March, 1997 The Proprietary Baths and Possible Mikvah at 5 Allen Street Borough of Manhattan, New York

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Phase IA Archaeological Assessment Report

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March 31, 1997

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Many individuals, institutions and agencies generously supplied information and assistance which was invaluable for the creation of this report. In particular, Dr. Daniel Pagano, City Archaeologist at the Landmarks Preservation Commission, provided invaluable support and advice, and the staff of the Eldridge Street Project were also extremely helpful. Project Coordinator Renee Newman conducted important bibliographic and archival research at the New York Public Library, the Municipal Reference Library and the Seward Park Branch Library, where she was assisted by Gloria Walters; combed through the Eldridge Street Synagogue's archives, and contacted a number of individuals and organizations. I would also like to thank Rabbi Beryll Feinstein for the illuminating tour he gave me of the Mikvah of East Side.

A complete list of the individuals and institutions consulted for the present report follows under "Research Design."

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Executive Summary

In restoring the Eldridge Street Synagogue, the Eldridge Street Project ("Project") aims to preserve and elucidate the history of the Lower East Side's Jewish community. The synagogue, a City and National Historic Landmark, was the first built by Ashkenazi Jews on the Lower East Side. When the Project acquired a property in block 293, the same block as the synagogue, Board members were interested in exploring its historical-archaeological potential. In her preliminary research of the site reviewed in the present report, the "project site", Project Coordinator Renee Newman determined that it was formerly occupied by a four-story tenement building containing a Russian bath. In view of the bath's proximity to the synagogue, the question arose whether the facility might have also contained a Jewish ritual pool, or mikvah, that was used by members of the Eldridge Street Synagogue's congregation.

The documentary research conducted for this report revealed that there is still a great deal to learn about the many and varied bathing facilities that existed on the Lower East during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Hardly any physical evidence of the early bath houses survives, and scholarly studies of the Jewish East Side have not treated the subject in any detail. Yet, the custom of bathing, --institutionalized in the form of the ritual immersion-- was not just a practical necessity, it was an integral,

indispensable part of Jewish society.

A mikvah is a specially built pool used by both sexes but primarily by married women who are required to purify themselves after menstruation, prior to engaging in sexual intercourse with their husbands. Because of its associations with sexuality, mikvah use was rarely discussed in public or in print and the subject is not usually broached in oral histories. It is known that mikvahs were attached to some synagogues, built into tenement buildings, and even included in Russian baths houses, this last contrary to the opinion of most of the elderly Jewish New Yorkers interviewed for this report, who felt that a ritual pool would be quite out of place in the sociable and sensual atmosphere of the Russian bath.1 Some were almost scandalized by the idea. At one time, however, it was apparently not unusual to include mikvahs in this context but it is not known how common this practice was or when it ceased to be usual. The number and location of independent mikvahs in tenement basements is unknown, and patterns of mikvah use at the turn of the century are not documented. To the best of the writer's knowledge, there are no surviving tenement basement mikvahs, or Russian-Turkish bath houses containing mikvahs.

Of the forty odd bathing establishments that existed on the Lower East Side at the turn of the century --according to the business directories-- only the Tenth Street Turkish Baths, between First Avenue and Avenue A, remains in operation. The dozens of Russian baths that opened in the neighborhood in the late 19th and early 20th centuries served the ever-increasing numbers of

immigrants pouring into the area, many of whom had been accustomed to communal bathing in Europe. In any case, for a hot soak, the bath house was virtually the only option, as very few tenement residents owned bath tubs. The weekly visit to the bath house might last for hours, as it was a pleasant social occasion, mixed with dining, drinking, card games and conversation. Jewish men and women also frequently visited the ritual baths. In short, the habit of regular bathing was deeply ingrained in Jewish life. Noted by the reformers who worked to improve the condition of the poor, it was thought to account for the comparatively good health of the Jews over other immigrant groups. It is puzzling, therefore, that the charitable organizations which called for the creation of public baths to improve the hygiene of the lower classes --as well as introduce them to "American" ways -- hardly commented on the Lower East Side's existing Russian-Turkish bath houses in their reports. In contributing to the decline of the traditional Russian-Turkish bath through competition, the cleaner, more efficient public facilities, which standardized bathing practices, no doubt also promoted assimilation.

In view of the social as well as religious importance of bathing and the rarity of documentary evidence about this facet of immigrant life, specific information about particular bathing facilities is of considerable historical interest. Often located in the basements of tenement buildings, the pools and other facilities connected with Russian Bath Houses were simply buried when the buildings were destroyed, and their remains could be recovered

through archaeological excavation.² The present report finds that the basement level of the Russian Bath house that existed on the project site has not been impacted by later construction and may therefore offer a unique opportunity to explore the mikvah-Russian-Turkish bath complex *in situ*.

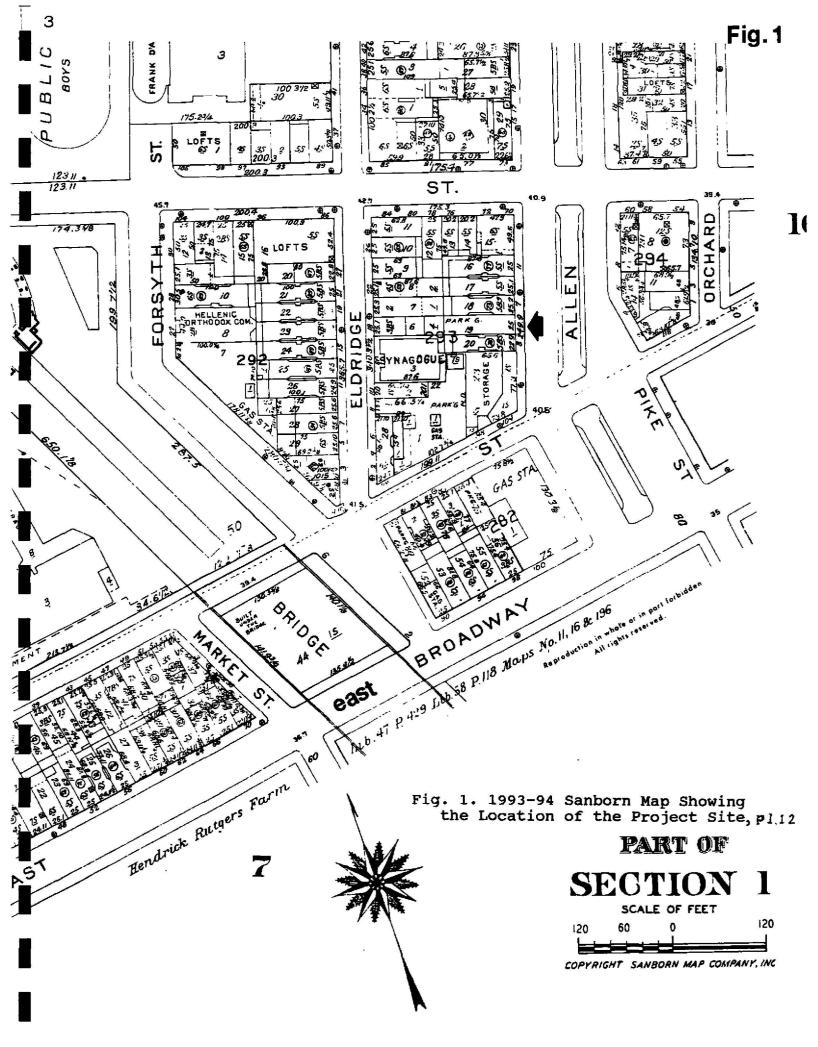
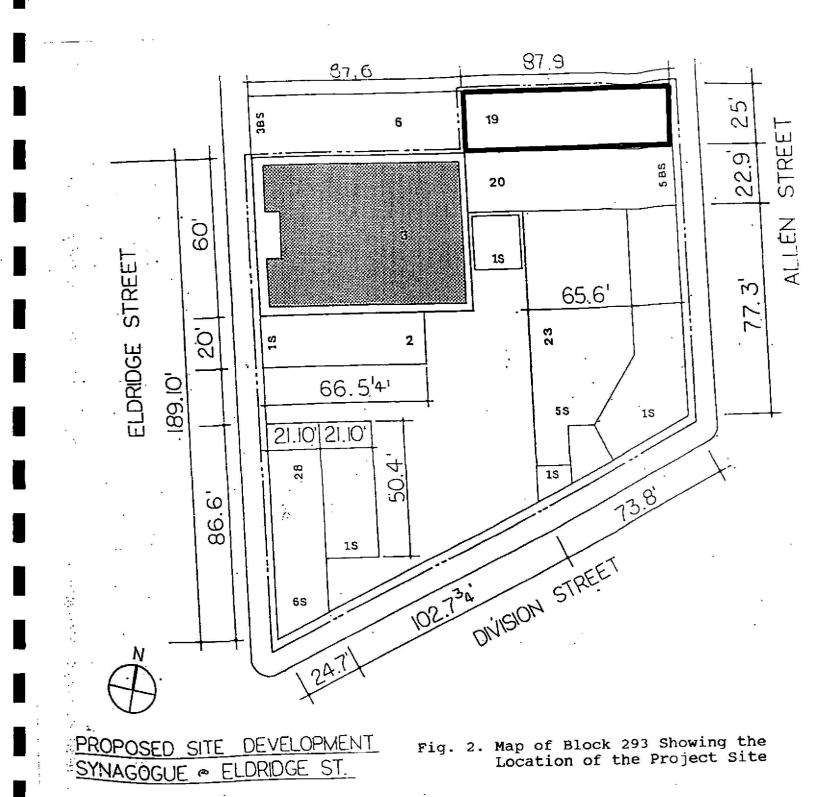


Fig. 2



B. Site Area

The Eldridge Street Project ("Project") proposes to develop its property on block 293, lot 19, at 5 Allen Street (Figs. 1 and 2 and Pls. I (cover) and II). The property, currently an empty lot used as a car park, measures 87 feet 7 1/2 inches by 25 feet 1 1/2 inches and lies on the west side of Allen Street, 100 feet 5 3/4 inches north of the corner of Division and Allen Streets, in the block bounded by Allen, Division, Eldridge and Canal Streets. The lot is immediately northeast of the Eldridge Street Synagogue, a National Historic Landmark. It is flanked to the north and south by tenement buildings and on the west by the backyard of a building facing on Eldridge Street. A four-story tenement building stood on this lot until December 1958, when it was demolished to create the parking space (Appendix B).

C. Archaeological Research Design

Generally, in order to make а recommendation for archaeological testing, it is necessary first to determine whether below ground features have remained undisturbed by modern building activity, and secondly, following a careful review of documentary and secondary sources, to evaluate the historical importance of the site's potential archaeological remains. Resources consulted for the present report in order to address the above questions with respect to the project site are described and listed in this section.

Regarding the first question, an application for a demolition permit dated December 2, 1958, recorded that the project site was occupied by a four-story bath house and dormitory (Appendix B). Map research revealed that the building was probably constructed ca. 1861. Its foundation or basement level was not disturbed by later construction because since 1958, the lot has been used for parking.

An examination of early 20th century documents confirmed that bath houses occupied the basement and ground floors of tenement buildings. Naturally, it was simpler to dig a pool or pools in the basement than to suspend them from a floor, and it is therefore likely that the buried basement on the project site may contain a pool. Its state of preservation is unknown and could only be determined through excavation.

Maps, conveyance and tax records, and the block and lot file were consulted to reconstruct the successive buildings that occupied the project site, the date of the last tenement on the

lot, and its period of use as a bath house. A search of the photographic archives at the New York Public Library and the Municipal Archives located views of the building's exterior. Its career as a bath house was traced in New York City Business Directories and its furnishings could be reconstructed from detailed lists in leases of the 1920s and 30s. No plan was located at either the Department of Buildings or the Municipal Archives.

A review of literature on Lower East Side history placed the bath house in its social context, as did interviews with individuals who grew up in that neighborhood. First hand accounts and Jonathan Berman's documentary film, "The Shvitz," provided a picture of a typical bath house's facilities and the rituals surrounding their use. The vertical files at the Municipal Reference Library yielded a few additional details. Information on Jewish ritual baths was similarly gleaned from interviews and ancient and modern literature on the institution of the mikvah. Archival material at Yeshiva University was very helpful, but the archives and library holdings of the Jewish Theological Seminary were not productive. Requests and searches of oral histories in the collections of the Tenement Museum, The Ellis Island Immigration Museum and YIVO also did not bear fruit. No direct relationship between the 5 Allen Street baths and the Eldridge Street Synagogue was recorded in the synagogue's Minutes of 1890-1916.

There are hardly any documents regarding the role of the mikvah in the community or its manner of construction. Although it is an important repository of neighborhood history, the Educational

Alliance is a secular institution and has no records pertaining to mikvah issues. The vertical files at the Seward Branch Library also contained no pertinent documents. The many specialists in Jewish history consulted for this report knew of no articles on the institution of mikvah in the turn-of-the-century Jewish press. Three Rabbis were consulted regarding mikvah construction and the writer toured the oldest mikvah in Manhattan, at 311 East Broadway, in the company of Rabbi Beryl Feinstein, who was partly responsible for the baths' recent restoration.

The following were consulted:

Municipal Records

City of New York, Dept of Buildings City of New York, Dept of Finance, Office of the City Register Dept. of General Services, Subsurface Division Landmarks Preservation Commission Manhattan Borough Presidents Office, Topographical Bureau Manhattan Sewer Permit Office Manhattan Water Supply Tap Information

Libraries, Institutions/Organizations

Agudat Israel Educational Alliance Eldridge Street Synagogue Archives Ellis Island Immigration Museum, Oral History Project Jewish Daily Forward Jewish Theological Seminary of America Library Lower East Side Tenement Museum Municipal Reference Library New York Historical Society Library New York Historical Society Library New York Public Library Rabbinical Council of America Seward Park Branch Library Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations Yeshiva University Archives YIVO Institute

Individuals

Ms. Ruth Abram, President, Lower East Side Tenement Museum Ms. Aviva Ben-Ur, Doctoral candidate, Brandeis University

Ms. Shuli Berger, Archivist, Yeshiva University Archives Mr. Jonathan Berman, Director/Producer "The Shvitz" Judge Paul Bookson, President, Khal Adath Jeshurun and descendant Rabbi Baruch Borchard, Agudat Israel Mr. Michael Cohn, Historian Arlene L. Eis, Author of Mikvah Directory (see bibliography) Mr. Elliot Eisenbach, Interviewee Rabbi Beryll Feinstein, Mikvah of East Side Mrs. Sylvia Foont, Interviewee Mr. Anthony Gulotta, Consulting Engineer, Topographical Bureau, Manhattan Borough Presidents Office Dr. Andrew R. Heinze, Associate Professor, Director of Judaic Studies, University of San Francisco Mrs. Sylvia Herskowitz, Director, Yeshiva University Museum Dr. Julia Hirsch, Professor of English and American Studies, Brooklyn College Dr. Jenna Weissman Joselit, Professor, New York University Mr. William Josephson, Treasurer, Eldridge Street Project, Inc. Mr. Steven Long, Director, Resource and Study Center, Tenement Museum Ms. Florence Marmor, Interviewee Ms. Renee Newman, Project Coordinator, Eldridge Street Project Mrs. Anita Praeger, Descendant of Eldridge Street Synagogue Dr. Daniel Pagano, Director of Archaeology, Landmarks Preservation Commission Ms. Jane Rothstein, Doctoral candidate, New York University Ms. Michaela Safadi, University of California at Los Angeles Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Schwartz, Interviewees Mr. Steven Siegel, Librarian, 92nd Street YMHA, Jewish Historical Society Mr. Paul Sigrist, Director, and Dr. Janet Levine, Oral Historian, Oral History Project, Ellis Island Immigration Museum Rabbi Maurice Simckes, Temple Israel of South Merrick, Long Island Ms. Gloria Walters, Archivist, Ford Foundation Dr. Suzanne Wasserman, Faculty Fellow, Museum Studies Program, New York University Mr. Marek Web, Chief Archivist, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research Dr. Marilyn Thornton Williams, Professor, Pace University

II. ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

In the 18th century the project site was part of the DeLancey farm, which encompassed the elevated meadowland between what became the Bowery on the west, Division Street on the south, Stanton Street on the north and the East River on the south and east³. A short distance west of the Bowery --the old "High Road to Boston"--lay the Collect Pond, a small lake some 60 feet deep and covering about 48 acres. An extensive swampy area ran from the northwest to the southeast of the pond. There were two small ponds (named Buttermilk and Sweetmilk) south of Grand Street on either side of the Bowery, according to a plan dated 1735.⁴ Aside from these two ponds and the underground canal that drained the Collect Pond down Canal Street to the Hudson River, there were no natural watercourses on the Lower East Side.⁴

The 8th sanitary inspection district, defined in the 1865 Report of the Citizens Association of New York as the area "north by Rivington, southeast by Division, east by Norfolk and west by the Bowery," was defined as "rolling ground." "It was fortunate" the authors commented, "that the hands of the levellers had not reduced it to the low grade of the city," as the declination from the Bowery to Norfolk street was "sufficient...to carry off all surface water."⁵ North of the hill near Chatham Square, the land sloped gently to Canal, the dip terminating at Grand Street; then the land rose again towards Rivington Street. Good drainage was also provided by a "substratum of sand under the whole district."

