

The Integrated Life of a Modern American Woman: Anne Freeling Schlezinger, 1910-1978¹

Introduction

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“My Little Page”

Many people begin a diary with the hope of creating a record of their lives, but most of them soon give up the practice of regular writing. Anne Freeling Schlezinger was an exception. For forty-seven years, starting in 1931 when she was 21, Anne adhered strictly to a daily writing schedule.² Her persistence was probably facilitated by her decision to write extremely brief entries, almost like those of a farmer's almanac. Even if she had only a few minutes to spare, therefore, she could manage to write the 70-100 words of her typical entry right before going to sleep at night.

What is particularly remarkable about Anne's diary, however, in addition to its longevity and completeness, is its uniformity. For nearly half a century, Anne produced a bare bones daily outline of her experiences, almost always using the same topics: the weather, mail and phone calls received, her meals, her social life, her shopping, her job, her family, her entertainment and her health. She noted the content of her work only occasionally and offered rather meager comments on world events.³ Her entries read like telegrams.

Daily entries revolve around these selected themes, hardly varying at all. This manner of writing creates an impression of the writer as a cool, calm, collected personality. But it has a negative consequence as well. All the information appears to have equivalent significance. From

¹ I would like to thank Ellen Golub, Ph.D. for numerous useful conversations that underpin this essay and Jessica Parlon for technical help.

² All of my remarks derive from reading of the selected diary entries available in this book, which represent only a small fraction of the diary. I assume that the entries not included in this book align with, rather than contradict, my interpretations. Although working with a selection of journal entries makes this project manageable, it also creates large holes in understanding Anne's life. For example, a lot is missing about Ira's military experience.

³ She did mention the “Japs” frequently in her diary entries of 1945: *“Announcement first thing this morning that Japan had offered to surrender provided the emperor might be retained on his throne. Want to see the war end as soon as possible, but think we should insist upon unconditional surrender.”* (August 10) *“The Allies have replied to Japan that the Emperor may retain his throne only subject to the command of the Allied Military Commander. The next move is up to the Japs.”* (August 11). *“Learned in the morning that the Japs had accepted the Potsdam declaration last night. Learned later it was again a mistake. But the official announcement finally came in the evening. My celebration consisted of taking Ira and his friends to the corner for ice cream cones, but the city generally went mad with joy.”* (August 14). *“All the government employees,”* of whom she and Jules were two, *“are getting a two-day holiday, but not the poor suckers, the servicemen. We fortunately had an adequate supply of food since all the stores are closed. No mail delivery. I am delighted, of course, that the war has finally ended, but cannot get in a mood for really celebrating until my personal share in it has been completed, namely, until Jules comes home to stay. It is a great relief, though, to know that even if he goes to Japan, it will not be to fight.”* (August 17). *“Hard to realize yet that the war is over. The way the Japs are behaving, I sometimes wonder if it is.”* (August 20). *“Long letter from Sylvia, who tried to call me when the Japs surrendered but could not get the call through. Is depressed by the likelihood that Mort may not be home for quite a while yet. Do not blame her. It just does not seem that the war is really over until the boys are home again, even if we do have unlimited hot water, gasoline, pineapple juice, etc.”* (August 20). *“We have to take off next Thursday or Monday without pay. That is all right with me. But a government that can send millions to arm other countries should be able to pay its servants.”* (May 22, 1947).

a single entry, therefore, it is impossible to know what was truly important to Anne, and what was less so. A striking example is the following complete entry:

Thursday, November 13, 1952. Doherty had been reclassified to the same grade as mine, a grade I had when he first came to the Board. The other supervisors are dropping their appeal for reclassification, however, as they are afraid it will make them more vulnerable to discharge when the administration changes. Lunched in the cafeteria with Almira Stevenson. Had coffee in the afternoon with Stasi Dunan. Abe Feller, whom I knew at Justice, committed suicide. Very depressing. Ira (her son) missed his Scout meeting – too much homework. Expect he would have brushed it off but for his report card. To the National Theater with Ira and Alice Jaffee to see Phil Silvers in 'The Top Banana,' a zany thing but I was in just the mood for it, and so was Jules (her husband).

In this entry, Anne begins with a statement about employment discrimination against her as a woman. She comments next about the way the change from the Democratic (Truman) to the Republican (Eisenhower) administration makes civil service employees vulnerable.⁴ She mentions lunching with her regular companion, Almira Stevenson, and having an afternoon coffee with another friend. The next sentence, however, concerns the suicide of a person she knew from work.⁵ "Very depressing," is her entire commentary.⁶ This brevity is extraordinary in light of the fact that Feller's suicide was related directly to the kinds of interrogation to which she, herself, had been subjected. Perhaps the very appearance of an extra two-word phrase indicated that the suicide was an important topic. And perhaps she did not write more on this topic lest her diary be confiscated via subpoena. "Ira missed his Scout meeting – too much homework," she continued, as if the nationally reported suicide and her child's homework were equivalent. "Expect he [Ira] would have brushed it off but for his [bad] report card." And then, she's off for entertainment: "To the National Theater with Ira and Alice Jaffee to see Phil Silvers in 'The Top Banana,' a zany thing but I was in just the mood for it, and so was Jules." She was in the mood for zaniness after news of the suicide? Perhaps that's the way her personality worked – always seeking balance.

Even though from an outside perspective the years of Anne's life can be grouped into distinctive time periods (1931-1934: Law School and Graduation; 1935-1938: Washington and Professional Growth; 1939-1945: Marriage, Mothering, and World War II; 1946-1952: Professional Life and Silver Spring; 1953-1961: McCarthyism and the Struggle to Survive; 1962-

⁴ Anne was a committed Democrat. In a humorous entry, she noted: "Later listened to Eisenhower deliver a TV political address. It was a good speech, and well delivered, and he even looked well physically. Afraid it might have won him some votes." (October 1, 1956)

⁵ Her note about "Irv Levy" committing "suicide by jumping off the Calvert Street Bridge" (Friday, February 16, 1951) takes the same form.

⁶ <http://www.spectrezine.org/war/Mendes4.htm>: "The purge of American employees holding left-wing views had begun - as reported by Linda Malvern in the Guardian's 'UN Blues' of 1995 (commemorating the 50th anniversary of the UN)... "In a matter of years the UN staff was purged in a witch-hunt as systematic & ruthless as the one against Hollywood". This was in reference to the anti-communist campaign of the 50's, masterminded by Senator Patrick McCarran (Senator Joe McCarthy's Svengali), which resulted in the notorious McCarran Act. In 1952 J. Edward Hoover, Director of the FBI, agreed to pass on to Senator McCarran's committee any information they had on the UN's American employees, as a result of which 30 employees were 'interrogated' by the committee - 18 of whom invoked the 5th Amendment. Trygve Lie [secretary general of the U.N. and Norwegian politician] sacked those 18. There was more to come, but this whole dirty episode can best be encapsulated in the following tragic case: Abraham Feller, an American lawyer who had served in FDR's New Deal administration, was the first American to be appointed to the UN - as Trygve Lie's Chief Counsel. In early November 1952, Feller learnt that he faced being subpoenaed by the McCarran committee; on November 10th Trygve Lie announces that he (Lie) is resigning; on November 13th Feller struggles from his wife's grasp and plunges to his death from their Manhattan apartment on the 12th floor."

1967: Mature Years; and 1968-1978: Grandmother and Judge),⁷ Anne comments only briefly on these grand topics, perhaps because she did not set out to write her diary with a serious purpose in mind. In fact, she claims (in 1961) to not know at all *why* she is writing her diary. Her entry about the topic of the diary itself, written 30 years after she began, is one of her longer reflections:

*Often wonder why, after all these years, I continue to write these fool things. I almost never look back in them for any purpose, and do not suppose, in view of the great number of these books that I am accumulating, that I ever shall go back over them. By the time I have the time, I shall probably not have the eyesight. But I suppose, if it serves no other purpose, it is a form of self-discipline as I write my little page even when I find it a considerable bore and a great nuisance. Nor do I suppose that all this blithering will be of the slightest interest to Ira or to those who come after him.*⁸

The lack of reflective material in the daily entries may also be a structural bi-product of the fact that she wrote monthly and annual reflective summaries to complement the daily notes. In these summaries, she separates the wheat from the chaff. For example, her 1944 summary is as follows:

And so 1944 had dragged to a close. I do not suppose I have ever been so well satisfied to have any other year of my life come to a close. It has been on the whole an unhappy year. It saw Jules go into the army. It saw him seriously ill with spinal meningitis. It saw all his efforts to better his position knocked into the ground, for no apparent reason. It saw Ira becoming thin and unhappy and resentful. It saw me finally forced to give up my job, and possibly, as a result, my career. It saw me dragged across the country to visit Jules, and then dragged away from him to be reunited with Ira, whom I had missed far more deeply than I had realized I would. And, seeing how much he had missed me, began to realize how unhappy he must have been when he had to spend so much of his time in Esther's [Anne's maid] exclusive company. I hope and pray that 1945 will be a brighter year, primarily that it will see the end of the war, which will not only re-unite our family but will also bring joy to the world. Hope that we shall be able to adopt another child. Hope Jules will find work that will give him joy and satisfaction, and that life will in all ways make up to him for the bitterly unhappy year he had just spent. Have resolved to be more gentle and kindly to Ira. Sometimes speak to him brusquely and peremptorily, and he is sensitive enough to resent it, as well as bright enough to remember about it and make me ashamed of myself. And have resolved to try to make myself worthy generally of the wonderful husband and son I am fortunate enough to have.

But her daily diaries read nothing like this. She even describes "dailies" in terms of what they are *not*:

There is, after all, no vivid description of events of general interest, no profound thoughts, no clever writing, nothing of any interest to anyone who does not care about my routine, humdrum, day-to-day doings. Cannot imagine anyone caring. For one thing, anyone who liked reading could find so many things to read so much more interesting and worthwhile.

⁷ Could be labeled otherwise if viewed from the inside, e.g.: A Single woman looking for a Man; Finding her Man and her First Job; Becoming a Mother and Consoling her Unhappy Mother; etc.

⁸ 1961 End-of-the-Year-Summary.

I do not think Anne's description represents low self-esteem. Rather it is an avid reader's realistic assessment of the difference between her diary and fine literature.

It might have been vanity and conceit when I began, and when some of the people I met and worked with seemed to my uncritical eyes among the world's greatest, and I a note-worthy person because I had met or worked with them. I am now, however, a little more realistic in my evaluation of people, including myself. I suppose, then, that I continue with this blithering nonsense year after year to be a habit that I am reluctant to bring to an end.

This last paragraph is quite telling – Anne used a diary to record the *people* with whom she was acquainted. One might even label her collection of notebooks, "A Diary of People I've Met." Unfortunately, in most cases, she did not note anything about the myriad of people. This terseness is tied to the fact that she did not write the diary with any readers in mind.

Anne seemed determined to provide an accurate and nearly complete record of the people with whom she interacted. For example, she started her diary, as so many people do, on a January 1 (in her case, 1931). "*Saw the New Year in with Lloyd Tuinby, Mimmie Begirs and Dick Little.*" This first sentence provokes the question as to why Anne recorded the names of [nearly] every person she spent time with every day. The reason may be that Anne saw people as unique individuals worthy of respect (i.e. she did not write, "Saw the New Year in with friends."). And second, she cared about details, including the recording of exact names. The latter is a valuable skill for a lawyer or judge.

Anne's opening entry recounts Lloyd Tuinby making a fool of himself, and her not accepting his subsequent profuse apology. Although she states that she "*expects not to hear from him again,*" when Lloyd does call two days later, she responds by inviting him to her home. In the next ten days or so, Anne had several more interactions with him until she considered herself "*well rid of Lloyd. He had the makings of a fine chap but wrong bringing-up.*"⁹ This short-lived relationship suggests that Anne was somewhat flexible in her relations with others, but that she was also ready to cut people out of her life if they did not measure up.

Anne's final entry (in this collection),¹⁰ written on Tuesday, May 9, 1978 a few months before she died, had all the usual elements: weather, health, family, friends and food.

A cool rainy day. Jules took me to Radiology. Dropped me there. I went from there to the Clinic for, much later, a spinal treatment. Jules stopped at the clinic before leaving for the airport. Stopped, I hope, worrying about me. Helen came to the clinic, brought me some goodies, which, after we got home, the (grand) kids and I had for luncheon. Ruth picked up the kids at Dulles and brought them home. During supper Charlie Smith from Jules' office brought us some fresh-caught frozen trout. Jules called from N.Y to check on whether Charlie, who had trouble calling us about the fish, had made connections.

A New Approach to Reading a Diary

In my recently published book, *Observing the Observer: Understanding Our Selves in Field Research*,¹¹ I offer a simple new approach to the analysis of sociological field notes that applies just as well to the analysis of diary entries. This perspective examines notes in terms of the various *selves* of the researcher. What emerges from such a reading is an understanding that is

⁹ January 19, 1931.

¹⁰ This collection from her diary contains no entries from May 10, 1978 to August 15, 1978, the day of her death.

¹¹ New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

different from that which results from reading field entries sequentially. For example, here are two randomly selected excerpts of consecutive days of Anne's diary:

Monday, May 6, 1946

Jules and I lunched at S&W. First time in years. The food was good, but the crowds were discouraging. Sent Mother S. some bath salts for Mother's Day. Will send Mother F. her usual check. Henry Lehman came home with us for dinner. We had the roast. Henry ate a fantastic quantity of food, especially meat. Apparently starved for some home cooking. We had coffee after dinner, and I was awake most of the night.

Tuesday, May 7, 1946

Oral argument in Gear Mfg. Houston and Reilly present, and it seemed quite clear they held divergent views. The coal strike is having the disastrous consequences everyone expected. Hope it is settled soon – with the miners getting a decent break. Not so tired during the day as I had expected to be, but I was ready for bed much earlier than usual in the evening. Lillian Freireich Purcell called. She and Sid are visiting Pearl, both recuperating from illnesses.

Read sequentially, these two entries are a hodgepodge of disconnected information. An alternative way to read them, however, is by subject matter, i.e. in the first, lunching, relation with Jules, evaluation of restaurants, celebration of Mother's Day, relations with mother and mother-in-law, a particular person (Henry Lehman), friends, cooking, and obtaining food; and in the second, work, stamina, phone calls, social network, typical week-days. The idea is to read *all* the notes creating an exhaustive list of categories from excerpt number 1, then adding 2, and so forth. Using this inductive approach, I have come up with many categories with which to analyze Anne's diary entries. From this long list I have selected a few for reasons of space: a) Anne as a reader, b) Anne as a social networker, c) Anne as a drinker, d) Anne as a mentee, e) Anne as her parents' daughter, f) Anne as a Jew, g) Anne as a mother, and h) Anne as a professional. Combining these multiple perspectives presents a rather full portrait of Anne the person. But what is most important is that the categories emerge from the data themselves.

Of course, there are many more categories – some of which are quite important - than can be discussed in this introduction. For example, I could have chosen to include a discussion of "Anne the employer," a topic that could make use of numerous entries about her maids. An exploration of employer/maid relations could uncover interesting class dynamics and questions of women's solidarity. Another topic I chose to ignore is the traveling that Anne and Jules did – e.g. their trip to Europe in August 1957 and to Israel in September 1967, among many others. Other topics could be "Anne the daughter-in-law," "Anne the sister," and "Anne the shopper." But every researcher has to prioritize. Each research project is by definition, incomplete.

Historical Context: Social Issues of the Day

Over and above this technique of providing analytic categories from Anne's own writing, the researcher should provide some historical context and explanatory notes about unfamiliar terms.¹² Anne Freeling was born in 1910, and sadly, lived for only 68 years. In 1978, her life was cut

¹² Another technique, which I did not employ in analyzing this diary is based on a word search. For example, here are some entries that use the word "afraid," "I was afraid I would be too tired with three nights of school in a row." "Tired of the whole racket but cannot quit because afraid of Mrs. Fuller's disappointment." "Afraid I have gotten out of the habit of buying." "Afraid my night work is affecting my real job." "I enjoyed it very much – the swings, too. I used to be afraid of them when I was a youngster, but now I can go way up with nary a tremor." "Afraid my eyes are going on the blink again."

short by lymphoma.¹³ Twenty-two years earlier, when she was 46 and living in Washington, D.C., Anne underwent a “cancer test” behind her husband’s back: “*Took my cancer test at Public Health. Will be notified of the results in 2 or 3 weeks. Got a ride to Silver Spring with Max Rosenberg, and Jules picked me up there. Have not told Jules yet about the cancer test.*”¹⁴ It would be interesting to know *why* Anne took this test and hid it from Jules. Was this a common practice among wives at a time when cancer was almost too dreaded to mention? And for which cancer did she undergo a diagnostic test? Seven years later, she had an office physical checkup and wrote elliptically: “*Nothing wrong, apparently, as far as the doctor could tell at this point.*”¹⁵

These diary entries include many mentions of Anne’s not feeling well:

*Felt a bit headachy.*¹⁶ *We had scrambled eggs for supper. I fixed some sandwiches for Ira when he came home, and then went to bed fairly early, feeling fine, but woke during the night with a miserable sick headache.*¹⁷ *Much too woozy to go to work or to services.*¹⁸ *Something did not agree with me, and I went home very sick, and spent another horrible night.*¹⁹

The overall impression Anne gives is of a person with inconsistent health but a lot of energy. Her encounter with lymphoma comes as a shock. Her succumbing to lymphoma even more so, although the fatality of lymphoma may have been common during the period in which she developed the disease. Her chances of going into remission and her survival rate would probably have been much greater today.

