
The Mizrachi Movement in America: A Belated but Sturdy Offshoot

by Yosef Salmon

The two volumes of *Shivat Zion*, edited by the journalist author Abraham Jacob Slucki, were first published in Warsaw in 1891¹ and reissued in 1899 without significant changes. It consisted of rabbinical letters from all over Russia and Poland (in particular from Lithuania), advocating the Zionist idea as expressed in the Hibbat Zion Movement (also known as Hovevei Zion). The publication, supported by the Odessa Committee founded in 1890 to further Hovevei Zion settlement in Palestine, was motivated by the need to bolster the dwindling support for the movement in the traditional circles of Russo-Polish Jewry. The threat of secularism—the movement's leaders and many of the immigrants to Eretz-Israel in the 1890s were nonobservant—was eating away at the initial support of the traditionalists. By the end of the century many of them were leaving the new Zionist organization.² The publication of *Shivat Zion* represented an attempt to prove that traditional religion and Zionism could coexist fruitfully.

The third edition of *Shivat Zion* was published in New York by the American Mizrachi Movement in 1916. It was not an exact replica of the European editions—many of the original rabbinical letters were omitted and new ones were added—but it, too, was published in the new American context for propaganda purposes. The late date of the American publication reflects the tardy evolution of religious Zionism in America. It took time for the founding assumptions of European Zionism to become accommodated to the American social context. The Orthodox Jews who emigrated from eastern Europe to America had to face the challenge, new to them, of cooperating with the Reform Jews of western Europe who were already established in the United States.

These factors delayed the establishment of the Mizrachi Movement in America and led to differences in its historical development.

Certain features of the Zionist movement in the United States set it apart from its counterpart movements in Europe. Founded while the Hovevei Zion Movement was still active in Europe, it is frequently treated in the literature as largely an import by the eastern European immigrants.³ However, it eventually grew to include the leadership elite of all sections of American Jewry, including the Reform Movement. At a relatively early stage it incorporated figures who had not come from eastern Europe: Germans such as Bernard Felsenthal and Gustav Gottheil; central Europeans such as Max Heller and Stephen Wise; and also English Jews.⁴ Early American Zionism was surprisingly reminiscent of the European Zionism of the 1860s and 1870s in its search for Jewish self-identity.⁵ Although the American Zionists were not threatened by a sense of physical danger, they were sharply aware of their Diaspora status and of the difficulties, at least in the first and second generations, of adapting to the American way of life.⁶ The fact that many local Zionist societies also functioned as *landsmanschaften* indicates that their members sought to create their own intimate social milieu because they felt alienated from their New World environment.⁷

Orthodox Zionists in the United States faced special difficulties in carving out their place in the Zionist federation. The term "orthodoxy" is problematic in the American context, up to the second decade of the twentieth century everything that was not explicitly "Reform" was considered "Orthodox." The distinctions between Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox, which were well defined in Germany by the mid-nineteenth century, took at least another half century to gain currency in the United States.⁸ As with German Jewry, American Reform Judaism was largely hostile to the developing Jewish nationalist movement. In Europe, the leadership of the Hibbat Zion Movement was drawn mainly from east European Jewish intellectuals, who were not religiously observant, and traditional rabbis who were receptive to a modern way of life. As the Zionist movement evolved, the east European leadership of Hibbat Zion was increasingly replaced in the World Zionist Organization by central and western European Jews. In America, however, by the 1890s the original eastern European leadership was already being challenged by a vocal minority of Reform rabbis (Gustav Gottheil, 1827–1903; Bernhard Felsenthal, 1822–1908; and Max Heller, 1860–1929), as well as by

Orthodox and Conservative rabbis, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic (Henry Pereira Mendes, 1852–1937; Sabato Morais, 1823–1897; Alexander Kohut, 1842–1894; Bernard Drachman, 1861–1945; and Marcus Jastrow 1829–1903).

Whereas Zionism, for the east European immigrants, provided an escape from alienation, the western and central European Jews viewed it as a means to avoid disappearance in the great American melting pot. It was therefore questionable whether such different social aims could achieve satisfaction within a single Zionist movement; years passed before the two factions learned to live with each other within the Zionist Federation of America.