With respect to the project site, no record of the original ground height above sea level was found and the city has no record of borings made on or near the site, which could clarify its stratigraphy.

III. PREHISTORIC ERA

A. Prehistoric Culture Periods

The earliest occupants of the Greater New York area are thought to be descended from Siberian groups who migrated across the Bering Land Bridge to Alaska during the Late Pleistocene or Ice Age, more than 12,000 years ago. From the end of eastern North America's last ice age until the appearance of the Holocene environment, ca. 10,000 to 8,000 B.C., the presence of Paleo-Indian period groups is signaled by their limited repertory of chipped stone tools, in particular, the fluted javelin head or spear point known as "Clovis." These nomadic people hunted mammoth, mastodon, caribou and musk ox, and collected oysters. Their small encampments, food processing and tool-making stations were of a temporary nature. In the New York area, Paleo-Indian remains have been found only in Staten Island.

In the Archaic Period, ca. 8,000-1,000 B.C., the melt waters of the disappearing glaciers subsided and the large herbivores of the Late Pleistocene became extinct. An environment of swamps and mudflats emerged that attracted migratory wildfowl and beaver. Mixed forests of hickory, oak, beech, elm and chestnut augmented the earlier conifers and provided a habitat for edible plants and other game such as white-tailed deer, wild turkey and moose. The Archaic Indians invented a wider range of equipment, including plant processing tools such as grinding stones, mortars and pestles, and, towards the end of the period, they created stone

vessels. They settled in small groups on islands, at the head of coastal estuaries, or by the seashores, places which offered plentiful supplies of shellfish.

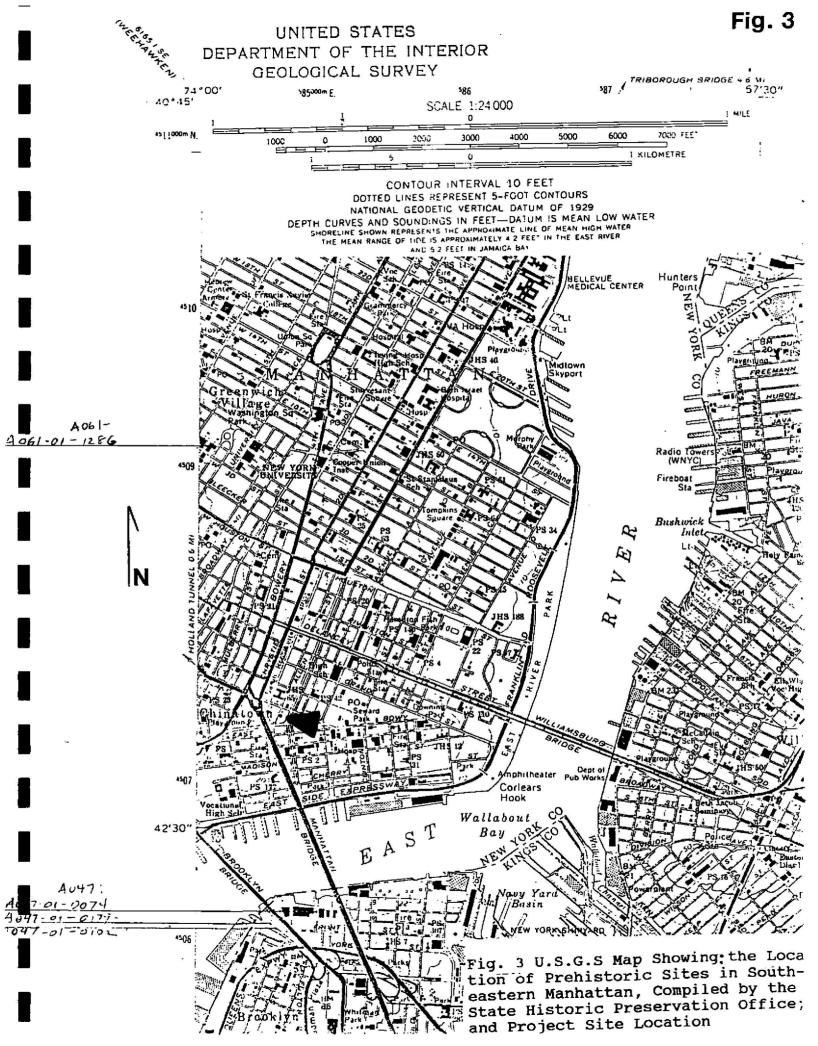
Beginning ca. 1,000 B.C., the Woodland period is characterized by the appearance of smoking pipes; bows and arrows, which replaced spears and throwing sticks; and pottery, which superseded soap stone wares for everyday use. The development of agriculture, particularly from about 1,000 A.D., supported large, permanent or semi-permanent, palisaded settlements. Woodland period groups also still travelled seasonally to their hunting or fishing camps, the latter identified by huge piles of discarded shells called "middens." They hunted wildfowl, muscrat, raccoon, turkey and deer.

European explorers and settlers arriving in the 17th century encountered Munsee-speaking Delaware and Canarsee groups, the latter probably in control of southern and eastern parts of Manhattan. The prehistoric village closest to the project site was on the East River, at Corlears Hook. Called Rechtauk, Naghtogack or Nechtauc it was, from February 26 to 29, 1643, the site of an infamous massacre of Delawarean refugee groups, perpetrated by Governor William Kieft's men.⁶

Lacking natural streams or lakes, areas with a high probability of Prehistoric remains, it is probable that the area of the project site was not settled by prehistoric people.

B. Site File Results

According to the map of inventoried prehistoric archaeological sites compiled by the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation on the basis of site file records, no prehistoric sites have been identified within a one-mile radius of the project site (Fig. 3).



IV. HISTORIC PERIOD

A. Lot History of 5 Allen Street

A map dated 1732-35 indicates that the area of elevated meadowlands which encompassed the project site was owned by "Bickley now Delancey." It remained part of the DeLancey's West Farms until the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, when the DeLanceys' properties, like that of other Loyalists, were confiscated by the Commissioners of Forfeiture." A Commissioners' deed of sale, recorded in 1803, named William Beekman as grantee of a large part of the Delancey West Farms including the block containing the project site. The Beekmans were a prominent family of landowners in the 18th century who also owned property on the East River at what is now the South Street Seaport. The extensive tract of marshy land immediately to the west and north of the present seaport was called the "Beekman Swamp."⁶ During the Colonial period, the principal streets around the project site were created: Canal Street was laid in 1750, Division Street in 1761, and Allen Street, formerly called Fourth Street, in 1760."

By the end of the 18th century, buildings were erected in the blocks immediately west of the project site. The first house recorded on the project site, according to the tax assessment records, was William Beekman's, assessed at \$1200 in 1810. By 1812, there were a number of houses on Fourth Street, listed without house numbers, in the block between Division and Canal Streets. Fourth Street was renamed Allen Street on March 24, 1817, in honor

of William H. Allen, U.S. Navy, "killed on board the <u>Argus</u> in the engagement with the British sloop of war Pelican, Aug 14, 1813."¹⁰ In the 1819 assessment records, house numbers first appear on Allen Street for addresses below Canal Street.

The filling of the Collect pond and the swamps east of it between 1808 and 1813 accelerated the development of the Lower East Side and attracted a "jumble" of all classes of society.¹¹ In 1817, the project site was purchased by two house carpenters, Benjamin Hillyer and Abraham Dorsett. Hillyer, who bought out Dorsett and his wife Eleanor, sold the property in 1830 to Cornelius Bogert, an attorney and counsellor at law (Appendix A).

By the 1820s, the first wave of Irish and German immigrants began moving into the area southeast of the former Collect Pond. The lifestyle of these newcomers was revealed in archaeological excavations conducted in 1981 in the block between Pearl Street, Worth Street and Park Row, now occupied by the Federal Courthouse. Artifacts recovered from the courthouse block showed that residents in the 1820s enjoyed a respectable middle-class existence. And while by the mid-nineteenth century this area lay at the heart of the "Five Points," America's most notorious slum, the archaeological remains associated with this later period demonstrated contrary to that, 19th-century accounts, the neighborhood had not become uniformly degenerate. There were German and Polish tailors and Jewish shoemakers living here, and many Irish women were seamstresses. In spite of their modest means, the tenement residents took pride in their homes and strove to maintain

Victorian "family values."12

In 1865, the residents of the 8th Sanitary Inspection District, whose western boundary was the Bowery and includes both the courthouse block and the project site, were predominantly of the "Teutonic race...principally mechanics." They enjoyed a decent standard of living and a "high degree of health...On any fair Saturday evening, vast throngs of orderly, and cleanly, welldressed people" gathered on Grand Street.¹³ Three blocks west of the project area, in the block bounded by the Bowery, Christie, Bayard and Division streets, stood the New York "Stadttheater," a German playhouse, and the Volks Garten, a German-style beer garden.¹⁴

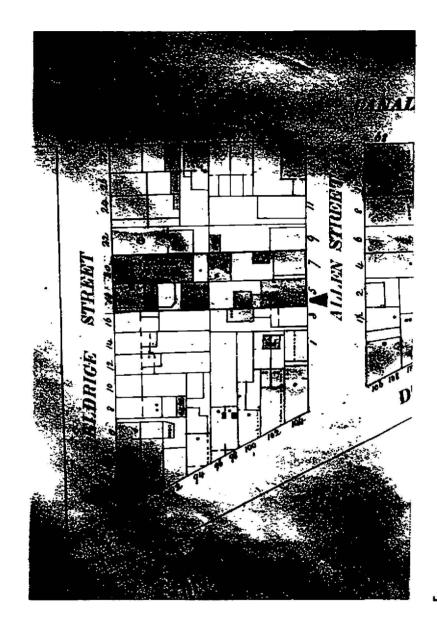
In 1859 there were two, two-story buildings on the project site measuring 25 X 21 feet and 25 X 30 feet. These structures, belonging to John Kurst, were torn down and replaced in 1861 by a four-and-a-half story house measuring 25 X 45 feet, with an extension measuring 14 X 28 feet.¹⁵ The 1861 building is shown on the detailed insurance maps by Perris, of 1857-62, and by Sanborn, of 1894, and probably also on the schematic 1885 Robinson, 1902 and 1911 Bromley maps (Figs. 4, 5 and 6). On the Perris map, there is an extension composed of two sections: the first of wood, the second, in the back, of brick. The construction of this new, larger building appears to be reflected in the tax assessments for the property, which show an increase from \$3,800 in 1859 to \$4,500 in 1860, to \$8,000 in 1861. The privy that must have existed in this building's backyard may have been replaced by "school sinks" --rows

of toilets emptying into an underground waste pipe which could be flushed-- as early as 1867, when sewer pipes were laid in Allen Street.¹⁶ It is not known, however, when the sewers actually became operational, as the earliest surviving records of sewer service at this address only go back to 1921.

John Kurst died in 1863, leaving a wife and two grown children who inherited the property. In 1878, the Kursts tore down all its upper stories, leaving only a one-story structure. Apparently they intended to restore the old building because in 1880, it is again recorded as four stories high. Kurst's trustees sold the property to Charles Pfeiff for \$17,500 in 1884, and in 1885, a basement in the building is recorded for the first time.

From 1880 until 1942, when it closed, the Manhattan Railway's 2nd Avenue El operated between Chatham Square and 127th St. It ran along the western side of Allen Street, in front of the project site (Cover photograph). The Railway's electrical substation at the corner of Division and Allen Streets still stands.¹⁷

In 1885, Charles Pfeiff made two applications for permission to alter the 5 Allen Street building that were denied. The Record of Alterations lists a plan submitted on January 29, proposing a fifth story to raise the building to 54 feet in height. The existing building was described as a tenement dwelling which would continue to be occupied by "families." The cost of the addition was estimated at \$3000. A second plan, submitted on April 27th, proposed unspecified alterations at an estimated cost of \$800. The building was four stories with a flat roof, 45 feet in height by 46



<u> 5</u>0ft.

