

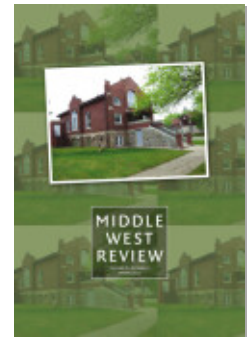


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Jewish "Iron Rangers": Jewish Settlement on Minnesota's Iron Range

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MARILYN J. CHIAT

Jewish “Iron Rangers”

Jewish Settlement on Minnesota’s Iron Range

I. Introduction

A small red brick building stands on the corner of 4th Avenue and 5th Street South in Virginia, Minnesota. On the day of its dedication, April 8, 1910, the front page of the local newspaper, *The Virginia Enterprise*, featured a photo of the building and an article describing it as a beautiful, well-built temple that cost approximately \$10,000, a goodly sum for the time.¹ Constructed for the town’s small Jewish community, the temple was given the name B’nai (sons of) Abraham. Beautifully restored and rededicated in 2010, the building, now known as the B’nai Abraham Cultural Center and Museum, is used for a variety of community events and houses a permanent display of photographs, artifacts, and other material documenting the history of the Iron Range’s once-vibrant Jewish community. The recipient of a Minnesota Preservation Award in 2019, B’nai Abraham is the only surviving visual evidence of the Range’s Jewish settlers who, in the face of many challenges, were able to maintain their faith and its traditions, while adapting to life as “Iron Rangers.”

At one time the Range was home to over one thousand Jews who organized congregations in four towns: Chisholm, Eveleth, Hibbing, and Virginia. This essay traces the history of their founders who established homes and opened shops on the Range’s developing main streets. It recounts the challenges facing them, including their interactions with their neighbors in what was and still is Minnesota’s most diverse religious and ethnic region. The uncertain economy of the Range also had an impact on the Jewish community. As the demand for iron ore began to diminish in the 1950s, so too did the region’s population. Many young people left to seek

their fortune elsewhere, including Robert Zimmerman, a.k.a. Bob Dylan, whose maternal great-grandparents, Lyba and Benjamin Edelstein, were among the Range's earliest settlers. The departure of members of Dylan's generation spelled doom for the Jewish community and its synagogues. By the 1980s only one synagogue survived, B'nai Abraham, and its doors closed a decade later. Jews no longer have a presence on the Range.²

Long before iron ore was discovered in northeastern Minnesota, the land was covered with a verdant forest of white pine and home to Native peoples living off its bounty. By the early nineteenth century, as the nation began to expand westward, cities like Chicago and St. Louis were developing, and lumber was needed for construction. Fifty years after timber cruisers first discovered the region's vast forest, the land was reduced to tree stumps, revealing the red earth that lay below its surface.³

Minnesota's pine forests were gone, but the region soon contributed a second natural resource to the building of America, iron ore. Geologists were aware of the region's lode, but it was not until the development of the modern blast furnace in the 1850s that iron could be economically transformed into steel. Soon after, speculators and explorers began to stake out claims for mining rights, first on the Vermillion Range, opening in 1882, and ten years later on the larger and more productive Mesabi Range. Laborers, skilled and unskilled, were needed. Among the first to arrive were experienced mine operators, often Scandinavians, and Cornish miners from the mines of Michigan. Recruiters in impoverished regions of eastern and southern Europe found a ready supply of unskilled laborers seeking a ticket to the "promised land." By 1910, the Range's total population was 77,655, representing twenty-five different ethnic and/or national groups, each carving out a place in the region, in hopes it would be their "bridge of gold" to a better life. Finns were the dominant nationality, then Slavs and Italians, and following them, Swedes, Norwegians, and a diversity of others including Jews.⁴ The Iron Range was representative of the nation's "mosaic" celebrated in a speech delivered by former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey in 1972: "Some see the United States as a vast melting pot where our particular ethnic traditions are submerged and forgotten. I prefer to celebrate this nation as a vast tapestry, where each group of Americans contributes their own brilliant color to the magnificent mosaic of American life."⁵

In contrast to the Range's ethnic diversity, the majority of Minnesota's immigrant population came from northern and central Europe: farmers responding to the 1862 Homestead Act; others recruited to work in lumber

and flour mills owned and operated by a small, elite group of Old Stock Americans. The state's mosaic was to remain unchanged until the arrival of immigrants from Asia and Africa between the mid-1970s and mid-1990s.

