M. 53. married, Berezina, White Russia, Traditional Jowish education. In United States 35 years.

- 1 The informent lived in a small town called Berezina until he was
- 2 elevon years old. There were approximately six Jewish families
- 3 and 100 gentiles families in Berezina. When he was eleven his
- 4 father and older sister left for America and the rest of the
- 5 family moved to a larger village called Baravine. In Baravine,
- 6 there were about 30 Jewish femilies and 100 Gentile ones. Both
- 7 towns are in Mineker Gubernia, White Russia. Next The informant
- 8 speaks English, but the into-view was recorded completely in
- 9 Yiddish because that is the language he uses everyday and finds
- 10 it easier. (NC)
- 11 MC: Do you remember your home in Berezina ?
- 12 " Of course I remember. I think I remember things from back home
- 13 in my bildhood Manne better than when I became older. We lived
- 14 in a large log house which belonged to my grandfather originally.
- 15 At one time he was a very wealthy man. He owned and operated a
- 16 flour mill. The house consisted of one large room and a "forhois
- 17 -- an ante-chamber. (note Inf. 91 Int. \$2 p.8; line 8.NC).
- 18 MC: What was kept in the "Forhoise "?
- 19 IIn the "forhoise" we kept everything .... or out, milk, butter,
- 20 flour and all our other previsions.
- 21 NC: Did anybody ever sleep in the "forhoise" ?
- 22 "No, nobody over slept there. It was almply a place to keep our
- 23 surpplies."

- l "On one side of the forhoise was the yard. Behind the forhoise
- 2 there was a barn where we kept the two cows, andbehind this barn,
- 3 was our garden. On the other side of the forhoise was a garden
- 4 which belonged to somebody else."
- 5 At this point, the informant decided to draw a picture of the
- 6 house to show me the exactly were everything stood and where every-
- 7 one slopt. HC
- 8 The stove occupied one large corner of the main room. From the
- 9 stove to the opposite wall was a partition, making can dividing
- 10 the room into a bedroom and a room for eating and just sitting
- 11 around.
- 12 Bedroom :
- 13 There were three bedsin the bedroom. On the bed near the stove
- la slept my eldest sister F. and my elster H. Later, when my sister
- 15 F. left for America and the youngest dister G. was no longer a
- 16 baby, H. slept with G.
- 17 On the wall opposite the partition stood my mother's bed. She
- 18 usually slept with the baby of the family. And there was always
- 19 a baby because mother had a child every three years."
- 20 MC: Did mother sleep in the seme bed with the baby ?
- 21 " No, certainly not ! There was a crib or as we say a "vigelsh"
- 22 suspended from the cailing by rope and the baby slept there. But
- 23 this crib usually hung very close to mother's bed.
- 24 medica Father's bed stood against the third wall, opposite the
- 25 stove. I also t with father because I was the oldest son."

J(R)

3

- 1 MC: What happened then father and mother wanted to cleap together?
- 2 " Frankly, I never integriting saw my father and my mother in one
- 3 bed in Europe. I suppose they slept together when we were asleep.
- 4 But when I became a little olders I think I was about Reserve 7 or
- 5 Se I was moved to another room, the main room, where I slept on
- 6 the "canape" (a couch without upholstery) . Of course as a child
- 7 I was very anxious to sleep on the "canape" alone, but now I
- 8 realize that I was moved there simply because I was becoming
- 9 a little older and I might understand that was going on between
- 10 my parents. But, I never saw them together."
- 11 MC: I understand your sister F. is about 5 years older than you.
- 12 Why wasn't she moved out of the main bodrooms
- 13"The min reason for that was because F. left or America when she
- 14 was quite young. At least I think so, At any rate, she wasn't
- 15 moved out of the main bedroom."
- 16 MC: What else was in the bedroom ?
- 17 "There was an open closet between mother's bed and the Sirla' bed.
- 18 We hung our clothes there. It was a large closet and overybody
- 19 keyt their clothes in it. The Sabbath clothes were hung on top
- 20 and the clothes we wors all week hung muches at the better."
- 21 NC: Did the men and women hang their clothes in the same closet?
- 22 "Certainly. There are no laws against that. The only separation
- 23 in the closet was between Sabbath clother and everyday clothes.

