A Self-Portrait of Success: The Images of Jewish Masculinity in 1940s America

On May 17th, 1948, an obituary was posted in the *New York Times.*[1] This obituary presents and praises the life of Mortimer J. Fox, a Jewish man aged 73 at the time of death.[2] Here, he's hailed for his academics at Columbia University, his creation and partnership of the Buchman & Fox architecture firm, his positions in banking as vice president and director for the Manufacturers Trust Company, and the critical praise for his landscape painting after he retired.[3] The most notable of his architectural work can be found today at 229 West 43rd Street, the former home of the *New York Times* from 1913-2007.[4] Wealthy and successful in a wide range of endeavors, Mortimer fox represents the ideal of Jewish masculine achievement in 1940s New York.

If Mortimer J. Fox represents the successes of Jewish masculinity, it can then be argued that Willy Loman represents the failure. Willy Loman of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* presents the tragedy of the everyman. Willy's behavior and achievements are unremarkable, yet he is constantly asserting that he and his sons can be triumphant and exceed beyond their peers. Of course, their failure to meet these ambitions consequently depicts them with a collapsed image of masculinity. What they represent to many is the fear of failure and the defeat of the American Dream.

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[1] Standing as the first and largest column on page 19 of the issue, Mortimer Fox's obituary was also the only one of which including a portrait photo in the obituary section.
[2] The New York Times, "MORTIMER FOX DIES; LANDSCAPE ARTIST; Won Acclaim for His Paintings after Successful Careers as Architect and Banker," *The New York Times Archives*, May 17, 1948, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1948/05/17/88120294.html?pageNumber=19.
[3] The New York Times, "MORTIMER FOX DIES".
[4] David W. Dunlap, "'Copy!,'" *The New York Times*, June 10, 2007, sec. Week in Review, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/10/weekinreview/10dunlap.html.

In 1950, 5 million Jews lived in the United States, representing 44.6% of the world's Jewish population.[5] 2 million of these Jews lived in New York City, doubling the amount in Israel and making it by far the largest Jewish city in the world[6]. However this is not just simply fact. There developed a powerful cultural identity attributed to the "New York Jew" that is identifiable through a variety of associated stereotypes. But to blanket them under one such archetype carries heavy baggage. What perceptions divided the garment worker from the financier or the new immigrant from the more natively established? On the other hand, what perceptions united them? Which perceived identities should be attributed to the "New York Jew"? How is New York Jewish masculinity defined?

Typically portrayed as frail, passive, and effeminate, the image of New York Jewish masculinity is a highly contested and sensitive point in American culture. Gentiles would attack this perceived identity and humiliate Jewish culture based on stereotypes. As such, Jewish men felt the need to validate themselves in the face of such perceptions. How did Jewish men present themselves to redefine their perceived masculinity? Are these reoriented understandings of masculinity honest depictions of the "New York Jew"?

In this paper, I will be using obituaries to explore the ways Jews sought to present and understand their own success and failure. To evaluate them, I will contrast them with the image of success found in *Death of a Salesman*. In looking at these two very different portrayals of American Jewry, there forms an understanding of how Jewish masculinity was perceived in 1940s America. On one hand, there is the self-presentation of Jews found in the newspaper that select the highlights of one's life. On the other hand, there is the fictional representation found in

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[5] Jonathan D. Sarna, "From World-Wide People to First-World People: The Consolidation of World Jewry," *Jewish Identities in a Changing World* 22 (June 2014): 62, https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004277076/B9789004277076_004.xml.

[6] Daniel Soyer, "Introduction: New York as a Jewish City," in *The Jewish Metropolis: New York City from the 17th to the 21st Century*, ed. Daniel Soyer (Academic Studies Press, 2021), viii, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1zjg7gq.3.

contemporary literature, a projection of how Jews see their own communities. In looking at the ways success is celebrated in obituaries and comparing it to a delineation of failure in literature, a deeper understanding of Jewish masculinity is extracted.

As with all media, newspaper obituaries demand readership and so must present what the people would want to see. Dr. Barron Lerner writes that "getting an obituary in the *New York Times* is about the best posthumous status symbol there is… it connotes having lived a significant, important life"[7], but why is this the case? Why are only the best aspects of one's life curated in obituaries? Through focusing on a portrait of one person's life as obituaries do, readers receive the stories of the "ideal American".[8] Obituaries are not simply collections of factoids, they tell a narrative and symbolize one's contributions to the world. They look back on their lives and celebrate the aspects that make them stand out from the ordinary. Their excellence and achievements as presented in mass media ultimately contributes and builds upon a sense of shared memory of the great American society that people want to believe in.[9] Essentially, people want to read about the success and dreams of others as it gives them feelings of hope and overall American accomplishment.

There are important caveats to consider when examining obituaries. obituaries are unlike most other pieces of the newspaper. Opinions, reviews, and editorials look to analyze and critique the minutiae in search of scandal and anxieties, obituaries instead elect to congratulate and celebrate; they are invested in the individual and tell their narratives in non-critical pieces.[10]

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[7] Barron Lerner, "Who Gets a Paid Obituary in the New York Times -- and Why?," *Forbes*, January 5, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/barronlerner/2017/01/05/who-gets-a-paid-obituary-in-the-new-york-times-and-why/?sh=436037c381d7.

[8] Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture*, *Project MUSE* (University Press of Mississippi, 2000), https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/201/monograph/book/19668..

[9] Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture.*

[10] There are of course certain cases in which people of notoriety and infamy make the news with their death and criticisms come their way. However, this paper views obituaries holistically - their general, common purpose is to celebrate one's life achievements.

Additionally, it is important to understand that the families' voices are considered when drafting these pieces of featured people. The families are able to dictate the image and narrative of the celebrated individual. This will be important to consider as the obituary narratives dispute the general image of Jewish masculinity by greater society. The specifics of the values, attributes, and tendencies found in the newspaper obituaries of Jewish men will be expounded upon later in chapter 1 of this paper.

Literary works are of course fundamentally different from newspapers. Newspapers explore current events and answer questions about the world, their function is to inform and interpret for an audience. Obituaries paint narratives that are generally intended only in praise of the subjects of the article. However, literature is not bound by the same conventions. Literature does not fixate on painting ideal life, it has a much larger canvas of themes and narratives to draw upon. Accordingly, in much of the contemporary Jewish literature, a much darker and different picture of Jewish life is displayed; it is a portrait of poverty, failure, and incapacitated manhood. These themes are strikingly evident in *Death of a Salesman* as it brings a dark picture of Jewish success and masculinity. Though the religion of the characters are never explicitly revealed, the play is written by Arthur Miller, himself a Jew, and it was based on his Jewish uncle.[11] More background on the Jewishness of the central characters along with the play's literary analysis will be explored in further detail in chapter 2 of this paper.

With the sources addressed, it is now crucial to formulate an understanding of Jewish masculinity in the 1940s. At the turn of the 20th century, nationalist movements and ideals in both Europe and America were solidifying which soon became entangled with an understanding of manhood and masculinity. The people found masculinity in honor and bravery, devotion to the

[11] Samuel G. Freedman, "Since the Opening Curtain, a Question: Is Willy Loman Jewish?," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2012, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/19/us/on-religion-since-the-opening-curtain-a-debate-is-willy-loman-jewish.html.

nation, and individual physical capability.[12] Since Jews were often regarded as separate from the Gentile majority populations, these qualifiers for manhood did not directly apply. Their non-Jewish peers saw them as untrustworthy and with dual national loyalties and identities, ultimately incapable of subscribing to the growing nationalist beliefs.[13] In consequence, Jews turned elsewhere for their identity of masculinity. Though many constructs of Jewish masculinity coexisted, the dominant mode in which it was expressed in New York was that of the argumentative and combative intellectual.[14]

Instead of traits of strength and athleticism, Jewish masculinity emphasized intellect and debate. Europeans had already established a long-lasting belief of circumcision as a clear sign of Jewish feminization.[15] Likewise, with these new identities of masculinity wholly conflicting, the Gentile majority began seeing the Jewish identity as effeminate. Intellectual prowess was seen as masculine deficiency since the 'bookish scholar' archetype was understood as the opposite of the 'virile athlete' or 'hardened working-class laborer'.[16] These overly cerebral perceptions of Jews were built within the community as well. European parents commonly discouraged participation in sports and believed their sons should pursue scholarly or professional opportunities instead.[17] Both Jews and Gentiles maintained that Jewish men "neither liked nor excelled at sports, and proved noteworthy if they did".[18]

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[12] Miriam Mora, "From Talking Softly To Carrying A Big Shtick: Jewish Masculinity In Twentieth-Century America," *Wayne State University Dissertations*, January 1, 2019, https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/oa_dissertations/2240.
[13] Mora, "From Talking Softly."
[14] Ronnie A. Grinberg, "Neither 'Sissy' Boy nor Patrician Man: New York Intellectuals and the Construction of American Jewish Masculinity," *American Jewish History* 98, no. 3 (2014): 128, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26414372.
[15] Grinberg, "Neither 'Sissy' Boy," 131.
[16] Grinberg, "Neither 'Sissy' Boy," 132.
[17] Monda Halpern, "The 'Malestrom' at Christie Pits: Jewish Masculinity and the Toronto Riot of 1933," *Canadian Jewish Studies / Études Juives Canadiennes* 28, no. 1 (December 31, 2019): 18, https://doi.org/10.25071/1916-0925.40141.
[18] Halpern, "The 'Malestrom'," 18.