II.

*He saw nation in every cheekbone, every movement of a lip. Pops Schibel stood in front of Palace Clothing, greeting all in their mother tongues. Saw nation in a walk, the way a scarf or babushka was worn, and knew which of his seven tongues to greet. He apprenticed in Helsinki, and Riga, Malmo, and St. Petersburg, and in none of them could he own land.*⁶

Pops Schibel's Palace Clothing Store on Chestnut Street, Virginia's main commercial thoroughfare, was one of many Jewish businesses that provided goods and services to new arrivals, mine owners, operators, and laborers.⁷ But how did Jewish immigrants like Schibel know about this remote region so far removed from centers of Jewish life, and what propelled them to settle there? Unlike most of the Range's settlers, Jews were not recruited to work in the mines or to fill other positions in the mining companies. Schibel and over 90 percent of his coreligionists were Orthodox and came from the Pale of Settlement, outliers even in the multiethnic mosaic of the Range.⁸ The answer lies in an unlikely twist of fate: two seemingly unrelated contemporaneous events that set off a tsunami of consequences.

The first event was the opening of iron mining in Minnesota in 1882 and the subsequent growth of towns needing laborers and businesses to serve an ever-increasing population. The second was more complex, unfolding half a world away in St. Petersburg, Russia—the assassination on March 3, 1881, of Tsar Alexander II. Blaming his father's death on Jews, Alexander III increased anti-Jewish laws unleashing a flood of nearly two-and-a-half million Jews to flee to the *Goldine Medina* (golden land) between 1881 and 1924. Impoverished and frequently lacking marketable skills due to occupational restrictions in the Pale, they sought support and safety by huddling together with *landsleit* in crowded Jewish ghettos in eastern U.S. cities.⁹ Their arrival did cause alarm among the established Jewish community, who were predominantly from western Europe, who numbered fewer than a quarter of a million, and who were enjoying a modicum of acceptance into American

society. Fearful the newcomers would exacerbate xenophobia and increase anti-Semitism, they sought to lessen their coreligionists' visibility by sending some into less populated regions of the country. In 1882, an unexpected trainload of two hundred Yiddish-speaking Jews arrived in Saint Paul, Minnesota. It was a challenge for the state's barely one thousand Jews to find housing and jobs for the new arrivals, but with great effort they did. None of these recent immigrants were sent to the Range, but within two decades the situation changed. Records of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the B'nai Brith-sponsored Industrial Removal Office indicate that those organizations were channeling immigrants there and assisting in their settlement.¹⁰ However, none of the Iron Range project's second-generation informants recall either of these agencies' involvement in their parents' settlement.

When asked why their parents did settle on the Iron Range, informants would frequently give a similar answer: a family member would open a shop and, when business increased, send for family members to help out. None knew how the initial family member heard of the Range, but it's possible they were peddlers serving farmers and townsfolk. Traveling the countryside with his horse and wagon full of goods, a peddler would come upon a promising area, put down his sack, and, frequently with the help of a Jewish merchant in a large city, acquire stock, and set up shop. Few Jews were attracted to the Vermillion Range in 1882, possibly because it was too soon after their initial arrival in the New World. The opening of the giant Mesabi Range a decade later was timelier. Ninety percent of the Range's Jewish settlers were from Lithuania, mainly merchants from Kovno and Vilna, some of whom settled briefly in the Twin Port towns of Duluth, Minnesota, and Superior, Wisconsin, before venturing further north to the booming towns on the Range. Among those who traveled this route were the twenty Jews living in Virginia, Minnesota, in 1895.¹¹ By 1910, the number increased to over one hundred, and a total of about one thousand Jews were then living in towns and locations throughout the Mesabi Range.¹² Their customers, primarily immigrant miners and mining company owners and operators, were frequently in conflict over labor issues.¹³ This would place Jewish merchants in an uncomfortable position as they sought to walk a fine line without offending customers from either group.¹⁴

Jewish settlers, beyond being Orthodox and merchants, were similar in other respects. The 1910 census shows the ratio of Jewish men to women as

nearly one to one: most were married or married shortly after their arrival. Furthermore, the adult population eighteen years or older was almost evenly divided between those over and under the age of thirty. Most families had four or more children, and many had extended family members living at the same address, including elderly parents.¹⁵ The majority put down roots, for they knew if they did not succeed, there was no “homeland” to return to. Life in the cities’ overcrowded ghettos was not a feasible or attractive alternative.

