April 1982

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Young Scholars on the American Jewish Experience

Volume XXXIV April, 1982 Number 1

American Jewish Archives

A Journal Devoted to the Preservation and Study of the American Jewish Experience

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Published by The American Jewish Archives
on the Cincinnati Campus of the
Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion
Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, *President*

*American Jewish Archives is indexed in
The Index to Jewish Periodicals,
Current Contents,
The American Historical Review, and
United States Political Science Documents*

*Information for Contributors:
American Jewish Archives follows generally
the University of Chicago Press
"Manual of Style" (12th revised edition)
and "Words into Type" (3rd edition),
but issues its own style sheet
which may be obtained by writing to:
The Associate Editor,
American Jewish Archives
3101 Clifton Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220*

*Patrons 1982:
The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund
The Harris and Eliza Kempner Fund*

*Published by The American Jewish Archives
on the Cincinnati campus of the
Hebrew Union College–
Jewish Institute of Religion*

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About This Issue

It has been nearly two decades since this journal commented on the state of American Jewish history. At that time, in the early 1960's, there was an air of optimism in our writings. After all, it had been less than a decade since the Tercentenary of the American Jewish experience had been celebrated. We were looking forward to many more centuries of Jewish continuity in this great land of ours and the opportunity to write and publish about them.

The main thrust of our reflections dealt with a then major new trend in American Jewish historical writing. We exulted in the fact that historians were describing the American Jewish experience, in the words of Oliver Cromwell, "warts and all." We were also pleased to note that university-trained Jewish and non-Jewish historians, armed with critical methods of research and analysis, were beginning to supplant the large group of "gifted amateurs" dominating the field. Our serious recommendations were for more work on city and state histories, for more research into Jews from Eastern Europe, and for further work on the Jewish labor movement, among other desiderata.

Now nearly twenty years later, we still continue to write in an air of full optimism. The American Jewish experience has indeed been subjected to the closest scrutiny since those years, and critical studies are constantly being published. True, the gifted amateurs are still with us, but in colleges and universities across America, young scholars interested in American Jewish history are being trained in the soundest methodological skills possible so that they may emerge as gifted professionals.

But there is much yet to be done. There are many needs within the field. American Jewish history must keep pace with the major scholarly trends in American and European history. This means, of course, a growing awareness of social history, of the computer, of oral history techniques, and of other new areas of research. Only a few of these can be mentioned, but they are important. There is a need for further research on American Jewish women; on the European influence on American Jewry, and vice versa; on Latin American Jewry; on the

American Jewish rabbinate; on American anti-Semitism; on Jews in American business, science, and medicine; on American Jewish education; on American Jewish leadership; on Southern Jewry; on Orthodox Jewry; on Jews in American culture and politics; and on American Jewish-Christian relations.

In 1977 the American Jewish Archives initiated its Fellowship Programs. Since that time nearly three dozen scholars, both doctoral and postdoctoral, have been appointed Fellows. A number of these researchers have come from universities outside of the United States, a positive sign that, on the international level, work on the American Jewish experience is beginning to interest serious scholars.

At the same time that academicians from Israel, England, Canada, and Australia have been participating in our programs through research, writing, and scholarly discussions, a substantial number of "home-grown" researchers, young historians superbly trained at Cincinnati institutions of higher education, have also been contributing to the literature on the American Jewish experience. It is their work that we feature in this issue. While it is quite likely that the congeries of skilled researchers in this field will remain relatively small, it is hoped that they will continue to inform and shape the understanding of both Jews and non-Jews wishing to learn and profit from the American Jewish experience. The work of the young scholars represented here is a step in that direction.

The Jews on Tin Pan Alley, 1910–1940

Kenneth Aaron Kanter

Irving Berlin, born 1888

By the mid-1890's, many of the original [New York music] publishers had outgrown their offices and relocated. The first to do so was M. Witmark and Sons. They moved from 14th Street, at the heart of the theatre district, to an uptown area, around 28th Street. The others followed, and by the late 1890's virtually every other publisher was on or near the same street. Monroe Rosenfeld, a journalist-songwriter, described the area in a magazine article on popular music. Harry Von Tilzer, the songwriter turned publisher, had wound pieces of paper over the strings of a piano to make it give off a tinny sound that he was fond of. While visiting him to research the piece, Rosenfeld heard the piano, which gave him the title for his article, "Tin Pan Alley." From that time on, the area, and eventually the American music business in general, was known as "Tin Pan Alley." Later on, Von Tilzer claimed

that he had coined the name, but whether or not this is true, it was Rosenfeld who made it stick by giving it large circulation.

Sing a song of Tin Pan
And Cock Robin, too;
Who really scores the hit
That magnetizes you?

"I," says the lyricist,
"With my words and patter;
Take my lines away
And the rest doesn't matter."

"I," cries the composer,
"With my tune and tinkle;
Without them the song
Would be dead as Van Winkle."

The arranger looks on
With a cynical frown.
"He thinks up the tune
But I set it down."

"You?" sneers the plugger
"Go tell that to Grover.
You guys set it down,
But I put it over!"

Mr. Publisher smiles.
"And whose shekels stake it?
If it wasn't for me,
How could you fellows make it?"

From the wings speaks a ghost,
"How these kids run amuck!
Shall I tell them the truth,—
That it's me, Lady Luck?"[1]

Tin Pan Alley was symbolic of the creativity that filled the music world from the 1890's to the 1940's. From hundreds of offices in several closely situated office buildings came words, music, and chaos. From the windows of the Brill Building and others, flew out songs and words

which often lasted no longer than the time it took to write them. The songs may have died, but the singing lived on.

The Golden Age

The era between the two world wars was the golden age of music in America. Many talented songwriters and lyricists turned out hundreds of popular and brilliant songs that soon spread over the entire world. In addition to creative brilliance, these luminaries all had another characteristic in common. George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Oscar Hammerstein, Richard Rodgers, Jerome Kern, Lorenz Hart, and many other major musical figures of this period were all Jews.

In the history of American popular music, each period of development has been dominated by a single group. For the years 1910 through 1940, that group was the Jews. Before the twentieth century, Jews played but a small part in the world of popular music, probably because of their small numbers, but problems in Russia and Europe at the turn of the century soon brought about an increase in Jewish immigration to America.

By 1910 there were about a million Jews in New York City alone. These new immigrants saw the theatre as a way to become Americanized. It was a school as well as an entertainment.[2] Moreover, while the immigrants were often poorly educated, some of them were well trained as far as a skill was concerned. Although they encountered less anti-Semitism than in Europe, still it existed, so they went into trades and fields where Jews were already active. The music and entertainment industries are two major examples.

Many of the immigrants anglicized their names: Israel Baline became Irving Berlin, Billy Rosenberg became Billy Rose, Asa Yoelson became Al Jolson. Harry Jolson wrote, "As Asa and Herschel we were Jew Boys, as Al and Harry we were Americans."[3] In addition to becoming Americanized, these immigrant Jews formed the music to suit themselves. Popular songs were soaked in the wailing of the synagogue cantorial. The Yiddish singing style, with the cry in the voice and the heart on the sleeve, was typified by Al Jolson, Norah Bayes, and Sophie Tucker, the vaudeville stars who made the Tin Pan Alley songs into hits. They fused Yiddishisms into all-Americanisms. "My Mammy" may have been a Yiddishe Momma, but she was also as American as apple pie.[4]

The vaudeville circuit—by 1910 already 2,000 theatres strong—was largely dominated by Jews. The Shubert brothers—Sam, Lee, and Jake—were the sons of a Lithuanian peddler named David Szemanski who came to America in the late 1880's. The nightclub business was invented by a Jew, Jack Levy, who in 1907 induced several restaurants at which he was a patron to accept singers as entertainers during eating hours. The nightclub became a new place for songs to be heard and another place where Jews played important roles.[5] Marcus Loewe, Adolph Zukor, and Martin Beck (Morris Meyerfeld),[6] who founded the Orpheum circuit, all were founders of the Hollywood movie industry as well. They were joined by Louis B. Mayer, Samuel Goldwyn, the Selznicks, William Fox, and the Warner brothers. The personal style and values of these entrepreneurs was aptly described by Irving Howe:

> Often vulgar, crude and overbearing, they were brilliantly attuned to the needs of their business; they commanded and used to the full a profound instinct for the common denominator of taste; and they left a deep imprint on American popular culture. Trusting their own minds and hearts, shrewd enough not to pay too much attention to the talented or cultivated men they hired, the movie moguls knew when to appeal to sentiment, which twirl of fantasy, which touch of violence, which innuendo of sexuality, would grasp the native American audiences. It was something of a miracle and a joke.[7]

Why did Jews dominate the entertainment industry? First, in part, it can be attributed to talent. Also, Jews already were in the business, and this made it easier for other Jews to enter—anti-Semitism was not so difficult a problem. As Irving Howe has noted:

> Just as blacks would later turn to baseball and basketball knowing that there at least their skin color counted less than their skills, so in the early 1900's Jews broke into vaudeville because here too people asked not, who are you? but what can you do? It was a roughneck sort of egalitarianism, with little concern for those who might go under, but at best it gave the people a chance to show their gifts.[8]

No matter how one views the American song industry, the Jews cannot be left out. Jews were certainly prominent among songwriters, lyricists, performers, and publishers of songs. They contributed a distinct Jewish flavor and style that added much to the flavor of popular music.

As early as 1903 performers were taking the songs of the day and adding Yiddish dialect to them.[9] Irving Berlin ably represented the newcomers, but there were many others as well, among them Jerome Kern, Berlin's contemporary. Gershwin, Richard Rodgers, Harold Arlen, Oscar Hammerstein, and many others continued the trend and contributed to the glory that is Tin Pan Alley. Alexander Woolcott, summing up the contribution of Berlin and other Jews to American music, said: "And if anyone, on hearing Jerome Kern say that Irving Berlin IS American music, is then so fatuous as to object on the ground that he was born in Russia, it might be pointed out that if the musical interpreter of American civilization came over in the foul hold of a ship, so did American civilization."[10]

Not quite so high class, but just as important musically, was the contribution of Jews to burlesque—not the minstrel shows or the type of burlesque in which Weber and Fields or, earlier, Harrigan and Hart had starred, but the burlesque that showcased beautiful females in various states of undress involved with dance and fancy sets. From this type of entertainment came the striptease and off-color shows known as burlesque today.

By the early years of the 1900's the format of burlesque had been set. This included "blackouts"—quick skits followed by a short period of darkness in which to change the scenes—then "German" or "Jewish" comedians, followed by slapstick, dancing, and lots of girls.

Al Shean of Gallagher and Shean got his start in burlesque (he was the uncle of the Marx brothers). Eddie Cantor first received public attention by performing in one of the amateur nights that became a burlesque tradition. Sophie Tucker changed from being a "coon caller" in blackface to performing in whiteface with the advent of burlesque.

Fanny Brice also started as a coon singer. In 1910 she asked Irving Berlin to provide some specialty material for her. Let her tell the story:

> Irving took me in the back room and he played "Sadie Salome" . . . a Jewish comedy song. . . . So, of course, Irving sang "Sadie Salome" with a Jewish accent. I didn't even understand Jewish, couldn't speak a word of it. But I thought, if that's the way Irving sings, that's the way I'll sing it. Well, I came out and did "Sadie Salome" for the first time ever doing a Jewish accent. And that starched sailor suit is

> killing me. And it's gathering you know where, and I'm trying to squirm it away, and singing and smiling, and the audience is loving it. They think it's an act I'm doing, so as long as they're laughing I keep it up. They start to throw roses at me.[11]

The song changed Fanny Brice from a balladeer to a comedienne, as well as the outstanding interpreter of Yiddish comedy songs. As a result of this performance, Florenz Ziegfeld signed her for the *Follies of 1910.*

Although not as important as the songs in other genres of show business, the songs that were used in burlesque received great exposure. As Alex Wilder notes in his history of American popular music, "To place a song in a burlesque show was the infallible method of establishing a hit and insuring great profits. The runs were long and by the time one show after another presented a song, the whole country knew the tune by heart."[12]

Florenz Ziegfeld played an enormous role in the history of burlesque and its higher-class sister, the Broadway revue. The more successful he became, the less popular he seemed to be. "To know him was to dislike him" became the music world's pet phrase when describing Ziegfeld.[13] There is a question as to Ziegfeld's religion. Several sources claim he was Jewish, others deny it; there is no question, however, that Ziegfeld's first wife was Jewish and that he provided the beginning for many Jewish talents. For that reason if no other, he is included here.

Born on March 21, 1868, in Chicago, Ziegfeld was the son of Dr. Florenz Ziegfeld, president and founder of the Chicago Musical College, which he had begun the year before his son's birth. Ziegfeld Senior's contemporary, George Ade Davis, referred to him as "one of the most picturesque figures in the history of musical development in America, a pioneer who has lived to see the successful combination of his labors, to watch the growth, the budding and the blossoming of musical development and even to see the matured and ripened fruit as well. His autograph across the pages of musical history will never be defaced."[14]

Florenz Ziegfeld the younger began his impresario career at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition, where he assisted his father in importing acts for the main show. His first efforts were enormous disasters, costing him his job. He regained his position by signing an act called "Sandow the Great," a handsome young muscle-builder able to lift

automobiles and houses and to withstand three elephants walking across his chest. Ziegfeld achieved a major public relations coup when he invited Mrs. Potter Palmer, Chicago socialite and grande dame, to visit Sandow after the show to inspect his musculature. The news of her favorable reaction created a sensation, providing Ziegfeld with a ten-times-improved box office.

Ziegfeld's next achievement was the signing of the Gallic idol Anna Held, a Polish Jew by birth, but the quintessence of French spice and personality. Her great success in American theatre and music included a song called "It's Delightful to Be Married," which she wrote for her show *The Parisian Model* (1906). Anna Held was married to her producer, Florenz Ziegfeld. When publicity was waning, Ziegfeld invented the story that she took daily milk baths to improve her beauty and skin tone. Immediately dairies noted an increase in milk sales, and the publicity carried both Held and Ziegfeld to great notoriety with the public.

Using the *Folies-Bergère* as his model and his French wife as the impetus, Ziegfeld decided to create an American follies to rival the famous French version. In 1907 he achieved this dream, and with only three exceptions, a *Ziegfeld Follies* would brighten the stage of New York for each of the next twenty-five years. Ziegfeld set out to make the "Follies girls" synonymous with taste and beauty, but he did not skimp on sets, costumes, or talent. He always hired the best, and his shows attained such prestige that his booking of Ed Wynn, W. C. Fields, Fanny Brice, Harry Ruby, Irving Berlin, Leo Edwards, and Eddie Cantor gave their respective careers a push no one else could have given. Such songs as "My Blue Heaven," "A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody" (by Irving Berlin), which became the *Follies* theme song, "Peg O' My Heart," and "Mr. Gallagher—Mr. Shean" were all *Follies* numbers. Jerome Kern, Rudolf Friml, Gus Edwards, Louis A. Hirsch, and Jean Schwartz were among the men who wrote for Ziegfeld.

When something was popular, there were always those who would borrow on the success and create their own. The directions for writing commercial popular music said, "one should fashion a song around a previous hit; to use the model as a take off. Then the chances would be that you'll finish up with something different enough to be choice, but not avant garde."[15] Similarly, Ziegfeld provided the model for the theatre-music world's most successful entrepreneurs, the brothers Shubert.

Levi, Sam, and Jacob Szemanski, who became Lee, Sam, and J. J. Shubert, came from the most poverty-stricken of backgrounds. Their father, David Szemanski, was a Lithuanian peddler who fled from his hometown of Shervient to England and then to the United States.[16] The most difficult problem for David was his drinking—most of the profits from his peddling went to buy whiskey.[17] Nonetheless, within a short time he earned enough money to bring his family of six children (Fanny, Sarah, and Dora were the other three) and his wife to America.

Upon the family's arrival in New York in 1882, an immigration officer somehow recorded the name of David Szemanski from Shervient as David Shurbent. Apparently the script was hard to read, and various other officials subsequently changed it to Shurbart, then to Shobart, and finally to Shubert.

The Shubert brothers individually were men of great intelligence, humorlessness, and drive. Each handled a different part of their operation. J.J. was the producer-businessman, Lee the producer-artist, and Sam the international traveling real estate agent and talent scout. Although most of their productions were labeled the "Messrs. Shubert," it was largely the results of Lee's efforts which the audience viewed on stage. Fred and Adele Astaire began their careers in a Shubert show, the revue *Over the Top,* with music by Sigmund Romberg. In 1912 the Shuberts opened their competition to Ziegfeld's *Follies,* the *Passing Show.* They attempted to hire away various Ziegfeld talents, including Ed Wynn, the composers Hirsch and Schwartz, as well as the aforementioned Sigmund Romberg. Ziegfeld eventually lost the competition, as did anyone who challenged the Shubert domination of musical theatre, when the brothers bought him out and began presenting *The Shubert Ziegfeld Follies.* In 1924, due to competition from the new musical comedies as well as other more modern and innovative revues, the *Follies* and *Passing Show* revues went out of business. By the late 1920's, the revue format passed from public favor.

The Shuberts were the most powerful force in the theatre-music world in the first fifty years of the twentieth century. There was hardly a city in the country which did not sport a Shubert theatre; New York had more than six, Chicago, three. With enormous booking power came artistic power. By the beginning of World War I, virtually all the great theatrical musical talent in the United States was under Shubert control. Tin Pan Alley was the most famous Alley in New York; Shubert Alley was second.

Another theatrical opportunity for music was the "extravaganza." The Shuberts contributed greatly to the extravaganzas when they built the Wintergarden Theatre in 1911. The production that opened the building began with a Spanish ballet, followed by a Chinese opera; but what made the evening really historical was the third piece— "La Belle Paree," written by a newcomer to the theatre, Jerome Kern.

Another debut in "La Belle Paree" was Asa Yoelson, by then known as Al Jolson. He was born in Srednicke, Lithuania, in 1886, the son of Moses Yoelson, a chazan who later worked in New York, then in Washington, D.C.[18] As a young man Al once sang along with the audience when Eddie Leonard was doing his rendition of "Ida, Sweet as Apple Cider." The resulting appreciative applause told him that he had found his profession.

By 1909 Al Jolson had become the chief attraction of the Lew Dockstader Minstrels, and the next year he was a headliner at Hammerstein's Victoria in New York. Even at this young age, he was a polished performer. He would stop in the middle of a show and come downstage to ask the audience if they wouldn't rather hear some of his own favorites instead of the songs in the show—more often than not, they agreed. The newspapers noted the innovation, as did the audiences, and Jolson's performances became very popular.

This crowd-pleasing technique was made into a permanent attraction when Shubert's Wintergarden Theatre began Sunday afternoon concerts where Jolson could sing whatever songs he chose. Although originally a blackface performer, he would appear at these concerts in whiteface. During one of his performances in the Jean Schwartz musical *The Honeymoon Express,* Jolson was suffering from a painful ingrown toenail. To relieve the pain, he went down on one knee and threw out his arms for balance. To the audience it appeared as if he was embracing the entire group and they loved it. The gesture became a Jolson trademark.