Anne practiced law most of her adult life at a time when few women had entered the legal field. In terms of the U.S. legal environment for women during Anne’s lifetime, she was born *before* the passage of the 19th Amendment giving U.S. women the right to vote, and she died in 1978 three years *before* the first woman - Sandra Day O’Connor - was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Had Anne lived fifteen years longer, she would have witnessed the first *Jewish* woman to be appointed to the Supreme Court – Ruth Bader Ginsburg – in 1993.

On the other hand, a Jewish *man* already sat on the Court while Anne was alive: Louis Dembitz Brandeis served as an Associate Justice for 23 years, from June 1, 1916–February 13, 1939, thereby demonstrating that at the time, the prejudice against women was far greater than the prejudice against Jews. [Although Brandeis sat on the court while Anne was in law school, she did not mention him in any of her diary entries in this collection.] For two periods during Anne’s lifetime *two* Jewish men [and no women, Jewish or non-Jewish] served simultaneously as Justices of the Supreme Court. Benjamin N. Cardozo served from March 2, 1932–July 9, 1938, and Felix Frankfurter served from January 20, 1939–August 28, 1962, each of whom sharing the bench with Brandeis for part of their tenure.

Although Anne did not live to see women judges on the Supreme Court, she was privileged to

¹³ I do not know the family’s medical history, a topic that is useful to explore in order to understand why a particular disease appears in a family. See Jennifer Rosner, *If a Tree Falls: A Family’s Quest to Hear and Be Heard* (New York: Hadassah-Brandeis Institute and the Feminist Press, 2010). Lymphoma is a cancer that begins in the lymphatic cells of the immune system and presents as a solid tumor of lymphoid cells. Nowadays it is treatable with chemotherapy, and in some cases radiotherapy and/or bone marrow transplantation and can be curable depending on the histology, type, and stage of the disease.

¹⁴ September 7, 1956.

¹⁵ September 16, 1963.

¹⁶ May 31, 1958.

¹⁷ September 7, 1964.

¹⁸ September 8, 1964.

¹⁹ February 12, 1940.

see many other “firsts” for American women.²⁰ In 1914, for example, women were admitted to the American College of Surgeons for the first time (Alice Gertrude Bryant and Florence West Duckering); Ellen Richards becomes the first woman to graduate from MIT; Hattie Plum Williams became the first woman to earn a doctorate in sociology; Jeanette Rankin became the first elected female Congressperson; and the first Jewish sorority was established (SDT, at Cornell). Frances Perkins (1880-1965), Secretary of Labor from 1933 to 1945, was the first woman appointed to a U.S. Cabinet position. In terms of gains in the legal field, in 1918 Kathryn Sellers was appointed the first female judge of a juvenile court (Washington, D.C.); the next year, Mary Florence Lathrop became the first woman admitted to the American Bar Association; and in the following year Florence Ellinwood Allen became the first American woman elected to a judicial post.

The year Anne was born, another New England woman, Marion Talbot, published a landmark research-based book that slowly began to shape a new environment for American women.²¹ That book, *The Education of Women*, was based on one of the first social science studies conducted in the United States. Talbot compared fertility patterns of American women who had received a higher education degree with a comparable group that had *not* furthered their education beyond high school. The social background of the study was complex. Many educated men in positions of authority (e.g. the President of Harvard University and the Dean of its Medical School) claimed *that higher education damaged women's fertility potential*. They asserted that a human body is a fixed, sealed entity, and if energy flowed to the brain, the uterus did not have access to that energy. The energy-deprived uterus would become desiccated and infertile. (The impact of education on *men's reproductive organs* was not studied). Talbot believed that an empirical study could settle the question once and for all. The conclusion of her research was that the *difference in fertility rates of the two groups of women was negligible*, and therefore, studying for advanced degrees did not make women infertile.

A hidden racist argument underlying this entire controversy was the fear that the greater fertility of American Negroes in comparison with that of white women required intervention measures in order to increase the number and proportion of whites in America. Only by keeping white women at home, it was reasoned, could the fertility gap be reduced. Although Anne's later musings about the work/family conflict she was experiencing sound like those of a contemporary woman, it is important to understand that, like today, the question of women's employment versus exclusive dedication to mothering was being debated on a national scale. Taking a radical stance against the very concept of “housewife,” national speaker and sociologist Charlotte Perkins Gilman published “Are Women Human Beings?” and “The Waste of Private Housekeeping.” Although Anne's diary does not mention her reading these types of books and pamphlets, it is likely that she, as an intelligent woman and reader, was aware of these arguments swirling throughout society.

During the first decade of Anne's life there were also major changes in women's *volunteer* work. In addition to health related fund-raising groups²² and the multitude of women's pro- and anti-suffrage organizations among blacks and whites, voluntary societies arose to advocate for ethnic and racial groups. In Chicago in 1912, for example, anti-lynching activist, Ida B. Wells, founded the Alpha Suffrage Club, the first Black women's suffrage organization in the U.S. That same year in Baltimore, Henrietta Szold founded the Hadassah Women's Organization, devoted

²⁰ See Shulamit Reinharz, *A Chronological Chart of Women's Sociological Work*, Working Papers Series, #1, Women's Studies Program, Brandeis University. 3rd edition, August 2001. (available from the author)

²¹ Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

²² Fundraising for these groups was defined almost as a civic duty: February 12, 1955: “*While we were out, someone left the material I am to use in the Heart Fund collection, so I guess I am stuck with that chore.*”

to providing Jewish education for Jewish women and raising funds for medical services in Palestine. Synagogues were also absorbing a lot of Jewish women's volunteer energy. In 1913, Carrie Simon became the first president of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. In 1920 when Anne was 10 years old, Martha Newmark requested rabbinic ordination from the Reform movement, but was rejected on the basis of gender. And in 1922, Judith Kaplan became the first American girl to have a formal Bat Mitzvah. If Anne had had a bat mitzvah at age twelve, it would have taken place that same year.

For all of women's symbolic and actual advancements that Anne might have heard about, it was still very much *a man's world*. Gender bias was something Anne experienced and understood, in part by contrasting her conditions of employment with those of her husband. For example, *"Took a notion to ask Tom Emerson for a raise. No soap. Only P.I.'s are getting them, and possibly a few others, not including me. Jules got a reclassification and a raise to \$4600."*²³ This discrimination is all the more significant in that it occurred a short while *after* Anne had acquitted herself so well at a Congressional investigation of the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) where she was employed. Seven years later she commented on the same topic in her year-end summary:

Jules and I were both reclassified on our jobs, Jules' reclassification carrying with it a substantial increase in salary. And I have virtually been promised another reclassification, one which will also be accompanied by a generous increase in salary.

But at the end of the next year, she wrote: *"There were other good things that happened this year: my becoming a supervisor and getting a P-6 rating; Jules and I getting clearance from our loyalty review boards."* There was no mention of a raise.

One of many examples of discrimination in the diaries is Anne's description of a job interview. Readers of her diaries can benefit from overhearing the conversation and listening in on the prejudicial statements:

*I decided to go to the office as I figured I would be interviewed today by Beeson. I was, and it went quite badly. He took me completely aback when he said he would consider the fact that I had a husband to support me. He knew Jules was in private practice.*²⁴

Four days later, Anne wrote: *"went in to see Beeson again to explain why I thought it unfair to consider as a factor in my case Jules' ability to save me from starving. He did not seem too impressed."*²⁵ At the time, married women's work was considered superfluous and unjustified based on the unfounded and irrelevant assumption that women took work *away* from men. When a woman married or became pregnant, she was likely to lose her job. Most "selfish" of all was the woman who worked for the government, while her husband did the same, which, of course, was true in Anne's case. On Friday, January 12, 1940 Anne and Jules had dinner with friends *"for more discussions of my notoriety. I had made the front page again today in connection with husbands and wives in the Government service."*

Nowadays, a comment such as the one Beeson made to Schlezinger is illegal in a job-related interview. The attitude toward working women in the 1950's, when these conversations were taking place, might be compared to today's prejudice against immigrants who are wrongly thought to take jobs away from others rather than properly considered as contributing to the economy.

²³ January 18, 1940.

²⁴ March 11, 1954.

²⁵ March 15, 1954.

One can also see how threatening it might have been to men unused to being challenged to have to work with intelligent women:

Merv explained to me how the Board was going to speed up cases by, among other things, cutting memos down by discussing vital issues only. I had the satisfaction of reminding him that that was inconsistent with the changes he had suggested last week in Gromfine's case.²⁶

Since men had the power in almost every workplace, they could quite easily put women in their place: *"Conference with Merv and Gromfine on one of the latter's cases. Apparently Merv did not like the way I had revised it at all. My work has piled up pretty badly again."²⁷* Although the focus of this essay is on Anne the person, the diaries are also useful to read as a record of the times. Through her diaries, we can see what some people were reading, which movies they went to, how they shopped, what daily life was like during World War II and how women were discriminated against, among many other topics.

Anne as a Mentee

A vast research literature exists on the topic of women needing, or at least benefiting from, mentoring for personal and career enhancement. Anne graduated from high school in Lawrence, Massachusetts and immediately enrolled in the law school (night-school) at Northeastern University in Boston, receiving no financial help from her family. As a new student in a demanding course of study, Anne could have benefited from parental guidance in her new role as a woman in an endeavor dominated by men. But her parents were unable to play that role because, as immigrants, it seems that they had not mastered the environment themselves. In addition, her parents had serious emotional problems of their own.

Fortunately Anne soon found what every ambitious young woman needs, an older woman - Mrs. Fuller - who would become her confidante and mentor, a person who would help her navigate the new demands being made on her. As early as January 5, 1931, four days into writing the diary, Anne describes a longstanding relation with Mrs. Fuller: *"Had a real heart-to-heart talk with Mrs. Fuller such as I had not had for some time and which I always find so helpful and constructive. If I ever get through this law course it will be due at least 90% to her encouragement."* Anne turned to Mrs. Fuller for advice on whether or not to take particular jobs, and she avoided taking actions (e.g. quitting law school) specifically because she knew that Mrs. Fuller would disapprove. *"Tired of the whole racket but cannot quit because afraid of Mrs. Fuller's disappointment."²⁸*

In a situation that echoes George Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion," but is even more charming because Anne's Dr. Higgins is a woman, Mrs. Fuller motivated Anne to dress and behave properly:

Mrs. Fuller thinks I have cultivated a more critical judgment of fashion... 'cultivation' instigated and urged on by her in her effort to give me a 'high-grade background.'²⁹ Mrs. Fuller suggested that next time I have a date, I go to the Coconut Grove or Lido Venice or someplace formal.³⁰

Anne was also steered in her reading, although she didn't always concur in her evaluation of these books: *"Mrs. Fuller presented me with 'Saplio' and 'Carmille.' Have read 'Saplio.' Too much*

²⁶ April 19, 1948.

²⁷ April 14, 1948.

²⁸ January 15, 1931.

²⁹ January 15, 1931.

³⁰ January 31, 1931.

sensuality.³¹ But Mrs. Fuller did more than help Anne polish her appearance and charm potential suitors. She also helped Anne deal with her internal conflicts, family problems, and anger:

*Wrote home at Mrs. Fuller's behest, suggesting that if the folks sent Jean to day school it would be no more than fair to pay part of my tuition, too. Seems selfish, but never got anything yet by being self-effacing. Jean asks so much more than I do, and gets it, and gets applauded for knowing enough to get it. I try to ask for very little, get less, and am considered a fool.*³²

Her sister Jean aggravated Anne quite a bit at this time in their lives: *"Promised to meet Jean for luncheon. She took so long to dress we had only a few minutes to get our train, when she announced that she had to go downtown to draw out some money. That was the last straw and I simply refused to go at all."*³³ Mrs. Fuller didn't even have to be present for Anne to benefit for her assessments: *"The members of the household are friendly and pleasant, but not what Mrs. Fuller would call 'high grade.'"*³⁴

While at law school, Anne found another woman who served not as a mentor, but as a role model:

*Judge Emma Fall Schofield, ...the [future] Women's Advisor at Northeastern University. She made a charming address and seems genuinely enthused about the idea, from the standpoint of helping the girls, and not just because it is her job.*³⁵

Emma Fall Schofield, graduated Boston University law school and became *the first woman judge* in Massachusetts. Her mother had been the state's *first woman lawyer in a jury case*. Judge Schofield represented the woman Anne might become.

The third professional influence was her first boss, Charles Wyzanski.³⁶ As Anne was completing law school, Wyzanski persuaded her to leave Boston to work with him in Washington, D.C. as a secretary in the Department of Labor. Anne clearly admired Wyzanski's intelligence and used him as a standard by which to measure other lawyers. Her feelings sometimes left her flustered: *"Surprise! Charles Wyzanski dropped in to see me first thing in the morning. We had a delightful chat, but because his visit was so unexpected I did not say, or ask about, many things I should otherwise have mentioned."*³⁷ But Anne's relationship with Wyzanski was problematic on many levels – for one, she was Jewish and he was not.

Although he did not always respect her intelligence, or so Anne thought, Wyzanski wanted Anne to work for him. In a well-known pattern in mixed-gender workplaces, *"The Solicitor,"*³⁸ after his usual procedure of ridiculing any suggestions coming from me, had decided to follow them."³⁹ Wyzanski also appealed to Anne as a woman and gave her *"a lovely gold pin"*⁴⁰ and *"a beautiful compact he had bought in Vienna [with] a note urging me to make up my vacillating mind and come [i.e. return] to Boston"*⁴¹ (and work with him there.)

31 January 24, 1931.

32 January 19, 1931.

33 August 7, 1933.

34 September 18, 1933. "Letter from Mrs. Fuller suggesting certain people I ought to see in Boston..."

35 November 7, 1932.

36 Charles Edward Wyzanski, Jr. (May 27, 1906-September 3, 1986).

37 October 26, 1937.

38 i.e. Charles Wyzanski.

39 November 8, 1935.

40 September 19, 1963.

41 September 17, 1937.

Had a long talk with the Solicitor about my job. Wavered several times, and then we decided I should go along with him [from Labor to Justice] if the job was available!"⁴² "Mr. W. left on the noon train for Boston, leaving me in the midst of indexing...[B]efore he left, [he] had insisted on putting my name on the brief, although I had demurred and questioned the advisability of doing so. He also suggested that I be admitted to the Supreme Court so that there would be no question about my appearing on briefs. His compliments are the more appreciated because of their rarity."⁴³

Mr. W., as she called him, was inconsistent. "...I left a little bit early, although Mr. W. hemmed and hawed about it. But I can forgive him anything for a while – the Seminole brief came back today, with my name appearing on the signature page. That was somewhat of a thrill."⁴⁴ On the other hand, the fact that whether or not her name was on a brief was left to the good will of her boss, rather than automatically appearing because it reflected her professional input, meant that her advancement was characterized by ambiguity. These are the conditions under which women frequently worked and still work today.

Anne's final significant mentor was her husband and life partner, Jules Schlezinger, a man with whom she established a strong, mutually satisfying relationship. On November 25, 1938 Jules proposed marriage. At first, Anne was not sure: "*I am very fond of him, but somehow I cannot picture him as my husband forever and ever.*" Gradually her attitude softened. With these mentors and role models available to Anne, she ascended to an unusually high position within the law.

Anne as a Social Networker

Long before the current era of electronic and virtual social networking, Anne understood its significance both for career development and participation in the larger society. As a law student, she sometimes accepted social engagements over studying in order to reap possible future rewards:

Peggy wants me and Jean to go out to the dance tomorrow night with some law students. Pledged much studying, but she and Jean teased until I finally consented to go. Very much dissatisfied with my refusal powers. Must strengthen them. [I told] myself that I would not have surrendered if they had not been law students. May mean future business."⁴⁵

During Anne's career, there were several potential time slots for one-on-one, face-to-face networking: breakfast, mid-morning coffee, lunch, afternoon tea/coffee, cocktails, dinner and after dinner on a weeknight, compounded by even more such occasions on the weekend. Anne took advantage of all of these opportunities to socialize and build her relationships. In addition, there were non-face-to-face networking possibilities - letters, postcards, and phone calls - all of which she received in large quantities.

One of Anne's earliest diary entries mentions a fleeting social breakfast: "*Monday, January 5, 1931. Very warm. Breakfasted with Peggy.*" When she moved to Washington, she continued this practice: "*Breakfasted in the cafeteria with Miss Thrift, and lunched with Mrs. Jewell and Miss Thrift.*"⁴⁶ Next was morning coffee: "*morning coffee with Sid Lindner, Earl Bellman, Tom Wilson, Charlie Schneider, and Bob Piper.*"⁴⁷ She even made business dates with people from across the

⁴² November 8, 1935.

⁴³ October 24, 1936.

⁴⁴ October 27, 1936.

⁴⁵ January 5, 1931.

⁴⁶ November 13, 1935.

⁴⁷ February 18, 1954.

aisle: *"Lunched in the cafeteria with Jo Silver. Had coffee in the afternoon with Jerry Doherty, a Republican, and one of the very few happy people around the Board."*⁴⁸ *"Afternoon tea with Mira Stevenson."*⁴⁹ A cocktail party could erupt at any time of day: *"Was in the office [in the morning] a very short time before Jack took Condon, Swope, Jules and me out for cocktails to celebrate his raise."*⁵⁰

While a law student in Boston, Anne started her custom of nearly daily lunches with her fellow students and friends: *"Luncheon with Anna Clancy – very pleasant but so inconsequential."*⁵¹ Anne is telling us that lunch with someone should be consequential!

*Luncheon with Thelma Farrington at Hayler's. Bum lunch. Like Thelma quite a good deal – sensible, sweet, modest.*⁵² *Luncheon with Anna Clancy. Very pleasant. No depth to Anna. Agreeable, but much of her would be boring.*⁵³ *Lunched with Sylvia and her girl friend.*⁵⁴ *Lunched with Sylvia.*⁵⁵ *Lunched with Mrs. Fuller.*⁵⁶ *Took [Clara] to luncheon at ...a German restaurant on Huntington Avenue.*⁵⁷

Anne loved to eat good food and to explore new restaurants. She also was willing to do the inviting and foot the bill.

