Argentine and American Jewry: A Case for Contrasting Immigrant Origins

Ellen Eisenberg

Despite their common origin in the mass migration from Eastern Europe, the Jewish communities of the United States and Argentina have developed in starkly different ways. In contrast to the organizational, religious, and political vitality attained by the American Jewish community, the Argentine Jewish community has been characterized by institutional, political, and religious weakness.[1] This has generally been attributed to the differences between the host countries, an explanation that reflects the tendency in immigration history, until recently, to focus on the adjustment of individual immigrants and to attribute differences among members of the same ethnic group to conditions in the host country or community. As an operating assumption, this approach holds that immigrants from the same places were of uniform background prior to emigrating, and therefore that any variations in the communities they established in their new homes must be the result of migration and settlement.[2]

Recently, however, immigration historians have begun to reassess this assumption. Historians of Italian migration have pointed out the differences in the migration streams that brought Italians to the United States and Argentina, arguing that the diverse backgrounds and regional origins of the migrants had an important part in shaping the Italian community in each country.[3] In a similar vein, as scholars have drawn attention to the differences between the patterns of life in the various regions of the Pale of Settlement in Russia, historians of Jewish immigration have begun to recognize the need to determine what impact these had on the development of American Jewry.[4] While conditions in the host societies were undoubtedly a critical factor in the separate paths followed by the Argentine and American Jewish communities, our understanding of the development of each will be heightened by knowledge of the regional, occupational, socioeconomic, and religious background of the Jewish immigrants who settled in the two countries.

The Roots of Argentine Jewry

A search for the roots of Argentine Jewry must begin with the agricultural colonies established by the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) beginning in the 1890s, since before this time the country's Jewish population was minuscule. While the majority of the East European Jews who made their way to Argentina in the following years did not settle in the colonies, Argentina's viability as a destination for Jewish immigrants was greatly enhanced by the publicity generated by colony recruiters in Eastern Europe.

In the early years, the population of Argentina's Jewish agricultural colonies outnumbered the country's urban Jewish population. The census of 1895 recorded that 64 percent of Argentina's Jews lived in Entre Ríos, the rural province where the largest number of colonies was concentrated.[5] At their peak, in 1920, the colonies were home to 22 percent of Argentina's Jews, yet their influence was greater than this figure represents, because the high rate of turnover in the colonies meant that the percentage of Argentine Jews who had ever been residents of these communities was much larger.[6]

Jewish Life in the South Pale

The colonies' significance in Argentine Jewish life, and their central role in spurring Jewish migration to Argentina, is in sharp contrast to the pattern of Jewish immigration to the United States, which was primarily directed to cities. Were the Jews who left Eastern Europe to become urban dwellers in the United States drawn from the same background as those who journeyed to Argentina to become farmers in the colonies?

Examination of the Jewish agricultural colonization experiments in the United States suggests not. Research on the origins of the largest and longest-lasting American Jewish colonies of this period, founded in New Jersey in the early 1880s, demonstrates that fully 58.2 percent of the settlers arriving during the early period came from the southern part of the Pale of Settlement.[7] This figure contrasts with the profile of the mass of Jewish immigrants to the United States, who were mainly of Northwest Pale origin,[8] and suggests that Jews

De Hirsch Hall, Woodbine, New Jersey

from the South Pale were drawn disproportionately to colonization projects — a proposition which is reasonable, given the conditions of Jewish life in the area.

The South Pale region, encompassing Podolia, Bessarabia, Kherson, and Ekaterinoslav, had a tradition of Jewish agriculture dating from the mid-nineteenth-century establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies. Jews from this area tended to have more familiarity with farming, either through direct participation or as merchants dealing in agricultural goods, than their counterparts in the heavily urban northern regions, such as Lithuania.[9] In Bessarabia by mid-century, for example, there were seventeen Jewish agricultural settlements, and 12.5 percent of Bessarabian Jews were employed as farmers.[10] Moreover, throughout the southern provinces, most of the Jews engaged in trade dealt in agricultural produce and were familiar with rural life.

