced accommodation for their trip - and winter prices were lower than the summer season. Zwischendeck is known to English speakers as steerage. The trip took seventeen days, which was longer than the duration of the same trip in 1885 when it was fourteen days and twenty hours. The place of residence, provided most probably by Sarah’s Austrian departure papers and/or passport, was connected to the railway network shrank from several months to less than three weeks. "Tobias Brinkmann, Jewish Migration, paragraph 20, in: Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/brinkmann-2010-en. [2012-03-08]


11 “On the great ocean steamships the term 'steerage’ was used for any part of a ship allotted to those passengers who traveled at the cheapest rate, usually the lower decks in the ship. In the United States Passenger Act of 1882 the definition of ‘steerage passengers’ is quite clearly defined as: ‘... all passengers except cabin passengers, and persons shall not be deemed cabin passengers unless the space allotted to their exclusive use is in the proportion of at least thirty-six clear superficial feet to each passenger.' At http://www.norwayheritage.com/steerage.htm. The site provides lengthy descriptions of the conditions in steerage and shows cross-sections of steerage accommodations.

Uscieczko, Austria; transcribed carelessly as Usciacrno.\textsuperscript{13} When and why Sarah arrived in this small community, how long she stayed, and how she found financial support for herself and the children are now lost in the mists of history. Uscieczko might truly be said to be a dot on the map; Horodenka was eight miles south southwest. Nevertheless, this was the place of residence given for Sarah and the children. There is no way to know for certain if this was where Sarah and the children lived, possibly to stay with Sarah's Schapiro relatives and/or to escape any anti-Semitic troubles in Lemberg or Horodenka. If Uscieczko was a way station where their migration journey began, it is hard to imagine their start from such a tiny community. A contemporary railway map shows Horodenka as being closest to a rail station in Kolomea and just a little farther is the station in Stanislavow. Uscieczko was in the Tarnopol district, and while not far distant from Horodenka, Uscieczko was a thinly populated town while Kolomea and Stanislawow were larger and had greater resources for the traveler.\textsuperscript{14} This part of Sarah's migration journey with the two children is a mystery land voyage until she reached Hamburg when information becomes available to us because of the better system to record and process the number of emigrants who passed through that port.

Isaac may have recalled from personal experience that Hamburg was one of the busiest ports from which emigrant Jews sailed to either England or North America. The more usual indirect route taken by Galician Jews, like the one taken by Moses, included an intermediate stay in England that was preceded by the first step - to purchase all the needed tickets from an agency which combined railway and steamship transportation - probably in Lemberg. Then followed a long railway journey from Lemberg to Hamburg or Bremen. At either one of these ports, the traveler sailed to Grimsby, Humber or Hull, England, then onward by fast canal boat to London, and then by rail from London to Liverpool, finally boarding an ocean liner from Liverpool to a North American port. Many of those fast canal boat travelers from Grimsby or Hull who went to London were slated for departure via Southampton; otherwise they went on to Liverpool or Glasgow. We know Moses boarded his ship at Liverpool.

The direct transatlantic route was not always as direct as we may imagine. For example, consider the intermediate stops one family experienced as they traveled to America on the SS Graf Waldersee: they departed Hamburg, their embarkation point, on March 13, 1903; departed Cuxhaven, Germany on March 14, 1903; departed Boulogne-sur-Mer, France on March 15, 1903; departed Plymouth, England on March 16, 1903; and arrived in New York on March 29, 1903 - sixteen days in all. Moses' trip was nine days by the indirect route on a smaller vessel. It appears that Sarah and the children unfortunately had taken the longer route. It could not have been a pleasant journey, especially in steerage, and mothers of small children had to be especially carefully that they not wander off to explore. And women traveling alone or with children and no husband around had additional concerns for their own