Jolson wrote some of the songs he made famous, most notably "California—Here I Come," and introduced several all-time greats, such as "Swanee," "Rock-A-Bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody," "Toot, Toot, Tootsie, Goodbye," and "April Showers." Born to poverty and begging for nickels, he left an estate of $4 million when he died in 1950.[19]

One of Jolson's favorite lyricists was the German-Jewish refugee Gus

Sophie Tucker, 1884–1966

Al Jolson, 1886–1950

Kahn. Born in Koblenz on November 6, 1886, Kahn came to the United States in 1891 and grew up in Chicago. He began publishing specialty material in 1908 and in 1927 wrote his most famous show, *Whoopee,* for Eddie Cantor. "Love Me or Leave Me" came from *Whoopee,* but Kahn was responsible for many other hits, including "Toot, Toot, Tootsie," "It Had to Be You," "Yes, Sir, That's My Baby," and "Ain't We Got Fun."[20]

Kahn wrote several of his songs with composer Walter Donaldson, the two most famous being "My Buddy" and "Nothing Could Be Finer Than to Be in Carolina in the Morning." The story is told that Kahn and Donaldson were in the Kahn living room one day attempting to write songs. Suddenly, when Kahn's son, Donald, started yelling "dada, dada, dada," their concentration was interrupted. Kahn angrily stomped into the room where the boy was playing, calling to Donaldson, "I'll stop him, Walt, don't worry!" "No wait, Gus!" shouted Donaldson. He sat down at the piano and repeated the phrase the boy had played on his toy guitar. The two men listened as if with new ears, and in short order the simple phrase was turned into the basis for the ever-popular "Carolina in the Morning."[21] Little Donald later became a well-known songwriter in his own right.

Gus Kahn was once asked why so many "songboys" wrote about the

South, as he had with "Carolina in the Morning." He replied that Southern place- and state-names lent themselves to rhyming, but more than that, "Our song boys are of the North. Paradise is never where we are. The South has become our never, never land, the symbol of the land where the lotus blossoms and dreams come true."[22]

If blossoms and lotus were unnatural to the surroundings of Broadway, so was the operetta. Conceived originally in Europe, this musical genre had great success in America. Its original sources, ranging from Gilbert and Sullivan to Offenbach, invaded America, gaining musical success and sheet music sales.

Before long so-called Americans were creating domestic versions of the European imports. Sigmund Romberg, mentioned earlier, was the greatest of the operetta composers, but there were others. Emmerich Kalman, a Jew who was born in Siofok, Hungary, in 1882, blended his native Hungarian music with the grace of the Viennese operetta. His best works in America fused the classical and jazz styles; *The Duchess of Chicago* and *The Violets of Montmart* were the most successful. His original American effort was *Parisian Love*. The show opened at the Shulman and Goldberg Public Theatre in New York. Though it played only on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings, and Saturday and Sunday matinees, this was enough to make a profit and Kalman's reputation.[23]

Another composer who began in operetta but went into regular Tin Pan Alley popular songwriting was Gustave Kerker, born in Herford, Westphalia, Germany, on February 28, 1857. His family settled in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1867, and Kerker began writing a few years later. His most famous songs were "Forty Miles from Schenectady to Troy," "The Belle of New York," and "The Telephone Girl." He died in New York on June 29, 1923.

By the 1930's operetta was passé. The Broadway musical had taken its place. The greatest of the operetta composers, Romberg, died in 1950, the last of the operetta composers in America.

The second decade of the twentieth century was much faster than the first. The auto was already the established means of locomotion, and motion pictures were beginning to compete with the shows people could see on stage. Ragtime, which had already affected melody as well as rhythm as a syncopation device, suddenly created a new musical experiment, jazz.[24] Harry Von Tilzer wrote "I'll Lend You Everything

I've Got Except My Wife (And I'll Make You a Present of Her)." Jean Schwartz and Bert Kalmar continued the Hawaiian craze by writing "Hello Hawaii, How Are You." Suddenly all the hits were Oriental- or foreign-sounding songs. "Siam," "Bom Bombay," and Rudolph Friml's "Allah's Holiday" were the songs of 1915.

All these songs had one thing in common, they were danceable, for the period from 1910 to 1920 was a time when America went dance mad. Earlier, the most popular songs had been waltzes, and the crooners often accented and lengthened the songs so that they became difficult to dance to. Songs had many choruses and several verses because they had to tell a story. By the mid-decade, though, if you couldn't dance to a song, it couldn't achieve any success. The year 1911 even saw the first "Castle Walk" wedding, named after the two greatest dance partners in America, Irene and Vernon Castle. It all took place at the wedding of an Eizendrath to a Stein![25]

Sophistication was in, the natural life was out. There were always a few jeers at the hicks; New Yorker–Russian Irving Berlin wrote about "Farmer Brown raising the dickens, in a cabaret far from cows and chickens. . . . This is the Life!" (1914). Even the stately dances of the 1880's attended by high society returned as a source of musical inspiration: "At the Ragtime Ball," "At the Old Maids' Ball," even "At the YiddishSociety Ball."[26]

Sadly, the idyllic simplicity and classic sophistication of those years did not last. With the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian nationalist in 1914, political events got in the way. War broke out between Austria and Serbia. It didn't take long for Germany, England, France, and Russia to be drawn in; and with their involvement came a series of changes in the music of Tin Pan Alley.

First there was a spate of patriotic songs, such as Harry Von Tilzer's "Under the American Flag" and Edgar Leslie and Archie Gottler's "America, I Love You." Tin Pan Alley was in a bit of a quandary, however. There was an enormous need for music, yet despite the desire to "make the world safe for democracy" there were many on the Alley who were convinced that the Central Powers, Germany and Austria-Hungary, would be the victors. Furthermore, they recognized that many Americans favored the Germans, perceiving them as a "comfy people" who made and enjoyed the comforts of life, like beer, hot dogs, and hamburgers. Germans were seen, as well, as friendly, cheerful, and

even as lovers. No one was more "all-American" than Irving Berlin, yet in 1914 he wrote, "Oh, How That German Could Love."[27]

Still others on Tin Pan Alley were distinctly pacifist, using music as an outlet for their political views with such songs as "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier" and "Our Hats Off to You, Mr. President" (which praised President Wilson for his 1916 campaign promise to keep America out of war). In opposition were the more martial songs. Several of these parodied the pacifist songs. "I Did Not Raise My Boy to Be a Coward" and "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier, I'll Send My Daughter to Be a Nurse" are good examples.

April 2, 1917, saw President Wilson, who had vowed to keep us out of war, ask a cheering Congress for a declaration of war against the Germans. Recognizing the martial value of songs, the War Industries Board allowed supplies of paper to be provided for the music publishers. As an economy measure, however, the long sheets on which music had formerly been printed were replaced with shorter ones; moreover, instead of the art work of peacetime, now there were war slogans; "Eat more fish, cheese, eggs and poultry. Save beef, pork and mutton for our fighters."[28]

It is interesting and not surprising that the songs of the war years had many of the same themes as the prewar songs, transposed to a different setting. The ballad songs of separation were the most popular. Lew Brown and Albert Von Tilzer wrote "I May Be Gone for a Long Time" and "Au Revoir But Not Goodbye, Soldier Boy." "Hello Central, Give Me No Man's Land," by Lewis, Young, and Jerome, told about a young child calling her daddy, who is stationed overseas. The similarity to Charles K. Harris's "Hello Central, Give Me Heaven" was intentional.

Of course there were specialty numbers during the war years, songs of humor and lightness. The musical *Sinbad,* from which George Gershwin and Irving Caesar's "Swanee" came, as well as "Hello Central, Give Me No Man's Land," also included "How'd You Like to Be My Daddy" by Sam Lewis, Joe Young, and Ted Snyder.

Sam Lewis was born in New York on October 25, 1885. After working days as a runner for a brokerage house while singing in cafes at night, he turned to writing his own material as well as songs for Lew Dockstader's Minstrels and Van and Schenck. His partner, Joe Young, was born in New York on July 4, 1889. Young began his show business

career as a card boy in a vaudeville house, placing the name cards of the different acts on the marquee, and then worked as a song plugger. He died in 1939. Some of the songs Lewis and Young wrote together rank among the standards of Tin Pan Alley, including "Rock-A-Bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody," "Five Foot Two, Eyes of Blue," "How You Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm," "My Mammy" (with Al Jolson), "Dinah," and "I'm Sitting on Top of the World."

Ted Snyder, the third partner, was born in Freeport, Illinois, on August 15, 1881. He began as a cafe pianist and opened his own publishing house in 1908. Later he merged with Irving Berlin's publishing house and retired to California to run a nightclub. His most famous songs were "The Sheik of Araby," which he wrote with Billy Rose in honor of Rudolph Valentino, and "Who's Sorry Now?"

Harry Von Tilzer wrote another comedy-type song with "Buy a Liberty Bond for the Baby," but the master of the comedy song was Irving Berlin. "They Were All Out of Step Except Jim," "Oh How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning," and "I'm Gonna Pin My Medal on the Girl I Left Behind" all came from Berlin's primary musical contribution to the war effort, the show *Yip Yip Yaphank*. Berlin's music was parodied by some of his competitors—for example, the song "When Alexander Takes His Ragtime Band to France," written by Cliff Hess and Edgar Leslie in 1918. The lyrics ran as follows;

When Alexander takes his ragtime band to France,
He'll capture every Hun, and take them one by one.
Those ragtime tunes will put the Germans in a trance;
They'll throw their guns away, Hip Hooray,
and start right in to dance.

They'll get so excited they'll come over the top,
Two step back to Berlin with a skip and a hop.
Old Hindenburg will know he has no chance,
("I haff nein Chaaance!")
When Alexander takes his ragtime band to France.[29]

Together with E. Ray Goetz, Irving Berlin's brother-in-law, Leslie also wrote one of the most popular songs of the war years, "For Me and My Gal."

Leo Feist was the chief publisher of war songs. When the war was

almost over, he began to look for another enemy to replace the Kaiser and the Germans. He chose the so-called enemy within the country. Feist songs encouraged citizens to "Knock the bull out of the Bolsheviki. With anarchy and bloodshed, our freedom's at stake, so let's wipe out each cause of it and trample on the snake."

Feist was not the only composer-publisher planning for the aftermath of the war. Jack Yellen and George Meyer wrote a series of songs dedicated to the return of "the boys." "Everytime he looks at me, he makes me feel so unnecessary. Oh, just think of it Clarice, he spent two months in Paris, and Oh! Oh! Johnny's in town." It soon became clear that the public wanted no more war songs or righteous morality songs; the twenties were coming and with them the "normalcy" of Warren Harding. But not before Billy Rose wrote a stirring epitaph to the returning soldiers.

Rose was born William Rosenberg, on the Lower East Side of New York, on September 6, 1899.[30] He began his career as a stenographer, becoming chief of the stenographic department of the War Industries Board. His first song, "Barney Google" (with Con Conrad), was an enormous hit, allowing him to produce and write for others as well as himself. His songs included "That Old Gang of Mine," "It's Only a Paper Moon," "Me and My Shadow," which he supposedly wrote with Al Jolson (in truth Jolson got credit because he had successfully plugged the song and it was a legal way to pay him off), and "I Found a Million Dollar Baby in a Five and Ten Cent Store." After becoming a producer, critic, and newspaper columnist, Rose went into the nightclub business. He died in 1966.

Billy Rose's songs sounded the death knell for the one-finger composers of early Tin Pan Alley. Soon they were replaced by more creative composers and lyricists who were better versed in classical formal music and words. It was not a coincidence that Romberg, Kern, Gershwin, and Rodgers were thorough musicians as well as tune men.[31] Their time was to come.

Between the Wars

The war to end all wars was over and Americans wanted no more songs that would depress them or remind them of the years they had just suffered through. The warmth, sentimentality, and remembrance of

things past of the prewar years suddenly became a mad desire to do anything, absolutely anything, that was new. To live for today was the theme of the decade known as the "roaring twenties." Morality, at least the morality that had been the norm in the first decade of the twentieth century, was gone, and in its place came the flappers and the so-called flaming youth. Love was free, and as the greatest of the non-Jewish composer-lyricists, Cole Porter, said in 1934, "Anything Goes." Hedonism was the way; fads came and went; there seemed to be no end to the prosperity people were enjoying. Movies became an entertainment norm, and film stars became the gods and goddesses of the day.

For Jews, the 1920's were a good time to be in the music business, at least as far as working on Tin Pan Alley was concerned, but out on the road, things were much more difficult. Even so great a theatre personage as George M. Cohan, the great "Yankee Doodle Boy" and Irish Catholic, was barred from a hotel because he was presumed to be Jewish.[32] The management of New York City's Claridge Hotel offered a five-dollar bill to any Jew who would willingly leave after registering. This action caused the hotel's closing. In addition to such instances of actual discrimination, the image of the Jew in the songs of the day was not terribly flattering. Jews were presented as money-grubbing, hand-rubbing old men who wore crepe hair and ran pawnshops. Sadly, the Jews of Tin Pan Alley helped to perpetuate this stereotype. A popular song mentioned earlier, "At the Yiddishe Society Ball," typified the rather anti-Jewish stereotypes of the period. The lyric told of "Abie Stein ordering some wine when he knows he is broke," and when the waiter brings it, Stein says, "Can't you take a joke?" Louis Fink, who thinks he's smart, says, "Bring me some more a la carte," and all the guests go around the hall "trottin' for nothing."[33]

But the 1920's also saw some big changes on Tin Pan Alley, for a new form of entertainment had begun sweeping the country, the movies. Soon movie companies began purchasing the great publishing houses; for example, Warner Brothers purchased Remick and Company, obtaining all the songs Remick had published, and all the staff composers as well. Harry Warren and Al Dubin, who went along in the deal, helped to create several of Warner's greatest movie musicals with such songs as "42nd Street" and "I Only Have Eyes for You."

At the same time that Tin Pan Alley was spreading into New York's theatre district, much of the Alley's talent was moving out west to

George Gershwin, 1898–1937

Ira Gershwin, born 1896

Richard Rodgers, 1902–1979
and Lorenz Hart, 1895–1943

Oscar Hammerstein II, 1895–1960

California. By the end of the 1920's, with the advent of the "talkies," the movie industry began to undergo a revolutionary transformation that greatly increased the role of popular music in film-making.[34] Tin Pan Alley had been important to the movies before then, however, for silent films had needed the services of tunesmiths who could turn out the mood music and melodic underscoring needed to take up the attention of audiences in the absence of sound tracks. Even so great a talent as Victor Herbert provided music for the "flickers." At times the music was more memorable than the movie itself. One such example was Herbert's score for D. W. Griffith's sequel to his masterpiece *Birth of a Nation*, entitled *The Fall of a Nation*. A critic for *Musical America* wrote, "It is not only synchronized with the picture but its rhythms are in absolute accord with the tempo of the action. Mr. Herbert's stimulating score clearly indicated the marked advance that music is making in the domain of photoplay and should prove encouraging to composers who have not yet tried their hand at this type of work."[35]

Song pluggers from Tin Pan Alley recognized that the movies represented an as yet untried field for selling their songs. Song slides, amateur nights, anything which could sell songs was attempted. "Ramona," the most successful song from a movie in the twenties, was written by L. Wolfe Gilbert in 1927. In the film of the same name, it was sung by Dolores Del Rio, the star and title character, accompanied by Paul Whiteman's orchestra. The recording of "Ramona" sold over 2 million discs. With this song came changes that altered the popular music industry forever.

Al Jolson was the first performer to benefit from the screen's conversion to sound. His famous movie *The Jazz Singer*, a film version of the Broadway play by Samson Raphaelson, was the first talkie. The story is by now famous. A young man gives up his father's dream that he become a synagogue cantor and instead chooses a career as a jazz singer. On the evening of Yom Kippur, when the elderly father is lying on his deathbed, the wayward son returns to chant Kol Nidrei. *The Jazz Singer* was an enormous success and proved beyond doubt that sound films were to be a permanent entertainment feature. It grossed over $3 million, an unheard-of sum in those days.

Within two years, in 1929, came the first composer and lyricist team who wrote just for the movies. Irving Thalberg, the director of production at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, decided to have original music for his

film *The Broadway Melody.* To write the lyrics, he chose Arthur Freed.

Freed was born Arthur Grossman in Charleston, South Carolina, on September 9, 1894. He began his education at one of America's best private schools, the Exeter Academy in New Hampshire. After working as a piano demonstrator for a Chicago music house, he became a songwriter. This resulted in his association with the Gus Edwards revues and the Marx Brothers, who were touring the country in a vaudeville show accompanied by their mother, Minnie.

With Louis Silver, Freed wrote songs and shows for New York restaurants. After World War I Freed and Silver went to Seattle and then to Los Angeles, where they managed a theatre. It was in this position that Freed began writing his own material for shows which he himself produced. He went on to become a lyricist, author, and motion picture producer of great fame and repute. His name generally meant a class production with great attention to style.[36] His song lyrics, such as "You Were Meant for Me," "Singing in the Rain," and "You Are My Lucky Star," exhibited the same characteristics. Eventually Freed became the producer directly in charge of all MGM movie musicals.[37]

Sigmund Romberg, the Gershwins, Rodgers and Hart, Jerome Kern, even Maurice Ravel, went to Hollywood to write for the movies. Gus Kahn, Howard Dietz, and Leo Robin also moved from the stage to the screen. By 1929, even the king of Tin Pan Alley, Irving Berlin, had traveled westward. His influence was all-encompassing; he contributed several of the greatest hits ever recorded for films, including "Cheek to Cheek," "I've Got My Love to Keep Me Warm," "White Christmas," "The Easter Parade," and "The Night Is Filled With Music." His talent was recognized in the first movie to feature the music of only one composer, *Alexander's Ragtime Band.* All the great Berlin hits from the stage were included, which allowed an entirely new group of people to hear and enjoy them.

George and Ira Gershwin went to Hollywood in 1930 but soon returned to New York. They went back two years later. At the insistence of their old friend Fred Astaire, they were hired to write several musicals. The songs for these movies rank among the finest written by the pair: "They Can't Take That Away from Me," "Let's Call the Whole Thing Off," "A Foggy Day in London Town," "Love Walked Right In," and lastly, "Our Love Is Here to Stay." George Gershwin died while working on his fourth movie.

A composer who wrote primarily for the movies was Harold Arlen. Born in Buffalo, New York, on February 15, 1905, Arlen, whose original name was Hyman Arluck, was the son of a cantor. He reached the top of the songwriting business with movies like *The Wizard of Oz* and *Cabin in the Sky* and stage musicals like *Bloomer Girl* and *St. Louis Woman.*

Arlen's partner and lyricist, E. Y. "Yip" Harburg, was equally successful in Hollywood and on Broadway. Harburg was born in New York City on April 8, 1898, and was educated in the public school system. After graduating college he wrote poetry for popular magazines and edited the magazine of New York's City College. Subsequently, he worked in South America as an agent for a firm that went bankrupt soon after his arrival. Harburg held down several more jobs in South America and in 1921 returned to the United States, where he opened an electrical supply company. When his business failed during the depression, he turned to songwriting. He said later, "I had my fill of this dreamy abstract thing called business and I decided to face reality by writing lyrics."[38]

Write lyrics Harburg certainly did. First, for the stage, he wrote several revues and shows, including *Finian's Rainbow, Bloomer Girl, Life Begins at 8:40,* and *Flahooley.* His greatest success was in the movies, where he wrote the lyrics and/or screenplays for *The Wizard of Oz, Cabin in the Sky,* and *Gold Diggers of 1936.* Among his numerous great song hits were "April in Paris," "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" "Old Devil Moon," and "How Are Things in Glocca Morra?" His career also encompassed stage directing and film producing.

