Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
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a wonderful human being
Emanuel H. Sonnenreich
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The American Jewish Archives is indexed in Index to Jewish Periodicals, The Journal of American History, and The American Historical Review.

Patron for 1975
THE NEUMANN MEMORIAL PUBLICATION FUND
Published by THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES on the Cincinnati campus of the HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

ALFRED GOTTSHALK, President

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Saskatchewan Memories
Or How to Start a Jewish Cemetery

CLARA LANDER

This article appeared originally in the Canadian Jewish News (Toronto), October 29, 1971. The author, a communal worker in Winnipeg, Manitoba, is a descendant of Jewish pioneers in Western Canada.

Of course, the real experts on this subject are not necessarily Jews. But how do you start a Jewish cemetery if you are a Jew, and the warden of the Prince Albert Jail phones to say that a Jewish prisoner has just died, begging with his final breath to be buried in a Jewish cemetery!

“Well,” says my father in his heavy Latvian accent, “there is no Jewish cemetery in Prince Albert yet. Otherwise I would be glad to help you out.”

“It’s not me but him you have to help out,” says the warden.

“Well,” says my father, “the closest Jewish cemetery I know about is in Saskatoon. But the trains are not running there this week. They haven’t cleared the tracks from the last blizzard yet.”

“Do you think,” asks the warden, “we could get him through by horse and sleigh?”

“I’ll phone the livery stables,” says my father.

The livery stables say yes, they will do it for $50 plus the driver’s hotel expenses, providing a relative accompanies the body to Saskatoon. So the warden contacts the widow, a Swedish lady, and she sets off with the driver, the body, and the horse and sleigh. They finally get to Saskatoon, 120 miles later, where the widow and the driver spend the night together at the Barry Hotel, a contingency occasioned no doubt by the shortage of rooms resulting from the general breakdown in railway and other communications. And the next day the prisoner was buried, as he had requested, in a Jewish cemetery.

The winter was hardly over when my brother Sammy caught diphtheria. I knew he must be very sick, for he lay in my parents’ bed in that big corner bedroom overlooking the Saskatchewan River Valley. They wouldn’t let me into the room, so I stood at the door and waved
to him and he to me until one morning, he didn't wave back. My father picked him up and carried him around and around the room, while my mother stood wringing her hands and crying.

Then the doctor came and gave my mother a needle and threatened to give me one too if I didn't stop screaming. Then a man came with some boards, nails, a hammer and a saw. Then the Jewish people came to sit with my parents, and some English neighbors too. My mother rocked back and forth on the black leather couch, saying "Vey eez meer! Vey eez meer!" to the Jewish people, and "Poor soul!" Poor soul! to the English people.

"What's a soul?" I asked the English people, since it was obviously an English word. But they didn't seem to know quite what it was either. So I went upstairs to Sammy's room to see what all the banging and sawing was about. Sammy was still asleep, but the man who was banging and sawing straightened up, and looked a little ashamed as if I had caught him doing something wrong. "Hello there," he said. But at that moment someone whisked me away, and the next time I saw the carpenter he was carrying the wooden box down the stairs through the hall, and into a waiting car. Yes, they buried Sammy too in the Saskatoon cemetery, sending him by rail, for by this time the trains were running again.

After that my father called a meeting of the whole Jewish community—grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, mothers, but no kids. And he said they had to organize a chevra kadishe [burial society]. So who objected? The two grandmothers. They said that the younger congregants were merely trying to rid themselves of the old and that the cemetery was just an open invitation to death. The majority prevailed, however, in favor of a chevra kadishe, for my father was very democratic, as long as he was running a meeting. So they elected their first president, a man called Phil the Auctioneer. And who was the first man to be buried in the Prince Albert Jewish Cemetery? You guessed it; Phil the Auctioneer. He died of a heart attack—the aftermath of a heavy cold.

The next president really elected himself, because nobody else wanted the job. He didn't want it either, but he was an awfully good sport, the life of every party. But within three months even he, Weiner the Cattlebuyer, was dead—of a ruptured appendix, I believe.

After that there was no way anyone would take the presidency. So my father called a secret meeting—just the eighteen men of the com-
munity, no women, and no kids again. And he swore these men to a vow of silence, saying that he himself would be president on condition that no man would divulge to wife, sister, mother, or mother-in-law, who the new president of the chevra kadishe really was. And they kept that secret for five years, until my father himself took ill. Then the nurses couldn’t get the Jewish men of the community out of the hospital corridors. So my father called them all into his room and warned them that if they did not clear the corridors he might never get a linoleum contract with the Holy Family Hospital again. Besides, he said, the time had come for him himself to reveal the secret of the presidency since the jinx had already been broken by five or six burials in the intervening years.

One of these was the burial of my grandfather which took place, with the whole community present, at midnight, because we had to wait for the 10:30 p.m. train bringing my Uncle Arthur from Churchbridge, Sask. I always considered the timing of that burial somewhat macabre, if not barbaric, until I learned, some years later, that Sir Francis Walsingham, the father-in-law of Sir Philip Sidney, had been buried also at midnight but secretly, so that creditors would not snatch the body. Then I didn’t feel so badly about my grandfather. At least he left no creditors, not even the chevra kadishe, of which he was a paid-up member.

I realize now that I have told you more why you start a Jewish cemetery rather than how. How is really quite simple. You go to the city hall, and they give you free a grant of land next to the Christian cemetery on the top of the highest hill. Then you phone the chief rabbi of Winnipeg [about] what to do next. But he is away officiating at a ceremony in some inaccessible Manitoba hamlet. So then you phone the rabbi of the nearest Ontario town which has a rabbi, and he tells you to kill a rooster and bury it in the cemetery, in order to cleanse the ground of evil spirits, the body of the rooster becoming thus the sole habitation of the Evil One Himself. If you do not like this answer—and my father certainly did not—you phone the rabbi of the next Ontario town which has a rabbi and he tells you to bury a tallis [prayer shawl], tephilim [phylacteries], and a prayerbook first—before you bury anything or anyone else. And if that answer sounds more reasonable to you, that’s how you start a Jewish cemetery.
Black Anti-Semitism in Twentieth-Century America: Historical Myth or Reality?

NICHOLAS C. POLOS

There is an old joke about three men asked to write an essay about the elephant. The Englishman writes on "The Elephant and the British Empire," the Frenchman on "The Elephant and Love-Making," and the Jew on "The Elephant and the Jewish Question." Perhaps this is understandable since, though we all live under one sky, we all have different historical horizons. Many have tried formulating definitions of history. For Croce, all history was "contemporary history." ¹ R. G. Collingwood argued that all history was "a history of thought," while Napoleon cynically observed that history was "a fable agreed upon." ² Valéry insisted that history "is the most dangerous product ever concocted by the chemistry of the intellect." ³ One distinguished English historian reputedly said that history was just "one damn thing after another." Without diving too deeply into the dark pool of historiography, many historians would agree with Namier that history's subject matter is primarily human affairs and that these human affairs are "concrete events fixed in time and space . . . not things universal and generalized." ⁴ Each man may be his own historian, however. Human events which influence people effectively often revolve around simple events reflecting human nature and behavior. For example, in an Israeli kibbutz there was a donkey named

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¹ Benedetto Croce, The Theory and History of Historiography (London, 1921), part I.
Shlomo. One day he disappeared, and all the children were upset. As they were bemoaning their loss, in walked an old man, somewhat senile and the object of ridicule in the kibbutz; he was dragging Shlomo, the donkey, behind him. "How is it," they asked him, "that you of all people have found the donkey?" The old man scratched his bald pate, looked at the ceiling, smiled, and said: "It was simple. I just asked myself, 'Shlomo (for that was the old man's name as well), if you were Shlomo, the donkey, where would you go off to?' So I went there and found him and brought him back." This is only a small piece of history, but a large display of empathy.

One of the recent ironies of history is that, despite World War II, a long war fought against racial tyranny and for other important reasons, man's empathy for his fellow man in post-war America has rapidly disappeared into the storm clouds of racial violence and alienation. After a long history of racial exploitation and oppression, America is forced to admit that our society is afflicted by a chronic and agonizing malady—white racism. Race prejudice has decisively shaped our history; it now threatens to affect our future. Yet many Americans have met the challenge of the twentieth century by refusing to emerge from the nineteenth century! Many years ago H. G. Wells warned: "I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice, none at all! I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any sort of error in the world."

A CARICATURE NO LONGER

Skeptical, disillusioned, and frustrated, many Americans seem to be caught in a dark and tangled jungle of racism, and the American Dream has lost some of its luster. The struggle for dignity, for what Martin Luther King, Jr. called “somebodiness,” is an integral part

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7 Quoted in McWilliams, title page.
of the American Dream, but human dignity could not reach full fruition with "marginal men"—what Ellison termed "invisible men," when writing of American Blacks. The dream is bound to fade. Many early writers in American history were aware of the contradiction between American democracy and the subterranean currents of racism. In the early 1830's Tocqueville wrote: "I do not believe that the white and black races will ever live in any country upon an equal footing. But I believe the difficulty to be still greater in the United States than elsewhere." This is the difficulty we are still wrestling with today.

In the nineteenth century, a diversionary issue on the American scene was the omnipresent scapegoat category, its principal characters shifting with the changing events. The alien, the foreigners, the Jew, the Negro, the "yellow peril"—each served his purpose as the principal target. After World War II, the civil rights movement opened the floodgates to legislation which had long been postponed. Coupled with this, "other social and economic changes were corroding the image of the second-class citizen." The day of the "hymn-singing, submissive, all-enduring, religious, affront-swallowing, yes-massa-ing Negroes" was gone. No longer does the Black sing: "Happy little nigs are we; just as gay as gay can be"; no longer is one urged to stop in and "listen to the song and dance of Happy Nigger Joe." With the rise of Black Power and the coming of the Super-Industrial Revolution, the American Black has embarked upon a serious search for identity and a place in the American sun.

Now that the smoke has temporarily subsided from the riot-torn cities, one is forced to admit that any encounter with reality shows

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that the racial imbalance conflict still rages. In his excellent analysis, Alan H. Schechter wrote:

The contemporary European caricature of the United States as a country in which self-satisfied white people live prosperously in suburban sanctuaries which surround our large cities or in high-rent urban residential areas and black citizens live in decaying central city slums will be a caricature no longer.\(^{12}\)

Today even safety and security do not seem to suffice where matters of personal worthiness and identity are the real issues. Charles A. Reich, in *The Greening of America*, reflected on what is perhaps the inordinate importance given credentials in our society: “In a world where men are recognized only by their credentials, to lose credentials is to cease being a human being.”\(^ {13}\) The struggle of the American Black to acquire these credentials is really his struggle for freedom.

America today presents a model of medieval impregnability towards those social and political changes which would ultimately result in full citizenship for many of our minority groups, especially for the Black Man in American society.\(^ {14}\) In the twentieth century, however, one group which made a gallant effort to melt the “ice of indifference” of American society toward the American Black was the white Jewish liberal group.\(^ {15}\) It is not my purpose here to reiterate the long record of desperate struggle, or the splendid expectations which surrounded the high hopes and efforts of the many American Jews who, both singly and in concert with one another, fought dis-


From a superficial vantage point, it might seem only natural that the Jews, people on whom the Diaspora had imposed severe discrimination, would make a long and determined effort to aid and support the Black fight for freedom and equality. And yet one of the ironies of history has been that the downtrodden peoples of the land often fail to form firm and permanent alliances in the political sphere to improve their mutual fortunes. An excellent example of this is to be found in the American South during the latter part of the nineteenth century when the Blacks and the poor Whites failed to form an effective lasting alliance in a bona-fide effort to consolidate their political power.

SELL 'EM TO DE JEW

In recent years, despite common concerns, many points of tension have developed between American Jews and American Blacks. High expectations of behavior were often followed by deep resentment on both sides when behavioral performance failed to square with imagined ideals. In their desperate struggle for freedom, some Blacks expressed hostility toward white society by striking out at the American Jew who, quite sensitive to such hostility, often misunderstood the large diversity of Black life in America. Some writers would argue that Black-Jewish relations have never been very strong since the late nineteenth century. Cruse mistakenly concluded that Jews and WASPs collaborated against the Blacks on the cultural front and that "the Negro's best friend is the Jew" is one of history's greatest myths. Baldwin uses a form of scapegoating when he writes:


The Negro facing a Jew, hates, at bottom, not his Jewishness but the color of his skin. It is not the Jewish tradition by which he has been betrayed but the tradition of his native land. But just as a society must have a scapegoat, so hatred must have a symbol. Georgia has the Negro and Harlem has the Jew.\textsuperscript{19}

In recent American history, the Jew has been no stranger to the Black ghetto, but many American Jews know the Blacks in only a few relationships: landlord and tenant; seller and buyer; master and servant. Unfortunately, these are not relationships likely to make for mutual understanding and appreciation. Langston Hughes, in his classic poem "Hard Luck," has his downtrodden Black Man sing:

When hard luck overtakes you  
Nothin' for you to do.  
When hard luck overtakes you  
Nothin' for you to do  
Gather up yo' fine clothes  
An sell 'em to de Jew.  
Jew takes yo' fine clothes,  
Gives you a dollar an' a half.  
Jew takes yo' fine clothes,  
Gives you a dollar an' a half.  
Go to de bootleg's,  
Git some gin to make you laugh.  
If I was a mule I'd  
Git me a waggon to haul.\textsuperscript{20}

This poem alluded to the Jewish pawn shop and the common practice of Jewish money-lending in the Black ghetto.

A. F. Miller claimed that there never was a huge bubble of friendship between the American Jew and the American Black, that these two cultures were always in sharp conflict. He recalled vividly the so-called "slave market" which existed in The Bronx in the 1930's when Jewish housewives hired Black women for housework at the

\textsuperscript{19} James Baldwin, \textit{Notes of a Native Son} (Boston, 1957), pp. 71–72. See also Lawrence A. Kogan, "The Jewish Conception of Negroes in the North: An Historical Approach," \textit{Phylon}, Winter, 1967, pp. 376–85, in which he concludes that being part of a minority group does not preclude prejudice toward another minority group; that minority groups are not natural allies in countering prejudice.

pittance of twenty-five cents per hour; there was a continual hostility brought about by "allegations of exploitation by Jewish landlords and businessmen." In his analysis, Miller insisted that the Jews, a minority in the United States, quickly embraced the political and racial attitudes of the dominant white majority.

What we have here is a kind of "high noon" showdown. We cannot be astigmatic neutralists who take no notice of the historical facts—and these are indeed ugly facts—that in recent years anti-Semitic expressions among Blacks, whether mild or overtly hostile, have intensified. As far back as the Reconstruction period in the South one can obtain vague clues to some form of anti-Semitism. Note, for example, E. M. Coulter’s description (written with overtones of resentment and tinged with anti-Semitism) of Jews in the South:

The end of the war saw an invasion of Jews to reap a harvest in trade; the ante-bellum Jewish peddlers with their packs on their backs or in rumbling hacks now settled down and opened stores. Sticking to their business and treating the freedman as an important businessman, not eschewing to call him "Mister," they secured, "with their tumble-down shanties and Cheap Jack goods," a great amount of the Negro’s trade.

In the years following 1934, the Harlem papers printed articles which contained anti-Jewish overtones. Prior to this period, Garvey’s Back-to-Africa Movement had carried Black anti-Semitic sentiments into the center of the activist stage. Although Garvey’s anti-Semitic

sentiments were not overt at the beginning of his movement, as time went by he seemed to become more and more embroiled in a constant battle with American Jews. When Garvey came to trial for mail fraud in 1923, one observer, J. A. Rogers, in the Writers Program, stated that:

[Marcus] Garvey apparently aggravated his case by continual and unfavorable references to Jews. He had bought his rotten ships from Jews and when he mentioned the names of any of these men he always [during the trial] suffixed it with "the Jew." Both the judge and prosecutor at the trial were Jewish, as were at least two jury members. When the verdict of guilty was brought in, Garvey shouted, "the dirty Jews." 25

In his excellent and informative analysis of Black anti-Semitism in New York in the 1930's, Muraskin describes the rise to power of Sufi Abdul Hamid (the pseudonym of Bishop Conshakin) in New York's Harlem at that time. He argued strongly that Sufi "employed anti-Semitism as a key technique for gaining support." 26

In the unique documentation of the indignities suffered by American Blacks entitled *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, the reader is surprised to find the Jew presented as a target—the enemy, so to speak:

I don't care what a Jew is professionally, doctor, merchant, housewife, student or whatever—first he, or she, thinks Jew . . . in every black ghetto, Jews own the major businesses. Every night the owners of those businesses go home with that black community's money, which helps the ghetto to stay poor. 27

In all fairness to Malcolm X, it should be pointed out that, although he seems to make the Jew out to be the enemy of the Black man, he

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26 Muraskin, p. 7. See also *Amsterdam News*, Sept. 29, 1934, p. 1.

did argue that he was not anti-Semitic, but anti-exploitative. This theme of exploitation by the Jew in the ghetto runs strong in much of the literature. We find it in A. H. Spear's *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920*:

In Chicago, there was no omnipresent white man demanding obeisance. “The man,” to be sure, was still there—the boss on the job, the cop on the beat, the Jew that ran the clothing store, but he was further removed from the intimacies of everyday life.

Ethnic errors are sometimes humorous; they would be almost ridiculous if they did not have such an ironic overtone. During the Great Depression of the 1930's, when America was caught in the vise of poverty, with the Black ghettos in particular suffering great physical and moral deprivation, the Jew in the ghetto with his high visibility as a white man sometimes became a symbol of oppression. Muraskin observed: “In the black’s [sic] eye not only the Jewish store but the omnipresent Jewish pawnshop, or ‘Shylock’s Castle,’ became the symbol and cause of his desperate plight.”

Ironically, many of the merchants in Harlem at that time were in reality Greeks, but as Claude McKay pointed out, the Blacks identified them as Jews “because they looked alike.”

Louis E. Lomax insisted in 1962 that anti-Semitism was on the rise among Blacks in the ghetto. This, he contended, was due to more than the presence of Jews as merchants and moneylenders and collectors in the Black areas. To provide a foundation for his argument, Lomax took as his focal point the study of Black integration into suburbia conducted by the University of Chicago in 1959. He concluded:

Jews are white people, but orthodox, or conformist, Jews are more than just white; they are a people with a tradition which, as both a theoretical and practical matter, offends Negroes. . . . Of all the ethnic suburban ghettos, the study concluded, the Jewish communities were the most adamant about keeping Negroes out.