During the Hovevei Zion period, the leaders of the east European wing of the movement were Dr. J. I. Bluestone, editor of the *Hibbat Zion* Yiddish paper, *Shulamit*, and Wolf Schur, who edited the Hebrew Zionist journal, *Ha-Pisgah*. Bluestone represented modern orthodoxy (known in the historical literature as the "Orthodox maskilim"⁹), then in the process of organization, while Schur voiced the views of the radical Russian intellectuals. In Bluestone's opinion (supported by the publisher Kazriel Sarasohn and prominent Rabbis Jacob Joseph, Dr. Hillel Philip Klein, Zvi Hirsch Masliansky, Moses Zebulun Margolis, Henry Pereira Mendes, and Bernard Drachman), Eretz-Israel would provide a physical refuge for persecuted Jews and a spiritual safeguard against assimilation in America.¹⁰ For Schur and his supporters (especially the author Alexander Harkavy, the former Biluite Dr. Moses Mintz, and the journalist Leon Zolotkoff), Zionism filled the role of providing a sense of national identity for secular Jews. Despite their divergent world views, the groups that formed around Bluestone and Schur were able to cooperate, and to form a common front against the central Europeans, who were mainly Reform or Conservative Jews.

The first American Jews to respond to Theodor Herzl's call were members of Hovevei Zion: Zev Wolf (William) Schur, Rabbi Meir Kupstein, the journalist Michael Singer, among others. They founded the *Zentralverein der Amerikanische Zionisten*.¹¹ Support soon came also from the Central European group of Reform leaders: Felsenthal, Gustav and Richard Gottheil, Benjamin Szold, and Stephen Wise. Though several American Jews came to the First Zionist Congress (1897), not one of them represented an American

Zionist organization. Shortly after the congress, various Zionist societies were formed, mainly in New York and its environs. These societies quickly coalesced into two competing organizations: the Federation of Zionist Societies of Greater New York and Vicinity, led by Richard Gottheil, and the League of Zionists of the United States of North America, headed by Philip Klein and Michael Singer.

Although the two organizations united, after a single year, to establish the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ, 1898), internal conflict continued to influence the early history of American Zionism. The executive committee in Vienna, headed by Herzl, made every effort to deal evenhandedly with both groups, in keeping with its preference for avoiding involvement in the internal politics of local organizations. A delegate from each organization turned up at the Second Zionist Congress; both were elected to the Zionist executive committee: Gottheil representing the federation, and Klein the league.

The dispute was neither over trifling matters nor was it, in the main, a question of personal animosities. The mutual mistrust stemmed from profound cultural and ideological differences: the tensions between the western European "uptown" Jews and the eastern European "downtown" Jews found strong expression in the Zionist arena. The eastern Europeans refused to recognize their central European brethren—especially those identified with the Reform Movement—as "authentic," "national" Jews; Jewish nationalism and reform, they believed, were mutually exclusive.¹² All of the east Europeans, whether Orthodox or radical *maskilim*, voiced this distrust again and again in their correspondence with the executive committee in Vienna. The westerners, for their part, did not believe in the east Europeans' organizational ability or public standing. The developments in the Zionist Movement in the United States were similar to those in the European Zionist Organization: in both cases, the masses of east European Zionists demanded the leadership, and the westerners finally gave in.¹⁴

The conflictual milieu of the American melting pot goes far to explain why the Mizrahi Movement was established so much later in America than it was in Europe. Splinter group after splinter group formed and dissolved along the lines of the double chiasma: eastern and central European Jews/western European Jews and halachically

observant Jews/nonobservant Jews. Among those who refused to join the FAZ were the Zionist societies of Cincinnati and Minneapolis, and the Chicago "Knights of Zion," which was founded in October 1898. In addition, Bluestone, though a member of the New York federation, founded the "Free Sons of Zion," an independent Zionist order, in the face of FAZ opposition. In the succeeding years, various attempts were made to establish a second American federation, composed entirely of east European Jews: for example, the "United Zionists of Greater New York and Vicinity," under the leadership of Bluestone, Klein, Adam Rosenberg, Moses Mintz, and Rabbi Joseph Zeff.¹⁵