III.

Much abandoned now, forced out or grown over, gone,
thrown into memory’s hole. You have to dig for it.¹⁶

Over the years, much has changed on the Iron Range. A good deal of the past is buried, but much still exists and is visible to those willing to “dig for it.” As John Caddy continues in his powerful poem: “*Much has always died. . . . Whole languages: Serb, French, Italian, stubborn Finns, merchants who speak them.*”¹⁷ Yiddish, the native tongue of the merchants who spoke all those languages, too, has died on the Range, but what were the conditions there when Jewish merchants began to open their shops?

The Iron Range has been described as “[not] conveniently or strategically located” with “winters harsh and long.”¹⁸ Back when mining began the landscape was uninviting, ravaged by logging and left barren. Early accounts describe the Range’s developing towns and company locations as “cesspools for the collection of dirt and all manner of filth”;¹⁹ “badly congested, unclean and unsanitary.”²⁰ The workers lived in “ugly-looking houses, with dilapidated fences and outbuildings, and a general appearance of wretchedness that is comparable only in the slums of great cities.”²¹ Unlike Jewish settlers, the majority of laborers were young, single men, many “birds of passage” living in rooming houses and saving money to return to their homelands to resume their lives. As a result, men on the Range outnumbered women two to one. The “babel of different tongues,” living in congested, ugly towns and laboring at low wages all made for a volatile mix triggering not only “moral problems,” but heated and violent political and labor disputes. Underlying them were tensions caused by religious, ethnic, and class differences that had an impact on Jewish merchants and their customers.

IV.

*The huge torch rallies in the Twenties.
Klan, filling ball parks and picnic grounds,
the Jessie Lake encampment, couples sparking
in Model Ts on the hills with larking kids,
mom and dad, grandpa and gram in bedsheets,
burning righteous crosses across the Range,
native speakers all, or those who blended well,
shouting Catholics, Kikes and anarchists!*²²

Fueling the Ku Klux Klan's activities on the Range was the Protestant establishment's fear of losing its hegemony. From its earliest days, prejudicial stereotyping was evident on the Range. Mining management did not try to control it because as a numerical minority, managers found it a useful tool in preventing their diverse underpaid and overworked laborers from joining together to strike.²³ However, immigrant groups added their own fuel: long-established Old Country prejudices, and new ones. Within religion there was acrimony between Roman Catholics and Protestants, as well as between Eastern Orthodox Christians and Uniate Catholics. Splits occurred between national churches including Polish, Irish, and Italian Roman Catholic churches, as well as Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish Lutheran ones. Plus, the unchurched, mainly Socialist Finns who supported the "Wobblies," the Industrial Workers of the World, were viewed as troublemakers and as the instigators of two unsuccessful strikes in 1907 and 1916.²⁴ There were also ethnic or national rifts between Swedes and Finns, Slovenes and Croats, and Russians and Poles, which were exacerbated by World War I.

Where did Jews fit into this volatile mix? One historian flatly states: "The Range has always had a feeling of anti-Semitism."²⁵ According to a member of the second generation: "All . . . my sisters, my brother, and I had to learn early to cope with overt and subtle manifestations of prejudice without crumbling. We had to support and comfort each other when times were rough . . . our parents . . . themselves struggl[ed] . . . to maintain their own equilibrium."²⁶ One cause contributing to this prejudice was Jewish merchants prospering and moving from their crowded living quarters behind or above their shops into emerging middle-class neighborhoods mainly occupied by white-collar workers. The result, according to recollections of several Jewish residents who were interviewed, was "jealousy." Jews were ei-