Fig. 4. 1857-62 Perris Map Showing the Location of the Project Site, pl. 13

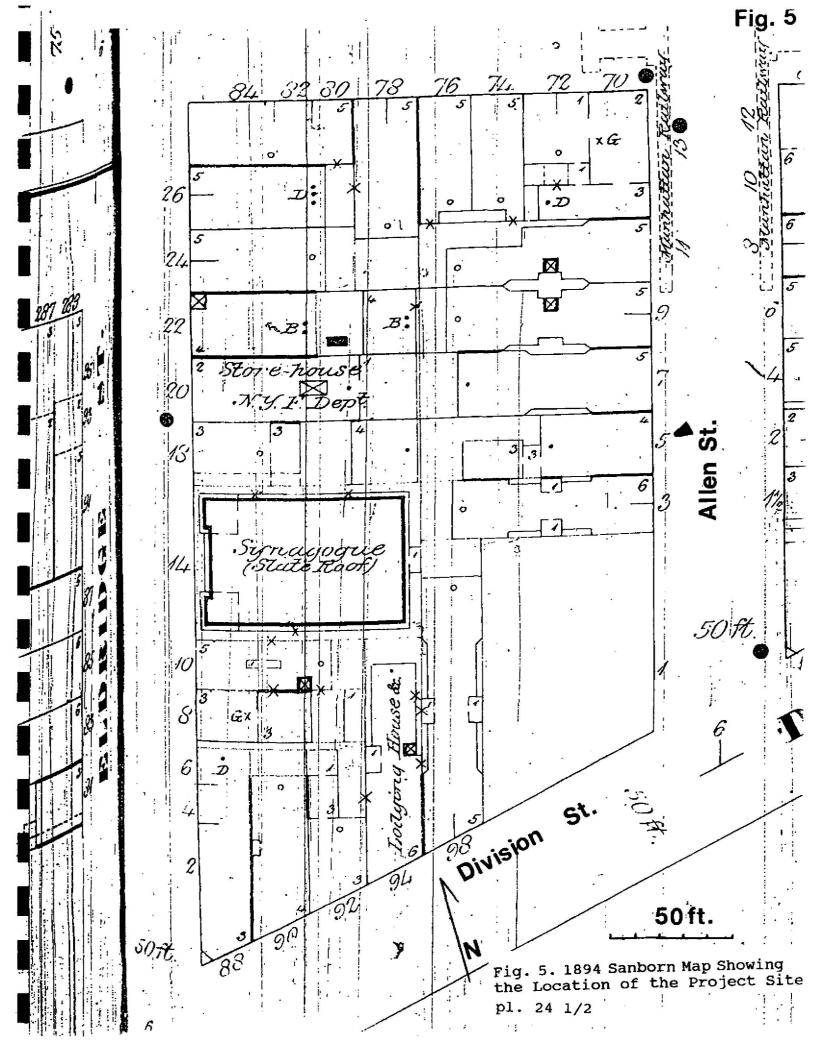


Fig. 6

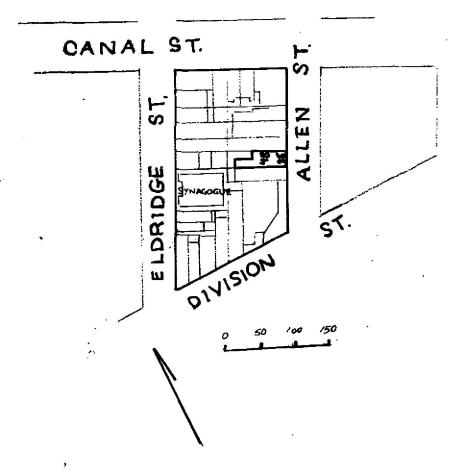
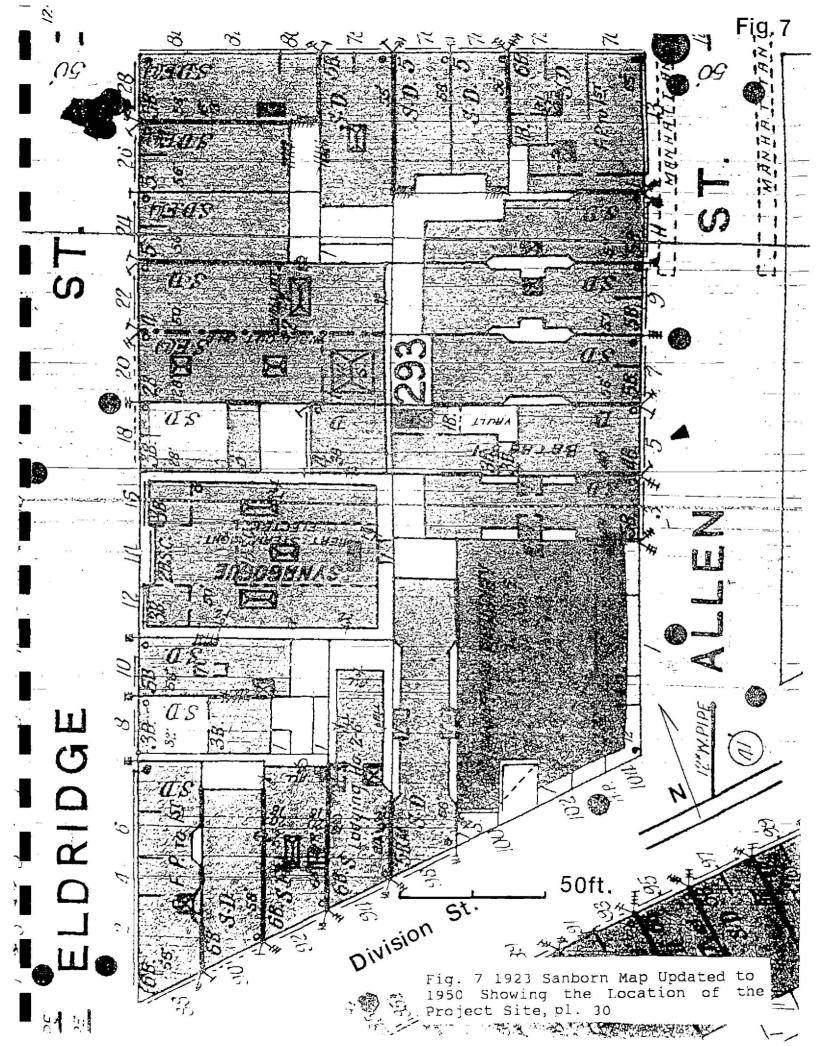


Fig. 6. 1911 Bromley Map Showing the Location of the Project Site, pl. 5

feet deep, its street facade 25 feet in width. The stone foundation walls were 24 feet thick, the upper walls, also of brick, 12 feet thick. There were no party walls. Unfortunately, the plans which must have been submitted with these applications were not located.

Perhaps because his applications for alterations were denied, Pfeiff only kept the building for two years. He sold it in 1886 for a profitable \$22,000 to Isaac Natelson, who was a member of the Eldridge Street Synagogue's congregation. In 1887, Natelson opened a Russian Bath House at 5 Allen Street which continued in operation until the building was demolished in 1958.¹⁰ The bath house's facilities were probably located in the basement or ground floor and first floor of the building. In 1892, Natelson applied for permission to make an exterior alteration to the 5 Allen Street building at an estimated cost of \$100, but while his plan was approved, the project was abandoned on August 1, 1894. Natelson lived at 5 Allen Street until 1902 or 1903, when he retired and moved to 331 East 84th Street.¹⁹ He died in 1903 and his son Nathan sold the property on September 26, 1907 to David Reich, for \$34,125.²⁰

The 1923 Sanborn map, updated to 1950, indicates that 5 Allen Street housed "Russian Baths," and shows that the building had been extended to the lot line (Fig. 7). The remaining portion of the lot, directly north of the extension, was occupied by a 1 story wing with basement that contained the boiler; a second, adjoining chamber is marked "vault." Both parts of the rear extension were three stories high and had basements. The construction of basements



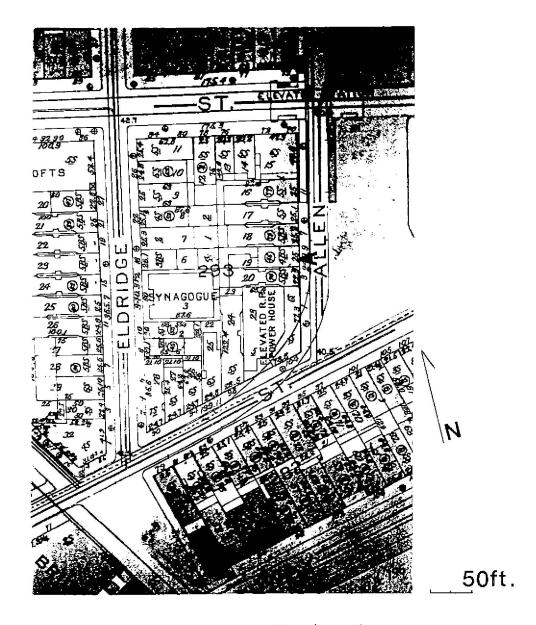


Fig. 8. 1932 Bromley Map Showing the Location of the Project Site, pl. 12

Fig.9

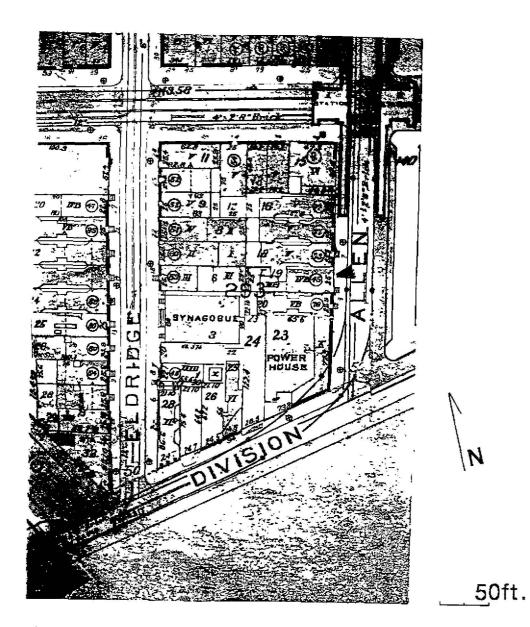


Fig. 9. 1907 Belcher Hyde Map Updated to 1950 Showing the Location of the Project Site, pl. 13

on every part of the lot will probably have disturbed any earlier remains of privies, cisterns or school sinks.

Neither the 1932 Bromley map nor the Belcher Hyde map of 1907 updated to 1950, show the boiler or the vault (Figs. 8 and 9). The Belcher Hyde map, however, also shows a one-story, L-shaped wing without basement, enclosing the brick extension along the western and part of the northern lot lines.²¹

The demolition permit, dated December 1958, states that the property's owner was The 5 Allen St. Corpn., President Morris Jaffe, and was occupied by a vacant four-story bath house and dormitory, forty feet in height, 87 feet deep and 25 feet wide on both the front and the back (Appendix B).

Since 1959, the project site has been a parking lot. An alteration plan dated July 8, 1959 states that the "Lot shall be graded to an approximately level surface and maintained so that no drainage will flow to adjoining property or sidewalk and will be surfaced with steam cinders gravel etc. rolled and compacted [with?] a binder to prevent dust." On the northwest side, an 8 X 8 inch wooden bumper was built three feet from the lot line.²² No building has stood on the project site since 1959.

In sum: the four-story brick tenement house at 5 Allen Street stood from 1861 until 1958. A bath house is first listed here in 1887. The rear portion of the building was extended to the western lot line during the 'teens or early 1920s, when it contained the boiler needed to heat water for the bath house. The foundations of this building have not been disturbed by subsequent construction.

B.1.a. Russian and Turkish Baths - Definitions and Practices

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a Russian bath was a steam room, while the Turkish bath was a hot room, like the present-day sauna. A "Russian" or "Turkish" bath might also refer to a bathing establishment which contained one or the other or both of these facilities. The distinction between a Russian and a Turkish bath was not rigid and steam rooms were also sometimes called "Turkish," as they are today.²³ Most Turkish baths, in the early 20th century, contained both steam and hot air rooms.²⁴

Whether Russian or Turkish, the bathing routine was the same: 1) a bout in the steam or hot air room during which the bather was lathered with soap, scrubbed and rinsed with hot water; 2) a massage given while the bather lay on a marble slab; 3) a reinvigorating hose-down with cold water or a plunge in a cold pool. In New York City's larger establishments, bathers could rest after their exertions on a cot, either in the changing area or in a dormitory on the upper floor(s).

The central attraction of the bath was the sweat room, where most of the action took place. "Flogging" was supposed to promote circulation:

The bath attendants come and flog you with birch twigs, cover you with the lather of soap, afterward rub it off, and then hold you over a jet of ice-cold water (...) In regular establishments you go after this and lie down on a bed for a time before issuing forth. But the Russians often dress in the open air, and instead of using the jet of cold water go and roll themselves in the snow.²⁵

"They used to beat each other up with birches," joked one elderly Coney Islander interviewed in Jonathan Berman's film, "The

Shvitz." Much of the film takes place in either the interior of New York City's old Tenth Street Turkish Baths or in an extremely cramped and dingy-looking Russian bath in Passaic, New Jersey. Offcamera, one old-timer told Mr. Berman that the New Jersey bath house had been converted from a Jewish ritual bath or mikvah.²⁶

In Passaic, the age-old elements of the standard Russian bath were still in evidence when "The Shvitz" was made, in 1993. The attendant, Benny, was a wiry old man who wore nothing but a cloth cap. He soaped the bathers in a circular motion, with the characteristic brushes made of bundled oak leaves called *basim*. After the bath, at a short counter in a narrow, cluttered room, the men drank vodka, "noshed," and lounged about on cots.

Florence Marmor witnessed "flogging" in visits with her mother to the Turkish bath at St. Marks place in the late 1930s or early 1940s.²⁷ A native New Yorker born in 1933, Mrs. Marmor stopped accompanying her mother to the baths ca. 1944-45 --as soon as she was "old enough to get out of it." In the steam room, friends and relatives sat in groups and hit each other with branches, claiming that it "made you sweat better." Attendants meanwhile soaped them down by hand and then hosed the bathers off. There were also rooms with showers, a room for massages and a big ice pool. Women would jump into the pool, splash water on their breasts and yell "Machiah!" in Yiddish: "It's wonderful!" After the bath, they lay on beds fitted with sparkling white sheets and a small pillow.

Mr. Joseph Schwartz recalled visits to various Turkish baths on the Lower East Side with his father, ca. 1930.²⁸ Born in 1916,

in Warsaw, Poland, Mr. Schwartz immigrated to the United States in 1922. He began accompanying his father to the Turkish baths when he was about thirteen or fourteen. "You got a locker and a bed," he said, "then you went down a flight of stairs to lie down on a marble slab." A bath attendant took a wooden bucket with hard octagon soap in it and filled it with hot and cold water. The soap, although coarse, was popular because it was the most inexpensive brand. The bath attendant took a bunch of leaves and swirled it around in the bucket to build up a lather, then lathered the bather on the slab. The attendant would also soap bathers in the Turkish bath, filling his bucket from a tap in the room. Located near the marble tables, the Turkish room contained a stove with white-hot rocks and a fire in it. Bathers brought wooden buckets filled with water into the room to throw on the rocks. Mr. Schwartz recalled that the bursts of heat from the steam were strong enough to pop open the room's swinging door. Rough wooden benches lined three walls in three-stepped tiers. After the steam room, bathers jumped in a cold pool. The men walked around "stark naked and only put on a cape to go up to eat."

Neither Mrs. Marmor nor Mr. Schwartz cared for the steam bath, which they found too hot. Although it was not uncommon for a child to accompany a parent to the baths, there were many more adults than children, and the nudity made both these interviewees feel self-consciously aware of their physical immaturity. But while Mr. Schwartz was "impressed" by the grown men's bodies, Mrs. Marmor was "bothered" by "all these naked women."²⁹

Since Mr. Berman made "The Shvitz," the Tenth Street Turkish Baths have added a sauna and second steam room with pumped in steam. The entrance of the five-story tenement building in which the baths are housed is reached by a broad flight of steps. On the first floor, at the reception desk, an attendant places valuables in safety deposit boxes, then hands out towels and a cotton robe. The rest of the front section of this floor is occupied by a food counter and small dining area. Screened off by a heavy curtain, the changing rooms in the back are equipped with lockers and benches. The bathing facilities are on the ground floor (street level), accessible by a stairway from the changing area. The main attraction is the old, concrete-lined Russian bath room, which is about 20 feet wide by 12 feet deep. The floor is composed of pebbles set in the concrete. To the left, the corner opposite the entrance contains the massive furnace, enclosed in floor-to-ceiling walls. To the right, three tiers of high steps line the wall, with faucets, regularly spaced along the front of the top-most step. Bathers douse themselves every few minutes from large plastic buckets brimming with water. The cold pool is about 6 by 10 feet. There are no marble slabs and only a few cots in the changing areas.

1.b. Russian and Turkish Baths - History

Both steam- and hot-air bathing are ancient and very widespread customs. Roman bath houses typically contained three hot rooms *en suite* maintained at different levels of heat so that bathers could accustom themselves to higher temperatures in gradual stages. The rooms were heated by hot air passing through conduits below the floors. In Ireland, the Celts built stone-lined chambers covered by dirt --for insulation-- and heated them with white-hot stones, as did the North American Indians, who also constructed tightly sewn tents for the purpose.