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30 Muraskin, p. 8.
Roy Wilkins, Executive-Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Sammy Davis, Jr., recipient of the NAACP Spingarn Award; and Kivie Kaplan, President of the NAACP
Jewishness, not prejudice, is the explanation for this. Jews in these gilt-edge ghettos opposed integration not because they hated or discriminated against Negroes; but rather they were seeking to realize that element in their tradition which calls for togetherness.\textsuperscript{32}

It is possible that any semblance of anti-Semitism which existed in the Black community in the past may have centered not on misconceptions about the attitudes that Jews had toward Negroes, but on more traditional animosities.\textsuperscript{33} Over and above this, many of the recent studies from the anthropological and sociological point of view of attitudes and stereotypes among Blacks have shown that they hold the same prejudices and stereotypes towards diverse ethnic groups as whites do.\textsuperscript{34}

\textbf{Both Sides of the Looking Glass}

At this juncture, a "caveat" must be entered so that we do not get caught in our own semantic booby-trap. If we grant that the Black community is a kaleidoscopic community, then it cannot be argued that all American Blacks are anti-Semitic simply because anti-Semitic statements are often uttered publicly by some Black leaders. On the other hand, since each dogma has its day, neither can we ignore the overt statements made by these leaders—even granting that it is very difficult to measure the impact of their utterances on the Black community. The magazine \textit{Liberator}, for example, carried a series of articles entitled "Semitism in the Black Ghetto," by Eddie Ellis. These articles expressed the author's hostility toward a white society while


at the same time condemning the Jewish liberal element in the community. The author wrote:

On the one hand, the liberal Jewish community advocates the equality of all men. But, on the other hand, the same Jewish community is often responsible for the shoddy goods found in most Black ghettos since they own the stores. They are responsible for the dilapidated buildings, the rats and the roaches, since they are the landlords. Still they insist "we are your friends." 35

Many segments of the Jewish community rose like an indignant soufflé to counter these charges. Benjamin R. Epstein, of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, stated critically: "Jews have begun to realize that overt and strong efforts to correct 300 years of injustice to Blacks are being done at a cost to the Jews." 36 In trying to assay the arguments from both sides, another word of caution is in order, for historians have too often found themselves in the position of Minerva’s owl which, as Hegel put it, “spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk”; they have put forward comprehensive explanations of a social trend just at the moment when it ceased to exist or was reversed by unforeseen historical mutations.37

Such, unfortunately, is not the case in this instance. Certain recent events, turbulent and anarchic, have conspired to produce a torrent of anti-Jewish expression which can no longer be disguised as the commonplace hostility of one race against another. A flood of Jewish hysteria in the press proves once again that in the heat of battle men often forget where their mutual interests lie. In retrospect, we are like Alice in Wonderland—on both sides of the looking glass. We need to examine these events critically, not to condemn or to judge, but to ask why, without orchestrating platitudes, while recognizing that in history often great catastrophes from little errors grow. What we are attempting to examine here is the “falling out of allies,”


the dissolution of a former alliance. My pose is that of a historian, but my observations could be entitled "some conjectures of a guilty bystander." While looking at this series of recent events darkly through a Kafkaesque lens which transforms them into a surrealistic nightmare, historians of contemporary America would find it difficult, indeed almost impossible, to deny that a serious change has taken place in the relationships between the American Jew and the American Black. And yet, in examining this phase of history, any historian searching for the lightning interplay of meaning wishes that he could put Leopold von Ranke's dubious dictum into practice, especially in historic situations where the bizarre becomes commonplace.

Tensions between Blacks and Jews have simmered under the surface for years. Breaking into the open with the battle over the decentralization project in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district, they reached a peak during the school strike of September–November, 1968, in New York City. I do not propose to delve into the intricacies of the New York City school strike, but to examine the curious circumstances resulting from the conflict. Unfortunately, an enormous amount of race prejudice—both Black and White—surfaced in and about the school controversy. Prior to this, in 1967, the dismal prophecy of one writer presaged what was later to become a bitter truth:

Of the thirty school districts of New York City, eighteen, or 60 per cent, are headed by Jewish assistant superintendents . . . this monopoly of top jobs in the educational system has produced tensions between Jews and negroes [sic]. . . . In the future, as black people press harder against some of the tender political spots now filled by Jews, tensions between the two groups will in all probability increase.


The confrontation on the picket lines between striking White teachers and the Black community provided an opportunity for extremists on all sides to indulge in hostile and irresponsible statements which left a legacy of unrest and great distrust. Under the headline banner of "Anti-Semitism in N. Y. C. Schools," the Preliminary Report of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nnai B'rith critically examined the key question: To what extent are the Blacks involved anti-Semitic? The Report defined five major circumstances in which anti-Semitism overtly appeared in the school dispute. Under the area of "Mental Genocide," the Report stated:

The Anti-Semitism in New York City Schools has been instigated in part by the development of a black separatist "philosophy" that charges both "mental genocide" of ghetto children by Jewish teachers and supervisory personnel and the "wilful exclusion" of black teachers and principals by a "Jewish Establishment." The Report cites certain blatant examples of anti-Semitism. These incidents occurred when the United Federation of Teachers stayed out of the New York City schools for thirty-six days in three separate city-wide walkouts. What began as a struggle for power ended in an exchange of racial epithets, and ethnic jingoism ran rampant on both sides.

The Report quoted an editorial entitled "Needed: A Responsible Jewish Voice," from the African American Teachers Forum, the official organ of the African-American Teachers Association. In part, the editorial asserted:

And the Jew, our great liberal friend of yesterday, whose cries of anguish still resound from the steppes of Russia to the tennis courts of Forest Hills, is now our exploiter! He keeps our men and women from becoming teachers and principals and he keeps our children ignorant.

According to the Report, the Long Island Press reported that Robert Carson, at a rally in Jamaica at Junior High School 142, had "denounced the 'Weinsteins, Goldbergs, boobies' who teach Negro chil-

42 Ibid., p. 9.
43 Ibid.
dren 'other people's culture.' " The catalogue of complaints against Black extremists is too long to be given a "blow-by-blow" description here. One event, however, bears critical examination. In late December, 1968, over radio station WBAI-FM, a Negro schoolteacher named Leslie Cambell read a poem "dedicated" to Albert Shanker, the Jewish president of the U. F. T. It had been written, according to Cambell, by a fifteen-year-old girl. In part it read:

Hey, Jew boy, with that yarmulke on your head
You pale-faced Jew boy—I wish you were dead;
I can see you Jew boy—no you can't hide,
I got a scoop on you—yeh, you gonna die.45

As a result of this the teachers' union filed a formal protest with the Federal Communications Commission.

Tempers also flared when the catalogue for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's new photographic exhibit, "Harlem on My Mind," contained an introduction written by a sixteen-year-old Black girl, Candice Van Ellison, while a student at Theodore Roosevelt High School in The Bronx; it read in part: "Behind every hurdle that the Afro-American has yet to jump stands the Jew who has already cleared it. Jewish shopkeepers are the only remaining 'survivors' in the expanding black ghettos. The lack of competition allows the already exploited Blacks to be further exploited by Jews." 46 The curious thing about this event is that neither Thomas P. F. Hoving, director of the Metropolitan Museum, nor Francis T. P. Plimpton, a Museum trustee, nor New York City's Human Rights Commissioner William Booth, all of whom attended the opening of the Museum exhibit, saw anything unusual about the inflammatory introduction.

GROTESQUERIES

The reaction to these anti-Jewish sentiments in some cases bordered on hysteria. When a "sit-in" occurred at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts—ironically, it was led by a Black Jew

"Ibid.


46 Time, January 31, 1969, p. 56; Metropolitan Star, p. 11.
who once attended Boston's Hebrew College—one Jewish leader sug-
gested that the University "should be made 'Schwarzenrein' ('free of
Blacks') the way Hitler made Germany 'Judenrein.'" 47

Moderate Black leaders say that Jews have overreacted and that
their real quarrel is with white American society as a whole. Jewish
leaders are not united in their condemnation of Black anti-Semitism.
Marten Gopen, of Boston's New Urban League, vehemently insisted
that Jewish leaders have exaggerated anti-Semitism as a means of re-
identifying Jewishness. Leonard Fein, of Boston's Joint Center for
Urban Studies, has argued that Jews have become paranoic about
anti-Semitism.48

The Jewish concern over Black anti-Semitism had been exacer-
bated by the news media distortions of the extent of anti-Semitism
among Blacks. A flagrant example of this was the David Susskind
television program which painted New York City's Harlem as a com-
munity in which hatred of the Jews was rampant. On that television
program, a Black American made a sweeping statement about Jews
based, he claimed, on his experience with individual Jews:

I think the majority of white Jews . . . oppress and exploit black people
throughout the nation. . . . They sell the bad meat to us in the markets in
our ghettos. They're the lawyers who sell us out when we get in trouble.
They're the ones who get my mother [involved] in time payments. They're
the ones most visible.49

The New York Times astutely observed that "the Jewish com-
munity is found confused and troubled over relationships with the Ne-
groes." The review concluded that there was some Jewish backlash
due to the ghetto explosions in which some Jewish merchants suf-
fered; there was high resentment over the anti-Israeli stance of some
Black extremists who had accused the Jewish state of "Zionist im-

47 Time, January 31, 1969, p. 56.
48 Ibid. See also Nathan Glazer, "Blacks, Jews and Intellectuals," Commentary,
April, 1969, pp. 33–39. In New York City, the school strikes and the issue of school
decentralization coupled with the displays of black anti-Semitism turned much of
the Jewish middle class against Mayor John Lindsay: see "The Downs and Ups of
York, 1969), p. 145. See Henry Lee Moon, "Of Negroes, Jews and Other Ameri-
perialism" and "oppression" against the Arabs; another source of tension had been "the opposition of many Black separatists" to the leadership role played by Jews in the civil rights movement in recent years. Of late many of the Jewish publications—among them, Commentary, Conservative Judaism, Midstream, Jewish Currents, and American Judaism—have devoted considerable space to Jewish-Black relations. Unfortunately, some of the views have been subjective and unenlightening. A good example of this type of writing is Norman Podhoretz' view in the December, 1966, Midstream symposium. Prior to this time, Podhoretz had written:

Among Blacks, and especially at the extreme edges of the movement for community control where the likes of Le Roi Jones hold sway, there is overt anti-Semitism of the crassest and crudest kind, and white liberal supporters of this movement—again including a number of Jews—have been extraordinarily reticent in their response to it, and even more extraordinarily reluctant to penalize black anti-Semitism with the loss of sympathy and support.

A more balanced and objective view is to be found in the writings of Morris U. Schappes, editor of Jewish Currents, and in the analysis done by Earl Raab for the American Jewish Committee.

One often encounters the bitter allegation that Black leaders, journalists, and writers have failed to speak out strongly in condemnation of anti-Jewish attitudes within their community. This is neither a fair nor an accurate indictment. To some extent, confusion often reigns in this area, and the voices are not often united. Many Black leaders are rightfully convinced that anti-Semitism is not a representative feeling in the Black community, and most of them have gone on

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52 Earl Raab, "The Black Revolution and the Jewish Question," Commentary, January, 1969, in which he concludes: "The black revolution is spurring the Jewish community—and America—into a renewed understanding of pluralistic politics."
record in opposition to any action or statement of anti-Semitism.\textsuperscript{53} At its fifty-seventh annual convention in Los Angeles, July 5–9, 1966, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People passed the following resolution:

We condemn in the strongest terms every manifestation of anti-Semitism, whether by Negroes or in the population generally. We urge NAACP leaders to promptly disavow and condemn any implied or overt anti-Semitic acts or statements by persons associated with our organization.\textsuperscript{54}

A. Philip Randolph, the late Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League, and the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were among the many Black leaders who spoke out against the evil of anti-Semitism, thus giving cognizance to a problem which disturbed many segments of American society. Young said on behalf of the League's fifty-five-member National Board of Trustees: "We cannot emphasize too strongly that all oppressed minorities have a common stake in defending one another from the corrosive effects of bigotry."\textsuperscript{55} King, while deploring the "immoral practice" of condemning all Blacks and all Jews for the mistakes of the few, assured Jewish leaders in a letter of October 10, 1967, that:

There has never been an instance of articulated anti-Semitism that was not swiftly condemned by virtually all Negro leaders with the support of the overwhelming majority. I have myself directly attacked it within the Negro community, because it is wrong. I will continue to oppose it, because it is immoral and self-destructive.\textsuperscript{56}

It does seem rather strange and bizarre that Black leaders should be so concerned about anti-Semitism in their community if the phenom-


\textsuperscript{54} Moon, pp. 160–61.


enon lacks a semblance of reality. The fact that so many important Black leaders address themselves to this matter reveals some honest anxiety about combatting the prejudicial poison—and is a myth really a myth if many people believe that it is founded in fact? Black writers are not at all hesitant to come to grips with the matter. One writer stridently announced: "There is a recent and frightening upsurge of anti-Semitic pronouncements by Negro militants, who are in the vanguard of the civil rights movement in the United States." 57

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., while granting that the amount of anti-Semitism among Black people "is much too minor to be elevated to the status of a social or physical danger for Jews," is willing to pronounce anti-Semitism "immoral—a grotesque weapon for a Negro to use." She concluded that any anti-Semitic Black was really an "anti-Black person." 58

POWERS BLACK AND JEWISH

Thomas Bradley, a fine public servant and Black councilman who fought a gallant fight to unseat the incumbent Mayor Samuel Yorty, of Los Angeles, in May, 1969, sadly commented that anti-Semitism in the Black community is not a pleasant subject. Some people—in both of our communities—would rather ignore it or deny its significance. The somber topic of anti-Semitism in the Black community is not an isolated issue. It is part of the larger problem of racism for a democratic society. 59

Although Bradley had the endorsement of the Los Angeles Times, he lost the election to the reactionary Yorty. Jews in Los Angeles, the second-largest Jewish community in the United States, split their vote between the city's so-called "law-and-order" mayor, Sam (often


called "Saigon Sam," because of his many foreign junkets) Yorty, and his liberal Black opponent, Thomas Bradley. Warren Hollier, one of Bradley's lieutenants, complained: "We were quite shocked. Jewish community leaders were assuring us that everything was all right when it really wasn't. I don't think leaders in the Jewish community who were for Bradley really understood their own people." 60

A careful search of the records in regard to this mayoralty election in the "City of the Angels" reveals no overt hostility on the part of the voters in the Jewish community toward Thomas Bradley, the liberal Black candidate. 61 It was simply a classic example of political mudslinging on the part of Sam Yorty. Writing in an acrimonious tone, one writer said that Yorty "played on every possible fear, Reds and Blacks, crime in the streets and corruption in high places, the international Jewish conspiracy, and the international student conspiracy." 62 Centuries ago the Black Greek Aesop warned his countrymen to beware lest they lose the substance by grasping at the shadows. In this battle between myth and reality, we emerge from the twilight zone into the harsh light of reality with the knowledge that we cannot accurately measure in any significant way whether anti-Semitism has become a permanent part of the jargon of the Black Power advocates. It may be that what appears as a classic case of anti-Semitism among Blacks is really "the normal rough-house of good old American ethnic politics tied to the consciousness of Black Power." 63

In the Black community in general, it is safe to say, what little evidence there is indicates that Blacks are less anti-Semitic than whites. This is not an unexpected finding in the light of the fact that Blacks are fellow victims of discrimination.

Gary T. Marx's 1967 study, Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community, was directed specifically at the atti-


63 Leo, p. 619.
tudes of American Blacks toward Jews. Marx concluded that 70 percent of the Blacks saw Jewish landlords as better than white landlords, 34 percent felt that Jewish employers were better than other whites as compared to 19 percent who called them worse. More than 80 percent said that they had never been treated unfairly by Jewish merchants. As for the generally held concept that Blacks have a special dislike for Jews, Marx’s study shows this opinion to be completely erroneous.64

A similar poll, conducted in late 1967 for the American Jewish Committee in New York’s ghettos, confirmed many of these findings.65 The questionnaire addressed to Jewish community relations agencies by the National Community Relations Advisory Council revealed that nineteen cities which had experienced riots in the past three years reported that there had been no overt manifestations of anti-Semitism during any of the riots. The Newsweek poll, “Report from Black America,” concluded on June 30, 1969, that the Jews were rated favorably by the Blacks by 2 to 1.

In sharp contrast to this optimistic note, however, was a survey made in 1967 and published in 1969. More sophisticated methods of investigating educational and age differences suggested that, in the Black community, anti-Semitic beliefs were held more by youthful Blacks than by the older members of the community, whereas in the white communities, in general, the young tended to be less anti-Semitic than the older members.66 This discouraging and frustrating revelation has ominous overtones for the future.

64 Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community (New York, 1967): despite the title, the research goes beyond Black attitudes and deals with anti-Semitism in general. This book, the third volume in the “Patterns of American Prejudice” series, is part of the University of California Five-Year Study of Anti-Semitism in the United States, sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith.


Perhaps what is disturbing is not the level or the amount of anti-Semitic feeling in the ghetto, but the dramatic increase in the overt expressions of anti-Semitism among some of the militant Black leaders. It needs to be kept in mind that any stream of poisonous prejudice, no matter how small, needs to be contained. Many of the observers insist that what America has witnessed in the past forty years is legitimate group self-interests in conflict. It would then follow logically that, depending upon how one interprets the causes, one would then be able to measure roughly the extent of the threat of anti-Semitism. This is the contention of Edgar Litt:

Sporadic anti-Semitism among Negroes...and the economic presence of Jewish shopkeepers in Negro neighborhoods are only minor aspects of the problem. The core problem is that what is looked upon as legitimate militancy by some Negroes is seen as intolerance, nihilism, and extremism among some legatees of the Jewish cultural tradition which has emphasized civil peace and political negotiation. Questions of power relations between ethnic groups have never been solely quantitative matters.67

A Blind Alley, A Trap

Perhaps, like the essay on the elephant, each faction views the issue of anti-Semitism differently. Since we have already agreed that it would be impossible to define the exact extent of the spread of anti-Semitism among Blacks in recent years, it would follow, placing the controversy in perspective, that the term “Black anti-Semitism” cannot be considered historically valid. Careful and critical research has confirmed several facts. For example, we know now that Black hostility toward Jewish merchants, landlords, and employers was not the “concoction of black power ideologues of the past few years.” 68 Also,


events of recent years have revealed that Black hostility toward American Jews does not and did not stem from the traditional type of anti-Semitism, and that the hoary stereotypes of the Jew as a Shylock or even as a Christ-killer were given less cognizance among Black Christians than among white Christians. The fact does remain, however, that a most sensitive Jewish community took aggressive action toward those who overtly reflected any form of anti-Semitism in the Black community regardless of the basic reason for the irrational outburst. John Henrik Clarke once described this ugly human condition as "the myth of Black anti-Semitism." It is my basic thesis, however, that although Black anti-Semitism in general may be a myth, the huge mountain of voluminous evidence confirms that anti-Semitism among Blacks is an ugly historical fact that cannot be denied. It is a historical reality which can be confirmed by indicators such as the speeches of militant Black leaders and the turbulent meaning of many events previously described in this paper. It is difficult to point the historical finger at those events which led to the deterioration of Black-Jewish relations. During the late nineteenth century, while the American Blacks suffered from the lack of proper legal protections, the ravages of Judge Lynch, and the indifference of Presidential concern for their welfare, the Jewish community was preoccupied with European events which involved Jews—the Dreyfus Affair, the Russian pogroms. While petitioning the United States government to take action, the Jews seemed indifferent to the suffering or welfare of the American Blacks. This may have been the turning point in Black-Jewish relations. The Black press was quick to point out the lack of Jewish concern.

From 1900 to 1970, Blacks viewed American Jews not simply as a segment of the white American majority, but as a separate, discrete group of people. Perhaps the key may be found in Marden's thesis in which he has argued that, "as some minorities improve their position, they tend to act toward minorities still below them in rank such

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70 Melvin Steinfield, Our Racist Presidents: From Washington to Nixon (San Ramon, California, 1972), Chapter Six. For a fictional account of the confrontation of the Jew and the Black, see Bernard Malamud, The Tenants (New York, 1971).
as dominants have 'acted toward them.' At any rate, there is little doubt that the recent flurry of surveys and lofty rhetorical statements by both Black and Jewish community leaders in America—intended to testify to the absence of great problems or differences between these two groups—by implication confirms the historical fact that there is a condition of alienation between Black and Jewish communities. The rapid process of urbanization in the twentieth century has brought Jews and Blacks into close physical proximity to one another. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the American Jew could afford the luxury of political commitment without any personal involvement, but the rise of Black Power forces the Jew to come face-to-face with Black aspirations—hence the challenge and the frustrating friction.