ther accused of being grasping capitalistic middlemen by miners, or at the other end of the political spectrum, leftist, socialist sympathizers by mining officials. These were their customers, and unlike their coreligionists living in urban ghettos who had a reliable customer base, Range Jews had to interact with a culturally and economically split larger community if they were to survive economically.²⁷ To do so, many became active in local civic and cultural organizations, participating in patriotic events where each ethnic/national group strived to show their loyalty to their adopted country. They also became citizens. The latter was particularly important as Jews were frequently accused of being sojourners making a profit and then departing. Thus, although comprising only 1 percent of the Range's population, Jews made up a larger percentage of voters; by 1920, 76 percent were citizens.²⁸ As a result, Virginia and Eveleth had Jewish aldermen in the 1890s, and Hibbing a Jewish councilman in 1902.

Jews, however, were walking a political tightrope. While aligning themselves with the pro-capitalistic ideals of other main street merchants, they were also sympathetic to the miners. With customers coming from labor and industry, they were often at odds with their coreligionists living in urban areas whose politics leaned more toward labor. One informant, who owned a small cigar-making factory in Chisholm employing local labor, disavowed his family's leftist leanings in Minneapolis, and in response to his workers' demands commented: "What was good enough for U.S. Steel was good enough for me." As labor relations became more hostile, Jewish involvement in politics began to diminish, prompted in part by the arrival of the Ku Klux Klan on the scene in the 1920s. As one Jewish resident recalls, as a result of the Klan's open display of hostility towards Jews "a Jew had practically no chance in politics."²⁹

Religion and Americanization were two intertwined avenues the mining companies pursued to ensure that immigrants and their offspring would develop proper so-called moral values and thus become loyal Americans. The moral values were those of the Protestant Church. As one historian observed, Americanization aimed to have the immigrants "sweated clean of clinging . . . traits and emerge in the uniform of the Protestant . . . business class."³⁰ There was a dichotomy in their efforts to achieve this goal on the Range: as a goodwill gesture, mining companies would donate funds to different faiths for the construction of houses of worship, which they hoped would quell labor unrest, while at the same time vigorously promoting the Protestant faith. Their efforts basically failed. The immigrants' houses

of worship (including synagogues that still grace the Range) became safe havens where Old Country traditions, including language and folkways, were able to flourish. Although the languages may have vanished, cultural traditions survive, including the Finnish Kanteleen Musicians, Singing Slovenes, and a Jewish klezmer band, all of which perform at the B'nai Abraham Cultural Center.

Unlike their urban coreligionists, 90 percent of the Jews on the Range were affiliated with a congregation, a percentage that remained stable until B'nai Abraham closed its doors in the 1990s. Why was this? Their shops on main streets and their interactions with customers made Jews highly visible. Unlike their urban counterparts who were frequently living in Jewish neighborhoods, Range Jews were in a multicultural polyglot society where ethnicity and religion were important indicators. As a consequence, it was essential to have a synagogue as a visible affirmation of their identity and faith. By 1910 there were four congregations on the Range.³¹ The first was Agudath Achim (gathering of friends), organized in 1900 by twelve families in Eveleth. They initially met in private homes, until a small, frame Polish Roman Catholic church was purchased in 1909 and transformed into a synagogue by the ceremonial removal of its steeple. Five years later, eighteen families organized a congregation in Virginia, B'nai Abraham. Self-identified as the Range's "Queen City" by its many white-collar workers, Virginia was home to several successful Jewish entrepreneurs, including the Schibel brothers, who were generous contributors to the construction of a beautiful red brick synagogue, replete with the Range's first stained glass windows. The Chisholm congregation, B'nai Zion (sons of Zion), was founded either in 1904 or 1913, the year it dedicated a white frame synagogue set on a high elevation, its roofline the highest in the neighborhood, conforming to Jewish tradition. Informants describe its congregation as the "most" Orthodox as it had the Range's only *miqveh* (Jewish ritual bath), and for many years a *schochet*, a ritual slaughterer who doubled as a rabbi. Hibbing, with the Range's largest Jewish population, appears to have been the last to organize a congregation. Agudath Achim was chartered in 1907 and for the next fifteen years met in a variety of sites, including the Finnish Workers Hall. The congregation delayed obtaining a synagogue building because of ongoing threats that the city, which sat atop a large ore bed, would have to be moved. This did happen in 1921, and the following year the congregation purchased a frame Gothic Revival Lutheran church. After moving it to a

new location, the church was transformed into a synagogue by the removal of its steeple.