In addition to the differences in occupational distribution, the Jewish communities of the South Pale differed from those of the Northwest in several other respects. While poverty was widespread in the Pale, the situation in the Northwest was particularly harsh, for as the nineteenth century drew to a close, the many Jews who were craftsmen found themselves facing increased competition from one another and from new Russian factories. Jews in this area reacted to the increasing demographic and economic pressures not only by emigrating in large numbers, but also by turning to Yiddish-speaking, exclusively Jewish labor organizations like the Bund.

In contrast, in the South Pale, a region settled by Jews only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Jewish population was less dense and less insular. Not only did a number of Jews work in the formerly forbidden field of agriculture, but many settled in the cosmopolitan city of Odessa, where reform-oriented Jews were able to participate in secular life to a degree unheard of in the rest of Russia, and a cadre of secularly oriented intellectuals developed. When their faith that they would experience Western-style emancipation was shattered by the Odessa pogrom of 1871 and the pogroms throughout the southern provinces in 1881–82, many South Pale Jewish radicals and intellectuals turned not to specifically Jewish organizations like the Bund, but to more integrated Russian revolutionary movements, as well as to Zionism and other forms of Jewish

Russian immigrants arriving in Buenos Aires in the early 1900s

territorialism.[11] If people of this stamp dominated the migration to Argentina, where the colonies played a central role in Jewish life and the colonists formed a substantial portion of the populace, the difference in regional origin might well have been a significant factor in the development of the Argentine Jewish community.

Where Did the Colonists Come From?

Historians of Argentine Jewry have tended to dismiss the significance of the immigrants' roots. Judith Elkin writes,"The contrast between [the United States and Argentine Jewish] communities points up differences that stem not from the immigrants (for they were similar in their origins and part of the same migratory waves)."[12] Perhaps in an effort to explain the eventual demise of the Argentine colonies, most historians tend to adopt the popular view that the colonists lacked farming experience, often characterizing the colonization as a "return" to agricultural occupations after centuries of nonagrarian life.[13]

Considerable evidence, however, indicates that the South Pale was the place of origin for a large number of the colonists. Even today, a visitor to the colony sites in Entre Ríos notices a number of details that point in the direction of this conclusion. Commonly used Yiddish terms, such as *shil* (for "synagogue"), reflect the South Pale pronunciation (in contrast to *shul* in North America).[14] Moreover, sections of several colonies were named after South Pale Jewish communities. The Lucienville – area settlements of Novobuco 1 and 2, for example, were named after Novi Bug, a Jewish shtetl in Kherson, northeast of Odessa. Nearby Aquerman 1 and 2 were named for Akkerman in Bessarabia. These place – names indicate not only the regional origin of the settlers, but their occupational background; Akkerman, for example, was a center of Jewish agriculture.[15]

Other anecdotal information reinforces the impression of South Pale origins. For example, the famous novel recounting colony life, *Los Gauchos Judios*, opens with a scene in which the Jewish townspeople of Tulchin, in the South Pale, discuss opportunities in Argentina.[16] Further, as been noted in several published histories of the colonies, the death register from Novopoltavke in the South Pale was transferred to the Chevrah Kadisha (burial society) of Basavil-

baso.[17] Significantly, Novo Poltavke was a Jewish agricultural colony in Kherson.[18]

Published accounts of the beginnings of the colonization clearly indicate the South Pale roots and agrarian background of some of the settlers. For example, the immigrants who arrived in Argentina on the *S.S. Weser* in 1889 and founded the colony at Moisesville in Santa Fe comprised a self-organized group originating in Kamenetz-Podolsk, the capital of Podolia.[19] Several accounts of the early migration emphasize the desperation of Jewish farmers in the South Pale and the border areas of Poland as the factor that induced people from these regions to migrate to the Argentine colonies. According to José Mendelson, for instance, the pending expulsion of Jews from the areas of Poland and Podolia adjacent to Austria led directly to the 1887 meetings of Jewish renters, many of them full- or part-time farmers, which resulted in the sending of the Kamenetz-Podolsk delegation to Paris and the initial agreement to buy land in Argentina.[20]

After the first group settled at Moisesville, Baron de Hirsch and the Jewish Colonization Association targeted the rural areas of the South Pale as the most promising recruiting grounds for new colonists. The agent Hirsch sent to tour the Jewish colonies in South Russia "brought back enthusiastic reports about their character in general and their adaptability to agriculture in particular."[21]