Anne realized that her nearly daily social lunches at neighborhood restaurants in Boston or Washington, D.C. were expensive (frequently overpriced) and conducive to weight gain. But her enjoyment of the company, the place, and the food outweighed those shortcomings. *"Lunched with Miss Korte at a cute little back-yard garden place."*⁵⁸ *"Lunched at Allie's Inn with Mary and Jean. I blew them, today being payday - \$70.83."*⁵⁹ Taking her lunch with relatives such as her sister Clara or her uncle Phil was a way to keep in constant touch with family.

*Lunched at Tally-Ho with Clara.*⁶⁰ *Phil took the crowd of us to luncheon and dancing – at the Lotus.*⁶¹ *Lunched with Clara at Allie's Inn.*⁶² *Took Clara to luncheon at Madrillon, and what a licking I took!*⁶³ *Lunched at the Lotus Lantern with Miss Harrington.*⁶⁴ *Lunched with Clara at the Lotus Lantern.*⁶⁵ *Lunched with Clara at the Army Navy Tea room. She gets a big kick out of lunching with me it seems.*⁶⁶

The big kick goes in both directions, it seems. *"Lunched at the Washington Coffee Shop with Mary Lou."*⁶⁷ *"Lunched with Frances."*⁶⁸

48 November 6, 1952.

49 March 15, 1954.

50 November 23, 1938.

51 January 6, 1931.

52 January 23, 1931.

53 January 30, 1931.

54 November 5, 1932.

55 November 12, 1932.

56 November 15, 1932. Mrs. Fuller is her unofficial mentor.

57 November 21, 1932.

58 August 25, 1933.

59 August 31, 1933.

60 December 7, 1933.

61 September 2, 1933.

62 September 8, 1933. These are her colleagues at work.

63 September 13, 1933.

64 September 14, 1933.

65 September 15, 1933.

66 September 25, 1933.

67 November 2, 1935.

68 November 5, 1935.

Starting in 1935, Anne began to have larger business lunches.

*Lunched at the Latch String with Frances, Kommy, Edith, and George.*⁶⁹ *“Lunched in the cafeteria with Miss Larimer and Miss Patterson.”*⁷⁰ *Lunched with Lee MacKinnon and Miss Larimer at Brownley’s.*⁷¹ *Lunched at the Latch String with Frances, Ruth, Gladys, Burch and Kommy.*⁷² *Frances called and asked me to lunch with her, but I had already made an engagement with Mrs. Jewell.*⁷³ *Lunched with Miss Patterson.*⁷⁴ *Lunched with Mrs. Jewell and Miss Thrift.*⁷⁵ *Mrs. Wintersteen took me to luncheon.*⁷⁶ *Lunched at the Latch String with Kommy, Ruth and May Sweet. Wore my black velvet, and was profusely complimented on my appearance.*⁷⁷ *Lunched at the Washington Coffee Shop with Mary Lou and Maxine.*⁷⁸ *Went to the Labor Dept. to finish my research job. Lunched at the Latch String with Gladys Burch. Got the low-down on people and events at the Labor Dept.*⁷⁹ *Lunched at Brownley’s with Ruth Jewell and Clara, had a pleasant time gossiping about people we all knew. Met Barney Robbins, who gave me a big hand. Shirley’s husband happened along, and I was introduced to him – Dr. Eisenberg – I think.*⁸⁰ *Lunched with Ralph Winkler, who is very bitter about the lousy deal servicemen have received.*⁸¹ *Lunched at Tally-Ho with Irene and Grace. Peg Patterson, formally of the NLRB and now Judge Madden’s law clerk, came in alone and joined us.*⁸²

Some of her companions were her relatives (e.g. sisters Jean and Clara), some were her office mates, and some were her friends. As time passed, her luncheons increasingly became business oriented. *“Then lunched with Jules and George Wheeler at the Court cafeteria.”*⁸³ *“Lunched at the Aviation Club with Mary Clark.”*⁸⁴ *“Lunched at the Diplomat with Jonah Silver, recently rehired at the Board on McCulloch’s staff.”*⁸⁵ *“Lunched at the Black Steer with Vivian Asplund.”*⁸⁶ The list is seemingly endless.

Anne knew a great number of people and enjoyed being with them.

*Had a pleasant luncheon at Blackie’s with some of the TXes.*⁸⁷ *Went with Ivan Peterson to the Summer Lawrence funeral at a church in Bethesda. Later to the Democratic Club at the Watergate for luncheon.*⁸⁸ *Lunched with Fannie Boyls.*⁸⁹ *Walked to Adam’s Rib for luncheon*

⁶⁹ November 6, 1935.

⁷⁰ November 7, 1935.

⁷¹ November 8, 1935.

⁷² November 9, 1935.

⁷³ November 11, 1935.

⁷⁴ November 12, 1935.

⁷⁵ November 13, 1935.

⁷⁶ November 14, 1935.

⁷⁷ October 2, 1936.

⁷⁸ October 3, 1936.

⁷⁹ October 6, 1936.

⁸⁰ October 20, 1936.

⁸¹ May 9, 1946. Ralph Winkler is a Judge in the NLRB.

⁸² June 6, 1947.

⁸³ May 4, 1942.

⁸⁴ June 2, 1961. Anne and Mary Clark became friends. Mary predeceased Anne, succumbing to cancer in March 1976.

⁸⁵ June 22, 1961.

⁸⁶ September 21, 1964.

⁸⁷ May 8, 1969. Tx or TX is Trial Examiner.

⁸⁸ November 6, 1970.

⁸⁹ November 10, 1970.

with Mira Stevenson.⁹⁰ *A pleasant mild day so Sid Ascher and I walked into Georgetown and had luncheon at Chez Odette.*⁹¹ *Lunched at Blackie's with Al Somers.*⁹² *Lunched at Blackie's with Sid Ascher and Ben Lipton.*⁹³ *Lunched at Blackie's with Maller, Ascher, and Hinkel.*⁹⁴ *Lunched at the Black Ulysses with Abe Muller and Harry Kuskin.*⁹⁵ *Lunched at Blackie's with Mira Stevenson and Abe Muller.*⁹⁶ *I lunched at a cafeteria with the reporter, Mary Bagby.*⁹⁷ *Lunched with Jo Klein and Milt Janus at the Embers Restaurant, complete with cocktails.*⁹⁸

And so on for the rest of her life. These lunches were essential to Anne's career. And during those lunches, she seemed to show her companions that she could eat and drink with the best of them. Anne's gusto for lunching with others lasted her whole life. A typical day brought an extraordinary set of people into her life: *"I went down [to work] with Jules. After the meeting with Powell, there was a meeting in Leedom's office...Had coffee with Mir, Gearhart and Wilson. Lunched with Charlie Schneider. Had tea with London, Leff and Krasnecki. Got a ride home with Jack Mantell."*⁹⁹

In the early 1960's Anne complained about overwork and thus not being able to carve out time for lunch with friends and colleagues. The lunch dates she *did* make were with long-term friends such as Fannie Boyls, Mira Stevenson, Sid Ascher and Harry Kuskin. Whereas her 1950s luncheons were almost always with a companion, in the 1960s she frequently grabbed a bite alone and on the run. A common entry reads like this: *"The rain stopped for a little while around noon so I walked over to the Hot Shoppe for luncheon."*¹⁰⁰ *"I was very busy, primarily because of getting ready for some rather difficult cases scheduled for tomorrow's Board agenda, so settled for a quick sandwich at the Hot Shoppe for luncheon."*¹⁰¹

When Anne became a judge in the late 1960's, the fellowship frenzy of myriad social appointments slowed down considerably. In 1975, she wrote reflectively: *"A showery day, but Mira Stevenson and I walked to Blackie's nevertheless. Told her of my hospital plans. Have told very few at the office. But she will be away next week on a hearing, and she has become pretty much my regular luncheon companion."*¹⁰² In her last year, she ate nearly every meal with Jules, and then sometimes, lamentably, alone.

Anne as a Reader

In his introduction to this publication of her diaries, Anne's son, Ira, has written that his mother "loved to read." The large majority of her diary entries that mention reading corroborate his comment. *Cyrano de Bergerac* is one of the first works that appears in her diaries, a book she reread: *"I still get a lump in my throat when I get to his heroic but tragic death. His pretty cousin did not deserve his love."*¹⁰³ She mentions only a few books of social commentary (*"Trying to read some books on immigration but for the most part they are just words and figures to me."*) In

⁹⁰ November 25, 1970.

⁹¹ March 1, 1971.

⁹² March 11, 1971.

⁹³ March 14, 1971.

⁹⁴ September 8, 1972.

⁹⁵ September 12, 1972.

⁹⁶ September 15, 1972.

⁹⁷ October 7, 1974.

⁹⁸ June 5, 1975.

⁹⁹ October 1, 1956.

¹⁰⁰ September 8, 1964.

¹⁰¹ March 22, 1965.

¹⁰² June 27, 1975.

¹⁰³ August 9, 1933.

general, Anne was a critical reader: "*Spent the evening reading the papers, and some of the biographical sketches in Men of Turmoil. They are interesting and well worth reading, but too uniformly flattering to be entirely pleasing to me. Each one is treated like the hero of his age.*"¹⁰⁴ A few days later, she wrote: [In the evening] "*I decided to stay home and read. Was gratified when I finally found [that] one of the subjects of Men of Turmoil was not treated as a hero of unmixed virtuosity. Incidentally the victim was Henry Ford.*"¹⁰⁵ A little later on,

*finished reading Morris Cohen's Philosophy of the Law. Found it enjoyable and instructive despite its iconoclasm.*¹⁰⁶ *I spent the evening reading Anatole France's Revolt of the Angels... Enjoyed his satirical wit very much.*¹⁰⁷ *Read Pat Frank's Alas, Babylon. Found it interesting and depressing. Some of the people turned out finer and stronger than ever when faced with such awful problems, but others were so horrible.*

On August 9, 1945, she wrote:

*Finished Richard Wright's Black Boy, a devastating description of conditions for negroes in the south. A miracle that one like Wright could rise above them, and so far above them. Finished Steinbeck's Cannery Row. Pretty good, but not at all in the class of some of the other things he has written.*¹⁰⁸ *Finished Cuckoo Time, a zany but rather entertaining story.*¹⁰⁹ *Borrowed a book of Dorothy Parker stories. Found them very entertaining, but finally fell asleep over them.*¹¹⁰

Not all of Anne's reading was serious: "*Finished Jane Allen's I Love my Girlish Laughter, a light, frivolous thing, but amusing.*"¹¹¹ "*Finished Caroline Miller's Lamb in His Bosom. Thought it an excellent portrayal of the class and the times about which it was written.*"¹¹² Anne pointed out the magazines, particularly the New Yorker, to which she subscribed, and the Reader's Digest back issues that she looked at. These were sources of comfort. In one entry she wrote: "*The usual evening routine – newspaper, crossword puzzle, whatever book I am reading at the time, shower, and bed.*"¹¹³ And again, "*It was rather a nasty evening, so I decided I would rather stay home and read – just plain lazy, that's all.*"¹¹⁴ Repeatedly, "*I stayed home to read – what a stay-at-home I turned out to be!*"¹¹⁵ Her friends must have known how much she liked to read and therefore gave her books as presents.¹¹⁶ She also frequented libraries for more books: "*We got two books at the lending library – Iams' Girl Meets Body, and Zweig's The Axe of Wandsbek – which should offer contrast if nothing else.*"¹¹⁷ Anne also read the Washington Post regularly, including the thick Sunday issues. Much of her news came also from listening to the radio, especially during the war

¹⁰⁴ Although this book is a collection of essays, no individual is listed as the editor. The full title is *Men of Turmoil: Biographies by Leading Authorities of the Dominating Personalities of our Day* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1935). The book is aptly titled, as no woman is featured among the 37 portraits.

¹⁰⁵ November 13, 1935.

¹⁰⁶ November 26, 1935.

¹⁰⁷ October 9, 1936.

¹⁰⁸ August 21, 1945.

¹⁰⁹ August 23, 1945.

¹¹⁰ August 25, 1945.

¹¹¹ November 3, 1938.

¹¹² October 25, 1936.

¹¹³ November 14, 1935.

¹¹⁴ November 15, 1935.

¹¹⁵ November 20, 1935.

¹¹⁶ May 19, 1946: "*Acquired a large collection of detective stories from Edith. Don't know when I shall find the time to read them.*"

¹¹⁷ May 12, 1948.

years.¹¹⁸ Anne was thus both a regular reader and a regular writer. Her life had a definite rhythm and discipline.

The overview of Anne's readings provides a glimpse into the topics of interest or amusement to a highly educated Jewish American woman of the time.

I read Willa Cather's Obscure Destinies, and rather enjoyed them, even the ones I had already read."¹¹⁹ "...[R]ead the papers and some P.G. Woodhouse nonsense."¹²⁰ "Read a collection of Mr. Tutt stories. Rather tiresome."¹²¹ "Read a detective story while I soaked in the tub. Very relaxing."¹²² "Finished reading Catton's The War Lords of Washington. The subject matter was interesting enough, but I found the treatment dull."¹²³ "Read Candy, which Stella Zanoff lent us. Thought it putrid. Felt we should apologize to Wachtel, to whom Jules sent the book when Wachtel was ill."¹²⁴ "Read the first story in The Pagan Rabbi, our book club selection, and waded through a second story. Disliked them very much and do not intend to read any more of the book. Curious to see if anyone else in the book club will have enjoyed the stories."¹²⁵

Over the years, Anne also read law books when they were assigned in her classes and examined legal briefs related to her work: [I spent] "*part of the evening reading back numbers of the Labor Relations Reports which I had not gotten a chance to read.*"¹²⁶ Reading was always part of her life with her husband, Jules: While on a trip to Israel, Jules "*bought a paperback of Malamud's The Fixer to read.*"¹²⁷ "*Finished reading Green's Nothing – a silly sort of book in my opinion.*"¹²⁸

Reading was so important to Anne, her family and friends that they organized a Sunday night book club.

Got started reading The Agony and the Ecstasy, our book-club book, very long but easy to read as far as I have gone.¹²⁹ I finished Tuchman's Guns of August, a magnificent book, but one that should be studied, not read as quickly as I did, and as all the book club members will do who read it at all.¹³⁰ In the meantime, I am reading The Rabbi, which we got from the duplicate pay collection at the library, during the periods I spend waiting for Jules, and have almost finished it. Just as well, as Jules and the Levy's are counting on reading the same copy before the book club meeting on the 22nd.¹³¹ A lovely crisp sunny day so we stopped at Katz's and did a few other errands, including buying the paperback Up the Organization, our next book club book.¹³² A lively discussion of Mee's Meeting at Potsdam.¹³³

¹¹⁸ November 8, 1938: "*Everyone excited about the elections, which seem to be taking strange turns. Spent the evening reading and listening to the news flashed over the radio.*"

¹¹⁹ October 15, 1935.

¹²⁰ November 13, 1938.

¹²¹ August 6, 1945.

¹²² April 25, 1948.

¹²³ March 23, 1949.

¹²⁴ March 19, 1965.

¹²⁵ June 2, 1975.

¹²⁶ September 29, 1937.

¹²⁷ September 21, 1967.

¹²⁸ April 26, 1950.

¹²⁹ September 13, 1964.

¹³⁰ July 31, 1962.

¹³¹ May 12, 1966.

¹³² March 21, 1971.

¹³³ March 7, 1976.

Nearly every entry of Anne's diaries mentions that she read that day. Reading was a sign of her intelligence and her curiosity about the world. In her last few years, Anne's reading narrowed primarily to the *Post*. Sometimes she mentioned reading, but did not specify *what* she read. Her love of reading continued until the end of her life: "*We read the paper together. I had trouble falling asleep from shortness of breath. Used the oxygen mask almost all night.*"¹³⁴ "*I managed to read the paper, not easy with a patch over one eye.*"¹³⁵ Anne died four months later on August 15, 1978.

Anne as a Drinker

In the second sentence of her first entry, Anne mentions going to a particular café to enjoy some alcoholic beverages. An offhand reference to social drinking appears nearly daily in her diary until she became quite ill. Clearly, Anne liked to have a drink before dinner and sometimes after dinner as well. Prohibition had ended (the law was in effect from 1920-1933); women were moving into the public (and not just the private) sphere; and public drinking by women was becoming acceptable. In 1935, while still a law student, Anne wrote: "*Mary and I lunched at the Washington Coffee Shop. I blew us to drinks, and they were not particularly good.*"¹³⁶ Having alcoholic drinks with colleagues became part of Anne's daily routine: "*Some of us adjourned to the Press Club for more drinks.*"

Drinking with her boyfriend and then husband, Jules, became a way to relax together:

*Spent the evening at his apartment drinking cognac and listening to Toscanini's concert.*¹³⁷ *Jules, Jack, and I had dinner at the Hour Glass. Had drinks, too, which we liked much better than we did the dinner.*¹³⁸ *Spent the afternoon listening to the radio and drinking. Dinner with Charlie and Hiram Wooster. After dinner more drinking.*¹³⁹ *Jules and I had a good stiff drink before dinner.*¹⁴⁰ *To George's apartment to pick up George and Helen, and to have a drink.*¹⁴¹ *We had drinks, and later coffee and turkey sandwiches and cake.*¹⁴² *The Edes came over for dinner. After dinner we sat around a while and had a few drinks. Then downtown.*¹⁴³ *Jules bought drinks for everyone, not so much because it was a joyous occasion as because it was one of his last flings as a civilian.*¹⁴⁴ *We had cocktails, and then a late, and very delicious dinner. It was a congenial little group, and everyone had just enough to drink to sharpen their wits, so it was a gay, delightful evening, and we stayed quite late.*¹⁴⁵

The lifestyle of social drinking was so ingrained in her group of friends, that it became difficult to imagine an enjoyable party *without* liquor: "*Leedom had the entire staff, their spouses, and a few other people over. He does not drink nor serve liquor, but the party was easier to take than we expected.*"¹⁴⁶ Anne and Jules had drinks when they were alone, not only when they were out

¹³⁴ December 14, 1977.