Although most identified as Orthodox, Jewish merchants made adaptations to accommodate their unique situation. The major shopping days on the Range were Friday, when miners were paid, and Saturday. Informants recall their fathers attending synagogue services early Saturday morning, then opening their shops, and returning to the synagogue for the *havdaleh* or closing Sabbath service. Since rabbis were rarely available, services were led by lay members who also taught Sunday or Hebrew school and prepared boys for their *bar mitzvah*. Chickens were brought to the *schochet* in Chisholm on Friday morning to be ritually slaughtered for the Sabbath dinner. Kosher meat was shipped from Duluth, but in warm weather it usually arrived spoiled. As one informant recalled, they ate a lot of fish in the summer, thanks to a plentiful supply in nearby lakes.

The Range was not a cultural desert. By 1920, Hibbing, with a population of over 20,000, was on its way to becoming known as the iron capital of the world. Virginia may have been the Range's "Queen City," but Hibbing, a blue-collar town, became known as the "the richest village in the world," thanks both to its mayor, Victor Power (1880–1926), known as the "Little Giant," and the discovery of an enormous bed of ore lying beneath it.³² In about 1910, Hibbing, the site of the world's largest open pit mine, was described as looking "like some doomed Biblical city . . . situated on the edge of a pit . . . [with s]corched stumps . . . and enormous boulders [everywhere]."³³ But this was to change in 1921. The mine was expanding and the town would be moved, but Power was able to wheedle many concessions from the mining companies by playing on their fear of a strike. Buildings were relocated and new brick ones constructed. Residents were given low-interest loans to erect homes and stores. Howard Street, Hibbing's main commercial avenue, became the most impressive on the Range. Replacing the saloons and houses of ill repute in old Hibbing, Howard Street was home to the upscale Androy Hotel, the site of many *bar mitzvah* and wedding dinners (although it wasn't kosher), theaters, and shops, both locally owned and national chains. Perhaps Power's greatest achievement was the \$3.9 million Hibbing High School, described as a "castle in the woods."³⁴ Education was important to the mining companies and their employees. Management saw it as a pathway to Americanization and improved (Protestant) moral values, workers saw it as a doorway to a better life for their children.

As the town and its surrounding locations began to flourish, so did its

Jewish merchants, like Ben Stone. When Stone arrived on the Range in about 1905, his last name was Solomovich, and he was single. He opened a shop at Stevenson Location (an unincorporated company town) several miles from Hibbing and, after achieving a modicum of success, changed his name. In 1911 he married Florence Edelstein, daughter of Benjamin and Lyba Edelstein, whose family was already well-established on the Range.³⁵ The Stone/Edelstein family's history replicates that of many Range Jews, as they sought success in their businesses and integration into their larger community. Ben opened a second store in new Hibbing, and for a time Florence continued to manage the one at the Stevenson location. As their Hibbing business improved, they purchased a home in town, and their four children were able to attend Hibbing High School. The Depression did not have a major impact on the Range; there was only a 10 percent decline in the Jewish population. Families like the Stones and Edelsteins were able to survive and went on to profit from the increased demand for iron ore during World War II. The eldest Stone daughter, Beatrice, known as Beatty, married Abe Zimmerman, a young accountant from Duluth, in 1934. After living there for fourteen years, the couple and their sons, Robert and David, moved to Hibbing where Abe accepted a position in his brothers' appliance business. Beatty's experiences on the Range in the years following World War II, recounted in an oral interview, are a continuation of the saga of Range Jewry.³⁶