In Russia, the bath was similarly heated with "ordinary paving stones" but these were placed on top of or in the oven of a heating stove, and steam was created by pouring water over the stones.³⁰ Rural bath houses had only two rooms, one for changing and one for steam. Larger facilities might contain separate men's and women's sections, each with its own changing area and connected steam rooms, as in this early 20th century description of a bath house in Russia:

The passage from the door is divided into two, behind the check taker's port, one for the male and one for the female guests. We first enter an open space in which a set of men are sitting in a state of nudity on benches, those who have already bathed are dressing, while those who are going to undergo the process are taking off their clothes. Round this space or apartment are the doors leading to the vapor rooms. The bather is ushered into them and finds himself in a room full of vapor, which is surrounded by a wooden platform rising in steps to near the roof of the room.³¹

In New York City, private bathing establishments were listed in Business Directories as early as 1848.³² "Sulpher baths" are first mentioned in 1855, "vapor baths," in 1862, and "Russian vapor baths," owned by Edward Gutmann, in 1863. In 1865, Gutmann's baths advertised Turkish and Russian vapor baths. By the 1880s, New Yorkers could enjoy a variety of baths at over twenty bath houses in the city (Fig. 10).³³

An 1881 pamphlet advertising the Fifth Avenue Bath claimed that the hot air, or "Turkish" bath was invented by a certain Dr. Barter, who constructed the first one at St. Anns-on-the-Hill near Blarney, Ireland, in 1856.³⁴ Mr. Uruquhart introduced the Turkish bath to England and Dr. Shepard built one on Laight Street in New York in 1862.³⁵ The hot air bath, a new improvement in bathing, was considered more therapeutic than the steam bath.

The Fifth Avenue Bath's advertisement detailed at great length the innumerable benefits to be derived from the different cures available. Located at 5, 7 and 9 East 46th Street adjoining the Windsor Hotel, the establishment offered a dazzling array of pricey treatments including Turkish, Russian or Roman baths for \$1.50 and the more elaborate thermo-electric, sulphur vapor, mercurial vapor, arsenic vapor, iodine vapor, pine vapor and vichy baths for \$2.00 each. The sweating room was kept at 140-190° F.³⁶ There was no cold plunge.

The Lower East Side's Russian baths stood in sharp contrast to such fancy Victorian thermae, but they cost only a fraction of the price: a mere five cents in 1914, including a towel. The

Advertisement for R. Ream & Co., Russian Bath House, Wilson's Fig.10 Business Directory, 1867

It has been the endeavor of the proprietors, in the erection and management of these Baths, to combine the best features of the two most noted and valuable systems of Bathing—the Russian and the Turkish,—the Russian, in the application of vapor and the manner of cleansing the skin, together with the series of douches and plunges incident to a Russian Bath, thus effecting relaxation and reaction, producing a powerful and invigorating tonic effect; the Turkish, in the luxurious shampooing of the whole body.

Those taking these Baths regularly, and at proper intervals, will be fortified against all fluctuations in the weather, and be proof against colds and the diseases incident to them.

HOURS FOR BATHING.

From 7 A. M. to 11 P. M., and on Sundays, from 7 A. M. to 12 M.

DAYS FOR LADIES. Mondays, Wednesdays, & Fridays, from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M.

SINGLE BATH, \$1.25.

Five or more Tickets at the rate of \$1 each.

R. REAM & CO.,

Proprietors.

THE PERFUMED

Russian Baths,

GIBSON'S BUILDINGS, Broadway, corner 13th Street.

These Baths are certainly the largest and most luxurious on this continent, and are believed to be the finest in the world. Neither trouble nor expense has been spared to make them, in all their appointments, perfect.

To invalids, debilitated and weak, these Baths promise robust health; to the strong and hearty, a defence against the approaches of disease; to the lovers of rational pleasures, a luxury nowhere else to be found; and to all, that thorough cleanliness of person which is itself a delight, and not attainable in any other manner.

Travellers reaching the city, after a long journey, wearied and covered with smoke and dust, will find these Baths exceedingly grateful. A single Bath will so thoroughly relieve the weariness and fatigue of protracted travel, that the way-worn traveller comes from it as vigorous and as fresh for business as if his rest and habits had not been disturbed. multiplication of bath houses on the Lower East side occurred during the decades of large-scale Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe which began ca. 1880 and reached a peak during the first two decades of the 20th century.³⁷ The immigrants were accustomed to steam baths from the old country, and their arrival no doubt accounts for the increase. Moreover, bath houses were urgently needed because there were no bathrooms in the tenements. Rischin identified as Jewish the names of more than half of the city's bath-house proprietors in 1897:

... the proliferation of privately owned bathhouses in the city was attributable largely to the Jewish tenement population... In 1880, one or two of New York's twenty-two bathhouses were Jewish; by 1897, over half of the city's sixty-two bathhouses (including Russian, Turkish, swimming, vapor, medicated and bathhouses) were Jewish.38

But native New Yorkers who remembered the cholera epidemics of the 1840s and 50s disregarded the Lower East Side's bathing practices, focusing instead on the extremely crowded conditions and dirty streets of the immigrant neighborhood. They feared that it would become a breeding ground for contagion. To illustrate the rarity of home bathing facilities, ardent reformer Jacob Riis took a picture of a lone bath tub hanging from a window in a tenement's narrow air shaft and noted that it was the only bathtub in a block housing some 2781 people. The Tenement House Committee of 1894 reported that of 255,033 individuals, only 306 had access to bathrooms in their buildings.³⁹

Most tenants did their weekly bathing in a basin in the kitchen:

The only way in which occupants of tenement houses can bathe is by using a tub of some kind, filled from the faucet in the kitchen or from that in the hall, or with water carried up from the yard (...) it is difficult to secure the privacy which is necessary for the bath.⁴⁰

Concern for public health fuelled the public bath movement and. ultimately led to the creation of municipal baths. As early as 1852, the New York Association for the Poor opened the People's Washing and Bathing Establishment at 141 and 143 Mott Street, but this bath house closed c. 1862, apparently due to insufficient patronage." The rapid increase in population density on the Lower East Side from ca. 1880 on, however, created a pressing need for additional bathing facilities and in 1891, the Association opened a second public bath house, the People's Baths, at 9 Centre Street. Other private, charitable organizations followed suit during the 1890s. Although these organizations lobbied for publicly funded bath houses, the first municipal baths, at 326 Rivington St., only opened in 1901. A bath house at West 41st Street followed in 1904, and in 1905, the city opened the third municipal facility, the Allen Street Baths, at 133 Allen Street between Rivington and Delancey. Many individuals interviewed for this report remembered this public bath house because it outlasted all the others, closing finally in the early 1970s.

An 1884 <u>New York Daily Tribune</u> article entitled "The Cradle of Cholera Life in the Hebrew Quarter," emphasized the "miserable" water supply for poor families, who could hardly get enough for essential purposes like cooking. And yet, the author noted, the Jews managed to bath at regular intervals anyway:

[The "Polish Hebrews"] bathe with more or less regularity, and even the very poor frequent the "Mikvehs" belonging to the various synagogues, of which there are fifteen, all of them free, besides seven baths for which a small charge is made.⁴²

The habit of bathing went hand in hand with Jewish religious, practices related to purification and was ingrained in everyday Jewish life. The practice was institutionalized in the ritual bath or mikvah.⁴³

Contemporary authorities also recognized that bathing was healthful; it was thought to account for the superior constitution of the Jews compared to other immigrant groups." According to Dr. Maurice Fishberg,

The pious use the bath as often as possible, and as required in the form of the mickva (sic). The Russian baths are very numerous in the Jewish quarters, and very much frequented. "I cannot get along without a 'sweat' (Russian bath) at least one a week," many a Jew will tell you. On the days when these Russian baths admit only women, they are also crowded with women and children.⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that on the one hand, immigrant groups were not among those clamoring for public baths, and on the other, that the public charities and governmental agencies that studied the question paid scant attention to the bathing facilities created and operated by the immigrants themselves. Why did these organizations virtually ignore the commercial bath houses' contribution to immigrant cleanliness? They were certainly aware of the pleasures and reputed healthfulness of the Turkish or Russian baths in their own districts. It is true, however, that the Lower East Side's heavily used baths were not noted for their salubrity and perhaps for this reason, as much as to wean the immigrants of foreign habits and assimilate them, reformers advocated the public bath's quick, Spartan showers over the lengthy sweats and ablutions of the Oriental method. According to Marilyn Williams,

Nativism, in a paternalistic but not xenophobic sense, also played a role in the rationale for public baths. The Bath reformers asserted that the encouragement of regular bathing habits would assist in the Americanization and assimilation of the immigrant, and indeed most public baths were located in immigrant neighborhoods.⁴⁶

Wallace A. Manheimer of Columbia University, who conducted a bacteriological study of the Lower East Side's bathing pools in 1914-15, reported on the sanitary conditions in various types of "mikveh." He noted that the "term "mikveh," as commonly used by the Jewish people included baths of similar type though not always of a purely ritual nature."⁴⁷ The "common mikvehs" or plunge baths, used purely for bathing were not religiously sanctioned. As customary in Russia, baths were shared.

The condition of the water was so bad that Manheimer recommended they be closed down altogether:

After use the water is thick and slimy, the surface covered with scum from the bodies of the bathers and a disgusting odor noticeable.⁴⁸

In his reports, the scientist also described baths combining a "common mikvah" with "Turkish sweat rooms."⁴⁹ These establishments contained sleeping accommodations, baths and sweat baths --like the Turkish baths but without masseurs-- and a cold water pool or plunge called a mikvah although it was not sanctified. The plunge pool in a bath of this type was cleaner than in the "common mikveh."

The "common mikvehs" were installed in tenement houses. One or more warm water pools occupied

...the ground floors and cellars. Some, however, are located in loft buildings, in yards of tenement buildings, and a few in stables. A separate coal furnace for hot water is invariably on the premises to supply hot water for the mikvehs, tub baths, and shower baths, if present (...) The approach to the mikveh is frequently by means of a narrow wooden staircase leading down to the cellar, where the bath is located.⁵⁰

Three hundred individuals might bathe in a 200 cubit foot plunge before the water was changed, resulting in the highest observed concentrations of bacteria.⁵¹ The mostly tile-lined, on average 5 by 6 foot pools, were "sunk in the ground." They were kept at different temperatures so that bathers might proceed from the coolest to the warmest, the water varying between 104° and 130° F. The pools generally held 175 cubic feet of water, though a few contained Allowing about more than 300. 100 gallons for displacement, the size of these pools ranged from roughly 6.5 by 6.5 by 6 feet deep to 8 by 8 by 6 feet. Dressing rooms were equipped with wooden compartments and some had rows of couches. The establishments supplied soap, bath tub brushes and hair combs and brushes.

In 1926, the Health Department listed 55 bath houses in Manhattan of which 29 were located on the Lower East Side.⁵² Among these was the Allen Russian Baths, on the project site, and the baths described below.

Sylvia Foont's father had a bath house on Sheriff Street from ca. 1927 to 1931, and Ann Bader, interviewed by Suzanne Wasserman and the writer, said that her parents operated a bath house at 9

Essex Street, between Canal and Hester Streets from ca. 1927 to 1947.⁵³ Both establishments provided sleeping facilities for men only, and were open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, except religious holidays and vacations. The clientele was not limited to Jews: Italians, Poles and other non-Jewish immigrants also visited the baths.⁵⁴

While many better-off Jews were moving away from the neighborhood in the 1920s and 30s, Ann Bader's relatively affluent family chose to remain on the Lower East Side because they felt at home there. They lived on the second floor of a three-story building above a "Syrian schul" on the first floor, and the baths, at street level and in the basement. The top floor was used for storage.

Behind the house was a yard, a three-story back building containing the men's bath house, and a shed housing the furnace that heated both steam rooms. Men did not walk through the front building to reach their bath house, but entered a door at the side of the building that led through a passageway and out a back door into the yard. The men's side was much larger and better appointed than the women's. There was a swimming pool --accessible to women only on Tuesdays-- and a dormitory. The pool, steam room and massage table were in the basement. Men who slept over would go straight to work from the baths the next morning: It was no doubt pleasant not to have to go back out into the cold night after a relaxing bath and an evening of eating, drinking and playing cards until the wee hours.

On the women's side of the bath house, a number of treatments were offered in addition to the traditional massage.⁵⁵ On the ground floor, her mother did cupping to relieve congestion, while Mrs. Bader's two sisters, who were beauticians, dressed hair and gave manicures.⁵⁶ From the locker room in the back, stairs led down to the steam room, marble massage table and mikvah. Many women came after work, around six or seven o'clock, and stayed for hours, telling stories, singing, and eating the food they brought with them or sending Mrs. Bader out to the Garden Cafe for take-out. Her mother ran a poker game in the back where the women gambled for small amounts of money. Friday nights were especially busy on both the women's and men's sides, as people came to prepare for their weekend dates. A detailed description of the women's bath is included in the following section because it had a mikvah, as well as a steam room and other typical bath house facilities.

Sylvia Foont, whose parents' bath house did not include a "women's side" or a mikvah, reported that on ladies' days --Mondays and Wednesdays-- women could stay until midnight, when the men returned to sleep. The Foont's bath house was at street level in a four story building. There were Russian (steam) and Turkish (dry heat) baths, a swimming pool and six stone massage slabs. The Turkish room contained lounge chairs where bathers lay warming themselves, swathed in a sheet. The steam room was equipped with the usual three or four benches.

The only surviving old-style Russian bath house in Manhattan is the 10th Street Baths, described in the previous section.

2.a. Mikvah Baths - Definition

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A mikvah is a pool, specially constructed according to Jewish law, used for ritual immersions. The term is also applied to the facility which contains the mikvah. Today, the mikvah is not viewed as a bath house, although modern mikvahs include, in addition to the mikvah pool, bath tubs in which individuals may thoroughly cleanse themselves, as required by Jewish law, before undergoing the ritual dunking in the mikvah pool.

The mikvah is used for purificatory immersions only, in Hebrew, tevilah. An indispensable element of orthodox Jewish life --even surpassing the synagogue in importance-- a visit to the mikvah is mandatory for brides before their marriage and married women after menstruation or childbirth; elective for men or women before the sabbath, and customary for either sex before the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur.⁵⁷ Today, the mikvah is used primarily by women, who bathe singly, in general only once a month. Currently, in certain orthodox communities, men may bathe weekly, on the eve of the sabbath, or even daily, before prayers.

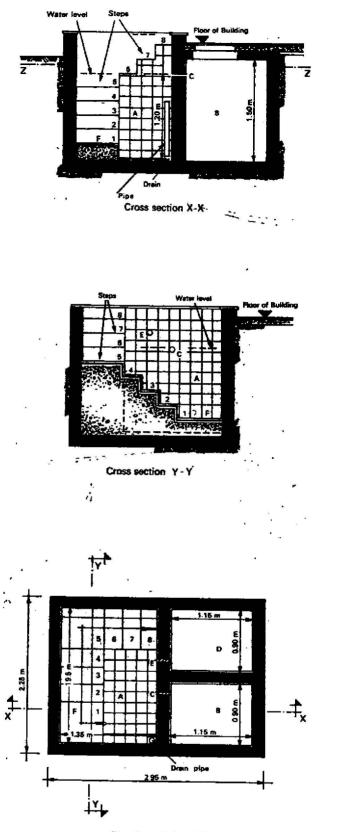
Virgin girls and unmarried women do not use the mikvah; the bridal visit is normally the first in an orthodox woman's life.⁵⁸ A married couple may not have sexual intercourse just before, during, or for seven days after, a women's menstrual period, for a total of at least twelve days. During menstruation, the woman must be separated or removed. The body of laws that deal with this condition are referred to as the "family purity laws." A married woman goes discretely to the mikvah, alone, during the evening

hours after sunset because her visit signals that she is preparing to resume sexual relations with her husband. From this practice no doubt stems the superstition that the first thing a women sees after leaving the mikvah will affect the "conception of the potential child."⁵⁹

Immersion is an integral element in conversion to Judaism or may be performed by a Jew to repent for apostasy or as a general act of repentance and spiritual rebirth. Metal cooking and eating utensils, *kelim*, which were made or owned by a non-Jew must be "converted" by immersion in a mikvah.⁶⁰

Much broader in its original meaning than in current American usage, mikvah in Hebrew means simply "a collection [of water]." Indeed, the Jewish scriptures, the Torah, provides but the sketchiest of descriptions: "Only a spring and a pit a gathering of water [it] shall be clean ... " (Leviticus 11:36).61 The detailed discussions of which "collections of water" may be acceptable for ritual immersion, as well as the specifications which form the basis for the pool's construction, derive from Jewish oral law, codified by rabbis in the Mishna in the early 3rd century C.E. The most important commentaries interpreting this body of Jewish law, with respect to the mikvah, are Maimonides' magisterial study of the Mishna, written in the 12th century, and the Shulhan Arukh, written by Joseph Karo in the 16th century.⁶² Because a detailed knowledge of the laws is necessary to ensure that the construction will result in a kosher mikvah, all mikvahs, in principle, should be built under the supervision of a Rabbi.