¹³⁵ April 16, 1978.

¹³⁶ November 23, 1935.

¹³⁷ November 12, 1938.

¹³⁸ November 18, 1938.

¹³⁹ November 19, 1938.

¹⁴⁰ January 8, 1940.

¹⁴¹ January 20, 1940.

¹⁴² December 4, 1941.

¹⁴³ December 31, 1941.

¹⁴⁴ January 14, 1944.

¹⁴⁵ March 17, 1949.

¹⁴⁶ September 22, 1956.

with friends: *"Jules was supposed to go to a B'nai B'rith meeting but was too tired, so we stayed home and had a drink by ourselves."*¹⁴⁷ Some of Anne's social drinking did not end well: *"The Edises, the Wolfs, and Evans from Jules' office came up later to drink and talk. We had a lot of fun, but by the end of the evening I was a wreck."*¹⁴⁸ On another occasion,

*Jules had too many drinks, ...got home quite late, and pretty well ruined an otherwise wonderful dinner. I was plenty angry."*¹⁴⁹ *"Mort plied me with liquor and I am afraid I drank too much and 'shot off my mouth' about my disgust with Truman's speech today re drafting strikers."*¹⁵⁰ *"We ate very late, I made the mistake of 2 martinis on an empty stomach, got very sick, and had to come home."*¹⁵¹ *"Was miserably sick. Am going to swear off liquor for a while."*¹⁵²

And sometimes, Anne drank alone: *"Spent the afternoon listening to the radio and drinking. Dinner with Charlie and Hiram Wooster. After dinner more drinking."*¹⁵³

Because she and Jules tried to keep their weight under control, they sometimes deliberately reduced their drinking, usually to no avail. *"We went to a movie, and then to Ted Lewis' for a rather good dinner, assisted by a couple of cocktails. We have not been doing much of any drinking lately, since we have both become concerned about our weight, but do break down once in a while."*¹⁵⁴ And sometimes she was put off by other people's drink-related behavior: *"Then sat around for the rest of the evening drinking excellent cocktails and listening to a long monologue by Larry Lesser on what a brilliant guy Larry Lesser is. It was quite a price to pay even for a good meal and some good liquor."*¹⁵⁵

Anne as her Parents' Daughter

In the first year of diary writing, Anne mentions her mother (Regina) a few times in ways that seem unremarkable except for two perhaps minor points: first, her mother writes to Anne but refers exclusively to Anne's sister, Jean; and second, Anne's father disagrees with the family about an important matter. *"Think he is justified,"* she adds.¹⁵⁶ These are hints of major problems to come.

Anne's mother lived in Lawrence, Massachusetts, about an hour's ride nowadays from Boston, and frequently visited her daughter, Anne, in Boston. On some occasions they had fun together, visited people, ate out, shopped, and did each other's nails. Most of Anne's early remarks were positive: *"Mother left this morning right after breakfast, happy, had a wonderful time... Several of the boys at school commented on how young Mother looks – some refusing to believe she was my Mother. Must tell her that. Mrs. Mann told me a little of yesterday's gossip, the gist of which was that everyone liked Mother."*¹⁵⁷ But as time passes, we see continuous evidence that Anne's mother nurtured Anne hardly at all.

¹⁴⁷ January 31, 1955.

¹⁴⁸ January 25, 1940.

¹⁴⁹ January 7, 1944.

¹⁵⁰ May 25, 1946.

¹⁵¹ September 28, 1956.

¹⁵² Sunday, May 26, 1946.

¹⁵³ November 19, 1938.

¹⁵⁴ April 30, 1948.

¹⁵⁵ February 20, 1951.

¹⁵⁶ January 14, 1931. Anne's diary records her receipt of cards and letters from her mother, which also reflected the mother's refusal to have a telephone installed in her home.

¹⁵⁷ November 4, 1932.

*When I got home Mother and Clara were there. Jean had gone to Lawrence, but got back in time for supper. Clara left my laundry on the train Monday, which, after the umbrella episode, I consider quite inexcusable. I got hell once for losing 95 cents; and never lost much of anything since. But she is sensitive and must not be scolded.*¹⁵⁸

Anne believed she was being treated unfairly vis a vis Clara, but more important, her mother did not provide a model for positive ways of resolving these conflicts. *"Mother and Clara stayed overnight. We all went out for breakfast together. They left before dinner, thoroughly disgusted, Jean told me, with my harshness towards Clara. Did not come up to say goodbye to me or to get my laundry.*¹⁵⁹

Then, amidst a description of visiting friends with her mother, Anne writes, *"Mother had a weeping spell at the realization of her aloneness, and I spent a sleepless night."*¹⁶⁰ And a few weeks later, we see how significant her mother's weeping is and how Anne, rather than Clara, is mobilized to help: *"Clara went to work as usual. I went to (my uncle) Phil's (law) office at his special request. Seems John wrote to him re a divorce for the folks. He wanted to talk it over with me. The best bet, I fear."*¹⁶¹ It turns out that by 1933, if not earlier, Anne's parents' marriage had deteriorated to such an extent that *"Phil is planning to take a trip to Lawrence to see if he can help with Mother's divorce. It is really the only way out, and I believe both Mother and Father will be happier for it, although it will no doubt mean Father will be more estranged than ever."*¹⁶²

There was no divorce. Instead, Anne's mother seems to have dropped the topic, and in her next communications, focused on her pride in Anne. *"Letter from Mother, enclosing a clipping from the Lawrence paper, full of misstatements, and carrying my high school graduation picture...Letter from Mother enclosing clipping about radio commentator who stated that I was 'pretty as well as smart.' Apparently the home town is still talking about me."*¹⁶³ And likewise, Anne was proud of her mother: *"Mother left this morning right after breakfast, happy, had a wonderful time, which gave me that all-tired-out feeling."*¹⁶⁴ Her mother also reached out affectionately to Anne's future husband. *"Jules called me later. Mother has sent him a box of cookies. He was very surprised and pleased."*¹⁶⁵

But the pleasant period did not last. For the rest of her life, Anne was recruited to participate in the roller coaster of her parents' relationship.

*Clara and Lou came over after dinner, with a letter from Mother, still very bitter about Father, but a little calmer about it. Asked us to resume sending her money, which we are, of course, doing. I would so like to see them settle things, but suppose it is hopeless. And yet I can think of no satisfactory alternative. It is certainly a vexing problem.*¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁸ November 26, 1932.

¹⁵⁹ November 27, 1932.

¹⁶⁰ September 4, 1933.

¹⁶¹ September 21, 1933. Prior to September 22, 1975 when the Massachusetts Senate initially approved a modified no-fault divorce bill providing for dissolution of marriages within sixteen months after a couple had approved dissolution, the grounds for divorce, such as proving that the partner was unfaithful, were contentious and difficult for women to accomplish. Divorce was also an expensive matter, and many women did not have access to funds.

¹⁶² September 25, 1933.

¹⁶³ January 18, 1940.

¹⁶⁴ November 4, 1932.

¹⁶⁵ November 12, 1938.

¹⁶⁶ December 3, 1941.

Her parents' yo-yo marriage continuously involved Anne:

Letter from Mother thanking me for the check. She seems to be getting along a bit better.¹⁶⁷ Mother and Father still on the outs but she seems a bit more cheerful.¹⁶⁸ Letter from Mother – same old problems.¹⁶⁹ Card from Mother, comparatively gay.¹⁷⁰ Have not heard from Mother for quite a while. Her letters are never pleasant, but I don't like not hearing from her at all for so long.¹⁷¹ A letter from Mother, full of anguish and despair.¹⁷²

This sorrowful saga continued for years and contributed to Anne's anxiety:

Have not heard from either Mother or Clara for some time now, and don't like it.¹⁷³ No word yet from Mother or Clara although I have written each of them several times. Wonder what's up.¹⁷⁴ At long last – mail from Mother and Clara... Mother is unhappy, bitterly lonely.¹⁷⁵

A week later, Anne records that her unhappy mother was hinting that she wanted Anne to take her in. Anne also mentions that her mother had received a court order compelling her father to provide financial support. Apparently, her father had become a "dead-beat dad" and had removed himself and any sense of obligation from the family. But the saddest remark of all in this endless tale of woe is Anne's expression of despair at the very fact of having been born to such a couple:

Two cards from Mother, both utterly miserable, and completely at sea as to any remedy. She is not reconciled to living with Baba (Anne's grandmother) for several reasons, including giving up her few paltry possessions. Also I expect she is waiting and hoping for me to break down and ask her to live with me, but I just cannot see it.¹⁷⁶ Letter from Mother, full of misery...Mother...has been very much on my mind, although I don't believe my working or not would have any effect on that problem. I have been sending her substantial amounts of money, but of course that is not the remedy for her ailment, although it is something she desperately needs since Father had long since ceased to send her any money despite the court order. I don't suppose now that he ever will. Sometimes I wonder if I shall ever see him again. The whole thing is such a horrid mess. And it is not altogether the fault of either one. They were just too wholly unsuited ever to have been able to get along together. There should be some way to prevent people like that from bringing children into the world. When I think of the anguish they have caused me, it does seem grossly unfair."¹⁷⁷

In 1944, both the outer and inner worlds were at war: "*Letter from Mother, seeming to reach the ultimate in the depths of despair.*"¹⁷⁸

Uncle Phil tried occasionally to help Anne's mother obtain a divorce. "*Mother had a trial*

¹⁶⁷ December 9, 1941.
¹⁶⁸ December 15, 1941.
¹⁶⁹ December 27, 1941.
¹⁷⁰ May 11, 1942.
¹⁷¹ December 1, 1943.
¹⁷² December 3, 1943.
¹⁷³ December 9, 1943.
¹⁷⁴ December 13, 1943.
¹⁷⁵ December 15, 1943.
¹⁷⁶ December 20, 1943.
¹⁷⁷ December 31, 1943.
¹⁷⁸ January 6, 1944.

scheduled for today. Do hope she made out all right, mainly to save her self-respect."¹⁷⁹ But the problems were never resolved:

*Phil gave me a letter he had received from Mother, which pretty completely dampened the evening for me. What a problem!*¹⁸⁰ *Card from Mother. The trial was postponed until next Thursday. Wish I knew what to do for her short of having her come here to live with me. She is stubborn about not coming to live with her mother.*¹⁸¹ *Haven't heard from Mother in a heck of a long time, and it worries me. Have written to her several times. Afraid it means the hearing scheduled for last Thursday went badly for her.*¹⁸²

Anne's mother's unhappiness spilled onto her relations with other people: "*Phil called to tell me he had received a letter from the son of the woman with whom Mother lives to the effect that Mother had made the arrangement completely intolerable. I can understand that. But good Lord, what shall I do?*"¹⁸³ Anne and her mother had nearly daily contact: "*Card from Mother, which did not cheer me up any.*"¹⁸⁴ Therefore, while Anne was working to support herself and going to law school as well as developing a social life, she also had to take care of her emotionally unstable mother. "*Much to my surprise Mother telephoned from Haverhill. Seemed the hearing had again been postponed, her lawyer had backed out, she could not get another, and she wanted me to come there for a day or two. I explained the various reasons why I could not.*"¹⁸⁵ The only person to whom she could turn was her uncle Phil, who "*arranged to have Sam call his friend Dorgan, a lawyer in Lawrence and ask him to get a lawyer for Mother. I wired Mother about it. Hope it will work out all right. She must be represented by someone.*"¹⁸⁶ But Dorgan's comment was telling:

*Sam and Phil called Dorgan, who said he was taking care of Mother himself, that she had driven her other attorney 'nuts,' that she still has romantic notions about winning Father back, and that she was getting money from him regularly. If all that is true, she has been unbelievably selfish in playing on our sympathies and emotions the way she has. I don't suppose I shall ever know the whole truth of the matter.*¹⁸⁷

More than a year and a half later, the cycle was again in full swing: "*Letter from Mother, desperately unhappy.*"¹⁸⁸ This problem weighed on her. In her summary of 1945, a year when the world war had come to an end, she instead wrote, "*Mother had been the source of much unhappiness.*"¹⁸⁹ The next year's summary, referred to the same "dark cloud" in her life:

*Ever present is the problem of Mother, whether due to pity or conscience. I do not feel that I owe her the unhappiness that I know would result if I tried to live with her. Yet I know what horrors of sorrow and loneliness must be her constant companions these days. And there is Father too, who has acted badly, but is not entirely at fault for the eternal mess that our family life had always been.*¹⁹⁰

179 January 12, 1944.
180 January 14, 1944.
181 January 15, 1944.
182 January 25, 1944.
183 January 26, 1944.
184 January 27, 1944.
185 January 28, 1944.
186 January 29, 1944.
187 January 31, 1944.
188 August 4, 1945.
189 August 4, 1945.
190 Year-end summary, 1946.

In 1947, Anne learned that her mother will *"have to retire from her job, and then move out here pronto. That seems the obvious and sensible thing for her to do, but I cannot say that I am looking forward to it particularly. I know she will become my responsibility – entirely."*¹⁹¹ Anne was right: *"Card from Mother reminding me that she does not even write to Jean or Clara but depends entirely on me."*¹⁹² Sadly, Anne's mother tried to pit her daughters against one another. Two weeks before she was forced to retire, Anne's mother wrote about being *"heart-broken."*¹⁹³ At the same time, she attacked Anne for giving away a present she had given her daughter, even though Anne told her *not* to buy it for her in the first place. To make matters worse, Anne's mother ignores the fight they were having: *"She did not say a word about the recent explosion"* as if it never happened. Anne tries hard to distance herself from her mother's manipulation: *"Card from Mother bewailing the loss of her job... I am still fed up with her though, and am not going to let my justifiable annoyance be too readily overcome by sympathy, as is usually the case."*¹⁹⁴

Remarkably, about 10 months later, Anne makes the following entry in her diary: *"Was in the middle of writing a letter home when Mother and Father knocked at the door. They had come by bus from New York. Father looked very well. They seem to be getting along fine."*¹⁹⁵ Three days later, a miraculous change seems to have taken place: *"Father is apparently sold on Washington, and he and Mother are pretty definitely planning to move here as soon as all their property has been disposed of. Father seems so changed, in character, not in appearance, that it is hard to believe. Too bad it could not have happened many years ago."*¹⁹⁶ Both the 1948 and 1949 end-of-year summaries, commented on her parents' reconciliation: *"Mother and Father coming to visit us, apparently on good terms with each other...Everything considered, a wonderful year...It was good to see Mother and Father getting along happily."*

As could be predicted, their affection for each other did not last. By the time of the 1951 year-end summary, Anne wrote that she regretted

dragging Jules and Ira to New England in order to include Mother and Father in our vacation only to incur Mother's deep wrath. I feel that Mother is entirely wrong – it might be a symptom of old age – but that does not make her hostility any more palatable. Apparently Father agrees with her, or just does not care one way or the other. After all, he never did write to us or take any pains to maintain some sort of a family relationship.

Whatever occurred during that trip seems to have been serious. By the time she wrote her 1952 end-of-year summary, Anne commented that she *"had no direct word from Mother or Father all year. I would not have thought it possible, until it happened, that they could or would so completely sever ties with me. And for, in my opinion, no reason at all."* Clearly both her parents knew how to hurt Anne with passive aggressive behavior.

Everything about Anne's mother seems to have generated commotion. In February 1954, for example, when her grandson Ira was about to have his bar mitzvah, Regina vacillated daily about whether or not she was *"up to the trip."* In one note she wrote that although *"her ears are bothering her, she is coming, but that Father, who feels fine, cannot get away. I wrote urging that he come with her, as I doubt whether she is fit to travel alone. Also, it would be nice if Ira could have some grandparents present."*¹⁹⁷ Ultimately, Anne's mother did not attend: *"Note from*

¹⁹¹ May 21, 1947.

¹⁹² June 5, 1947.

¹⁹³ May 25, 1947.

¹⁹⁴ June 3, 1947.

¹⁹⁵ April 19, 1948.

¹⁹⁶ April 22, 1948.

¹⁹⁷ February 25, 1954. Her mother's on-again off-again approach to the bar mitzvah clearly took the attention off the grandson and put it on her. Anne depicts her mother as quite selfish in not understanding

*Mother that she decided she was not up to making the trip after all. I am very sorry to have her and Father miss it.*¹⁹⁸ Three years later, Anne's gracious attitude toward her parents persisted: *"It was good...to get to Lawrence for a few days, to see Mother and Dad getting along reasonably well, and to provide them with a trip to Boston, which they clearly enjoyed very much."*¹⁹⁹

A few months later, her father was dead. In her despair, Anne accused her mother of partial responsibility:

*Mother was at home, alone, but in better shape than we had expected. Father died of a heart attack. She had not even called a doctor...Her legal affairs are in a muddle but she does not want a local lawyer. A mess!*²⁰⁰

Even the funeral arrangements were described in terms of parental conflict:

*We picked up schnapps and coke, and managed a minyan*²⁰¹ *at the house. That would have pleased Father but merely annoyed Mother. Later had Tom Collins, son of Henry C. who was Father's lawyer for many years, come up to discuss settling the estate. Mother decided we were trying to rob her when we were actually signing everything over to her. It was quite a mess.*²⁰²

The next day her mother

*was in a slightly calmer mood, but refuse (d) adamantly to budge from her determination to stay [in Lawrence] alone at least for the time being. Collins came over with the forms for release of our interests, which we signed...We all left about 3:00, Mother still refusing to accompany any of us but in despair at the thought of being alone. We all felt sorry for her, although we all felt that her domination of and cruelty toward Father, and her refusal even at the very end to call a doctor, almost certainly hastened his death.*²⁰³

From June 1958 until her own death twenty years later, Anne seems to have had a dutiful relation with her mother who later moved to Washington but did not live with Anne, Jules and Ira. Anne talked to or visited her mother nearly every day and frequently took her out to dinner, to a play, for a ride, for dessert in a restaurant, or to religious services. There were periods when her mother wrote to relatives *"her children were of no help, and [therefore she was] appealing...for help, although giving no indication of what she wanted [them] to do."*²⁰⁴ She seems to have had paranoid delusions about her relatives stealing from her. And in the month or so following her husband's death, there were times when her *"Mother was desperately unhappy."*

Anne used her diary to express anger over her mother's treatment of Anne's father:

So often, when I look at Mother's cozy apartment, her pleasant way of life, the medical attention she receives, the chauffeuring service, and the service and attention in general

the impact on Ira.