In conclusion, surely we all agree that racism of any sort, whether it arises from the scarred streets of the ghetto or the tree-lined parks of the suburbs, is a social sickness to be combatted by all men of good will. The myth of Black anti-Semitism should be buried in the graveyard along with other obsolete shibboleths. At the same time, anti-Semitism from any quarter, which grows in part out of the search for the classical "scapegoat" and becomes malignant so that all soon become victims, should be recognized as a divisive tactic to prevent Americans from uniting against a common foe. This important idea was well expressed by Schappes in the conference on "Negro-Jewish Relations in the United States," convened May 3, 1964, by the Conference on Jewish Social Studies. At this Conference, Schappes wisely observed:

... more systematic education against anti-Semitism among Negro people is necessary for the success of the Negro people's [sic] movement for equality. Just as we Jews have to combat attitudes of white supremacy among Jews in the interest of the Jewish people, in the interest of our democracy and the advance of social progress in our country, so it seems to me that even angry Negro leaders (and there is no Negro leader who is not justifiably angry) need to help the Negro people understand that anti-Semitism is a blind alley, a trap for the Negro people. No people has


ever solved its real problems by anti-Semitism for anti-Semitism is a di-
version from the main problem. And the Negro people cannot afford to be
diverted from the main problem of white supremacy and white privileges
into anti-Semitic channels.78

These are very difficult times in Black-Jewish relations; it would be
misleading to view this pressing problem in Jewish-Black relations
only in terms of one issue. After a careful historical review of the
multi-complex issues which seem to give rise to Black anti-Semitism,
one must surely conclude that with the recent rise of the Black con-
sciousness American Blacks strongly desire to direct their own move-
ment toward freedom, and that some confusion does exist between
the Jews and the Blacks about the methods for achieving this goal.
In this conflict, some irresponsible charges have been made, which
have damaged the historical coalition of the Jews and the Blacks. As
both groups struggle for an equal share of the opportunity which
America offers, they should see themselves not as antagonists, but as
allies in a humanitarian struggle.

The logic of this social reality cannot escape the student of Ameri-
can history. Perhaps we can all hope for that bright day when we
know that a minority group has “arrived” only when it has the right
to produce some fools and scoundrels without the entire group pay-
ing for it.

78 Morris U. Schappes, Horace Mann Bond, Bayard Rustin, et al., “Papers and
Proceedings of a Conference on Negro-Jewish Relations in the United States,”
Jewish Social Studies, XXVII, No. 1 (January, 1965); a useful list of bibliographical
source materials is available in this issue.
Chaim Weizmann was deeply preoccupied with the creation of the Jewish Agency long before its founding in 1929. Ever since the ratification of Article 4 of the Mandate in 1922, Weizmann had been planning the implementation of its main provision—"to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home." He wrote that between 1922 and 1929 he did not once forget the need for the Agency. Confronted by the immense political and financial challenge generated by the Balfour Declaration, he recognized the need for drawing into the work of Palestine distinguished Jews of wealth and prestige—even those "who were not prepared to declare themselves Zionists." ¹

It seems clear that Weizmann had in mind mainly American Jews. He was familiar with the financial power of their leaders. He had been impressed by the scope of their philanthropies in Eastern and Central Europe during and after World War I. The Joint Distribution Committee, planned, funded, and administered chiefly by American Jews, had written a memorable page in the history of Jewish philanthropy with its heroic program of rescue and relief in Poland, the Ukraine, and Roumania. At the same time, Weizmann knew that some of the most powerful leaders of the J. D. C.—men like Felix M. Warburg and Louis Marshall—had little interest in the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. The task of persuading these men and their followers to abandon their indifference and, in some cases, their hostility, to the cause of Palestine and to work for its reconstruction would have appeared as an impossible assignment to men less intrepid than Weizmann.

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James H. Becker
American businessman and Jewish communal worker
Much Nearer Jews and Judaism

How well Weizmann met the challenge is known to students of Zionist history. Isaiah Berlin has characterized Weizmann as an "irresistible political seducer." ² Certainly, some of his conquests for the cause of Zion were nothing less than spectacular. His avowed objective, Louis Lipsky tells us, was "the winning of the philanthropists and assimilationists. . . . The provision of money was the supreme political necessity. . . . The abundant participation of American Jewry . . . even of those who had been opponents of Zionism" was vital for the realization of Weizmann's dream. Beneath the impact of his seductive and relentless charm, some of the strongest pillars of anti-Zionism began to totter and crumble. Jacob H. Schiff, once a militant opponent of Zionism, openly declared his faith in Palestine as a center of Jewish life. Samuel Untermyer, redoubtable corporation lawyer, became head of the American Keren Hayesod. Even the hearts of non-Zionist Reform rabbis "were touched." ³

In the spring of 1923, Felix Warburg invited Weizmann to lunch-eon in his Kuhn, Loeb office on William Street, and took the occasion to deliver a passionate tirade against all that was happening in Palestine. Listening with what patience he could summon, Weizmann at last suggested that the banker go see for himself what was taking place there. Warburg and his wife left for Palestine shortly afterwards. In his first post card to Weizmann, Warburg wrote that he "felt like doffing his hat to every man and every tree he saw." When he returned to New York, Warburg again invited Weizmann to lunch-eon. "Again I sat and listened," Weizmann wrote, "and what I heard now was nothing but praise of Palestine and our enterprises. I have seldom witnessed a more complete conversion." ⁴ Berlin ventures that Weizmann "possessed tact and charm to a degree exceeded by no statesman of modern days," ⁵ and on the evidence of his triumph as missionary to the non-Zionists, we can believe him.

⁴ Weizmann, p. 310.
⁵ Berlin, p. 27.
One of Weizmann's most notable recruits for Jewish Agency leadership was the famous New York lawyer, Louis Marshall, perhaps the most influential voice in the American Jewish community of his day. His attitude was often decisive in determining the attitude of American Jews toward current issues. Weizmann had been favorably impressed with Marshall since their first meeting at the Peace Conference in 1919. He had admired the force of his personality, especially as applied to his concern for Jewish questions. He could see that, while Marshall may have been a non-Zionist, he was no assimilationist. Assimilationist Jews may have recognized Marshall as their spokesman; Weizmann felt that he was not at all "representative of his following," that he was, in fact, "much nearer Jews and Judaism" than some avowed Zionists. He demonstrated an intense sympathy for the Jews of Eastern Europe locked in their cheerless struggle for minority rights with the architects of Versailles. The fact that he had learned Yiddish and read the Yiddish press must have especially commended him to Weizmann's approval. But the Zionist leader found him "completely skeptical as to the possibilities in Palestine." Undeterred, Weizmann proceeded to change Marshall's mind. That he succeeded in doing so is but further proof of his inspiring political virtuosity. Marshall came to consider the creation of the Agency a "sacred mission." It is a matter of history that Marshall became Weizmann's chief partner in bringing the Jewish Agency to realization.

CALL IT "CHICAGO"

If New York's prestigious Jews yielded their converts to "practical Zionism," Chicago was a different story. Here Weizmann met with frustration and failure. There was no Louis Marshall here to set the example with his generous enthusiasms for dreams of settlement in

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* Weizmann, p. 309.


§ Louis Lipsky interprets Marshall's role as that of abetting Weizmann's plan of transforming non-Zionists and even anti-Zionists into "practical Zionists": See Weisgal and Carmichael, p. 214.
a Jewish Palestine. More than any other individual, the mentor of Chicago’s influential and wealthy German Jews was Julius Rosenwald, important executive of Sears, Roebuck. Rosenwald enjoyed a wide reputation for philanthropy, particularly in behalf of Negro institutions, but to Palestine he gave virtually nothing. He contributed to but two minor institutions there.10 Perhaps the insularity of the Midwest in which he was born and raised was the cause of his unresponsiveness to Palestine’s needs. Perhaps years of exposure to the preaching of Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch was in part responsible. For forty years Hirsch had attacked Jewish nationalism from the pulpit of Chicago’s Sinai Congregation, spiritual home of Rosenwald and of most of his circle. Whatever the reason, Rosenwald, for all his philanthropy, refused to support the cause of Palestine.

Weizmann and Rosenwald met a number of times upon occasion in Chicago, where Rosenwald proved a gracious host. But that was as far as his interest in Weizmann or his plans went. In his autobiography Weizmann tells the story of a conversation between Shmarya Levin, famous Zionist orator and one of its most effective emissaries, and Rosenwald. Levin must have been remonstrating with his host about the latter’s imperviousness to Palestine’s appeal. “Look,” replied Rosenwald, “my villa in the suburbs is called ‘Tel Aviv.’ What more do you want?” To which Levin responded, “Only that you should build a house in the suburbs of Tel Aviv and call it ‘Chicago.’”

The name of the suburb to which Rosenwald referred was Highland Park, and in that suburb lived James H. Becker, a younger friend of the philanthropist. Weizmann knew Becker. They had first met at Paris in 1919, when Weizmann was head of the British Zionist Commission and Becker was a lieutenant in the United States Army about to leave for Eastern Europe as a member of the United States Food Administration under Herbert Hoover. Weizmann seems to have been much taken with Becker, for there began a friendship which lasted for thirty years. The two maintained a fitful correspondence which continued through the years. Twelve of these letters written by Weizmann between 1923 and 1948 have recently come to light. Because of the insights they offer into some aspects of Weizmann’s personality, as well as because of what they tell us about cer-

10 Weizmann, p. 305.
tain contemporary events, especially the formation of the Jewish Agency, the letters comprise a valuable personal and historic record.

James Becker was unusual in that, while belonging to a Chicago Jewish assimilationist milieu, he differed from his social caste in significant ways. His background and training were those of a child of wealth and privilege raised in the sheltered Jewish circles of Chicago's South Side. Born in 1894, he was the son of Abraham G. Becker, founder of the investment house bearing his name and a leader in Jewish and civic affairs. Members of both his father's and mother's family were known for their high integrity in the community. Other members of the family were widely esteemed in the Jewish community, and it could be said that the Beckers were regarded as among its strong and admired pillars. They belonged to Sinai Congregation, a stronghold of classical Reform Judaism, where at its packed Sunday morning services, congregants were introduced to a religion modeled in many ways after the prevailing patterns of liberal American Protestantism. Untouched by the customs and forms of the traditional Judaism of the Old World, Sinai Congregation regarded Jewish ceremonialism as irrelevant to the substance of faith, Yiddish and Hebrew as alien survivals of a ghetto past, and Jewish nationalism as at least unpatriotic. This was the Judaism, taught by Hirsch and exemplified by Rosenwald, which young Becker learned in his childhood and youth.

In 1913, Becker entered Cornell and, upon graduation in 1917, enlisted in the army. By 1918 he had become a lieutenant, and when the Armistice was declared, he volunteered for service with the United States Food Administration, which was being organized for rescuing and rehabilitating the starving and homeless peoples of war-ravaged Europe. Becker would be working directly with his friend Lewis L. Strauss, Hoover's secretary. Strauss's talents enabled him to scale the ladder of political and economic advancement, while moving with easy assurance in the privileged Jewish world to which Becker belonged. From Strauss, Becker learned that one of his principal, although unpublicized, missions was to visit the densely popu-

11 In the crash of 1893, A. G. Becker, then a junior partner in a banking firm, is reported to have personally made good the losses of the bank's clients.

12 See, for example, Bernard Martin, "The Religious Philosophy of Emil G. Hirsch," in American Jewish Archives, IV (1952), 66–82.
lated Jewish areas of Eastern Europe in order to verify the widely prevalent accounts of Jewish persecution and need, and to render such relief as might be possible.  

It was probably in connection with his impending assignment in Poland that young Becker called on Weizmann, who was staying at the Hotel Meurice in Paris. Nahum Sokolow, the leading Polish Zionist of the day, was with Weizmann. The two world Jewish leaders spent the next hour describing to the young American the conditions which he would be likely to encounter in Poland. The older men, all too familiar with the shtetlach and ghettos of Eastern Europe, gave the American lieutenant from Chicago a realistic briefing on the makeup of its castes, cults, and classes. Becker recounts that he did not disclose the Jewish aspect of his mission. He felt he would learn more “without showing my hand.” He portrays Weizmann as “a remarkable man who discovered T. N. T. and gave it to the British government, and who later on was rewarded by that government with a £30,000 pension, which he uses for the Zionist cause.” Obviously, he found both the legend and the reality of Weizmann impressive.

**Positive Human Gifts**

The letters Weizmann wrote to Becker make us wonder what drew the two together. What did they have in common? No two men could have come from more dissimilar backgrounds. Weizmann was the Jew from Motol, a tiny shtetl near Pinsk bounded by a constricted village culture unchanged through the generations. His training as a scientist in Germany and Switzerland did not swerve him from a passionate commitment to Jewish nationalism. He came to be looked

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23 James H. Becker: “The war on the Eastern front has been fought over what is essentially Jewish territory. In other words, the bulk of the Jewish population in the world lay in those areas which were laid waste by the war on the Eastern front.” Speech at the dinner given in Becker’s honor at the Standard Club, Chicago, on April 30, 1920, upon his return from Europe. Transcript, p. 58.

24 Becker kept a detailed journal of his activities and impressions; much of the material used here is drawn from this journal, on deposit at the American Jewish Archives.

upon as the voice of the Jewish masses.\textsuperscript{16} Becker was the scion of a wealthy family acculturated to the American Midwest. Such Jewish identity as his social world avowed looked upon Jewish tradition as alien and Jewish nationalism as a challenge to American patriotism. There was also a twenty-year age difference between the two men.

There is no reason to doubt that Weizmann saw in Becker a representative of the wealthy, assimilated Jews whose support he coveted for the upbuilding of Palestine. The fact that Becker came from Chicago, and that he belonged to the Jewish circle which constituted the stubborn garrison led by Rosenwald holding out against the forays of Zionist leaders and the eloquence of their fund raisers, must also have occurred to him. In the blueprint for building a Jewish Agency, already taking shape in Weizmann’s mind, the young Midwesterner might in the course of time prove a valuable ally. Others have noted that as Zionist leader Weizmann believed in long-term strategy.\textsuperscript{17}

But this could not have been the main, certainly not the only, attraction Weizmann saw in Becker. For the letters reveal a personal liking, a genuine fondness for Becker which obviously transcended utilitarian motives. The salutations and frequent assurances of love and friendship display a degree of affection quite unexpected in a man not given to sentimental indulgence, a man whose words and actions “were addressed to reason rather than feeling.”\textsuperscript{18} In almost every letter as asks solicitously about the members of the family, calling them by first name. The letter of January 24, 1924, is a deeply moving message of condolence over the death of Becker’s niece. There is nothing perfunctory or formal about these exchanges. They portray a depth of feeling which a man could scarcely dissemble. The letter of November 4, 1947, written after a silence of nineteen years, asks, “Could you let me have a line, how your family is, how is Helen, Margaret and the others and their children? I would love to see them all. . . . Give them my very best love. . . .” As one reads the letters, one senses that Weizmann may have regarded Becker with feelings akin to those of a father for a son.

Isaiah Berlin tells us that Weizmann was an “irresistible political

\textsuperscript{16} Lipsky: “He seemed to speak ex-cathedra for the silent Jewish people” (Weisgal and Carmichael, p. 212).

\textsuperscript{17} Berlin, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., pp. 45–46.
seducer," but he goes on to remark that "he did not offer himself except to those whom he truly admired. . . . He liked only large, imaginative, and generous natures. . . . Best of all he liked positive human gifts: intelligence, imagination, beauty, strength, generosity, steadfastness, integrity of character, and especially nobility of style, that inner elegance and natural breadth and sweep and confidence." Weizmann must have discerned some of these qualities in James Becker. He admired the attributes which others had noted in Becker, his fastidiousness of bearing, his unfailing courtesy, his restraint and modesty. There was something aristocratic in his demeanor, an endowment for which Weizmann had a special regard.19 When they first met, Weizmann may indeed have visualized the young Chicagoan as a likely emissary for the cause of a Jewish Palestine in hostile territory. But as time went on, the older man must have discovered in the younger those graces of character and personality which he found so appealing, together with that genuine sympathy for Jews and that deep insight into the dilemma of the Jew, which recommended him both as an ally in the cause and as a friend.

RECEIPTS FOR EVERY CENT

Two days after his visit with Weizmann in Paris, Becker left for Poland. For the next four months he was busy with his duties as member of the American relief mission. Most of his time was spent in Warsaw, but he undertook difficult and dangerous journeys to Lemberg and Cracow, populous Jewish centers, where fighting between the Poles, Ukrainians, and Ruthenians kept the cities under intermittent fire. Visiting the hospitals and food distribution centers made Becker aware of the tragic dimensions of war.20 Meeting the Jewish leaders and seeing the suffering of the Jews familiarized him with the darker and more brutal aspects of anti-Semitism. These impressions were only deepened by his experiences with the relief missions in Roumania and Bukovina, where he spent the latter months of 1919 and the early months of 1920.

Becker's journal describing his experiences in Eastern Europe

19 Ibid., pp. 42–43.

20 Becker, Journal, February 18, 1919: "The glory of war does not enter the military hospitals."
would appear to validate Weizmann's favorable appraisal of him. Courage, steadfastness, strength, imagination, intelligence, and integrity of character were all exhibited in the way the young American officer served first in a subordinate, later in a supervisory role with the American Missions and with the Joint Distribution Committee.

An entry dated March 5, 1919, written late at night in Lemberg, describes the severe shelling to which the city was being subjected:

At one o'clock I was awakened by another terrible bombardment. . . . I thought that I would never see dear old Chicago again. No, it never occurred to me to regret having come here—how could one when there is such suffering going on and such need for help: how could one when in this place above all others in the world these poor Jews need a fair distribution of food—which perhaps I alone can get for them?  

Becker's compassion for the stricken Jews who came under his care went deeper than the paternalist sympathy of the philanthropist or the clinical attention of the social worker. In a letter to Felix M. Warburg, Dr. Julius Goldman, the European Director General of the Joint Distribution Committee, summarizes the work done by Becker in Roumania. "I must confess," he wrote, "that more intelligent, conscientious, and humane action I have not come across in any of the work that has been done by anybody on behalf of the J. D. C."  

Another report on conditions among the Jews of Roumania written by a J. D. C. official working in the field tells of Becker as working like "a slave and a martyr. . . . Outside of what he has done, there is nothing at all."  

These are not the routine testimonials expected and given on ceremonial occasions. They are tributes to a man whose unusual feeling for the human was deeply stirred by Jewish need.

Becker concluded an article in the Menorah Journal with a plea to American Jews: "If there is any single message which I bring it is one which implores the Jews of America not to forget, in the hour of their greatest need, their emaciated, persecuted, downtrodden but ever unbroken co-religionists in Eastern and Central Europe."

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21 Becker, Journal, March 5, 1919.
23 Ibid., pp. 6–7.
24 Menorah Journal, October, 1921, p. 223.
Becker was interested not only in saving Jews from the physical torments of war; he was interested also in saving their indigenous cultural and spiritual life. He praises the Jews of Eastern Europe because their "cultural and spiritual interests play an overwhelmingly important part as compared to the material aspects of life." He admonishes the relief organizations to concern themselves with more than relief because these Jews "have been willing to sacrifice their physical comfort and material welfare for their cultural and spiritual aspirations." He stresses the importance of Jewish teachers, lauding the "idealism" of their work. He even requests that funds be provided for clothing rabbis, who in their capacity as community leaders, made a "disreputable" appearance before the civil authorities in the ragged attire which their poverty enforced. Such concern for the culture of the East European Jew set him apart from the generality of his social peers.

A letter James Becker wrote in 1924 to Hortense Koller, whom he later married, offers further evidence of his understanding of the life and values of the East European Jew. He is commenting on a performance by the Habimah Theater players of S. Ansky's *The Dybbuk*, which he had just seen:

... I got a tremendous emotional reaction from the play—the greater perhaps because I know something of the Chassidic movement and of the people. It was beautiful—and right to show to non-Jews, and to German Jews so far as that goes. Despite their conception of the physical filth of the ghetto, there was also great spiritual cleanliness and beauty. That it was obscured by superstition to me means nothing. But then the people who need to find out those things won't pay any attention to them!