In using newspaper obituaries, the picture of male Jewish success and masculinity in the context of an "ideal American" can be found and generalized. In examining *Death of a Salesman*, contrasting depictions of male Jewish failure and emasculation can be drawn from literary analysis. With these main pieces in play, this paper aims to examine American media in the forms of obituaries and literature in order to identify overlapping perceptions of Jewish success and masculinity. From there, this paper will also work to differentiate the realities of Jewish success and masculinity from its narratives in order to develop a more robust understanding of New York Jewish masculinity.

1. Obituaries and Self-Presentation

The decade that I study is marked by WWII, a challenge to American masculinity. The war kills American isolationism and directly confronts the nation's strength and integrity. America's pivotal role in Allied Forces' victory firmly established the US as a cornerstone of foreign affairs and an international superpower. However, as war tensions escalated, different examples of American masculinity were introduced to the people. One of the places we can find this expression of American masculinity is in popular literature, most notably, comic books. In 1939, Superman received his first titled comic book series, *Superman* no. 1.[19] Soon, Batman would also receive his own eponymous comic book in 1940.[20] The following year, Captain America made his debut with Marvel Comics and became their top-selling title as the United States increased involvement in the war.[21]

What qualities link America's favorite heroes from the Golden Age of comics? They all have determination, overcoming all sorts of adversities and challenges that fly their way. Second,

[19] Peter Sanderson and Michael Eury, "Superman | Creators, Story, Movies, & Facts," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, October 9, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Superman-fictional-character.
[20] Michael Fury, Gina Misiroglu, and Peter Sanderson, "Batman | Story, TV Show, Movie, & Facts," Encyclopedia Britannica, April 20, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Batman-fictional-character.
[21] Peter Sanderson, Andy Mangels, and David Roach, "Captain America | Creators, Stories, & Films," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, December 26, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Captain-America.

they all became icons of American masculinity - whether it be for their brawny physiques or their stellar service to the people. Still today they stand as some of the most popular superheroes in pop culture. It is no coincidence that they all were used in pro-American propaganda efforts, from the Axis Power beatdowns to the glorifications of the US military. Such shared qualities of community service, strength, and perseverance are central to the American masculine identity. For our purposes perhaps the most important point to emphasize is that the creators of these icons were all Jewish.

These heroes reflect what Jews strove to be in America. They are each a part of an implicit battle against the image imposed upon them. Superman is the "Man of Steel", a righteous hero beloved by the people. He prevails in the face of adversity. Yet his true identity, Clark Kent, was the unassuming, ordinary office worker and- an alien immigrant. Like any immigrant, Superman had to learn to fit into society and learn the American way of life. He essentially had to assimilate and hide what made him special. Likewise, the Jews of New York grappled with their own sense of identity amid an overwhelming population who were not like them. Still, these Jews strived to fit in and like America's favorite heroes, triumph over challenges.

The creators of the heroes are themselves were part of the effort to fit in. Many of the writers and artists edited their own names so as to appear American. Robert Kahn, one of the creators of Batman and an Ashkenazi Jew, called himself Bob Kane[22]. The legendary Jack Kirby, co-creator of Captain America, the Hulk, Iron Man, and many more iconic Marvel characters, was born Jacob Kurtzberg.[23] Ultimately, like many other Jews, they sought success by literally

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[22] Roy Schwartz, "Every Jewish Thing You Need to Know about Batman (and There's a Lot of It)," The Forward, March 11, 2022, https://forward.com/culture/483808/batman-jewish-bob-kane-bill-finger-dc-comics-robin-superman/.

[23] Michael Ray, "Jack Kirby | Biography, Characters, & Influence," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, February 2, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jack-Kirby.

and figuratively "making a name for themselves" in America. But what are the markers of success and how might it be tied to masculinity? Is Jewish masculinity in the 1940s different from that of contemporary general American masculinity? In order to answer these questions, I looked at how Jews presented success and masculinity in the obituaries of the *New York Times.*[24]

1.1 The Sample

How did Jews attempt to present themselves to control or shape how others view them? How Jews present themselves to create a desired impression? How did they create images of success and failure? I base myself on a study of 44 obituaries from the *New York Times.*[25] In using this sample, I have developed a consistent pattern of Jewish aspirational masculinity.[26]

1.2 Wealth

First I looked for the obvious criteria that one might use to distinguish themselves as successful: wealth. We know that these men were more wealthy than the average man because they have their own personalized obituary in the *New York Times*, but how many of them flaunted and stressed their wealth? In fact, 0 out of the 44 in my sample made mention of personal wealth. What they do stress rather, is their service and contribution to their communities. 17 out of the 44 (38.6%) made mention of works of charity/philanthropy, 15 (34.1%) made mention of leadership in their community, and a large majority of 31 out of 44 (70.5%) mention positions of leadership in foundations and committees in addition to their primary professions.[27] Thus in Jewish obituaries, we understand that giving to the community becomes a marker for success - the man who supports charitable organizations and leads his

[24] Even if these are not necessarily words dictated by the late figures themselves, they do tell us how the family felt that a Jewish successful man should be remembered.
[25] For further details regarding the sampling methodology, see Appendix.
[26] For clarification, this is not the "aspirational masculinity" preached by Don McPherson that emphasizes relationship building of boys and men in positive environments. Instead, "aspirational masculinity" in this paper refers to how Jews framed their identity as successful men in America.
[27] Obituaries that mention positions such as 'chairman', 'director', 'founder', or 'president/vice president'.

people. We know that they are wealthy, but they don't ever claim it to be "personal wealth". Instead, they use charity as a tactic of self promotion.

For example, Harmon S. Auguste's obituary celebrates his accomplishments.[28] It is clear he was wealthy as a New York financier, charter member of the Westchester Country Club, and former vice president of the May Department Stores Inc. and Commercial Investment Trust Corporation.[29] But rather than explicitly mentioning the accumulation of his wealth, the obituary finds a delicate way to emphasize his wealth by stressing his charitable contributions. He was a regular benefactor to the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York and in his hometown, he gifted a twenty-acre site for the foundation of a high school, gave land and money for the Boy Scouts, and donated a site for the post office.[30] Additionally, he had recently made a "substantial contribution" to the Jesuit mission at Saranac Lake before his death.[31] His wealth is never presented as a luxurious lifestyle, but instead as his charitable contributions to many. Paradoxically, it becomes a tool that egotistically praises himself for his altruism.

However beyond this there also grows a more sophisticated understanding of New York's Jewish elite. Auguste is not just a benefactor in Jewish causes, he is also a substantial contributor to the Jesuit mission - ecumenism is emphasized in his obituary. It was not enough to just support your own people, Auguste saw it necessary to also support other communities. To understand his contributions, it should be noted that Saranac Lake had a history of anti-semitism with certain owners prohibiting Jews to their hotels or clubs. Many wealthy Jews alternatively worked to bridge the gap and built their own camps, clubs, and communities at the lake and opened them

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[28] Stands as the first and longest obituary on the page. Besides the advertisements and the index, the words "H.S. AUGUSTE DIES; FINANCIER, WAS 74" are in the largest typeface on the page.
[29] The New York Times, "H. S. AUGUSTE, DIES; FINANCIER, WAS 74; Donated 20 Acres to Harrison, N.Y., for School -- Aided Jesuit Mission, Jewish Charities," *The New York Times Archives*, October 30, 1949, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1949/10/30/93331395.html.
[30] The New York Times, "H. S. AUGUSTE, DIES".
[31] The New York Times, "H. S. AUGUSTE, DIES".

for all to stay.[32] Most notably, the Guggenheim camp, which was later donated by the Guggenheim family in 1964, still serves today as a youth camp for all Christian denominations.[33] One may assume as much that Auguste's contribution to the Jesuit program was in support of this trend, whether it be to ingratiate a hostile community or self-promote in imitation of other Jewish philanthropists.

Additionally, Auguste gives back to his hometown, Harrison, NY, in very admirable sectors: education, youth development, and federal service. What makes this more significant is the fact that Harrison, NY is quite affluent, today standing as the 6th richest ZIP code in 2019 according to *Bloomberg*.[34] In Auguste's time, following the development of the railroad station in 1870, affluent families from the city bought land in Harrison for country homes and many large estates were developed.[35]These wealthy families thus prevented the mass urbanization of the industrial revolution, preserving the beauty and status by maintaining a "rural character to a greater degree than some of the other communities within a comparable distance from New York".[36] To be able to contribute to this town in such tremendous proportions certainly presents Auguste as a man of extreme wealth, though only through implicit connotations. Ultimately, As opposed to the many contemporary Jewish men who felt emasculated by their failures to provide for themselves and their families, men like Auguste present themselves in such a manner that places them above the rest. They present themselves as more of an overarching caretaker of the

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[32] John J. Duquette, "ANTI-SEMITISM: A Darker Chapter in History of Our Adirondack Region," *Adirondack Daily Enterprise*, February 2, 1987, https://localwiki.org/hsl/Anti-Semitism.
[33] John J. Duquette, "ANTI-SEMITISM".
[34] Katie Warren, "I Visited One of America's Richest Zip Codes, a Neighborhood Known for Its Country Clubs and Sprawling Mansions, Where the Average Income Is $857,300. Here's What It Looks Like.," Business Insider, April 21, 2019, https://www.businessinsider.com/harrison-purchase-new-york-americas-rich-zip-codes-photos-2019-4#:~:text=Harrison%2C%20New%20York%2C%20is%20home.
[35] Charles Dawson History Center, "Downtown Harrison | Harrison NY," Town/Village of Harrison New York, 2020, https://www.harrison-ny.gov/historian/pages/downtown-harrison.
[36] Charles Dawson History Center, "Downtown Harrison".

people around them, essentially extending the understanding of masculinity to their wealth and their ability to provide in the place of others.