The JCA already had strong ties to these areas through the Gunzburgs, a prominent Russian-Jewish banking family. Joseph Gunzburg, who resided in St. Petersburg, was the first major Jewish landowner in Bessarabia; his holdings included properties in Soroki and Akkerman, which became centers of Jewish agriculture.[22] Both Joseph and his son Baron Horace Gunzburg strongly supported agricultural training for Russian Jews, and the younger Gunzburg became the chairman of the committee set up by the JCA in Russia to coordinate Hirsch's agricultural colonization plan.[23] By the turn of the century, Baron Gunzburg had founded a Jewish agricultural colony on one of his Bessarabian estate and was serving as director of a new Jewish agricultural school in Novo-Poltavka.[24] A section of the Clara Colony in Argentina was named after Baron Gunzburg.

The JCA's 1898 census of Russian Jewry showed that there were approximately 150,000 Jews working fully or partially in agriculture, mostly in the South Pale colonies in Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and

Baron Maurice and Baroness Clara de Hirsch-Gereuth

Bessarabia. By the 1880s and 1890s these colonies were deeply troubled because of new restrictions on land purchases and rental contracts which reduced the area available to Jewish farmers, causing crowding and increasing poverty.[25] All but six of the original Bessarabian colonies were liquidated in the wake of the 1882 May Laws.[26] Many of their residents were forced to turn to nonagricultural ventures to support themselves, but clearly they constituted a Jewish populace that had agricultural experience and high motivation to emigrate.

So many Jews were leaving Russia in this era that it was impossible for the JCA to recruit selectively or to screen settlers, as originally planned. As a result, the colonies were settled by people of more diverse backgrounds than the sponsors had anticipated. Nonetheless, the arrival of organized groups in the early years, many of them from centers of Jewish agriculture in the South, is well documented. For example, in the Lucienville Colony in Entre Ríos, in addition to the organized groups that established Aquerman and Novobuco by 1894, a group of thirty families from the Kherson region arrived in 1903. The Clara Colony received organized groups of settlers from eight different communities, six of them in the South Pale, in 1894.[27] Of these, at least two groups were from known centers of Jewish agriculture in Bessarabia.[28] Organized groups continued to arrive sporadically in the first decade of the twentieth century, despite the "collapse" of the JCA's screening procedures.[29]

While the JCA was unable to control the migration by selecting only experienced farmers, evidence from the Entre Ríos colonies demonstrates that emigrants from the South Pale continued to be overrepresented well into the 1930s. This can be attributed to the sponsors' focus on the South Pale for recruitment, the predisposition of rural emigrants to opt for colonization projects, and the process of chain migration.

The JCA Census

To properly assess the apparent domination of the colonies by Jews from the South Pale, it is important to establish where and how long this dominance existed. While it has long been clear that residents

of the South Pale were recruited in groups in the first decade, it is difficult to demonstrate the regional origins of later colonists who arrived independently. Most of the contemporary sources, such as ship passenger lists, censuses, and civil registers, fail to specify town or region of origin and simply list Russia or Poland as the place of birth. However, one source, a 1938 JCA census of indebted colonists in the Basavilbaso region of Entre Ríos, does provide more detailed information.[30]

The JCA census data pertain to the 168 families residing in Basavilbaso in 1938. This figure includes the twenty-eight families that arrived during the early years of settlement (1894–95), among them several second-generation farmers, the seventy-nine families that arrived between 1900 and 1920, a smaller contingent arriving in the 1920s, and a handful in the 1930s.

The information on regional origins in the census shows the pronounced dominance of South Russians in the colony. Of the 147 families arriving before 1920 for which a regional origin was listed, eighty-three (56.4 percent) came from Kherson, a South Pale region which was home to a large number of the Russian Jewish agricultural colonies. Another fifty (34 percent) came from elsewhere in the South Pale – forty-eight from Bessarabia and two from Podolia. Only two (1.3 percent) came from the North.