- l There was also a small kerescene lamp which hung on the wall
- and could easily be moved from one room to the other. There was
- 3 nothing else in the room.
- Vain reem
- There was a door beside the stoye which led out to the "forhoise"
- 6 (ante-chamber). Beside this door was a bench where my mother works
- There she did her cooking and kept some of the pets and pans oto.
- 8 This bonch was the "milohikeh" bench. That is, all the dairy
- 9 dishes were kept there and when we ate dairy we ate on that more
- 10 bench. On the next wall there was another bench which was
- il for "flaishike" i.e. meat danhee. On the third wall was the
- 12 "camape" (unupholatered couch) on which I slopt. Beside that was
- 13 a bureau where we kept our fancy things such as silver, good
- 14 linens, money and sense very very good clothes. The rest of the
- 15 room was mark capty except for a large keroscens lamp which
- 16 hung from the ceiling near my "conape". If mother or semebody
- 17 class bad to work in enother part of the room, they took the
- 18 hanging keroscone lamp from the bedroom."
- 19 NO: Where did you play, sit around to talk or study?
- 20 "Everything was done in the main room. It was a very large room
- 21 and you could sit on the benches, the "canape" or the stove. But
- 32 there was absolutely no privacy because everybody sat in that
- 23 one room.
- 24 "All around the house was a large yard, but the back of the house
- 25 feeed the read. So when you came in from the read you had to go

- 1 right through the yard to the "forhoise" in order to get into
- 2 the main house. All around the house was a "priobeh" a sort of
- 3 box which was several feet high and was filled with sand. We used
- 4 it like a porch in the aussor and in the winter it prevented
- 5 the cold from coming in. That was the whole house."
- 6 101 Why did you move to Baravina if you owned the house you live
- 7 in in Berezina ?
- 8 " We moved because of me. You see my finher's mill burned down
- 9 so in 1904 or 1905, he left for America. My sister J. was already
- 10 in Azarion. By fit her was going to mettle himself & nome Mind of
- 11 work in America and then we were to join him. He was gone seven
- 12 years. And all that time he worked here and sent us maney.
- 13 Meanwhile, I was going to Cheder. Our Shtatl was small and the
- 14 teachers were old and not of the highest quality. But I was
- 15 appearently a very bright boy and advanced very quickly in my
- 16 studies. So the family began to urse my mother to send me to
- 17 Beravins where there were better and more modern teachers. They
- 18 were afraid that the images teachers in Beresina would smoth
- 19 my head. After a good deal of wring, mother took me to Baravine
- 20 to some good teachers and left me there to live with my aunt.
- Il her distor. I was dight or nine years old then and Baravina was
- 23 only 3 miles from Berezine. But I was terribly lonescope for my
- 23 mother. I was so lenseem that I thought I'd die. And my mother
- 24 was very lonescome for me too. I kept running away to see my
- 25 mother. And it wasn't because my aunt was bad to me. he was

- I very good to me. But I was lonesome and I used to cry. Pinally, it
- 2 reached the stage where I absolutely refused to leave my mother. So
- 3 mother packed up her belongings, sold the house and the whole
- 4 family moved to Bravina. In America, such a thing would never
- 5 happens
- 6 MC: Why ?
- 7 "In America they just wouldn't send a shild away. For instance, it
- 8 wasn't that I dich't want to study, I was just lonesome. So my
- 9 mother diarupted her whole household in Beresina and moved. In
- 10 America, studying lan't as important. Whereas in Europe, Toroh some
- 11 before anything else!
- 13 MC: Where did you live in Berevine ?
- 13 Nother repted a house. It was larger and nices then the house we had
- 14 in Deregina, and there was a little more privacy. "
- 18 Here again the informant made a drawing of the house. NC.
- 16 " Like the other house, you had to pass through a "forhoise" ( ante-
- 17 chamber) in order to get into the rest of the house. The "forbeine"
- 18 led in to a kitchen which was blooked off from the rest of the house.
- 19 That is, it was a separate room. There we had a stove, the two
- 20 benches, one for meat dishes and the other for dairy, and also a
- 21 table on which we ate. But In the kitchen there was a door which
- 23 led into two rooms. One was a "forent-taimer" or a front room uni
- 23 the other was a bed-room. In the "forent-taimer" stood my "camspe"
- 24 (couch) and a table which was used only for special occasions like
- 25 Subbath meals, holidays, when we had guests oto. That's all that