1.3 Profession

An examination of the professions and expertise of my sample can also lead to certain conclusions. Here, we find that 7 out of 44 (15.9%) became known through law practice, 4 (11%) through medical practice, 17 (38.6%) through business ventures, 7 (15.9%) through rabbinical service, 6 (13.6%) through editing/writing, 2 (4.6%) through the arts, and just 1 (2.3%) through military service.[37]

Of the obituaries sampled, business takes the forefront. In closer examination at these obituaries, it can be found that 11 out of 17 (64.7%) were self-starters with mention of founding companies/firms of their own or pursuing business ventures independent of familial relations. Of the remaining, 4 (23.5%) explicitly mention inheritance while 2 (11.8%) make no mention of either. Here we may find what business symbolizes in Jewish masculinity. It is a profession in which formal education is not required leading to many believing they can succeed and become known in the field, a certain appeal for new immigrants in an ambitious lower class looking to break through. There is a clear hierarchy of power in business as well. People generally start in lower-level positions and work their way up the ladder in a dog-eat-dog world in which businessmen compete and combat one another for sales, clients, and opportunities. Those who become successful triumph over their peers, effectively inflating them to a perception of superior masculine ability to succeed and garner higher status in the business world. It is also evident in my sample that positions of leadership are enormously prevalent (70.5%), perhaps indicating an understanding of masculinity as authority, direction, and influence over others.

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[37] Overall there are some overlaps in some of these categories, a total of 15 out of 44 (34.1%) edited or authored works in addition to their primary profession and there are 6 (13.6%) total who served in the military but were not known for their military contributions - 3 of those 6 were strictly medical roles.

An example of such a business leader from my sample who worked their way up to a position of great success is Louis A. Staff.[38] Staff was educated at Pratt Institute, started as a secretary for beet sugar interests, moved on to Western Electric, became associated with the Bethlehem Spark Plug Company, and eventually founded the Staff Brothers Company, soon buying other companies in the automotive industry along with supporting the United Jewish Appeal with automotive equipment.[39] Here, Staff's obituary presents him as a diligent self-starter, working through the ranks of the business world until he could found his own company with enough clout to buy others. Through the ways in which business is presented, an understanding of Jewish aspirational masculinity is developed as a product of dedication to one's profession and beating competitors in the business.

What is particularly interesting about Staff's obituary however are the other names that were decided to be included. During his time with Bethlehem Spark Plug Company, it is mentioned that "he became associated with Edward Schwab, brother of Charles M. Schwab".[40] Why does Staff's obituary make mention of this distant connection to the American magnate behind Bethlehem Steel? Staff presents himself in a way where he is connected and known among more notable and great American industrialists and leaders. In doing so, there also comes an understanding of Jewish aspirational masculinity as a product of the connections one has with people of higher status and how well-known someone is to the general public.

1.4 Education

Along with these statistics regarding professions, what educational requirements were needed for Jewish aspirational success? 10 of the 44 (22.7%) received Ivy League school

[38] On April 8th, 1949, Staff's obituary was posted on the 25th page. It is the third largest obituary and is one of two obituaries on the page that includes a portrait photo.
[39] The New York Times, "LOUIS A. STAFF, 57, an INDUSTRIALIST; Head of Petroleum Solvents Corp. Dies in Dallas -- Active in Jewish Appeal Here," *The New York Times Archives*, April 8, 1949, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1949/04/08/96452844.html?pageNumber=25.
[40] The New York Times, "LOUIS A. STAFF".

education either for undergraduate or graduate studies[41], 18 (40.9%) claim education from other established American colleges and universities, 3 (6.8%) mention only theological schooling[42], 2 (4.5%) mention public schools/city colleges, and 11 (25%) mention none of the above. Though this last 25% of no mention of education seems jarring, it is important to remember that many careers of the time did not require formal collegiate education. In business, entrepreneurs could be "self-starters", succeeding based on their own drive and ability. Alternatively, some were able to make their way into the professional business world solely through nepotism and familial relations.

Even the practice of law did not require formal education, something that was not introduced in the United States until 1878.[43] Prior to it, people became lawyers by undertaking apprenticeships with established lawyers or firms. Even after formal law schools were established in 1878, apprenticeship was still a major avenue into the profession until the American Bar Association became more restrictive. Likely, Jacob Grossberg[44], a successful lawyer whose education is not mentioned in his obituary, took such an apprenticeship instead of the academia route. Even if he and his fellows did go to law school, criteria for admission was notoriously lenient in those early years. Between 1905 and 1910 (the remaining lawyers in my sample studied during or before this period), approximately 20% of those admitted to law school finished high school, and fewer than 4% finished both high school and college.[45] It would not be until the 1920s where the American Bar association made a conscious effort to "purify the stream at the source" and restrict admissions to law schools on the basis of collegiate education

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[41] Two from Harvard, two from UPenn, six from Columbia.
[42] However an additional four in my sample theological schooling along with other types of schooling.
[43] Jerold S. Auerbach, *Unequal Justice: Lawyers and Social Change in Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 1976), 87.
[44] The New York Times, "JACOB GROSSBERG, CHICAGO LAWYER, 79; First President of What Is Now American Jewish Congress Dies in Madison, Wis.," *The New York Times Archives*, January 30, 1950, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1950/01/30/87019817.html?pageNumber=14.
[45] Jerold S. Auerbach, *Unequal Justice*, 29.

requirements.[46] This effectively barred most sons of immigrant families from law school admissions as they generally came from low income and did not have the means to pay for college. Previously, Jews and members of other minorities were once able to become exceedingly successful as lawyers in bypassing the now restrictive and exclusive requirements.

1.5 Immigration

Finally, let us consider the immigrant status of the people in the obituaries. 24 out of the 44 (54.5%) were foreign born, 17 (38.6%) were born in the US, and 3 (6.8%) make no mention of nationality at all. Here, we find that an overwhelming majority of the sample are 1.5 or 2nd generation immigrants.[47] America in the late 19th and early 20th century was presented as a land of opportunity and economic mobility as the country was undergoing rapid urban development and industrialization. Through wealth alone, someone could steer themselves into high class as there were no other well-established qualifiers for status in the US.

Europe has long held a built in class system derived from limited educational opportunity, restrictive professions, and one's family name in addition to wealth and income. With the exception of race, there were no hard barriers for status achievement in America. As such, white immigrants from Europe would accept American cultural identity and work diligently in the hopes of making a fortune and attaining such social mobility. Such is the notion of the American dream, the uniquely American opportunity that Merriam-Webster defines as the "happy way of living…that can be achieved by anyone in the U.S. especially by working hard and becoming successful".[48]

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[46] Jerold S. Auerbach, *Unequal Justice*, 112-113.
[47] The Immigration Initiative at Harvard describes '1.5 generation' as people who immigrated as children. See Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States," *The International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 1160–1205, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27645429.
[48] Merriam-Webster, "Definition of the AMERICAN DREAM," Merriam-webster.com, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/the%20American%20dream.

Whether or not the American dream was a reality, it certainly was believed to be so. Here too it was a matter of self-presentation, not of an ethnic group, but of a nation. This self-presentation of America as a land of prosperity was effective as over one-third of the US population were 1st or 2nd generation immigrants in 1920[49] and three-fourths of New York City's population were 1st or 2nd generation immigrants in 1910.[50] Evidently, many immigrants came to the US and particularly New York in pursuit of the American dream. The effectiveness of the nation's self-presentation even stands today, where as recently as 2019 70% of Americans view the American dream as personally attainable.[51] But, was the American dream an honest depiction of Jewish aspirational masculinity? What did Jews seek in coming to America?

Viewing 'push' factors, we know that Jews were facing rising antisemitic sentiments in Europe. The Jews that immigrated to the US prior to WWI primarily came from Eastern Europe where they faced in the pogroms that devastated their communities.[52] Though they still faced some measure of anti-semitism, the US offered far greater religious toleration. Furthermore, children of immigrants generally found greater social mobility in America. Though the immigrant parents themselves may not be able to achieve it, "children of immigrants have higher rates of upward mobility than their U.S.-born peers", regardless of the year of immigration or the country of origin.[53] With such factors in play, a more accurate depiction of the American dream and success for Jewish immigrants can be defined. Rather than personal success and happiness,

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[49] Charles Hirschman and Elizabeth Mogford, "Immigration and the American Industrial Revolution from 1880 to 1920," *Social Science Research* 38, no. 4 (December 2009): 897–920, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2009.04.001.