The census also indicates that farming was not a new pursuit for these South Pale Jewish colonists. In a sizable majority of cases, occupation in country of origin is listed as agricultor. Of the fifty-four colonists from Kherson for whom an occupation is given, forty-six (or 85 percent) were designated as farmers in their country of origin. For the Bessarabians, the figure is also high, with nineteen of twenty-nine (or 65.5 percent) designated as farmers in their country of origin. While these figures must be regarded with caution, since many settlers, on arriving in Argentina, identified themselves as farmers in the belief that they would not otherwise be admitted to the country, there seems to have been no reason for them to have still misrepresented their backgrounds as much as thirty years later. Taken together with the information about regional origins, and allowing for liberal interpretation of the term agricultor by the census takers and informants, the data suggest that the colonists had far more agricultural experience than has previously been supposed.

The Lasting Influence of the Colonists

In addition to demonstrating where the colonists came from, it is important to determine what effect their origins had on the development of the colonies. Even the few historians who acknowledge that many of the colonists had an agricultural background in Russia do not regard this as having much significance.[31] For example, while Haim Avni discusses the JCA's desire to recruit colonists among the farmers of the South Pale, this comes in the context of an assessment of Baron Hirsch's colonization scheme. His emphasis is on the insufficient pool of potential recruits, both numerically and in terms of appropriate agricultural experience, for the proposed plan. In order to highlight the difficulties with the plan, he stresses the mismatch between the types of farming practiced in Russia and in Argentina. Although he is aware that the many of the colonists came from farming communities in the South Pale, he does not discuss the impact this may have had on either the colonies or the larger Argentine Jewish community.[32]

While the overall effect of the colonists' background deserves further exploration, several hypotheses can be suggested. First, it is likely that having agricultural experience helped the settlers to adapt to their new life in Argentina. Although the histories of many colonies emphasize the difficulties the settlers faced, the Argentine colonies were far more successful than comparable colonization efforts in the United States, where a far smaller percentage of the settlers had agricultural experience. The oft-expressed negative assessment of the colonies is in part a result of the comparison between Hirsch's grandiose plans and actual accomplishments on the ground. Nonetheless, the colonies did experience a period of growth and stability after the turn of the century, and were home to over 20,000 Jewish farmers and their families, as well as 13,000 nonfarming families, by 1925.[33]

Despite the rapid turnover, and the dwindling of the colony population over the succeeding generations due largely to a general decline in the Argentine agricultural sector, it is important to recognize the success of those settlers who created the stable network of colonies and cooperatives in the early decades of the century. The findings presented here on settler origins, showing the large proportion of immigrants from South Pale agricultural districts still in Basavilbaso

by 1938, suggests that immigrants with farming experience were more likely than others to remain in the colonies. Although more data verifying the occupations of a larger group of settlers is needed to prove this conclusively, it seems reasonable to suppose that colonists with agricultural backgrounds had the skills and habits needed to farm successfully, even if the specific agricultural techniques they had learned in Russia were not transferable.

In addition to the impact on their adjustment, it is likely that the colonists' background affected the political and cultural-religious orientation of their communities. The contrast between the political activism of American Jews, both as individuals and as a bloc, and the politically marginalized Argentine Jewish community has been noted by Judith Elkin and Robert Weisbrot. Both emphasize the lack of a Jewish vote in Argentina.[34]

While it is clear that local conditions were an important root of the political marginality of Argentine Jews, differences in origin may also have contributed. Political and labor organizations of Jews as Jews were far more developed in the North and Northwest Pale and Poland – the places of origin of the majority of North American Jews – while Jews of the South Pale were more likely to become involved as individuals in general, rather than specifically Jewish, political and labor organizations. To some extent this seems to mirror the differences in Jewish political involvement in Argentina and the United States, suggesting that the pattern followed in each country might have originated in the Pale and then been reinforced by local conditions.