It should not be thought that the growth of the movies in the twenties caused the Broadway musical to die. Nothing could be further from the truth. In 1924 and 1925 alone there were forty-six musicals on Broadway, each of them a variation on the "gals and gags" theme of burlesque and the revue. The 1920's, in fact, was the golden age of Broadway. The revue, which reached maturity through the efforts of Florenz Ziegfeld, enjoyed its full glory, although the *Ziegfeld Follies* of the 1920's were not as bright as the earlier versions, and competition set in. Along with the Shuberts came other revue-type shows, most notably George White's *Scandals of 1919.* It was White who gave George Gershwin his start, allowing him to write the *Scandals* of 1920 through 1924. Among the more than forty songs in these shows were two of Gershwin's

greatest: "I'll Build a Stairway to Paradise" and "Somebody Loves Me."

Gershwin left the *George White Scandals* in 1924 to write musical comedy and more serious music, and he was replaced by the team of De Sylva, Brown, and Henderson. Lew Brown, born in Odessa, Russia, on December 10, 1893, came to New York with his family at age five. He was educated in the New York public schools and for fun wrote parodies of popular songs. His first hit as a songwriter came in 1912 with "I'm the Loneliest Gal in Town." The music was by Albert Von Tilzer. After several years with Von Tilzer, Brown met Ray Henderson, and the two men went into partnership in publishing as well as songwriting. Buddy De Sylva was the third member of the team. After a period of success in the publishing business they sold their firm and left for Hollywood. Among their top songs were "Life Is Just a Bowl of Cherries," "The Best Things in Life Are Free," "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree," and "You're the Cream in My Coffee."

Irving Berlin continued to have a great influence on the stage musicals of the period. His *Music Box Revue* was housed in an entirely new theatre that he and Sam H. Harris built especially for it. All the songs for the first show in 1921 were written by Berlin, and they were brilliantly received. The most outstanding was "Say It With Music." Three editions of the *Revue* followed, with such songs as "What'll I Do" and "All Alone."

The most innovative and witty musical revue of the pre-1940 years was *As Thousands Cheer* in 1933, with book by Berlin and Moss Hart. The story line was based on the pages of a newspaper, with news stories and features represented in song. Berlin wrote "The Easter Parade," "Heat Wave," and "Supper Time" for this show. The characters included Franklin D. Roosevelt, Gandhi, Douglas Fairbanks, and John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Very interestingly, the revue saw another change in the usual ethnic makeup. In 1928, Dorothy Fields and Jimmy McHugh wrote the songs for an all-black revue entitled *Blackbirds of 1928*. Among the songs in this show were "Doin' the New Low Down," "I Can't Give You Anything But Love, Baby," and "Diga, Diga Doo."

Dorothy Fields, born in Allenhurst, New Jersey, on July 15, 1905, was the daughter of Lew Fields, of Weber and Fields fame, as well as the sister of Joseph and Herbert Fields, who became famous as librettists

for musicals. She began her professional career as an art teacher in a New York high school, and also wrote poetry for magazines, but was directed into songwriting by composer J. Fred Coots.

Although Fields's first efforts were, by her own admission, terrible, she did not lose faith and continued her work. She met her first partner, Jimmy McHugh, while working for the Mills publishing company. When their initial assignment proved a failure, they were given another, to write the *Blackbirds* show mentioned above. Although the show was not an immediate hit with the critics, Fields and McHugh waived their royalties to help it continue. Only after the institution of a Thursday midnight show did the revue catch on and become the biggest hit of the season. "I Can't Give You Anything But Love" went on to sell 3 million copies of sheet music.

Dorothy Fields became famous as a librettist, book writer, and lyricist. She collaborated with some of the most famous names in Broadway history, among them Jerome Kern, Sigmund Romberg, Harold Arlen, Arthur Schwartz, Burton Lane, and Cy Coleman. Her songs included "On the Sunny Side of the Street," "I'm in the Mood for Love," "A Fine Romance," and "The Way You Look Tonight."

Always "au courant," as she liked to describe herself, Fields wrote hit shows in every decade from the 1920's through the 1970's, all in the style of the day. Undoubtedly her greatest achievement was the book and libretto she and her brother wrote for Irving Berlin's *Annie Get Your Gun.* Though the show is thirty-five years old, it is still regarded as the quintessence of the Broadway musical. Also active in civic and Jewish philanthropies,[39] Fields never retired, and she died while in the midst of writing a new set of lyrics for a show to follow her last hit, *Seesaw.* She was far and away the most famous woman to write for the Broadway musical or for Tin Pan Alley.

Appropriately, one of Dorothy Fields's collaborators began his career very soon after she did. Arthur Schwartz was a successful lawyer and author before he decided to contribute to a new kind of revue which made its debut in 1922–23. Called the *Grand Street Follies,* it was a slimmed-down show with little or no scenery or fancy costumes, relying instead on wit and satire. The show was advertised as "A Lowbrow Show for Highbrow Morons." Far from that, it was so successful that it moved from off-Broadway to a regular theatre and ran through several different "editions."

Schwartz was born on November 25, 1900, in Brooklyn, where he lived most of his early life. He attended Brooklyn public schools and received both his B.A. and his law degree from New York University. Before becoming a lawyer, Schwartz taught English literature at a high school and wrote songs for NYU. From 1924, when as a Phi Beta Kappa he was accepted into the bar, until 1928, Schwartz was a fairly successful lawyer. In 1928 he began writing songs professionally. He was also a librettist and producer of movies and plays. Among his shows were *The Band Wagon, Stars in Your Eyes, A Tree Grows in Brooklyn,* and *Inside U.S.A.*, which he also produced. His songs were equally numerous: "Dancing in the Dark," "You and the Night and the Music," "I Guess I'll Have to Change My Plan," and "Something to Remember You By."

Schwartz's talents were seen in many avenues; but more than his own ability, he fostered a type of show which affected all of Broadway. The big musical revues, with enormous sets, costumes, and budgets, were on the way out. In their place came smaller, more intimate shows like those written by Schwartz. For instance, a group of young members of the Theatre Guild collectively wrote the *Garrick Gaieties of 1925.* Among the songs and skits were parodies of Broadway plays and of prominent actors and actresses. Herbert Fields served as the choreographer, and two of the new contributors who enjoyed hearing their first songs on Broadway were Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart. "Manhattan" and "Mountain Greenery," the great Rodgers and Hart hits of the first two *Garrick* shows, were a taste of the brilliant theatre songs this team was to produce. The team of Rodgers and Hart set the pace for Broadway from that day until fifteen years later when they split up.

The *Little Shows* were sophisticated small revues much like Gus Edwards's earlier *School Days.* They helped introduce Fred Allen, Libby Holman, and several other unknowns to the world of Broadway by highlighting their special talents. The experienced performer of the troupe was Clifton Webb. All of the sketches and songs were written by Howard Dietz, who was later to achieve fame as Arthur Schwartz's lyricist.

Dietz was born in New York on September 8, 1896. He went to public school and then to Columbia University, where his classmates included Oscar Hammerstein II and Lorenz Hart. Dietz became a contributor and editor of the Columbia newspaper and also wrote for

several local New York papers. After winning a $500 prize, Dietz went into the advertising business. In 1924 he became advertising director and promotion manager for MGM, where he stayed for thirty years, eventually becoming vice-president. All during these years he wrote lyrics, first with Jerome Kern, and most successfully with Arthur Schwartz. His songs included "Body and Soul," "Dancing in the Dark," and "Louisiana Hayride." He is also remembered for his English lyrics to the Strauss operetta *Die Fledermaus*, the standard translation in use even today.

Vernon Duke, whose original name was Vladimir Dukelsky, was a unique man who combined classical training with Tin Pan Alley. Born in Pskoff, Russia, on October 10, 1903, Duke studied composition and eventually entered the Kiev Conservatory of Music. As a result of the Russian Revolution, he left Russia in 1920 and went into classical music professionally. He began in Constantinople at the YMCA, where he came across the music to "Swanee" by George Gershwin and Irving Caesar. He was so interested that upon his arrival in New York, he called Gershwin, who then became his mentor. Gershwin even helped Dukelsky to anglicize his name to Vernon Duke. By 1932 Duke had written his most famous song, "April in Paris," with lyricist E. Y. Harburg. His other great songs include "Autumn in New York," "Taking a Chance on Love," and "Cabin in the Sky." His numerous classical compositions, which he wrote under the name Vladimir Dukelsky, ranged from concerti to symphonies, with music for the piano, cello, flute, and bassoon.

The 1920's and 1930's saw musicals by the men who today are viewed as the masters: Jerome Kern, Oscar Hammerstein, George and Ira Gershwin, Richard Rodgers, Lorenz Hart, Lew Brown, Irving Berlin, and Kurt Weill. Weill was born in Dessau, Germany, on March 2, 1900, and received a thorough education in classical music both privately and at the Berlin College for Music. His major musical activity was writing serious operas. Most of them were well received by the critics. They ranged in subject matter and style from a surrealistic opera, *The Protagonist,* to *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny,* which dealt with a fictional town in Alabama run by three ex-convicts as a socialist state in which everything was either pardonable or permissible.

The Threepenny Opera, patterned on the original opera by John

Gay, and written with Bertold Brecht, was Weill's greatest success. It took Germany by storm, and by 1929, a year after its premiere, it had been performed over four thousand times in one hundred different theatres around the country. Within five years it had been translated into eighteen languages and was exported to the United States and around the world. *The Threepenny Opera* enjoyed its greatest success in America. Following its 1954 revival, the song "Mack the Knife" became a hit-parade success, selling over 3 million records.[40]

In 1935, two years after the Nazis gained power, Weill was forced to leave Germany. After a short stay in Paris, he came to the United States, where he wrote the music for Franz Werfel's tribute to Jewish history, *The Eternal Road.* This show did not appear on Broadway until two years later. In the interim, another Weill production, the anti-war musical *Johnny Johnson,* was presented. All-American in style, it exhibited Weill's ability to change his music to suit the public taste. By 1938, Weill was writing truly American musicals with patriotic settings. *Knickerbocker Holiday* was typical of his work in this vein. Using New Amsterdam of the 1600's as the setting, Weill wrote about fascism as he saw it developing in Europe. His famous "September Song" came from the score of *Knickerbocker Holiday.*

With George Gershwin, Weill is held in higher critical esteem than any other American composer.[41] His death in 1950 was a great blow because he was just finding an American idiom. George Gershwin was his close friend and Ira was his best lyricist. Their feelings about liberty and freedom profoundly affected Weill's work. In "How Can You Tell an American," written for *Knickerbocker Holiday,* Weill identified what he regarded as the essence of true Americanism: loving and supporting liberty. Weill made that love his theme.

Often, what makes a man great in the eyes of his peers is his ability to look into the future. Weill certainly had that ability, for he predicted the civil and social unrest of the 1930's several years before it occurred. On October 29, 1929, "Black Thursday," Wall Street "laid an egg," as *Variety* put it. By 1931, nearly 30,000 businesses had folded, 2,500 banks had failed, and 10 million people were out of work. Depression was everywhere, and the songs of Tin Pan Alley recognized the emotions and fears of the masses. Money was something no one had, so all of a sudden there was a spate of songs promising that money wasn't needed for love. "I Found a Million Dollar Baby in a Five and Ten Cent

Store," by Mort Dixon, Billy Rose, and Harry Warren, was typical. Rodgers and Hart wrote "I've Got Five Dollars," with "debts beyond endurance" and coats and collars "which moths adore." The most representative song of the depression era was Harburg's "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" This song, and many like it, lamented the depths to which America had sunk, but others were written to cheer up the populace. "Happy Days Are Here Again" is the best example; it was used as Franklin Roosevelt's theme song, later by Harry Truman, then by John F. Kennedy, and finally it became a Democratic Party anthem. Written by Jack Yellen and Milton Ager, it was introduced on the evening of Black Thursday and became an almost "hysterical" hit; everyone in the room needed cheering up. In a similar vein was "On the Sunny Side of the Street," written by Dorothy Fields and Jimmy McHugh (1930).

As mentioned, Kurt Weill was a stern social critic. His songs were the precursors of two very important revues in the history of American theatre. The first of these shows was entitled *Pins and Needles*. Originality and fresh spirit were combined in a unique way; everyone in the cast was a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and naturally the show was a union production. With a leftist point of view, its desire was to "Sing me a song with social significance, all other songs are taboo."

The composer and lyricist for the show, Harold Rome, was new to Broadway. Born in Hartfort, Connecticut, on May 27, 1908, he was educated in Hartford, later going on to Yale University, where he received a degree in arts and architecture. While still a student, Rome played with the Yale Orchestra and toured Europe with the group. He also played piano with jazz bands in an attempt to earn extra money. Following his graduation, he went to New York. He accepted a non-paying job in architecture in order to get some experience and earned his living by writing popular songs and playing piano in bars. For three summers he was musical director of Green Mansions, an adult camp in the Adirondacks, where he was required to write three complete musicals each summer. All told, Rome composed ninety songs for these various camp shows.

Rome's camp-show collaborator was Charles Friedman. When Friedman was commissioned to write a musical revue for the ILGWU, he asked Rome to compose the songs, and this brought about Rome's

introduction to the professional theatre. *Pins and Needles* had been intended as a show for union members and their friends, but it was so well received by critics and public alike that it continued for 1,108 performances, one of the longest runs in Broadway history to that time. In order to keep the "social significance" updated, new material was introduced every few weeks. Rome continued to write for left-leaning musical revues and later wrote several complete Broadway shows, including *Destry Rides Again, Wish You Were Here,* and most successfully, *Fanny.*

Rome's success fostered the second political-satire revue mentioned earlier. This one was far more politically oriented. The composer-lyricist was Marc Blitzstein, born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on March 2, 1905. Blitzstein was educated at the University of Pennsylvania and the Curtis Institute of Music, and enjoyed several years of study under the best music teachers Europe had to offer, among them Nadia Boulanger and Arnold Schoenberg. Upon his return to America, he was a soloist with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra and soon became involved in the popular music business. He also lectured at Vassar, Columbia, the Brooklyn Institute for the Arts, and the New School for Social Research.

Blitzstein's popular-music orientation was strictly in the socialist tradition, for he wrote about the masses getting trampled on, and the class struggle in America. His crowning achievement in the musical area, clearly reflecting the influence of Kurt Weill in its songs and lyrics, was *The Cradle Will Rock,* presented on June 15, 1937. The plot, which takes place in a night court, sets steel workers against employers. The capitalist, Mr. Mister, who controls the entire community, including the school, the newspaper, the church, and the court, has formed a Liberty Union to break the union started by the workers, but he fails and the workers are victorious.

The story of the show's production is quite interesting in its own right. Originally written in 1936, *The Cradle Will Rock* was accepted for production by the WPA–Federal Theatre, whose producer was John Houseman and whose director was Orson Welles. Several civic groups, angered by the play's anti-capitalist, anti-government libretto, brought about the closing of the Federal Theatre on opening night. The audience were already in their seats when the closing was announced. While the cast attempted to entertain them, the producer frantically

searched for a new place in which to present the play. The nearby Venice Theatre was procured, and cast and audience went there. As it was impossible to move the costumes, sets, and orchestra to the new theatre, Blitzstein and his cast proceeded to do the show without them, with Blitzstein at the piano explaining the scenes as they came along. Judged by the reviews, this unique presentation enhanced rather than detracted from the show's effect. Brooks Atkinson wrote, "*The Cradle Will Rock* is the most versatile artistic triumph of the politically insurgent theatre."[42] In addition to being the theatrical event of the season, it proved to be a great financial success.

The popular songs of the depression era reflected the split in society. On the one hand there were the politically conscious songs, for the decade of the 1930's was largely spent in recovering from the excesses of the previous decade. On the other hand, the depression lay heavily on people's minds and pop-music became less bouncy and original. More often than not, the arranger became the creative force in the Tin Pan Alley world. Composers left it to the arrangers to create new and jazzy treatments of fairly pedestrian songs.[43] While the Hollywood movies were being brightened by the musicals of Busby Berkeley, the musical theatre tackled subjects of current concern. George and Ira Gershwin indicted World War I profiteering in their musical *Strike Up the Band.* The show was so politically potent that it had to be rewritten in a less virulent manner. Even Irving Berlin dealt with serious issues when he condemned police corruption in *Face the Music.*[44]

In the 1930's, radio changed the music business greatly. Songs could be played on the air and thus did not have to be plugged in individual theatres or shows to gain popularity. Moreover, sheet music sales were no longer the marker that made a song a hit. Record sales and radio were the key factors. In line with these developments the publisher-producers invented the "Hit Parade," a radio program that played various recordings and then rated them by sales and popularity.

By 1935, Tin Pan Alley had been so thoroughly infiltrated by the new breed of theatre composers that most of the top twenty songs of the year were written by Kern, Rodgers and Hart, Gershwin, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, Harburg and Arlen, Vernon Duke, and Howard Dietz. The top two songs of the year were Kern's "Lovely to Look At" and "I Won't Dance," with Gershwin's "Soon" coming third. The next year Irving Caesar's "Is It True What They Say About Dixie" headed the list,

continuing the tradition of songs about the South written by Jews who had never been there![45]

The year 1938 saw an event that was quite interesting as far as Jews were concerned. The most popular song of the year, and almost of the decade, had originally come from the pen of Sholom Secunda and Joe Jacobs, two men who wrote for the Yiddish theatre. The song was recorded on November 24, 1937, by Pattie, Maxine, and Laverne Andrews—its name, "Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen."

Two different stories are told about the origin of this song. One has it that the agent Lou Levy, thinking that an all-Yiddish song sung by three gentile girls would be an amusing hit in New York City, brought the song to the attention of the Andrews Sisters. Supposedly they cut the demonstration record in Yiddish, but Jack Kapp, the president of Decca Records, insisted that English words would have to be used.

Another story is told by Sammy Cahn, the creator-lyricist of the English version (along with Saul Chaplin), in his autobiography, *I Should Care*. Cahn says that he heard two black performers singing the song in Yiddish at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem. Though the audience couldn't understand a single word, they seemed to enjoy the song. Cahn was impressed, so he went out and bought the sheet music. He aroused the interest of the Andrews Sisters, and they tried to convince Jack Kapp of Decca to let them record it. He agreed, but only if Cahn would translate the words into English.

The record earned $3,000,000 for Decca, and Cahn and Chaplin attempted to repeat the success with another Yiddish song, "Joseph, Joseph," by Nellie Casman and Samuel Steinberg. It became a second hit of the 1938 record year.

Sammy Cahn, originally Cohn, was born in New York on June 18, 1913. His parents helped in the founding of a synagogue upon their arrival from Galicia, and it was at this synagogue in New York that Sammy was Bar Mitzvah. As a boy he had been trained in the violin, and for light entertainment, as well to earn spending money, he organized his friends into a dance band. One of his friends was Saul Chaplin, with whom he began writing song lyrics.[46] Most active in the film industry, Cahn wrote such movie musical classics as *Anchors Aweigh, Three Cheers for the Boys,* and *Toast of New Orleans*. His stage musicals include *High Button Shoes* and *Look to the Lillies* (a flop). Cahn's list of songs is enormous, but among his best are "Three

Coins in the Fountain," "Let It Rain, Let It Rain, Let It Rain," "Papa, Won't You Dance with Me," and "Be My Love."

As the 1930's drew to a close, and another major war in Europe became imminent, Americans turned inward, and patriotic songs came back into vogue. Harold Arlen and E. Y. Harburg wrote "God's Country" for the anti-war musical *Hooray for What!* Al Jacobs wrote the lyrics for a song that became an American standard, "This Is My Country," introduced by Fred Waring and his Pennsylvanians.