[50] Library of Congress, "Immigrants in the Progressive Era," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed April 17, 2023, https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/progressive-era-to-new-era-1900-1929/immigrants-in-progressive-era/#:~:text=Between%201900%20and%201915%2C%20more.

[51] Mohamed Younis, "Most Americans See American Dream as Achievable," Gallup, July 17, 2019, https://news.gallup.com/poll/260741/americans-american-dream-achievable.aspx.

[52] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Pogroms," Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2019, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/pogroms.

[53] Ran Abramitzky et al., "Intergenerational Mobility of Immigrants in the United States over Two Centuries," *American Economic Review* 111, no. 2 (February 1, 2021): 580–608, https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20191586.

their goal is more so oriented around the acceptance and future success of their long harassed people.

This idea of acceptance within society as 'normal' is reflected in other print media. Beyond the self-presentation of Jews in obituaries also comes presentations within magazines. In 1954, Flint, MI was named the "All-American City of the Year" by the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine, an American general-interest magazine.[54] At the time, Flint was home to General Motors, a new, booming economy, and over 2,000 Jews.[55] This industrial city brought the attention of many journalists for their rapid post-war success, but with the backdrop of a growing Civil Rights Movement, some writers made inquiries into anti-Semitism in America specifically. On November 29th, 1955, William Attwood, the national affairs editor of *Look* magazine, published "The Position of the Jews in America Today", using the Flint Jews to interpret Jewish-American life in the postwar boom.[56] For the first time, Jews were presented as everyday Americans through the family of Art Hurand.

Here, Attwood writes of Hurand's hardworking, middle-class life and his family's ties to the city and nation. "He was born, raised, and educated in Flint", "married to a local girl", "came home after five years in the Army to continue his father's bakery business", and served the community in feeding the homeless in the aftermath of a Flint tornado; several photos depict Hurand's family playing backyard football and socializing in the living room as any other mid-century American family would.[57] The only differentiating image of Jews comes from religious practice, seen through the Hebrew school in the synagogue and the celebration of Hanukkah.[58] However, Nora Faires and Nancy Hanflik argue that Attwood interprets with an

[54] Nora Faires and Nancy Hanflik, *Jewish Life in the Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005* (Michigan State University Press, 2005), 2.
[55] Nora Faires and Nancy Hanflik, "Jewish Life in Postwar Flint," *Michigan Jewish History* 41 (2001): 12.
[56] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 5-6.
[57] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 5-6.
[58] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 6.

"imperious and patronizing gaze", failing to address the nuanced web of Jewish associations in which many Flint Jews were enmeshed.[59]

To combat discrimination from social institutions, Jews often formed their own clubs and societies. In Flint, this came in the form of the Phoenix Club and the Willowood Club. On the top floor of the Durant Hotel, the Flint City Club served its patrons: Flint's elite high class.[60] They barred Jews from admission, so on just a floor below the Phoenix Club was established, the City Club's Jewish parallel for the upper class.[61] Likewise, the local Jewish community also developed a more general and all encompassing Jewish country club with Willowood. Here, both father and son could join and enjoy amenities such as a nine-hole golf course, a clubhouse with a dance floor, an Olympic-sized swimming pool, a children's wading pool, and shady picnic grounds just ten miles southeast of downtown Flint.[62] However, membership began to drop in the late 1960s, when the Atlas Country Club began admitting Jews and offered a larger golf course - a major selling point for many of Willowood's members. With that said, there is also a sense of the everyday Flint Jews wanting to become accepted with the overall society that has previously refused consideration for cross-cultural social affairs for many years.

Similar patterns of community building can be seen among my New York sample. 3 out of the 44 (6.81%) obituaries mention membership or leadership in the Harmonie Club. Though this represents a small minority of the men of my sample, attention still must be paid. The Harmonie Club was founded by German Jews Founded in 1852 by German Jews who were refused admission from other New York City private clubs.[63] Though they admitted both Jews and non-Jews, the goal was to form a parallel elite social club that Jews could seek membership

[59] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 102.
[60] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 107.
[61] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 104, 107.
[62] Faires and Hanflik, *Industrial Promised Land, 1855-2005*, 104.
[63] New York Historical Society, "Do You Have to Be a Musician to Join the Harmonie Club?," New York Historical Society: Museum & Library, 2012, https://www.nyhistory.org/community/harmonie-club.

in. In 1905, the club relocated to its Midtown location and became a "gathering spot for elite Jewish-American industrialists, financiers, and businessmen" such as Andrew Saks, Adolph S. Ochs, and members of the Guggenheim and Bloomingdale families.[64] As such, by the early 1950s, the Harmonie Club was at its centennial as the second oldest social club in the city and celebrated such with a dinner-dance attended by 1000 persons.[65] Joseph M. Proskauer, a former Supreme Court justice, spoke at the centennial and praised the club as a meeting place "for those engaged in the administration of great philanthropic and public causes".[66] Clearly, the Jews of New York like those of Flint similarly formed their own successful social institutions to serve as Jewish counterparts to the institutions that refused their admission.

Though arguably failing to capture the true character and essence of the Jewish community, Attwood paints and presents a picture of Jewish life as the everyman. He depicts Jews as accepting of American culture and values, now only failing to receive the acceptance of society. Here, the presented image of masculinity and success of American Jewish life from an outsider perspective is to be accepted by society in fulfillment of the American Dream.

2. *Death of a Salesman* and Fictional Portrayal

It is now time to turn to the fictional representation of Jewish masculinity found in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*. As mentioned before, the characters of this play are Jewish. Besides Miller's own Jewishness and the fact that it was based on his uncle, Miller wrote an essay at the play's 50th anniversary acknowledging that the Loman family were Jewish, but estranged from religious practices or identity.[67] Essentially, They had lost their culture for the

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[64] Shivani Vora, "The Harmonie Club Joins the 21st Century," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2018, sec. Style, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/25/style/harmonie-club-new-york.html.
[65] The New York Times, "Centennial Is Begun by the Harmonie Club, Second Oldest of Social Type in This City," *The New York Times*, October 3, 1952, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1952/10/03/84358818.html?pageNumber=25.
[66] The New York Times, "Centennial Is Begun".
[67] Freedman, "Since the Opening Curtain, a Question: Is Willy Loman Jewish?".

sake of assimilation and the American Dream. So why did Miller not create more Jewishly affiliated characters in this play? Just 4 years prior, his novel *Focus* had Jewish protagonists and directly tackles issues of anti-semitism; his decision to omit Judaism from *Death of a Salesman* was a conscious one.[68] In a 1969 interview, Miller claimed that the "religious or cultural background ... seems to [him] irrelevant".[69] Tony Kushner, a present-day playwright and editor of Miller's works, denies that Miller was trying to hide his characters' Jewishness; rather he suggests that "there wasn't a sense of shame about being Jewish, but of reaching for something universal, and there was some sense that the immigrant experience and the ethnic specificity would limit it".[70]

In effect, by universalizing the play, Miller exposes the world to a set of values that define Jewish aspirational masculinity. Where the *New York Times* obituaries demonstrate success through achievement, *Death of Salesman* demonstrates success paradoxically through failure. Essentially, Miller gives the audience the handbook for Jewish masculinity by writing what not to be. It is interesting to note that more recent and interpretative productions of *Death of Salesman* reintroduce the play as a Jewish one, including lines in Yiddish vernacular or stage directions to wear yarmulkes in certain scenes.[71] Ultimately, there has been a shift to embrace the Jewish nature of *Death of a Salesman* and present it for what it is remembered as: a depiction of failure to achieve Jewish aspirational masculinity. Through the analysis of *Death of a Salesman*'s everyman protagonist and his family, we come to see a notion of Jewish masculinity that coincides with what was found in the *New York Times* obituaries. However, rather than a

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[68] Freedman, "Since the Opening Curtain".
[69] Freedman, "Since the Opening Curtain".
[70] Freedman, "Since the Opening Curtain".
[71] Menachem Wecker, "Willy Loman's Jewish Roots," The Forward, April 11, 2008, https://forward.com/israel/13131/willy-loman-s-jewish-roots-01645/.

celebration of self-presented masculine success, Miller presents a masculinity that preys upon Jewish identity.

Let me begin with a brief synopsis. The play begins with the Loman family in their Brooklyn home at night. Willy, the patriarch of the family, talks to his wife Linda about the struggles he's been having with his job. He is a salesman who never was able to live up to his ego, but he continues to believe and places the burden of expectation on his sons. He believes that they are special, that the Lomans possess a special quality that can lead them to success. In fact, however, both of his sons are objectively failures to this vision. Biff, the eldest son, is unable to keep any jobs because of his habit to steal merchandise. His second son, Happy, keeps his job, but it is an insignificant job as one of two assistants to an assistant buyer. Throughout the play, Willy often grows disillusioned as images of his past mix into his current conversations and actions. As Miller portrays success in the worldly pursuits of business, sports and academics, and sex, we gain a picture of Jewish aspirational masculinity.

2.1 Professional Relations and Business

Miller creates a character who spends his life as a traveling salesman. This allowed Miller to highlight his hero's failure and ineffective masculinity. For Willy, America is "greatest country in the world", and he obsesses over the success of his business idols.[72] What Willy does not ever seem to realize is that his heroes are anomalies and that most salesmen (including himself) are unable to reach such heights.