Fig. 11



Plan through line Z-Z

Fig. 11.	Plan (of M	ikveh	Fed	hv	the
nasnakan	and O	zar	2oril:	ah Ma		F
<u>Encyclopa</u>	<u>edia</u>	Juda	<u>ica</u> , p	b. 15	542,	8

8 -Ozar Hashekeh

A - Mikveh

C-Aperture connecting Ozer Heshekeh with Mikreh

D-Ozar Zeri'ah -

- E Aperture connecting Oter Zerr'ah with Mikveh F "Nenes" a step for short people to stand on while bathing in Mikveh

In the <u>Mishna</u>, the rabbis calculated that the mikvah must contain a minimum of 40 se'ah of water because the bather must be able to immerse his or her entire body in the pool during *tevilah*. But the basic unit of the se'ah, is a cubic etsba, and an etsba is the width of a finger, which naturally varies between individuals. The amount of water required for the mikvah is therefore variable depending on the interpretation of the smallest unit of measure. It may be as little as 61.4 gallons. Today, most mikvahs contain much more: usually 960 liters (990 gallons) and according to one Rabbi consulted on this question, "everyone builds not below 750 liters (795 gallons)."⁶³

The mikvah must be at least partly filled with water that has not been carried in a vessel but has flowed directly into the immersion pool. Rainwater may be channeled in a pipe to the mikvah, or ice or snow may be carried to the mikvah in the hands. Only a small amount of this "pure spring water," mayim hayyim, is required to make a mikvah kosher, as ordinary water which comes into contact with the mayyim hayyim becomes pure. Pure water may be conducted from a smaller pool, called a bor, ("pit") into one or more mikvahs one of two ways (Fig. 11): the bor and the main pool share a "party wall" with a small opening near the top through which the two waters mingle or "kiss" (ozar hashakah); or, the bor may be separated and slightly elevated above the immersion pool and its waters flow into the mikvah via a pipe running under the floor (ozar zeri'ah). In the zeri'ah method, rainwater is first introduced into the pool, then ordinary water is added and becomes

ritually pure by contact with the rainwater. The two systems of rendering water ritually pure are often combined to back each other up. In some mikvahs, the troughs which conducts rainwater to the pools may be above the floor, to allow for verification by future. rabbis. This feature was adopted in the restoration of the Mikvah of East Side, the oldest of the three mikvahs currently operating in Manhattan (see below).

Metal is not recommended as a vehicle for conducting pure water into the pool, but formerly, all water pipes were made of clay or wood, and the issue did not arise. Today's metal pipes are avoided in favor of plastic.⁶⁴ The pipe conducting the water from the roof to the mikvah is carefully constructed and positioned so that water will not collect in pockets, thus turning the pipe into a container, which is not permitted. To avoid the possibility of water collecting in the joints used to connect pipes of equal width, sections of pipes of gradually increasing width may be fitted by direct overlapping.

The pool itself may not have the character of a container, such as a bath tub or tank and must therefore be attached to the ground either directly, by being dug into it, or indirectly, by being an integral part of the building --itself attached to the ground-- in which it is located. The simplest solution is to dig a pool into the ground, in the basement of the building. But a builtin fixture, on any floor is permissible: a modern, three-story mikvah in Israel was built with pools for men, women and *kelim* on three separate floors.⁶⁵ A prefabricated pool would only be

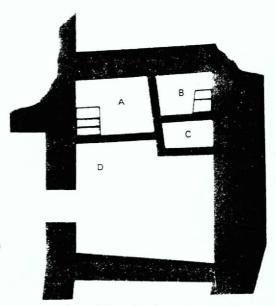
permissible if it was not intended to serve as a container prior to its installation. A tank with a large drain hole in the bottom, that was not intended to be sealed would be acceptable, but leakage will invalidate a mikvah and pools without drains in the bottom are therefore recommended. In all mikvahs, a few steps lead down into the pool.

It is not necessary to provide separate mikvahs for men and women, or for *kelim* (utensils). Men and women may bathe in water used by the opposite sex but may not enter the place where the mikvah is located at the same time. There is no difficulty if there are separate wings for men and women with separate entrances, as seen in a modern mikvah in Ashdod, Israel.⁶⁶ As for *kelim*, Rabbi Feinstein, who is an expert on mikvah construction, explained that for practical reasons the preferred solution is to build a separate, more accessible mikvah for this purpose, for instance on the exterior of the building; to make it smaller than the pool where people immerse; and to raise it above the ground, so that users will not have to bend down to purify their vessels. If something breaks in the *kelim* mikvah, the shards need not be immediately removed before subsequent use because there is no fear of injury.

Rededicated on June 2, 1996, the Mikvah of East Side occupies the first floor of a four story, red brick and limestone building at 311-313 East Broadway that was built in 1904 as a settlement house (Fig. 14).⁶⁷ One enters into a small, attractively furnished waiting area decorated with a large bouquet of flowers on a table

by the window. There are three coat cupboard doors on the wall opposite the entrance. A fourth door, on the extreme right, leads into a narrow corridor running to the back of the building. Doors off this corridor lead into the bathrooms and the mikvahs. An elevator has taken the place of one of the four pairs of bathrooms that flanked the four mikvahs. Each bathroom contains a bath tub and sink and communicates with the mikvah next to it. The mikvahs are approximately 4 by 6 1/2 by 4 feet deep. Originally, they were rendered kosher by the ozar zeri'ah method alone. Ozar hasnakah pools may have been added ca. 1960. The feeder pools are under the floor but Rabbi Rosenberg, who advised Rabbi Feinstein on the renovation, recommended that the concrete channels that conduct water to the feeder pools should be above the floors wherever possible to permit verification. There are two holes in the mikvah pools near the top: an open one which communicates with the ozar hasnakah and one sealed by a plastic cork, which communicates via a channel with the ozar zeri'ah. The pools are emptied by siphons.

According to Rabbi Feinstein, when earlier renovations were made ca. 1960, a pipe was installed running from the roof through the building, and terminating above the dropped ceiling of the mikvah.⁶⁸ He speculated that temporary runs connecting this truncated pipe to one or the other of the pools was fitted whenever the need for fresh water arose. In the recent restoration, this system was replaced by a single length of pipe running from the roof to the first floor, on the back of the building, connected to pipes that can supply the feeder pools.⁶⁹

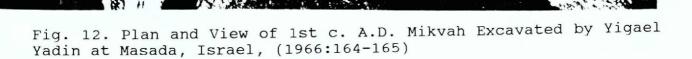


A, pool for collecting rain-water through conduit or cesspit, D: B, the actual bath connected to A by a pipe: C, the smallest pool for washing of hands and feet before immersion in the *mikve* B.

The ritual bath or mikte in the southern wall after excavation.

Note the three pools and the

plastered water conduit on the left.



2.b. Mikvah Baths - History

The history of the mikvah is as old as the Jewish people. Yet in spite of its central role in orthodox Jewish life, very little has been written about its history in America and there are precious few documents regarding the early mikvahs of New York City. Today, more people are aware of the 1st century A.D. mikvahs discovered by Yigael Yadin at Masada in Israel than of the early 20th century mikvahs that existed in Lower East side tenement buildings (Fig. 12). But it should be said at the outset that no listings of these facilities has been found and no tenement basement pool is known to have survived. Moreover, "mikvah" in 19th and early 20th century documents may refer to several different kinds of Jewish bath, not just the religiously sanctified pool, and this makes it difficult to isolate and study the specifically ritual fixture. In the following historical summary, the term designates only the sanctified pool.

The first mikvah in New York City was built in 1759 by Congregation Shearith Israel in the yard behind the Mill Street Synagogue.⁷⁰ Water was supplied by the spring that powered the mill formerly located on the site. After the Mill Street mikvah closed, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun built a facility in 1833 for the Elm Street synagogue with \$460 raised by public subscription.⁷¹

Congregation Ansche Slonim built a synagogue in 1850 at 174-176 Norfolk Street. The synagogue was the largest and most important of its day and is the oldest surviving synagogue building in New York City. In 1892, the Congregation applied for a permit to

"make a connection" from the bath establishment next door at 178 Norfolk Street to the basement of the synagogue, "to provide a dressing room with plunge." The building at 178 Norfolk Street was erected in 1890. Its bathing establishment was in the basement and. in 1893, a dressing room was added at the rear of the first floor. The plunge had a brick wall around it 16 inches on the top and 2 feet 4 inches on the bottom, "well laid in cement and plastered in cement to make it water tight." There was also an 8 inch brick wall around the dressing room. 72 The alterations were made by the last Jewish congregation to use the synagogue, the First Hungarian Ohab Zedek Verein, which moved to Harlem in 1906. Subsequently, according to Gerard Wolfe, the building "stood vacant for a number of years."73 The synagogue is currently owned by the Angel Orensanz Foundation, an arts organization that holds exhibitions, lectures and concerts, and promotes the building's conservation. Al Orensanz said that the synagogue's basement floor is solid, wall-to-wall concrete. He has spoken with many former congregants but none ever mentioned or remembered the mikvah."

In a letter dated 1887, Rabbi Moses Weinberger, a Hungarian-Jewish immigrant to New York, wrote that a mikvah had been installed in the synagogue of congregation Anshei Sfarad under the study hall (*bet-midrash--*the *bet-midrash* is often located in the basement of synagogues, as in the Eldridge Street Synagogue). This bath consisted of

...two trenches one next to the other, with a dividing wall between them that is breached at the top in such a way that when one side is filled, the other fills up through the breach.⁷⁵

Since there were no streams on the Lower East Side, the purity of New York's mikvahs was replenished by mayim hayyim in the form of snow, ice or rain. But Jewish law was not always rigidly adhered to, and it remains an open question whether or not the mikvahs were strictly kosher.⁷⁶ According to Rabbi Weinberger,

With regard to mikva'os - the means of constructing them and keeping them kosher- it is very difficult, for we have neither wells nor running streams. All the water comes through pipes and it must be rendered kosher through snow, ice and rainwater. [...] we must rely on the evidence and trustworthiness of one person: the bath attendant. In New York the bath attendants are not all righteous people. Moreover, there are days when it is impossible to rely even on the righteous and innocent among them, for example before the holidays -especially the high holidays- when their burdens and work are great. The few poor rabbis whom we have here make the mikvah kosher initially, and get paid. After they have certified it, they have nothing more to do with it: possession passes to the hands of the bath attendant."

When mikvahs were connected to synagogues, the mikvah caretakers might be the sexton, *shamas*, and his wife. There is some evidence, however, that others could be pressed into service. Congregation B'nai Jeshurun tried to induce their newly hired Hebrew teacher to assume this duty, but he declined.⁷⁶

During the 1880s, the first generation of immigrants had established itself and some prospered. The Eldridge Street Synagogue, the largest and most richly decorated of the neighborhood's temples, was built in 1886.⁷⁹ As indicated in the <u>New York Daily Tribune</u> article cited above, fifteen mikvahs were attached to synagogues in 1884. In 1903 to 1905, there were sixteen connected to synagogues.⁸⁰ Not all synagogues had mikvahs attached to them. There is no mikvah connected to the Eldridge Street

Synagogue, and no mention of a mikvah in the Synagogue's minutes from 1890-1916. Since this synagogue was a bastion of orthodoxy, the question arises, where did its congregants perform the required ritual immersions?

Although a sanctioned pool is supposed to be built under the direction of a Rabbi, it need not remain under the supervision of a synagogue. There were also independently run mikvahs --as there are today-- and while the number of mikvahs attached to synagogues did not increase between ca. 1884 and c. 1905 --in spite of massive Jewish immigration to the East Side in those decades-- commercial, Russian-Turkish bath houses proliferated, and some of these contained a ritual bath in addition to their sweat room and other facilities. As mentioned above, the bath house next door to the synagogue at 174-176 Norfolk Street contained a mikvah in its basement. Another bath house with a mikvah advertised in a 1916 Ladino newspaper:

Turkish bath. L. Diamant. 240-244 Eldridge St. Near Houston St. New York. Wednesdays for women only. 20 marble baths. Kosher mikva. Open every day and night of the week.⁸¹

Unfortunately, few individuals still remember the period of this advertisement, and the oral histories and interviews collected for this study do not go back further than the late 1920s. The majority of respondents did not know of any mikvahs connected to Russian baths in the 1930s and 1940s, nor did they believe that such a combination would have existed: the environment of the sweat bath was sociable and sensual, quite the opposite of the mikvah, which was a holy place connected with intensely private, family

matters. It was a "secret place," said one woman, that was entered and exited discretely, after nightfall. However, a man in Jonathan Berman's film says "...and we'd sit and play cards all night long after going through, you know, the ritual baths, the steam rooms and the rub downs," and Mrs. Ann Bader described in detail the kosher mikvah, "built to specifications," on the women's side of her parents' bath house on Sheriff Street.

As described above in section IV.B.1.b., the women's and men's bath houses were completely separate, with separate entrances. Women clients used the pool each month after menstruation but aside from Rabbis, who came before the holidays, the immersion pool was not regularly used by men.⁸² People did use it to kosher pots and silverware. The women, mostly regulars who came every week for the shvitz, began arriving around two or three o'clock in the afternoon. Entering on the ground floor, they were greeted by Mrs. Bader's mother, who ran the women's side of the bath house. The one assistant, a very orthodox masseuse, normally wore a wig (*scheitel*) but covered her head in a turban when she worked. When the old woman retired, a Polish masseuse took her place.

The bathing facilities in the basement included the mikvah, a steam room, a marble slab where massages were given, private showers, one bath tub, a bidet, and a toilet. The mikvah was not private:

When you came upstairs from the steam room, from the bath house itself, you were dressed. Downstairs, everybody walked around nude...The steam room was a small little room, it had two tiers that you could sit up, and a bench on the side. Then when you came out of the steam room, there was a shower. You could regulate the shower it

wasn't a cold shower. To the right was the mikvah, that you walked up five steps. And right alongside of the mikvah was the slab table for the massage. Then my mother had an enclosed little room, for women who were, I guess, shy the first time, so that you could walk behind there to put on your robe. She also had three couches down there that you could lie down to rest, if you wanted to, before you came upstairs, which had about, I would, say ten cot sized beds that you could lie with pillows and bedding just to relax.⁸³

Mrs. Bader also spoke about customs related to a Sephardic bride's prenuptial, first visit to the mikvah. The Sephardic custom was very different from the Ashkenazy, she noted. The "Syrian" brides came to the mikvah with an entourage of female relatives, laden with food, to celebrate the event. In addition to cutting the nails, which is common practice, the bride's body was completely shaved, including the pubic area. Then, while the bride was naked, the other women "carried on," dancing around her with "clickers and tambourines." Mrs. Bader's mother --and occasionally Mrs. Bader herself-- took the bride downstairs to the mikvah and said the prayer. After the ritual immersion, the women feasted and danced.