The song that led the way, as far as patriotism is concerned, belonged to Irving Berlin. It was originally written as the second-act closing for the World War I show *Yip Yip Yaphank,* but Berlin cast it aside when he decided that having soldiers sing about their love for America as they marched through the audience on the way to war was simply gilding the lily.

In 1938 Kate Smith, who had decided to present a radio broadcast dealing with patriotism and her pride in being an American, approached Berlin for a suitable song. He remembered the one he had discarded two decades earlier. He gave Kate Smith the rights to the song without any payment, but stipulated that any profits it might accrue should be given to the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the Campfire Girls. All told, the song earned them over half a million dollars.

Berlin's song became almost a second national anthem, so much so that on February 18, 1955, President Eisenhower honored Berlin with a gold medal engraved "GOD BLESS AMERICA." It is for that song as much as any other that Irving Berlin will be remembered.

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"Toward Better Understanding": The Rise of the Interfaith Movement in America and the Role of Rabbi Isaac Landman

Lance J. Sussman

During the 1920's an interfaith movement promoting "better understanding" between Christians and Jews began to coalesce in the United States. The establishment of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ) in 1928 was the culmination of nearly a decade of work by interfaith activists and marked the coming of age of the interfaith movement. Today, the ideals and activities of the interfaith movement are a normative part of religious life in America. Will Herberg maintained in his famed sociological study, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew,* that "Interfaith is the highest expression of religious coexistence and cooperation within the American understanding of religion."[1] Yet, despite this and other accolades, little attention has been paid to the development of the interfaith movement and its complex historical and philosophical roots.

This study will attempt to examine those roots, as well as the history of interfaith in the United States until World War II and the career of one of its outstanding advocates, Rabbi Isaac Landman. The tremendous expansion of interfaith after the Second World War, the impact of the Holocaust, interfaith's close links to cold war politics, and, later, to the civil rights movement, are important developments in the interfaith movement which require separate analysis. The general decline of the interfaith movement in recent years is another important topic deserving of study but beyond the scope of this paper.[2]

Interfaith: The History of an Idea

Although the word "interfaith" is widely used in contemporary religious discourse, it probably was not coined until the turn of the century and did not come into popular use until the 1920's. A host of other terms, such as "good will," "better understanding," "inter-

group," "inter-religious," "tri-faith," and "brotherhood," also vied for public acceptance. The *New York Times Index*, for example, did not include "Interfaith" as a reference category until 1930. "Interfaith" also did not appear in standard English-language dictionaries until *Webster's Third International* (1955). In short, the slow acceptance of the word "interfaith" stands in marked contrast to the rapid rise in popularity of the movement which it came to represent.

Interfaith activists realized that they needed a term to differentiate the interfaith idea from ecumenism. The word "ecumenism," derived from the Greek *oikoumenikos*, meaning "of or from the whole world," primarily came to stand for pan-Christian unity. Interfaith, on the other hand, was to involve the many varieties of Christianity as well as non-Christian traditions, especially Judaism. "Interfaith" quickly obtained popular acceptance and became the catchword for two different understandings of the idea it denoted. The radical position, held, for instance, by the young Isaac Landman, was that the interfaith movement was both an attempt to reconcile differing religious beliefs and the harbinger of a new universal religion supposedly envisioned by the biblical prophets. The radicals eagerly lifted the rhetorical questions of the prophet Malachi out of their original context and asked, "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us?" (Malachi 2:10). On the other hand, the moderate and dominant view of interfaith called for a nonsyncretistic program of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Traditionally minded detractors of interfaith often confuse the intentions of the moderate interfaith activists with those of the radicals. Others, however, maintain that true dialogue (or trialogue) is impossible and, therefore, reject both approaches to interfaith.

Although interfaith has been anachronistically traced back to the universalistic teachings of Israel's ancient prophets, it is in fact a child of modernity. The roots of the interfaith movement can be traced back to the sustained intellectual attack, especially by deists, against supernaturalism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which directly resulted in a weakening of traditional religion in Western Europe and America. Later, another key intellectual factor in the development of the idea of interfaith was Immanuel Kant's separation of "morality" and "religion." According to Kant, one could be a good person without being religious at all. In sum, religionists of many different stripes were forced together to fend off a common enemy—secular humanism.

The idea of "emancipation," and the emancipation of the Jew in particular, was another prerequisite for any notion of interfaith. With the breakdown of corporate society, a new tolerance for social and religious diversity emerged. Jews, for instance, were enfranchised as citizens, first in America, then in Western Europe. In the United States, the juxtaposition of Jew and Christian as equals before the law of the land was matched by the deistic-Jeffersonian idea that all religions are equal in the eyes of the Constitution.[3] In his famed correspondence with several Jewish congregations and a Masonic lodge in 1789 and 1790, George Washington wrote that "the liberal sentiment towards each other which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country stands unrivaled in the history of nations."[4] The idea of America as the land of religious liberty and tolerance continued to find expression on numerous occasions throughout the nineteenth century.

The emancipation of the Jews demanded that Judaism be recast as a "religion" in order to allow for the enfranchisement of Jews as citizens of the modern state. This external need to reformulate Judaism as a "creed" resulted in internal redefinition. Reform Judaism and Neo-Orthodoxy were both, in part, responses to the new conditions of emancipation. The Reformers not only met the definitional requirements of emancipation but also accepted many Christian customs and theological categories as models for their own internal revisions. In time, the philosophical idea of the equality of religions was reinforced by an abundance of similiarities in actual practice. Some interfaith activists later believed that (Reform) Judaism and (liberal) Christianity would continue to converge until they become indistinguishable from one another. Joseph Krauskopf, senior rabbi of the Reform Congregation Keriesseth Israel in Philadelphia, prophesied to this effect in 1901:

> Obsolete forms and meaningless rites are crumbling away. Offensive doctrines are disappearing. The Judaic Jesus is slowly regaining his lost ground. The ethics of Judaism are supplanting the Gnosticism of Paul. When the Jew shall have completely cast away his obstructive exclusiveness and ceremonialism, and the Christian his Christology, Jew and Gentile will be one.[5]

The idea of a basic commonality among all religions received the aura

of scientific validity during the nineteenth century. First, geologists and then archaeologists and scientific textual critics contributed to the demystification of Sacred Scripture and helped transform much of the Bible into a species of human literature. Religionists, inclined to accept these scientific findings, were forced to seek abstract principles as a new basis for their beliefs and actions. In this regard, the ground was being prepared for them by other members of the scholarly community. Late in the nineteenth century, American and European universities began to establish chairs in comparative religion. The work of numerous historians of religion, anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists all pointed toward a universal basis for religion in the human experience. The interfaith movement began in this environment of limited belief in divinely revealed truth and high confidence in human potential as the road to salvation. Others, however, remained unimpressed with arguments for nonsupernatural religion, and like the Ethical Culturalists completely divested themselves of the yoke of the past, instead developing their own universal "religion of duty" based on Kantian principles.[6]

Several factors conditioned the emergence of an interfaith movement in the United States. Born during the late nineteenth century, the idea of interfaith was a subcategory of the same religious liberalism that gave rise to the social gospel movement and classical Reform Judaism. Dedicated to moral activism, it was inevitable that the social gospel movement would focus some of its energy on religious intolerance in America. In fact, the institutional groundwork for the interfaith movement was laid when the Federal Council of Churches, itself strongly influenced by the social gospel, attempted to counteract the Ku Klux Klan's virulent anti-Catholicism during the 1920's.

Whereas liberal Protestants often had to seek out Catholic support for the interfaith movement, Reform Jews supported it eagerly. Indeed, Reform Judaism, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, boldly advocated its own version of "liberal theology."[7] The close relation of Reform Judaism to the interfaith movement is best understood in the context of Reform's doctrine of "mission" as defined in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885. Reform's "mission" was not only a reaction to Christian missionaries but also a triumphalistic doctrine mandating interfaith activity. The opening sentence of the "First Plank" recognized the idea of the basic commonality among all religions: "We

recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite One and, in every mode, source, or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system, the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man."[8] The "Sixth Plank" explicitly links Reform's "mission" with the need for extensive interfaith cooperation: "We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and therefore we extend the hand of fellowship to all who cooperate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men."[9] In short, interfaith played a central role in the messianism which animated classical Reform Judaism in America.

The interfaith movement in the United States must also be seen as a double-edged expression of consensus Americanism. Interfaith simultaneously represents the melting-pot ideology as well as the cultural pluralism of Horace Kallen and others. In the former, radical interfaith serves as a way of creating a unified Anglo-national culture in America. In the latter, moderate interfaith augments the thesis that there is strength in diversity. The interfaith movement first appeared when these two views of America collided. The tension between these two views has never been fully resolved in the American mind and helps explain some of the dynamics of the interfaith movement during the last several decades.

Finally, interfaith is also closely linked to the rise of the modern city in the late nineteenth century. Jewish and Christian urban elites, moved by the spirit of civic reformism, were concerned about intergroup relations among city dwellers. They saw interfaith as a program enabling various sectors of an urban society to join together for the common good. During the 1920's interfaith quickly gained the majority of its adherents from the middle class living in the "Zone of Emergence" in which a wide variety of issue-oriented clubs and organizations flourished. Moreover, interfaith provided many naturalized and second-generation Americans, anxious to distance themselves from the Old World ways of their parents yet mindful of the role of religion in American society, with a sense of high purpose and dignity in their public lives.

Interfaith: The Formative Years, 1893–1928

In honor of the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America, an Exposition was held at Chicago in 1893 including the

World Parliament of Religions. The World Parliament of Religions not only included Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic representatives but also Annie Wood Besant (Theosophy), Swami Vivekananda, and members of Bahai.[10] This unprecedented exercise in comparative religion was organized to demonstrate the "unique" American tradition of religious tolerance in order to offset the anti-Catholicism of the American Protective Association. Nearly a half century later, the Temple of Religion at the New York World's Fair of 1939–1940 attempted to recreate a similar forum. However, by this time the interfaith movement already had an organizational structure (NCCJ) and a well-developed agenda geared to the fight against Nazism.

A year after the World Parliament of Religions was held at the Columbian Exposition, a series of events began to unfold that ultimately led to the establishment in 1908 of the Federal Council of Churches (FCC), a coalition of many important Protestant denominations and the leading institutional champion of interfaith (or "goodwill") activities. The evolution of the FCC began in 1894 with the establishment of the Interdenominational Open and Established Church League. Promoting the concept of Christian unity, or ecumenism, the work of this League was soon strengthened by that of the Religious Education Association and the Church Peace Union. In 1905 a new pan-Christian coalition, the Interfaith Conference on Federation, was formed. Three years later, the Interfaith Conference became the FCC. In 1924 the FCC sponsored a Goodwill Committee, led principally by Dr. Samuel Cadman, to combat the Ku Klux Klan. However, the sectarian nature of the Goodwill Committee was quickly recognized as detrimental to the larger goals of interfaith. The call for a totally nonsectarian interfaith organization was finally realized in 1928 with the establishment of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Protestants were not alone in working on interfaith programs. Several Jewish organizations were also actively promoting interfaith ideas before 1928. Most important were the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Soon after the formation of the FCC's Goodwill Committee, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the professional organization of Reform rabbis, created a parallel group. The CCAR- and FCC-sponsored committees met and prepared joint statements on interfaith. "We

realize," the two committees declared, "that we best reveal our fellowship by practical cooperation in common tasks and it is our endeavor to formulate a program by which to realize the high purpose of noble endeavors of mutual goodwill and helpfulness."[11] Although the committees were not officially joined by any Catholic organization, several Catholic groups and publications supported the idea of interfaith, including the Calvert Association, the Knights of Columbus, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and *Commonweal.*

Interfaith was problematic for American Catholics during the 1920's because of the Vatican's emphatic repudiation of the movement. Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical on "Fostering True Religious Unity" (*Mortalium Animos*) in 1928. He declared that it was not permissible for Catholics "to take part in these ecumenical assemblies," and if Catholics gave "such enterprises their encouragement or support," they would be giving countenance to a false Christianity "quite alien to the one Church of Christ."[12] By definition, the Catholic Church believed that it alone represented (Christian) ecumenism. The inclusion of non-Christian traditions was entirely another matter. The interfaith movement was initially perceived by Rome as another radical tendency in American religion that was both heretical and syncretistic. Years later, however, at the last meeting of the Second Vatican Council in 1965, the Church acknowledged the "spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews" and endorsed mutual research and public dialogue programs.[13]

Anti-Catholicism, on the other hand, was the leaven in the bread of the American interfaith movement. Following World War I xenophobia swept many sectors of American society. Communists, immigrants, and, most of all, Catholics were the objects of contempt and derision. The revivification of the Ku Klux Klan was particularly alarming to the liberal Protestant and Jewish communities.[14] Several organizations were formed to counter the KKK's racist and anti-Catholic propaganda. For instance, the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities was organized late in 1920. Anti-KKK protests lodged by the FCC were echoed in the pages of the *American Hebrew.* The unifying effect of the Klan's hate campaign on the interfaith movement continued well beyond the heyday of the KKK. The need for a single independent interfaith organization was clearly perceived by John Herring, secretary of the FCC's Good-Will Committee, in 1926. A

Permanent Commission on Better Understanding Between Christians and Jews in America, organized in 1927, foreshadowed the establishment of the National Conference of Christians and Jews a year later. Like the Permanent Commission, the NCCJ was primarily an opinion-making organization. However, the NCCJ quickly developed a full program whereas the Permanent Commission convened only on an ad hoc basis. The Commission's only major action was a declaration on the blood-libel incident at Massena, New York, in 1928.[15] No doubt ever existed that the NCCJ would supersede both the Permanent Commission and the Good-Will Committee of the FCC to become the premier representative of interfaith ideals in the United States.

"Better Understanding": The Interfaith Activity of Rabbi Isaac Landman

Among the many champions of the interfaith movement during the 1920's was Rabbi Isaac Landman (1880–1946).[16] Born in Sudilkov, Russia, Landman came to the United States in 1890 accompanied by his mother. His father, Louis Hyamson Landman (1858–1922), emigrated in 1887, moving to Cincinnati, Ohio. Initially, Louis Landman peddled tinware in Kentucky. He eventually prospered, returned to school, and became an eye specialist. Isaac Landman enjoyed a comfortable childhood in the Queen City. He enrolled at the University of Cincinnati and the Hebrew Union College, and obtained both his B.A. and rabbinical ordination in 1906. During his student days, Landman witnessed many fundamental changes at HUC. Foremost were the death of Isaac M. Wise, the founder of the institution, and the appointment of Kaufmann Kohler as president. Kohler, the author of the Pittsburgh Platform, was determined to recreate the Hebrew Union College in his own image.[17] His opposition to Zionism and neo-Hebraic literature and his affirmation of Reform Judaism as a rational religion deeply impressed the young Landman, who left the Hebrew Union College firmly committed both to the lofty religious liberalism of President Kohler and to the principles of Americanism.

Landman spent the first ten years of his rabbinate in Philadelphia. As assistant to Joseph Krauskopf at Kenesseth Israel, Landman published several popular and educational works, including a biography of the Italian cabalist and poet Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707–1746),

quickly rose through the ranks of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and promoted a variety of Jewish agricultural projects.[18] In 1916, when the American Army was mobilized along the Mexican border, Landman was appointed as a chaplain by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, who later (1929–1937) served as the Protestant co-chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

In 1917 Landman accepted an offer to become the senior rabbi of Temple Israel at Far Rockaway, New York, where he remained until 1928. Landman's eleven years at Temple Israel were busy and productive ones. In 1918 he replaced Philip Cowen as the editor of the *American Hebrew* and quickly transformed the traditional-leaning weekly into a springboard for his own pet ideas and projects. The following year he attended the Paris Peace Conference as the representative of the UAHC-CCAR joint delegation and fought for the inclusion of a clause on universal religious liberty. Landman's participation at the Peace Conference left an indelible mark on his consciousness. He also distinguished himself during these years by his "two-fisted" attack against the Ku Klux Klan and Henry Ford. In 1922, Landman argued before a House Committee in Washington, D.C., against House Resolution 22, which gave American approval to "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." His outspoken anti-Zionism gained him the dubious sobriquet of "Landman Effendi"—a Turkish title of nobility.[19]

Landman's religious liberalism brought him into direct conflict with Zionism. In the aftermath of World War I, Landman was deeply suspicious of any species of nationalism—except for Americanism, which he believed to be different. Jewish nationalism was to him particularly bothersome. To Landman, Zionism represented the worst aspects of Jewish particularism and epitomized the problems of Jewish secularism. He maintained that the relationship of ethnic and religious components in the shaping of the modern Jew was problematic and could only be resolved through the minimalization of the former and the maximalization of the latter. Believing as he did that Zionism violated the true universal essence of Judaism—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man—he spurned the movement.[20] His equation of Zionism with racism, today a propaganda ploy exploited by anti-Zionist organizations and nations, grew out of Landman's understanding of the "Eastern" Haskalah, which glorified the Jewish *volk*, or

people, at the expense of the rational ideals of "Western" Haskalah.[21]

Landman's anti-Zionism is a key to his own Jewish identity. Born in Russia and displaced by the pogroms, Landman found security in the highly Americanistic classical Reform Judaism of his day. As an *Ostjude* (Eastern European Jew), Landman took the highroad to success by aligning himself with the (German) elite element in Reform circles. Moreover, one can detect in Landman's anti-Zionism a rebellion against his father, Louis H. Landman. In 1920, Louis, by then a trained eye specialist, went to Palestine to set up a free trachoma clinic. While vacationing in Cairo, Egypt, he took ill and died. Although the exact nature of the impact of his father's tragic death remains a matter of conjecture, Landman's theoretical opposition to political Zionism never diminished.

Political Zionism and interfaith were based on antithetical ideas in the mind of Isaac Landman. In rejecting an ultimate expression of Jewish particularism, Landman fully endorsed a program which heralded Jewish universalism. Religion, not politics, was for him the road to salvation. While the rabbi at Temple Israel, Landman, although not an original or profound thinker, worked out a philosophy of interfaith and succeeded in developing a program around its ideals.

Landman's sermons and his writings in the *American Hebrew* are filled with his optimistic faith in the concept of interfaith and his vision of "universal religion." On Sunday morning, January 4, 1924, Landman outlined his belief in the ultimate convergence of Judaism and Christianity in a sermon entitled "What Christians Ought to Know About Judaism."

> I do not believe with those who say that religion is not for the melting pot. The idea is an unwise figure of speech at best, and I believe that religion, science, and the newer understanding of man to man and man to God, a religion in the hope of the quest for knowledge and for truth, which for generations back, has come to be a part of the life of this nation and of other nations, are increasing and making greater demands upon all the teachers for light and for truth. Religion must melt away. It must suffer the dross to be thrown into the pot, and the pure elements in it passed through the fire and will be still more purified, and bring man that hope, for which he has been searching, especially since the great recent calamity [World War I] that has come upon mankind.