Becker's impatience with "the people who need to find out those things" is proof that he had not absorbed the stereotypes of the East European Jew current in the circles he frequented.

Among other qualities in Becker which Weizmann must have found congenial to his own temper was his scrupulous understand-

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ing of the real world. Like Weizmann, Becker was an empiricist, and indulgence of vain hope or false illusion was dismissed as so much wool-gathering. His impulse to compassion did not prevent him from insisting that programs of relief be conducted on an “absolutely businesslike basis” with loans repaid so that the money could be loaned again.28 All accounts were meticulously kept. “It might be of interest to know,” he reported, “that we have receipts for every cent of the money spent in Rumania . . . and that every cent of the administrative expenses were paid for by the local communities.” 29 Governor Henry Horner, presiding at the dinner welcoming Becker when he returned to Chicago in 1920, described the honored guest as possessing a “level head and a warm heart.” This combination must have appealed to the man who always insisted that Palestine would be built not on the frothy foundation of the speeches so dear to early Zionist leaders but on the bedrock of hard work and economic achievement.30

Becker’s independence must also have appealed to Weizmann, especially when confronting bureaucratic inertia. When human suffering was involved, he was capable of acting on his own, of breaking encrusted protocol. He organized local committees in Bessarabia for distributing supplies, even though denied permission by the military governor.31 “I was not supposed to conduct any work in the Ukraine,” he reported, “but in view of the fact that there was such great misery and that no Joint Distribution Committee had gone there, I decided to go there.” To save innocent Jewish soldiers in the Roumanian army from court martial sentences, he organized the “Union of Indigenous Jews,” who succeeded in securing new trials for the victims. The forthrightness, precision, independence, and courage with which Becker moved in these situations were qualities which Weizmann admired.

A perceptive judge of men, Weizmann sensed in Becker what he had seen in Louis Marshall—a man who, despite his social environ-

28 Menorah Journal, October, 1921, p. 218.
30 "No political declaration, however weighty, counted as much for him as the founding of a settlement, the planting of a grove, the building of a school": Meyer Weisgal, Meyer W. Weisgal—So Far. An Autobiography (New York, 1971), p. 212.
31 Becker, Speech at the Standard Club Dinner, April 30, 1920. Transcript, p. 44.
ment, was "near to Jews and Judaism," capable of a deep humanity which kindled generous enthusiasms, responsive to the Jewish plea for help.\footnote{Weizmann, p. 309.} Perhaps he looked upon the American from the Midwest as a younger Marshall, a Midwest partner in helping to organize the Jewish Agency. What better representative was there among the hostile philanthropists of Chicago's Jewish elite? Born and bred in these very circles, profoundly conversant through personal experience with the needs for some measure of permanent security for persecuted Jews, and endowed with special skills in administration and leadership, Becker was ideally suited for a role in the leadership of the Jewish Agency.

Everybody Who's Anybody

In 1927, Becker finally went to Palestine for a visit. Weizmann had urged him to come there in 1924 to attend the ceremonies which marked the opening of the Hebrew University.\footnote{Weizmann, Letter of December 25, 1924, on deposit at the American Jewish Archives.} The pages of the journal he kept during his Palestine visit show how far Becker had wandered from the indifference to Palestine characteristic of the assimilationist matrix from which he had sprung. The entries reflect a deep emotional attachment for the land. As one traces the development of this attitude, the experiences he personally shared in the miserably poor and desperately persecuted communities of Eastern and Central Europe undoubtedly played their part. Weizmann's influence cannot be discounted. Certainly, the Zionist mentor had accurately gauged the direction in which his young friend's Jewish sympathies would lead him.

On the day he landed, Becker eloquently apostrophizes the "land of my fathers":

Land of my fathers—what emotions you awaken in me of pride and joy and sorrow. Here I am, at last in the Holy Land. How many hundreds of times have I dreamed of this place and wondered why it should have such a very strong appeal for me. The more I think of it the more complicated it becomes. Why should a third generation American boy living in good circumstances, and knowing nothing of anti-Semitism in the real meaning
of the word, having a happy home in every way—why should there be such a kindred feeling and such an attachment for this little land? Strange but nevertheless real!  

In a moving passage, he describes the approach and entrance to Jerusalem, the "city of cities." "What strange emotions seem to choke me," he remarks.

As I caught my first glimpse of the old city my heart beat furiously and I was afire. How often have I wondered when I should get there, and here I am. And, as is not often the case, when one has heard so much and expects everything, I was thrilled beyond measure and I got a joy infinitely greater than I thought I could get.  

On the road driving back to Haifa in the twilight, he notes that he is "glad that I was alone in front where I had a chance to think of the greatness of the Jewish past and to dream of the possible glory of the future."  

Becker's love for what he saw encompassed the old as well as the new. "I was... very impressed with the old Orthodox Jews praying at the Wailing Wall." At the same time he was "pleasantly surprised" by Tel Aviv, then the subject of "adverse criticism." People who voiced such criticism could have had no knowledge of the surroundings from which the settlers had come. He had acquired this knowledge through dispensing food to the starving, providing shelter for the homeless, living through the bombardment of ghettos, witnessing pogroms. "Compared with the ghetto cities of Poland, Galicia, the Ukraine, and Rumania," Tel Aviv was a "paradise." He visited a number of the agricultural colonies—Nahalal, Degania, Hadera—and was deeply affected by the spirit of the people. "The idealism of these colonists is a great joy to behold"; they felt they had "a mission to perform, and not only a livelihood to earn."  

The Jewish Agency became a reality in 1929. More than seven years of Weizmann's life had been consumed in its creation.  

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84 Becker, Journal, January 26, 1927.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Weizmann, p. 313.
ters to Becker reflect the depth of his concern and anxiety about the Agency. There were at first the sanguine expectations, then the false starts, the backing and filling, the hopes aborted by frustration. We read these changing moods in the letters.

Hope and optimism are notes struck in the letters of 1923. On May 10, Weizmann wrote of a meeting that had taken place on the previous day in Philadelphia at the house of Judge Horace Stern.39

Present were . . . everybody who's anybody. Without desiring to put a more optimistic construction on the result than it really was, I am convinced that it marked a turning point in the relation of America's Jewry to Palestine and Zionism. A similar meeting took place in New York, and at both meetings committees were elected with a view of establishing cooperation. I feel that this is a real program.40

In Weizmann's mind matters had progressed so favorably that on December 23, 1923, he wrote Becker of a decision reached with Marshall to call a "conference of non-Zionists (probably for February 9 and probably in Chicago) with a view to consider the formation of the Jewish Agency." Marshall was to come to Chicago shortly and would discuss the details with Becker. Weizmann's appeal to Becker reveals the esteem in which he held his young correspondent.

I'm anxious that you—to whom all sides justly attach the greatest importance—should consider with Mr. M. the advisability of calling the conference in Chicago and in case you decide on it that you should give us all the help which may be needed in order to make the conference a success. It is I feel a great historic occasion.

But the conference was not held, and the letter dated July 18, 1924, expresses Weizmann's apprehensions. From the enclosure of a copy of the letter sent to Marshall on July 17, it would appear that he felt that the progress already made toward creating the Agency might be grinding to a halt. "I beg of you," he pleads, "to use your influence to hasten the matter of the Jewish Agency: please do not let it go to sleep."

39 Judge Horace Stern was a leader among the old Jewish establishment of Philadelphia: See Encyclopaedia Judaica, XV, 386.

40 Weizmann, Letter of May 10, 1923, on deposit at the American Jewish Archives.
Weizmann was at this point disappointed in Marshall. If he found any fault with him, it was with the latter’s tendency to procrastinate. Of course, he understood the demands made on a famous lawyer, especially one engaged in a heavy schedule of civic and Jewish activities. He was also aware of the fact that among Marshall’s associates were bitter opponents of the Jewish Agency, and these were plainly doing nothing to encourage him to advance its implementation. Meanwhile Palestine’s mounting problems—sparse migration, lack of funds for land purchase, an uncertain economic outlook for the colonies, noncooperation by the British, hostility from the Arabs—might well be eased by a Jewish Agency which would unlock the reservoir of American Jewish support. And there was Louis Marshall, the one man who could galvanize the American Jewish community into action, immobilized by mundane concerns and misguided projects.

One such misguided project absorbing Marshall’s time and energy, Weizmann was convinced, was the attempt to settle Jews in the Crimea. During the 1920’s the Soviet government had opened rich farm lands in the Crimea for Jewish colonization. There Jews, displaced by changing economic policies from their urban occupations as small traders and middlemen, would be helped to establish autonomous agricultural colonies. When the Soviet officials invited American Jews to participate in financing the project, the response was spontaneous and generous. Weizmann could only be dismayed by this turn of events. Jews whom he had wooed in vain for Zion pledged large sums for the Crimea. The resources and energy so desperately needed for Palestine were being siphoned off by what he deemed an ill-conceived and foredoomed venture in southern Russia. For to Weizmann the Crimea represented no solution to the problem of Jewish homelessness. Jewish history told him that such expedients offered little hope for permanent settlement. The twentieth century had demonstrated clearly enough that the idea of stabilizing East European Jewry was a chimera. He saw in the Soviet settlement scheme the reenactment of an age-old Jewish tragedy, building Jewish life on the quicksands of endemic bigotries and millennial hatreds. The millions contributed by well-intentioned Jews to Agro-Joint, the agency for Crimean settlement, were being funneled down a bottomless pit.

Weizmann’s letters to Becker—and copies of those to Marshall
which he enclosed—reflect his unhappiness over the Crimean venture. In a striking phrase he calls it a “project in despair.” 41 “I'm not happy,” he writes two years later, “about... the way Marshall and his friends have gone headlong for a Crimea! Palestine seems to be forgotten. This letter is meant as a reminder.” 42 He then adds plaintively, “Why does a ‘Crimea’ produce such prompt action, why does Palestine make the same people sluggish? Curious.”

Whether the sentence, “This letter is meant as a reminder,” was intended to influence Becker to prod Marshall on the lagging Jewish Agency, or whether it was a hint that Becker himself not join Marshall and his friends “headlong for a Crimea,” we can only guess. In the spring of 1927 Becker did, in fact, accompany Felix Warburg on a visit to the Crimean farming colonies. 43 Becker’s impressions of what he saw indicates that he had come to share the general optimism over the Crimean venture. He does not, however, echo Warburg’s unbridled euphoria. He qualifies his praise of the colonies and his projections for their future with the caution learned perhaps in the pogroms of Poland during the immediate post-World War I days. Thus he does not dismiss the possibility of the occurrence of pogroms, despite the goodwill of the present government. “I think Jewish history has taught us,” he observes, “there is always the danger of this sort of thing and it cannot be overlooked.” 44 Becker is always the prudent realist.

Weizmann acknowledges that he found Marshall’s involvement with the Crimea “heartbreaking.” 45 For while this “project in despair” was winning generous support from the American philanthropic elite, Palestine, which gave genuine promise for solving the problem of Jewish rootlessness, was being neglected. 46 At the same time, Weizmann understood rich American Jews well enough to

41 Ibid., Letter to Marshall, July 17, 1924, enclosed in the letter of July 18, 1924, to Becker, on deposit at the American Jewish Archives.

42 Ibid., Letter of May 17, 1926, on deposit at the American Jewish Archives.

43 A report of their experiences was published in a pamphlet, After Three Years—The Progress of the Jewish Farm Colonies in Russia (New York, 1927).

44 Ibid., p. 20.

45 Weizmann, p. 304.

46 Marshall, pp. 8–9.
perceive that the Crimea may have attracted their interest and money precisely because it did not stigmatize them as Jewish nationalists.\(^{47}\)

As it turned out, Weizmann's doubts—and Becker's apprehensions—about the stability of Jewish settlement in the Crimea were fully justified. Early in the 1930's the Russian government began to show its preference for Birobidzhan, a sparsely settled region on the Sino-Soviet border in Siberia, as an area for Jewish colonization. With the introduction of collectivization and with increasing industrialization, many Jews left the colonies in the Crimea. By 1938, no more than 20,000 were living in the Jewish kolkhozes. When the Germans marched into the Crimea in 1941, the Jewish settlements were exterminated.\(^{48}\)

**NOTHING JEWISH WAS ALIEN**

When the Jewish Agency was finally established in 1929, it marked a major achievement in Weizmann's career.\(^{49}\) With unrelenting patience and skillful persuasiveness he had succeeded in forging a pragmatic agreement between Jewish leaders who had long held disparate and conflicting views on Zionism. The convening of the council of the Jewish Agency in August, 1929, in Zurich found Léon Blum, Albert Einstein, Herbert Samuel, Lord Melchett, Louis Marshall, Felix Warburg, Cyrus Adler, Menahem Ussishkin, Chaim Nachman Bialik, and Stephen S. Wise\(^{50}\) arrayed behind Weizmann on a common platform. A note scribbled by Einstein, now in the Weizmann Archives at Rehovot, records the excitement of the hour: "On this day Herzl's and Weizmann's seed has sprouted wonderfully. No one who was present remained unmoved."\(^{51}\) It was a great triumph for Weizmann. He was greeted with tumultuous acclaim.

\(^{47}\) Weizmann, p. 305.

\(^{49}\) Encyclopaedia Judaica, V, 1107.

\(^{48}\) Weizmann, p. 313.

\(^{50}\) When the agreement was endorsed by the Action Committee in 1928 by a vote of thirty-nine to five, Wise voted against it (Laqueur, p. 468).

\(^{51}\) Weisgal and Carmichael, p. 221.
In a long talk following the meeting, Marshall and Warburg assured Weizmann that his financial troubles were over. No longer would he have to travel the length of the land hat in hand in order to save Palestine from bankruptcy. A solid foundation for sound economic growth had finally been laid. But with a suddenness which shocked the Jewish world, these glittering hopes, so recently and laboriously conceived, were rudely darkened. Within a month of the convention, Louis Marshall died. A few weeks later came the economic crash, which ushered in the Great Depression of the 1930's. In Palestine itself, serious rioting against the Jews had broken out. The euphoria of Zurich had given way to yet another climate of crisis.

Yet much had been gained. As Weizmann pointed out, the chasm between non-Zionists and Zionists had been bridged, and henceforth there would be greater sympathy for the building of a Jewish homeland in Palestine among the previously apathetic or hostile. Sober and practical men of affairs had made their commitment to what had been dismissed too often as a Utopian dream. We assume that such a man was James Becker.

He did not attend the historic meeting in Zurich. Nor do we know of any far-reaching practical moves he may have made in behalf of the Jewish Agency. But we have reason to believe that he supported it among his peers. Who can tell how many obstacles to the final consummation of the Agency were overcome through his efforts? It was not his style to speak, much less bruit abroad, his achievements. But it would be unnatural for a man who identified himself so closely both with the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe and with the land of his fathers to oppose the plan to make Palestine a haven of physical security and spiritual survival for Jews.

On March 19, 1923, Louis Marshall wrote Becker a letter in which he delineated his "platform" as a Jew. He said that he deplored the labels which divide Jews from one another, that he hated "the very sound of the phrases orthodox, conservative, reform, Russian, Polish, Rumanian, German, as applied to Jews." He was "simply a Jew to whom nothing Jewish was alien." It was furthermore his "bounden duty to protect the good name of Jews" and to enable

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82 Laqueur, p. 468.
them "to create a home for those who desired it in Palestine." Failure to do so would "disgrace ... every Jew who had failed to do his duty."

It is perhaps upon this platform that Becker also took his stand as a Jew. Weizmann may indeed have been prescient in seeing in him a Marshall of the Midwest.

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**ARCHIVES POSTERS**

The America Jewish Archives has issued a number of multi-colored posters dealing with the American Jewish experience:

- Jewish participation in the Civil War (6)
- Immigrants from Eastern Europe (3)
- Episodes in eighteenth-century American Jewish Life (3)
- Abba Hillel Silver at the United Nations (1)
- Jews and the American Revolution (6)
- Women: Abigail Minis, Rebecca Gratz, Henrietta Szold (3)

These posters are available without charge for display by all schools, libraries, congregations, and organizations interested in American Jewish history.

When properly matted and mounted on heavy cardboard, these posters make an attractive exhibit.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Director of the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.
The Sprout That Grew

ABRAHAM CRONBACH

Abraham Cronbach (1882–1965), a native of Indianapolis, began his studies at the Hebrew Union College in 1898, two years before Isaac M. Wise’s death. Ordained in 1906, Rabbi Cronbach returned to the College in 1922 to serve on its faculty. In 1950, he retired as professor of Jewish social studies. Notable for his outspoken attachment to pacifism and social justice, he was the author of many books; his autobiography appeared in Volume XI (1959) of the American Jewish Archives. On March 26, 1932, Dr. Cronbach delivered the annual Founders’ Day address in the chapel of the Hebrew Union College.

The institution of Founders’ Day at the Hebrew Union College is exactly thirty-one years old. Today marks the expiration of precisely thirty-two years since the illustrious Isaac M. Wise passed from the scene of his labors. A few of us still remember him—bent, feeble, tottering in the eighty-first year of his arduous life. A few of us still recall that sad Monday, March 26th, 1900, with the sunset of which the brightest sun of American Judaism also had its setting.

You have often heard how the master was fatally stricken while teaching a Saturday afternoon class at the Hebrew Union College—not in this building [on Clifton Avenue in Cincinnati], but in the old edifice situated [on West Sixth Street] in what is now a neighborhood of extreme deterioration. Though his interests were exceedingly varied and though the Hebrew Union College was only one of several enterprises which he fathered, it happened nonetheless that the final summons came while he was imparting instruction at this institution.

As we look back through the years with their fading memories and their prodigious changes, one fact emerges clear and vivid, namely, that it is just as easy to misunderstand Isaac M. Wise as it is to understand him. Isaac M. Wise was a prolific writer. He wrote and published both in English and German, novels, editorials, sermons, lectures, hymns, poems and scores of disquisitions historical, polemical, and philosophical. With certain exceptions, this printed output does not reveal the secret of the man’s greatness. His poetry is one of these exceptions. The new Union Hymnal which appeared a month ago
contains three of his numerous hymns. To understand Isaac M. Wise, you must sing: “Hear, O Israel, Hear!”

Hear, O Israel, hear; God, thy Lord, is near,
Love and mercy mark His trace:
Light from Seraph flame, Truth the angels claim,
Pours on thee His boundless grace.

Sing, O Israel, sing.
God is Lord, and King;
He redeems, besides Him none,
Suns and stars proclaim God’s exalted name
One is He, Eternal One.

You must sing or hear sung his “Let there be light!”

“Let there be light!” at dawn of time
The Lord of Hosts proclaimed.
“Let there be light!” this call sublime
Went forth when Horeb flamed.
Then broke on Israel’s mind a day
Illumined by a heavenly ray.

You must, at some solemn memorial service, hear his magnificent German hymn, “Es leben deine Tote.” Do not read his historical writings or his theological writings, least of all his polemical writings if you would comprehend how it came that myriads followed and all but worshipped him. Read his poems. Read his hymns.

Next to his poetry stand his editorials [in The Israelite and Die Deborah] as important revelations of the man, his editorials not when they run into sky-flown vaticinations about the mission of Israel or the cause of humanity or the unity of God, but when they are “of earth, earthy,” when they deal concretely with current events and definitely with practical proposals. Here you meet a strength as titanic as it is unpolished. Today we would speak of his “striking out from the shoulder.” Isaac M. Wise, in other words, knew how to dispense with rhetorical kid gloves when necessary. When he had something to say, he said it with no one’s leave—not even that of the dictionary. He permitted few rules of syntax or diction to trammel him when there was an idea that had to be shot out with the force of a cannon ball. He was one of the very few who have been great enough to do this with impunity.
Again, if you wish to understand Isaac M. Wise, you must come into contact with some of the few survivors among those with whom he came into contact. It is almost inexplicable how a man with his well known and self-confessed brusqueness could elicit such immeasurable devotion. He also had his enemies who vigorously denounced him. But no one ever ridiculed him. No student, so far as I know, ever mimicked him.