When Herzl finally chose to favor Gottheil over Klein, the latter dropped out of Zionist activity for a while. In 1902, Bluestone was recognized by the Zionist Executive as the legitimate representative of the league (now called the United Zionists, as a federation distinct from that headed by Gottheil) to the Sixth Zionist Congress.¹⁶ In December 1903, an American branch of the Mizrahi Movement (established within the Zionist Organization in 1902) was founded in order to oppose the League.¹⁷ Klein agreed to cooperate with the new Mizrahi organization and even headed it, but this did not calm the troubled waters. Some secular east European Zionists were unwilling to identify with an Orthodox organization or to be subordinated to a federation controlled by central European Jews. When the United Zionist Movement fell apart in 1905, so did the American Mizrahi.¹⁸ Only in 1913, long after the Mizrahi World Organization was founded at the Pressburg Conference in 1904, did the revival of the American Mizrahi Movement begin.

In 1936, the American Mizrahi Movement published a jubilee volume to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding.¹⁹ Why did Mizrahi reckon its existence in the United States from 1911, while in actual fact it was not formally established until 1914? Was the organization simply trying to add three years to its seniority? It is true that there was a loose American organization associated with Mizrahi as early as 1912. After the American visit of the artist Hermann Struck (1911) an attempt was made, in June 1912, to establish a Mizrahi center in Saint Louis, under Rabbi Dov Baer Abramowitz.²⁰

However, only on the eve of the Eleventh Zionist Congress (1913) were demands to organize Mizrahi societies voiced in America.

Although a national organization of Mizrachi representatives was indeed established in the summer of 1913, and delegates were sent to the Congress and to the Mizrachi Conference followed it,²¹ this organization seems to have been ignored by the organizers of the National Mizrachi Conference took place in Cincinnati one year later. It is from the latter that the Mizrachi Organization of America began to count its conferences.

The Cincinnati conference of May 1914, which "officially" established the Mizrachi Organization of America, was attended by seventy-three delegates from about thirty local organizations who united under the Mizrachi banner. After an agreement between the American Mizrachi delegates to the Eleventh Congress (with the sanction of FAZ) and the Mizrachi World Organization was concluded in September 1913 to set up a branch of the organization in the United States, Rabbi Berlin,²² the secretary of the parent organization was invited to America to promote the establishment of the new branch. His speaking tour from November 1913 to June 1914 gave tremendous impetus to the movement, due to his prestige as the son of the revered "Netziv" of Volozhin and to his exceptional rhetorical and organizational abilities.²³ Berlin did not find the objections to Zionism among the ultra-Orthodox in America that he had found in eastern Europe. Even the self-same rabbis who had been opposed took up a different position upon emigration. They apparently realized that ultra-Orthodoxy had no future in America and were thus able to "anticipate only one hope—to return to the land of the fathers."²⁴

Rabbi Berlin gave various reasons, overt and covert, for the choice of Cincinnati as the venue for the conference. Overtly, the city was centrally located on the North American continent: between east and west, between north and south. Moreover, Cincinnati could boast a strong Mizrachi society, which included experienced organizers and wealthy members, such as Professor Nathan Isaacs, the society's chairman, and Rabbi Abraham Jacob Gershon Lesser, head of the strong Orthodox community, who was considered the dean of Orthodox rabbis of that period. The covert reason was the desire to combat Reform Judaism on its home grounds, in Berlin's words: "to establish a spiritual center (Hebrew: MerkaZ RuCHaNI = Mizrachi),

which might prove a rallying point between the Ultra-Orthodox and Reform Jewry of America".²⁵

By the time that the central Mizrachi organization was founded in America, various Zionist societies in New York, Pittsburgh, and Saint Louis had already identified themselves with the Mizrachi mode of Zionism and practical work, such as the purchase of land in Eretz-Israel, had been undertaken. As a purely East European movement, the American Mizrachi was inclined to active involvement in settlement and education rather than to the "spiritual" issues of the Ahad-Ha'am type.²⁶