Willy sees his older brother as a great man who triumphed over adversity to become successful and an excellent role model for his children. However, I would strongly argue for the contrary. Willy's father had left the family in pursuit of the frontier, and they never heard from him again. Ben, Willy's brother, likewise left his family in search of their father, but mistakenly

[72] Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman: Text and Criticism*, ed. Gerald Weales (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 16.

finds himself in Africa due to a "very faulty view of geography".[73] Here, Ben finds incredible wealth in the diamond industry, but fails to show up for his mother's death or Willy's formative years[74]. Still, Willy calls Ben a "genius" and "success incarnate".[75]

Ben's path to riches was both unintentional and exceptionally lucky; it did not have to do with his personality as Willy so often argues. He finds himself in Africa by chance, and stumbles across a lucrative industry. Willy believes that there was no mystery to Ben's success and tells his children that "the man knew what he wanted and went out and got it".[76] However, the industry and its location also bears questions of Ben's character. Though it can be argued that Ben worked hard, there is no mention of what he actually did besides "walking into the jungle" at 17 and coming out rich at 21[77]. Furthermore, I find that there are heavy undertones of colonialism and coerced labor. The country is never specified, but regardless Ben would have been a white man in Africa. As such, I believe Ben would have been able to take advantage of pre-existing power dynamics and acquire his riches through unjust means. Ben certainly does not seem the righteous and moral type when he visited the Lomans and used dirty tactics against an adolescent Biff. While playfully sparring, Ben trips Biff and tells him to "never fight fair with a stranger", otherwise he would "never get out of the jungle that way".[78] Unfortunately, these are the values that Willy forces upon his children, "to walk into a jungle" unaware of the conditions and without a plan, the abilities, or a clear goal. It is a naive picture of American masculinity that is predicated on dumb luck and exploitation.

Alternatively, another business idol for Willy is Dave Singleman. Willy brings up Singleman to tell an anecdote of salesmanship to his boss, Howard. Willy constructs a sort of

[73] Miller, *Salesman,* 48.
[74] Miller, *Salesman,* 46.
[75] Miller, *Salesman*, 41.
[76] Miller, *Salesman*, 41.
[77] Miller, *Salesman,* 48.
[78] Miller, *Salesman,* 49.

mythology around Singleman as the perfect salesman, and he is Willy's inspiration for remaining a salesman. When explaining this to Howard, Willy essentially provides an obituary. Willy informs Howard that Singleman was 84 and still selling merchandise to thirty-one states comfortably over the phone; Willy then concluded that "selling was the greatest career a man could want" and aspired to reach that same level as Singleman.[79] Willy also goes on to recall Singleman's death and funeral. He explains that he was remembered and loved by many, and that hundreds of buyers and salesmen attended his funeral; his death set a sad mood on trains for months afterwards.[80] Here, Willy constructs a massive cult of personality for Dave Singleman that the average man obviously can not achieve. As Biff furiously argues at the end of the play, Willy's a "dime a dozen" and "not a leader of men" - he is a man that was "never anything but a hard-working drummer who landed in the ash can like all the rest of them".[81]

This unrealistic standard of success that Willy develops is an uninformed picture of masculinity. Willy only knows of Singleman's later years and death; nothing is revealed about his upbringing or path to success. Was Singleman born into wealth and nepotism or was he self-made? How likable and respectable was he really? The play only refers to him in the third person. Furthermore, Howard, who is much younger than Willy, does not recognize the name and cares little for the anecdote Willy was telling. Like the men of my collected obituaries, Singleman is remembered and painted in the eyes of an admirer, but in the bigger picture is forgotten by most. Still, Willy internalizes and passes on a flawed sense of Jewish aspirational masculinity through his hero Dave Singleman.

Willy develops ineffective masculinity from having these idols. He has a flawed understanding of success and thus believes that being well-liked and well-known would bring

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[79] Miller, *Salesman,* 81.
[80] Miller, *Salesman,* 81.
[81] Miller, *Salesman,* 132.

him and his family to wealth. He argues that "personality always wins the day" and values connections over ability.[82] In flashbacks, he tells his sons that he will build his own business that would be bigger than their neighbor, Charley, since "Charley is not-liked. He's liked, but he's not-well liked".[83] However, in the same scene Willy criticizes himself for talking too much during sales and praises Charley for being a "man of few words" and a man that is respected by his peers.[84] As it turns out, Willy does not build any business and fails to make his commissions. He ends up needing to borrow money from Charley every week to make timely payments on his home and appliances.[85]

It is clear that Willy recognizes the value of being respected, but insists and continues that being personable and liked is still the preferable route in business. Sociolinguist Deborah Tannen finds such a belief that being liked is most important to be characteristic of women and girls rather than men and boys.[86] As such, Willy's adamant beliefs that he shares with his children supports a negative image of masculinity. This is also reinforced by the fact that Willy's merchandise is never revealed. He tells Ben in a flashback that "it's not what you do", but rather "who you know and the smile on your face".[87] To Willy, the product itself is not relevant, he is selling his personality. However, his personality and belief in it is what limits him; it is not a tangible product that can be measured by results. Likewise examining the sample of obituaries reveals that each businessman was in very specific trades or industries; there is no notion of salesmen that serve numerous industries. Ultimately, because Willy was known as a person and

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[82] Miller, *Salesman,* 65.
[83] Miller, *Salesman*, 30.
[84] Miller, *Salesman*, 37.
[85] Miller, *Salesman*, 57.
[86] Heather Cook Callow, "Masculine and Feminine in Death of a Salesman," in *"The Salesman Has a Birthday": Essays Celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman*, ed. Stephen A. Marino (University Press of America, 1999), 67.
[87] Miller, *Salesman*, 86.

not for his product, he becomes useless as the times change and the people he once worked with pass away or retire.

The rejection of masculinity would also be seen in the careers that the Loman family rejected as well. The Lomans are not fit for salesmanship, but Willy's obsession with his dream locks them in the business world. Everything points to them being failures in business: Willy makes poor commissions, Biff can not keep a job in business, and Happy is complacent as one of two assistants to an assistant buyer. On the other hand, Biff found meaning and happiness during his recent employment as a farmhand; he is convinced that "there's nothing more inspiring or beautiful than the sight of a mare and a new colt".[88] Biff argues that they "don't belong in this nuthouse of a city" and that they "should be mixing cement on some open plain" or should be "carpenters".[89] Willy denies blue collar work and insists that "even [Biff's] grandfather was better than a carpenter", but there is undeniable truth in Biff's words.

Willy is skilled with tools and handiwork. He puts up his own ceiling proclaiming that "a man who can't handle tools is not a man", and calls Charley "disgusting" for not being able to.[90] Furthermore, he works with his hands and peacefully gardens vegetables after he is fired by Howard; he is more skilled with what is tangibly part of his body.[91] With freshly grown produce, Willy would have been able to provide daily necessities to his family rather than fruitlessly selling his personality. Likewise, Biff and Happy fail to pitch their Loman Brothers sporting equipment business. However, the first mention of the Loman Brothers is not in merchandise, but rather as two ranchers in the open, raising cattle and using their muscles.[92] The stage directions indicate Happy being "enthralled" with this idea, and he tells Biff that he sometimes wants to just

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[88] Miller, *Salesman*, 22.
[89] Miller, *Salesman*, 61.
[90] Miller, *Salesman*, 44.
[91] Miller, *Salesman*, 125.
[92] Miller, *Salesman*, 23.

"rip [his] clothes off in the middle of the store" and "outbox, outrun, and outlift anybody in [the] store".[93] Clearly, the Lomans are more suited for handiwork that traditionally appeals to masculine virility and brawn. However, by denying these career paths as illegitimate, *Death of Salesman* creates an understanding of Jewish aspirational masculinity as something above blue collar work and ultimately emasculates the Lomans.

2.2 Academics and Sports

Miller also uses sports and education to demonstrate ineffective masculinity. Through the characters of Biff and Bernard, we see the triumph of the scholastic masculine identity and the failure of the athletic masculine identity. Bernard is Charley's son and a long time friend and neighbor to the Lomans. In their youth, Biff is highly praised as an athlete and prepares for his football matches while Bernard is perceived as the feminine, "anemic" bookworm focused on school. However, as they grow older, the understanding of masculinity and success flips. Biff loses his scholarships and does not pursue further education. He has no more forward movement in his life and hops from job to job. On the other hand, Bernard remained diligent in his studies and ended up becoming a prominent lawyer who even handles Supreme Court cases.[94] Willy fails to comprehend this outcome and asks Bernard what "secret" he had to become successful.[95] It is as though Willy fails to see any way to success besides the path of American masculinity built on bravado and charm. Through the characters of Biff and Bernard, *Death of a Salesman* reinforces a Jewish masculine identity predicated on intellect rather than virility and strength.