As for religious influence, there were conflicts over religious practice in colonies with larger contingents of Lithuanians. As Avni notes, the Lithuanians tended to be *mitnagdim* (traditionalists), opposed both to the Hasidic movement and to efforts to modernize, while those from the South tended to be either Hasidim or "enlightened" – ranging from proponents of modernizing religious practice and education to freethinkers who had broken with religious life altogether.[35] In addition, the Lithuanian colonists tended to have come from communities of concentrated Jewish settlement, where Yiddish was the primary language, whereas Jews from the South Pale had usually lived in less densely Jewish settlements, and had spoken Russian as well as Yiddish. In Moisesville, where a large contingent of Lithuanians had joined the Podolians and Bessarabians thanks to the re-

cruiting efforts of Noe Caciovitch in Lithuania, these differences led to the development of separate synagogues and other organizations for the two groups.[36]

In colonies like Lucienville, where the population was more homogeneous, Southern practices would be expected to turn up in religious ritual. The strong South Pale tendency toward religious reform, both in the direction of Hasidism, on the one hand, and toward modernization, on the other, may have affected synagogue practice and the development of educational institutions.

This preliminary study, demonstrating the overrepresentation of South Pale Jewish farmers in the Argentine agricultural colonies, and their continued dominance there into the 1930s, suggests that Argentine agricultural colonists, like their counterparts in the colonies established in the United States, were drawn from a different pool than the mass of Jewish immigrants who settled in urban areas. The significance of the colonies in Argentina's Jewish life makes this important for an understanding of Argentine Jewry at large. As these trends are confirmed by further research, and the influence of South Pale origins on the development of communal life is more fully explored, historians may be better able to explain the many contrasts between the Argentine and American Jewish communities.

Ellen Eisenberg is an Assistant Professor of History at Willemette University in Salem, Oregon. Her research on the Argentine Jewish colonies follows her work on similar settlements in the United States, forthcoming in Jewish Argricultural Colonies in New Jersey, 1882–1920 *(Syracuse University Press). She would like to dedicate this article, based on research conducted partially at the YIVO archive in Buenos Aires, to the victims of the July, 1994, bombing of the Jewish community building in which that archive was housed.*

Notes

1. Judith Elkin presents a clear contrast between the two communities, emphasizing the Americanized Judaism of the United States in contrast to the difficulty of adaptation in Argentina. She focuses, however, on the differences between the two host countries as the source of these differences. Judith Elkin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), chap. 10.
2. For example, see ibid., pp. 239-248, and Eugene Sofer, *From Pale to Pampa*, p. 129.
3. Samuel Baily, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1914," *American Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (1983): 281-305.

4. The numerous examples of scholarship on variations within the Pale of Settlement include Steven Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); idem, "Haskalah, Cultural Change, and 19th Century Russian Jewry: A Reassessment," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 34, no. 2 (1983): 191-207; Ezra Mendelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970); and Calvin Goldscheider and Alan Zuckerman, *The Transformation of the Jews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). A call is made to bridge the gap between scholarship of Russian Jewry and American Jewish immigration in Alexandra Koros, "Russian Roots, American Realities," *American Jewish Archives* 39, no. 2 (1987): 203-212.

5. Judith Elkin, "Goodnight, Sweet Gaucho: A Revisionist View of the Jewish Agricultural Experiments in Argentina," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (1978): 210.

6. Robert Weisbrot, *The Jews of Argentina* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), p. 70.

7. This figure represents the percentage of those for whom a regional origin could be determined. Regional origin was determined through the use of interviews and surveys of descendants, the Hamburg ship records of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, and citizenship records. See Ellen Eisenberg, "Immigrant Origins and Sponsor Policies: Sources of Change in South Jersey Jewish Colonies," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 35. Also see idem, Cultivating a New Society: New Jersey's Jewish Colonies (forthcoming, Syracuse University Press).

8. Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975): 87-88. George Price, a contemporary observer of the migration, estimated that the percentage of Jews from the South Pale ranged from approximately 40 percent in the early to mid-1880s to approximately 20 percent by the end of the decade. George Price, "The Russian Jews in America," trans. Leo Schpall, reprint in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 48, nos. 1-2 (Fall 1958): 33.

9. Isaac Rubinow, *Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia* (1907; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 502, 522 ff., 555.

10. Encyclopaedia Judaica, s.v. "Bessarabia," 4:705.

11. For details on Northwest-South differences in the Pale, see Mendelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale;* Moshe Mishkinski "Regional Factors in the Formation of the Jewish Labor Movement in Tsarist Russia," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 14 (1969); Robert Brym, *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978). On the South Pale, see Zipperstein, *Jews of Odessa,* and Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History* (Boston, 1986).