Despite the existence of Mizrachi societies in New York and Pittsburgh, the center of activity shifted to the Midwest. Meir Berlin had been received with particular warmth there; even non-Orthodox groups, such as the Chicago Knights of Zion, had opened their doors to him. Most of the delegates at the first Mizrachi conference in Cincinnati came from the Midwest (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, and Toledo); only a few arrived from New York, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore. Rabbi Abramowitz of Saint Louis was elected as president (he had been serving in that capacity since the Saint Louis conference of the previous year), and the majority of delegates elected to the central committee were midwesterners.

The delay in the establishment of the Mizrachi Movement, which some scholars (i.e., Friesel) attribute to weaknesses within the Orthodox camp,²⁷ can better be explained by the independent stance of the religious Zionists. Even before the official founding of the Mizrachi Movement, the Mizrachi societies remained aloof from the American Zionist leadership, which was western or central European and non-observant. Although the American Mizrachi agreed to cooperate with the FAZ, it insisted on its right to act as an autonomous body; the Cincinnati conference passed a resolution not to join the FAZ. The FAZ leadership, which had assisted in the founding of the Mizrachi Movement of America, thus felt misled.²⁸ The protracted conflict simmered between the two groups impeded the Mizrachi organizational process. They were reignited by the election of Brandeis as president and by the return of Jacob de Haas (who had earlier been vehement in his attempts to suppress the nonconforming United Zionist) to the secretariat.²⁹ Even when the leadership of the

FAZ came into east European hands, with the appointment of Louis Lipsky, Mizrachi fears were not allayed.

However, as the center of Mizrachi activity shifted progressively from the Midwest to New York, cooperation with the FAZ increased. At the Second Mizrachi Conference, held in New York in May 1915, a decision was made to transfer the movement's organization department—headed by Berlin—to New York. Although the central office remained for the time being in Saint Louis, a shift in the orientation of the Mizrachi organization began to be felt. Once the central office was also moved to New York, after the Third Conference (1916), a chapter in the history of the American Mizrachi came to an end. The midwestern leadership was replaced by leaders who had recently emigrated from Europe: Berlin was elected president, and Rabbi Judah Leib Fishman (later known as Rabbi Maimon) became a member of the central committee. Berlin clearly announced his conception of the American Mizrachi as an integral part of the World Zionist Organization and a member of the Mizrachi World Organization, ready to cooperate with any element within the Zionist camp: "One should not force any Jew out of the organization for the building of Eretz-Israel."³⁰

Although the East Coast representatives, who favored cooperation with the FAZ, now took a more prominent place in the Mizrachi leadership, the relations with the FAZ remained strained for many years. On the one hand, the organization was aware that its grassroots support came from east European Jews who were suspicious of the federation. On the other hand, the leadership of the FAZ feared that Mizrachi might trespass upon its turf. In addition, the Mizrachi Movement was reluctant to subordinate its educational and public activities to the authority of the Zionist Organization of America (established in 1918) or to the Zionist Provisional Committee. The independence of the American Mizrachi had already exacted a heavy cost when, at the outbreak of the First World War, the FAZ leadership tried to block the return of Rabbi Berlin to the United States.³¹

More than any other Zionist organization, Mizrachi was concerned with the difficulty of maintaining a Jewish, particularly an Orthodox, identity in America. Mizrachi members in the United States were convinced that the Zionist movement was duty-bound to establish a

state in Eretz-Israel to which all Jews, including American Jews (and especially Orthodox Jews), should immigrate. A resolution to that effect was adopted at the First Mizrahi Conference in Cincinnati: "Mizrahi's major goal is to establish a safe life for the Jewish people in Eretz-Israel, based on Torah and Judaism,"³² and each delegate received, along with his voting card, the slogan: "To the East, to the East!... Only there does my soul seek its fulfillment!" Such sentiments went far beyond the scope of the debate as reflected in the pages of *Shivat Zion*, in the days just before the First World War.