There are also symbols of masculinity found in education. Bernard worries that Biff would fail math and reminds him that he would not be able to give him answers for the upcoming exam. Here, the implicit connotations of masculinity are twofold. First, male

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[93] Miller, *Salesman*, 24.
[94] Miller, *Salesman*. 95.
[95] Miller, *Salesman*. 92.

achievement on American standardized math tests have been documented as significantly higher than female achievement.[96] With Biff underperforming in such subject matter, he is stripped of some identity of American masculinity. Second, we see Bernard as the provider in the relationship. Though Biff represents the masculine American athlete, it is the timid and meek intellectual who provides his wealth of knowledge and takes care of Biff. A similar relationship is found and taken a step further between Willy and his wife Linda. Here, instead of two school age boys, they are man and wife. Linda calculates Willy's commission and is acutely aware of all of the payments and debts that Willy forgets about.[97] Now with a literal female character, Miller likewise emasculates Willy with computations that are far more important. Linda calculates the important figures for a family in which every dollar counts, and Willy does not even think to check her work. Again, there is a sense of emasculation when the perceived feminine does the math and intellectually compensates for the perceived masculine.

Sports remain a relevant symbol of masculinity beyond Biff's youth. The prosperity of post-WWI America brought great wealth to the sports industry and more leisure time for everyday Americans.[98] Athletics were also becoming profitable business ventures with $30 million spent on spectator sports in 1920 and $66 million by 1929.[99] Most productions of the play depict Willy in his early 60s and Biff in his early 30s in 1949. This means that Willy was in his early 30s and Biff was just being born at the end of WWI. As such, American sports culture would have been an integral part of both Willy's life as a spectator with newfound leisure and Biff's life as a growing athlete. In his many flashbacks, we see Willy praise Biff for typical qualities of American masculinity: his athletic prowess and physique. Willy took great pride in

[96] Callow, "Masculine and Feminine," 72.
[97] Miller, *Salesman*. 35-36.
[98] Brenda Murphy and Susan C.W. Abbotson, *Understanding Death of a Salesman* (Greenwood Press, 1999), 166.
[99] Murphy and Abbotson, *Understanding Death*, 166.

this and invited buyers to watch his son play "like a young god" comparable to "Hercules".[100] Biff plays American football, a sport in which strength, speed, and endurance are valued above all else. Willy stacks his faith into this model of masculinity and proudly proclaims that "without a penny to [Biff's] name, three universities are begging for him".[101] When Biff fails and loses his scholarships, that image of masculinity also fails. Miller uses Biff to illustrate the shortcomings of the general American masculine model in comparison to the perceived Jewish masculine model.

Sports are still a symbol of masculinity when Biff is older looking for work. Working to please their father, Biff and Happy create a business proposal in sporting goods to a former employer, Bill Oliver. Here, they need to access sports out of necessity as desperate adults rather than leisure as playful youths. Happy pitches it as the "Loman Brothers": they would form two separate teams and play each other to show off the equipment.[102] Biff reluctantly agrees to the proposal and their father fully endorses and believes in the pitch, emphatically calling it a "one-million-dollar idea".[103] Again, the family puts their faith into sports, though their "million dollar plan" rides on the image of two middle-aged men who never got past high school athletics. When Biff goes to meet Oliver, he waits six hours only to see Oliver for "one minute" and not be recognized at all.[104] Here, Miller depicts Jews as failures in general American masculinity by showing their repeated failure to break through in sports.

Death of a Salesman provides a different angle of sports through the eyes of Bernard. In his youth, both Bernard and his father Charley cared little for sports. Charley constantly teases Willy for getting so worked up over Biff's football games while Bernard insisted that Biff should

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[100] Miller, *Salesman*. 68.
[101]Miller, *Salesman*. 86.
[102] Miller, *Salesman*, 63.
[103] Miller, *Salesman*, 63.
[104] Miller, *Salesman*, 104.

spend more time studying for upcoming exams rather than practicing.[105] Yet, as an adult, Bernard prepares to play at his friend's private estate by packing his own tennis rackets.[106] While the Lomans now look to sports out of necessity, Bernard looks to sports for leisure. There is also an obvious dichotomy between the sports themselves. Compared to the rugged, violent football established in the American lower classes, tennis is a non-contact sport that was established in the elite European upper class who could afford perpetual leisure.[107] Though Bernard was depicted as the "not well-liked" effeminate scholar in his youth, Miller reaffirms his model of masculinity by having him succeed and access leisure sports.

2.3 Sex and Family

Finally, Sex is used in *Death of a Salesman* to illustrate ineffective masculinity. In the obituaries, sex and lineage was a mark of achievement. Jewish men succeeded in starting a family and remaining faithful to their wives. This is the complete opposite of what is seen in *Death of a Salesman* where the Lomans cheat and use sex as an escape. Their marital shortcomings and debauchery become a symbol of their incompetence as masculine figures.

The most prominent example of sex in *Death of a Salesman* is in the pivotal plot point that creates tension between Willy and Biff: Willy's affair. On his usual business trip to Boston, Willy enters an adulterous relationship with a receptionist at the office he sells to. Here, he exchanges stockings for sexual favors and greater access to the buyers. Willy's commercial shortcomings as a salesman leads him to make exchanges that only bring attention and admiration to himself. He fails as a provider for his family and rejects that responsibility through the affair. This becomes more clear when it is revealed that it is his wife's stockings that he

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[105] Miller, *Salesman*, 89.
[106] Miller, *Salesman*, 91.
[107] George Lyndhurst and Barry Steven Lorge, "Tennis | Rules, History, Prominent Players, & Facts," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, February 13, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/sports/tennis.

exchanges with the woman.[108] Rather than exchanging company merchandise at his own expense, Willy literally takes away from his family. He seeks validation from this woman, but ultimately loses the attention and approval of Biff because of it. Willy found the masculinity of the father figure unfulfilling which led him to seek masculinity in other outlets like an affair.

Likewise, in examining the Loman family history, Willy did not have male figure to look up to growing up. His father left to pursue business in Alaska before Willy turned four and Ben left to find their father while he was still a teen.[109] However, Willy still grew to idolize his father and brother to be great men despite them abandoning the family for economic opportunity. Even with a family of his own, flashbacks reveal Willy longing for Ben to stay longer since Willy never had a chance to talk to his father and still feels "kind of temporary about [himself]".[110] In his delusions, Willy even goes so far as to ask Ben how he should teach his boys and that he is afraid that he is not teaching them right.[111] Willy never had the guidance of a masculine figure and consequently has a poor understanding of masculinity. He does not know how to teach his children and can only give them platitudes and empty words of wisdom.

Willy is also concerned about the body image that he presents. He is insecure about his body, believing that he is "fat" and "very foolish to look at".[112] He obsesses about having a desirable and likable physique - a seemingly feminine attitude rather than a masculine one.[113] At the same time, the reader is exposed to Charley, a more successful man who is typically cast as a man larger than Willy.[114] Still, the Loman family continues to hold the feminine attitude of good

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[108] Miller, *Salesman,* 121.
[109] Miller, *Salesman,* 47-48.
[110] Miller, *Salesman,* 51.
[111] Miller, *Salesman,* 52.
[112] Miller, *Salesman,* 37.
[113] Callow, "Masculine and Feminine," 68.
[114] When Charley is introduced, he is described in stage directions as a "large man, slow of speech, laconic, immovable" (42). This is further established when Charley lends Willy some money and offers him a job after he gets fired by Howard. Willy continues to refuse and becomes furious when Charley presses him for reasoning. Willy says, "You big ignoramus, if you say that to me again I'll rap you one! I don't care how big you are!" (97)

appearances rather than actual merit and ability. In flashbacks, Willy thanks God that his sons are built like Adonises, and that their marks in school do not matter as much as appearance in the business world.[115] This appearance-centered mentality is ingrained into his children. Flashbacks reveal Happy trying to draw Willy's attention and approval by asking him several times if he noticed his weight loss.[116] Similarly, Biff follows the words of his father by focusing on his appearance in his athletic pursuits. This can be seen most notably when he prints "University of Virginia" on his sneakers before his big game rather than studying for the decisive exam.[117]

These attitudes translate over to the adult life of the Loman brothers as well. Happy grows up to be a philandering womanizer who deceives to create an impressive self-image. He constructs a lavish lifestyle and ultimately hides his inadequacy through bravado and showmanship. Like his father, he creates an illusion of success that feeds a false sense of ego and achievement. However, unlike his father whose affair becomes a mark of shame and masculine failure, Happy's affairs become his mark of pride and masculine success. He often finds himself sleeping with the fiancés of his superiors, stating that it had just happened for the third time.[118] Even though he does not want the girl, he "take[s] it" and "love[s] it".[119] Here, Happy uses sex as compensation for his lack of aspirational masculinity. If he is unable to achieve positions of status through his own diligence, he can at least pretend and sexually intrude upon that status of his superiors. However, he still tells his family he will get married and pursue honest relationships.[120] Happy still seeks the approval of his parents by telling them he would soon take on a stable role as a masculine family man.

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[115] Miller, *Salesman,* 33.
[116] Miller, *Salesman,* 28, 33.
[117] Miller, *Salesman,* 33.
[118] Miller, *Salesman,* 25.
[119] Miller, *Salesman,* 25.
[120] Miller, *Salesman,* 68, 133.