12. Elkin, Jews of the *Latin American Republics,* p. 238.

13. See, for example, José Lieberman, *Tierra Sonada* (Buenos Aires: Luis Lasserve, 1959), p. 21. Also see Lazaro Schallman, *Los Pioneros de la Colonizacion Jud'a en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Congreso Jud'o Latino-Americano, 1971). In Cincuenta *Anos de Colonizaci – n Judia en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Delegaci – n de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas, 1939), pp. 92, 94, José Mendelson writes of the need for the

colonists to "convert" (*convirtirse*) to agrarian pursuits despite his later discussion of the Jewish farmers on the Podolian border who became involved in the colonization project.

14. Daniel Fernando Bargman,"Un Ambito para las Relaciones Interctnicas: Las Colonias Agricolas Judias en Argentina," *Revista de Antropologia* 7, no. 11 (1992): 52.

15. Joseph Gunzburg, a Russian-Jewish financier and supporter of Jewish agricultural endeavors, purchased land for this purpose in Akkerman and in other Bessarabian locales in the mid-nineteenth century. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Bessarabia," vol.3, p. 112. Moshe Ussoskin lists Akkerman as the site of a Jewish cooperative; see *Struggle forSurvival: A History of Jewish Credit Co-operatives in Bessarabia, Old Rumania, Bukovina, and Transvlvania* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1975), pp. 15-16.

16. Alberto Gerchunoff, *Los Gauchos Judios* (Buenos Aires: Aguilar, 1984), pp. 33-34.

17. Haim Avni,"Proyecto del Baron de Hirsch: La Gran Vision y Sus Resultados," *Indice*, Special Edition for the 100th Anniversary of the Arrival of the *Weser* (July 1990): 56.

18. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Agricultural Colonies (Russia)," 1:254.

19. José Mendelson,"Genesis de la Colonia Jud'a en la Argentina," in *Cincuenta Anos de Colonizaci – n Judia en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas, 1939), p. 103.

20. Ibid. pp. 100-103.

21. Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 20.

22. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Bessarabia," p. 112.

23. Norman, *Outstreched Arm*, p. 21.

24. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Agricultural Colonies" (Russia), 1:255, and "Gunzburg, Horace," 6:111.

25. Avni, "Proyecto del Baron Hirsch," pp. 34-35.

26. "Bessarabia," p. 112.

27. Simon Weil, "Las Colonias Agricolas de la JCA," in *Cincuenta Anos de Colonizacion Jud'a en la Argentina*, pp. 172-177. Weil states that organized groups arrived in that year from Soroki, Rubanovka, Perlitz, Noviburg (Novi Bug), Kiley (Kiliya), and Taurida in the South, and from Mohilna and Grodno in the North.

28. Soroki and Kiliya were both to become sites of agricultural cooperatives in the first decade of the twentieth century, and a JCA model horticultural center would be established in Soroki in 1900. See Ussoskin, *Struggle for Survival*, pp. 15, 38. Urussov, the governor of Bessarabia, comments on his visit to Soroki's agricultural center in his autobiography, *Memoirs of a Russian Governor: Prince Serge Dmitrivevich Urussov*, trans. Herman Rosenthal (London: Harper & Bros., 1908), pp. 116-117.

29. Haim Avni, *Argentina and the Jews* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), p. 59. Avni notes that a group of eighty-three families from Kherson and another fifty-three from Bessarabia was organized in 1904, although only eighty of them reached Argentina by the end of the year.

30. Jewish Colonization Association, 1938 Census, Lucienville area, Entre Ríos, Argentina.

31. See, for example, Boleslao Lewin, *La Colectividad Jud'a en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Alzamore Editores, 1974), p. 82. Lewin, while discounting what he calls the "black legend" that Jews were completely inexperienced, does not discuss the significance of this background for colony development.

32. Avni, "Proyecto del Baron Hirsch," pp. 34-37, 44-45.

33. Judith Elkin, "Goodnight, Sweet Gaucho," p. 209.

34. See Elkin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics*, p. 250; Weisbrot, *Jews of Argentina*, p. 199.

35. Avni, "Proyecto del Baron Hirsch," p. 45.

36. Bargman, "Ambito para las Relaciones Interctnicas," p. 52.