\textsuperscript{13} "USCIECZKO, Tarnopol Dist., Poland, today Ukraine. A small community [of Jews] existed in the 18th cent., growing to nearly 1,000 (40% of the total) in 1880 but subsequently declining to around 250 in the face of economic hardship." Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, \textit{The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust}, vol.3, (NYU Press, 2001), page 1363. In March 1916, the little town became known on the front pages of newspapers the world over reporting on the fierce World War I battle that took place there in February for its crucial bridgehead and fortifications on the Dniester River. The overconfident Austrian generals witnessed their defeat at Uscieczko by the much-maligned Russian army whose strategic success surprised most military commentators and war correspondents. The town, now in Ukraine, has a baleful history of defeat and destruction in World War II and the elimination of its Jewish community in which it played a part. No Jews appear to now live in Uscieczko.

Moses is in the US immigration records, which listed the names of all passengers regardless of their country of origin or nationality. Lists for the port of Quebec included passengers who debarked at Quebec between 1865 and 1921. The name Moses Kuzelmas - the change in the name may be a transcribing error since the handwriting was clear - was found on a Canadian passenger list as arriving in Montreal, Quebec; in 1900. Quebec had a shipping season of approximately twenty-four weeks each year since many of its ports were closed during the winter months when the St. Lawrence River was frozen.15

Historians of Jewish migration between 1881 and 1914 cite demographic, political and economic reasons for leaving Eastern Europe including increasing technology which put people out of work, in addition to the everpresent anti-Semitism and recurring pogroms, these last two were always critical factors. In the Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, 1911, article Migration: "Finally, we have the expulsion of the Jews from Russia as an example of the effort of a community to get rid of an element which has made itself obnoxious to the local sentiment." This was a reference to the 1891 expulsion of the Jews from Moscow which simply added to the swelling emigration tide of Russian Jews. The position of Jews in Russia and Austrian Galicia were different, and historians cite the many reasons for the distinctions, which are not germane to this Kugelmass family history. Jews were not the only group to leave Austrian Galicia; Polish, German and Ukrainian (earlier called Ruthenian) peasants also left in large number, often for the same reason - grinding poverty with no opportunities in sight for the betterment of their condition.

By 1881, mass transportation had become safe to travel, and afterwards governments generally did not completely impede the rights of their subjects to leave. At various times some governments insisted on travel documents, and others seemed not to care. The bureaucrats of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were a different breed, and it is likely that Austrian law required a set of documents from Austrian subjects seeking to take permanent leave of the Empire and Europe. And each document had a fee attached. Some of the European states to the west of Austria-Hungary also wanted papers carried by the travelers to control those crossing their borders. Jewish immigrants - who were mainly impoverished - were aided financially by many organizations in their home communities and in the US and Canada. Europe's Jews constituted 9.4% of all emigrants during the period of 1881-1914. The large European steamship companies had agents all over Western and Central Europe and were known to carve up these territories so that all had a share of the migration market. Posters advertised the steamship lines and destinations in cities and towns everywhere. The posters were certainly noted by anxious people who had migration on their minds. The voyage was less expensive if the traveler chose to go to Canada, as the Canadian authorities paid a subsidy to European travel agents for each passenger directed to Canada. And more business was directed to Canadian steamship lines in a highly competitive market.

The costs associated with emigration were high for that era. From Lemberg to Liverpool and then to