Biff remains appearance-centered as an adult as well. He makes sure to have brought his comb with him to the Bill Oliver business pitch and was once arrested for trying to steal a nice suit in Kansas City.[121] It is also revealed that all of what Happy knows about women comes from him, it is just that Biff grew more bashful while Happy became more confident over time.[122] After the failed pitch, the brothers wait in the restaurant for Willy, but Happy sets his eyes on a girl. Here, Biff goes along with Happy's scheme and pretends to be a quarterback for the New York Giants to get her attention and invite another friend.[123] Later, as the argument with Willy intensifies, Biff leaves the restaurant with Happy and the girls. Happy claims that Willy was not their father and they leave with the girls and their fabricated lives.[124] Biff and Happy chase the appearance of successful masculinity rather than confront the failed masculinity that's in front of them.

There are also several metaphors that imply sexual success and failure. A lot of such imagery and innuendos are used to describe Willy. For example, the play builds up Willy's suicidal thoughts and the weight of his burden as a failed masculine figure. Willy's unused "little rubber pipe" to potentially inhale gas is demonstrative of this. Both in its physical proportions and purpose, it shamefully symbolizes Willy's dwindled and unimpressive masculinity.[125] When Biff confronts Willy and "whips [it] out of his pocket", Willy pretends to not know what it is; he is ashamed of his masculinity[126]. Another example of phalluses as a symbol of masculinity comes from what Biff steals from Bill Oliver. When Biff first left the company as a shipping clerk, Biff stole "balls" (basketballs) and later stole his "pen" after the business pitch.[127] Here,

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[121] Miller, *Salesman,* 76, 131.
[122] Miller, *Salesman,* 21.
[123] Miller, *Salesman,* 102.
[124] Miller, *Salesman,* 115.
[125] Luc Gilleman, "'A Little Boat Looking for a Harbor': Sexual Symbolism in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman," in *Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman*, ed. Eric Sterling (Rodopi, 2008), 153.
[126] Miller, D*Salesman,* 130.
[127] Luc Gilleman, "'A Little Boat Looking for a Harbor'," 155.

Biff tries to advance his own standing by literally taking phallic symbols of Bill Oliver's success. However, Biff's efforts are meaningless as the items are childishly stolen and not obtained by his own masculine success.

3. Conclusions:

So what can we say about the highly contested and much debated image of New York Jewish masculinity? We have looked at two quite different types of sources, each of which demonstrated the changing perception of Jewish masculinity. In the face of humiliation within greater society, Jewish obituaries and literature took different approaches to controlling the Jewish image. The obituaries combat the stereotypes by presenting Jews as aggressively successful, but also caring to the community. They are painted as paternal beneficiaries to even the Gentiles that oppose them. The obituaries lean into the stereotypes, but make it their own. They take pride in education and make it a factor of their success. Jewish obituaries create a sense of masculinity via achievement.

Death of a Salesman both combats and accepts the stereotypes. On one hand, the virility, handiwork, and athletic ability of the Lomans directly conflicts with the stereotypes cast upon them. Though they do not succeed and their failure emasculates them, perhaps it is only because Willy pigeonholed and cast them to pursue salesmanship. It is an industry that is well entrenched and dominated by Gentile society and I argue that their emasculation comes from trying to fit into roles where they are not needed. If they instead played off their literal strengths and pursued blue-collar work, the Loman family would have been in direct opposition to the contemporary Jewish masculine stereotypes. Essentially, they are trapped by the expectations and stereotypes they have internalized. On the other hand, Miller also reinforces the Jewish masculine identity of the intellectual by having Bernard succeed. Though belittled and humiliated in his youth,

Bernard remains devoted to his academics and triumphantly achieves great status and presumably wealth. Like the men of my obituaries, Bernard is subject to stereotypes but redefines them as masculinity through his success.

Throughout this research process, many new questions came to me. In which businesses did Jews get ahead and why? How are Jews different from the other ethnic groups that faced similar challenges in immigration? How did other contemporary literature (both Jewish and Gentile) combat or concede to the general image of Jewish masculinity? These themes remain for a future project! But we can at least say that the concept of Jewish aspirational masculinity is not static. The questions and research that I discovered are not bound geographically or temporally to my choice to study 1940s New York City. Ultimately, I hope to invite and galvanize further research into the image of Jewish Masculinity and the immigrant experience in America.

To end, I would like to share an urban legend around the first performance of *Death of a Salesman*. In a 1999 interview, Miller speaks of his memory of that night:

> The curtain came down and nothing happened. People sat there a good two or three minutes, then somebody stood up with his coat. Several men—I didn't see women doing this—were helpless. They were sitting there with handkerchiefs over their faces. It was like a funeral. I didn't know whether the show was dead or alive. The cast was back there wondering what had happened. Nobody'd pulled the curtain up. Finally, someone thought to applaud, and then the house came apart.[128]

Likewise, director Mike Nichols in an interview also recalls viewing *Death of a Salesman* in his youth stating "there were stories about fathers for whom the doctor had to be called because they couldn't stop crying all night. It was a kind of a legend".[129] Readers of the *New York Times*' "Life

[128] John Lahr, "Arthur Miller and the Making of Willy Loman," *The New Yorker*, January 17, 1999, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1999/01/25/making-willy-loman.
[129] Mike Fleming Jr, Mike Fleming Interviews Director Mike Nichols; Will "Death Of A Salesman" Revival Bring Him Ninth Tony Award?, *Deadline*, May 30, 2012, https://deadline.com/2012/05/mike-fleming-interviews-director-mike-nichols-will-death-of-a-salesman-revival-bring-him-eighth-tony-award-279398/.

of a Salesman" series left similar comments, one mentioning that "when the curtain fell, there was no applause. The audience was momentarily stunned in silence, followed by a tidal wave of crying and sobbing".[130]

Though this is a very moving image of the play, these sources are speculative at best. Miller was eighty-three at the time of the interview and recalling events fifty years prior. Mike Nichols only mentions hearing stories about the event and how it was a legend. The commenter on the "Life of a Salesman" series is not from first hand account, but instead a retelling of his aunt's retelling of his grandmother's story. Finally, and perhaps most damningly, the following morning after the plays debut, the *New York Times*' review offers no mention of the spectacle besides it being "a deeply moving performance".[131] One would assume such a bizarre scene would receive extensive media coverage. Whether or not these events actually occurred, what matters is the effect that it has in society's collective memory. In the same way that the men in my obituaries portrayed themselves or the ways in which the Lomans lied to shape their perception, oftentimes it is not so much about reality, but more so how one is remembered.

4. Appendix:

The *New York Times* commands authority as one of the most prominent newspapers in the world. Such prestige generally brings a mark of status for anyone who is featured within its pages. This can be represented by the men in my sample who have achieved such status. Since the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 heavily restricted new immigration, the Jewish obituaries of 1940-1950 represent a community that is more firmly established in the US from

[130] Charles Isherwood, "A Play That Resounds in the Heart and the Gut," *The New York Times*, April 20, 2012, sec. Theater, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/22/theater/readers-respond-to-death-of-a-salesman.html.
[131] Brooks Atkinson, "AT THE THEATRE," *The New York Times*, February 11, 1949, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1949/02/11/85634870.html?pageNumber=27.

previous peaks of immigration. Furthermore, the economic boom of wartime and postwar America presumably brought higher expectations of success and how one should present themselves as successful.

The obituaries in my sample were chosen through using the term "Jewish Obituary" in the *New York Times* archive database. I used this term specifically to narrow down my result to only the obituaries of Jewish people or those who were involved in Jewish issues. This preliminary search for the years 1940-1950 brought me to 360 results, something that I felt was too much to manage for the scope of this paper. I therefore then decided to only examine the obituaries that included a name in the headline. This affects my sample by limiting it to obituaries with written out life details rather than just being a listed name under the headline "OBITUARY".

Within this group, which was still a substantial one, I then worked to pick out only four from each year. I chose the months of January, April, July, and October; if there were none in those months, I examined adjacent months. I picked these months as it broke each year evenly in fourths. This may have been arbitrary, but it gave me a manageable method to create my sample. Since the analysis of masculinity was the goal, another condition that went into sampling was that the obituary needed to be for men. This affected my sample by removing instances of notable Jewish women who did not represent what I was searching for. Furthermore, though I did not come across any in my search, I chose not to include the obituaries of criminals. I wanted my sample to represent the Jewish men who were able to succeed in socially acceptable ways. Additionally, the selected man had to make a name for themselves in the US, though they could be foreign born. This affected my sample by limiting it to the men who found success in America rather than finding success elsewhere and then dying in America. Finally, I did not want the

man's death to come out of mass tragedy. I did this so that the obituaries would focus more so on the man's life rather than the man's death. These conditions brought me to the following 44 obituaries:

1940:

The New York Times. "A.H. SARASOHN DIES; LAWYER 51 YEARS; Expert on Criminal Practice Aided Many Jurists at Start of Their Legal Careers STRICKEN in HIS OFFICE Son of Founder of the First Jewish Daily Here Had Represented Actors," *The New York Times Archives,* June 21, 1940. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1940/06/21/93983289.html?pageNumber=19.

———. "DR. BIELSCHOWSKY, EYE EXPERT, DEAD; Distinguished Director of the Dartmouth Eye Institute Stricken Here at 68 MOTOR DEFECTS HIS FIELD Stricken Ill with Tumor of Brain in California and Underwent Operation Here," *The New York Times Archives,* January 7, 1940. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1940/01/07/94758133.html?pageNumber=51.