¹⁹⁸ February 27, 1954. Anne's comment seems quite gracious.

¹⁹⁹ End-of-Year Summary, 1957.

²⁰⁰ June 2, 1958.

²⁰¹ A quorum of ten Jewish men who constitute the necessary group to say certain prayers, including those mourning the dead.

²⁰² June 3, 1958.

²⁰³ June 4, 1958.

²⁰⁴ June 17, 1958.

*from the Rolands and us, I cannot help thinking how much Father would have enjoyed it. He wanted to move here for years, but she kept blocking the sale of the house. And with all Jules' and Collins' efforts, the damned house is not sold yet. How I wish I had insisted, while Father was alive, that they give it away if necessary to get rid of it, so he could have had some time to live here and to enjoy being near us all.*²⁰⁵

She also resented her mother's "laziness"²⁰⁶ and her requirement that people wait on her for everything. At times Anne continued her pattern of staying away from her mother, when she seemed too toxic. *"Not visiting Mother during this period not only because of the operation, but also because of her inevitably nasty remarks each time I go."*²⁰⁷ In hindsight, one might say that because of her own experience of inadequate mothering, Anne was concerned about her own mothering abilities. Unlike her mother, however, Anne seems to have succeeded in forming a loving, supportive marriage with Jules and becoming a loving, supportive mother to her son, Ira.

Anne as a Jew

Anne expressed her Jewishness in numerous ways beginning with a straightforward feeling of membership in the Jewish community. When looking for a place to live as a new student in Boston, for example, she *"went to the Jewish Community Center to look up rooms in a private family."*²⁰⁸ When she married, on September 1, 1939, she and her husband chose a religious rather than a civil ceremony performed not by a judge but by Rabbi Metzlin at his home.

Anne had Jewish and non-Jewish friends and colleagues. But she had problems at work when her non-Jewish boss had to deal with her request for time off to attend services on Jewish holidays. While Anne functioned as a legal secretary, she *"presented [her] application for leave to [W] who seemed quite surprised to learn that [she] was Jewish."*²⁰⁹ Attending services seems to have been a privilege conveyed by non-Jews to Jew, rather than a right of Jews.

*Put in my leave slip for Saturday. Was told I would have to lose a full day's pay, and not entitled to the three remaining hours. Mr. Watts, Asst. Chief Clerk, heard me talking about it to Miss Coordes, but said that was the rule. However, he spoke to Gompers, Chief Clerk, who told me I could break the rule and take the three hours. He was surprised to find I was Jewish, and we had a long personal chat about the tribulations of a Jewish employee.*²¹⁰

Despite these inconveniences, for most of her life Anne did go to synagogue on Rosh Hashanah²¹¹ and Yom Kippur, and as time passed and more Jews had authority in the workplace, these conflicts abated: *"Kessel apparently is not sending out any of the Jewish judges during the holiday period even though the holidays come on the weekends."*²¹²

Anne's Jewish practices could probably be labeled "Reform," which included largely secular rather than religious eating patterns. *Kashrut*²¹³ was not part of her life in any way. Many times throughout the years she wrote about how she loved shrimp and lobster and even exulted at finding a pork product at times when it was difficult to find meat: *"Hit the jackpot – a steak,*

²⁰⁵ 1958, Year-end summary.

²⁰⁶ June 25, 1961.

²⁰⁷ July 6, 1975.

²⁰⁸ September 11, 1933.

²⁰⁹ September 20, 1933.

²¹⁰ September 29, 1933.

²¹¹ Rosh Hashanah is the Jewish New Year, observed in the fall.

²¹² September 7, 1972.

²¹³ Kashrut is the set of rules concerning which foods Jews may eat and in which combinations.

roast, and bacon – from three different stores."²¹⁴ It seems likely that her husband had grown up in a family that adhered more strictly to the rules of kashrut, because Anne mentions that when she met Jules' parents for the first time, they went "to a Jewish restaurant for dinner...."²¹⁵ Anne's mother-in-law sent Purim packages, commemorating a holiday not always celebrated by American Jews.²¹⁶ Anne and Jules only occasionally ate at kosher restaurants: "*Decided on the way that, as it was so late, we would have supper at Irv's Corner. The food, strictly kosher, was only fair, but it made a nice change from cooking anyhow.*"²¹⁷

Although Anne did not keep kosher, she seems to have observed some of the rules for eating during the Passover holiday: "*Lunched with Jules and Arthur Gang at Rubin's so we could have some suitable Passover food. It was fairly good, but I have eaten better Jewish food.*"²¹⁸ In general, Passover was an enjoyable celebration: "*To the Gangs' for Seder. The dinner was excellent, the company pleasant, and the whole evening a great success. Ira played his role in the services admirably, and in general, behaved beautifully.*"²¹⁹

On a subsequent Yom Kippur,²²⁰ Anne made the following comment about the difference between her attitude and that of Jules:

*We left our offices about 4:00 so I could prepare a large dinner, eat and clean up afterwards, and get dressed in time for the Kol Nidre services.*²²¹ *Managed to do so and get to MCJC in plenty of time.*²²² *The place was jam-packed. I find it very uncomfortable to sit so long in such crowded conditions, but Jules finds pleasure at the thought of so many Jews turning out for religious observances at least once a year. I suppose his is the proper attitude.*²²³

The High Holiday²²⁴ seating issue was very important and frustrating to Jules. In 1967, their "high-holiday tickets from MCJC" arrived in the mail. "*Pretty bad. Jules was so upset, he went tearing off to MCJC. No one was there so he came home, and later went over again, and again nobody was there.*"²²⁵

Anne's Judaism had a strong culinary base. She believed in preparing "Jewish meals" around holidays. In 1963, she wrote about "*their big dinner - delicious filet mignons – and then to Kol Nidre services, which we enjoyed.*" Nine years later she "*fixed broiled chicken, etc., for a holiday meal. Then we went to services at Ohr Kodesh.*"²²⁶ Seven years later, Anne did the same thing: "*In the evening, in honor of the holiday, I fixed an especially good dinner. After dinner we went to services, held this year at Leland Junior High. New Year's greetings from Mother S. and from Lucille and Louie.*"²²⁷ In 1963, she wrote: "*We had a very good dinner – challah, broiled chicken,*

²¹⁴ May 4, 1946.

²¹⁵ November 23, 1938. Jules also participated in Jewish communal activities such as attending the United Jewish Appeal dinner and making pledges as well as selling raffle tickets to raise money for Jewish causes.

²¹⁶ Purim package from Columbus. March 16, 1949. Purim is a spring holiday in which Jews send treats to each other, among other rituals and customs.

²¹⁷ May 3, 1966.

²¹⁸ April 28, 1948.

²¹⁹ April 1, 1950. Passover is a spring holiday, which Jews commemorate by not eating anything that has been leavened. Thus, Jews eat a cracker-like matza instead of bread on Passover.

²²⁰ The Day of Atonement, it is considered holiest day of the year in the Jewish calendar. Jews are supposed to fast from sundown the evening before, to sundown the evening of, Yom Kippur.

²²¹ Kol Nidre, an evening service, refers to the opening component for Yom Kippur.

²²² Montgomery County Jewish Center.

²²³ September 15, 1964.

²²⁴ The High Holidays is the collective term for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

²²⁵ September 26, 1967.

²²⁶ September 30, 1933. Or Kodesh is the name of a synagogue.

²²⁷ September 9, 1953.

etc. Then dressed and went to Rosh Hashanah services at MCJC." Like many people, Anne had a hard time getting through the entire Yom Kippur observance without eating:

*In synagogue all day. Fasted until 1 o'clock, but by then Clara and I craved food, so stopped in for waffles and coffee at the Garden T. Shoppe. By the time we ...got home for dinner, Clara and I were so hungry we could not eat much. There was a fairly substantial meal considering Mrs. Levin had not been able to cook. The Levin's had all fasted faithfully."*²²⁸

Twenty years later she wrote: *"To services in the morning. We all went breakfastless, but Ira and I broke down around 2:00 and went out for a sandwich."*²²⁹

Just as she could not manage to fast for the whole day, Anne did not necessarily devote the whole day to religious observance when it would have been appropriate to do so. Sometimes she plunged into housework instead:

*We had breakfast – not brunch – and then went to services. After we came home in the early afternoon, had luncheon, which was more like a dinner. Then to the annual open house on Rosh Hashanah at the Saul Jaffes'. It was pleasant, as we see people there we do not see the rest of the year. We did not stay long. Went home and read the paper. I also did some washing, ironing, and housecleaning. A long time since the house has had a thorough cleaning.*²³⁰

Anne expressed her Jewish identity through her concern about other Jews. As early as 1935, she noted: *"With Hitler enforcing new cruelties against Jews, fifty nations boycotting Italy, and Japan annexing a goodly portion of China, one wonders what it is all about."*²³¹ And yet, she did not comment in her diary on the day of Kristallnacht (November 9, 1938) or other times when news of the Holocaust was reported. She reported with dismay that *"Japan went to war against us today, bombing some of our South Pacific islands. It had been imminent for some time but was nevertheless shocking."*²³² Anne commented once or twice about the events leading up to the creation of the State of Israel: *"The Jews are achieving remarkable military success in Palestine, to the obvious chagrin of the British"*²³³ but expressed no emotion or enthusiasm: *"The Jewish State in Palestine has been proclaimed and has been recognized by the United States."*²³⁴ She did not mention this momentous fact in her summary of 1948. Another moment of identification occurred in 1972: *"Watched some of the Olympic contests. Proud of the young Jewish American, Spitz, who won 7 gold medals in swimming, a real record time."*²³⁵ Most exciting of all were the steps toward peace: *"We watched the Sadat-Begin ceremonies and listened to the speeches at the Knesset. Thrilling."*²³⁶

Yet another aspect of Anne's Jewish identity was her interest in Jewish culture, of which she was sometimes critical: *"After dinner Jules and I went to the final MCJC forum meeting to hear a Les Schwartz talk on 'Jewish Literature.' Found the talk a little bit dull and the speaker more than a little bit conceited and pompous."*²³⁷ About two decades later, she wrote:

228 September 30, 1933.

229 September 19, 1953.

230 September 9, 1972.

231 November 18, 1935.

232 November 7, 1941.

233 April 28, 1948.

234 May 14, 1948.

235 September 4, 1972.

236 November 20, 1977.

237 April 26, 1950.

Lighted a yahrzeit candle²³⁸ for my father last night but decided not to go to services tonight as his name was read at the services last Friday. Then to the Fine Arts Theater to see 'Goodbye Columbus.' I did not care much for the parade of sexual activity nor the vulgarization of Jewish middle-class life."²³⁹

They also attended a talk at the Ohr Kodesh synagogue by Leo Rosten, "*whom everyone – and there was an enormous crowd – found very entertaining. Stayed for the Oneg Shabbat and to talk to a few people we knew.*"²⁴⁰ Jewish culture was a component of their travel itineraries as well. When they went to Amsterdam, for example, they visited "*the Rijks Museum to see some magnificent Rembrandts*" and then had "*the taxi driver take [them] through the Jewish quarter where so many innocent people were killed, and the physical destruction is still evident...*"²⁴¹ A trip to Israel shortly after the Six-Day War brought the following observations "*On a bus tour in the morning. Saw many Jewish graves shockingly desecrated by the Jordanians.*"²⁴² Five years later, they vacationed on the Iberian Peninsula.

We...were picked up...on a Cook's tour to Toledo. Found Toledo interesting; though hours were spent on the glories of the cathedral, moments on the old synagogue converted to a church and then to a museum, reminders again of the virtual extinction of Jews on Spain.²⁴³

The most significant expression of her Jewish identity, however, was Anne's desire, in partnership with Jules, to inculcate a Jewish identity in their son, Ira, and then to leave it to Ira to make choices on his own, as he grew older. A small symbol of her success in this regard was Ira's choice of *A Treasury of Jewish Folklore* [as a Father's Day present], which seemed to please Jules very much.²⁴⁴ Jules and Anne enrolled Ira in Hebrew School, which he attended regularly. Ira certainly had internalized his parents' views: "*Went to the theater in the evening to see The Diary of Anne Frank.*"²⁴⁵ *Ira enjoyed The Diary very much, as, he said, did the non-Jewish friends he was with.*"²⁴⁶ Jules took Ira to services regularly especially as his bar mitzvah²⁴⁷ date was approaching. In March 1954, as a culmination of his education and upbringing, Ira became a bar mitzvah. Anne seems to have poured herself into all aspects of the celebration, from participating in the synagogue rehearsal, to controlling and managing the guest list, to recording all the gifts, telegrams, and calls Ira received. Anne's hard work paid off, as she wrote on Saturday March 6, 1954:

There was a big crowd at his bar mitzvah. He was absolutely perfect, charming, at ease. We were so proud of him, and everyone was so effusively congratulatory. My hostesses did a good job and the Kiddush²⁴⁸ was excellent."

²³⁸ Twenty-four hour memorial candle lit on the anniversary of a parent's death.

²³⁹ Friday, May 30, 1969.

²⁴⁰ March 12, 1971.

²⁴¹ August 23, 1957.

²⁴² September 17, 1967.

²⁴³ August 31, 1972.

²⁴⁴ June 15, 1958.

²⁴⁵ A film and play bringing to life the diary of a young Jewish girl hiding unsuccessfully in Amsterdam in the attempt to save her life from Nazi destruction.

²⁴⁶ May 27, 1958.

²⁴⁷ The transformational ceremony which Jewish boys undergo at age 13 signifying a move into adulthood.

²⁴⁸ Reception.

Like many Jewish mothers before and after her, Anne discussed the bar mitzvah in terms of a competition among families.

*Nate, Louie, Lucille, Molly, Milton, Howard, and the 5 Pachels came home for luncheon – roast beef, etc. and everything was delicious. Back to MCJC at 8:00 for the reception. Huffman had done a superb job of decorating, all the food was delicious, there was plenty of good liquor, everyone seemed to be having a wonderful time, and a great many people assured me that the bar mitzvah was the most impressive they had ever attended and the reception the most enjoyable.*²⁴⁹

Anne recorded this type of compliment for days to come: "*Jules and I are still being congratulated by people who say they never saw a boy participate so fully in a bar mitzvah or heard any boy do such a perfect job or attended a more enjoyable reception.*"²⁵⁰ And sometimes the comparative remarks were not in her favor:

*Telephoned Columbus. [Jules' mother] said she had heard that the bar mitzvah went splendidly...In the evening we went to the Marmelstein reception at the Center. Theirs was a much fancier affair than ours. They had a Baltimore caterer, very expensive, and the food was beautiful to look at and delicious to eat. They also had a 5-piece orchestra.*²⁵¹

Anne not only recorded who came to the bar mitzvah service and party, and who declined her invitation, but also what gift each person gave and how Ira reacted. "*The Rolands stopped in – Joyce and Steve wanted to see Ira's loot. Ira was delighted to show it. Later the Bisgyers stopped in to deliver a gift for Ira – a wallet – about the fourth he has received.*"²⁵² The single gift that Ira truly wanted – a baby brother – was not forthcoming.²⁵³ In at least one instance, Ira passed on a gift he had received to the next bar mitzvah boy: "*Later to the Jewish Book Store. Bought ...a bar mitzvah card to enclose in our gift to Allen, one of Ira's several very nice sweaters.*"²⁵⁴ Ira's bar mitzvah structured a lot of his and his parents' time beforehand, but when it came time to deciding whether he would continue attending Hebrew School after his bar mitzvah, his parents let him decide: "*Ira went to Hebrew School today. We are leaving it entirely up to him whether or not he will continue.*"²⁵⁵

For all her Jewishness, Anne was also strongly assimilated into American culture, particularly with its emphasis on gift giving and parties during the Christmas season, which Anne almost always spelled "Xmas." Over the years, she recorded, with pleasure, receiving a "*Xmas card from the Tramors,*"²⁵⁶ "*from Henry,*"²⁵⁷ "*from the Bob Buckleys,*"²⁵⁸ "*from John Freed,*"²⁵⁹ and more. In 1941 she went "*to the Maddens' with the Duddleys and Judge Smith for Xmas carols.*" That same year, she sent her "*Mother a few dollars extra for her Xmas present.*" Two years later, she wrote that "*One of the men at the office, Joe Stein, gave me a little individual bottle of rye for a Xmas present, so I'll have one gift besides Jules!*" In a telling comment that year (1943), she writes that she feels "*like such a crumb for not having sent the kids (nephews and nieces) Xmas presents –*

249 March 6, 1954.

250 March 8, 1954.

251 March 14, 1954.

252 March 14, 1954.

253 February 17, 1954.

254 March 13, 1954.

255 March 11, 1954.

256 December 13, 1941.

257 December 27, 1941.

258 December 19, 1943.

259 December 22, 1943.

although I dislike the whole business very much – that I shall have to make up my mind to conform. What a nuisance!"²⁶⁰

Anne's participation in Christmas rituals was not entirely passive and begrudging. One year she mentioned meeting Jules downtown, and then going with him to Garfinckel's to select the Xmas cards they would be sending. As if to illustrate that she was both assimilated into the American culture and also an involved Jew, she ended the entry by noting she had received a "*letter from Gertrude inviting us to Milton's bar mitzvah.*"²⁶¹ She referred to other Christmas activities:

*Ira had a delightful time unwrapping and playing with his new toys. They were all very good choices, and should be of interest to him for some time. Drove to the Lincoln Memorial Reflecting Pool to watch the ice skaters, despite a slight drizzle. Then to Fine's for a lot of good things to eat. Home to fix a very enjoyable supper. Jules gave me a lovely white nightgown and flowers. Had gone all the way to Pasternak's to get it. He seemed pleased with his writing portfolio. It was altogether a very pleasant Christmas Day.*²⁶²

In some years, however, the Jewish winter holiday of Chanukah makes an appearance in Anne's diary, usually in the context of gift giving: "*Jules and I went down town at noon and sent stuff to all the kids. Glad that is over with. Chanukah check from Mother S. for \$30.*"²⁶³

Anne As A Mother

From the diary entries included in this collection, it is difficult to understand why Anne was unable to bear children except for mention of a cyst on her ovary. Whatever the case, Anne and Jules decided to adopt a child and began to seek help in December 1941: "*Lunched with Phil at the Madillon. Discussed adoption with him, since he is one of our references, and also my parent-problem.*"²⁶⁴ *He was very kind about it all.*"²⁶⁵ The adoption regulations at the time, at least in Washington, D.C., required that the mother not work outside the home for one full year. "*Mrs. Brenner is checking with Washington about the baby that is 'available' but which we cannot have because of my working.*"²⁶⁶ Even after the government relented, Anne's mother-in-law did not.