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- 1 stood in that room. In the bedroom, there were two beds. If nother
- 2 slept on one, and the baby's brib hing near it. The two girls, G.& H.
- 3 slept on the other bod. Rooms Against the third wall was a small
- 4 stoye called a "chrubeh" which was used in the winter to warm up the
- 5 room. As I explained before, my father had by that time left for
- 6 America, so there was no need for a bed for him. The same two
- 7 bureaus we had in the other house ware taken to this one. The bureau
- 8 with the famoy stuff was kept in the "forent-trimer" near my "carage"
- 9 and the other closet was in the bedroom. Like before. As you can
- 10 see for yourself, there was a good deal more room in this hence and
- Ll also more privacy.
- 12 We had a yard oll around the house, a gate that led into the yard
- 13 from the road, and behind the "forhoise" there was a what "ebtel"
- 14 (stable) where we kept the two cowe.

July 25, 1948

Is 53, married. Berezina, White Russia. Traditi mal Javish Education. In United States, 35 years.

- 1 This is the second interview with informant \$17. Previously he had
- 2 told me all about his two homes in White Russia. This time he was
- 3 going to tell me about his minimaking family. The informant
- 4 was rather amilian to talk and toll as all about everything. And he
- 5 tried to make sure that I got every word he said down on paper.
- 6 NC: Vero you closerto your mother or your father ?
- 7 I was always closer to my mother than to my father. You must remember
- 3 that me a child, my father left for America and I didn't see him for
- 9 over seven years. 'ty nother in general was a much warmer person, she
- 10 was "gaistik", she had a soul. I can't really put the feeling into
- 11 words. When my mother told a story it was with every little detail.
- 12 She sould never just say 'it snowed outside'. No, she had to describe
- 13 the shape, colour, kind and sort of mow that fell. By mother came
- 14 from a family where there were six generations of famous Rabbis ...
- 15 one more famous than the other. You surely heard of the B. family?
- 16 The seventh generation, who was my internal grandfather, stranger
- 17 didn't want to make a living from being a Rabbi. He was a great
- 13 Talimdist and although he wanted very much to be 2 Rabbi, he felt
- 19 that it wasn't right for him to earn his living from that. One had
- 30 to earn a living by working. So he rented a mill so that he could
- 31 support biaself and his family "by his own hards". He was still a
- 22 Rabbi, andhe gave advice to Jews and Goyin alike. Dut he never took 23 any money for this. This grandfather became my model in life.
- 24 According to the way they talked about him, he worked all day in the
- 25 mill or in his gardon, and then studied until 3 A.M. I tried to follow

- l his pattern of life as much as possible when I graw older. For
- example, I could never write anything when I had money in my pocket.
- (NC: Informant is a writer). All the money I earned from any other
- work I did. I gave away . (Informants wife who was working in the
- kitchen acknowledged this adding " he never had a decent suit until 3
- I married him ").

J(A)

- 7 NC; What was the point of giving away the money you carned yourself?
- 8 "I had no use for it, whereas others really needed it. You see after
- 9 I was married, and had several children and a wife to support, I
- 10 could no longer do that. Then I needed the money mys-if. But as long
- 11 as I had no use for it ... why shouldn't others have it fothers who
- 12 didn't sarn as such, or who was hit by the depression and discuss
- 13 the war. (Pauso)
- 14 So you see, I was closer to my mother, but I was very close to my
- 15 father's family as well. We all lived in one section of the country.
- 16 Some in the same village and others in villages three or four miles
- 17 away. And because we lived so close to each other, it is difficult
- 18 to say to which ones I was closer. And of th regards to being loved 19 by them, there was no doubt about that. They all loved me. They had
- 20 to love me and be good to me."
- 21 MC: I don't understand why they had to love you and be good to you?
- 22 Vers you difficrent than any other member of the family ?
- 23 " Yes, I was a "gobentshter fun got" (blessed by God). You
- 24 see, after my mother had my oldest pister F. the lost three dillidren.

- 1. Two girls and a boy. She was sure that she had sinned, had done
- comething wrong and that it why God was punishing her by stealing
- 3 her children. So when she became prognent with me, she sent my
- father to a Rabbi to find out what to do in order not to loose me
- as well. First, my father wasn't allowed to now se after a dead
- person. Then I would be born and they would have to make me, he
- should go to shul that Saturday and the first name he hears from the
- 8 bible. Grat's themane I should be give. Then I must not wear any
- bought clothes for six years."