But the chief revelation of Isaac M. Wise is to be found in the living, growing institutions which he created. In him is illustrated the oft quoted dictum of Carlisle that an institution is but the lengthened shadow of a great man. And his methods of creation were extraordinary. At the inception of the Union [of American Hebrew Congregations], the College and the [Central] Conference [of American Rabbis] stands a paradox that deserves notice. Our very expression "Founder's Day" involves that paradox.

How shall we spell "Founder's Day?" Should the apostrophe stand before the s or after the s? Does this day commemorate one founder or many founders? While all of us know that Isaac M. Wise was the founder of the Union, the College, and the Conference, one of the amazing features of the early printed records [Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1873)] is the far greater conspicuousness of other names than his. That Isaac M. Wise was more than an obscure and casual hanger-on, there is in those records very little indeed to indicate. The first name and for many pages the most prominent name is not that of Isaac M. Wise, but that of Moritz Loth, president of the Plum St. Temple. It is Mr. Loth, apparently, who proposes the creation of a congregational union which is to support a Rabbinical college. After a lengthy citation of Mr. Loth's presidential message to the Plum St. congregation, there is inserted into the record an editorial published by Isaac M. Wise in The American Israelite in which Isaac M. Wise actually takes issue with Mr. Loth on a number of points although endorsing the proposition about a union and a college. From here on for 238 pages the name of Isaac M. Wise appears but dimly and rarely. It appears on none of the committees connected with the convention of 1873 at which the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was organized. Among the delegates to that convention the name of Isaac M. Wise stands almost imperceptible near the bottom of the list. He is mentioned as the delegate for the congregation of Shreveport, La. (fifty
members). At the first council of the Union in 1874, Isaac M. Wise is named as delegate for San Antonio, Texas, a congregation so small that its membership is not given. Even this tiny function he turns over to someone else, retaining for himself the dignity of representing, in conjunction with another delegate, the sixty members of the Charleston, S. C., Congregation. At the second council he was the delegate for Petersburg, Va. (twenty members), and at the third, for Farmersville, La. (twenty-one members). Throughout this period he is mentioned rarely and inconspicuously among the rank and file members of a few of the committees. The stone which became the chief cornerstone looks decidedly like a stone which the builders were rejecting.

The very name "Union of American Hebrew Congregations" was used for the first time, not by Isaac M. Wise, but by a Mr. Jacob Ezekiel. Isaac M. Wise was one of the six on the committee in whose report the name "Hebrew Union College" is used for the first time. He was one of the seven Cincinnatians among the twelve members of the Board of Governors of the projected College, but this honor he had to resign in a few months, when he was made the first president of the College.

So remotely was Isaac M. Wise associated with the proposed Jewish Theological Faculty, as they called it, that the congregation of Peoria, Ill., wrote to the convention of 1873: "For the erection of a Hebrew College here we offer one block of valuable ground on the Bluff." Some from Charleston, W. Va., wrote: "I will give ten acres of land in the city of Charleston (West End) . . . for a site for the erection of a College." Someone else from Charleston, W. Va., wrote that he would donate "one hundred acres of timber and mineral land in Boone County, West Virginia, to the Theological Institute," whether as a site for the proposed college or merely as a source of income is not stated.

As we read the names of the numerous persons associated with the inception of the Union and the College, we realize that all of those people with all of their ability, zeal, and splendid service were but rays of that central luminary whose name was Isaac M. Wise, delegate for Shreveport, then for Petersburg, then for Farmersville and provisional delegate of infinitesimal San Antonio. But we know all of this by a kind of torah shebe' {al peh, a kind of oral tradition which has descended to us supplementing the printed records in which the role
THE SPROUT THAT GREW

of Isaac M. Wise is almost invisible. Similarly, when, sixteen years later, the Conference was formed, Isaac M. Wise was seemingly the last and least who had anything to do with it. A septuagenarian at the time, he resisted and protested when he was made the first president.

In a word, Isaac M. Wise was great because he knew how to be small. He knew how to keep himself in the background until he was needed in the foreground. He embodied the wisdom of that [mishnaic] adage, “In the place where there are no men, strive thou to be a man,” which presumably carries as its corollary “In the place where there are men, do not strive to be conspicuous.”

If English usage permitted, we should call this occasion not Founder’s Day, by Planter’s Day. The image not of an edifice that is erected and then remains as it is, but of a plant that grows and ever changes, would be most suited to Isaac M. Wise’s achievements. The beginnings of all the organizations which he started were extremely humble. The Hebrew Union College itself began in a basement. That gloomy basement can still be seen in a squalid neighborhood where few Jewish persons any longer reside. As president, he presided at first over his unsalaried self and over one other man, a preceptor salaried at $500 a year with an additional $200 for tutoring backward students. This munificently compensated preceptor is officially reported to have “assisted the President of the College with fidelity and ability.” On the day the College opened, nine students presented themselves. Five more entered within a month, and three more at the end of the first term. Of these seventeen, only four ever reached the pulpit. Four were registered as special students, one of them a little girl who could not be regularly matriculated because she was not yet in high school. The library consisted of a Greek grammar, a Dutch library catalogue, three dictionaries, some Bibles, some Mishnas, and two or three other Hebrew books.

Yet Isaac M. Wise had the discernment to realize that the soil in which the humble sprout was bedded was fertile soil. He understood what the hour required and whereunto the time was ripe. He was a poet and a dreamer, but like Joseph the dreamer, he was more than a mere dreamer. His feet touched the ground. His hand gripped reality. The result was that what he planted grew. Isaac M. Wise passed away and still it grew. If any admonition is to be taken to heart this day, it must appertain to that continued growth.

What needs to be stressed is that the commonly celebrated ele-
ments of that growth are not its most significant elements. That the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has increased in the number of its supporters and enterprises and in the scope of its activities; that the Hebrew Union College has acquired a numerous faculty and student body, property worth millions of dollars, graduates in many regions, a library unsurpassed, and a prestige exceeding that of any similar institution; and that the Central Conference of American Rabbis has multiplied its membership and its accomplishments many fold—just these are the lesser gems in the crown of Isaac M. Wise.

It is its intellectual and spiritual growth much more than its material growth that justifies whatever pride we may feel in our College. Many a conviction, which Isaac M. Wise cherished, no longer prevails in our midst. His conceptions of Judaism are no longer our conceptions, nor are his conceptions of Americanism our conceptions—as our teacher, Dr. [Jacob R.] Marcus, pointed out so ably in his address ["The Americanization of Isaac Mayer Wise"] on this occasion a year ago. Isaac M. Wise held views on Jewish nationalism which are not entirely defunct in our midst, but almost defunct. Even some of us who are opposed to Zionism are likely to rest our opposition on grounds other than those invoked by Isaac M. Wise. Isaac M. Wise’s views on Darwinism, on evolution, on the relation of science and religion, assuredly his views on biblical criticism, have disappeared from these halls. It is doubtful whether his economic views (if he had any) would accord with the opinions that some of us espouse. But does this becloud the glory of our founder? Indeed, no. It only imparts an added luster to his name. When Isaac M. Wise planted, he planted not a shrub, not a stalk, not a bush which never grows higher than the one who plants it. What he planted was an oak so mighty that beside it the planter himself is dwarfed.

Not many days ago a famous old theological institution of Cincinnati all but closed its doors and passed out of existence. That institution had failed to grow. Forces were operative there which resisted the changes necessary to maintain life. The grandeur of Isaac M. Wise is not that he founded an institution, but that he founded an institution with life blood—an organism capable of adaptive changes. Isaac M. Wise knew his Pirke Aboth: “De-la mosif yasef.” “Not to go forward is to go backward,” “To remain static is to recede.”

Wherein now does intellectual and spiritual growth consist? It consists in this: in the substitution of understanding for controversy.
Abraham Cronbach  
Friend of every man
Controversial attitudes toward Orthodox Judaism, Zionism, evolution, higher criticism, etc., have yielded in this College to an attitude, if not of endorsement, at least of ampler comprehension. It is fair to assume that in the same direction future growth must lie.

To understand a given view does not necessarily mean to subscribe to that view. It may mean to oppose that view all the more decisively. But to understand does mean the supplanting of an emotional attitude with an intellectual one. To understand is to perceive human trends in their historical and social settings. It is the viewing of human beliefs and acts in relation to their causes. Already Spinoza said that the moment we trace the causes of things we cease to be irritated at those things.

A few weeks ago there was held at Washington a notable conference for the promotion of friendly relations between Jews and Christians. Even greater is the need of promoting friendly relations between Jews and Jews. Who of us has collisions with non-Jews as frequently as we have with our own? It has often been noted that conflicts are most violent not between people who differ greatly, but between those who differ slightly. Psychoanalysts have even advanced the theory that the beliefs which we assail most violently are likely to be the beliefs to which we unconsciously subscribe and which we are likely some day to profess openly. Our inveighing against those beliefs, we are told, is really an inveighing against our own subliminal selves. The religious fanatic is said to be a heretic at heart. The boaster is said to be plagued with a hidden sense of inferiority. The prig or prude is said to be secretly ridden with an excess of sex. The same mechanism may account for many of the acrimonies among us Jews. One fights one’s own recalcitrant self in fighting those who are not extremely different, but just slightly different from one’s self.

In this College, there has never existed any antagonism toward the Hasidim, the Karaites, the Yemenites, the Maskilim, the Cabbalists or the Sadducees, violent antipathy though these types may have evoked in other times and climes. These types were too remote for our opposition. If aversion toward the Ethical Culturists ever obtained here, the surviving vestiges of that aversion are faint indeed. Our new Union Hymnal contains no fewer than eight hymns written by Felix Adler, the originator of Ethical Culture. There are only three other authors whose productions the new hymn book offers in equal or greater number.

These rather are the Jews whom we reprobate today: The Hu-
manist Jews, the Communist Jews, the Christian Science Jews and the Hebrew Christians, otherwise called apostate Jews. Such are perhaps the only Jewish groups that inspire in us any pronounced acerbity. Perhaps we shall never make our peace with these groups. Some of us rule them out of Judaism altogether, precisely as some of the Orthodox contemporaries of Isaac M. Wise ruled him out of Judaism. This only we must affirm: If ever we do come to terms with any of these people, it will not necessarily indicate that we share their doctrines. One does not have to be a Humanist to know the soul of a Humanist any more than a biologist in the laboratory, to understand the anatomy of a frog, has to be a frog.

Isaac M. Wise traveled far beyond his predecessors. We have traveled beyond Isaac M. Wise. Who knows how far beyond us our successors may travel? They may understand Jews whom we do not understand. They may even fraternize in Jewish circles where we cannot fraternize. The poet may have been right when he said: "The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

It requires no recalling that since the days of Isaac M. Wise the Jewish constituency of America has changed enormously. In his day our Jewish population was predominantly of German extraction. Today, East European derivation far exceeds the German. In Isaac M. Wise's day, the Jewish university student or graduate was rare. Today the ratio of Jewish persons attending our universities is greater than that of any other group in the land. In Isaac M. Wise's day, the proportion of Jews in mercantile pursuits must have been perceptibly larger than it is today when the Jewish accessions to the professions, the arts, agriculture, and the handicrafts have mounted so strikingly. In Isaac M. Wise's day, our people, being preponderantly of foreign upbringing, carried certain rudiments of Hebrew knowledge and of ritual prepossessions which in this generation of American birth are almost extinct. The result is that the type of religious ministration suitable in Isaac M. Wise's day is not suitable in ours. The kind of preaching that was effective in his time is no longer effective. Ritual procedures satisfactory to his contemporaries do not appeal to our contemporaries. How urgent in these domains the need for further growth!

We speak of "a good Jew." Customarily we mean by a good Jew a Jew not only of moral probity, but also of loyalty to the old traditions. The phrase "good Jew" has been taken intensively. But in the
swirl of modern life there may repose the embryo of a new conception of the good Jew, the good Jew not intensively but extensively. The good Jew would be the Jew with a breadth of understanding and sympathy for fellow Jews—the Jew who can comprehend and on occasion serve the Orthodox Jew with his ceremonial attachments and, at the same time, the Humanist Jew with his iconoclasm; the Zionist Jew with his nationalistic slogans and, at the same time, the assimilationist Jew with his different set of slogans. Our good Jew would appreciate the devout Jewish person—there are such—who can truthfully say, “Like as the stag panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God”; and at the same time fathom the anti-theistic Jew who shudders at the recollection of the only kind of religion that he ever knew. The good Jew would sympathize with the immigrant Jew struggling for adjustment to the American scene and, at the same time, with the native Jew who differs from the non-Jew in cast of countenance, if even in that regard. Our good Jew would grasp the psychology of the Communist Jew with his caustic comments on the status quo and, at the same time, that of the Jewish self-made man who evinces scant patience with those who blame their troubles on circumstances. The good Jew would cultivate a friendly footing with the uninformed Jew—even with the Jew who wants sensational sermons and recreational synagogues—and, at the same time, a friendly footing with the scholarly Jew. The fact that many of the linguistic and historical studies assigned in this College impinge but slightly upon the lives of ordinary Temple goers (or Temple neglecters) is by no means an argument against the pursuit of those studies. The well read Jew, the studious Jew, the learned Jew does exist here and there. He also deserves our comprehension and our consecration. Disdain the studies that a person fancies and to that extent you exclude that person himself from your life. To that extent our own life is contracted. Your Jewish sympathies atrophy to that extent. In brief, a Jew would be a good Jew not in proportion to the number of doctrines in which he believes or the number of rituals he performs, but in proportion to the number of Jews he understands, on occasion serves and, if possible, loves. He is the Jew who is alert to the potentialities of stimulating friendships and reciprocal inspirations in all Jewish sections.

With the Hebrew Union College growing in the things of the spirit, this ideal may become our ideal—veritably an ideal vastly different
from anything ever visaged by Isaac M. Wise and yet the natural outgrowth of his vision, like the blossom which, though different from the seed, nevertheless unfolds out of the seed. And as the ideals of Isaac M. Wise become transmuted into ideals beyond Isaac M. Wise, the name of Isaac M. Wise will shine not the less radiantly, but the more radiantly. The founder of the edifice will be honored in those who extend and adorn the edifice. The planter will be exalted in those who foster the never-ceasing growth of that which he planted when, in the rich soil of American Jewish life, he placed a lowly sprout that grew.

CENTENNIAL REPRINTS
The years 1973 and 1975 mark the centennials of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, both founded at Cincinnati by Isaac Mayer Wise. The April, 1973, and November, 1974, issues of American Jewish Archives were devoted to documentary surveys of the history of the College—Institute and the Union.
Both issues are available in special reprints.
Inquiries should be directed to the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.

BICENTENNIAL ISSUE
Since the mid-1970's mark the Bicentennial of American national independence, the November, 1975, issue of American Jewish Archives will be devoted to a documentary survey of the Jewish involvement in the Revolutionary period.
Levy L. Laurens: An Early Texan Journalist

IRA ROSENSWAIKE

The early years of Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1851) and of his nephew Levy L. Laurens (1816–1837) contain certain remarkable parallels. Both spent at least part of their childhood in South Carolina; both began their careers in big cities (Philadelphia in one case, New York in the other); both, while in their teens, were attracted to the profession of journalism. In addition, both moved to capital cities to serve as legislative reporters (Noah to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Laurens to Houston, then the capital of the Republic of Texas). Noah, who has been called the best-known Jewish layman in America before the Civil War, went on to well-documented fame. But fate intervened to terminate arbitrarily the career of Levy L. Laurens. His early reputation has been completely forgotten by history. The encyclopedic *Handbook of Texas* has no mention of this early Texan journalist among its myriad entries. And, similarly, even the author of the definitive biography of Mordecai Noah appeared to be unaware of Laurens’ existence.

A Pervading Gloom

Such a fate is ironic indeed when one considers the adulation that appeared in print after Laurens’ untimely death following a duel fought in Houston on June 25, 1837. To acknowledge his passing, Houston's only newspaper was fringed in black, a tribute usually reserved for presidents, or statesmen of the highest eminence. The *Telegraph* of July 1, 1837, spared no words denoting sadness in expressing the grief the event brought to Texas:

Ira Rosenswaike's article on Jacob Henry appeared in the November, 1970, issue of *American Jewish Archives*.


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When the capital is in mourning, it is meet that the *Telegraph* should display the emblems of woe. The decease of the unfortunate Laurens, which has called forth this demonstration of sorrow, has thrown a pervading gloom over our city, and caused a more general manifestation of sincere grief, than we have ever before witnessed. This singularly interesting young man had resided in this place but a few weeks; a portion of which time, he was engaged in discharging the duties of reporter of the house of representatives: yet within this short period, his gentlemanly deportment and fascinating manners attracted to him a large circle of affectionate acquaintances, who viewed in him one of the noblest ornaments of society: a friend, whose generous bosom was inspired by every virtue which can elevate the human character, and ameliorate the condition of mankind. Frank, sincere, affectionate and generously confiding, he seemed incapable of suspecting crime in others...\(^3\)

Francis Moore, Jr. (1808–1864), who had recently become editor of the *Telegraph*,\(^4\) seems to have been so shaken by the traumatic event that he expressed a desire to have sacrificed his life for his late friend's:

Science, genius and virtue had combined in bestowing on him such a lofty cast of character, that while his talents excited our highest admiration, his noble conduct so mastered our affections, that we felt towards him all the interest of a brother, and gladly, could we have been apprised of the transaction in season, would we have thrown our own bosom before the accursed rifle uplifted for his destruction, and prevented the foul deed, or perished in the attempt...\(^5\)

Moore went on to recount how Laurens' best friends bent "in anguish over his couch of death." He then concluded his characterization of Laurens, noting that

a large and respectable circle... have lost... a friend, whose high intellectual endowments and virtue promised to elevate him to the most exalted stations of public confidence. In him Texas has lost one of the first of that gallant and illustrious band of America's chivalry, which has so magnanimously rallied around the one-starred banner: displaying in the

\(^a\) *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), July 1, 1837.


\(^5\) *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), July 1, 1837.
"land of Prairies" all that is admirable in fortitude, all that is lofty in heroism. . .

On another page of the Telegraph, an obituary provided the factual details of Laurens' death, as well as some strong editorial feeling:

Never, we believe, have our columns contained a more shocking obituary than the present; never, we hope, will a similar one be furnished. Died. In this city on Tuesday last, Levi L. Laurens, aged about 21, late reporter of the house of representatives, and recently from New York City, of a wound received in a duel, at the hand of Dr. Chauncey Goodrich, recently from Vicksburg, Mississippi.

According to Moore's account in the Telegraph, Goodrich, "who so vilely called his victim to the dishonorable field, escaped unharmed: but the heroic and manly conduct of his fallen opponent extracted from him the warmest admiration, and a full and explicit retraction of the base calumny. . ." Laurens, in the words of Moore, "fell a noble victim to one of the most fiendish, foulest practices that ever disgraced civilized society. . ." The Telegraph's dismay over the practice of dueling was almost limitless; it urged its readers to heed the example at hand and abolish this custom:

The peculiar situation of our country at this period imperatively demands that some efficient measures for the prevention of this accursed practice should be immediately adopted. . . Had Laurens lived he would have been among the first to advocate a measure of this kind, for like the immortal Hamilton he abhorred the custom to which he fell a victim; and his able pen which has so frequently ornamented with its products the journals of his native country might have ensured success. . .

May. . . the youth of this city. . . gather once more around his hallowed grave, and. . . pledge themselves to commence the foundation of an institution, which while Texas endures, will commemorate their virtue, and furnish as glorious evidence that Laurens has not lived in vain.