*Called Mother S. She obviously does not approve of my working. Too bad I cannot be contented staying at home, being a wife and Mother. It would be so much better for both Jules and Ira, and probably for me also.*²⁶⁷

Anne faced an awful dilemma – "*wish I knew what was best to do*" - and many additional obstacles along the way: "*Kept my appointment with a Mr. Dummit at 11:00. It took about 5 minutes – just long enough for him to tell me they had far more applicants than babies, had to satisfy Philadelphia first, but I could file an application. I was sore!*"²⁶⁸

Through the intercession of their friend "Shad," it turned out, next, that Anne's "*working*

²⁶⁰ December 21, 1943.

²⁶¹ November 26, 1952.

²⁶² December 25, 1943.

²⁶³ December 22, 1943.

²⁶⁴ Anne may be referring to difficulties she has with her mother, or she may be referring to her fears of not being a good mother.

²⁶⁵ December 3, 1941.

²⁶⁶ Monday, December 21, 1941.

²⁶⁷ May 5, 1946.

²⁶⁸ Monday, December 8, 1941.

[was] *no obstacle at all.*"²⁶⁹ As the New Year arrived, so did their baby: *"He is no beauty, but big and healthy looking, had a charming smile and seems bright. We made friends with far less difficulty than we had been led to expect."*²⁷⁰ For the next few weeks, Anne recorded her delight with her new son, Ira, first by visiting him and then taking him home: *"Went out to see the baby again. Wheeled him down in his carriage for a while. Got along even better than yesterday. He is a bit afraid of Jules – apparently thinks he is the doctor."*²⁷¹

*Did a few errands at noon, including a Hogate rattle for the baby. Went out to see him at about 6:00. Fed him part of his supper and played with him for a while, then put him in his crib, all with hardly a whimper.*²⁷²

Anne was already describing her days of combining her legal job and mothering activities. *"A miserable rainy day. I did not go down [to the office] until about noon, when the rain stopped, and we took the baby for a little ride. He behaved surprisingly well."*²⁷³

Finally, on Wednesday, March 4, 1942, she

picked up the baby at 2:00. He surprised us all by coming without any fuss. His crib was delivered this morning and the new carpets laid, so we were ready for him. He behaved beautifully the entire time. Fussed a little at night, but finally went to sleep. Slept very soundly – at least he did not disturb us. Glad he is behaving so much better than everyone expected, but I am still a little frightened at the prospect of mothering a baby boy. Jules is so happy about it though, that alone makes it all worth it.

Like many new parents, Anne recorded how much her baby slept, and by May, when he was 14 months old *"and much cuter than he was two months ago,"* she claimed *"only colored moving pictures could possibly do him justice."* As time went on, Anne took Ira to the playground where she

Enjoyed visiting with some of the other mothers for a while, but soon got fed up with the conversation, which covers only pregnancies and babies. Wonder if I shall soon become confined to such subjects,

a typical dilemma for educated, working women. Anne discusses Ira's milk intake, his transition from the bottle to a cup, and *"hope[s she] is not rushing him too much, taking advantage of his good disposition. But one of the words he says, and often, is 'no,' so he could make his protest vocal if he wished."*²⁷⁴

In a statement that suggests that Jules was a flexible man, quite ahead of his time, Anne writes *"Jules now not only wants to help take care of Ira, but actually does much of the work, so today was comparatively easy for me."*²⁷⁵ A concern that frequently arises among women who employ nannies to take care of their children is the quality of interaction between the nanny and the child. *"Esther apparently reads to him a good deal but I doubt whether she plays much with him. I doubt, in fact, that she knows how."*²⁷⁶

²⁶⁹ Monday, December 15, 1941.

²⁷⁰ Wednesday, February 25, 1942.

²⁷¹ Thursday, February 26, 1942.

²⁷² Friday, February 27, 1942.

²⁷³ Tuesday, March 3, 1942.

²⁷⁴ May 15, 1942.

²⁷⁵ May 17, 1942.

²⁷⁶ December 11, 1943.

At the same time that Anne and Jules were getting used to being parents, the army was drafting Jules for military service. Strangely, the draft office was suspicious that Jules had adopted a baby in order to delay his being called up for service!

Called Rogosa, who will write the board that we applied for a baby well before the fateful December 7. I feel we should be treated as though I had become pregnant in September and had a baby in March. It only puts off the evil day, of course, but Ira and I both need him as long as we can keep him.²⁷⁷ We certainly did not adopt Ira to evade the draft, and he has two bona fide dependents as a result of the adoption.²⁷⁸

Aside from all these strange bureaucratic entanglements, Anne and Jules' adoption of Ira was a complete success and made the child and parents very happy.

Anne wrote frequently about Ira, reporting on his activities, accidents, and triumphs. But a constant refrain is her concern that, even though Ira is a contented child, he performs poorly in school. For parents as intelligent and intellectual as Jules and Anne, Ira's lackadaisical attitude toward study was very trying. The schoolwork problems plagued Ira from elementary school through college.

Ira telephoned – apparently homesick. There was a letter from him – such atrocious spelling! – and a letter for him from OSU [Ohio State University], with a notice also to Jules, that Ira was on probation this quarter because of his poor grades last quarter. Ira is finding his present courses very difficult already. Not at all confident that he will get through college but glad he had some experience with it.²⁷⁹

Aside from his academic difficulties, Ira seems to have had a normal childhood, adolescence and young adulthood. His teen years were filled with characteristic tension vis a vis his mother. “[Ira] is so upset about the death [of his friend's mother] that he is even affectionate toward me occasionally, a real change in his attitude.”²⁸⁰ At the end of that year, when Ira was 19, Anne wrote

Ira is concerned that his poor grades at school will not give him much choice of a college to which to transfer next year, and is inclined to blame all his troubles on me rather than on his neglect of his studies. He threatens occasionally to move out and work his way through college for the next couple of years, but, in his calmer moments, realizes he could not possibly manage such a program, financially or academically.”²⁸¹

Over time, these normal maturation issues were resolved. “Ira called in the evening. As seems to be customary these days, he was bursting with good news...”²⁸² Ira went on to earn a Master's degree in Public Communication and to become a successful professional, a devoted husband to a woman who converted to Judaism, a loving son to his parents, and the father of two sons.

Anne as a Consumer of Culture and a Sports Enthusiast

From reading her diary, I conclude that Anne sought a balanced life that was full of entertainment and just plain fun. When she did *not* go out, she berated herself in the third person:

²⁷⁷ May 22, 1942.

²⁷⁸ May 27, 1942.

²⁷⁹ June 22, 1961.

²⁸⁰ Tuesday, November 22, 1960.

²⁸¹ Year-end summary, 1960.

²⁸² March 26, 1965.

"Anne stayed home and worked – the idiot! This must not become a habit!"²⁸³ Although Anne obviously devoted a lot of energy to her work, she tried hard to separate her career from her personal life, even before she married and had a child:

*Have so much work, it's driving me silly. And I am interrupted every time I get going on any one matter. It's a great life if I don't weaken. I have stopped taking work home from the office, but do not know whether that means that I am weakening or becoming stronger. Time will tell.*²⁸⁴

One reason Anne did not want to bring work home was that, when she was single, she hoped to use her evenings to date, and then, when married, for entertainment or simply to be with her husband: *"My conscience told me to go back to the office, but Jules begged me to stay and visit with him. He won."*²⁸⁵

One activity Anne particularly enjoyed was going to the movies. She seems to have seen nearly as many movies as she read books. Unfortunately, in numerous entries throughout the years, she indicated that she went to a movie, but does not state which movie it was. During her law school years, she *"Saw Zasu Pitts and Slim Summerville, and found them quite amusing."*²⁸⁶ Later she saw *"Lawrence Tibbett in 'Metropolitans.' Enjoyed his singing immensely, although the picture itself was stupid."*²⁸⁷ She and her friend Mary Lou *"went to see 'Anthony Adverse.' We enjoyed it very much, although I was disappointed in the way it ended. Frederic March was splendid as Anthony."*²⁸⁸

Jules, too, was a film enthusiast, even more so than Anne. Jules and Anne

*went to the Little [theater] to see the Czechoslovakian picture 'Janisek.' It was rather interesting.*²⁸⁹ *Jules wanted to go to a movie after dinner, but I preferred to stay at home and watch TV on a rainy evening. We had an early supper and he went by himself to an early movie. I felt badly about letting him go alone. On the other hand, he likes movies generally far better than I do, and it would be quite all right with me if he went occasionally without me. Probably should not start such a practice, however, when he is already upset about the prospect of my traveling as a TX.*²⁹⁰

During the war years, it seemed to Anne that *"all the movies were silly takes on the army."*²⁹¹ She labeled *"`Ball of Fire' delightful;"*²⁹² the English movie, *"`Jeannie,' charming;"*²⁹³ *Bea Lillie in `On Approval,' "very entertaining;"*²⁹⁴ *"`The Spiral Staircase,' "quite good;"*²⁹⁵ and *"`The Seventh Veil' – quite good."*²⁹⁶ "On the Waterfront" was "a very effective movie, and the acting was unusually good."²⁹⁷ The Pirate's Progress, a British film, was "amazing."²⁹⁸ She liked

283 October 20, 1936.
284 October 29, 1937.
285 November 1, 1938.
286 September 16, 1933.
287 November 10, 1935.
288 October 13, 1936.
289 November 29, 1938.
290 May 1, 1966.
291 December 28, 1941.
292 December 31, 1941.
293 December 1, 1943.
294 August 9, 1945.
295 August 9, 1945.
296 May 31, 1946.
297 February 13, 1954.
298 September 30, 1956.

"Brief Encounter," very much.²⁹⁹ "

*It began to rain in the afternoon so we went to the movies. Saw a pretty good Blondie and Dagwood picture. Ira loved it, especially Daisy and her pups.*³⁰⁰ *"Later we went downtown to see the movie of "The Egg and I," which we all found quite amusing.*³⁰¹ *"Then to see 'Naked City,' quite a good murder picture.*³⁰² *And then, "went to the McArthur to see 'The Little Kidnappers.' We all thoroughly enjoyed the picture.*³⁰³ *"Saturday Night and Sunday Morning," a very good British movie, was well acted.*³⁰⁴ *"The Big Deal on Madonna Street," was "an Italian movie, rather amusing, but would have been more so, I am sure, if one knew the language."*³⁰⁵

One evening in 1946, she and Jules had to go downtown to a movie, "all the Arlington movies having been ordered closed because of the power shortage resulting from the coal strike. Saw 'The Spiral Staircase,' which was quite good."³⁰⁶ She mentions a Russian film, "A Summer to Remember" (1961): "We ...found the picture charming, particularly the children in it."³⁰⁷ In the summer of 1962, Anne saw "The Sky Above, and the Mud Below" a documentary on a New Guinea anthropological exploration. On a Saturday night in September 1963, she, Ira and friends "went to see the Italian picture '8 ½.' Enjoyed it – sort of." She saw "The Great Escape," which she labeled

*quite interesting, well acted,*³⁰⁸ *36 Hours.*³⁰⁹ *The Flight of the Phoenix...fairly interesting,*³¹⁰ *an Italian movie, 'A Case of Jealousy,'.....entertaining,*³¹¹ *Day of the Jackal, – not so exciting as the book but a pretty interesting movie as movies these days go,*³¹² *"a new Peter Sellers movie. I found it too wacky to be really funny.*³¹³ *Jaws, the movie was pretty good, but I found the book far more absorbing,*³¹⁴ *and Greenwich Village, which she deemed fairly entertaining.*³¹⁵ About "The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie," Anne wrote, *A more intelligent and less sex-filled picture than I had seen in some time.*³¹⁶

Anne enjoyed theater, ballet and all the performing arts. She saw Clifford Odets' "Golden Boy," which she considered "one of the best plays I have seen in a long while. My only criticism is that the ending was weak."³¹⁷ They saw "My Fair Lady" "and loved it."³¹⁸ On Christmas Day, 1941, she and Jules "went to the National to see 'Pal Joey,' which [she] found rather dull and

299 May 16, 1947.
300 May 17, 1947.
301 May 26, 1947.
302 April 16, 1948.
303 February 6, 1955.
304 June 3, 1961.
305 June 17, 1961.

306 May 10, 1946.
307 July 17, 1961.
308 September 7, 1963.
309 March 20, 1965.
310 May 20, 1966.
311 March 27, 1971.
312 August 11, 1973.
313 June 13, 1975.
314 July 5, 1975.
315 April 2, 1976.
316 May 31, 1969.
317 November 30, 1938.
318 July 19, 1957.

tiresome." "[...]Joe, Libby, Jane and her girl friend, and the three of us went to the Ice Capade."³¹⁹ They saw the play, "The Chalk Garden," which they considered excellent³²⁰ and Neil Simon's "The Odd Couple," which she found amusing. They saw, "'He who gets Slapped,' it was not very good but we did see it through."³²¹ When they saw the Bolshoi Ballet, their expensive seats were "so far front that we could not see the dancers' feet."³²² "To the Library of Congress with Arnold to hear the Kolisch String Quartet. Rather enjoyed it."³²³ "We all drove into Baltimore, in our own car, for dinner and a show. Saw 'See My Lawyer.' It was quite amusing."³²⁴

Many entries in Anne's diaries mention "going riding," acquiring the appropriate gear for riding, and changing plans because of the weather. I believe these comments refer to horseback riding.³²⁵ At other times, she writes about "going for a ride," in which she seems to be referring to a car ride. And still other entries refer to bike riding: "Another grand autumn day. Walked down to Mary Lou's after breakfast. Had a cup of coffee with her. Then joined a group from Social Security, and went on a two-hour bicycle ride."³²⁶ She did not play poker but apparently she knew how to play golf.³²⁷ "Evelyn Promisel asked us to come over tomorrow night to play bridge."³²⁸ Anne was always ready to play a game in which she could make a bet: "Stopped to play a few games of pin-balls, at which I trounced him (i.e. Jules). It is only when I am playing for money that I get trounced, and have lost a good number of dimes and quarters that way."³²⁹ In her own quiet way, Anne was a fun-loving woman.

Anne as a Professional Woman

As is true for most young lawyers, Anne began her professional life doing research on a variety of cases for her boss, in this instance, Charles Wyzanski, a lawyer only four years her senior who was also starting his career and trying to find the right job. Wyzanski had brought Anne to Washington, D.C. where he employed her as a kind of advanced secretary when he started in the Justice Department.

*Spent the whole day at the Labor Dept. digging out material on majority rule to be used in connection with the Labor Board cases.*³³⁰ *Very busy all day, working on the Seminole case.*³³¹ *Very rushed on the Seminole case. Had to work late.*³³² *Very busy at the office, working now on the steamship fine case.*³³³

Wyzanski vacillated between working at the Departments of Justice or Labor, and moving back to Boston. Anne was interested in the newly formed National Labor Relations Board and in Wyzanski himself. "Another letter from C.E.W., written from New York. He doubts very much

³¹⁹ February 3, 1951.

³²⁰ September 27, 1964.

³²¹ March 24, 1965.

³²² May 18, 1968.

³²³ November 10, 1938.

³²⁴ September 23, 1939.

³²⁵ Thursday, November 3, 1938: "Lost a pin-ball game to Lush on which we had bet a horse back ride."

³²⁶ October 25, 1936.

³²⁷ September 16, 1933.

³²⁸ February 4, 1955.

³²⁹ November 1, 1938.

³³⁰ October 5, 1936.

³³¹ October 14, 1936.

³³² October 20, 1936.

³³³ October 30, 1936.

whether I can get a job on the NLRB, and thinks I ought to go to Boston in any event. It is so difficult to know what is my best move."³³⁴ Anne tried to strategize her decision-making despite having no mentor to help her make the best choice. Finally, in 1937 Wyzanski left for Boston, and Anne received an offer from the NLRB to serve as a lawyer, the first major step in her career. In her initial assignment [the Ford Case], Anne worked with Julius Schlezinger, quickly taking up a new romantic interest as well as a new job.