> Religion will eventually, if it is to be worked out in a nation like ours, composed of many men, of many origins, of many different beliefs, the religion, as it will work itself out in this nation will blot off all that is local and temporal of misapprehensions, both in Christianity and in Judaism, and in God's own time, many centuries hence perhaps, will be born that universal religion, first conceived by the prophets of old . . . which will bind all men into the hoped for and prayed for brotherhood under God's fatherhood.[22]

However, the *American Hebrew,* not the pulpit, was Landman's primary means of communication. Landman claimed credit for the idea of "better understanding" and believed that the American Good-Will Union (1920), the FCC's Committee on Good-Will, the Joint Commission on Good-Will (FCC and CCAR), and even the American Christian Fund for Jewish Relief (1925) all derived their inspiration, in no small way, from his vision of interreligious cooperation. This vision was repeatedly outlined in the *American Hebrew.*

Providence had great things in store for Landman. On April 15, 1927, the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter coincided. To mark the occasion, Landman gathered together nine distinguished leaders: three Jews, three Protestants, and three Catholics. Henry Morgenthau, former American ambassador to Turkey, Irving Lehman, judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi of the Free Synagogue of New York and acting president of the Jewish Institute of Religion, represented the Jews. The Protestant delegation included Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, president of Brown University, and Dr. Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard Law School. Victor J. Dowling, presiding judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, Father Francis P. Duffy, president of the Rainbow Division Veterans' Association, and Martin Conboy, Esq., the Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, were the Catholic emissaries of goodwill. Together these nine individuals made up the Permanent Commission on Better Understanding. President Faunce was appointed chairman, Conboy was made vice-chairman, and Landman acted as secretary. The program of the Permanent Commission was intentionally limited. Its true purpose was symbolic. Landman wrote in the *American Hebrew* on April 15, 1927:

> The purpose and objective of this Commission, therefore, is to be solely opinion-making. It will have no power, nor will it have any desire to act in any other capacity. It will have no permanent officers and will call itself into session only when it receives an appeal to redress a group wrong. It will determine for itself whether a protest from a particular group comes within its purview. But when it has investigated painstakingly, and when it has spoken after careful and unbiased deliberation, the whole nation will listen and accept its pronouncement as the enlightened voice of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish population, on the broad grounds of American humanity.[23]

For weeks after the announcement of the Permanent Commission, Landman reprinted scores of press comments unanimously applauding the Commission and the ideals of interfaith. The *New York Times,* according to Landman, even went so far as to suggest that Easter and Passover be permanently fixed on the same date: "It would tend to give wider recognition to the part of religion in the life of the nation, to call special attention to what all monotheistic faiths have in common, and to teach an understanding and tolerance which would prevent such emergencies of mispresentation as the Commission on Misunderstanding [*sic*] is organized specifically to meet."[24]

More than a year passed, however, before the Commission was called into action by its secretary. On Saturday, September 22, 1928, two days before the Jewish Day of Atonement, Barbara Griffith, a four-year-old girl, disappeared in the town of Massena, New York. "Due to the ignorance and gullibility of the Mayor and a state trooper," Landman reported in his book *Christian and Jew: A Symposium for Better Understanding,* "a rumor spread that the Jews probably kidnapped the child for ritual purposes."[25] The situation in Massena was resolved by 4:30 p.m. the following day when the child was found and all the appropriate apologies were made. However, a storm of protests quickly gathered and blew across the land. On October 5, the Permanent Commission issued its "pronouncement." The statement included both a brief history of the notorious blood libel and a call for the forces of enlightenment to blot out the medieval anachronism.

> The Massena incident, therefore, moves the Permanent Commission on Better Understanding to urge our fellow citizens throughout the

> nation, in the interest of true religion and of our common devotion to our native country, to prevent the spread of this libel on the Jews, to destroy it by the ridicule it deserves, and forestall its recurrence by enlightenment, lest ill-will and religious enmity spread among our citizenry and discord disrupt our national life.[26]

Ironically, the self-appointed role of the Commission had actually been supplanted before the Massena incident occurred. During the summer of 1928, another interfaith group, the National Conference of Jews and Christians (later to be called the National Conference of Christians and Jews), was established in New York City. The brazen anti-Catholic rhetoric which marred the presidential contest of 1928 finally moved the FCC leadership to set up a nondenominational good-will watchdog organization. Roger W. Straus, a successful business executive and son of the esteemed Oscar Straus, represented the UAHC, and Newton Baker, a former secretary of war, served as the co-chairman. A Catholic co-chairman, Professor Carlton Hayes, did not join the NCCJ until 1930. The NCCJ envisioned a broader program for itself than that of the Permanent Commission. The Conference adopted three goals:

> 1. To analyze and allay prejudice arising among religious groups in the United States;
> 2. To establish a basis of cooperation for common ends while insuring the right of individuals and groups to differ;
> 3. To immunize the public mind and emotions against propagandas of misinformation and hatred by developing mutual understanding and appreciation.[27]

Landman, of course, had no problem endorsing these objectives. Allowing the Permanent Commission to die of inactivity, he quickly associated himself with the NCCJ and actively participated in its programs. At the first function of the NCCJ, a seminar held at Columbia University (January 30 and 31, 1929), Landman helped to arbitrate in a particularly tense exchange between a Catholic and a Protestant. The issue at hand was whether or not the Catholic Church believed itself to be the one true religion in the world. At the propitious moment, Landman spoke up and reminded the assembled group that their real "problem is to agree to disagree agreeably."[28] Everyone laughed and the

program continued. So did the work of the NCCJ. By 1931, one hundred thirty-four roundtables had been organized to promote interfaith.

In 1928 Landman left Far Rockaway and became the full-time editor of the *American Hebrew.* At the same time, he began planning for the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* a monumental project which finally came to fruition in 1939. Interfaith provided Landman with a basic editorial policy in organizing and editing this work, which might have been just as appropriately named the *Universalistic Jewish Encyclopedia.* The economic dislocations of the 1930's delayed the completion of the project for more than a decade. In the meanwhile, Landman continued to press his case. *Christian and Jew: A Symposium on Better Understanding* was issued in 1929. Landman invited thirty-five interfaith activists to write short pieces in praise of the movement. As editor, Landman wrote the Foreword and the final three essays, "Better Understanding in the Bible," "The Permanent Commission on Better Understanding," and "First Public Pronouncement of the Permanent Commission."

Landman returned to the pulpit in 1931 when he became the rabbi of Beth Elohim in Brooklyn. During the 1930's Landman became increasingly involved in Jewish adult education and established the Academy of Adult Education in Brooklyn in 1931. The CCAR invited Landman to be the keynote speaker at its 1933 convention. Before his peers he summed up his philosophy of Judaism.

> In a word: to reintegrate our racialists and nationalists into the synagog [*sic*], Eastern and Western Haskalah must meet and be fused in American Israel through vigorous educational policies and processes that extend from childhood to mature adulthood, stressing this as fundamental: that Judaism is spiritual in origin, social in purpose, ethical in intent, and cosmic in aspiration.[29]

The crowning achievement of Landman's career and his greatest contribution to interfaith was the publication of the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939–1941). In the Preface to the multivolume work, Landman traces the origins of the project from his experience at the Paris Peace Conference to the organizing of the Permanent Commission to the success of the NCCJ. "From the very outset," Landman noted, "leaders of our [interfaith] Movement envisaged the need for a single printed source dealing with Jewish history and Christian-Jewish

relations in comprehensive, scientific and concise form." Everett R. Clinchy, director of the NCCJ, prepared a thirteen-page article for the encyclopedia, entitled "Better Understanding Between Christians and Jews," in which Landman is the first name to appear among the various architects of the interfaith movement. Louis Minsky, head of the Religious News Service (an agency of the NCCJ), wrote the article on the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Although the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* pales in scope and depth before the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–1906) and is hopelessly outdated by the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), it remains a valuable storehouse of information, particularly in the area of American Jewish history, and a living monument to the idealism of its editor, Isaac Landman.

Landman remained at Beth Elohim until 1942. He remained active throughout his brief retirement: teaching, counseling, and promoting the various ideals he had been championing since 1906. On September 3, 1946, he died in New York. The idea of interfaith, although radically changed by the struggle against Nazism and, later, by the establishment of Israel, lived on.

The Interfaith Movement Emerges

Landman readily acknowledged that the NCCJ and not his Permanent Commission became the most influential "fountainhead of interreligious fellowship" in the United States. The NCCJ popularized interfaith and developed interfaith programs across the country. Although successful from the outset, the blossoming of the NCCJ did not really occur until 1933. Responding to the rise of Hitler in Germany, three religious leaders (Everett Clinchy, Father John E. Ross, and Rabbi Morris Lazaron, who wrote *Common Ground* in 1938) made a 9,000-mile trip together to promote interfaith. Three years later, twenty-five goodwill trips toured the United States and became a model for chaplaincy programs during World War II. In 1934 the NCCJ formed its own Press Service, which was reorganized as the Religious News Service in 1937. Perhaps the single greatest accomplishment of the NCCJ was its sponsorship of Brotherhood Day, celebrated for the first time on April 29, 1934. After the war, this program was enlarged to Brotherhood Week (1947), which continues to this day on an annual basis. The NCCJ also developed numerous cooperative

programs, including seminars, institutes, and trialogue programs.

The organization and professionalization of the interfaith movement prior to World War II certainly must have pleased the early champions of the cause. Landman, who was fond of Victor Hugo's apothegm that "there is something stronger than an army, and that is an idea whose time has come," believed that interfaith would eventually triumph over religious factionalism. Although his name is now largely obscured by time and his anti-Zionism fossilized in history, Landman's contributions in the area of American Jewish-Christian relations have proven as enduring as the interfaith movement itself.

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Notes

1. Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), p. 259. N.B. The title of Herberg's study is *Protestant-Catholic-Jew;* that is, the title is composed of one word, not three: this is a remarkable expression of "interfaithism."

2. The decline of interfaith has multiple causes. Among them are the waning of American liberalism at present, the rise of interest in ethnicity, alarm over intermarriage in the Jewish community, and "leakage" in the Catholic Church.

3. The First Amendment to the Constitution states: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

4. Quoted in Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States: 1654–1875* (New York, 1971), p. 87.

5. Joseph Krauskopf, *A Rabbi's Impressions of the Oberammergau Passion Play* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 216. On this matter, see also Benny Kraut and Francis E. Abbot, "Perceptions of a Nineteenth Century Religious Radical on Jews and Judaism," in *Studies in the American Jewish Experience,* ed. Jacob R. Marcus and Abraham J. Peck (Cincinnati, 1981), pp. 90–113.

6. On Ethical Culture, see Benny Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler* (Cincinnati, 1979).

7. On liberal theology, see Sydney Ahlstrom, "The Golden Age of Liberal Theology," in *A Religious History of the American People* (Garden City, N.Y., 1975), 2:224–249.

8. Sylvan D. Schwartzman, *Reform Judaism Then and Now* (New York, 1971), p. 214.

9. Ibid., p. 217.

10. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People,* 2:307, 554, 562, and 565.

11. Everett R. Clinchy, in *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Better Understanding Between Christians and Jews."

12. Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life* (New York, 1973), p. 406. Interfaith was also opposed by conservative Evangelicals and by Orthodox Jews.

13. Naomi W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee, 1906–1966* (Philadelphia, 1972), p. 462.

14. On the Ku Klux Klan, see D. M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (1965); K. T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City* (1967); and A. S. Rice, *The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics* (1961).

15. Released to the press on October 5, 1928. For the text, see "First Public Pronouncement of the Permanent Commission," in *Christian and Jew: A Symposium for Better Understanding,* ed. Isaac Landman (New York, 1929), pp. 371–374. On the Massena incident, consult Saul S. Friedman, *The Incident at Massena: The Blood Libel in America* (New York, 1978).

16. For a short account of Landman's life, see *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Landman, Isaac."

17. Michael A. Meyer, "A Centennial History," in *Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion: At One Hundred Years* (Cincinnati, 1976), pp. 49–84.

18. Landman was executive secretary of the National Farm School from 1906 to 1911 and helped found Clarion, Utah, in 1911 with the aid of Jacob Schiff, Julius Rosenwald, and Simon Bamberger.

19. Naomi Cohen, *American Jews and the Zionist Idea* (New York, 1975), pp. 28 and 159. Also, I. Landman, *American Hebrew,* April 18–21, 1922.

20. I. Landman, "Preface," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia.* On Landman at the Paris Peace Conference (1919), see *American Hebrew,* May 23–July 11, 1919. "A number of those present at the Peace Conference [1919] returned to the United States disillusioned, with grave misgivings over the future of our [Jewish] brethren. We realized, but vaguely at first, that the type of political and racial propaganda furtively and openly disseminated in Paris could well be exploited to make the Jew the scapegoat of misconceived peace pacts."

21. I. Landman, "Keynote Address," *CCAR Yearbook* 43 (1933): 139.

22. I. Landman, "What Christians Ought to Know About Judaism," typescript, January 1, 1924 (Landman Papers, American Jewish Archives, Boxes 3080–3083). See *Manuscript Catalog of the American Jewish Archives* for further holdings on Landman.

23. *American Hebrew* (1927), 120:795.

24. Ibid., 120:890.

25. Landman, *Christian and Jew,* p. 371.

26. Ibid., p. 374.

27. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. "National Conference of Christians and Jews."

28. James E. Pitt, *Adventures in Brotherhood* (New York, 1955), p. 29. *Adventures* is an attempt to write the history of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Pitt is not a trained historian and the book has serious shortcomings, to say the least. However, it is the only full-scale synoptic treatment of the NCCJ.

29. Landman, "Keynote Address," p. 134.

Rabbi Morris Newfield and the Social Gospel: Theology and Societal Reform in the South

Mark Cowett

Until recently, American religious historians have argued that the enunciation of a social gospel theology at the turn of the century was limited to progressive Christian ministers. However, historians of American Jews have, in the last decade, offered compelling evidence that various Reform rabbis developed ideas similar to those of liberal Christian theologians. As this paper will demonstrate, one of the rabbis who offered a social gospel theology from his pulpit was Dr. Morris Newfield, the spiritual leader of Temple Emanu-El in Birmingham, Alabama, from 1895 to 1940.[1]

Newfield's social gospel theology, however, is more significant because of his position as rabbi in the South, and more particularly in

Rabbi Morris Newfield, 1868–1940

Birmingham, which was then, and continues to be, a citadel of Protestant fundamentalism. As a consquence, this study will not only compare Newfield's social gospel theology with ideas expressed by liberal Christian ministers in and outside of Birmingham, but will explore the reasons why Newfield preached this theology. Also, it will show how and why Newfield translated his theology into social action.

Morris Newfield was born in Homonna (Humenne), Hungary, in 1868, the son of a talmudic scholar, Seymon Shabsi Neufeld, and Lena (Klein) Neufeld. Educated at a royal gymnasium, he came to the United States in 1891 to pursue rabbinical studies at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati under the tutelage of Isaac Mayer Wise. In 1895, Newfield received a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and simultaneously was ordained a rabbi at Hebrew Union College. After his graduation, Newfield took a pulpit at Temple Emanu-El in Birmingham, which he served until his death in 1940.

Morris Newfield became one of the more important Reform rabbis in the South in this period for a number of reasons. First, after serving the Central Conference of American Rabbis in a number of important positions, he became president of that body from 1931 to 1933. Second, Newfield was one of the leading social workers in Alabama. He presided over the Alabama Sociological Congress and the Alabama Conference of Social Work from 1913 to 1921, and participated in the activities of the Jefferson County Tuberculosis Society, the Jefferson County Red Cross, and the Birmingham Community Chest from 1910 to 1938, when these privately funded institutions provided the lion's share of the relief funds that were administered in the Birmingham area. Third, he was also a leader in improving interfaith relations in Birmingham. In the early 1920's, Newfield founded an interfaith council, with a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, and a Catholic priest, Father Eugene L. Sands, to promote cooperation among various religious faiths in Alabama. In 1928, these same three men founded the Birmingham chapter of the National Council of Christians and Jews.

Newfield's Theological Views

From the time of his arrival in Birmingham in 1895, Morris Newfield's popularity with his congregants depended on his ability to develop a theology that both appealed to Jews and did not alienate Christians in

the largely Protestant community of Birmingham. Newfield recognized that Emanu-El's members wanted a rabbi who understood that Jewish congregations consisted of enterprising businessmen who wanted to assimilate into the larger American society, and, as a result, wanted a religion that would be free of daily ritual. On the other hand, he knew that his congregants expected their leader to work with, and develop friendships among, Christian ministers and businessmen. They wanted a leader who could effect harmony with open-minded progressive Christians and at the same time show more traditional Christians that Jews would not threaten the evangelical idea of moral and social order.[2]

The sermons that Morris Newfield preached indicate that he offered his congregants a number of reconciliations and accommodations. Having been thoroughly trained by Isaac Mayer Wise, he knew that the most important function of American rabbis of his generation was to define the relationship between Jews and their newly acquired American environment. The basis of Newfield's theology, as a result, was his insistence, in line with the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, that Jews had a unique mission to develop a "Kingdom of God" on earth, a society in which all men would live ethically. No longer did American Jews, claimed Newfield, accept the messianic goal of a national state of Israel and the physical return of the Jews to Palestine. Rather, they sought a spiritual fulfillment of this goal by disseminating the idea of the oneness of God. Nor did Newfield feel that Jews had been dispersed from Israel because they had sinned. He regarded the Diaspora as a tool which God employed to help Jews complete their mission "to lead the nations in the true knowledge and worship of God."[3]

Newfield's insistence that Jews had a unique mission to create an ethical "Kingdom of God" on earth provided the intellectual foundation for a number of different goals. First, because he wanted to give the members of his congregation a reason to remain Jews, he used this concept to suggest that Jews were different from other religious groups. In a sermon entitled "The History of the Jews," he observed:

> Where the Jew stands foremost, where his particular genius finds its best expression is in the sphere of religion. By his guidance, the world has been brought to God and righteousness. His ethics have become the foundation of all moral laws of civilization. He it was

> who first brought the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

On the holiday of Shavuoth in 1896, Newfield insisted that this mission was unique to Jews because they had accepted God's plea to spread His word after other nations had refused it.[4]

Various historians who have studied the development of religion at the turn of the century have observed that an unprecedented ecumenical atmosphere prevailed—so much so, in fact, that as Nathan Glazer has suggested, "it would not have been far-fetched for an intellectual historian of that time to predict a merger between Reform Judaism and progressive Christianity." Glazer adds, however, that "such a merger did not take place." It did not happen because classical Reformers like Newfield were afraid that an ecumenical movement stressing the universal reign of God, regardless of race or creed, would lead to the religious assimilation of Jews, and therefore threaten the very existence of the Jewish people.[5]

Second, because he accepted the Reform tenet that Jews had an historical commitment to a mission ideal, Newfield argued that the harsh, formalistic concepts and mass of creeds that had previously set Jews apart were unnecessary. Newfield equated blind acceptance of Mosaic laws with a continuation of the "meaningless sacrifices believed sufficient in the 8th century B.C." In 1914, he also explained:

> Religion has been made to suffer not by those who claim to be its most loyal devotees, [but by] those who would make it stand for all sorts of absurdities. . . . There are those who pose as friends yet are worse than the worst enemies. . . . There is the ceremonialist who makes religion to stand for a mass of forms and rules, in whose eyes the chief occupation of God is watching and keeping books on the number of glorifications a man makes in his prayers . . . how broad his phylacteries. [There is] the ceremonialist to whose mind the chief council of God is to persecute and punish men who neglect the ceremonies, no matter how upright their conduct.