THE WEAPON OF THE BRIGAND

News traveled slowly in pre-telegraph America. New Orleans did not learn of the event in Texas until more than half a month had

*Ibid.

* Ibid.

* Ibid.
passed. Then some specific details of the fatal duel were reported in the *New Orleans Picayune* of July 18, 1837:

Dr. Chancery [sic] Goodrich, an assistant surgeon in the Army of Texas . . . had charged Mr. L. with stealing a large sum of money from him, and persisted in the truth of the charge.—Laurens, from the custom of the country, was driven to challenge, which was accepted. The parties met near the town of Houston on the 25th inst. They fought with rifles at the distance of sixty-five yards; the first fire Laurens fell, the ball of his antagonist having entered his right thigh and passed through his left. Dr. Goodrich escaped unhurt. The wound of Laurens was not considered mortal by his physicians, but he died next day from mortification and distress of mind.

He was a native of South Carolina, and was a reporter of the Texian Congress at its last session. . . . So much was he respected that a donation was made by several citizens to have a monument erected to his memory. The editor of the Houston Telegraph calls upon every young man emigrating to Texas to visit the grave of the lamented Laurens, and make a vow to have nothing to do with duelling.9

It was not until a full month after the duel in Texas that the news arrived in Charleston and in New York. Then newspapers in both cities discussed at great length the sad occurrence. In Charleston, the *Courier* recorded, in part, that:

Mr. Levy L. Laurens, in the 22d year of his age . . . was a native of Charleston, S. C., and for several years a resident of New-York. . . . At an early age he emigrated from this state to New-York, where he was favored with the patronage of his uncle, M. M. Noah, Esq. . . . [He was] engaged in the editorial department of the New York Evening Star. A few months since he went to Texas, for the purpose of establishing there an independent press. . . . [He was] a dutiful son, an affectionate brother.

In New York City, Mordecai Manuel Noah presented a particularly complete report of the event to readers of his newspaper, the *Evening Star*.

Fatal Duel in Texas.—Mr. L. L. Laurens, long associated with us in

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9 *New Orleans Picayune*, July 18, 1837, cited in *The Evening Star (New York City)*, July 26, 1837.

10 *Charleston Courier*, July 27, 1837.
AN EARLY TEXAN JOURNALIST

editing the Star, we deeply regret to say, fell in a duel in Texas on the 25th of June, beloved and esteemed by all who knew him. The particulars of this unfortunate affair have reached us in a letter from Velasco.

Mr. Laurens, it seemed, roomed with several young friends, and a Dr. Goodrich, Assistant Surgeon of the Army, and on rising one morning missed some money which he hastily charged Mr. L. with having stolen, and refusing to withdraw the odious charge, he forthwith challenged him, when the Doctor, having the choice of weapons, selected the rifle, and they fought at sixty-five yards, and at the first fire Laurens fell. Dr. Goodrich subsequently expressed his conviction that he was in error, and when too late recanted his accusation.

Mr. L. was an early and ardent friend of Texas, and went there with brilliant prospects—was appointed Secretary or Reporter to Congress at a salary of eight dollars per day, and was arranging for the establishment of a Government paper, which would have been useful to the Republic and valuable to himself, when this unhappy event occurred. He was only twenty-two years of age, of great promise, and of amiable and honorable qualities. In a young country in arms it is almost impossible to avoid personal difficulties, but it should be an established principle never to settle a point of honor with rifles. It is the weapon of the Brigand.\(^{11}\)

Although Laurens has been described in print as the nephew of Mordecai M. Noah, the relationship appears to have eluded historians. A probable explanation lies in the so-called missing years of Manuel Noah (1755–1822), Mordecai Noah’s father. It has been related that following the death of his wife Zipporah at Charleston in 1792 Manuel Noah “disappeared” for at least two decades.\(^{12}\) At any rate, writers who have dealt with Mordecai Noah’s life have been unable to account for his father’s whereabouts in this period.\(^{13}\) Such an extensive gap is more than ample time for Noah to have remarried and become the parent of a child, who would later become Levy Laurens’ mother. Mordecai Noah’s only known sister, Judith, died unmarried at New York City in 1868.\(^{14}\)

\(^{11}\) *Evening Star*, July 26, 1837.


\(^{13}\) Manuel Noah is known to have applied for membership in Philadelphia’s Mikveh Israel Congregation in 1816 and to have died at New York City in 1822. Edwin Wolf II and Maxwell Whiteman, *History of the Jews of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 177; Goldberg, p. 129.

\(^{14}\) Goldberg, p. 15.
It seems particularly significant to note that Mordecai Noah, although a very prolific writer, never mentioned his father or his mother. The absence seems deliberate, the more so since he did write of his grandfather, Jonas Phillips (1735–1803). If more were known of Manuel Noah’s life, we probably would have important clues to Levy Laurens’ background.

\[^{15}\text{Ibid.}, p. 16.\]

ARCHIVES PUBLICATIONS

The Jews of Coro, Venezuela
by Isaac S. Emmanuel

The Jew and the American Revolution
by Jacob R. Marcus

*Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam — 1788*
Translated by Simon Cohen

Rabbi Carigal Preaches in Newport
Edited by Stanley F. Chyet

Dr. Emmanuel’s work, his last research and posthumously published, recalls the history of a distinguished Latin-American Jewish community from its eighteenth-century beginnings. (pamphlet)

Dr. Marcus’ work surveys the experience of North American Jewry during the period of the American Revolution. (brochure)

Dr. Cohen has translated from its original French an important apologetic work reflecting the Jewish experience in Dutch Guiana. (hard-cover)

Dr. Chyet has written a foreword to, and annotated, the first Jewish sermon preached and published in North America. (pamphlet)

Inquiries may be addressed to the Director of the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.
The document presented below is a legal deposition given by an American Jew named Jonas Levi to a notary in Versailles. Dated toward the end of the War of Independence, it concerns Levi's misfortunes as he left Versailles to return to America.

Pre-Revolutionary Versailles was the seat of the French royal government and the diplomatic community. The central offices of many ministries were located there and normally attracted a considerable number of merchants, tradesmen, and artisans, among them some Jews. Thus it was natural enough that an American Jew in France should appear at Versailles to seek assistance.

Who was Jonas Levi? Apart from his deposition, he remains unknown. One may conjecture, based on the fact that Benjamin Franklin gave him some money, that he was a diplomatic courier or even a secret agent. More likely, Levi was only a maladroit private citizen, a shlemiel, who successfully petitioned for assistance from his country's ambassador. During these years, inflation was severe, and ninety-six livres may simply have been the price of a boat ticket home, a sum advanced by Franklin who was probably as glad to send him on his way as were the British!

We do, however, learn something about Levi from several remarks. When he needed an interpreter, he immediately went to a member of the local Jewish community. Does this imply that Levi, while waiting in Versailles to see Franklin, had been in contact with the Jews of the city? We cannot know, but it does appear probable; he found Daniel the engraver rather quickly. Levi's need for an interpreter is itself interesting. He got along well enough at the inn—one assumes in French—but in Versailles he conveyed a different image. We also discern that Levi was a Jew of questionable piety. Despite his refusal to sign the deposition on the Sabbath, he did not appear reluctant to journey from Trappes back to Versailles (some eight or

Dr. Roseman is Director of the Institute for Jewish Life, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.
ten miles) or to make the deposition itself on Saturday. Levi, like many colonial American Jews, was willing to adjust his religious observances to novel circumstances.

It should be noted that both Jonas Levi and Daniel are identified in the document as Jews. The reference strongly suggests that the document was European; in Revolutionary America, a similar mention would have been less usual.

What happened to Levi was hardly unique in eighteenth-century France. In Lesage's picaresque novel *Gil Blas*, written only a half-century earlier, a nearly-identical incident occurs. From Procrustes on, innkeepers and their cohorts have generally been considered scoundrels. Small wonder, then, that Jonas Levi, our trusting and unwarned *shlemiel*, fell victim to one of their wily pranks.

Levi as an individual is an unknown, but his type was not unknown. Jews turned up everywhere in colonial America—in all sorts of enterprises, adventures, embarrassments, and imbroglios. Like Levi, they were an exciting and often entertaining group.

**January 29, 1780**

The deposition of Jonas Levi, a Jew:

On the 29th day of January, 1780, Jonas Levi, an American Jew who had been captured by the English the previous year and sent back to France, appeared before the Notary.

He deposed that, on January 24th, he had been at the home of Dr. Franklin, who had given him a passport to return to America, as well as the sum of ninety-six livres;

Further, that yesterday, while passing through Trappes on the way to Nantes where he was to embark, it being noon, he entered an inn at Trappes (Barré), which is located about an eighth of a league on the road leading toward Trappes. The innkeeper was also a wagoner and lives in a new house;

Further, that, as he ordered his meal, it was proposed to him that three soldiers who were at the inn dine with him. Two of the soldiers were dressed in green uniforms with embroidered white cuffs and a white lining on their jackets, while the third had a blue uniform with similar white cuffs and lining;

Further, that he accepted this proposal and that the innkeeper and

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his wife also joined them. After the meal, when he noticed that it was getting late, he asked for the bill, whereupon he was told that he owed three livres and ten sols for the meal and six francs for the wine. Levi then took two livres and eight sols from his pocket, stating that he was a traveler and that was all he had, whereupon the three soldiers who dined with him tied his hands with an iron chain, searched through his coin-purse, and, in the presence of the innkeeper and his wife, took from him three gold louis and an écu [coin] worth six livres, which were put into the coin-purse of one of the soldiers;

Further, that, when he [Levi] complained that they had taken all of his money, they kept him until nightfall. Then, after escorting him a short distance along the road, they returned one livre and four sols to him so that he could continue his trip;

Further, that, when he entered another inn to stay the night and reported what had happened to him, he was sent to Chenid, the Swiss Guard at the gate of Trappes, who advised him to pursue his complaint at Versailles. This he proceeded to do, accompanied by M[onsieur], Daniel, a Jew, who is an engraver living on Rue d'Anjou at the Moutier Arcade in Versailles. He made the deposition for Levi and served as his interpreter, inasmuch as Levi did not know French. (Both Levi and Daniel declared that they were unable to sign the deposition today, Saturday, as it was the Sabbath day, [four words struck through]; therefore, they signed after sunset.)

/s/ Daniel, engraver, serving as interpreter
Jonas Levy
[a third party]

LOAN EXHIBITS

Over sixty exhibit items dealing, for the most part, with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The American Jewish Archives will be pleased to make these exhibit items available on loan, free of charge, for a two week period, to any institution in North America. A selection of twenty to twenty-five items make an adequate exhibit. The only expenses involved are the shipping costs.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Director of the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.
In order to begin considering what occupations the Jews held in San Francisco during the 1860’s, one must first estimate the number of Jews in the city. According to the city directories, San Francisco’s population increased from over 80,000 in 1861 to 119,100 in 1865. In 1861, the city directory stated that the number of Jews was thought to be between 5,000 and 8,000.1 Two references noted by Rudolph Glanz, referring to the number of Jews in San Francisco, suggested that the actual number of Jews was somewhat less than the estimate of the city directories: according to Daniel Levy, Jews in San Francisco numbered more than 3,000 in 1855; by the Civil War, about 5,000.2 In the second source, Glanz shows that the Wiener Jahrbuch’s approximation was somewhat less, about 2,500 Jews.3 Assuming that there were from 2,500 to 5,000 Jews in San Francisco between 1861 and 1865, my research indicates that 1,167 were employed.

Immediately a question arises: How does one know if a given person is a Jew or not? The answer can be seen from the methodology used for selecting a name from the directory and calling it “Jewish.” The procedure relied on three kinds of information which gave names of those who were “definite” Jews: source books, archival material, and organizational records. Certain source books listed many names of people who, as other authors and scholars showed, were Jews:


Mr. Bernstein is a candidate for ordination at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

1 San Francisco City Directory, 1861, p. 31.
3 Ibid., p. 168.

Names were obtained also from sources found in the American Jewish Archives: The Bachrach collection of the Bloch, Wise, Tandler and Mack Families; “Early San Francisco Jewry,” by Edgar M. Kahn; and records of Congregation Shaari Zedeck, San Francisco.

The third source was the city directory itself. Before and after the listing of names were organizational and synagogal lists of members and officers. This material established an individual as “definitely” a Jew. In sum, a person was a “definite” Jew if he was listed as being a Jew in the source books or the archival material or if he belonged to, or was an officer in, any of the organizations listed in the city directories:

A. J. O. K. S. B. (Ancient Jewish Order Kesher Shel Barzel); B'nai B'rith; Chebra Achim Rachmonim Association; Chebra Bikur Cholim Ukedisha Society; Chebra B'nai Lessla; Chebra Brith Shalome; Congregation and Benevolent Society, Beth Yisrael; Eureka Benevolent Association; First Hebrew Benevolent Society; First Hebrew Ladies Mutual Benefit Association; Hebrew Benevolent Society; Hebrew Self Protection Association; Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association; Ladies Society of Israelites; Ladies United Hebrew Benevolent Society; and Montefiore Lodge.

The next step was to find in the city directory the exact names of those previously listed as “definite” Jews. Only 443 “definite” Jews out of 700 had their given names and surnames identical both in the city directory and in the sources previously mentioned.

A man or woman was termed a “probable” Jew, if his/her circumstance was as follows: 1) If the given name and surname of the person were not completely identical in the directory and the sources; or 2) If the surname of a person was an unusual “Jewish-sounding” name but the given name or initial did not correspond to the record from the sources. If a person’s last name as listed in the directory was similar to the last name of a “definite” Jew and if he lived in the financial district of downtown San Francisco, then he was presumed to be a “possible” Jew.
The economic situation of the Jews in San Francisco is shown on the following charts. The majority (53.48 percent) of the Jews in San Francisco were clothing dealers, clerks, drygoods dealers, salesmen, tobacco dealers, bookkeepers, and merchants. The remaining percentage involved people who were in a large number of varied occupations. Economically, most of the Jews were in the middle class and were concentrated for the most part in what was, and to the present date is, the financial district of San Francisco.

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<th>&quot;Probable&quot; Jews</th>
<th>&quot;Possible&quot; Jews</th>
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* Please note that these are not accurate percentages as they were calculated only in order to give a rough idea of the percentage of people in each occupation. The percentages in this chart total 100.01.
Panorama of San Francisco
THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE JEWS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Number and Percentages of Jews in Given Occupations (Cont'd)

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*Please note that these are not accurate percentages as they were calculated only in order to give a rough idea of the percentage of people in each occupation. The percentages in this chart total 100.01.

Supplement to the Name List

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## Supplement to the Name List—Continued

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Book Review


It is difficult to do justice in a brief review to Yonathan Shapiro's *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization 1897–1930.* From a historical standpoint, the book seems impeccably documented. As a biography of Louis D. Brandeis, it is, as Ben Halpern says on the dust jacket, "a most significant contribution . . . a pioneer venture in a virgin field. . . . After Shapiro the day of shallow and meaningless paens to [Louis D. Brandeis] is over." Stylistically the book is not easy to read, but this is no criticism of anyone reworking a doctoral dissertation, let alone of a scholar whose native language is not English and who is stuck with the jargon characteristic of sociological writing in general.

The book, it is safe to say, is a brilliant example of the application of sociological theory to the analysis of historical events. Particularly insightful is Shapiro's choice of the political sociological theorist, Gaetano Mosca, and his use of Mosca's theories to explain the behavior of an American Jewish culture hero like Brandeis. Mosca is one of those theorists—Robert Michels and Vilfredo Pareto are others—called intellectual descendants of Machiavelli. Therefore, it was not without courage that Shapiro applied his socio-political theories to the emotionally charged area of the pre-State Zionist experience, and to the pre-Holocaust, pre-State pantheon of Jewish heroes, particularly Brandeis, whose appearance Jews likened to Abraham Lincoln's and whom no less eminent an American than Franklin D. Roosevelt called Isaiah.*

The years between 1897 and 1930 saw the continued acculturation of Jews who were primarily of German birth or descent. Most "Germans" (I use the term both for Jews of German birth and for their American offspring) had attempted, and to a large extent successfully, to adapt themselves to the American life-style. Some rose to great prominence and wealth. Their acculturation, however, was not based on assimilation. They chose to remain Jews, to establish Jewish institutions, and to seek an ideology which would keep them Jewish but not prevent them from taking advantage of what America had to offer. Although it is unfair to say that their attachment to Jewish life was a function of their marginality (i.e., their lack of total acceptance into the gentile power élite), it can be argued, as Shapiro contends, that had those German Jews been able in the non-Jewish world of America to enjoy a social status concomitant with

* See *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972), IV, 1296.

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their wealth, they may have had less need for the status conferred upon them by the Jewish community. This is an argument from scepticism. It is also an argument rooted purely in socio-political theory and lacking in sympathy for any psychological or religious factors. Shapiro's book is, however, socio-historical and heavily influenced by Mosca (see, in particular, pp. 268 et seq.).

By the 1870's, most of the 200,000 Jewish emigrants from Germany had already settled in America. Their entrance into American life was probably not as traumatic as that of their East European coreligionists would be. They entered a simpler America, while some came from an already industrialized society and already knew Western rules of dress, decorum, and punctuality. For the most part, they adapted quickly to American middle-class standards. To be sure, they had accents and were Jewish, but they were "civilized." By the 1890's, most middle- and upper-class non-Jews were willing to see them as Americans of "the Mosaic persuasion" or "Israelites" or "Hebrews" (rather flattering terms in a culture whose groundwork may be said to have been laid by Old Testament-emulating Puritans). Nevertheless, the German Jews resisted total assimilation out of a religio-historical loyalty to Judaism, a resistance probably based on their lack of English origin and their ties to a non-Christian religion. Despite their general acceptance into middle-class America, they were still marginal, but—unlike their situation in Germany—suffered no conflict between the concept of nation and the concept of country. They tended to believe that America was both their country and their nation, and they did not regard settlement in America as a temporary stopping-off point for the exiled Jewish nation.

Between 1880 and 1920, as the result of various political and economic upheavals in Eastern Europe and America's continuance of her open immigration laws, some 2.5 million East European Jews came to these shores. They were, to say the least, a mixed multitude. Many were impoverished. Those who were religious were most often what we would now call ultra-Orthodox. They possessed a life-style associated with territories newly industrialized or pre-industrial. They tended to be technologically unskilled, were bound to a calendar which centered on Jewish events, and spoke loudly in a semi-Western tongue. If only temporarily (until the acculturation process could take place—which it did with remarkable speed), they regarded themselves as Jews who, as a nation in exile, were merely manifesting the universal Jewish experience of being uprooted from one country and forced to settle in another. They were not only religiously different from middle-class Americans—something that Protestant Americans were willing, if reluctantly, to tolerate—they were attitudinally different and appeared to be virtually indissoluble in the American melting pot.
To complicate matters, among these "huddled masses" were people who differed not only in life-style and religion from familiar American patterns, but also in some instances harbored political ideologies potentially dangerous to the "American way of life." Along with the Orthodox Jews came Jews who had abandoned religious Judaism for other sets of values, including a variety of socialist ideologies—and with them came an educated intellectual leadership, highly literate and capable of spreading atheistic, socially disruptive ideas among Jews as well as non-Jews. The appearance of these people on the American scene in huge numbers, people who were so pronouncedly Jews (not "Hebrews" or "Israelites"), had a disturbing, anxiety-provoking effect not only on Christian Americans, but also on the already acculturated Jews of the upper classes.