However, by the time of the Third Mizrahi Conference, held in Chicago in 1916, two rival approaches had emerged. The first demanded a concentration on practical work in Eretz-Israel, while the second advocated greater involvement in the contemporary American Jewish scene, for the preservation of Jewish religious life. The latter won the day, determining the character of the Mizrahi Movement in America for many years.³³ Mizrahi fought, for instance for a five-day work week, which would make Sabbath observance possible. The slogan "work in the present" in America set the American Mizrahi Movement off from its movement in Europe. Whereas the European movement was mostly concerned with the salvation of Jews, the Mizrahi in the United States had engraved the salvation of Judaism on its banner.³⁴

The outbreak of the First World War, which caused the cessation of Mizrahi activity in Germany, and the strong leadership of Rabbi Meir Berlin brought the American Mizrahi to the center of the World Mizrahi Movement. During the war years, the headquarters of the Mizrahi World Organization, as well as those of the "Temporary Zionist Executive," were established in New York. Mizrahi took a prominent part in the intensive Zionist activities of those years: the founding of the "Joint"; the organization of aid to the communities of eastern Europe; the establishment of the American Jewish Congress;³⁵ and the establishment of the Anglo-American Inter-Allied Mizrahi Bureau, which served as the base for international postwar Mizrahi activity.³⁶ The American Mizrahi Movement also grew to an impressive size, boasting thousands of members in the more than one hundred societies scattered throughout the United States and Canada.³⁷ In the four years between the First (Cincinnati) and Fifth (Philadelphia) Mizrahi Conferences, membership increased several hundred per-

cent, an increase that paralleled that of the FAZ. By the time of the first meeting of the American Jewish Congress, in December 1918, the American Mizrahi had become one of the most important of the Zionist organizations in the United States.³⁸

At the Second Mizrahi Conference in New York (May 1916), it was agreed that Daniel Rosenthal publish an American edition of *Shivat Zion*. In his introduction, Rosenthal explained that the original edition was out of print, and that Slucki himself had transferred the publication rights to the Mizrahi organization in 1913.³⁹ In its republished version, the book was undoubtedly designed to serve as propaganda for the Mizrahi organization. Its distribution in the New York branches of Mizrahi and the inclusion of the resolution of the Third Mizrahi Conference (Chicago, 1916) at the head of the volume point in this direction. That resolution bore the stamp of practical Zionism—emphasis on concrete activities in Eretz-Israel (settlement, education, and aid to new immigrants)—characterized the American Mizrahi Movement. The main supporter of the republication of *Shivat Zion* was apparently Rabbi Judah Leib Fishman, who arrived in America after having been expelled (together with other leaders of the Yishuv) from Palestine by the Turkish authorities. Until his return to Eretz-Israel after the war, Rabbi Fishman was very active in the American Mizrahi Movement.

The Mizrahi leadership elected at the New York conference of May 1915 authorized Rosenthal to republish *Shivat Zion* as a series of pamphlets.⁴⁰ However, because of a lack of funds, the intention to print all of the letters had appeared in the original anthology never materialized. We may assume that Rosenthal consulted Fishman in the selection of letters for publication.⁴¹ Clearly a deliberate choice was made not to publish the letters of Rabbi Samuel Mohilever, who had headed the traditional sector of the Habbat Zion Movement, and of Rabbi I. J. Reines, the founder and first leader of Mizrahi. On the other hand an article by Rabbi Fishman was added. Whereas the letters of Rabbis Kalischer and Guttmacher were chosen because of their authors' roles in the pioneering stages of Zionist activity, those of Berlin, Eliasberg, Malbim, Trunk, Spektor, and Levin of Dinaburg were chosen more for their authors' prestige in east European traditional society than for their contents. Indeed, the editor explained that he had intended to hold over the letters of Malbim, Trunk, Spektor, and Levin for

the second pamphlet, but their brevity allowed him to find space for them in the first. The letters were accompanied, for the most part, by biographical annotations by Rosenthal, assisted by Rabbi Fishman.