Traditional Orthodox rituals, he further suggested, prevented Jews from fully exploiting their newly won freedoms in America.[6]

Not surprisingly, Rabbi Newfield also pointed out to his congregation of aspiring German-American Jews that their success

depended more on deeds than on creed. They wanted to hear that they could achieve salvation through hard work, and not through the outpouring of emotion or meaningless intellectual formulations, and as a result, he explained to them that "our religion lays insistence upon the life rather than the belief; it attaches the greatest importance to righteousness rather than to creed. . . . The burden of the Holy Scriptures is not Believe! Its battle cry is Do! Do!!"[7]

Third, his enunciation of the mission ideal allowed him to function as the conscience of Jewish businessmen. Consistently, he warned his followers that they could not afford to focus too energetically on individual accomplishments or material aspirations because they would lose sight of their mission, or their newly created raison d'etre. In one speech, he reaffirmed his central theme: "Israel's duty is to build an ideal city, not through armies or commerce, but through the principles of humanity and justice. Yea . . . learning this lesson . . . is better than . . . struggling for gold and possessions wet with the tears of our fellowmen." This role was one that Newfield cherished, and he often outspokenly ridiculed those Jews who never looked beyond "the music of the market place."[8]

Fourth, the mission concept offered a theological underpinning that allowed the rabbi to reconcile Jewish faith in a God-centered universe with Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, which was popular in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Because they did not believe in a God-centered universe, the Unitarians, the Free Religious Association, and Felix Adler's Ethical Culture Society held little attraction for Morris Newfield. These ethical systems, he thought, not only forced individuals to drift between selfish feelings and the always-changing "quicksand of public opinion" around them, but also minimized the particular accommodation that Reform theologians had made for American Jews.[9]

But Newfield did not reject out of hand the theory of evolution. Instead, he accepted it as a process, but not as a force or creator, or a substitute for God. He taught his congregation that an Infinite Power accounted for the process of evolution, and that evolution was the work of that Power's procedure. Similarly, Newfield accepted scientific criticism of the Bible when it did not run counter to his belief that the Bible was divinely inspired and the source of divine revelation. An unthinking perusal of the ancient documents, he warned, was as detrimental to

the cause of truth as was irreverential scoffing at them. He further reasoned, "Biblical criticism is not the product of scepticism, but the result of painstaking study of men devoted to religion." The Birmingham rabbi believed that his congregants were going to think critically because they were aware of scientific progress in their day, and if Judaism was to be meaningful, their faith had to be integrated with biblical criticism and study of the natural laws of civilization.[10]

But Newfield refused to compromise his faith by questioning the existence of God. As a result, he argued that the "Kingdom of God" represented the highest level of the evolutionary process, and he claimed in 1900:

> The race is not to the swift, nor victory to the strong. Not to Pharaoh, the powerful king, but to Moses, the spiritual leader; not to Goliath, the physical giant, but to David, the idealistic youth. . . . in short, not the men of muscles have led their fellows . . . but the men of soul, the prophets of humanity. . . . with Israel's birth was born the conception "mind is more than matter."

In the synthesis that he proposed between Reform Jewish principles and evolutionary theory, Moses and Isaiah were exemplary teachers who taught men to strive for an ethical society.[11]

Morris Newfield, then, preached the tenets of the social gospel because he felt that he had to offer his congregants a rationale for remaining Jews in an environment that threatened their identities as Jews. By rejecting many of the traditional laws, he developed a set of religious practices that did not interfere with his congregants' quest for economic success. By accentuating the mission ideal, he asked them to remember that in their pursuit of worldly gain, they could not overlook their commitments to Judaism or to society.

Interfaith Relations and the Mission Ideal

Morris Newfield's social gospel theology was also very appealing to his congregants because it offered them a rationale for living peacefully with Birmingham Christians. This factor cannot be overemphasized, because the relative cultural strength of white Christians was overwhelming in this Southern city. In 1918 only 3,500 of Birmingham's 198,000 citizens were Jews—1.5 percent of the population—while

more than 85 percent, or 170,000, were Protestants. Of the white population of approximately 113,000, Jews represented 3 percent.[12]

During the period of Newfield's rabbinate, from 1895 to 1940, most of Birmingham's churches and denominational newspapers had a rural flavor characterized by Protestant traditionalism and wholehearted acceptance of a supernatural religion, including beliefs in the infallibility of the Bible, the virgin birth of Jesus, the supernatural atonement, the physical resurrection of Jesus, and the authenticity of the Gospel miracles. For the most part the city's Protestants were evangelical Christians, and Newfield understood that many of them feared those who sought to reconcile Christianity with scientific advances or the social milieu.[13]

But Rabbi Newfield confidently expected that he could help evangelical Protestants develop more broadly-based attitudes toward Jews. The mission ideal not only allowed him to modernize Judaism for businessmen in his congregation, but also rationalized Jewish separatism in an area that feared alien customs. He often told his congregation, "A faithless Jew is a faithless man; such men create prejudice and ill-will. . . . Gentiles even today believe that Jew and Talmud go together and that every Jew knows the Talmud by heart." Newfield sensed that Jewish religious commitment was not threatening to fundamentalist Christians, since they regarded Judaism as the mother of Christianity and therefore expected Jews to have faith in God, but he felt that Christians feared the differentness of Jews and thus would have misconstrued an attempt to emphasize Jewish racial characteristics.[14]

As a consequence, Newfield worked hard to explain to evangelical Christians that Jews were different because they were committed to their unique mission; and "so that we may be better able to fulfill our mission, God has endowed us with wonderful faculties and abilities, which has made us proverbial. He has given us greater vitality to survive the storms of hatred and persecution, wealth and wisdom to emulate in the solution of the greatest problems of mankind." We can see, then, that Newfield also used the mission ideal as a threat to his congregants. By reinforcing the impression that evangelical Christians expected religious loyalty, regardless of creed, he used the fear of Christian intolerance as a means of keeping his congregation in line.[15]

Although much of the evidence indicates that Newfield's theological response to Birmingham's evangelical Christians was a defensive one,

some of his work suggests that he hoped to serve as a "prophet" among the Gentiles. At times, acting much like the social-gospeler that he believed Isaiah, Moses, and Jesus to have been, he castigated Christians for their anti-Semitic tendencies. In a speech entitled "Dream of Temple," he exclaimed, "Anti-Semitism is the confession of bankruptcy of society; it is the admission of failure by the boasted philosophy of materialism on the one hand, and on the other, of the impotency of a religion which abandons the world for the sake of the next." Many times, he used this speech when asked to address Christian audiences in Birmingham.[16]

Morris Newfield's attitudes toward Christians, and his subsequent theological statements about them, suggest, then, that he recognized the extent of their cultural influence in Birmingham. Hoping to ensure the survival of Birmingham's Jews, he fashioned a theology that was appealing to Jewish businessmen and diplomatically attempted to convince Christians that Jews were different but acceptable. His sermons about the mission idea indicate how he rationalized Jewish similarities to, and differences from, Christians in order to make peace with them. But Newfield's more forceful stance toward evangelical Christians cannot be overlooked. It indicates that he was not afraid to express his Jewish identity.

Interfaith Relations and the Social Gospel

Morris Newfield's theology was also influenced by his relationships with Christians who were more flexible thinkers. In this case, there were both indirect and direct influences operating. On one hand, while still in college, he heard Washington Gladden speak, and in the course of his ministry in Birmingham, he read the ideas of other liberal Christian theorists, such as Richard T. Ely, Josiah Strong, and Walter Rauschenbusch. On the other hand, Newfield also developed friendships with liberal Christian ministers in Birmingham, such as Henry M. Edmonds of the Independent Presbyterian Church and Middleton S. Barnwell of the Episcopalian Church of the Advent.[17]

These more progressive Christians, often called "social gospel theologians" by historians, shared Newfield's belief that organized religion had become too concerned with enforcing piety and traditional dogmas. They hoped to shift the emphasis in religious thinking

from individual piety and dogmatic ritual assumptions to the creation of an ethically-based "Kingdom of God" on earth. Their goals were to create a religious atmosphere in America through a set of theological precepts that would transcend the vales of growing materialism and the inflexible practices of orthodox sects. Also, these liberal Christians shared Newfield's confident expectation that their theologies could reduce the enmity between capitalists and labor, reconcile the laws of science with faith in God and the Bible, and promote interfaith cooperation.[18]

Various Christian groups had always been interested in pursuing the goal of an ethical society. Unitarianism, which developed in the eighteenth century, was fundamentally ethical, stressing the dignity and divine possibilities of man. It also emphasized the importance of the present life and of man's responsibilities to others.

In the late nineteenth century, Christian "social-gospelers" looked to the teachings of Jesus as a means of reconciling the Christian faith with the values of the newly emerging urban, industrial, and immigrant-filled society. In 1897, Dr. Washington Gladden stated that Jesus had valued the harmony of society, the solidarity of the human family, and the necessity of the strong protecting the weak. In 1912, Walter Rauschenbusch suggested that Jesus spoke of the social order as an organism in which each individual act, however small, affected the whole. By definition, ethics were social: an individual lived in a complex of social relationships, and was therefore responsible to more than just himself.[19]

Because they saw the creation of an ethical "Kingdom of God" on earth as the mission of Christianity, various progressive Christian ministers repudiated conventional Protestant goals of individual perfection and other-worldly concerns. In 1884, Richard T. Ely, a leading economist with theological interests, suggested that the other-worldly concerns of Christians were an "unfortunate error that would explain many historical aberrations such as persecution and formalism." He also maintained that the church should abandon the "narrow, negative, individualistic attitude" that had restricted the Christian message to saving souls. Rev. Edward Everett Hale directed men, in the same year, to look beyond a "medieval" church that stressed the salvation of individuals.[20]

Like Newfield, liberal Christians rejected selfish, acquisitive values.

Newfield did so because he feared that resentment of Jewish prosperity might lead to anti-Semitism. The Christians had a different reason. Some believed that the churches, by catering to the needs of wealthy citizens and ignoring the needs of working people, were failing to promote social harmony. In 1897, Gladden wrote, "We are driving toward chaos. . . . What can be done to bring these scattered, diverse, alienated, antipathetic groups of human beings into a real unity?" He hoped that captains of industry, farmers, miners, and laborers would realize that they were members of one body, "where an injury to one concerned every other." Later, Rauschenbusch, too, rejected the "new selfishness" of business life in America, suggesting that churches were "forgetting the weighty matters, such as social justice and Christian fraternity."[21]

Liberal Christians such as Ely and Theodore Munger also hoped to attract new members to Christianity by reconciling faith in a God-centered universe with the new intellectual propositions of the nineteenth century. These Christian social-gospelers shared with the Birmingham rabbi the uncritical assumption that the "Kingdom of God" on earth was the highest operation of natural laws. Their theologies linked moral and religious improvement to the nineteenth-century belief in progress. In 1892, Lyman Abbott spoke of a "growing spiritual life in man, beginning in the early dawn of human history, when man first came to moral consciousness, and to be consummated no one can tell when or how." Rauschenbusch agreed: "Evolution has prepared us for understanding the idea of a Reign of God toward which all creation is moving."[22]

Finally, Christian social-gospelers agreed with Newfield, for the most part, that the Hebrew prophets, and not Jesus, were the first to offer the ideal of a "Kingdom of God." This contradicted the thoughts of more traditional Christians, who believed not only that Judaism was a harsh, formalistic religion, but also that Jesus' goal was a kingdom in Heaven. Rauschenbusch suggested that "a comprehension of the essential purpose and spirit of the prophets is necessary for a comprehension of the purpose and spirit of Jesus, and of genuine Christianity. . . . the thought of the prophets was the spiritual food that he assimilated in his process of growth." Gladden, too, acknowledged the debt that Christianity owed to Judaism and the prophets of the Old Testament.[23]

Newfield's working relationships with liberal Christians in Bir-

mingham, initially stimulated by his knowledge that his congregants expected him to develop Christian friendships, are very significant in documenting the influence of Christian social-gospelers on his thinking. In 1898, three years after he had heard Gladden, he invited a Chicago Unitarian minister, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, to speak at his temple on "The Parliament of Religions and What Next?" In his speech, Jones lectured both Jews and liberal Christians on the importance of mutual understanding between religious groups.

Of more significance, however, were Newfield's friendships with Edmonds and Barnwell, who not only helped him to understand evangelical Christians but also treated him like a brother in a fraternity of socially-advanced clergymen. The three ministers were all charismatic figures with large personal followings, but they were able to work together because each was strong enough to see the ethnic and religious worth of the others.

Edmonds, pastor of the South Highlands Presbyterian Church from 1913 to 1915, and after 1915 of the Independent Presbyterian Church, was considered a maverick by the Presbytery of North Alabama because he refused merely to preach the gospel, instead accentuating the social teachings of Jesus and the "Kingdom of God" ideal.

The dispute between Edmonds and the Presbytery of North Alabama came to a head in 1915. Disagreeing with the idea that salvation could only be attained by acknowledging that God would save mankind through Jesus, Edmonds reasoned from his study of the Old Testament that salvation was the result of good works, and that Jesus was not a savior but rather the perfect example on whom Christians should model themselves in striving to fulfill their ethical duties in society and unto God.[24]

In October 1915, Edmonds separated from the Presbytery and formed the Independent Presbyterian Church. When Edmonds was attacked by the Presbytery, Newfield rushed to the aid of his friend. He offered Edmonds the use of his temple, at no cost, for as long as Edmonds needed to use it. Edmonds's followers worshipped at Temple Emanu-El, and this was the beginning of a close association between Newfield's temple and Edmonds's church.[25]

Newfield and Middleton S. Barnwell, rector of the Episcopalian Church of the Advent, were also close friends and shared many of the same beliefs. Barnwell served in Birmingham from 1913 to 1924 and

participated with Newfield in many social endeavors. But a letter he wrote to Newfield in 1922 indicates the problems that social gospel ministers were facing in this religiously conservative city:

> My dear Dr. Newfield:
> . . . I am far from a permanency in this field [at his church]. Whether I stay in Alabama or not depends entirely on the outcome of the Council. . . . If Bishop Beckwith succeeds in imposing his will upon the diocese again . . . I shall leave Alabama. I am not willing to spend the rest of my life breaking my head against a stone wall. . . . I think the two men in the city for whom I feel the deepest affection and the greatest respect are Mr. Rober Jemison [a real estate broker and a member of his parish] and yourself. . . . You are the very first person in Birmingham to whom I have spoken my mind.

Barnwell and Newfield both knew that the former was indeed "breaking his head against a stone wall." The Episcopalian diocese was not favorably disposed to many of Barnwell's outside activities, choosing rather to take an apolitical position on many public issues. As a consequence, Barnwell left Birmingham two years later.[26]

The Social Gospel in Practice

As Morris Newfield grew older and more established in Birmingham, he became involved in social welfare activities because he hoped to translate his social gospel theology into practical efforts. After 1909, he participated in relief efforts in Birmingham, and also in activities to aid children on the local, state, and national levels. As a consequence, his career can be used as a "case study" of the social welfare efforts that occurred in Birmingham and in Alabama in the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Social workers and historians who have written about social welfare efforts in Birmingham in this period have emphasized their private scope and elitist nature. The Red Cross Family Service Agency, for example, which acted as the primary relief-giving body in Birmingham from 1925 to 1932, was largely funded by private donations channeled through the Community Chest because there was no local Department of Public Welfare at this time.[27]

A political scientist, Ed La Monte, has argued that the city fathers,

wanting to develop business in Birmingham and fearing that corporations would not come to their city if businesses had to pay heavy taxes to support needy people, maintained that welfare was not a major responsibility of local government, and that the private sector should render the necessary services. Because an obvious shortcoming in previous studies is a failure to discuss the thoughts and actions of those leaders who sat on the boards, staffed the private agencies, or assisted in child-care activities or in the professionalization of social work in this region, we can gain an understanding of some of these efforts by studying the interests and motivations of one of the key leaders, Morris Newfield.[28]

The rabbi chose a secondary career as a social worker for a number of reasons. First, because he understood that fundamentalist Christians feared Jewish business success, he may have believed that first-generation Jews like himself could attain more prestige in Birmingham through humanitarian efforts than through aggressive business careers. Second, he may have wanted to emulate other rabbis in the American Jewish community. Although he came to Birmingham in 1895, he did not become involved in social welfare efforts until 1909, the same year that the Central Conference of American Rabbis formally adopted an anti-child-labor plank. Third, he may have been influenced as well by Christian ministers around him. In 1908, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ took a definite stand against child labor, and Newfield, like the CCAR, may have waited until ministers agitated for social change. Fourth, Newfield had read about the work of Edgar Gardner Murphy of Montgomery, who founded the Alabama Child Labor Committee in 1900 and the National Child Labor Committee in 1904. Although there is no record of any correspondence between the two men, Newfield's later participation on the Alabama Child Labor Committee indicates that he was very conscious of Murphy's efforts. Fifth, Newfield's father-in-law, Samuel Ullman, who had been a champion of better schools in Birmingham, and of education for blacks, probably showed the rabbi that idealistic Jews, who persisted on a day-to-day basis in the face of traditional attitudes about self-help and the supremacy of property rights, could accomplish social change. Sixth, as a member of an exclusive and conservative club in Birmingham, the Quid Pro Quo Club, which consisted of ten of the city's leading business, religious, and social leaders, Newfield

developed close contacts with other social reformers. This provided an environment for discussions of stewardship and of improvements in, but not substantial change of, the social order in Birmingham.[29]

As a result of Newfield's personal motivations, we have a picture of an ambitious man who wanted further prestige and influence in Birmingham, and perhaps as a Reform rabbi in America. But Newfield was also a socially-concerned individual who believed that Jews and Christians alike would listen to his ideas about improving society because he was a minister. Comforted by cues given by Murphy and other Christian ministers, he felt that Jews could take a far more active role in pursuing social justice than simply preaching from comfortable pulpits.

In 1907, although Newfield was a close friend of John Herbert Philips, the superintendent of the Board of Education, and the son-in-law of Samuel Ullman, he passed up a chance to join the Board of Education because he feared that his service would establish a sectarian influence in an area that he wanted to keep separate. But two years later, because he understood that private agencies bore most of the brunt of relief support, Newfield agreed to help businessmen and other ministers in establishing the Associated Charities, whose purpose was to act as a clearinghouse for private charitable efforts.[30]

In the second decade of the twentieth century, Rabbi Newfield also became involved in two other privately funded agencies, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society and the Jefferson County Red Cross. In 1910, he helped found the Jefferson County Anti-TB Society, whose purpose was to study and prevent tuberculosis. By 1916, the Society had opened the first TB camp in Alabama and a fresh-air school for both black and white children, an unusual occurrence in segregated Birmingham. Newfield also helped form the Alabama Anti-TB League in 1914. From 1919 to 1921, he served as its president, working closely with the state health officer, Dr. Samuel Welch, to develop a local health unit in every county.[31]

The rabbi also began working for the Jefferson County Red Cross in 1917. Formed in 1909, and chartered by the national body in 1916, Birmingham's Red Cross chapter prospered thanks to the work of businessmen and religious leaders like Morris Newfield. From 1917 to 1934, he acted as chairman of the Home Service Committee, whose responsibility was to assist veterans. In late 1919, his case load was more

than two thousand a month. By 1921, he was playing a leading role in the chapter's work: he helped over ten thousand men secure treatment from the publicly assisted Veterans' Bureau; he investigated the free milk system in Birmingham, and subsequently helped the city's nurses develop a well-managed program; and he was responsible for hiring Fanny M. Blynd, a professionally trained social worker, to manage the Civilian Relief Committee, the primary privately funded relief-giving body in Birmingham.[32]

In 1923, when the city refused to meet the responsibility of providing relief for the indigent, businessmen and social workers developed a Community Chest. Newfield led the movement to establish an effective relief organization under the auspices of the Community Chest because he was convinced that the relief efforts of the city and the Red Cross were overlapping, and therefore wasteful. In 1925, he helped establish a Family Relief Department as an integral part of the Red Cross. A year later, he worked closely with Roberta Morgan, who had been appointed secretary of the Red Cross, and within two years, Newfield was elected chairman of the Advisory Case Committee. Here, his responsibility was to aid trained and untrained caseworkers in solving the most difficult relief case problems, and to obtain more financial support in the community. In this capacity, Newfield served as a liaison between the Community Chest and the Red Cross Family Service in order to inform businessmen of the caseworkers' needs.[33]

We might say that Rabbi Newfield was successful in his Red Cross work for two reasons: first, although he was not a professionally trained worker, his willingness to operate judiciously won the respect of professional social workers; second, because he was a respected clergyman in Birmingham, he secured a good deal of money from businessmen.