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15 Libraries and Archives Canada, Border Crossings: From Canada to US, 1895-1956. Moses Kugelmass entered the USA via the Canadian border crossing the documentation of which exists in a ship's manifest on deposit with the St. Albans, Vermont, collection of US immigration documents; and All Canadian Passenger Lists, 1865-1935: Passenger Lists, 1865-1922 at www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/passenger/index-e.html. See also articles on population and migration at The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe at www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Population_and_Migration. The Ships List provides free online access to immigration reports, newspaper records, shipwreck information, ship pictures, ship descriptions, shipping-line fleet lists as well as passenger lists to Canada, USA, Australia and South Africa, at www.theshipslist.com/.
Quebec, the cost for a single emigrant would have been between forty and fifty dollars Canadian. When additional family members are added, the Canadian immigration agency makes the point that these arrivals (an entire family) were not paupers, therefore, presumably would not become a burden on Canada. In 1900, the Canadian dollar was at its highest peak in purchasing power in a half century. The years 1900 and 1901 were the most expensive years in emigration costs for a long journey to Canada. Since Lemberg was far from the sea, like most inland emigrants Moses had a long inland trip by railway. His exact emigration route is unknown. We can calculate that Moses' travel costs, without the fees and head taxes he may have had to pay just to leave Galicia, would have been equivalent to about $1,300 Canadian in 2005. The question could be asked why Moses didn't decide to remain in Canada as a new immigrant? Canada was also a favored destination for immigrants from Eastern Europe and had a small but organized Jewish community, in Montreal and nationally. A good guess would be the almost fanatical desire among many Eastern European Jews in seeking Der Goldene Medina - the Yiddish name for that promised land of golden streets - and that meant the USA. It is not clear if Moses already had relatives or friends situated on the Lower East Side who gave him a helping hand in his first days and years in America. New immigrants usually came with names of a landsmann (German and Yiddish for a compatriot from their home town) to help make the transition to living in the New World.

Emigration to the US via Canada was a favorite route for those considered "undesirable" because of disease and "defects" - defects usually meant mental disorders. When examined by the medical inspectors of the US Public Health Service at the Canadian border crossings, the immigrant could either be sent back home if found diseased or allowed to enter the US if healthy. However, there was a thriving business by steamship lines that took the rejects and simply brought them back again to the US-Canadian border on a second try without the bother of a return sea voyage home to Europe. This second time the steamship lines claimed that Canada, not the US, was the final destination for the immigrants, and so they evaded US health inspection. This was a lucrative trade in what was called "diseased aliens." The US Public Health Service eventually added more physicians to the Canadian border crossings to counter the inflow of immigrants who had managed to evade the initial health check. The fact that Moses Kugelmass arrived in the US via a Canadian border crossing cannot establish whether or not he was physically healthy and free of any disease or "defect" at the time of entry.

Where Moses purchased his ticket and when - presumably he purchased it at a steamship agency - would help us to know what his economic circumstances were. However, we must add the costs for Moses' onward journey from Quebec to New York and the costs of settling on the Lower East Side. It appears that Moses had the money for his own migration, but he probably had to save for the later migration of his wife and two children - a goal that would have taken him several years to amass the

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16 The 1900 Immigration Report For Canada at www.theshipslist.com/Forms/Canreport1900.html.

17 Bank of Canada, A History of the Canadian Dollar, at www.bankofcanada.ca/. From 1879 until the outbreak of World War I, both the US and Canada were on the gold standard and their currencies traded at par. In measuring either the real price of a commodity or the historic standard of living, US$40 and CAD$40 in 1900 are each worth approximately US$1,100.00 in 2011.

18 Dr. Allan McLaughlin [US Public Health and Marine Hospital Service], "Immigration and the Public Health," Popular Science Monthly, January 1904, 232-238. Despite the magazine's title, the articles were written in a serious vein of journalism with a scholarly touch and were stocked with statistics and authoritative references.
amount it would cost. Whether he had the financial help of family, friends, the Jewish communities in Lemberg, Horodenka and New York or charitable Jewish organizations with funds to help is not known but given the costs he would have needed a significant outlay of money to get his family here.

However long, complicated, fatiguing and stressful the migration journey was for Moses, eight-year-old Isadore experienced much the same with his mother and five-year-old sister Ida when their turn came to embark to North America. The journey may have been both exciting and frightening. One has to wonder how traumatic it was for Isadore and Ida. The children were in Lemberg (or possibly Horodenka or Uszczeczk) without their father for about four years during a period of increasing apprehension among Galician Jews who felt the dangers of anti-Semitic rage growing in their midst. Whoever it was who helped Sarah to support herself and the children is guesswork but it could have been Moses who sent money to Sarah.