The fears the acculturated "Germans" had were not groundless. As accepted as they were among Americans, they still were thought of and still thought of themselves as Jews. There was social unrest in the country. Labor was trying to organize. A growing discontent with poor working conditions was beginning to produce a class consciousness among many American workers. The robber-barons were beginning to be looked upon not as pilgrims of progress, but as oppressors who needed to be curbed before they took full control, turned the country from a democracy into a plutocracy, and reduced the working classes to serfdom. The German Jews suffered, then, from a two-pronged attack. On the one hand, they were perceived as Jews, linked to the strange mass which had recently arrived in enormous numbers and whose presence pointed out to Americans in general that, despite their Americanization, the Germans were kin to other Jews who were no more conventionally American than were Chinese, Blacks, or Irish Catholics. On the other hand, in the Jewish socialists who were part of the wave of immigration the upper classes saw a threat to their control of the government, which until the time of Theodore Roosevelt made little or no effort to check the monopolies now sparking a growing discontent with the way America seemed to be heading.

Thus, the marginality of the established American Jewish community—a marginality partially self-imposed by its desire to remain Jewish—was exacerbated by the 2,500,000 East European Jews who immigrated to this country within a span of forty years. First came a loss not of "German" power and wealth, but of "German" status. The established American Jewish community, as a result of the East European immigration, became visibly Jewish to Americans of both high and low status. The official and well-known American Jewish institutions—such as Temple Emanu-El, the Hebrew Union College, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the American Jewish Committee, and the B’nai B’rith, among others—were highly respected, as were the Jews of wealth and culture who ran them. The "Germans" were counted on as loyal Americans; they were
Louis D. Brandeis
Distinguished reformer and Zionist
not open to charges of dual loyalty. Their general philanthropy was appreciated, as was undoubtedly their readiness to contribute to the campaigns of political candidates. Suddenly, or so it appeared, these Jews—perhaps not the most prominent among them, but those insecure in their recent entry into the middle and upper-middle class—found themselves identified in the minds of less successful Americans with cheap foreign labor and in the minds of the ruling élite with potential saboteurs of the status quo. In short, the American Jewish establishment saw itself threatened. It did its best to stave off the status loss by providing financial aid for the immigrants and establishing institutions for Americanizing the East European Jews. Realizing that Reform Judaism would be totally unacceptable to the East Europeans, the “Germans” gave generously to the Jewish Theological Seminary—a middle-ground institution which would produce English-speaking rabbis to lead synagogues comfortable for religious East European Jews and, hopefully, to draw the political radicals back to religion. The Seminary was also to encourage the development of synagogues which, though traditional, would be more Westernized than the shuls imported from the East European shtetlach.

Some of the “Germans”—not a numerically significant group—did something more. Either out of a loyalty to Jews and Judaism or as a result of their own sense of marginality—or an amalgam of the two—they embraced an ideology which would be appealing to Jews and help Jews maintain their cohesiveness as a group. They supported Zionism or activities which would be seen as intimately linked to the development of Jewish life in the Land of Israel.

Although before 1914 active supporters of Zionism in America constituted no mass movement, Shapiro speculates on why Zionism appealed to American Jews at all. By the end of the nineteenth century, some East Europeans had made it into the middle class. The growth of populism in the United States along with the fact that no rise in status accompanied their wealth made them well aware of their marginality. They became somewhat frightened by and disillusioned with what was happening in America. The Czarist pogroms of the early 1900’s and the worsening plight of Jews in Eastern Europe elicited sympathy and concern on the part of other American Jews. The emergence of the World Zionist Organization gave the existence of Zionism as a movement much publicity. Awareness on the part of “German” leaders of their own declining status in the eyes of the American non-Jewish power élite and the raising of Jewish consciousness (perhaps part of the same phenomenon), added to the admiration which acculturated East European Jews had for the “German” leadership of the American Jewish community, led a number of prominent Jewish “establishmentarians” to embrace Zionism and to found the miniscule Federation of American Zionists in the late 1890’s.
The F. A. Z. faced internal conflicts, a colossal battle with the American Jewish Committee, a struggle with Jewish socialist intellectuals, a conflict with the Orthodox Knights of Zion, and a general apathy on the part of most American Jews. As Shapiro says (p. 52): “By 1914, the Zionist Organization in America was small and weak, in financial distress and with no influence in the Jewish community. A spirit of gloom and defeat engulfed the few dedicated leaders. There seemed to be no future for Zionism in America, and several leaders thought of migrating to Palestine (subsequently Henrietta Szold and Judah Magnes were among them), since this was the one place where Zionism was active and had a future.” Such, he writes, was “the state of the Zionist Organization and the mood of its party leaders and party workers. The situation was to be completely transformed with the accession to leadership of Louis D. Brandeis.” In short, Brandeis did not appear on the American Jewish and/or Zionist scene in vacuo—and the context in which he did appear needs to be understood if his role as a Jewish and/or Zionist leader is to be properly evaluated and if Shapiro’s approach to him is to be carefully assessed.

One of the enigmas which, according to Shapiro, can never quite be solved is Brandeis’ sudden embracing of and devotion to not only Zionism, but any Jewish cause. Born to a family only nominally Jewish, denied any formal Jewish education, having had his marriage solemnized by Felix Adler, the founder of the Ethical Culture Society, Brandeis appears mysteriously to have found in the Zionist movement a way back to the Jewish people and a genuine commitment to their survival. Perhaps there are simple explanations. One would be that his maternal uncle, Lewis Dembitz, a practising and learned Jew, exerted an inordinate influence on Brandeis (to such a degree that Brandeis changed his middle name from David to Dembitz). Another factor may be that, as a liberal labor lawyer defending the oppressed Jewish workers, Brandeis developed a sincere affection for struggling immigrant Jews and their historical plight.

The fact is that by 1914 Brandeis was such a prominent figure on both the Jewish and non-Jewish scene that his “conversion” to Zionism and his assumption of leadership of the Provisional Zionist Committee attracted not only a host of newcomers to Zionism, but won back virtually all the leaders who by 1911 had abandoned an active role in the F. A. Z. All this took place in a matter of days (p. 53). He drew not only the old leadership from “German” stock, but East Europeans as well. Certainly, Brandeis’ “conversion” to Zionism and his assumption of American Zionist leadership gave Zionism not only direction, but hope and respectability. Speaking sociologically rather than psychologically, especially in the light of later events, it is not so difficult to account for either Brandeis’ conversion to Zionism, his attraction for American Jews, or his later silence in the face of those Zionist leaders who came from Europe to gain
support for their more militant positions vis-à-vis the founding of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Brandeis was a talented liberal with political ambitions. By 1914, the American Jewish population already comprised a large voting mass. Furthermore, it was by and large liberal. The East European Jews saw in liberalism a chance for upward mobility, while those of German descent were finding the conservative gentile power élite unwilling to accept them as equals. If Brandeis could convince non-Jewish liberal ruling circles that he was a recognized Jewish leader as well as a distinguished liberal, the liberal élite would find a place for him in its political plans. Furthermore, 1914 saw the outbreak of World War I. American Jews were mostly either immigrants or the children of immigrants. They were concerned over the plight of their European relatives. Though Zionism as Jewish nationalism was “un-American” in the sense that it defined Jews as a nation and not merely as a religion, Jewish fears for the safety of their kin, in combination with the idea of Palestinianism—the view that Palestine was to be a refuge for displaced Jews and not a homeland for all Jews—made Zionism a suitable ideology for American Jews. With Brandeis as its visible leader, Zionism proved, in view of his unexceptionable American credentials, a banner around which most Americans Jews could rally.

This, in essence, is how Shapiro explains the sudden emergence of Brandeis on the Jewish scene, the acceptance of Zionism (vaguely understood) as an ideology for the Jewish masses, the Zionist silence of Brandeis once he had obtained his Supreme Court seat, and the break between Brandeis and Jewish leaders, some native Americans, but mostly Europeans, who espoused the establishment of a political Jewish state. This is Mosca pure, simple, and brilliant. It is also Shapiro thorough and thoroughly a disciple of Mosca.

What remains to be explained because, as Shapiro points out, it is still a mystery, and not within his sociological province, is Brandeis’ “conversion.” What further needs explanation, and perhaps its explanation lies in the Holocaust or simply in the Jewish “mystique,” is the apparently visceral attachment of American Jews to present-day Israel, which is a political Jewish state. Shapiro did not intend to answer these questions and should not be faulted for failing to address himself to them. Even so, the failure to answer these questions or the hesitation even to begin touching them demonstrates the hiatus that still exists in Jewish studies, especially in the confluences of history, sociology, and ego psychology. After Shapiro—but not instead of him—we need a psychohistory of American Jews and those who have been, are, or will be their leaders.

Norman B. Mirsky

Cincinnati, Ohio
Brief Notices


The author argues that "to be a Jewish American is simply not so 'easy' as it is to be a Protestant or a Catholic one. In fact, the comic image of the Jew—created largely by himself yet perpetuated in the public consciousness—turns out...to constitute evidence...that Jewishness is not really respectable in America." Included are a bibliography and an index.


Part of the "Major Issues in American History" series, Professor Apple's anthology is devoted to what might be called "classic" essays on the immigrants, mostly Catholics and Jews from Southern and Eastern Europe, who came to the United States between the 1880's and the mid-1920's. Among the writers represented are Jacob A. Riis, Lillian D. Wald, Frances A. Kellor, Hutchins Hapgood, Horace M. Kallen, and Franz Boas. The volume also contains introductory and bibliographical essays as well as a selective chronology.


Edited by Jeannette Meisel (Mrs. Salo W.) Baron, this volume "looks back on essays and addresses written over a period of more than thirty years during one of the stormiest periods in human history." Among the subjects covered by the distinguished author are Hebraic studies in America, communal pioneering, the image of the rabbi, immigration, philanthropy, education, scholarship, and American Jewish cultural achievement. The book is well documented and indexed.


The author, a member of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion faculty, subtites his book "The Self-Deceptions of American Jewry." As a theologian-cum-sociologist (though he makes no such claim for himself), Dr. Borowitz has come to believe that we American Jews "are more fundamentally Jewish than we are willing to admit." He devotes the bulk of this challenging essay to an analysis of "the question of Jewishness in existential terms."


Among the writers represented in this anthology are Robert Alter, Irving

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BRIEF NOTICES


As Professor Moses Rischin says in a foreword, this volume "is the first comprehensive guide to the historical sources for an important ethnic group in any major American city." The 609 items of the bibliography are supplemented with an index.


The well-known sociologist Nathan Glazer spent three days as Jewish scholar-in-residence at the University of Arizona in March, 1972. During his stay, the authors taped an interview with him. It is published here. Among the topics of discussion were Black-Jewish relations, anti-Semitism, the Jewish Defense League, American Judaism, New York City, and Women's Liberation.


Southern Jews, writes the North Carolina-born author, have been "the provincials, the Jews of the periphery," with "the great Jewish drama in America... being played elsewhere." Evans is "not certain what it means to be both a Jew and a Southerner—to have inherited the Jewish longing for a homeland while being raised with the Southerner's sense of home." He attempts here "to bare the soul of the Jewish South, to touch the subjective edges of the experience." He appends to his narrative lists of Jews elected to public office in the South, a catalogue of threats and violent acts against Jewish institutions, a table of Jewish population shifts, a bibliography, and an index.


This very well researched and documented book, its author tells us, resulted from twelve years of studying "the complicity of the Western democracies in... the slaughter of European Jewry in World War II." As Professor Friedman sees it, the Roosevelt administration's failure to take decisive action against Nazi genocide is to be blamed not only on the President and his advisors, but also on a timid American Jewry fearful "of intensifying anti-Semitism" in America, and most of all on "the faceless mass of American citizens" who may have disapproved of Nazi policies, but never demanded that Congress "alter existing immigration laws" and never urged Roosevelt "to issue executive decrees to aid" Nazi-threatened Jews.

In a foreword to Dr. Friesel's book, Benjamin V. Cohen speaks of his friendship with the little known American Zionist leader Julius Simon (1875–1969), whom he describes as "dedicated to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and later to the economic development of the State of Israel." Simon, who had been associated both with Louis D. Brandeis and Chaim Weizmann, in 1931 became president of the Palestine Economic Corporation—which represented a break with Weizmann and a reinforcement of the Brandeis viewpoint. Dr. Friesel, an Israeli scholar, includes in this unusual volume Simon's own memoirs in addition to others of his writings, among them letters to Weizmann, Robert Szold, Benjamin V. Cohen, Brandeis, and Dr. Friesel himself. Also included is an essay by Friesel on Simon's troubled membership on the Zionist Executive in 1920–1921, when, as Friesel points out, he was frustrated by an inability to find a compromise between Weizmann and Brandeis. The book, an impressive contribution to the history of American Zionism, contains a chronology of Simon's career, and an index.


In this most recent of his books, the indefatigable Dr. Glanz studies the transplantation to the American scene of European folkloristic views of the Jew. These notions, he demonstrates, often added up to "social criticism humorously expressed." The book contains a number of illustrations and is very well documented and indexed.


Professor Guttmann intends his book to be "a study of the responses of Orthodox and other Jews in an unfamiliar country that combined new freedoms with more than a trace of old hostilities. It is a literary study of the conversions to 'Americanism' (and even to Christianity), to political radicalism, and—on the part of those who had abandoned or never known Judaism—to some form of the faith of their fathers." He ranges from early nineteenth-century Charleston's Abraham Moise to present-day writers like Saul Bellow and Norman Mailer. The book is documented as well as supplied with a bibliography and an index.


Rabbi Heckelman himself took part in the war whose history he rehearses in this volume. His account seeks to document "the extent to which [North] Americans were active [as volunteers] in virtually every phase and every area of the war" and also reveals "the range of different backgrounds and approaches which prompted some very different kinds of Americans to voluntarily risk—and lose—their lives, so that the State of Israel could be born, and live." The book is supplied with notes and an index.

The author, a high-ranking member of the American Jewish Committee staff and a frequent contributor to Commentary Magazine, offers here a collection of his essays written between 1960 and 1971, with "Jewish modernity" their "dominant theme." Some of these essays appeared first in Daedalus and Commonweal; most of them, in Commentary. An index is included.

HORWITT, PINK, in collaboration with BERTHA SKOLE. Jews in Berkshire County. Williamstown, Mass.: DOR Company, 1972. viii, 74 pp. $4.95

"When, why and where the Jews came to live in Berkshire County [western Massachusetts], how they lived as Jews and how they integrated into the larger community are the questions" Mrs. Horwitt and Mrs. Skole attempt to answer. An index is included.


Issued by the American Jewish Committee's South American Office in Argentina, this volume is divided into a section on Latin American Jewish communities, another section of historical and sociological studies and essays on various aspects of Jewish life in Latin America, and a third section consisting of a directory of Latin American Jewish institutions. Also included is a bibliography. The book is a Latin American counterpart to the American Jewish Year Book and an invaluable source of data about the Jewish experience "south of the border."


Traveling to the Pacific Coast during the summer of 1877 in the hope of winning new members for the still fledgling Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Isaac M. Wise sent twelve reports on his trip back to his American Israelite. The reports, says Dr. Kramer, are "a treasure trove of American and American Jewish experiences and reflections upon the life of the period." Reprinted in this volume, the reports, annotated and indexed, are supplemented with a foreword by Glenn S. Dumke and a preface by Moses Rischin.


American Jewish literature, the editor declares, "is the only movement in twentieth century American literature as important as the 'Southern Renaissance';" it is also, he argues, a phenomenon which bears "witness, even in distorted or inverted ways, [to] traditional religious and literary moments." His
anthology of critical writings on the subject includes works by Theodore Solotaroff, Robert Alter, Helen Weinberg, Marcus Klein, et al. Of particular value is Jackson R. Bryer’s “Selected Checklist.”


“All over the world,” write the editors, “groups are publishing a Jewish ‘underground’ press” as an alternative to the “staid and lifeless . . . ‘establishment’ press.” The editors want to preserve “some of the best writings from this movement.” They include selections on the New Left, Socialist Zionism, the Jewish Counterculture, Soviet Jewry, Jewish Women, the Jewish Defense League, and what they term “Voices of the Movement.” Some of the writers included are Arthur I. Waskow, Amos Kenan, Stephen C. Lerner, Judah J. Shapiro, Everett Gendler, Bill Novak, and Sol Stern. In addition to an introductory essay on Jewish radicalism, the volume offers a listing of radical groups and a bibliography.


Dr. Rivkin, a member of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion’s Cincinnati faculty, first published this book in hardcover in 1971. In it, he attempts “to make intelligible the entire range and sweep of Jewish history, and to expose all of its remarkable complexity as the working through of a concept of the unity of all reality . . . .” The book lays great emphasis on socioeconomic factors, and is much more a philosophy of Jewish history than a narrative history. It includes an index.


Researchers of the Nazi effort to annihilate European Jewry during World War II will find this volume an invaluable aid.

ROSENBERG, STUART E. The Jewish Community in Canada: Volume 2, In the Midst of Freedom. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971. 224 pp. $15.95

The first volume of this work appeared in 1970, and Dr. Rosenberg concentrated then on the Jewish historical experience in various Canadian localities. In volume 2, he discusses “the communal structures and the public movements, nurtured in freedom, which are at the very core” of Canadian Jewish life. He wants to “demonstrate how Canadian Jews . . . continued the traditional communal process, building a community that has remained in the mainstream of Jewish history.” The volume is well illustrated, documented, and indexed.

ROTHENBERG, JEROME. Poland/1931. New York: New Directions, 1974. 152 pp. $7.50

New York-born Rothenberg has assembled in this volume previously published sections of “Poland/1931” (from Poems for the Game of Silence [1971],
New Directions 28 [1974], etc.) along with new material completing the cycle. He describes the work as "an experimental attempt to explore and recover ancestral sources in the world of Jewish mystics, thieves, and madmen." Poland/1931, which includes illustrations, is remarkable not only for its language and technical brilliance but for its character as a free-verse collage tracing the interior journey between Jewish life in America and Eastern Europe.


The author, a painter, photographer, and novelist, offers a nostalgic account of a cooperative village founded in the mid-1930's by immigrant Jewish settlers who "weren't yet very comfortable in English and [were] removed from the [East European] stetl and the pogrom only by their sojourn in the tenements of Williamsburg and the Bronx." The settlers, needle trade workers, intended to become part-time farmers in the new community. Subsequently, the artist Ben Shahn joined them.


The author undertook this biographical study of Bernard Revel (1885-1940)—originally as a doctoral dissertation at Yeshiva University—since, apart from its being known that Revel "molded the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary into a major institution and also founded the Yeshiva College [now University]... only scant details of his life were available and deplorably little had been published about him since... his death." The work, well documented and illustrated, contains a number of appendices as well as a bibliography (including one of Revel's writings) and an index.

RUBIN, ISRAEL. Satmar: An Island in the City. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972. x, 272 pp. $8.95

Dr. Rubin's purpose is "to investigate one core group which is the recognized dominant force in Hasidic Williamsburg [Brooklyn, N. Y.]... the Congregation Yetev Lev D'Satmar," whose leader, Reb Yoel Teitelbaum—the Satmarer Rebbe—is probably best known for his determination to reinforce the ultra-orthodoxy and militant anti-Zionism characteristic of Satmar life. Among the topics discussed by Dr. Rubin are the Satmar community's historical background, its belief system and social structure, its views on family life and education, and its economic behavior and political orientation. The study is documented, and contains a useful index.


The author, a teacher in the New York City public school system, was for years active in the United Federation of Teachers, but in 1970 broke with UFT President Albert Shanker and established a dissident caucus of high school teachers. In this book, he makes, inter alia, a contribution to the
RECORDS AND PAPERS OF SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM. Correspondence, speeches, pamphlets, and other miscellaneous material, 1943, 1946, 1948, 1950–1964, and 1966–1968; Typescript and Manuscript (Received from HUC-JIR, Los Angeles.)

B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATION. Minutes for the City College of New York (uptown), 1945–1974; and related material; Manuscript and Typescript; Microfilm (Received from Arthur J. Zuckerman, New York.)

BRADDOCK, PA. Independent Order Free Sons of Judah. Constitution and by-laws, 1890; and list of committee members, 1898–1905; Manuscript and Typescript; English, German, and Yiddish (Received from Solomon B. Freehof, Pittsburgh.)