During the depression, after the Red Cross had been relieved of its relief-giving responsibilities by the federal government, Newfield was free to undertake different jobs. From 1934 to 1936, he served as president of the Red Cross, raising funds for disaster relief and continuing to help ex-servicemen who were hurt when the Birmingham office of the Veterans' Administration closed.[34]

While Morris Newfield acted as a liaison between Birmingham's business and social work communities in relief activities, his role in child-care efforts was more complex because so many agencies were

privately funded. On the one hand, he continued his liaison role, helping to develop the Jefferson County and Alabama Children's Aid Societies, both privately funded agencies involved in finding homes for children. On the other hand, because the state of Alabama had made and honored a commitment to helping dependent and delinquent children, Newfield helped develop two types of publicly funded programs. He assisted trained social workers in improving child-labor laws in Alabama, and he helped establish ameliorative institutions, such as the Juvenile Court of Birmingham in 1911, and the State Department of Child Welfare in 1919, to carry out the dictates of the new child-labor laws.

The year 1911 was an important one in the development of child-welfare efforts in Birmingham. Not only were the Seventh Annual Proceedings of the National Child Labor Committee held in Birmingham, with leaders such as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Felix Adler, and Theodore Roosevelt among the speakers, but the city's first Juvenile Court was established by the State Legislature. Newfield sat on its Advisory Board of Directors.[35] The support of social workers like Newfield was significant in securing private funding for the work of the Juvenile Court when it became clear that the city and county subsidies were not enough.

In 1913, Newfield helped establish the Children's Aid Society, and four years later, the Alabama Children's Aid Society, whose objects were to support local child-welfare work in every county in Alabama. The rabbi and his friends, Henry M. Edmonds and Judge Samuel D. Murphy of the Birmingham Juvenile Court, to name a few, traveled the state to raise money for juvenile programs.[36]

In 1913 Newfield also revived the Alabama Sociological Congress to provide a forum for discussions of such issues as where to develop child-care services and how to secure further child-care legislation. Serving as president of the Congress until 1924, he successfully lobbied in Montgomery for passage of the more restrictive Child Labor Law of 1915, which regulated the labor of children under eighteen, and for the Child Welfare Department Act of 1919, which created a Department of Child Welfare. This new state agency had the functions of supervising county child-welfare boards, enforcing the Child Labor Law of 1915, and training and licensing probation officers and county welfare superintendents. It also helped pass the first Comprehensive School Attendance Law in 1919.[37]

Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, Morris Newfield also helped social workers in Alabama define standards for their profession. At the first meeting of the Alabama Conference of Social Work in 1921, Newfield, as president, brought in leading trained social-work experts, such as Frank J. Bruno, a professor of sociology at Washington University in St. Louis, Julia Lathrop, and Judge Ben Lindsay of Denver, the nation's leading juvenile court judge.[38]

In addition to successfully marshaling support for the projects of trained social workers in his capacity as a well-regarded minister, Morris Newfield, as an experienced "nontrained" social worker, helped develop both social reform legislation and the profession of social work in Alabama. Moreover, as president of the Alabama Sociological Congress and the Alabama Conference of Social Work, he worked for social reform and served as an agent of transition in the development of the social work profession. In 1910, in Alabama, many of the child-care and relief efforts were organized and managed by ministers such as Newfield; Edgar Gardner Murphy, and Henry M. Edmonds. By 1930, the torch had been passed to professionally trained workers.

Attitudes toward labor unions and blacks were, however, social issues over which Newfield struggled in the period between World War I and World War II, for two reasons. First, Jews were in a difficult position, as non-Christians, in this severely evangelical Christian region. Second, after World War I, the bottom had fallen out of the cotton market, making for an economic pinch, and in addition many Birminghamians were disillusioned by the social changes taking place in their city. As a consequence, the Ku Klux Klan flourished, making life difficult for Jews and other minorities. During the period from 1920 to 1930, many Jews were forced to become circumspect in their activities, and Jewish lawyers and educators found that they could not practice their trades. Against this atmosphere of intolerance, Rabbi Newfield created an interfaith colloquium, with Edmonds and a Catholic priest, Eugene L. Sands, to further trust between religious faiths. They barnstormed the state, lecturing mostly on college campuses, but "they'd take invitations to any place." In 1928, the three clergymen founded the Birmingham chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews to develop a common ground between members of different faiths.[39]

But Newfield's hopes of developing a spirit of brotherhood among

religious groups were hurt by the labor and social unrest that occurred in the 1920's. In response to the Klan, Newfield emphasized the similarities among religious groups, confident that he had the support of a responsible majority against a truculent and intolerant minority of disaffected whites. However, because opponents of labor unions and equal rights for blacks were often conservative and well-regarded leaders of Birmingham, it was more difficult for Newfield to act publicly without endangering his own prestige and that of the city's Jews.

Before World War I, Newfield did not support efforts to organize labor and criticized workers who complained about their wealthy employers: "It is true there is much poverty. . . . Some of it, no doubt, is due to the greed of employers. But is not most of it due to that fertile source of all poverty, idleness, intemperance, improvidence?" In this sermon, Newfield either showed his ignorance of the problems that industrial laborers faced or was acting as an apologist for business interests.[40]

In time, however, he began to change his mind, perhaps because of the greed displayed by the coal operators during World War I. In 1917, the wartime shortage of coal was used as a rationale for threatening Alabama miners with reprisals if they tried to join the United Mine Workers. In 1920, violence erupted; although it stopped when the miners agreed to binding arbitration, Governor Thomas E. Kilby ruled in favor of the operators on every point. Most of the twelve thousand striking miners lost their jobs. This incident convinced Newfield that businessmen had tried to take advantage of World War I for quick profits, and as a result, he began to understand that employers and employees represented separate interest groups. By 1919, he had changed his tune completely: "If capital has the right to be and is today under the necessity of combination, labor has the same right. . . . Money proclaiming with Cain's insolence 'As I may,' will always provoke men to responsive defenses."[41]

Newfield's uncertainty regarding labor organizations may be similar to the dilemma that he felt about defending blacks. The rabbi may have been torn between his belief that blacks deserved fair and equal treatment under the law and his awareness that Jews, as one of the less-dominant subcultures in Birmingham, could not afford to oppose traditional Southern attitudes of black inferiority.

The rabbi's support of labor organization in the coal fields in 1921

suggests that he favored equal treatment under the law for blacks, because approximately 75 percent of the twelve thousand striking miners were black. Similarly, when a black janitor of Temple Emanu-El was arrested for murder and some members of the congregation wanted to fire him because they feared the negative publicity, Newfield defended the man. The janitor was eventually acquitted and stayed on at the temple. Nevertheless, Newfield refused to offer public support for the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths who were accused of raping two white girls on a train near Scottsboro, Alabama, in 1931. He joined the Independent Scottsboro Committee in 1936, but its lack of money and failure to speak out indicated that neither Newfield nor the other members had taken a strong public stand. Perhaps Newfield's stance can be explained by his position as a Jew in a community that feared and resented Jews as well as blacks; he may have felt that he could not offer much public opposition to the mores of Birmingham's dominant white Protestant subculture.[42]

Summary

As I have indicated throughout this article, Rabbi Morris Newfield developed a theology similar to that of the Protestant social gospel ministers and translated it into social action by becoming one of the leading social workers in Alabama in the years 1910 to 1940. Newfield's social gospel theology was shaped by three forces: his training in Reform Judaism with Isaac Mayer Wise at Hebrew Union College and his subsequent sensitivity to the needs of his congregants, who wanted to integrate their religion into their daily lives; his awareness of the ambivalent feelings that Birmingham Christians held toward Jews; and his knowledge of the theological developments occurring in the more progressive Christian churches. The first of these forces provided the basis for Newfield's feeling that Jews could be loyal Americans without giving up their existence as a distinct religious group, the second sharpened his awareness of the difficulties that Jews faced in Birmingham, while the third helped him realize that Jews had allies in their quest for peaceful coexistence with Birmingham's Christians.

I have thought it important not only to discuss what Newfield said or did, but to suggest reasons for his words and actions. As a Jew and a rabbi in an overwhelmingly evangelical Christian area, Newfield was

faced with a number of difficult tasks. He had to manufacture a religion that kept his congregants coming to temple and at the same time had to satisfy their demand that he develop close friendships and working relationships with both liberal and traditional Christians. Newfield's social gospel theology and his leadership role in interfaith associations and the social work community suggest that he handled his task exceedingly well.

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Notes

1. The most significant contribution in this area for many years was Charles Hopkins's *The Rise of the Social Gospel, 1865–1915* (New Haven, 1915). He treats the ideas of progressive Christian ministers such as Washington Gladden, George Herron, and Walter Rauschenbusch. The first edition of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1933) discussed the concept of social gospel under the heading, "Social Christianity." Other recent contributions that deal with the Christian social gospel include: Aaron I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943); Paul Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1954); Robert D. Cross, ed., *The Church and the City, 1865–1910* (New York, 1967); Robert T. Handy, ed., *The Social Gospel in America* (New York, 1966); and Cushing Strout, *The New Heavens and New Earth: Political Religion in America* (New York, 1974).

More recently, historians have noticed Jewish contributions to the social gospel movement. Charles Hopkins and Ronald White, eds., *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Philadelphia, 1976), includes chapters on Jews and Catholics. However, only the work of Stephen Wise is analyzed. Egal Feldman, in "The Social Gospel and the Jews," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (March 1969), claims that a religion of humanity did not come about because Christian ministers rejected Jewish participation in it. Benny Kraut's *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture* (Cincinnati, 1979) is a lucid study of the theological differences between Reform rabbis and Adler's nontheistic approach. Finally, Leonard Mervis's "The Social Justice Movement and the American Reform Rabbi," *American Jewish Archives* (Winter 1955), notes the theological contributions of rabbis to the social gospel movement but also suggests that they did not translate their ideas into social reform activities until 1909, when the CCAR adopted a child-labor plank, a year after the Federal Council of Churches of Christ had adopted various social reforms.

2. See *Minute Books of Temple Emanu-El, 1895–1923* (located at Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Ala.)

3. See Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture,* and W. Gunther Plaut, *The Growth of Reform Judaism: American and European Sources until 1948* (New York, 1965), 2:3–17.

4. Morris Newfield, "The History of the Jews," no date, and "Address on Shavuoth," 1896 (sermons delivered at Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Ala.; located in Morris Newfield Collection at American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

5. For a more detailed discussion of the reasons why Jews and Christians did not develop a

universal religion, see Feldman, "Social Gospel and the Jews." Feldman claims that Christian ministers rejected Jewish participation. Neither Kraut nor Nathan Glazer, in *American Judaism* (Chicago, 1972), speaks directly to this issue, but both suggest that Reform rabbis were unwilling to join with Christians in a religion of humanity.

6. Newfield, "Religion of Dogmatism," March 1914, p. 1; and "Yom Kippur Eve Address," 1898, pp. 4–5 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

7. Newfield, "Yom Kippur Eve," 1899, p. 10; and "The Religion of Creed versus That of Deed," Jan. 8, 1915, pp. 1–2 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

8. Newfield, "Yom Kippur Eve Address," 1895, p. 5; "Yom Kippur Address," 1898, p. 6; "Rosh Hashana Address," 1896, p. 8 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

9. Newfield, "Festival of Conclusion," October 1907, pp. 2–3 (sermon delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

10. Newfield, "Doctrine of Evolution and Its Effect on Modern Religion," no date, p. 4; and "The Bible in the Light of Scientific Study," no date, pp. 1–2 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

11. Newfield, "Pesach," 1900, p. 6; and "True Aristocrats," February 1906, p. 4 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

12. Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America,* 1976 ed., passim; Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce and Labor, *Religious Bodies,* 1910; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge, 1971), pp. 449–450; and *American Jewish Yearbook,* 1919–20 ed.

13. See Woodward, *Origins of the New South;* Kenneth K. Bailey, *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1964); and Rufus Spain, "Attitudes and Reactions of Southern Baptists to Certain Problems of Society, 1865–1900" (Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1961). See also Martha Bigelow, "History of Birmingham, 1870–1910" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1946), pp. 200–201, and *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1933 ed.), s.v. "Fundamentalism," by H. Richard Niebuhr.

14. See Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Palssom, *Jews in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1973), intro.; and Newfield, "Alexander the Great," no date, and "Confirmation," 1897, p. 1 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

15. Newfield, "Pesach," 1898, p. 15, and "Jews: Religion, Nation, and Race," no date, p. 2 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

16. Newfield, "Rosh Hashana Morning," Sept. 9, 1907, p. 2; "New Year's Morning," 1903, p. 3; "Dream of Temple," no date, p. 5 (sermons delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

17. See Mittie Owen McDavid, *A History of the Church of the Advent* (Birmingham, 1943), pp. 43–67; Henry M. Edmonds, *A Parson's Notebook* (Birmingham, 1960); and Washington Gladden, "Baccalaureate Address," in *17th Annual Commencement Exercises of the University of Cincinnati,* June 5, 1895, pp. 1–13 (located in Special Collections at the University of Cincinnati).

18. See above note 1.

19. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel,* pp. 3–5, 228; Cross, *Church and City,* p. 44.

20. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel,* p. 106; Handy, *Social Gospel in America,* pt. 2.

21. Cross, *Church and City,* p. 42; Handy, *Social Gospel in America,* pt. 3; Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel,* chap. 13.

22. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel,* pp. 127–130.

23. Ibid.

24. For a full discussion of this controversy, see Presbytery of North Alabama, "A Review and Exposition of the Case of Dr. H. M. Edmonds and the Presbytery of North Alabama," privately published, pp. 3–20 (located in the Tutweiler Collection, Birmingham Public Library); and Dr.

Henry M. Edmonds and the Officers of the Independent Presbyterian Church, "The Other Side of the Recent Case of Dr. Henry Edmonds and the North Alabama Presbytery," privately published, pp. 1–12 (also located in the Tutweiler Collection).

25. Ibid.; Edmonds, *Parson's Notebook,* pp. 194–196.

26. Middleton S. Barnwell to Morris Newfield, May 18, 1922, pp. 1–2; McDavid, *History of the Church of the Advent,* p. 65.

27. To cite only a few works, see Woodward, *Origins of the New South;* George Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1967); F. Sheldon Hackney, *Populism and Progressivism in Alabama* (Princeton, 1969); Bessie Brooks, *A Half Century of Family Welfare in Jefferson County* (Birmingham, 1936); and Anita Van DeVoort, "Public Welfare Administration in Jefferson County" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1935).

28. Edward S. La Monte, "Politics and Welfare in Birmingham, Alabama, 1900–1975" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1978), pp. 5–6, 177–180. See also Elizabeth Wisner, *Social Welfare in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1938).

29. See Mervis, "Social Justice Movement," pp. 172, 176; Daniel Levine, "Edgar Gardner Murphy: Conservative Reformer," *Alabama Review,* Spring 1962, pp. 50–55; Hugh C. Bailey, *Edgar Gardner Murphy, Gentle Progressive* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1968).

30. Morris Newfield to Leah Newfield, Sept. 26, 1907, and March 21, 23, 24, 1909; Brooks, *Family Welfare in Jefferson County,* p. 4; La Monte, "Politics and Welfare in Birmingham," pp. 112–120; Van DeVoort, "Public Welfare Administration in Jefferson County," pp. 36–38.

31. La Monte, "Politics and Welfare in Birmingham," pp. 108–109; Minutes of the Jefferson County Tuberculosis Society, May 31, 1910 (located at Jefferson County Lung Association, Birmingham); Alabama Lung Association, "History of the Alabama Association" (no date, located at Lung Association); and Alabama Lung Association, "Lung Health News, 1914–1974" (privately published, 1974, located at Lung Association).

32. Minutes of Jefferson County Red Cross, July–August 1921, October 14, 1921, April 18, 1922 (located at Jefferson County Red Cross, Birmingham, Ala.); Brooks, *Family Welfare in Birmingham,* p. 27; Van DeVoort, "Public Welfare Administration in Jefferson County," p. 47.

33. Minutes of the Jefferson County Red Cross, June 15, 1926, February 21, 1928, May 21, 1928, and July 10, 1928.

34. Jefferson County Red Cross, "History of the Jefferson County Red Cross," no date, pp. 1–4 (located at Birmingham Red Cross).

35. *Birmingham News,* March 9, 1911, p. 1, March 11, 1911, p. 1, and March 13, 1911, pp. 1, 14 (microfilm at Birmingham Public Library); Ethel M. Gorman, "History of the Juvenile Court and Domestic Relations Court," no date, pp. 1–5 (located at Family Court, Birmingham, Ala.).

36. "Milestones of the Children's Aid Society" (unpub. manuscript, located at Children's Aid Society, Birmingham); "Proceedings of the Alabama Sociological Congress," 1913–1915 (located in writer's files); "Alabama's Charity for Alabama's Own," *Birmingham News,* 1919; also, "Scrapbooks of the Alabama Children's Aid Society," Jan. 14, 1919 (located at Children's Aid Society, Birmingham, Ala.).

37. Morris Newfield, "Child Labor," 1904 (sermon delivered at Emanu-El, located in writer's files); *Birmingham News,* March 9, 1911, p. 1, March 11, 1911, p. 1, and March 13, 1911, pp. 1, 14.

38. See "Proceedings of the Alabama Sociological Congress, 1913–1915"; and Reports of the Alabama Conference of Social Work (located at the Alabama State Historical Archives, Montgomery, Ala., and at the Office of the Alabama Conference of Social Work, Montgomery, Ala.).

39. See Tindall, *Emergence of the New South,* pp. 111–112; Wayne Flynt, "Organized Labor, Reform, and Alabama Politics, 1920," *Alabama Review* 23 (July 1970): 163–181; Philip Taft,

"Labor Organization in the Coal Fields" (unfinished manuscript, located at Birmingham Public Library Archives); Malcolm C. McMillan, *Yesterday's Birmingham* (Miami, 1975), pp. 38, 147; also, James A. Head, Sr., personal interview, September 1979; Newfield, "The Claims of Religion," *Birmingham Age-Herald,* March 28, 1920, p. 4; Henry M. Edmonds, "Good Morning," excerpt from *Birmingham Post-Herald,* May 13, 1960, (located in the Edmonds Collection at Birmingham Public Library Archives); Edmonds, *Parson's Notebook;* "Religious Forum: Talk of Newfield, Edmonds, and Sands" (located in author's files).

40. Newfield, "Exaltation of the Spirit," Jan. 2, 1914, p. 2 (sermon delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

41. Flynt, "Organized Labor, Reform, and Alabama Politics"; Taft, "Labor Organization in the Coal Fields"; Newfield, "Industrial Relations," February 1919, p. 2 (sermon delivered at Emanu-El, located at AJA).