Beyond significantly boosting the Range's economy, World War II also brought together its disparate ethnic and religious groups. Patriotic fervor created an increase in interfaith activities: clubs and organizations were opened up to all, and a new identity began to emerge. No longer were people pigeonholed by their faith or ethnicity; now all were "Iron Rangers," an identity still proudly on display today. Beatty and Abe were able to move into a larger home, and after the death of Ben Stone, Beatty's mother moved in with them. Beatty recalls having her Christian neighbors over for *latkes* (potato pancakes) on Hanukah and attending church with them on Christmas Eve. However, when asked about clubs or organizations she belonged to, she responded she was too busy to belong to any other than Jewish ones. However, the guest list for her eldest son's *bar mitzvah* dinner at the Androy Hotel numbered over four hundred and "included Jewish family and friends and many Christian neighbors." Beatty made two observations that sum up the Jewish experience on the Range in the two decades following World War II. She asserts she was never looked upon as

a Jewish person, but rather “as an American . . . who went to school and enjoyed every one of my Christian friends.” However, she continues, “living in a town like Hibbing made me all the more conscious of living in the outside world too.”³⁷

Jews on the Range always had to live in two worlds, the comfort and familiarity of their Jewish one and the challenges presented by an “outside” world. This was true in the anathema practice of intermarriage. Beatty’s two brothers did intermarry, but she and her sister did not. Beatty’s generation did have more tools to prevent this, including sending their teenagers to a Zionist youth camp in Wisconsin where they could meet other Jewish children. Both of Beatty and Abe’s sons, Robert and David, attended this camp. Following high school graduation and armed with the excellent education they received on the Range, many young people went on to elite colleges and universities, the majority never returning to the Range. This is what happened to the Zimmerman’s two sons. Following his high school graduation in 1959, Robert (Bob) went to Minneapolis to attend the University of Minnesota, but he got sidetracked and, after changing his name, remains forever on the Road.³⁸ His younger brother David did graduate from the University of Minnesota with a major in music and continues to live in the state.³⁹ Both brothers, regardless of their parents’ efforts, did intermarry. By the early 1960s, the postwar prosperity was waning, and the Range lost its vitality and vibrancy. Families began to move away, including the Zimmermans and Edelsteins. Abe died soon after Bob’s departure, and Beatty eventually moved to Saint Paul and remarried; she died in 2000.

By the 1980s, the Jewish community was aging. Many of the second generation had already left or had died. The Eveleth synagogue was once again a church, and the white frame Chisholm synagogue had been demolished to make way for a pastor’s home. Hibbing’s congregation held on a bit longer before selling its synagogue to a Jews for Jesus group that faded quickly when it discovered the lack of Jews on the Range. The building is now a private home. The Schibels no longer have their shop on Virginia’s Chestnut Street; only their synagogue, B’nai Abraham, survives. Poorly remodeled in the 1960s and lacking enough members to form a *minyan* (a quorum of ten Jewish men over the age of thirteen required for a prayer service), by the 1980s its future was uncertain.⁴⁰ With the passing of its last members, the building was acquired by a not-for-profit organization, Friends of B’nai Abraham, composed of descendants of its founders and others interested in the preservation of historic properties.⁴¹ Placed on the National Register,

and fully restored to its original appearance by the Friends, B'nai Abraham remains as a visual reminder of the region's once-vibrant Jewish community and the contributions it made to enhance the Range's "magnificent mosaic."

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Marilyn J. Chiat has a PhD in art history. Her area of research is religious art and architecture. Among her books is the *Handbook of Synagogue Architecture* (Brown University Judaic Studies, 1982) and *America's Religious Architecture: Sacred Places for Every Community* (John Wiley & Sons, 1997). She is currently the codirector of the Project to Document Houses of Worship in Minneapolis and Saint Paul, 1850–1924, at the University of Minnesota.