According to custom, the first man that a bride sees after the mikvah must be Jewish. So before she was allowed to go out into the street where she might spy a non-Jewish man, Mrs. Bader's father would come to the woman's side and "stick his head into the baths part, and have the bride look at him."

While it is certain that Russian-Turkish bath houses might contain a mikvah, direct evidence is scant. There is no way at present to gauge how commonly they occurred in this context or how long they functioned as ritual pools. There is at least one case of a mikvah that was transformed into a bath house. Now very down-atheel, this Russian bath house appears in Jonathan Berman's film, "The Shvitz." Mr. Berman said that one old timer told him that the bath had been converted from a mikvah after the synagogue with which it was associated "couldn't make a go of it financially."

There is even less information about the simplest mikvah operations in tenement basements, those not connected to bath houses. Manheimer found that the water in these pools was no worse than in New York City's "poorly conducted swimming pools." Their water quality was better than in the "common mikvehs," because they were normally used by only about fifteen people a day, and rarely by more than 30. According to the scientist, the sanctified mikvahs contained approximately 200 cubic feet of water, maintained at a "somewhat higher temperature than the body."⁸⁴

The focus on public health and on improving living conditions in the tenements, along with the ideological impetus provided by the public bath movement, resulted in a dialogue on mikvah sanitation between the Department of Health and the Jewish Community Authorities, the *Kehillah*. A private charitable organization, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, was also involved in the discussion. Although there was a charge --from 15 to 50 cents-- the sanctified mikvahs could not be regulated as commercial establishments because of the separation of church and state: the mikvah was a religious institution. In any case, enforcement would have been difficult without the cooperation of the community's authorities.⁸⁵

The Jewish community presented the problem to the Board of

Rabbis (Vaad Horabbonim), who "stimulated the formation of the Mikvah Owners' Association" to monitor sanitary conditions. But within a year or two, the Association discontinued its inspections. Members, seeing "little benefit from the considerable expense of sanitizing...ceased to pay their quarterly dues," and the Association disbanded.⁸⁶

It was difficult to provide clean water and even if showers were available, users may have been unwilling to pay the extra 5 cents for a preliminary cleansing. Among the younger generation of the 1910s and 20s, many were ignorant of the family purity laws, and considered the mikvah archaic and unimportant. Already in 1919, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis reported that the observance of these laws had declined.*7 The frequent lack of cleanliness offered an immediate excuse to turn away from the practice: newer apartment buildings had modern bathrooms and many women no doubt felt it was cleaner and more comfortable to bathe at home than at the mikvah.** A much neglected facility in terms of community investment, the mikvah was bemoaned as "that Cinderella among religious institutions."**

Syvlia Foont, who went to a mikvah only before her marriage in 1935 -- at the urging of her mother-in-law-- said that it was "like a hole in the ground":

All I remember is having to walk into a dark door and the place looked so dirty that I paid them a sum of money to empty out the mikvah and clean it up and put in fresh water for me.⁹⁰

Judge Bookson, who escorted his mother to the mikvah as a boy, in the early 1940s -- and later went by himself-- found the mikvah a dismal place, dimly lit by a single, naked bulb. The entrance to the waiting room was down two or three steps under the stoop. There was only one mikvah, in the cellar (below the basement).

The continued migration of Jews to other neighborhoods, the drop in immigration occasioned by the 1924 Immigration law and competition from the cleaner public and private baths no doubt all contributed to the eventual demise of the tenement mikvah-baths. It is not known when they finally disappeared: perhaps the last to close was one on 5th Street, sometime in the 1950s or 60s, according to Rabbi Feinstein. An elderly and very reticent woman who grew up on East 3rd Street said she visited a tenement mikvah on that street as well as one on East 5th Street. She thought they were both located in the block between Avenues C and D. There were bath tubs on the ground floor where one entered, while the mikvah was "lower down," in the basement.

During the 1920s and 30s, proponents of the mikvah embarked on an active campaign to attract modern Jewish brides, arguing that periods of sexual abstinence would strengthen the marriage bond while adherence to the family purity laws would promote a woman's health by "alleviating menstrual toxins."²¹ Until his death in 1939, the wealthy Rabbi David Miller, of Oakland California, made it his mission to educate women about the laws of family purity (Fig. 13). He travelled around the country distributing <u>The Secret</u> <u>of the Jew</u>, his popular, free handbook on family law published in 1930. For modern, hygiene-conscious women who also craved privacy, Rabbi Miller gave instructions on how to build a kosher home-mikvah

Fig. 13

בקשת הרבנים

By request of the rabbis, this announcement shall be distributed, posted in Jewish assembly places and synagogues, that it may reach the attention of interested parties, and every observant Jew and Jewess shall endeavor to help the movement for this cause.

מהרת משפחת ישראל

A CALL FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE SACREDNESS OF THE JEWISH HOME

The new book

"THE SECRET OF THE JEW"

IS NOW READY FOR DISTRIBUTION

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Endorsed by Leading Rabbis

Preface by DR. RABBI BERNARD REVEL, President of The Yeshiva College of America, N.Y.

Foreword by DR. C. H. HILLEL KAUVAR, Rabbi of the Congregation Beth Ha Medrash Hagodel and Professor of Rabbinic Literature, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.

This work, dedicated to the purity of Jewish family life, is written in English, principally for the young English-speaking Jews. It explains, from many angles, in a modern way, psychologically and scientifically, the importance of the observance of Nidah-Tvilah-Mikvah.

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The technical laws relating to the subject, i. e., Fundamental Rules of Nidah-Tvilah, Fundamental Rules of Mikvah, are presented in a concise, graphic manner, so that any man or woman may clearly understand them. It also contains a chapter, "How to Make a Mikvah," with architectural, practical working plans and illustrations.

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The volume consists of 23 chapters, 512 pages, illustrated, cloth-bound.

IT IS NOT FOR SALE

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To those who are not within calling distance the book may be delivered by American Railway Express (transportation collect). Those who have not that delivery service in their vicinity may obtain the book by parcel post, enclosing postage equivalent to cover 2 lbs. of merchandise, insured for \$5.00, according to distance or zone. Applicants outside the United States should enclose a Postal Money Order to cover transportation. For the amount, consult U. S. Postal Circular III—July, 1928, or your local postmaster.

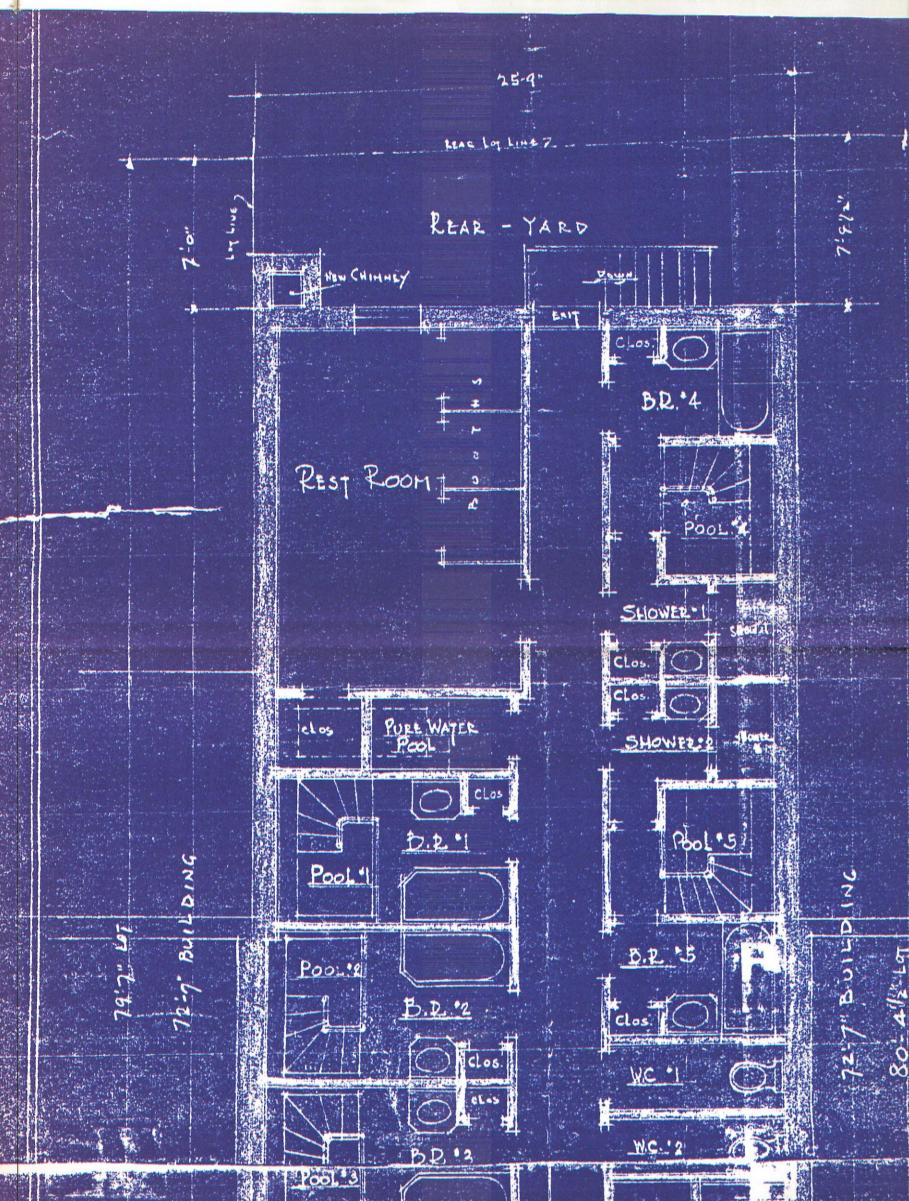
NO OTHER COMPENSATION WILL BE ACCEPTED

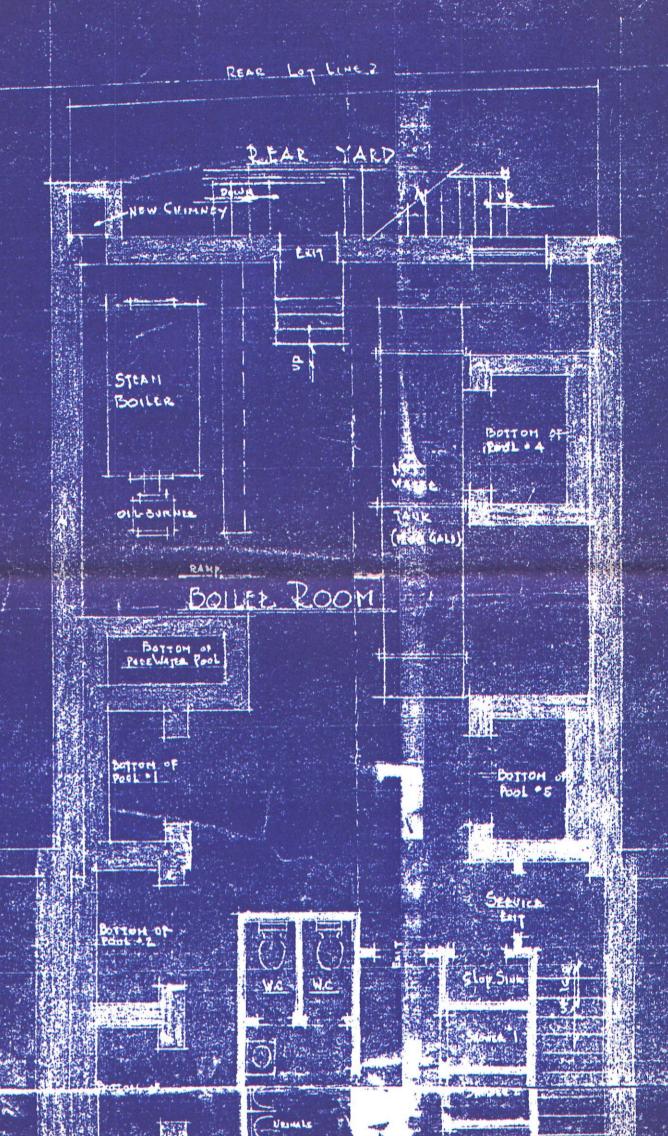
ADDRESS: RABBI DAVID MILLER, 127 Sheridan Road, Oakland, Calif. (U.S.A.)

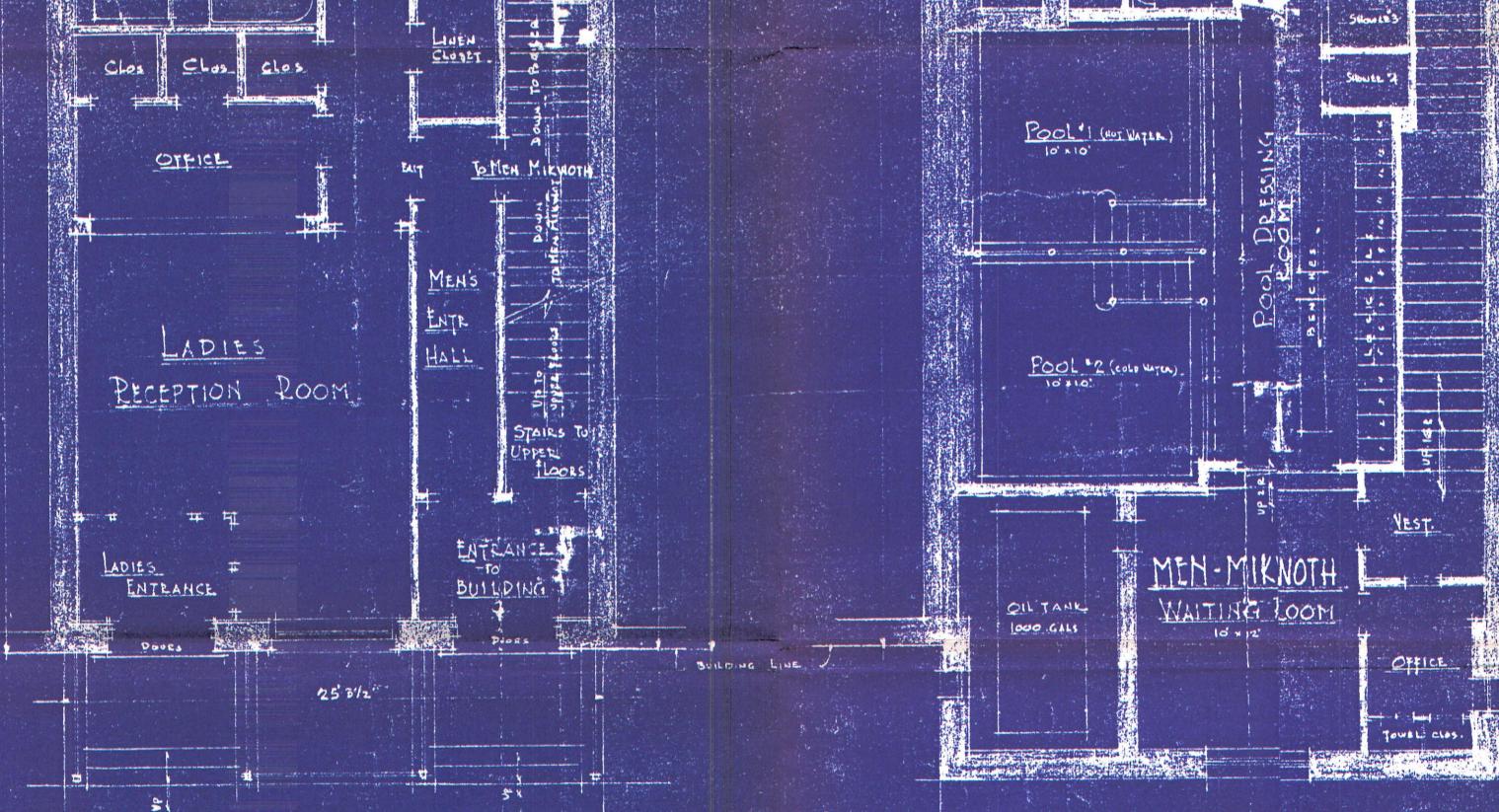
Fig. 13. Announcement for Rabbi David Miller's <u>The Secret of the Jew</u>; Yeshiva University Archives, Collection Benjamin Koenigsberg, box 19, folder no. 6 which could be disguised as a piece of furniture.^{*2} On a visit to New York in 1930, Miller, accompanied by community leader Benjamin Koenigsberg, inspected the mikveh that Rabbi Margolies had built in his home on East Broadway.^{*3}

In the late 1930s, orthodox social and religious leaders like Benjamin Koenigsberg and Joe Rosenzweig began building new, more attractive mikvahs in New York.⁹⁴ In 1940, Koenigsberg founded Manhattan's oldest surviving mikvah, the "Downtown Women's Club" at 311 East Broadway (Fig. 14) Now called The Mikvah of East Side, the facility was restored under the supervision of Rabbis Feinstein and Rosenberg, and rededicated June 2, 1996. Rabbi Feinstein currently oversees the mikah's operation.