The article by Rabbi Fishman, which was specially added to this edition, deserves attention. Judah Leib Fishman was born in Bessarabia in 1875 and officiated as rabbi of the town of Ungeni. His career spanned three generations of religious Zionism; he participated personally in the movement from the time of Hibbat Zion to the founding of the state of Israel. A scholarly figure who knew how to combine his literary work with political activity, his contribution to Zionist thought and to the organization of religious Zionism on an international level was most impressive. Only one personality in religious Zionism, Rabbi Meir Berlin (Bar-Ilan), may be compared to him. However, the latter—inasmuch as he died in 1949—had no influence upon the development of the state of Israel. Fishman's article in *Shivat Zion*, which had previously appeared in the Mizrachi *Halvri*, gives his impression of the religious life of the pioneers in the moshavot in Eretz-Israel. His purpose was obviously to counteract the rumors that the pioneers were secularizing the Holy Land, which had induced doubts about whether religious Zionists should support the settlers.

Although Fishman's article in *Shivat Zion* contributed nothing essentially new to religious Zionist thought, another article, which he also wrote in America and published three years later as a pamphlet in Hebrew and Yiddish, was destined to become the ideological program of the Mizrachi World Organization. Here Fishman went beyond the bounds of religious Zionist thinking in his insistence that Jewish identity was primarily national rather than religious.⁴³ Rabbi Fishman's personal courage and spiritual boldness, evident throughout his years of Zionist activity, enabled him to deliver a clear-cut denunciation of the Agudat Israel opposition to Zionism. His extreme view, however, was never accepted by the Mizrachi Movement as a whole. Nevertheless, we may view Fishman's assertion that the Torah was nonexistent unless the Jewish people living in homeland as an extension of the revolutionary article by Mohilever opened the European editions of *Shivat Zion*. Mohilever there expressed preference for nonobservant Jews living in Eretz-Israel over the observant Jews of the Diaspora.

The American edition of *Shivat Zion* thus became the official manifesto of the Mizrachi Movement in the United States⁴⁵ and may be held responsible, at least in part, for the impressive increase in Mizrachi membership during and after the First World War. Whereas thirty Mizrachi societies sent delegates to the First Mizrachi Conference in Cincinnati, two hundred and thirty participated in the Eighth Conference.⁴⁶ The Mizrachi Movement took over the leadership of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, which laid the foundations of modern Orthodoxy in America.⁴⁷ Mizrachi made great contributions to Jewish life and education in both America and in the settlement in Eretz-Israel.⁴⁸ Indeed more American Mizrachi members fulfilled their Zionist ideology by actual settlement in Eretz-Israel than did members of any other American Zionist group.

Yosef Salmon is an Associate Professor at the Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel.

Notes

1. See Yosef Salmon, "The *Shivat Zion* Book and Its Historical Background" (Hebrew), *Eshel Beersheva* 2 (1980): 331-35; and *Religion and Zionism: First Encounters*, (Jerusalem), 1990, 150-72.

2. Salmon, *Religion and Zionism*, 252-339.

3. Ben Halpern "The Americanization of Zionism 1880-1930" *American Jewish History*, 69, no. 1 (September 197a), 17.

4. See Michael A. Meyer "Reform Judaism and Zionism in America" (Hebrew), *HaZionut* 9 (1984): 95-110; and Evyatar Friesel, "The Meaning of Zionism and Its Influence on the Religious Movements of American Jewry (Hebrew), *Ziyonut v'Dat*, 207; and Jonathan Sarna, "Converts to Zionism in the American Reform Movement," 33-53 in *Ziyonut v'Dat*, ed. S. Almog, J. Reinharz, and Shapiro, (Jerusalem), 1994.

5. Jacob Katz, "Idea and Reality in Jewish Nationalism", (Hebrew), *Molad* (January-February 1959): 8-13, and "The Jewish National Movement: A Sociological Analysis", (Hebrew), in *Leumiyut Yehudit*, Jerusalem, 1979, 15-35. For America see Arveh Goren, "Zionism and Its Opponents in American Jewry (Hebrew), in *HaZiyonut u-Mitnagedeha ba-Am ha-Yehudi*, (Jerusalem), 1990, 356.