NOTES

1. *The Virginia Enterprise*, 8 April 1910, 1.
2. As an art historian, it was my interest in the Range's synagogues, particularly B'nai Abraham in Virginia, which led to my decision to research the history of their founders. To uncover their story, I developed a material culture seminar at the University of Minnesota as part of my project to document Jewish settlers in Minnesota, which included travel to the Iron Range to conduct oral interviews, visit local archives and other sources for documents, photographs, and material culture related to the Jewish community, and inventory and photograph the surviving synagogues and their ritual objects. This data plus additional research form the basis for this essay. The project's research is located in the Nathan and Theresa Berman Upper Midwest Jewish Archives, University of Minnesota.
3. General histories of Iron Ranges include: David A. Walker, *Iron Frontier: The Discovery and Early Development of Minnesota's Three Ranges* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1979). Marvin O. Lampaa, *Minnesota Iron County: Rich Ore, Rich Lives* (Duluth: Superior Port Cities, 2004).
4. Chester Proshan, "Eastern European Jewish Immigrants and Their Children on the Minnesota Iron Range, 1890s–1980s" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1990), 339.
5. David Luchins, letter to the editor, *New York Times*, 5 Jan. 1990, accessed 02/23/2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/01/14/opinion/l-mosaic-metaphor-serves-many-masters-291190.html>.
6. John Caddy, "MINE TOWNS: Knowing Where You Are At," in *The Color of Mesabi Bones: Poems and Prose Poems* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1989), 99.
7. The Schibels arrived in 1907 and soon opened a store that remained in operation until the mid-1970s.
8. The Pale of Settlement is the western region of Tsarist Russia where during the years 1791–1917 Jews were legally required to live.
9. *Landsleit* is a Yiddish term referring to people from the same town or region of Eastern Europe.
10. Marilyn J. Chiat, "Jewish Settlers on Minnesota's Iron Range, 1880–1924," in *Entrepreneurs and Immigrants: Life on the Industrial Frontier of Northeastern Minnesota*, ed. Michael C. Karni (Chisholm, MN: Iron Range Research Center, 1991), 67.
11. In 1900, Virginia's population was 2,062; the Range's total population was 23, 490. U.S. Census, 1900.

12. In 1910, Virginia's population was 10, 473; the Range's total population was 77,655. U.S. Census 1910.
13. Proshan, 99 ff.
14. For further information on labor issues, see Proshan, 10, 12.
15. Chiat, 67, and fn 22.
16. Caddy, 17.
17. Caddy, 17.
18. Proshan, 35.
19. "Living Conditions on the Lake Superior Ranges," *Iron Trade Review* 52, 23 January, 1913: 245.
20. Leroy Hodges, "Immigrant Life in the Ore Region of Northern Minnesota," *Survey* 28, 7 September 1912, 707.
21. C. Witt Pfeiffer, "From 'Bohunks' to Finns," *Survey* 36, 1 April 1916, 11, 13.
22. Caddy, 128.
23. Arnold R. Alanen, "Years of Change on the Iron Range," in *Minnesota in a Century of Change*, ed. Clifford E. Clarke, Jr. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1989), 175.
24. Robert M. Eleff, "The 1916 Minnesota Miners' Strike Against U.S. Steel," *Minnesota History* 51 no. 2 (Summer 1988): 63–74.
25. John Syrjamaki, "Mesabi Communities: A Study in Their Development" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1940), 265.
26. Syrjamaki, 165.
27. Syrjamaki, 171.
28. Proshan, 166.
29. Proshan, 175.
30. F. H. Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism: Cultural Pluralism and Cultural Relativism as an Ideology of Liberation," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 1 no. 1 (Spring 1970): 6.
31. Jewish population in 1910: Chisholm 119; Eveleth 145; Hibbing 219; Virginia 121. Minnesota Census, 1910.
32. Hibbing did not become a city until 1980.
33. Proshan, 36, and fn 4,355
34. "Historic Hibbing High School," Hibbing Public Schools, accessed 1 Jan. 2022, hibbing.k12.mn.us.
35. The Edelstein family operated Edelstein Amusement Company, which owned the State Theater on Howard Street that opened in 1925. The Lybba Theater in Virginia is named after Lyba, but its spelling was changed "because it looked better on the marque." Source: Elayne Deutsch Chiat, Lyba's great-granddaughter, email to author, 7 Oct. 2021.
36. The interview with Beatrice Zimmerman Rutman was conducted on 12 July 1985, for the Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota. It remains in the project's archives but is not available to the public because of restrictions placed on it by Ms. Rutman.
37. Beatrice Zimmerman Rutman interview.
38. Collen Sheehy and Thomas Swiss, ed. *Highway 61 Revisited: Bob Dylan's Road from Minnesota to the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

39. David taught music in the public schools and is also a music producer and promoter.

40. In the Orthodox Jewish tradition, a quorum of ten Jewish men is required for reading the Torah and for reciting certain prayers.

41. Friends of B'nai Abraham website, accessed 1 Jan. 2022, IronRangeJewishHeritage.org.