Over the centuries many visitors remarked on the filth and dilapidation of Lemberg's Jewish Quarter up to and after 1900. These observations were contributions to the overall image of Lemberg and the rest of Galicia as being home to the most benighted Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. This is not to say that some Galician Jews in the city ghettos and rural shtetls did not manage to get education, start a small business, and become prominent as local rabbis and community leaders. But, even the Jews were appalled by the conditions of squalor they were subjected to. Galicia was considered the lower depths of European Jewry. The irony was, of course, of Jews escaping the worst ghettoes of Eastern Europe only to settle into the one of the worst immigrant slums of America - on New York's Lower East Side.19

... 1904

July 17: Isadore Kugelmass, just eight years old, arrives in the USA with his mother and sister to join father Moses in New York. It is not certain if travel costs for the migration journey remained stable, decreased or increased over the years. Fluctuations did occur, sometimes favorable to the emigrant, due to the intense competition in the North Atlantic transportation industry.20 Moses did have four years during which he could save for his family's migration. If Sarah's combination ticket (railroad, steamship, accommodations) was US$30 for herself and the two children, that ticket would have the value of $782 in 2011. None of these costs, for Moses, Sarah and the children, were insignificant in that era.

A nephew of Isaac recalled that he heard about two earlier live births in Europe for Moses and Sarah


but these two children did not survive to make the journey with Sarah, Isadore and Ida. No births for Sarah - live or still - are found in the available documentation. Would they have been born before Isadore was born, born between Isadore’s and Ida’s births or after Ida was born and before Moses left for America? Sarah and Moses were apart for four years. We have no documentation as to where the family lived until they found better quarters the year after their arrival in the US. One wonders how the children responded to being back with their father who quite likely resumed control of the family. Ida may not have even remembered who this man was. And what of Isadore and his father? Were they able to reestablish a father-son relationship? Were the years apart significant in having created a breach that was never closed?

In a meat industry trade journal, "M. Kugelmass" paid $100 for market fixtures to a local merchant for use in a space at 403 East 5th Street. It appears that Moses was preparing to open a kosher butcher shop very near to where he would settle his family the following year.\(^{21}\)

The opening of the first subway line to the Bronx in 1904 caused a mass migration of Jews from New York’s lower East Side and Harlem to the lower Bronx. This did little to help the shortage of apartments even with new tenements being added. The continuing volume of immigration filled every nook and cranny where families could be squeezed in. The very tight apartment rental market did not loosen until the late 1920s. Throughout the decade rapid construction of apartment buildings increased, with the consequent wider availability of rental units; the vacancy rate rose to 5%.

In *The New York Times*, a 1904 article "East Side Rentals" cites statistics which show current rents and the rise in rentals - residential and commercial - on the Lower East Side as against those prevailing in 1900: the actual increase in the amounts paid by tenants has been from $1 to $1.50 per room per month. Two rooms which formerly cost $7.50 per month now command $10. Store rents show a corresponding advance, $85 being paid to-day, in one instance, where $25 was paid three years ago.\(^{22}\) One US dollar in 1904 had the same purchasing power as $25.30 in 2010.

By April, the pressure of rent increases on the tenement dwellers sent the poor residents into the streets to protest against their landlords as the overburdened tenants now refused to pay the increased rents. The local newspapers were sympathetic to the plight of the poor who were in danger of becoming homeless with their large families in tow. Fortunately, the Jewish community had a network of local charities that could assist indigent families. Only a few years later, facing renewed rent pressures while immigrants were still pouring into the Lower East Side with its scarcity of living quarters, many of these in-place poor families would leave the Lower East Side for Harlem and Brooklyn. The Kugelmass family was most likely subject to the same economic stringencies as their fellow ghetto dwellers.\(^{23}\)

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\(^{21}\) *Butcher’s Advocate, Dressed Poultry and the Food Merchant*, vol. 37, 1904, p. cxx.