## 10 HO: Thy 7

11 For a Jew to wear elethes made out of wool mixed with lineum is a 12 oring. And when alothes are bought ready made, this happens very 13 often. I had to wear pure linen clothes and everything had to be 14 made by hand and my mother had to supervise the whole transaction. 15 The linen had to be bought separately and be spun at home. Them & 16 woman came to the house and sewed all the clothes herself, with a 17 a special kind of thread. Then, I wasn't allowed to screen, ary, 18 climb trees, plok borries, tell a lie. In short I wasn't allowed to 19 do smything. And because of this, they coared the life out of mo. 20 But it worked both ways. Nobody was permitted to acreem at me. to 21 hurt mo, or to say mything bad to ma... because I was 'blessed by 22 God". That's May the love of my family, minten unal es cousins etc · 23 towards me was very intensee or at least it appeared to be see 24 If mambody should say numething bad to no they would always yells 25 "Vai is mear, shohat sich tsores. Er is a gebentechter fun Got"

26 (Voe is me, you are looking for troubles. He is blessed by God).

- 1 They were afraid to do or may snything bad against me. And a strange
- 2 thing: I am not a roligious nor a superstitious person but it
- 3 never happened that if somebody should hurt me, they should not be
- 4 pumished afterwards. They "chap a finsteren sof" (eatch a dark end)
- 5 There is senothing in it... something mystical. Can you believe such
- 6 a thing ? "
- 7 NC: Do you believe it ?
- 3 " Yes, I believe in it (informant hesitates ... it appeared as if he
- 9 didn't want to commit himself).
- 10 MC: Why do you believe it ?
- 11 I can't say why. It's in my subconscious mind. But it has never
- 13 failed to happen."
- 13 HC: Whom would you go to when you needed advice about something?
- 14 "The only person I would ever go to if I needed advice would be to
- 15 my oldest sister F. the really brought me up. But it never happened
- 16 In Europe, you don't ask advice and you don't discuss your personal
- life with anybody. To elders, whether they are relatives or not, you
- 18 show respect...you don't sit when they are standing, you don't answer
- 19 back sto. To people your own age, you sot naturally."
- 20 NC: What is acting naturally, and whom do you include in that
- 21 oatagory ?
- 22 "By acting naturally, I mean, you play with them, you sit and talk
- 23 to them, and you just don't pay them the respects you would pay a
- 24 person who is older than you. They are your fixends, your playmates,
- 25 you play ball with them, you read with them etc. In this catagory,

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- 1 I would include all my sousing who were my ago or a little younger
- 3 or older, and the other shildren in the village with whom I was
- 3 friends."
- 4 There would you put your stater F.7 The one who brought me up? HC
- " My sister was different. She was about 6 years older than I. Then
- 6 she really brought me up, she was a mother to me. But, she was
- 7 also a friend. I dould never talk box to her or ask for advice,
- 8 be suns it just was not done."
- 9 Nos Which of your aimts did you like best ?
- 10 Wall. I liked my mother's sister very much. But I slee liked my
- Il father's cister. I can't red by say. "
- 12 ( The informant appeared rather unessy whomever I caked him to speak
- 13 his relationship with other members of the family. Somehow, I could
- 14 never get a definite answer from him.)
- 15 NC: Did any cousins in your family marry?
- 1d "Yes. It happened only once."
- 17 NC : Was there any reaction from your family ?
- 18 "No. It is perfectly alright according to Jewish law to marry a first
- 19 counting
- 20 NG: Did they marry because they fell in love ?
- 21 Well, yes and no. They were in love, but I think the main reason for
- 23 it was because the girl was no longer young and they were afraid to
- 23 have an Old Maid in the family. It's quite a shame for the whole

13

- I family, not only the immediate family. But of course, everybody
- 2 said they married for love."
- 3 NC: How old was the girl ?
- 4 "Oh, I imagine about 23 or 24. And at that time, she was am Old Maid.
- 5 IC: Was there any feeling in the femily that if two cousine married
- 6 the children might be born abnormal?
- 7 \* No. I don't think no. If it was permitted in the Bible, then there
- 3 should be no reason for abnormality. The only reason for that is
- 9 sin. If one of them should do something bad, then the children might
- 10 be born sick, abnormal, or dead ste. But otherwise, I den't think
- 11 that was faired. "