6. Meyer, "Reform Judaism and Zionism," 109; "The Aims of Zionism," *Federation of American Zionists*, (New York, 1889) (a declaration of principles in which Gottheil expressed doubts about the future of Jewish life in America).

7. See the excellent study by Evyatar Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha Ziyonit be-Artzot ha-*

Brit, (Tel Aviv, 1970), 40, see "Americanization of Zionism," for a description of Austro-Hungarian Society in New York; and Halpern, 17.

8. Yonatan Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization: 1897-1930*, Illinois, 1971, 26, refers to the Conservatives as the "Neo-Orthodox." Often the term *conservative* was simply used as a synonym for *orthodox*. See: C.S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in Nineteenth Century America," *Tradition* 6, no. 2 (1964), 132-40.

9. Hyman B. Grinstein, "Orthodox Judaism and Early Zionism in America," in *Early History of Zionism in America*, ed. I.S. Meyer, (New York, 1958), 219.

10. Hyman B. Grinstein, "The Memoirs and Scrapbooks of the Late Dr. Joseph Isaac Bluestone," *PAJHS* 35 (1939): 54.

11. Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha-Ziyonit*, 26-27.

12. Meir Bar-Ilan, *Mi-Volozhin ad Yerushalavim*, II, (Tel Aviv, 1971), 448-51.

13. Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha-Ziyonit*, 29-51.

14. See Melvil I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust*, (New York, 1975), 149-50.

15. Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha-Ziyonit*, 45.

16. Grinstein, "Memoirs," 58.

17. Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha-Ziyonit*, 135-36.

18. *Ibid.*, 51; and Grinstein, "Memoirs," 59.

19. *Mizrachi Jubilee Publication of the Mizrahi Organization of America: 1911-1936*, ed., P. Churgin and A. L. Gellman, (New York, 1936).

20. Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha-Ziyonit*, 136. In *The American Jewish Year Book: 1915-1916*, 310, the founding of the Mizrahi Organization in America is dated June 5, 1912. On Abramowitz and his leadership, see Bar-Ilan, *Mi-Volozhin*, 68. See also Aaron Peteshnik, "The Movement Between Two World Wars" (Hebrew), in *Hazon Torah ve-Zion*, ed. Simon Federbusch, (New York and Jerusalem, 1960), 217-218. See also *Ha-Ivri*, 1913, nos. 8-9, 56.

21. See *Ha-Ivri*, 1913, no. 2, 15. The society's announcement at Saint Louis implies that it had secured the agreement of the executive of the Mizrahi World Organization for the attempt to establish Mizrahi in the United States: see *Ha-Ivri* 1913, no. 4, 31. Rabbi Abramowitz from Saint Louis and Rabbi Ashinsky of Pittsburgh were elected to the Mizrahi executive that was constituted at the Vienna Conference, after the Eleventh Zionist Congress: *Ha-Ivri*, 1913, nos. 6-8, 48. In preparation for the Eleventh Congress, the American Mizrahi collected some 800 shekels. For details of the Saint Louis conference and the institutions established see: *Ha-Ivri*, nos. 10-11, 76-77.

22. Rabbi Berlin was not invited to America to organize the Mizrahi Movement but only to help increase its ranks. This is implied in the reports in *Ha-Ivri*, 1913, no. 13, 92; 1914, no. 1, 5-6; nos. 4-5, 34.

23. See reports in *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, nos. 4-5, 30, 34-36; no. 6, 43-46; no. 7, 49; no. 8, 58-59.

24. *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, no. 11, 84. Jeffrey Gurock writes that most Orthodox rabbis in the United States supported Zionism because the majority were disciples of Russian rabbis who had themselves favored Zionism. But where were the disciples of

those rabbis who had objected to Zionism in Russia? Had they not emigrated to the United States? See Jeffrey Gurock, "The Orthodox Jewish Organizations in America: 1880-1930" in *Almag et al. Ziyonut va-Dat*, 270.