———. "DR. CYRUS ADLER,76, EDUCATOR, IS DEAD; Peace Leader Headed Dropsie College, Philadelphia, and Jewish Seminary Here." *The New York Times Archives,* April 8, 1940. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1940/04/08/92935744.html?pageNumber=23.

———. "W.W. COHEN DEAD; EX-CONGRESSMAN; Former Chairman of Tammany Hall Finance Committee Is Stricken at Home Here ACTIVE in PHILANTHROPIES Was a

Director of Federation for Jewish Blind and Had Served Two Hospitals," *The New York Times Archives,* October 13, 1940. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1940/10/13/94840478.html?pageNumber=50.

1941:

———. "JOSEPH FEINBERG; Insurance Broker Long Secretary of Jewish Memorial Hospital," *The New York Times Archives,* February 3, 1941. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1941/02/03/85324238.html?pageNumber=20.

———. "DR. FREDMAN, RABBI, DIES of a STROKE; Leader of the Conservatives of Philadelphia Jewish Clergy Stricken in Synagogue ACTIVE in MANY GROUPS President of City's Board of Ministers of His Faith – ln One Post for 28 Years," *The New York Times Archives,* April 15, 1941. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1941/04/15/85480589.html?pageNumber=23.

———. "HENRY N. FRANKEL; Leader in Jewish Affairs Dies in East Orange, N. J., at 55," *The New York Times Archives,* June 29, 1941. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1941/06/29/432205152.html?pageNumber=33.

———. "EDGAR J. KOHLER, 66, ATTORNEY 45 YEARS; Assistant Corporation Counsel of City, 1918-30, Who Aided 5-Cent Fare Fight, Dies WAS ACTIVE in CHARITIES Trustee, Secretary of Jewish Board of Guardians – Honor Student at Columbia Law," *The*

New York Times Archives, October 11, 1941. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1941/10/11/105164149.html?pageNumber=17.

1942:

———. "DR. S. LOWENSTEIN DIES in STREET, 64; Executive Head of Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies with GROUP 22 YEARS Noted Welfare Leader Was in Forefront of Drive to Help Refugees from Nazism," *The New York Times Archives,* January 21, 1942. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1942/01/21/85018154.html?pageNumber=17.

———. "HYMAN ROSENBLUM; Paint Manufacturer Noted as Supporter of Jewish Charities," *The New York Times Archives,* April 23, 1942. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1942/04/23/85342574.html?pageNumber=23.

———. "A. GOLDBERG DEAD; LEADER in ZIONISM; Executive Committee Member of U.S. Organization an Aide of World Actions Group CO-EDITOR of YIDDISH FOLK Wrote since Youth for Jewish Publications – Once Officer of the American Congress," *The New York Times Archives,* June 6, 1942. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1942/06/06/87702664.html?pageNumber=12.

———. "BENJAMIN HORWICH, LEADER in PATERSON; Aide of Jewish Groups Dies on Way to Air Raid Warden's Post," *The New York Times Archives,* October 4, 1942.

https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1942/10/04/85597080.html?pageNumber=53.

1943:

———. “SOLOMON SMALL; Jewish Actor, Poet, Composer Wrote for Muni, Thomashefsky.” *The New York Times Archives,* January 3, 1943. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1943/01/03/103488004.html?pageNumber=43.

———. “ELI BERNHEIM DEAD; ONCE HEAD of BANK; President of Columbia Here before It Was Merged with Manufacturers Trust ALSO OFFICIAL of LATTER Ex-Partner in Father’s Shirt Company – Was Contributor to Jewish Charities.” *The New York Times Archives,* April 4, 1943. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1943/04/04/85093652.html?pageNumber=40.

———. “SIMON H. WHITEMAN; Retired Real Estate Man Active in Brooklyn Jewish Welfare,” *The New York Times Archives,* July 7, 1943. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1943/07/07/85109059.html?pageNumber=19.

———. “REV. DR. GEORGES BACARAT; Court Interpreter and Rabbi of Bensonhurst Jewish Group,” *The New York Times Archives,* October 6, 1943. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1943/10/06/85124928.html?pageNumber=23.

1944:

———. “WILLIAM KREIELSHEIMER; Piece Goods Dealer Was Active in Masons, Jewish Welfare,” *The New York Times Archives,* January 22, 1944. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1944/01/22/83963284.html?pageNumber=13.

———. “LOUIS E. BERMAN; Furniture Man Was a Leader in Jewish Charity Drives,” *The New York Times Archives,* March 21, 1944. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1944/03/21/88598459.html?pageNumber=19.

———. “DR. S. BENDERLY, 68, A JEWISH EDUCATOR; Head of Bureau Here Since It Was Founded in 1910 Dies – Wrote on Culture,” *The New York Times Archives,* July 10, 1944. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1944/07/10/83984673.html?pageNumber=15.

———. “DR. ADOLPH S. OKO, SPINOZA SCHOLAR; Ex-Librarian of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Dies – Edited Jewish Bimonthly,” *The New York Times Archives,* October 4, 1944. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1944/10/04/86731870.html?pageNumber=20.

1945:

———. “D. HARRIS, 98, DEAD; CIVIL WAR VETERAN; Member of Both Union Army and Navy Was Said to Be Last Jewish Survivor,” *The New York Times Archives,* February 9, 1945.

https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1945/02/09/305597572.html?pageNumber=15.

———. “ALBERT LEVI DEAD; RETIRED MERCHANT; Department Store Ex-Official Religious Leader – Was First President of Jewish Hospital,” *The New York Times Archives,* April 22, 1945. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1945/04/22/305422962.html?pageNumber=35.

———. “W.N. SELIGSBERG, LAWYER 41 YEARS; Senior Partner in Firm Here Dies at 63 – Official of the Jewish Child Care Group,” *The New York Times Archives,* July 6, 1945. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1945/07/06/88254857.html?pageNumber=11.

———. “JACOB KREPLAK; Novelist, Editor with Jewish Daily Forward, Dies at 59,” *The New York Times Archives,* September 22, 1945. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1945/09/22/88298674.html?pageNumber=17.

1946:

———. “SIMON LYON, 75, LAWYER 54 YEARS; Leader in Washington Civic Affairs Is Dead – Director of Jewish Organizations,” *The New York Times Archives,* January 29, 1946. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1946/01/29/93021410.html.

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———. “ABRAHAM S. SCHOMER, LED JEWISH CONGRESS,” *The New York Times Archives,* August 17, 1946. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1946/08/17/91623053.html?pageNumber=13.

———. “JACQUES L. GOTTLIEB; Orchestra Conductor Had Aided USO, Jewish Welfare Board,” *The New York Times Archives,* October 19, 1946. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1946/10/19/93159479.html?pageNumber=16.

1947:

———. “LEOS A. GOTTLIEB, NOVELIST, EDITOR; Member of Jewish Forward Staff 46 Years Dies at 68 – Honored by Pilsudski,” *The New York Times Archives,* January 14, 1947. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1947/01/14/96691391.html?pageNumber=25.

———. “DR. ISIDORE W. HELD; TAUGHT at N.Y.U.; Former Clinical Professor of Medicine Dies – Author Was Active in Jewish Charities,” *The New York Times Archives,* March 3, 1947. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1947/03/03/87507917.html?pageNumber=21.

———. “H. MONSKY, 57, DIES; LEADER in JUDAISM; President of B’nai B’rith an Official of the American Jewish Conference,” *The New York Times Archives,* May 3, 1947. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1947/05/03/87524605.html?pageNumber=17.

———. “WILLIAM EDLlN, 69, EDITOR of the DAY; Chief of Jewish Daily Dies – Former Official of Forward, Once Drama, Music Critic,” *The New York Times Archives,* December 1, 1947. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1947/12/01/104382990.html?pageNumber=22.

1948:

———. “DR. HILLKOWITZ, 74, NOTED PATHOLOGIST; Head of Jewish Consumptives’ Relief Society of Denver Dies -- Helped Found It in 1904,” *The New York Times Archives,* January 31, 1948. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1948/01/31/96414824.html?pageNumber=19.

———. “B. RABINOWITZ, LED JEWISH WELFARE; Director of the Center Division of National Board Dies -- Headed War Program,” *The New York Times Archives,* April 29, 1948. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1948/04/29/85239240.html.

———. “DR. BEN EDIDIN, 48, EDUCATOR, AUTHOR; Aide of Jewish Committee Here Dies -- Writer on Religion Headed Central Institute,” *The New York Times Archives,* August 7, 1948. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1948/08/07/94647294.html.

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1949:

———. “LOUIS A. STAFF, 57, an INDUSTRIALIST; Head of Petroleum Solvents Corp. Dies in Dallas -- Active in Jewish Appeal Here,” *The New York Times Archives,* April 8, 1949. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1949/04/08/96452844.html?pageNumber=25.

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———. “H. S. AUGUSTE, DIES; FINANCIER, WAS 74; Donated 20 Acres to Harrison, N.Y., for School -- Aided Jesuit Mission, Jewish Charities,” *The New York Times Archives,*

October 30, 1949. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1949/10/30/93331395.html.

1950:

———. "JACOB GROSSBERG, CHICAGO LAWYER, 79; First President of What Is Now American Jewish Congress Dies in Madison, Wis." *The New York Times Archives,* January 30, 1950. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1950/01/30/87019817.html?pageNumber=14.

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