M. 53. Harried, Berezina, White Russia. Traditional Jewish Education.
In the United States thirty five years.

- 1 I had interviewed informant no. #17 twice previously. I went over
- 2. to his home to make an appointment with him for a formal interview.
- 3 He was surprised that I was still working at the same thing and was
- 4 very pleased to arrange another interview with me. That day was
- 5 inconvenient for him as he had a previous appointment, but he
- 6 agreed to meet me again. However, I did spend a while speaking to
- 7 him about the Shtetl in general. And he repeated a story to me,
- 8 one which he had told me several times, but which was never
- 9 recorded, which occured in his shtetl. Beresina.
- 10 Informant #17 : This what I am going to tell you, could only happen
- 11 in a Jewish community. Onyl Jews can act like that, can take an
- 12 interest in everyone. So now you want to know the story ha?
- 13 It's like this. Picture for yourself, if you can, a small shtetl
- 14 with a market place in the middle. There are little at ands and mix
- 15 shacks all around to e place with people selling all sorts of things
- 16 to eat, to wear and to use. Peasants from all around come to bring
- 17 their stuff to sell.
- 18 We boys used to love to roam around the mark (market) on those day
- 19 when there was so much gaing on. There was a little boy my age
- 20 who lived in the shtetl. He was an orphan.
- 21 (?) Were both parents dead ?
- 22 Inf.#17: No. just his father was dead and his mother wasn't a xxxx
- 23 strong woman and she couldn't take care of him very well. They were

were very poor and I remember how that boy used to walk around in those cold winter nights with torn boots. So he comes to the I market market market on one of these busy days and he goes over to one of the stands where a man is selling these heavy boots that we used to wear in the shtetl. They were called Shtivel. The man has a small shack which he calls a Kreml (store) andhe has dozens of boots hanging from the wall and over the door way. So the orphan stole a pair of boots. All of a sudden the storekeeper rushes out of the store into the market and starts yelling " A ganey 10 a gamey" ( a crook, a crook). And people start rushing from all 11 sides and the policeman comes and naturally they find the orphan 12 boy who stole the pair of shoes, and the boy doesn't deny it. They 13 return the pair of boots and the policeman is ready to take the boy 14 to jail. All the Jews stand around and the women weep and cry 15 " what are we going to do, how can we let the police take away a 16 Jewish boy. They'll make a Goy out of him yet. And he is an 17 orphan, what will hap pen to his mother ? We have to do smething 18 sbout it. and so one. So one " Petch mark Yideneh" (Fat market 19 wo man) who is shought selling because some cort of bagel, picks up 20 one of her dozen skirts ( you know, they wore two or three skirts, 21 one on top of the other to keep warm. And the money was kept in 22 a pocket sewn into the last skirt so nobody in ould steal it. She 23 takes out some money and offers it to the storekseper and soon 24 a collection is taken up and about \$2.00 in our money is collected. 25 The policeman puts his hand in the back and the money is clipped

- into his hand andhe lets the boy go. This the policeman al ways
- expected. Whenever he is called in to an affair bike that he knows
- 3 that he will be intiment bribed to let the foriminal " go.
- 4 When the policeman goes away, then the real fireworks begin. The
- people start yelling that if the community took ears of the boy,
- 6 he wouldn't have to steal a pair of shees. But the rich people are
- 7 all too busy giving money to those who don't really need it instead
- 8 of taking care of the orphans and the widows. So a committe goes
- 9 up to speak to the big shots in the community. And the Gabai
- 10 begins to apologize that he didn't know that the widew was so poor
- Le and if somebody had only told him he would have seen to it that
- 12 she and her family had enough to eat and to wear. And from that
- 13 incident m, the boy was always decked out in good clothes, they
- 14 always had food in the house . Now, I think, that could only
- 15 happen in the Shtetl. Angl Only Jews could act like that. Goyim
- 16 somehow just don't seem to care about whathappens to their people
- i? but Jews do. I could tell you dozens of stories like that which
- 18 happened in our shtetl, but I have to go now. But don't forget
- 19 this story. I think it is very eignificant. Did you get every-
- 20 thing down?
- 21 MC I said I got the story down and I would send him a copy of it
- 22 When I had typed it out. If he wanted to make any corrections,
- 23 he could do so because I wouldn't hand it in until he had seen it.
- 24 There were no corrections on the finished copy.