25. Bar-Ilan, *Mi-Volozhin*, II, 472-75. The idea of infecting the masses in Cincinnati with Zionist enthusiasm as an anti-Reform measure was common to the American Zionist movement as a whole. See Urofsky, *American Zionism*, 166-167. See also, in the same volume, Aaron Peteshnik, "The Movement," 218-19. For a declaration that the convening of the Mizrachi conference in the Reform stronghold was deliberate, see *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, no. 5, 58.

26. After the First World War, American Mizrachi sent word to Eretz-Israel that its members intended to immigrate and settle on the land. See Berlin's letter to the World Mizrachi Center, Jerusalem (January 10, 1921) in *Iggerot Bar-Ilan*, 109.

27. Friesel, *HaTenu'ah ha-Ziyonit*, 137.

28. On the visit to Chicago, see *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, no. 6, 43.

29. Nathaniel Katzburg suggests that when Meir Berlin came to the United States he harbored irredentist views of Mizrachi's position in American Zionism. In this respect, Katzburg agrees with Grinstein, "Orthodox Judaism," 221. Another possibility is that Berlin was influenced by the position of the majority in the American Mizrachi. See *Iggerot Bar-Ilan*, 18-20 and notes. Urofsky is also of the opinion that Berlin, upon arrival in the United States, found that American Mizrachi leaders mostly favored cooling relations with the FAZ. See Urofsky, *American Zionism*, 102.

30. Meir Berlin, "The Mizrachi and its Tasks" (Yiddish), *Di Mizrachi Bevegung*, Saint Louis, 1915, 7; and "What the Mizrachi Demands" (Hebrew), *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, no. 2, 10.

31. Urofsky, *American Zionism*, 241.

32. Dov Baer Abramowitz, "The Mizrachi Colonial Fund" in *Di Mizrachi b'Vegung* (Yiddish), 12-15, 21. See also Rabbi Lesser's address to the Cincinnati conference in *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, nos. 9-10, 68; and the address by Judge Spiegel in the same volume.

33. Y.L. Maimon, *Le-Sha'ah u-le-Dor*, (Jerusalem, 1965), 61.

34. See Rabbi Ashinsky's address to the Cincinnati conference in *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, no. 11, 82.

35. Berlin, "Mizrach and Its Tastes," 105; *Mi-Volozhin*, II, 513-516, 525-528.

36. *Bar-Ilan*, 29.

37. *Memorial Book of the Fifth Annual Conference of Mizrachi in America*, 1918.

38. See Bar-Ilan, *Mi-Volozhin*, II, 527-528. For the Zionist Movement in general and the struggle to establish the WJC, see Urofsky, *American Zionism*, 178, 183. Gedaliah Bublick, one of the most prominent Mizrachi leaders in the United States, also chaired the founding committee of the AJC; see Peteshnik, "The Movement," 221, 245.

39. The list of delegates at the Vienna conference indeed includes Slucki's name: see *Ha-Ivri*, 1913, nos. 6-8, 51.

40. *Shivat Zion*, (New York, 1916), title page. The Mizrachi conference at Vienna

was held in the summer of 1913, and not in 1914, as Rosenthal claims; it therefore preceded the Eleventh Zionist Congress.

41. On the title page the editor indeed thanks Rabbi Fishman for biographical information about the rabbis whose letters he published.

42. *Shivat Zion*, 30.

43. Y. L. Fishman, *Te'udat ha-Mizrachi*, (New York, 1919), and *Vas iz der Mizrachi?* (New York, 1919).

44. Meir Berlin repeatedly insisted that "national life and the spirit of the Torah [are] ... the same thing with two names," *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, no. 2, p. 9.

45. Fishman, *Te'udat ha-Mizrach*:

46. Peteshnik, 46-48, "The Movement," 222.

47. *Ibid.*, 220-221. The leader of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, Rabbi S. E. Jaffe joined the Mizrachi. See *Ha-Ivri*, 1914, nos. 4-5, 30, and Gurock, "Orthodox Jewish Organizations," 267-275.

48. Peteshnik: "The Movement," 221-22.