Two years later, the NLRB came under investigation by the congressionally appointed Smith Committee. Established in 1935,³³⁵ the NLRB was the organization in which Anne carried out her entire professional career. According to Wikipedia, the "*NLRB is an independent agency of the United States government charged with conducting elections for labor union representation and with investigating and remedying unfair labor practices,*" the latter being the area of law with which Anne became most deeply involved.³³⁶ "*Unfair labor practices may involve union-related situations or instances of protected concerted activity.*" The NLRB's mission fit Anne's interests well, in that she was personally, as well as professionally, concerned with promoting fair labor practices (against women) and fighting racial/ethnic prejudice (against blacks) as is evident in these two entries that reveal her attitude toward racism:

*The entertainment committee is in a stew because we discovered that we cannot hold our banquet at the Lafayette, as planned, since it is on an unfair list, and there was some objection to every other possibility – expense, distance, Negro question, unionization, etc.*³³⁷

*Dorothy Grimes called to remind me about the sewing circle, which was meeting at her house, so I broke down and went. The group now includes several new members, and it is too large. The conversation in general bores me, and the frequent cracks at Negroes, etc., cause too much discomfort and annoyance. And I cannot fight them all.*³³⁸

Although Anne does not discuss *how* she made her legal decisions at the NLRB, she frequently demonstrated an interest in protecting workers and the United States: "*Oral argument in Gear Mfg. Houston and Reilly present, and it seemed quite clear they held divergent views. The coal strike is having the disastrous consequences everyone expected. Hope it is settled soon – with the miners getting a decent break.*"³³⁹

The NLRB is a legal structure, a separate kind of legal system, to deal with labor problems. The process begins when charges are filed (by or against unions or employers) with the appropriate regional office. That office then investigates the complaint. If a violation of the law is believed to exist, the regional office takes the case before an Administrative Law Judge who conducts a hearing. The five-member Board may review the judge's decision. The process does not end there, however, because the United States Courts of Appeals can review the Board decisions. This branch of the judiciary cannot enforce its decisions but rather must seek court enforcement to force a recalcitrant party to comply with its decisions.

The governance structure of the NLRB itself was significant for Anne's professional

³³⁴ September 13, 1937.

³³⁵ A predecessor organization, the National Labor Board, was established by the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933, an act that the Supreme Court subsequently struck down.

³³⁶ The Board's jurisdiction is limited to private sector employers and the United States Postal Service; other than Postal Service employees, it has no authority over labor disputes involving governmental, railroad and airline employees covered by the Adamson Railway Labor Act, or agricultural employees.

³³⁷ Tuesday, November 8, 1938.

³³⁸ March 10, 1949.

³³⁹ Tuesday, May 7, 1946.

advancement because it offered a clear career ladder. A five-person board and a General Counsel govern the NLRB, all of whom are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Board members are appointed to five-year terms and the General Counsel is appointed to a four-year term. The General Counsel acts as a prosecutor and the Board acts as an appellate judicial body from decisions of administrative law judges. Currently the Board has more than thirty regional offices. The regional offices conduct elections, investigate unfair labor practice charges, and make the initial determination on those charges (whether to dismiss, settle, or issue complaints).

In 2001, retired NLRB Judge Richard Linton, a man Anne mentions many times as a friend, colleague and lunch companion, wrote a history of the NLRB with an emphasis on its early years. The photograph gracing the book's cover was taken at the May 1942 Trial Examiners' Conference. Every one of the Trial Examiners in the photograph is a white male. The NLRB's first Chair was J. Warren Madden. In 1937, Anne had already come to Judge Madden's attention, which in turn, opened doors for her:

Attended a Board meeting. J.S.³⁴⁰ was reporting on two cases to the Board members, Nat Witt and Alec Hawes. Three other "freshman" and I were invited. It was very interesting. I was singled out since Madden recognized me.

Being a woman hampered Anne's career advancement. She worked at the Board for thirty-one years before being named judge, a rank above Trial Examiner, while men were named judges after fewer years of service.

Because Anne's writing is so concise, it is difficult to follow the unfolding of the investigation of NLRB lawyers. In one of her first entries on the topic, she wrote: "*Condon, Koplou, and I were served with subpoenas by the Congressional Committee [i.e. Smith Committee] investigating the Board. It was in connection with the union. We spent a good part of the day rounding up files and records, each of us with a constant escort. I am afraid I embarrassed them when I requested permission to go to the ladies' room unescorted.*"³⁴¹ The fact of being investigated by the Congressional Committee influenced the assignments given lawyers such as Anne in the NLRB.

The Smith Committee was a major force in U.S. domestic issues right before the onset of World War II. The December 25, 1939 issue of *Time* magazine described the committee sarcastically as follows:

[I]n the caucus room of the Old House Office Building, there opened a Congressional investigation as suave, sophisticated, polite and cynical as a Somerset Maugham comedy. It was the beginning of the Smith Committee hearings of the Wagner Act—that most crucial piece of New Deal legislation, passed to safeguard labor's historic right to bargain collectively through unions of its own choosing.

Last July Congress authorized the Smith Committee to investigate the Wagner Act, to find out whether the Labor Board had been fair, to see what amendments, if any, were needed, and gave it \$50,000 as a starter. To tall, solemn, silent Representative Howard Smith of Broad Run, Va., who has hated the New Deal ever since it tried to purge him last year, it gave the delicate job of chairman. With wealthy Lawyer Edmund Toland and 22 attorneys assisting (called brilliant legal lights by the Right, called tools of reaction by the Left), it checked on the work of the three members of the National Labor Relations Board, the doings of its 22 regional offices, its 109 field examiners, its 10,000 cases a year....

³⁴⁰ Her future husband, Jules Schlezinger.

³⁴¹ September 25, 1939.

First witness was pipe-smoking Dr. William Leiserson, 56, appointed to the Board eight months ago, with a reputation as a labor mediator. Dr. Leiserson stated the case for the NLRB about as well as it has been stated. He denied that the Act needed amendment. He reminded the Committee of the conditions that brought about the Act—the use of labor spies, the discrimination against good union men, the tragedies of violence in labor disputes, the old hostility against labor legislation.³⁴²

The NLRB, the Wagner Act, and the Smith Committee were political footballs at the time, and women had a symbolic role to play in the chaos as well. Winkler quotes a commentator who wrote that:

Toland's anti-NLRB animus was flagrantly displayed in his examination of Review Division attorneys...The women Review attorneys were treated rudely and disparagingly. Toland shouted at them and [Congressman Harry N.] Rutzohn asked personally insulting questions....When the women Judges of today ascend the bench in order to preside in a case, they will recall that it was Judge Boyls, long before she was able to ascend the bench, who suffered verbal abuse from the Smith Committee.

Congressman Clare Hoffman of Michigan also ridiculed the female Review Section lawyers:

Those girls who are acting as reviewing attorneys for the Board are fine young ladies...but the chances are 99 out of 100 that none of them ever changed a diaper, hung a washing, or baked a loaf of bread. None of them has had any judicial or industrial experience to qualify her for the job they are trying to do, and yet here they are – after all – good looking, intelligent appearing as they may be, and well groomed all of them, writing the opinions on which the jobs of hundreds of thousands of men depend and upon the success or failure of an industrial enterprise may depend and we stand for it.³⁴³

Anne's testimony took place in early 1940:

Meeting at 1:00 with Fahy, Lester Levin, Aaron Lewittes, and Lou Gill. Aaron, Lou and I having been summoned as witnesses for Monday morning. Meeting later with Horshy of those who had been subpoenaed for the Union. Another meeting later with Levin, Emerson, and Witt. By then the afternoon was gone. We just had time to dash home and change before going to the Surreys for dinner. Sat around for a while after dinner, and then off to a party given by the Dave Kroottis for the Les Ashers. It was a lot of fun. All the Board people had some good advice for me, of course.³⁴⁴

After giving testimony to Toland, she evaluated her performance positively:

Tuesday, January 9, 1940. On the stand all day again, but I really think Toland had not got a thing out of me. Praised by everyone – Madden, Fahy, Witt, etc., etc. A crowd of us had luncheon at the Ugly Duckling, and it was all very gay, and pleasant. I no longer feel the nervous strain, and could go on and on. Adjourned about 5:00. Listened in at Jules' hearing until about 7:00. Then had dinner at Schneider's with Lagar Teppe, Dave Cobb, and Jules. Home after dinner. Telephoned Lawrence [her mother and other relatives] and Columbus

³⁴² <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,762099-1,00.html>

³⁴³ Ralph Linton, p. 105.

³⁴⁴ Saturday, January 6, 1940.

[home of her parents-in-law], *but they knew all about my performance, from the local papers and from the radio. Such fame!*

The next day, she wrote:

Got comfortably settled in the office with my audience around me when the Clerk of the Committee called and asked me to come up and dictate some longhand notes that were put in as an exhibit. They were perfectly legible, so I sat in at the hearing while a stenographer copied them, and answered the few questions that came up on them. Peggy Bennett and Carol Agger³⁴⁵ have testified – and very well – and Fanny Boyls got on for a few minutes this afternoon. Why all the women?³⁴⁶

Two days later:

Friday, January 12, 1940. Called to the hearing again as a union witness or I should not have gone to work at all. When I got to the hearing, Toland, as he had Wednesday, gushed all over me in a disgustingly affectionate manner, told me what a splendid witness I was, and assured me he had no intention of calling me again, so I returned to the office.

Four days later:

Tuesday, January 16, 1940. Lunched at Childs with Dave Rein and Jack King. Heard that when the group of girls was called to the hearing, Bea Stern spoke to them, and told them, among other things, "after all, no one can expect to be perfect except Anne Freeling and the Chairman." What a compliment! Sol Barkin, in town for a Wages and Hours hearing, took us to dinner at the Ambassador. He was not feeling well, so went to his room after dinner, and we went home. Letters from Gertrude and from Mrs. S. They are quite "set-up" about the publicity that I, as Mrs. Jules Schlezinger, have received in Columbus by newspaper and radio.

Anne realized that the Committee focused on the "girls,"³⁴⁷ assuming wrongly that the girls were weak and would buckle under pressure. But that was not the case.

Friday, January 19, 1940 The Trial Examiners are certainly not doing as good a job at the hearing as the dumb little women review attorneys did.

Starting with the first weeks of her job at the NLRB, Anne's diary entries briefly mention the various cases on which she is working. Sometimes she uses internal jargon and initials, but the overall patterns are clear.

Attended a Board hearing on the Todd Shipbuilding case. Found it very interesting. Nat Witt and Jules have devised a different, and for me, more interesting division of the work on the Ford case.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Wednesday, November 9, 1938: "Luncheon at the Ambassador with Anne Landy, Mary Schleiffer and Carol Agger. Decided we would have a dance at the Press Club Tuesday night."

³⁴⁶ Wednesday, January 10, 1940,

³⁴⁷ Anne used the word "girl" as we might use the word "woman" today. For example, "Wednesday, February 21, 1951. Lunched in the cafeteria with several girls, including a Dr. Platt, an attractive girl who had just come to work for Public Health."

³⁴⁸ October 1, 1937.

Without making the point herself, one can see that Anne was a hard and efficient worker:

Have finished the commerce part of the Ford case. Decided I might as well work on another case while waiting for Jules to read his part of the record. Alec Hawes gave me the Shell Chemical case, an R case.³⁴⁹ My R case is quite complicated. I don't seem to be making much progress with it.³⁵⁰ Reported to Alec on my case. Would like very much to know what he thought of my presentation. Back on the Ford case – on discharges for union activities. Lunched alone, with the intention of doing some errands, but had so much work I dashed back to the office. Levitt's petition was denied because of lack of personal injury.³⁵¹ Midonish suggested going to the Supreme Court to hear Reed and John Davis on the Dravo case. Spoke to Hawes about it, did a lot of telephoning, and then finally did not go. Had so darned much work – checking signatures on petitions with payrolls, and what not. Received a charming letter of congratulation from John Murphy. Back to the office after dinner to finish checking lists of names – stupid, tedious work. But most of the boys were also at the office, and all of them dropped in to see what I was doing, which kept me entertained. The Board was sitting, and was still hearing cases when I left at about 11.³⁵²

The Board sat until midnight last night but still has not got around to hearing me. Worked on the Ford case all day.³⁵³ Lunched alone so I could dash downtown and do a few errands. Worked on the Ford case all day. By the time the Board does calls me I shall be full of information about the Ford case rather than about the Shell Chemical case.³⁵⁴

Have finished the "unfair discharges" in the Ford case.³⁵⁵ Working on the peskiest, but far from most important, part of the Ford case – ownership of the overpass on which the riot occurred. Finally got called before the Board about 5:00. Presented the case to Witt, Hawes, and the two Smiths, Madden being out of town. They decided the questions involved merited Madden's opinion, so I shall have to present the case again.³⁵⁶ Have been given a case on which the Regional Director refused to issue a complaint. I do not agree with the R.D. With the Board more than two hours, along with a couple of other attorneys working on similar cases. Finally decided to follow the Globe case.³⁵⁷ Got two new cases today. There is certainly no lack of work.³⁵⁸

Anne kept up this hectic pace because she was still on probation as a member of the NLRB legal staff.

They shared my impression of the regional representatives. Korey, the trial examiner on the Mackey case, when he heard that I had it, suggested that I also handle the Columbia Broadcasting case. Alec Hawes thought it a good idea. I now have enough work for the rest of my probation period.³⁵⁹

³⁴⁹ October 7, 1937.

³⁵⁰ October 8, 1937.

³⁵¹ October 11, 1937.

³⁵² October 12, 1937.

³⁵³ October 13, 1937.

³⁵⁴ October 14, 1937.

³⁵⁵ October 18, 1937.

³⁵⁶ October 19, 1937.

³⁵⁷ October 21, 1937.

³⁵⁸ October 26, 1937.

³⁵⁹ October 27, 1937.

A year later, "*Finally got a new case – Mass Knitting Mills.*"³⁶⁰ But Anne wanted greater appreciation and fairness. "*Was assigned a new case – a dirty trick, I think.*"³⁶¹ As the years passed, Anne tried not to be jerked around at work:

*Found another assignment on my desk – just a 1-day case in Baltimore – but complained and got rid of it.*³⁶² *Oral argument this morning in the Geraldine Novelty case...On the agenda for Geraldine Novelty. Completed my Federal Mogul memo and Geraldine decision. Refused to take a new case until some of the old stuff on my desk is disposed of.*³⁶³ *Frank Bloom called to ask if I wanted to come to a Board conference on New York Merchandise Monday. Glad they finally got around to calling me for something. I don't like the office to get along too well without my assistance on cases I review Wednesday.*³⁶⁴ *To the Board on a motion in the Weissman case.*³⁶⁵ *Got a new case – Reynolds Pen.*³⁶⁶ *Back to work. I had been scheduled for the 'little agenda' for 10:00 yesterday morning. Everyone at the Board had been miserable over the latest report that Congress would abolish the Board.*³⁶⁷

It is clear that Anne had garnered a lot of respect from her colleagues: "*Lunched at the Ambassador with Kami, who told me confidentially that Nat has recommended, and the Board had approved, my going to Detroit to help Cranefield try the case, but Fahy had voted against it because of the Smith Committee, etc. I am flattered.*"³⁶⁸ She knew that her co-workers considered her a "whiz" at writing Board decisions,³⁶⁹ and she was deservedly proud when she "*got an excellent on the annual efficiency rating*"³⁷⁰ in 1947. Anne acquitted herself well during the investigation by the Smith Committee, but she seems to have won the battle and [temporarily] lost the war. Anne's year end summaries of 1951, 1952 and 1953 either do not mention her work at all or do so in very general terms: "*I hope...I shall be able to hold on to my job as we need the money, as I should be lost without a job, and as I cannot see myself going into private practice.*"³⁷¹ In 1954, however, job loss was her first topic: "*the big event for me of 1954 was my discharge from a job I had every reason to believe I was handling competently.*" By this time, the 44-year old lawyer knew how to fight back. "*The Commission's directive confirms my opinion that my discharge was unlawful.*" With admirable self-confidence, she continued: "*Whether the Board complies or forces me to litigate the matter, I have little doubt I will eventually be ordered reinstated.*" Not only did Anne plan to fight; she planned to win. "*That will be quite a victory, and the back pay we can put to good use.*"

Regardless, the whole process hurt: "*The money will not, however, make whole my wounded self-esteem or my damaged professional reputation.*" And then, in an ironic twist, Anne mentions she is not sure she *wants* to be quickly reinstated. "*Actually the likelihood of my being reinstated soon causes mixed reactions in all of us. Jules and Ira would both prefer that I stay at home, doing volunteer work of some sort to keep myself busy and interested.*"

This complete change of lifestyle had some appeal to Anne: "*And I even must admit that there are many advantages to my staying at home, running the household myself, being*

³⁶⁰ November 29, 1938.

³⁶¹ February 24, 1942.

³⁶² May 16, 1969.

³⁶³ June 3, 4 and 9, 1947.

³⁶⁴ May 2, 1942.

³⁶⁵ May 1, 1946.

³⁶⁶ May 27, 1946.

³⁶⁷ Wednesday, May 28, 1947.

³⁶⁸ Thursday, May 29, 1947.

³⁶⁹ May 10, 1966.

³⁷⁰ June 10, 1947.

³⁷¹ Year-end summary 1953.

relatively independent of domestic help, and having more time and energy to devote to Ira's interests." Her fantasy about staying home was brief: "I like working, however, associating with adults, concerning myself with professional problems, and collecting regular and substantial paychecks."