GOLDSBORO, N. C. B'nai B'rith, Leopold Zunz Lodge No. 364. Minutes, 1886–1970; Manuscript and Typescript; Microfilm (Received from Robert L. Kravitz, Cincinnati.)

JEWISH CONCILIATION BOARD OF AMERICA. Correspondence, records, and various other materials on individual cases, 1953–1972; Manuscript and Typescript; Restricted (Received from the Jewish Conciliation Board of America.)

JEWISH WAR VETERANS, MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT. Newspaper clippings on their activities, 1948–1952; proceedings of annual conventions, 1953–1956; and miscellaneous material, 1947–1973; Typescript (Received from Herbert Block, Canton, Mass.)

NASHVILLE, TENN. Minute book of the Woodmont Country Club organized on October 15, 1882, as the Standard Club of Nashville, 1882–1889; Manuscript; Microfilm (Received from Mrs. I. Frank, Nashville.)

TOLEDO, OHIO. Council of Jewish Women. Minutes, 1905–1912; Manuscript (Received from Allen I. Freehling, Toledo.)

HAMBURGER, NATHAN; Vincennes, Ind. Apprenticeship indenture involving Hamburger and Adam Gimbel, 1869; Manuscript and Typescript (Received from Nathan Hamburger, Jr., Los Angeles, through HUC-JIR, Los Angeles.)

MAYER, A. L.; Richmond, Va. Contract engaging the Rev. Dr. Mayer as "Minister, Preacher, Reader, and Schoolteacher" by Congregation House of Israel (Keneseth Israel), Richmond, 1866; Manuscript; Xerox copy
The American Jewish Archives

With the *Yishuv* in the Holy Land compelled to invest the bulk of its energies in self-defense and socio-economic development, North American Jewry is the only Jewish community able to exercise effective and vigorous hegemony on the world Jewish scene. It is the Jews of North America who have had to shoulder the formidable and crucial task of preserving, securing, and strengthening the age-old Jewish heritage, one of the most honorable and most significant legacies in human history.

That is why the Archives was established in 1947—to help North American Jews fulfill their spiritual and intellectual obligations to themselves and to world Jewry. Both the Archives and its patron, the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, are committed to the philosophy that only to the extent that North American Jews are familiar with their 300-year-old communal experience on this continent will they be able to carry out successfully the tasks imposed on them by the history of our times. Those who are ignorant of the Jewish past will be ill-equipped to face the Jewish future.

The Archives realizes its philosophy by devoting itself systematically to gathering, preserving, and evaluating the records of the North American Jewish past—synagogal and societal records, personal papers, diaries, memoirs, governmental documents, newspaper and magazine clippings, photographs, and the like. Whatever illuminates the Jewish experience in the Western Hemisphere is of interest, concern, and value. The American Jewish story is a proud and inspiring story. It deserves to be studied and understood. To that end the American Jewish Archives stands ready to employ all the resources at its disposal, but its program cannot be maintained without sufficient funds.
LETTER OF INTENT

The American Jewish Archives:

To help carry forward the programs of the American Jewish Archives

☐ I have made provision for AJA     ☐ I will make provision for AJA
  ☐ By including in my will a bequest to AJA
  ☐ By giving a life insurance policy to AJA
  ☐ By establishing a Trust naming AJA as beneficiary

This letter of intent is delivered subject to the understanding that it does not constitute a legal commitment. It may be changed by me from time to time as my circumstances change.

Name__________________________________________
Address________________________________________
Signature_____________________________ Date________
The "Brief Notice" for Harold Saltzman's book *Race War in High School: The Ten-Year Destruction of Franklin K. Lane High School in Brooklyn* which partially appeared on page 89 of the April 1975 issue of *American Jewish Archives* is reprinted in its entirety below. The first page of "Selected Acquisitions," also omitted, is printed on the reverse.

These errors occurred when the journals were printed; for this we apologize.


The author, a teacher in the New York City public school system, was for years active in the United Federation of Teachers, but in 1970 broke with UFT President Albert Shanker and established a dissident caucus of high school teachers. In this book, he makes, *inter alia*, a contribution to the literature of the Black-White (and Black-Jewish) relationship in what Harry Golden has called "the greatest Jewish city in the world." Included are five appendices, among them a "Who's Who of Race War in the [Lane High] School."
Selected Acquisitions

CONGREGATIONAL AND COMMUNITY RECORDS AND HISTORIES

AKRON, OHIO. Temple Israel. Board of Trustees minutes, 1972-1973; Typescript; Mimeographed copies
(Received from Temple Israel.)

ALPENA, MICH. Temple Beth El. Minutes, 1890-1928; Manuscript; Microfilm
(Received from Maynard N. Cohen, Ossineke, Mich., through David S. Hachen, Cleveland, Ohio.)

BALTIMORE, MD. Har Sinai Congregation. Minutes, 1884-1967; Typescript; Printed copy
(Received from Leonard J. Mervis, Easton.)

BOSTON, MASS. Congregation Adath Jeshurun. Constitution and bylaws, 1926; Typescript; Printed copy
(Received from Robert Morrison, Boston.)

CANADA (Alberta). “History of the Birth of Edmonton and Calgary Jewish Communities,” by Hyman Goldstick, 1960; Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Bernard A. Silver, Edmonton, Alta.)

CHICAGO, ILL. B’nai Abraham Zion Congregation. Constitution and bylaws, 1919; Typescript
(Received from Leonard J. Mervis, Chicago.)

(Received from Erich Rosenthal, New York.)

CHICAGO, ILL. K. A. M. Isaiah Israel Congregation. Board of Directors Minutes, 1899-1930; Typescript and Manuscript; Xerox copies
(Received from K. A. M. Isaiah Israel Congregation.)

CINCINNATI, OHIO. Adath Israel Congregation. Constitution and bylaws, c. 1926; Typescript;
(Received from Robert Morrison, Cincinnati.)

CINCINNATI, OHIO. “Recent Changes in the Settlement Patterns of the Jewish Population of Cincinnati,” by David P. Varady, 1973; Typescript; Printed copy
(Received from Walter A. Rubenstein, Cincinnati.)

CINCINNATI, OHIO. “Survey of the Jewish Community of El Paso, Tex.,” compiled by Fanny Saittinger Goodman, 1970; Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Mrs. I. B. Goodman, El Paso.)

HELENA, MONTANA. Temple Emanuel. Minute books, 1889-1935; Manuscript
(Received from the Montana Historical Society, Helena.)

McKEESPORT, PA. “The Early History of the McKeesport Jewish Community,” by Sarah Landesman, ca. 1954; and congregational minutes and records of Temple B’nai Israel, 1918-1955; Manuscript and Typescript; Microfilm and Xerox copy

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SELECTED ACQUISITIONS

(Received from Fred W. Windmueller, Richmond.)
NEWTON (NATHAN), Mark; New York, N. Y. Marriage contract of Newton and Flora Horwitz, 1852; Manuscript and Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Mrs. John M. Davis, Camberwell, Victoria, Australia.)

LETTERS AND PAPERS

ADLER, ROBERT S.; Chicago, Ill. Correspondence with various individuals, 1947–1973; Typescript
(Received from Robert S. Adler.)

BRAV, STANLEY R.; Cincinnati, Ohio. Correspondence concerning the American Council for Judaism, 1941–1944; and correspondence concerning non-Zionist activities, including the attempt to establish a "Non-Zionist Friends of Jewish Palestine," 1944–1947 and 1965; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Stanley R. Brav.)

CINCINNATI, Ohio. Letters, newspaper clippings, and records on activities of descendants of the Workum, Hart, Levy, and other Western and Central European Jewish families in Cincinnati, 1792–1970; Typescript and Manuscript; Xerox copies
(Received from Mrs. Aaron F. Levy, Cincinnati.)

FRIEDBERG, LILLIAN A. (Mrs. Emanuel B.); Pittsburgh. Lecture and diary notes, correspondence, and awards, during Mrs. Friedberg's tenure as executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council, 1921–1965; and minutes of the JCRC, 1951–1965; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Mrs. Emanuel B. Friedberg.)

GORDON, IRVING; Atlanta, Ga. Correspondence, newspaper clippings, and various papers on his activities in the Workmen's Circle and on the Jewish Labor Committee, 1960–1970; Typescript, Manuscript, and Printed; English and Hebrew; Xerox copies
(Received from Southern Labor Activities, Georgia State University, Atlanta.)

IDELOTHN, ABRAHAM ZEVI; Cincinnati, Ohio. Correspondence, 1924–1937; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Mrs. Samuel S. Cohon, Los Angeles.)

ISRAEL, EDWARD L.; Baltimore, Md. Sermons, lectures, addresses, 1914–1941; articles by and about him, 1923–1955; correspondence, 1918–1941; diary, 1930; and miscellaneous clippings on his activities; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Mrs. Edward L. Israel, Yorba Linda, Cal.)

JACOBSON, MOSES P.; Shreveport, La. Sermons, 1899–1913; Typescript
(Received from Randall M. Falk, Nashville, Tenn.)

KALLEN, HORACE M.; Oneonta, N. Y. Letters from Senator Hubert H.
Humphrey thanking Kallen for sending him a copy of his book and for comments on the possibility of Humphrey's candidacy as Democratic Presidential nominee in the 1972 campaign, 1971; Typescript
(Received from Horace M. Kallen.)

Miller, Judea B.; Rochester, N. Y. Letters and miscellaneous papers on his activities in Wichita, Kans., Malden, Mass., and Rochester, N. Y., 1962-1974; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Judea B. Miller.)

Mishkin, Annette; Chicago, Ill. Correspondence, 1952-1962; Manuscript and Typescript; English, Hebrew, and Yiddish
(Received from L. C. Mishkin, Chicago.)

Morris, Jacob M.; Denver, Colo. Correspondence concerning Dr. Morris' activities within the Denver Jewish community and in national organizations, 1912-1959; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Mrs. Jacob M. Morris, Los Angeles.)

Morrison, Robert; Boston, Mass. Various materials on his activities within Boston's Orthodox Jewish community, 1929-1938; Manuscript, Typescript, and Printed; Hebrew, Yiddish, and English
(Received from Robert Morrison.)

Nones, David B.; Philadelphia, Pa. Correspondence, miscellaneous papers, documents, and biographical data concerning the Nones Family, 1748-1939; and receipt book of David B. Nones, 1819-1832; Manuscript, Typescript, and Printed; Spanish, Hebrew, and English
(Received from Norbert Neumann, York, Pa.)

Olan, Levi A.; Dallas, Tex. Correspondence, 1957-1969; Typescript and Manuscript
(Received from Levi A. Olan.)

Podet, Allen H.; Seattle, Wash. Papers and correspondence on his U. S. Naval Reserve chaplaincy, 1958-1971; Manuscript, Typescript, and Printed
(Received from Allen H. Podet.)

Reuler, Samuel R.; St. Paul, Minn. Memoirs by his daughter, Edith Ann (Mrs. Arthur) Winston, describing family life in her childhood; letters, 1910-1958, mostly by Reuler to his wife or daughter with letterheads showing various businesses he worked with; and newspaper articles concerning members of the Reuler Family; Manuscript and Typescript; Xerox copies
(Received from Mrs. Arthur Winston, Marshalltown, Ia.)

Saks, Leon; Cincinnati, Ohio. Correspondence with David Philipson, 1945-1949; and with others, 1945-1962; newspaper clippings, 1935-1960; and miscellaneous material on his career in dentistry, his tenure as president of Rockdale Temple, and numerous other activities, 1943-1962; Manuscript, Typescript, and Printed
(Received from Mrs. Leon Saks.)

Sola, Abraham De; Montreal, Canada. Various items on his activities, n.d.; Manuscript and Typescript; Xerox copies
(Received from Mrs. Evelyn Miller, Montreal.)

(Received from Steven Foster, Cincinnati.)

Voorsanger, Elkan C.; San Francisco, Cal. Correspondence, 1919-1962; journal of a trip to Israel, 1949; and correspondence of Mrs. Voorsanger, 1918-1972; Manuscript and Typescript
(Received from Mrs. Elkan C. Voorsanger, San Francisco.)

Waller, William Lowe; Jackson, Miss.
Letter from Governor William L. Waller, of Mississippi, to Rabbi Allan H. Schwartzman, about the massacre of Israeli athletes at the Olympics in Munich, West Germany, 1972; Typescript
(Received from Allan H. Schwartzman, Vicksburg.)

WEIL, FRANK L.; New York, N. Y. Materials on his numerous interests and activities, 1926–1957; Manuscript, Typescript, and Printed; German and English
(Received from Mrs. Frank L. Weil, New York.)

(Received from Mrs. James H. Becker, Highland Park, Ill.)

WISE, ISAAC MAYER; Albany, N. Y. Letter to Isaac Leeser, about Morris J. Raphall's participation in a Torah dedication ceremony for Congregation Beth El, 1852; Manuscript; Xerox copy
(Received from Naphtali J. Rubinger, Chicago.)

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, BIOGRAPHIES, DIARIES, AND MEMOIRS

AUERBACH, CLARICE ELIAS; New York, N. Y. “Recollections of the Early Jewish Residents of Raleigh, North Carolina,” 1973; Typescript; Mimeographed copy
(Received from Leo J. Stillpass, Raleigh.)

BERMAN, ALEXANDER AND SARAH; Minneapolis, Minn. “Sarah and Alexander Berman: A Family Chronicle by Their Children,” 1973; Typescript copy
(Received from William Berman, Sacramento, Cal.)

CHEMERSINSKY FAMILY; New York, N. Y. “A Life to Live Is Not Like Crossing a Field,” a family history by Mollie Seletsky, 1973–1974; Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Mollie Seletsky, New York.)

EPSTEIN, LOUIS; Worcester, Mass. Diary, “Incidents and Occurrences in an Ordinary Life of an Ordinary Person,” translated from Yiddish by Max Hurowitz, n.d.; Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Mrs. Joseph Klein, Worcester.)

KERMAN, JULIUS; University City, Mo. Autobiography, 1974; Typescript
(Received from Julius Kerman.)

LONDON FAMILY; Boston, Mass: “Their Exits and Their Entrances,” by Bessie London Pouzzner, 1970; Typescript; Printed copy
(Received from Bessie London Pouzzner, Paris, France.)

PHILLIPS, PHILIP; Washington, D. C. Diary, 1876; Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Saul J. Rubin, Savannah, Ga.)

PITLUCK FAMILY; St. Joseph, Mo. “The History of the Pitluck Family,” by Mollie Pitluck Bell, 1974; Typescript; Xerox copy
(Received from Stephen A. Arnold, St. Joseph.)

ROSENBLUTH, ROBERT; Chicago, Ill. Autobiography, 1887–1962; Typescript
(Received from Rosemary Davies, Ames, Iowa.)

(Received from Robert K. Straus, Santa Barbara, Cal.)
GENEALOGIES

JACOBSON-KRUSKAL FAMILY; New York, N. Y., Chicago, Ill., and Washington, D. C. Genealogical information, documents, and correspondence, 1879–1972; Typescript and Manuscript; English, German, and Hebrew; Original and Xerox copies

(Received from Richard D. Brown, Storrs, Conn.)

JAROSLAWSKI FAMILY; New York, N. Y. Genealogy, compiled by Malcolm H. Stern, 1956; Typescript; Mimeographed copy

(Received from Malcolm H. Stern, New York.)

THESSES

ADLER, JOSEPH G. “The Public Career of Senator David Levy Yulee.” Ph.D., Case Western Reserve University, 1972; Microfilm

BAUGHIN, WILLIAM A. “Biography of Murray Seasongood.” Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, 1972; Microfilm


BERNSTEIN, WALTER. “A Study of Factors Affecting Affiliation of Jewish Non-member Families with the Columbus Jewish Center.” Master of Social Work, Ohio State University, 1957; Microfilm

FRIEDLAND, ERIC L. “Historical and Theological Development of the Non-Orthodox Prayerbooks in the United States.” Ph.D., Brandeis University, 1967; Microfilm

GASTWIRT, HAROLD P. “Fraud, Corruption, and Holiness: Kashrut Supervision in New York City, 1881–1940.” Ph.D., Columbia University, 1971; Microfilm


KAUFMAN, STUART BRUCE. “The Phalanx and Samuel Gompers: Trade Unionism and the Revolutionary Dream, 1848–1896.” Ph.D., Emory University, 1970; Microfilm

KINSEY, STEPHEN D. “They Called It Home: The Development of the Jewish Community of San Jose, California, 1850–1900.” Master of Arts, California State University, 1973; Xerox copy

MINSHALL, CHARLES W. “A Model of Residential Selection: The Jewish Population of Columbus, Ohio.” Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1971; Microfilm

RABIN, PHILIP H. “A Study of American Jewish Community Backgrounds.” Master of Science and Arts, Ohio State University, 1942; Microfilm

ROGOFF, ABRAHAM M. “Formative Years of the Jewish Labor Movement in the United States, 1890–1900.” Ph.D., Columbia University, 1945; Microfilm

RUBINGER, NAPHTALI J. “Albany Jewry of the Nineteenth Century—Historic Roots and Communal Evolution.” Doctor of Hebrew Literature, Yeshiva University, 1970; Xerox copy

SCHMIDT, SARAH L. “Horace M. Kallen and the Americanization of Zionism.” Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1973; Xerox copy


STEVENS, RICHARD P. “The Political and Diplomatic Role of American Zionists as a Factor in the Creation of the
SELECTED ACQUISITIONS

State of Israel, 1942–1947." Ph.D., Georgetown University, 1960; Microfilm
WACHS, SAUL PHILIP. "The Impact of Pilot Projects in Religious Education Upon a Midwestern Conservative Congregation." Master of Arts, Ohio State University, 1966; Microfilm
WELCH, RICHARD WARREN. "The Assimilation of an Ethnic Group—The German-Jewish Peddlers in the Upper Ohio Valley, 1790–1840: A Study in Historical Geography." Master of Arts, Michigan State University, 1972; Xerox copy
ZAK, ITAI. "Jewish Background, Self-Esteem, Jewish American Identity, and Attitudes Towards Israel." Ph.D., New York University, 1973; Microfilm

TERM PAPERS

DIAMOND, BRUCE S. "The Jews of Obion County [Tennessee]." HUC-JIR, 1974

MISCELLANEOUS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS. Midwinter conclave of the Conference and the inaugural meeting of the American Guild of Temple Musicians, Cincinnati, 1974; Tape Recording
ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES. Regional conference program held at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, 1974; Tape Recording
BAR MITZVAH. Speeches, n.d.; Typescript; Hebrew and Yiddish
(Received from L. C. Mishkin.)
COHEN, GERSON; New York, N. Y. "The Quest for Structure in Jewish History," the Gustav and Mamie Efroymson lecture delivered by Dr. Cohen at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, 1973; Tape Recording
HUC-JIR, Jerusalem, Israel. Board of Governors meeting and dedication of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1973; Tape Recording
KAHN, ROBERT I.; Houston, Tex. Sermons, 1965–1969; Tape Recording
(Received from Robert I. Kahn.)
(Received from Deborah Lipstadt.)
A PLEA FOR HAYM SALOMON PAPERS

The American Jewish Historical Society, with the support of the National Historical Publications Commission, is engaged in collecting photocopies of all extant correspondence or other material of the famous Revolutionary figure, Haym Salomon. This is being done as a preliminary to the preparation of either a letter press or microfilm edition of Haym Salomon Papers that is scheduled for publication during the Bicentennial.

We would very much appreciate if anyone possessing correspondence to or from Salomon, or other material, or having knowledge of the existence of such material either in private hands or in a public institution, would contact Dr. Nathan M. Kaganoff, Editor, American Jewish Historical Society, 2 Thornton Road, Waltham, Mass. 02154