A plan for this facility, dated October 25, 1939, revised January 18, 1940, shows that it was once intended to contain separate men's and women's mikvahs, reached by separate entrances to the basement and first floors, respectively (Fig. 15). This plan was not adopted, although the present women's facilities is similar in plan, with rooms opening off either side of a long corridor that extends to the back of the building. The plan shows three private bathrooms to the left of the corridor --each containing a bath tub, sink, closet and mikvah pool and to the right, a room containing a mikveh pool flanked by, and communica- ting with, a bathroom on one side and a shower-room on the other. The mikvahs were rendered kosher by the *ozar zeri'ah* method: a single, "pure water pool" is located behind the third mikvah-room on the left. In the men's mikveh, the entrance opens into a waiting room with a vestry and







FIRST-FLOOD-PLAN

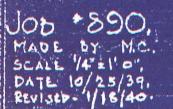
DASEMENT FLOOP PLAN

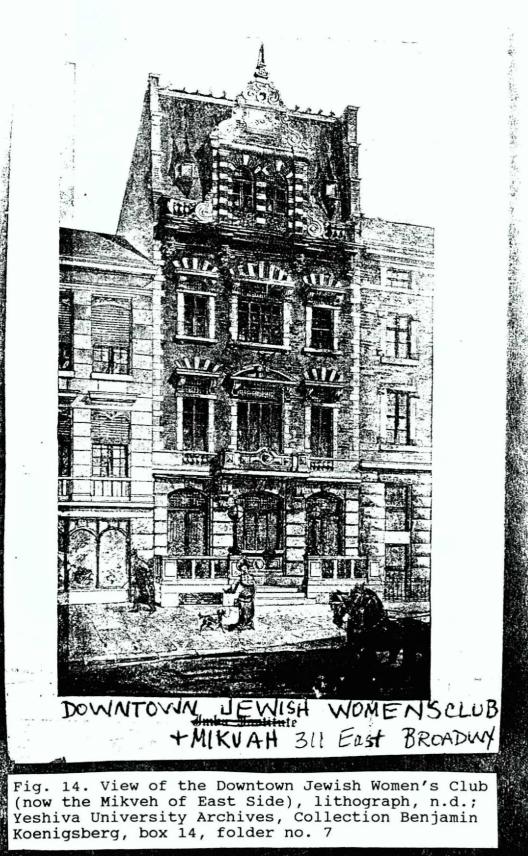
PROPOSED-LADIES + MEN-MIKWOTH

TO DE ERECTED AT "JIL EAST BROADWAY. NEW YORK CITY. AGUDATH TAHARATH MISHPACHAH OF EAST JIDE, INC. OWNERS

MAURICE COURLAND& SON ARCHITECTS + ENGINEERS 29 WEST 34TH STR. N.Y. CITY

Borlos Line





office to the right, and a room containing an oil tank to the left. Behind the waiting room is a large, open space enclosing a dressing area with benches and lockers on the right, and two 10 by 10 foot pools, one hot, one cold, on the left.⁹⁵ There are no bathtubs: only four showers beyond the lockers.

The architectural forms of these mikvahs proceeds directly from the way the facilities were intended to be used. The public character of the basement plan suits the men's practice of communal immersion, undertaken before prayer. The ritual, and therefore the plan, are quite distinct from the private, lengthy cleansing of the women, which is accomplished as a preparation for sexual intimacy.

· `*

Since at least 1956, there have been only three mikvahs in Manhattan: the "Jewish Women's Club," on West 78th Street, the Mikvah of Washington Heights at 4351 Broadway, and the Mikvah of East Side." Washington Heights and the Upper West side are home to younger, more dynamic and more affluent Orthodox communities than the old Jewish community of the East Side. Washington Heights is a center of intellectual activity: Yeshiva University, a large, Orthodox rabbinical college is located here. The fashionable Upper West Side boasts the avant-garde Lincoln Square Synagogue, which is very popular with the dating set, as men and women sit on opposite sides of the sanctuary facing one another." On a Saturday morning, West End Avenue is crowded for blocks by families with small children, everyone in Sabbath finery. The men wear *kipot* (scullcaps), and a prayer shawl under their dark suits. The women wear dresses or skirts with dressy shoes --never pants-- and

married women, as is customary, wear hats. The Women's Club on West 78th Street serves the whole west and east sides as well as out-oftown visitors because it is closest to the center of the city.⁹⁶

"As the mikvah appears, Orthodoxy is in ascendance; as the mikvah vanishes, Orthodoxy is in decline," wrote one scholar." Signaling a return to traditional "family values," mikvah use is on the rise among the various orthodox congregations whose main clusters are on the Upper West Side and in Washington Heights. In terms of urban geography, the distribution of the mikvahs indicates centers of orthodox practice. The number and location of mikvahs in the past should similarly be a function of demographic patterns in the evolution of orthodoxy, but this hypothesis can not be tested for the period in question as there are insufficient data to permit a diachronic mapping of the city's mikvahs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Indeed, the Orthodox Union's 1995 <u>Mikvah</u> <u>Directory</u> represents a rare type of publication. To the best of the writer's knowledge, there are no listings of New York's ritual baths in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹⁰⁰

Mikvahs are a physical record of orthodox practice yet the religious requirements governing their construction allow for a wide variety of interpretations that may reflect developments in technology and building methods as well as changing social attitudes and customs. While documentary evidence is scant, the plan of the pre-World War II mikvahs in Manhattan and the form of their ritual pools may be partly reconstructed on the basis of oral histories, plans and perhaps, excavation.

C. The Bath at 5 Allen Street

A bath on the project site, at 5 Allen Street, is first listed in the 1887 New York City Business Directory. Its proprietor, Isaac Natelson, was Jewish and a congregant at the Eldridge Street Synagogue. His listing in the 1889-90 directory included the notice: "superior Russian baths given." The establishment became known as the "Allen Russian Baths" between 1918 and 1925, when the name first appears in the Business Directory, and in 1926, the "Allen Russian Baths" were included in a list of Manhattan bathing establishments compiled by the Health department. At first, the rooms and the water used in the bathing were no doubt heated by stoves, but between 1911 and 1923, according to the insurance maps, a boiler was installed in a new, one-story extension in the back of the building.

The fixtures and furnishings at 5 Allen Street, enumerated in leases of 1924 and 1929, included two furnaces, one for steam (heating), the other for hot water. Except for the number of bath tubs, which decreased from twenty-six to twenty-two, the facilities recorded in these two documents were the same (Table, p. 69). The 1929 lease directs that the "entire building" at 5 Allen Street, rented by Ida Perlow to Fannie Seigill was "to be used exclusively as a bathhouse, except the store."

The lockers in the Allen Russian Baths at 5 Allen Street must have been located in one or more changing areas while the bath tubs may have been installed in single chambers or cubicles. Judging by Mr. Schwartz's description, the "two marble slabs," presumably used

for soaping down the bathers, and the "pools or plunges" were both probably located next to the "hot air room." No information was found about the use or placement in such establishments of a "wooden tank," possibly also intended for bathing. The marble tables would have been used for massages. The "two gas ranges" and the "ten wooden benches" may have been located in an eating area. By 1933 the Allen Russian Baths contained a restaurant, since a third lease, of this date, states that the building was "to be used exclusively as a bathhouse and restaurant adjoining."

The list of fixtures in the 1933 lease differs significantly from that contained in the earlier two leases (see Table). There is no mention of multiple bath tubs --only one "in the ladies' department" is listed -- and the four marble tables are similarly omitted (see Table). There is still a hot air room, now listed, however, as "1 Turkish room and equipment." Massages could have been given on the marble bench (?) or perhaps on cots, and bathers could still take a refreshing dip in the two pools or plunges, but it was no longer possible to take a private bath in a tub, except in the "ladies' department." This scaling-back of the operation may reflect a reduction in patronage, occasioned by the shrinking numbers of immigrants during the 1920s and 30s. The 1924 Immigration law arrested the massive influx of Eastern European Jews and by the 1930s, the first Lower East Side synagogues were abandoned.¹⁰¹

The Allen Street Baths, however, continued to operate until 1957. In the New York City Yellow Pages of that year, the listing,

TABLE

LEASES FOR 5 ALLEN STREET PROPERTY

COMPARISON OF CONTENTS

Oct. 15, 1924

Jan. 19, 1929

Oct. 26, 1933

26 bath tubs.....Bathtub in ladies' department One wooden tank.....same.....same two pools or plunges.....same.....same two furnaces......same.....same (One for steam and one for hot water) 157 lockers.....lockers now on premises 6 wooden benches.....same in hot air room one marble bench.....same.....same. chairs.....same four marble tables.....same two marble slabs.....same.....same.... hot air stove.....same.....same ten wooden benches.....same two gas ranges.....1 gas range 1 fire alarm system 1 Turkish room and equipment

"Allen St. Baths, Russian Baths - Ladies Day Wednesday," indicates that the establishment no longer contained the separate facilities for women indicated by the mention of a "ladies' department" in the 1933 lease discussed above.

As for whether the Allen Street Baths contained a mikvah, the evidence, aside from the 1933 lease, is anecdotal. Anita Praeger, who moved to White Plains with her family ca. 1928, when she was two, used to travel back to the Lower East Side regularly to visit her grandparents.¹⁰² Her mother's parents lived at 2 Eldridge Street, a few houses down from the synagogue, at the corner of Allen and Division Streets. Mrs. Praeger thinks that there was a tub in the bathroom in the hall. It was a cold water flat, heated by a coal stove in the kitchen.¹⁰³ She remembers being chased out of the room on Friday afternoons so her grandfather could have the privacy he needed to take his weekly bath. A wash basin was set up by the coal stove and filled with water that had been heated in kettles.

For Mrs. Praeger's "very orthodox" grandparents, the "big, big holiday was Friday night, preparing for shabbat, that's when all the bathing went on." She said that her grandparents went to the bath at 5 Allen Street, where there was also a mikvah. Interestingly, her mother, who continued to live on Eldridge Street until Mrs. Praeger was two, once told Mr. Praeger that there "was a wall or something between the two mikvahs" at 5 Allen Street. But the Praegers knew no further details of the bath house, as neither had ever personally visited it.¹⁰⁴

William Josephson reported that the last owner of the building at 5 Allen Street, Morris Jaffe, told him that the mikvah was asphalted over when the building was demolished.¹⁰⁵

Judge Bookson, who also did not have first hand knowledge of the baths at 5 Allen Street, said that his late uncle knew about a mikvah there. When the building was torn down, the Judge saw how the lot "caved in towards the center," because, he thought, the basement had not been properly filled in. He remembered that in the mikvah he visited with his mother as a boy --not on Allen Street--women walked down a few steps under the stoop to enter the basement level, where the waiting room and changing areas were located. The immersion pool was in the cellar.

The Bader's bath house had a woman's side where the mikvah, that served men as well as women, was located. There is no reason, however, why the men's side, or a bath house without separate facilities for men and women could not also have included a mikvah pool among its facilities. There is simply a dearth of descriptions of mikvahs in Russian bath houses.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Prehistoric Potential

The lack of natural water courses on the Lower East Side and the absence of recorded Prehistoric sites within a one-mile radius of the project site indicate that its potential to yield prehistoric remains is low.

B. Historic Potential

The historical importance of bathing establishments on the Lower East Side -- and in particular to the Jewish community because of the intersection of ritual and ordinary bathing activates -- was established by the research conducted for the present report and discussed at length in the previous sections. It was noted that the form of the pools as well as the general plan of the bath houses' facilities are significant indicators of the religious and social customs connected with bathing in the community. Consequently, the physical remains of their installations is of historical importance. Research of secondary sources as well as oral testimonies revealed that in both commercial and ritual baths of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the pools were often dug into the ground from a basement or cellar level. Accordingly, the below ground remains of bathing establishments are archaeologically important.

Since the foundations of the four-story tenement building with basement that stood on the project site until 1958 were not

impacted by subsequent construction, archaeological testing is recommended to assess the state of preservation of the former bath house's basement level, and whether remains of its bathing pool or pools may be preserved. Such resources have potential to meet the National Register of Historic Places Criteria of Eligibility as outlined in the CEQR Manual (1993, Section 121.1): 1. Because the bath houses were among the Lower East Side's principal social institutions, and were, in addition, also often connected with the central religious ritual of traditional Judaism, these installations were associated with events that made a significant contribution to the lives of the neighborhood's inhabitants and therefore to the "broad patterns of history." 2. As described in the preceding sections, the pools and other installations associated with the bath house certainly "embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction" and "represent a significant and distinguishable entity." 3. The bath house and possible mikvah at 5 Allen Street, by virtue of the rarity of surviving installations of these types and the paucity of documentary evidence, indeed have the potential to yield important historical information.

VI. NOTES

I. Introduction

1. Heinze 1990: 57; Hoffman 1995: 78-79.

2. Manheimer 1912: 589, 1916-1919: 409.

II. Environmental Setting

3. "Map of Delancey's Farm Western Part," Spielmann & Brush 1881:32. The small section of the Shearith Israel cemetery preserved on St. James Place, at Chatham Square, shows the height of the original, 18th century ground surface.

4. Stokes 1915:264, pl. 30.

4. Hill and Waring 1897:235, "one small pond on Crown Point or Corlaer's Hook, south of Henry St., between Jefferson and Clinton."

5. Citizens Association of New York 1865:91.

III.A. Prehistoric Era-Prehistoric Culture Periods

6. Trigger 1978:8.

IV. Historic Period

A. Lot History of 5 Allen Street

7. Stokes 1915: pl. 30.

8. Lyne 1728 (map).

9. Manhattan Borough President's Office, Topographic Bureau, file cards.

10. Ibid.

11. Wall 1994:46, 48.

12. Yamin 1996:10-11; Brighton 1996:6-10.

13. Citizens Association of New York, 1865:91, 93, 96; see Section II above.

14. Perris 1857-62 (map), pl. 13.

15. New York City Tax assessment records, 1861.

16. New York City Sewer Department map; New York City Tapping Department, Water Supply, tap records for 5 Allen St. One school sink was identified at the Five Points site and Joan Geismar (1991) excavated another in the backyard of the Lower East Side Tenement Museum on Orchard Street. The tenement in which the museum is housed was built in 1863.