The dismissal that occurred in 1954 continued into 1955 and was a constant topic of conversation with their friends. "The matter has dragged on so long that I plan to go to the Commission next week, and if I do not get some satisfactory answers, will file suit."³⁷² On February 5, 1955, Anne went "to see Meloy at the Commission. He told me...that the Commission would ...see about getting the Board to comply with the Commission's directives. He was quite encouraging."³⁷³ On Valentine's Day (February 14, 1955), she got "a telegram offering my job back beginning next Monday." Anne's prediction of victory was correct. But her colleagues were not pleased. "I have been treated shabbily since my return, but have learned to live with it, and with the hope that that, too, will change in time."³⁷⁴ By the end of the following year, she could write, "My job is going along all right, although I do not relish the prospect of four more years of the present Republican leadership."³⁷⁵ At the end of 1957, she was still not content in her reinstated job: "

*My job goes along in what has now become a rut. I am still in an undesirable office, do no supervision and have not been restored [to the position I held] before my discharge. The only deference to my ability and experience that the present administration pays is to assign very difficult cases to me, and to compliment my work from time to time.*³⁷⁶

Perhaps because of the numerous deaths in her family in 1958, she did not mention her job at all in that year's summary. When she mentioned work at the end of 1959, she wrote, "My job setup is still quite unsatisfactory, but I can live with it for the time being."³⁷⁷ She was putting on a brave show in that remark, because, in fact, she was very angry.

1960 brought change. And by November 10, she "spent much of the day packing and getting things ready to be moved to the new office...Shall miss my free parking place. But being downtown will have advantages, and having a bright new office with a window, and alone, will be a big improvement."³⁷⁸ It is extraordinary to think that for the nearly twenty-five years she had worked at the NLRB, she had never had a private office! As part of her new rank in the NLRB, Anne had the opportunity to supervise, a work duty that had previously been denied her. But along with new responsibilities came an enormous amount of new work: "My work is piling up so that I don't know how I shall ever become current again. Yet, though I supervise about a fourth of the staff and issue about half of its case production, Kuskin does nothing but complain about our not producing enough."³⁷⁹

This was not a fleeting complaint. Anne actually thought that "the tension at the office...which lately has been greater than ever" was making her very sick.³⁸⁰ Kuskin had no compassion when she took the day off. And did not stop piling on the work.³⁸¹ Anne believed in hard work and in getting rewarded for that work, but she also believed that the rewards should fit the effort and

³⁷² February 5, 1955.

³⁷³ February 7, 1955.

³⁷⁴ Year-end summary, 1955.

³⁷⁵ Year-end summary, 1956.

³⁷⁶ Year-end summary, 1957.

³⁷⁷ Year-end summary, 1959.

³⁷⁸ November 10, 1960.

³⁷⁹ June 5, 1961.

³⁸⁰ June 6, 1961.

³⁸¹ June 16, 1961.

the work should be fair. That's why eschewed "get rich quick" schemes, such as Pyramid Clubs: *"I cannot see getting rich that way. Too accustomed to working for whatever money I get."*³⁸²

Not being rewarded fairly for her work and not receiving promotions in a timely manner were constant irritants in Anne's work life. On July 23, 1962 she wrote that she had learned about an opportunity for advancement to grade 15. She requested that Harry Kuskin, Chief Counsel to Board member Boyd S. Leedom, recommend her. Harry *"did not commit himself, but [I] gathered he would recommend me."* The next day Harry reported back to Anne, that he *"had spoken to the Judge about the 15 – made a big pitch in my favor, I gathered – but the Judge maintained that he was not ready to make a decision yet. What a rat!"*³⁸³

Anne then tried another tactic – to move to another division of the NLRB:

*Raining so I lunched in the drugstore with Arthur Leff. Talked about a transfer to the Chairman's staff, but he had no '15' available and no prospect of one. Ought to shift at my present grade, but am reluctant to do so. Ought to file for a Trial Examiner's appointment application, but it means a very detailed application, and Jules does not like the idea. The jobs have been classified as '16' but it would require quite a bit of traveling."*³⁸⁴

A few days later, she reiterated "Jules is very unhappy at the mere suggestion that I might get a job that will involve traveling."³⁸⁵ The reluctance of husbands to have their wives be promoted for whatever reason is yet another factor that impedes women's advancement.

The "detailed application" Anne had to present was daunting and perhaps is more of a burden on women than men, given that women typically have a "second shift" of work at home after the first shift at their place of employment.³⁸⁶ Anne was vigilant for signs of being treated unfairly – even if unintentionally – by virtue of her gender. For example, at a prestigious conference she attended five years later in her first week as an NLRB judge, she *"complained to the conference arranger about paying \$21 for [her] room. The men were all sharing \$21 rooms. I got moved to a smaller room in a different building for \$14 a day."*³⁸⁷ Anne was never a pushover, at least she never admitted to being one. While presiding over a case in Brooklyn, she *"took a 20-minute lunch break over the reporter's opposition as he was trying to get in another hearing."*³⁸⁸ She wielded enormous power and yet, did not make much of it: *"Got exceptions to my decision in the Tulsa case. Issued an order closing the hearing in the Memphis case. And signed my decision in the Saginaw case."*³⁸⁹ She is completely matter-of-fact.

In September 1963, Anne again approached Kuskin *"about the 15 – about a year and a half since he recommended me, is still recommending me, and Leedom is still doing nothing about it."* *"[I] wonder what satisfaction he derives from giving the 15 to no one for all this time."* Anne seems to have been fighting her battle for promotion almost alone. Although she did participate in social gatherings of female lawyers,³⁹⁰ there did not seem to be an organized group that could fight with her or on her behalf. Trying to make the best of a lousy situation, she ended 1964 with this biting comment:

382 March 18, 1949.

383 July 24, 1962.

384 September 5, 1963.

385 September 7, 1963.

386 See Arlie Hochschild, *The Second Shift*. New York: Viking, 1989.

387 June 10, 1968.

388 August 21, 1973.

389 August 22, 1973.

390 September 29, 1964.

*"Things have gone relatively well for me. I never did the get the '15' but I did get rid of Leedom as my boss, and that was almost as gratifying. And, while I am a long way from being appointed a Board member, my activity as an applicant for the appointment seems to have raised me in the esteem I value, and has, as far as I can se, done me no hard. And while my chances are slim, I can go on hoping until someone else is named to fill the Leedom vacancy."*³⁹¹

The decisive person concerning her request for promotion was Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. Meeting him at a party, she introduced herself as the "same AFS seeking a Board Member appointment" and that she "would be glad of a chance to talk to him about it. He was polite but completely noncommittal."³⁹² Jules tried to help Anne as well using his social contacts. A few days after Anne met Wertz, "*Jules had luncheon with Mike Feldman, who is convinced my application will fail for lack of adequate political support and for that reason alone.*"³⁹³ Two days later, at a party for Mike Feldman, Anne ran into Secretary Wirtz again. Clearly, the politics of appointment and promotion was carried out informally in social occasions as well as formally via work evaluations.

By the following May, Anne describes an exam she could take to qualify for the TX [judge] position, an exam that another woman was taking, suggesting that there was a route to a judgeship based on merit rather than favor.³⁹⁴ Anne was very nervous about the exam. "*[It] began at 9:00 [on a Saturday]. We had an hour for luncheon, which I ate in the cafeteria with Mary Clark. Time was up at 3:30 but I turned my papers in shortly before that.*"³⁹⁵ Still on edge a few days later, she wrote: "*I will be glad when this whole ordeal is over, one way or the other.*"³⁹⁶ The tension persisted:

*Mary Clark called me, very elated because she found the case on which the exam question was based, and she had the right answer. So, I learned, did the other two from the Board whom I did not know. We are supposed to be graded on our reasoning, not on getting the right answer, but I was terribly disheartened...If I did flunk, it would be terribly embarrassing. And I won't find out until after our trip to Europe. The strain is going to be very hard on me.*³⁹⁷

Anne traveled in circles that discussed the exam continuously. She kept hearing details about the TX appointment procedures, "*some that perk me up, some that let me down. Will be glad when the matter is finally settled.*"³⁹⁸ The topic came up at work all the time as well: "*All morning at conference in Zagoria's office. At one point he commented about 'when' I become a TX, which I amended to 'when and if.' This is being talked about so much around the Board that it will be terribly embarrassing if I do not get a passing grade.*"³⁹⁹ At a conference a few days

³⁹¹ Year-end summary, 1964.

³⁹² March 5, 1965,

³⁹³ March 8, 1965.

³⁹⁴ May 3, 1966.

³⁹⁵ May 7, 1955.

³⁹⁶ May 9, 1966.

³⁹⁷ May 10, 1966.

³⁹⁸ May 12, 1966.

³⁹⁹ May 16, 1966.

later she saw people she had mobilized to help her win a judgeship: "*Roger Traynor mentioned that he had sent the Commission a very good reference. Paul Herzog never received the form.*"⁴⁰⁰ The problem repeated itself: "*Learned today that Tom Ricci, one of my TX references never received a form. Wonder why, when he is a former chief to a chairman and for many years an outstanding TX.*"⁴⁰¹ The frustration of not being promoted began to sour Anne's feelings about her career choices. "*The 30th anniversary of my coming to work at the Board [i.e. the NLRB]. I stayed too long at the Board.*"⁴⁰²

Throughout the ordeal of waiting, Anne continued to work very hard: Spent "*most of the morning in Zagoria's office and most of the afternoon at the sub-panel agenda with Hoffman and Randazzo.*"⁴⁰³ "*I had the Brown sub-panel agenda this afternoon, with 5 cases on it.*"⁴⁰⁴ "*Had a case on the Board agenda with Eleanor Schwartzbach and was in conference most of the rest of the day – the big end-of-the-fiscal-year rush.*"⁴⁰⁵ Six months into the next year – 1968 – Anne finally was sworn in as a Trial Examiner with the NLRB. "*Quite late in the evening I got a telephone call from Ogden Fields who said the Board had met late in the afternoon to make its TX selections; that Zagoria had given me a big boost, and that I had been selected and would be told officially tomorrow.*"⁴⁰⁶ In general, Zagoria seems to have appreciated Anne. Later that year when they attended a conference together, Zagoria included "complimentary things" about Anne in his speech.⁴⁰⁷ For days people congratulated her. Finally, she received a "*letter from the Board confirming [her] appointment subject to security clearance and a medical checkup.*"⁴⁰⁸ After her appointment, she began to receive perks that she appreciated: "*After some on-again-off-again talks, I have definitely been invited to attend the Federal Bar Examiners' conference in Williamsburg next week.*"⁴⁰⁹ On June 7, 1968 she was sworn in "*as a TX so I can go to the conference as a TX.*"

The NLRB had a clearly defined system for processing cases by allocating them to appropriate pathways. But backlog was always a problem. To cut down on the number of straightforward cases that were going through the elaborate procedures associated with the panel, an alternative system of sub-panels was created. Anne dealt with cases on panels and on sub-panels. Beginning in 1963, Anne mentions subpanel cases frequently. "*Had two cases on the subpanel agenda, one with Chuck Thompson and one with Schneur Genack.*"⁴¹⁰ Two days later she complained in her diary that "*I had so much work on my desk that I hardly knew what to do next. Then got tied up all afternoon on the subpanel which I foolishly agreed to take over while Loeb is away.*"⁴¹¹ Her workload was overwhelming:

400 May 18, 1966.

401 June 2, 1966.

402 September 27, 1968.

403 May 23, 1966.

404 June 1, 1966.

405 June 3, 1966.

406 May 16, 1968.

407 June 13, 1968.

408 May 23, 1968.

409 June 4, 1968.

410 September 11, 1963.

411 September 13, 1963.

Scheduled for an agenda of some kind every day this week.⁴¹² Had various cases with various legal assistants on various agendas, so it was quite a hectic day.⁴¹³ Did enough work today to make up for the holiday [Rosh Hashana] on Monday and the sick leave yesterday.⁴¹⁴ I was very busy, primarily because of getting ready for some rather difficult cases scheduled for tomorrow's Board agenda.⁴¹⁵

Anne was also getting the opportunity to present alone: *"I had a couple of cases on the Board agenda with Mira [Almira Stevenson], and the one by myself."⁴¹⁶*

A theme running through Anne's comments about her work concerns the relative benefits of working for the government or opening up a private practice. Jules resigned from his job at the NLRB in 1953 in order to avoid a demeaning investigation of his loyalty. The peace of mind inherent in private practice far outweighed the higher salary of government service, in his view. In her 1953 year-end summary, Anne writes: *"The unattractiveness of government service at present is brought home vividly to me practically every day that I am at the office – the prejudice, the suspicion, the insecurity, the hostility toward those who remain from an earlier administration."* The work continued unabated: *"Had a case on the Board agenda with Leo Weiss."⁴¹⁷ Most of her references to work concern stress: *"Have several rush matters at the office, and am really being run ragged – knowing, of course, that no one really appreciates it."⁴¹⁸ Strangely, she concludes that her year at work was *"considerably improved."* Perhaps she had resigned herself to the fact that she had *"not been given the promotion that [she] feels has been unfairly withheld for so long, but Zagoria is a big improvement over Leedom in any event."⁴¹⁹ Internalized and external pressure to work hard followed Anne even after she was promoted: *"Attended a staff meeting in the afternoon – [Chief Judge] Bokats usual pitch for more work, longer hours, and quicker decisions."⁴²⁰ Strangely, soon after her rise to TX, the amount of work she had to do, diminished.****

Should hand in my Brooklyn decision for stenciling, but have nothing else on which to work.⁴²¹ Would have had a hearing in Tulsa this week but the case was cancelled. Hope I get an assignment on Thursday. Really finished with my Brooklyn decision but have not turned it in because I have no other case on my desk.⁴²²

Because her assignments involved travel, Anne continuously found herself juggling appointments at home with work out of town. *"Life does get complicated for a TX."⁴²³ Her assignments varied as to destination and the amount of time she would have to spend on*

⁴¹² September 25, 1963.

⁴¹³ November 20, 1963.

⁴¹⁴ September 9, 1964.

⁴¹⁵ March 22, 1965.

⁴¹⁶ March 23, 1965.

⁴¹⁷ July 27, 1962.

⁴¹⁸ March 31, 1965.

⁴¹⁹ Year-end summary, 1965.

⁴²⁰ May 9, 1969.

⁴²¹ November 2, 1970.

⁴²² November 3, 1970.

⁴²³ November 4, 1970.

location. She tried to manipulate these assignments to meet her needs. For example, in November, 1970 she wrote that she "was given an assignment in Chicago, a short simple case. Would like to get a few such cases to be able to get out some production."⁴²⁴ "Asked Kessel if I could get a short case next week without prejudicing my getting the Tulsa case. He agreed."⁴²⁵ She also tried to coordinate her travel with Jules', but it was not easy. The accounts Anne gives of her assignments reveal a chaotic system of travel arrangements made, then cases cancelled, then arrangements cancelled, and yet another change. Repeatedly.

Anne was understandably pleased when her decisions were upheld. "Got a Board decision in my Baton Rouge case – affirmed with a footnote modification."⁴²⁶ And she seemed proud of her independent thinking:

*Got to work on the hot cargo case, a type of problem with which I am quite familiar...Getting straightened out on what is involved in my hot cargo case, it is a novel question so the Board may or may not see it my way.*⁴²⁷ *The Board adopted my decision administratively in Capitol Court (Milwaukee), no exceptions having been filed.*⁴²⁸ *Returned to find the Board decision affirming me in Carbide Tools, a case involving a good many issues, so was very pleased by that.*⁴²⁹

It is charming to read the way Anne was pleased – yet modest – about her rise in the ranks: "The stationery I ordered, imprinted with my title of Judge, arrived today. I was pleased with its appearance. Now have to find some occasion to use it."⁴³⁰ When Anne became a TX, she was obliged to hear cases in person all over the United States. She never liked this aspect of her work because she did not like to "leave Jules behind." He didn't make it easy for her: "Later called Jules. He was a bit fed up with my absence."⁴³¹ "Called Jules, who sounded as lonely as I felt."⁴³²

Concluding Remarks

It is reasonable to ask if Anne was an extraordinary woman whose diary (even in part) warrants publication and analysis. After exploring who Anne was, I would answer "yes". She was extraordinary in several ways. *First*, her intelligence, energy, and professional drive enabled her to break the barriers that stood in her way, particularly barriers based on gender. *Second*, her integrity and strength enabled her to withstand the humiliation of security investigations whereas many others in her position left government service or in some tragic cases, committed suicide. *Third*, Anne is a case study of a person who succeeds despite the impairment of her

⁴²⁴ November 21, 1970.

⁴²⁵ March 23, 1971.

⁴²⁶ November 6, 1970.

⁴²⁷ November 23, 1970 and November 24, 1970.

⁴²⁸ March 11, 1971.

⁴²⁹ August 8, 1973.

⁴³⁰ September 27, 1972.

⁴³¹ May 14, 1969.

⁴³² March 16, 1971.

parents. As mentioned earlier, Anne coped with this problem by forming mentor/mentee relationships as well as a large number of friendships. *Fourth*, Anne illustrates that a woman can live a balanced life, filled with social engagements, athletic activities, and “down time” with family, along with very demanding work. Current studies show that the overwhelming numbers of women who reach the top of their professions, as Anne did, are unmarried and childless.⁴³³ That was not the life Anne wanted. In fact, she and her husband successfully adopted a child and would have liked to adopt a second one. And *finally*, Anne’s life illustrates how a Jewish woman of the time integrated the demands of religious affiliation with the other demands in her life. Her court documents will show another researcher how her rulings shaped the nation’s labor practices, but her personal diary shows how she lived an integrated life.

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⁴³³ See David Leonhardt, “A Market Punishing to Mothers,” *New York Times*, Wednesday, August 4, 2010, B1, B6