17. Pushkarev 1982, Table H5.

18. New York City Business Directory, 1887.

19. New York City Business Directory 1902-03; New York City Directory 1903.

20. Isaac Natelson is no longer listed in the City Directories after 1903; the Eldridge Street Synagogue's minutes of August 31, 1903, p. 383, record the sale of a burial plot to a Mr. Yitschok Natelsohn (sic) at Unionfield for \$100; Lena Natelson, widow of Isaac, received an endowment of \$100 from the Congregation for her late husband on July 24, 1907; Eldridge Street Synagogue Archives.

21. The widening of Allen Street between Division and East Houston Street in 1932 had no impact on the project site because it was done on the eastern side of the street only; Manhattan Borough President's Office, Topographical Bureau, file card and pl. I, report cover.

22. Manhattan Building Department, Alt 49, July 8, 1959.

B. Russian, Turkish and Mikveh Baths: Definitions, Practices and History

1.a. Russian and Turkish Baths-Definition

23. Manheimer (1916-19:411) mentions "[Turkish] sweat rooms with steam and hot air." A Turkish bath, according to Websters Dictionary (New York: Prentice Hall, 1984), is "a kind of bath in which the bather, after a period of heavy perspiration in a room of hot air or steam, is washed, massaged, and cooled" (italics inserted). But "The vapor bath is the chief feature of the Russian bath, while the hot-air bath is the distinguishing feature of the Turkish bath," according to Cosgrove 1913:29. 24. Cosgrove 1913:32.

25. Cosgrove 1913:10.

26. Personal communication, December 16, 1996.

27. Telephone interview, October 1, 1996.

28. Telephone interview, September 30, 1996.

29. An observant Jew filmed by Mr. Berman in the Russian bath, said he was four when his father first brought him to the shvitz. During the 1930s, he said, the East Side was noted for its Russian and Turkish baths. To the Victorian way of thinking, the bath house was a metaphor for Oriental sensuality. It was a popular subject in 19th century academic painting. New York's gay bath houses are discussed in Chauncey 1994:208-216.

1.b. Russian and Turkish Baths - History

30. Cosgrove 1913:11.

31. Cosgrove 1913:10.

32. This is the earliest available New York City Business Directory.

33. New York City Business Directory, 1880.

34. The author of this pamphlet, A. Easton, may be Abel Easton, owner of a bath house at 150 Bowery in 1881.

35. The first listing of a bath on Laight Street in the Business Directories is 1865. The proprietors were Miller, Wood & Co. In the following year, this bath is listed as "Turkish, Electric, Vapor & Water, Miller, Wood & Co., 18 Laight."

36. Easton 1881:8; the Roman bath consisted of rubbing the bather with oil after a Turkish or Russian bath, p. 7; alternatively, an extra \$0.50 could buy a rub-down with bay rum or alcohol after any bath; there were separate entrances and hours for men and women, frontispiece.

37. Linfield 1931:29; Wolfe 1978:34.

38. Rischin 1962:87.

39. Williams 1991:29, 31.

40. New York Tenement House Committee Report of 1894 cited in Williams 1991:23; In an interview for the Oral History Project, Ellis Island Immigration Museum, Doro Rich, born 1909, said that she had grown up in a house with no bath tub. They went to the public shower once a week (File: EI 62).

41.Chauncey 1994:208; Williams 1991:32-33, 57, table 3.1; New York City Business Directories 1862, 1863.

42. Wingate 1884:13.

43. Wasserman 1996:27.

44. Rischin 1962:86-87.

45. Fishberg 1902:14.

46. Williams 1991:25.

47. Manheimer 1916-19:412.

48. Manheimer 1914:77.

49. Manheimer 1916-19:408-409, 411-412.

50. Ibid., p. 410.

51. Manheimer 1914:77

52. Municipal Reference Library, Vertical File "Baths." There were also: 1 in the Bronx, 23 in Brooklyn and 3 in Queens; the Lower East side is considered to comprise the area bounded by 5th Street on the north, 2nd Avenue, the Bowery and Catherine Street on the west, and the East River.

53. Telephone interview, Jan. 16, 1997; Dr. Wasserman generously lent the writer a recording of her interview with Ann Bader, conducted July 27, 1994.

54. Wasserman 1996:28, 29.

55. The traditional massage is called *platza*, meaning "shoulder blades," the place where tension accumulates.

56. Wasserman 1996:29.

57. On the importance of the mikvah compared to other institutions, see Miller 1930:219-221.

58. Unless her first immersion was part of a conversion to Judaism.

59. Wasserfall 1992:314.

60. Kaplan 1994:16-27.

61. Kaplan 1994:52.

62. <u>Encyclopaedia Judaica</u> 1971:1533-1536; Birnbaum 1995:391ff; Ganzfried 1991:21ff; Kaplan 1994:*passim*.

63. The Rabbi requested that his name not be mentioned. He was referred by Rabbi Baruch Borchard of the Agudat Israel. He said that the *etsba* is generally calculated to be between 1.8 and 2.4 centimeters (approximately 11/16 to 15/16 of an inch). Kaplan 1994:51 and 87, n. 8: "Except in an emergency, however, the measure of 191 gallons should be abided by." <u>Enclopaedia Judaica</u> 1971: 1533, gives 750 liters (795 gallons).

64. For information on kosher plumbing I am indebted to Rabbi B. Feinstein; personal communications, December 21 and 23, 1996.

65. Ibid.

66. Encyclopaedia Judaica 1971:1542.

67. The Toynbee Arnold House, according to a map in the Yeshiva University Archives, Benjamin Koenigsberg Collection.

68. A plan for these renovations dated June 3, 1960, is preserved. The architect, Joshua Huberland, 200 West 57th St., is no longer in practice.

69. The old pipe was not removed. Its upper end may still be seen projecting through the roof of the building.

70. Pool 1955:44; Mill Street is now called South William Street (Financial District); Dimont 1978:90.

71. Goldstein 1930:84; Grinstein 1934:297.

72. Block and Lot Files: Block 255 Lot 44 and Block 355 Lot 41, Municipal Archives.

73. Currently 172 Norfolk St.; Grinstein 1945:298; Wolfe 1978:96.

74. Personal communication, October 2, 1996.

75. Weinberger 1887:117-118; the pools was rendered kosher by the ozar hashakah method.

76. Heinze 1990:58.

77. Weinberger 1887:117; Hoffman 1995:77.

78. "It was customary for the ritual pools of the city to be under the direct supervision of the wives of the sextons of the synagogues." Grinstein 1945:253, 298.

79. Moses Weinberger 1887:106 is very critical of an ostentatious new synagogue --with its expensive cantors-- that he does not name but can only be the Eldridge Street synagogue. He writes that it is in its "second year," i.e. it opened in 1886.

80. Heinze 1990:57.

81. <u>La Amerika</u> February 17, 1911. I am indebted for this reference and the translation to Ms. Aviva Ben-Ur, a Doctoral candidate at Brandeis University.

82. Telephone interview, January 15, 1996; Mrs. Bader's father supervised the women's side when Rabbis came to use the mikvah. At those times it was of course closed to women.

83. Wasserman interview, July 27, 1994.

84. Manheimer 1915:482 and 1916-19:408.

85. Manheimer 1914:164, Anon. 1915:281-282.

86. Manheimer 1916-19:407.

87. Hoffman 1995:77.

88. Hoffman 1995:79-80; Joselit 1990:115-116.

89. Hyamson 1927:23-24.

90. Telephone interview, December 15, 1996.

91. Joselit 1990:117-119.

92. Hoffman 1995:85; Joselit 1990:120-121; Miller 1930:412-426.

93. Yeshiva University, Benjamin and Pearl Koenigsberg Papers (1899-1977), Rabbi David Miller 1929-1938, Correspondence Folder 19/6.

94. Joselit 1889:120 and note 121. According to Sylvia Herskowitz, philanthropist Joe Rosenzweig donated land and funds for the construction of new mikvahs during the 1930s and 40s, when "model mikvahs" were being created throughout the city.

95. Rabbi Feinstein said that because the men used to go to the mikveh much more frequently than women, they were more particular about the water temperature and like to have a choice. For the

women, who came only once a month, it was enough to heat the water so that it not be cold.

96. Eis 1995; Ms. Eis pointed out that a directory published in Hoenig 1956 included only the three facilities currently operating in Manhattan. A fourth mikvah listed in Eis 1995, Mikvah Beth Avraham, at 163 East 69th Street, has been closed indefinitely for renovations.

97. In an Orthodox synagogue, women normally sit out of the men's sight, either behind them, or above them, in a curtained gallery.

98. It is open to men before the sabbath and holidays and to women on other evenings. In the morning, the mikvah is used for conversions. The mikvah attendant who supplied information on the facility asked that her name not to be used; telephone conversation, January 7, 1996.

99. Dimont 1978:91; Hoffman 1995:82.

100. In the opinion of Arlene L. Eis, the directory included in Hoenig 1956 was not entirely up-to-date. This directory includes, interestingly, a mikvah in a now defunct bath house in Philadelphia called "Miller's Baths."

C. The Bath House at 5 Allen Street

101. Wolfe 1978:35.

102. Telephone interview, December 6, 1996.

103. The Tenement Museum has recreated a 1930s tenement apartment at 97 Orchard Street,

104. Mrs. Prager thought her grandfather, Morris Wishnitz, may have been the shamas, (synagogue caretaker), because when he died, the doors of the synagogue were opened in his honor as the funeral procession passed before the building.

105. Telephone conversation, March 28, 1997.

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LINE OF TITLE OF BLOCK 293 LOT 19

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APPENDIX A

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	Date of Recording 1	Conveya Liber P		Lots Remarks
		1803			
Stoutenburgh, Isaac Van Cortlandt, Philip Commissioners of Forfeiture	Beekman, William	Forfeited estates	15	5	6-8 sale #290 17-20
Townsend, John Assignee for Livingston, Peter W.		June 8	64 11	15	6-8 17-19
Beekman, William	Beekman, John	June 29	64 22	27 .	17-19 1-3, 20-24, 25-28
		<u>1811</u>			
Livington, Peter W. Eliza	Barger, Garret	May 10	93 27	73	19
		1817			
Barger, Garrit	Hillyer, Benjamin	Nov. 6	123 3	41	19
	Dorsett, Abrham	<u>1823</u>			
Dorsett, Abraham Eleanor	Hillyer, Benjamin	Jan. 28	163 4	34	19
		<u>1832</u>			
Hillyer, Benjamin Boge Ann	ert, Cornelius App	c. 30 284	312	19	

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	Date of Conveyance Lots Remarks Recording Liber Page
\$ ~~?? *		<u>1845</u>
Bogert, Cornelius Alida	Fiex, Charles H.	Apr. 1 458 511 19
		<u>1853</u>
Fiex, Charles H. Matilda	Feeks, Abijah S.	Feb. 7 627 90 19
		<u>1856</u>
Feeks, Ebijah S. Elizabeth T.	Kurst, John	May 1 706 236 19
Feeks, Abijah S. Elizabeth T.	Kurst, John	May 21 707 366 19
		<u>1884</u>
Paton, David Trustee will of Kurst, John	Pfeiff, Charles	Nov. 8 1835 343 19
Kurst, John (Admr. of)	Pfeiff, Charles	Nov. 8 1835 348 19
м 1		<u>1886</u>
Pfeiff, Charles Marie	Natelsohn, Isaac	June 2 1977 19 19
		<u>1907</u>
Natelsohn, Isaac (Exr of)	Reich, David	Sept. 26 113 181 19

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GRANTOR	GRANTEE	Date of Recording	Conveyance Liber Page	Lots	Remarks
		1907			
Natelsoh, Lena widow of Natelsohn, Isaac	Natelsohn, Isaac (Exr of)	Sept. 28	113 184	19	
		<u>1908</u>			
Reich, David Lena	Reich, Henry L.	Mar. 2	115 269	19	1/2 interest
Reich, David Lena	Hausman, Gershon	Mar. 2	115 270	19	1/2 interest
Reich, David Lena Henry L. Jennie	Schein, Ettel	May 26	117 251	19	
		<u>1912</u>			
Hausman, Gershan Shein, Ethel	Perlow, Israel	Jan. 15	136 271	19	Lease
		<u>1914</u>			
Smith Roswell (Exr & Trus of) Davenport, Timothy Brainerd, Ira H. (Trustees)	CONSENT	Apr. 13	148 241	19	see 154Mp385
Schein, Ettl	Hausman, Gershon	Apr. 15	148 245	19	1/4 interest

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GRANTOR	GRANTEE	Date of Recording	Conveyance Liber Page	Lots	Remarks
. ···		1919			
Hausman, Gershon Sarah Schein, Ettl	Lipschitz, Kathryn	Aug. 28	3102 283	19	
		<u>1924</u>			
Lipschitz, Kathryn	Perlow, Israel . Ida	Oct. 6	3446 48	19	
Perlow, Ida	Seigill, Fannie	Oct. 15	3446 91	19	
		<u>1930</u>		·	2
Seigill, Fannie	Kittner, Morris	July 29	3775 55	119	AL <u>3701</u> 149
		<u>1931</u>			
Interborough Rapid Transit Co.	Aljoe Realty Corpn	Sept. 17	3818 19	23	Lease
		<u>1933</u>			
Perlow, Ida	Kittner, Morris	Oct. 26	3875 93	19	Lease
٠		<u>1942</u>			
Manufacturers Trust Company (Trustee will Smith, Roswell	Greenley, Elizabeth J. of Cox, Juliet J.	June 25	4565 92	19	154/385
		<u>1947</u>	<u>.</u>		
Perlow, Eli	Lee, Kathryn	Dec. 26	4962 465	19	4211/31

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GRANTOR	GRANTEE		Conveyance Liber Page	Lots Remarks
		<u>1949</u>		
Pearl, Julius Horowitz, Benjamin	Zaccaro, Rose	June 14	5079 457	19
		<u>1947</u>		
Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, Monroe- Willet Estates Inc.	Extension & Modification Agreement	Mar. 21	4895 115	19 880/637
,		<u>1960</u>		
Seward Park Housing Corp	Trustees of the Painting Industry Pension Fund Trustees of the Pension, Hospitalization and Bene Plan of the Electrical I	efit	5937 313	Entire block
Same	Consent	Dec. 13	5937 336	Entire block
	Extension Agreement gust 1, '48) ent Fund of the Cloth, w York; Benefit Fund of the		5937 438	Entire block 5824/1
Same	Servicing Agreement	Dec. 13	5937 469	Entire Block

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STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK,	
COUNTY OF New York	
	Building Wreckerseing Guty sworn deposes and says the
he resides at	St., Men.
has been fully authorized to file this demolition notice	e by
	l Allen St., Man. (Address)
who is the	(Address) (Owner,Etc.)
the building to be demolished as herein prescribed as consent to the demolition has been obtained by me	and that all statements contained in this application are true and
correct.	Il name Meadre Villbau
9 k	(Applicant)
for Avon B	(If a corporation, name and title of officer signing)
Sworn to before me this	
day of	152 W. 42nd St., Man. (Address)
Notary Public or Commissioner of Deeds	DECIE
Referred to U. B. Clerk	on 10101958 19
for report, stating all pending unsafe building cases a	against the property covered by Shis Potter David III unpaid bills for
emergency work or survey and search fees, if any 0	UNSAFE BUILDING CHE
(Dated) DEC 1 5 1958 Signed).	C. Certans
Referred to Inspector	UNSAFE BUILDING CLERK 19
for supervision, and FINAL REPORT when work has DEMOLITION COMMENCED	
DEMOLITION COMPLETED	19 19
(Dated)	
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