42. Mayer Newfield, personal interview, September 1979; Henry M. Edmonds, "Beau Geste," *Birmingham Post-Herald,* n.d. (located in Edmonds Collection, Birmingham Public Library); Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge, 1969), pp. 264–269, 273; *Birmingham News,* June 10, 1936, pp. 1, 14; Dinnerstein and Palsson, *Jews in the South,* pp. 9–11; John Shelton Reed, "Ethnicity in the South: Some Observations on the Acculturation of Southern Jews," *Ethnicity* 6 (1979): 97–106.

The Sunday-Sabbath Movement in American Reform Judaism: Strategy or Evolution?

Kerry M. Olitzky

The Sunday-Sabbath movement emerged within nineteenth-century American Reform Judaism as a radical departure from the tradition of many centuries of Jewish worship, held daily but with the Saturday-Sabbath as the central day of prayer.

The Sunday-Sabbath controversy began when certain individuals advocated the actual transfer of the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday. Others simply preferred to institute an additional worship service on the "civil day of rest." Of course, any attempt to institute a central or ancillary service on Sunday was, for traditional and moderately progressive American Jews, an insurrectionary action. Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath had always been viewed by Jews as antagonistic days, a result of the deeply embedded anti-Jewish teachings of Christianity. A Sunday-Sabbath for these Jews could only be viewed as a large step toward total assimilation and the complete diffusion of Judaism in America.

Sunday-Sabbath: The German Experience

The antecedents of the Sunday-Sabbath movement in America can be traced to Germany in 1837 when the *Frankfurter Journal* published a series of debates on the issue of Sabbath transfer.[1] Proponents felt that a Sabbath transfer was absolutely necessary for full Jewish emancipation, a process that had started in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Michael Creizenach, a leading lay Reformer, agreed that God might not care on which day Jews worshipped, but he considered the Sabbath an institution of Israel. Only a unanimous decision by all Israel, he said, could sanction a transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.[2] He knew this kind of decision was impossible.

Samuel Holdheim, rabbi of the radical Berlin Reform Congregation, made a statement at the 1846 Breslau Rabbinical Conference con-

cerning Sabbath transfer, suggesting that only a Sunday-Sabbath would resolve the conflict between the traditional Sabbath and the demands of daily life.[3] Holdheim refused to make a formal resolution, because he felt that it would have been rejected by a majority of the rabbis in attendance.

One of Holdheim's colleagues, Samuel Hirsch, then chief rabbi of Luxembourg, urged those rabbis in attendance at the Conference (via a letter) to make a formal declaration in support of a Sunday-Sabbath. Hirsch made his pro-Sunday position quite clear some years later in his *Systematischer Katechismus des israelischer Religion.* He reacted strongly to Michael Creizenach's earlier statements, contending that a Saturday-Sabbath was valid only when Jews had lived together in ancient Palestine, but for Jews of the Diaspora, the civil day of rest was appropriate.[4]

Few rabbis agreed with Samuel Hirsch and Samuel Holdheim. Nevertheless, the Sunday-Sabbath triumphed in various parts of Europe, because the people wanted it. The Sunday-Sabbath spread throughout Europe after the Berlin Reform Congregation initiated its first Sunday service in 1845. Initially, it conducted worship services on Saturday and Sunday. Later, the Berlin Reform Congregation rejected the Saturday-Sabbath completely, becoming the Sunday-Sabbath pioneer in Europe.[5]

Sunday-Sabbath: American Jewish Needs

Although the Sunday-Sabbath movement had its moorings in Germany, its activities in America soon took on a distinctly American tenor.[6] Emancipation was the paramount issue in the European Sunday-Sabbath movement; it was, however, less significant to the American Reformers. America guaranteed complete freedom to the Jew, but its six-day work week was designed to accommodate the worship pattern of the non-Jew. This fundamental economic fact was often cited as the primary reason for the actual transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.[7] Other reasons were also indicated. Saturday services were poorly attended; rabbis wanted to preach to large congregational audiences.[8] In the South, for example, the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation of Atlanta, Georgia, introduced Sunday services apparently at the insistence of its rabbi, David Marx. These services were intended to supplement the Saturday services, not replace them. Sunday services were to

give him an additional preaching audience. More people attended the Sunday service than the two Saturday services combined.[9] Advocates of the Sunday service wanted to reach the youth, in particular. Many supporters of the Sunday service were afraid that the new generation of American Jews would, in time, reject Judaism. One goal of the Sunday services was to ensure that this did not happen.[10] There were also Jews who attended church services on Sundays. Since the synagogues were generally closed on Sunday, their only day off from work, they saw this as their only alternative.[11] One final crucial issue was raised. Opponents to the institution of a Sunday-Sabbath said that it would lead to the total destruction of the Jewish Sabbath, contributing to the eventual success of Christianity over Judaism.[12] In other words, the Sunday-Sabbath was the initial step toward the complete assimilation of the Jew. In fact, however, attendance had increased in many of the synagogues where Sunday services had been instituted. This was the barometer of success, as well as evidence that Sunday services were preventing assimilation, not encouraging it.

Before the Sunday-Sabbath movement ran its full course, it attracted countless supporters, among them Rabbis Kaufmann Kohler, Joseph Krauskopf, and Emil G. Hirsch. It also succeeded in rousing the fury of individuals like Rabbis Isaac M. Wise and William Rosenau, both of whom supported the traditional Sabbath day. Nearly forty Reform congregations in America reported instituting Sunday services of one kind or another; tens of others discussed the issue of Sabbath transfer during congregational meetings.

Early Advocates and Opponents

An immediate opponent of the early Sunday-Sabbath movement in America was Isaac M. Wise, organizer of the Reform movement in America, who constantly wrote diatribes in his *American Israelite* condemning to failure the Sunday-Sabbath and its proponents. For Wise, the Sabbath represented one of the ten God-given commandments. He considered the observance of a Sunday service "a bare faced and downright hypocrisy and lie,"[13] since the Sabbath was nothing less than a sign of the covenant between God and Israel. Thus, if one abrogated the Sabbath, one also rejected the divine covenant. Wise constantly repeated these sentiments. He termed Sunday a Christian

institution. "You can desecrate the Sabbath," he claimed, "but you cannot consecrate the Sunday."[14]

One of Wise's earliest antagonists on this issue was Kaufmann Kohler, who later succeeded him as president of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Early in his career at Chicago Sinai Congregation, Kohler strongly advocated the Sabbath transfer, maintaining that the Sunday service was a substitute, a kind of *Shabbat Sheni* (Second Sabbath) for those prevented from keeping the Sabbath.[15] This *Shabbat Sheni* argument became popular among Sunday-Sabbath supporters who sought a precedent in Halacha (Jewish law) to support their action. They created the *Shabbat Sheni* out of an analogy to the biblical *Pesach Sheni* (Num. 9:10–11). According to the text, if an individual is prevented from making the Passover sacrifice on the assigned day (the fourteenth of Nisan), he is permitted to make it on the fourteenth day of Iyar instead. What the advocates of Sunday services neglected to consider was Numbers 9:13, which indicated that the *Pesach Sheni* could only be enacted for individuals meeting specific criteria. Anyone else not keeping the Passover "shall be cut off from his people; because he did not bring the offering of the Lord in its appointed season, that man shall bear his sin" (Num. 9:13).[16]

Although Kaufmann Kohler initially advocated the Sabbath transfer, he later reversed his position and became a staunch supporter of the traditional Sabbath day, claiming that the renewal of anti-Jewish feelings in the world prevented him from continuing to support the Sabbath transfer.[17] When he was rabbi of Chicago Sinai Congregation, he thought that the audience for his sermons would be increased when Sunday services were instituted.[18] He was not a great orator, however, and services remained sparsely attended until Emil G. Hirsch was elected rabbi of the congregation. When Kohler went to Congregation Beth El in New York City to replace his father-in-law, David Einhorn, he advocated only an occasional Sunday lecture.[19] Even with an infrequent Sunday lecture, Kohler could not attract large crowds to his services. This was probably the genuine reason for his position reversal, although publicly he lamented that the divine character of the Sabbath could not be changed to a day which had been instituted by human beings. Thus, Kaufmann Kohler renounced any type of Jewish assembly on Sunday, declaring that Sunday services would eventually destroy the Sabbath.[20] Supporters of the traditional Sabbath applauded

Kohler, but his former supporters thought that he had disowned them.[21]

Joseph Krauskopf, the second-most-important Sunday advocate after Kohler, continued his unrelenting support of the Sunday-Sabbath in spite of Kohler's renunciation. Krauskopf began his Sunday career as rabbi of Temple B'nai Jehudah in Kansas City, Missouri. Initially, he had rejected the idea of Sunday services.[22] Later, in a dramatic pulpit presentation, he reversed his position entirely, offering his congregants a "remedy that promises to cure religious apathy in Israel."[23] Acknowledging the same anti-Jewish feelings that Kohler had cited, he reacted in the opposite way by trying even harder for Jewish-Christian harmony. Krauskopf's change bewildered many people, including Isaac M. Wise,[24] and certainly the reversal had its ironic side. Krauskopf had earlier opposed Kohler's advocacy of the Sabbath transfer, and now Krauskopf had adopted Kohler's former stance with Kohler in opposition. Krauskopf continued his struggle for the institution of Sunday services and in 1887 triumphantly introduced them to Kenesseth Israel in Philadelphia when he took over as the rabbi of the congregation.[25] It has been suggested by his biographer, William W. Blood, that Krauskopf's superior command of English was the reason why his Sunday services were successful at Kenesseth Israel,[26] but his Saturday services (which included a German sermon) were equally well attended. It was Krauskopf's grand oratory that attracted people to all of his worship services. As a result of the Sunday services, some congregants left Kenesseth Israel, and local rabbis condemned Krauskopf, but increasing numbers attended his Sunday services year after year.[27] Eventually, Kenesseth Israel became one of the largest Reform congregations in the United States due to its great rabbi and orator, Joseph Krauskopf.

The Larger Debate

Organizations, congregations, and Anglo-Jewish newspapers soon joined in the debate in favor of and in opposition to the transfer of the Jewish Sabbath. As early as the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference of 1885, precursor to the formal organization of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, "a heated and lengthy discussion took place" concerning Sunday services.[28] The CCAR was entangled in the controversy from its very beginning. Its members, for the most part, took

positions which usually placed them at odds with rabbis in and out of the Reform movement in America. From then on, until almost the middle of the twentieth century, the members of the CCAR discussed the Sunday-Sabbath at almost every annual convention. At times, resolutions were made in favor of the Sunday-Sabbath.[29] At other times, committees were appointed to write special Sunday rituals,[30] or to study the influence of Sunday worship on Jewish congregations.[31] In the end, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, as a body, refused to sanction a Sunday service or a special Sunday ritual, but the Conference did acknowledge the right of individual congregations and rabbis to act on the matter.[32]

The National Council of Jewish Women experienced a similar problem. Its secretary, Sadie American, "denounced the maintenance of the Jewish Sabbath as indicating a lack of progressiveness and as a manifestation of narrowmindedness, and she advocated the substitution of the Christian Sunday therefore."[33] Many people were offended by American's views, including Isaac M. Wise, who thought it inappropriate of her to state them from the platform of the Council of Jewish Women.[34] However, the president of the National Council of Jewish Women at the time, Hannah Solomon, agreed with Sadie American that the Saturday Sabbath should be entirely abolished.[35] Other organizations were less liberal in their sentiments. The Federation of Zionists condemned the Central Conference of American Rabbis, denouncing the Sunday-Sabbath as assimilationist.[36]

These organizations were obviously not alone in their struggle to resolve the Sunday-Sabbath conflict. As part of the interest spurred by Sunday-Sabbath supporters, interfaith groups formed which made the Sunday-Sabbath their raison d'etre. Louis Jackson, for example, sponsored the World's Day of Rest League. This organization was dedicated to preserving a uniform day of rest.[37] That day of rest, however, was Sunday, already accepted by most Americans.

One Anglo-Jewish newspaper was intimately related to the Sunday-Sabbath movement. It too was interested in a uniform day of rest: Sunday. In 1887 Samuel Brickner and Louis Wiley began to publish the *Jewish Tidings* in Rochester, New York.[38] Initially, the *Tidings* supported the Sunday-Sabbath relentlessly. Both Brickner and Wiley were members of Temple Berith Kodesh, whose rabbinic leader at the time was the radical Max Landsberg. Later, the *Jewish Tidings* began to

moderate its position concerning the Sunday-Sabbath and proceeded to call only for supplementary services on Sunday.[39] Apparently, the editors felt that they had failed, but it was the Sunday-Sabbath which had really failed. Even their own congregation had not yet introduced Sunday services.[40] The *Jewish Tidings* was criticized by the *St. Louis Jewish Voice* for its unwillingness to stand its ground. The editors of the *Jewish Tidings,* however, thought that the opposition to exclusive Sunday services was much greater than the opposition to supplementary services on Sunday. In order to determine whether their assumption was correct, they requested statements from rabbis and laymen alike. Other periodicals reacted to the symposium and campaign of the *Jewish Tidings* by claiming that the *Tidings* had failed. Subsequently, the issue of Sunday services was removed from the editorial pages of the *Tidings.*[41]

Sunday-Sabbath: Activities and Events

What was happening in other synagogues during this period of Sunday-Sabbath growth? Each congregation struggled in its own way. Although the many innovations were enticing, their execution was difficult. New York's Ahavath Chesed introduced Saturday-afternoon services. This was a way of making concessions to Jews who could not attend Saturday-morning services, without introducing Sunday services.[42] Cleveland's Tifereth Israel introduced Sunday lectures with some worship.[43] And at St. Louis' Shaare Emeth, led by Rabbi Solomon H. Sonneschein, a congregational split occurred. Sonneschein's followers formed a new congregation called Temple Israel. Shortly thereafter, Sonneschein introduced Sunday services at the new temple.[44] These congregations felt that there were alternatives to the Sunday-Sabbath. The actual transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday was unnecessary.

The foremost and obvious variation of the Sunday-Sabbath was the Sunday service which used a weekday liturgy. It usually featured a full-length English sermon. At times, this service became a central worship service, although it was not called a Sabbath service.[45] In some cases, such as the service at Kenesseth Israel in Philadelphia, it was the only service which featured a sermon in English instead of German.[46]

A similar variation was proposed by Aaron Hahn, then rabbi at Tifereth Israel in Cleveland. Hahn kept the Saturday services intact but

instituted Sunday lectures which included a short worship service.[47] Although worship was a part of the Sunday program in this case, it was of minimal significance.

Others went a step further; they featured only a lecture in their Sunday-morning gathering.[48] These Sunday lectures had three goals. First, the lectures were intended for the exposition and explanation of the nature and scope of modern Judaism. Second, they were supposed to disseminate secular and religious knowledge. Third, they were instituted to encourage religious and intellectual activity among the indifferent.[49] The Sunday lecture was stimulated by Felix Adler, founder of the New York Society for Ethical Culture and organizer of the Sunday lecture movement.[50] Adler lectured every Sunday. His lectures were introduced by a little organ music, but absolutely no worship.[51] There was probably little difference between Adler's lectures and contemporary Sunday-morning gatherings in synagogues featuring noted speakers or discussion groups. Adler was held in disdain primarily because of the religious orientation of his Society for Ethical Culture, not for his Sunday lectures.

For some individuals, like William Rosenau, rabbi of Oheb Shalom in Baltimore, a weekly Sunday lecture, with or without liturgical embellishment, was tantamount to a Sunday-Sabbath. These individuals held that any weekly Sunday lecture or service could potentially destroy the Jewish Sabbath.[52] Abraham Geiger, the great German Reformer, had originally promulgated the idea of an occasional Sunday service. To counter critics of a weekly service, some of his American colleagues adopted this practice.[53]

Nevertheless, Chicago Sinai Congregation, under Emil G. Hirsch's brilliant leadership, remained the Sunday-Sabbath pioneer, commemorating its first twenty-five years of Sunday services with a major celebration in 1899. In honor of the occasion, the congregation published a *Report of the Services of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Introduction of Sunday Services in Chicago Sinai Congregation*. This one-hundred-page document represented the largest, most comprehensive single document of the Sunday-Sabbath movement in American Judaism. It included statements by Sunday supporters, as well as a history of Sunday services at Chicago Sinai Congregation. Although no other congregation in American could offer a similar testimonial to the success of Sunday services, there were congregations which followed the lead of Chicago Sinai.

In most cases, it was the rabbi who ultimately made the Sunday service a success or failure. When Sunday services were resumed in 1901 at Pittsburgh's Rodef Shalom, for example, it was J. Leonard Levy, formerly Joseph Krauskopf's assistant in Philadelphia, who made them successful. In fact, the congregants responded so favorably to Levy's Sunday lectures that they decided to publish them for distribution.[54] Similarly, it was Emil Hirsch who drew crowds to Sunday services at Chicago Sinai. And Joseph Krauskopf was the one who brought hordes of people, Jews and non-Jews, to fill Kenesseth Israel in Philadelphia.

Decline and Residue

Growing anti-Semitism produced two opposite reactions toward the end of the nineteenth century, both of which influenced the Sunday-Sabbath movement. The forces of anti-Judaism had already turned the tables on European Jews waiting for the onset of Jewish-Christian brotherhood. The messianic vision of universal brotherhood held by the early Reformers was destroyed. Jews were being systematically excluded from everything in Rumania. The blood libel was renewed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while in cosmopolitan Vienna, the infamous anti-Semite Karl Lueger was elected mayor on a blatantly anti-Jewish platform. Against this background, the Sunday-Sabbath movement struggled for survival. The American Jewish community was in contact with its European brethren. In fact, most major American Jewish leaders were recent European immigrants.

American assimilationists sought as a result of these events to establish more Sunday services in order to "prove" that there was little difference between Reform Jews and non-Jews. They hoped in this way to assuage the anti-Jewish element. They believed that the renewal of anti-Jewish sentiment would be short-lived. On the other hand, anti-assimilationists rejected emancipation by reestablishing their own roots and eliminating all traces of acculturation, the Sunday-Sabbath included. Some of this interplay was made manifest in the liturgical material which began developing in 1880 for the Sunday-Sabbath as well as for daily services held on Sunday. For example, Emil G. Hirsch translated Rabbi David Einhorn's *Olath Tamid* so that Chicago Sinai could use it for Sunday services. And J. Leonard Levy prepared *A Book of Prayers* for Pittsburgh's Rodef Shalom Congregation. These prayer-

books took different approaches to the Sunday services; each prayerbook was designed with individual congregations in mind.

By 1920, however, the Sunday-Sabbath movement was virtually nonexistent. The five-day work week had begun to spread, eliminating the economic reasons for a Sunday-Sabbath. The universalistic reasons were no longer deemed valid. Finally, Reform Judaism had absorbed a great many of the Eastern European immigrants. Since they brought with them a Jewish experience different from that of their German immigrant brethren of some years earlier, and had experienced severe anti-Jewish sentiments, this dealt a death blow to the radical German wing of Reform, whose members, Einhorn, Hirsch, and Krauskopf, had been among the most important advocates of the Sunday-Sabbath movement. Of course, congregations like Rodef Shalom in Pittsburgh could still draw an attendance of approximately 375 on Sunday mornings, but these people would have come to hear Rabbi J. Leonard Levy speak on any day of the week.[55] While radicals like Isaac W. Bernheim of Louisville, Kentucky, still advocated the Sabbath transfer, the movement had, nevertheless, run its full course.[56] It no longer attracted major press coverage. It was no longer the focal point of congregational meetings. And Sunday services were for the most part no longer Sabbath services.

There was one congregation, however, which instituted Sunday services as late as 1958.[57] Temple Emanuel in St. Louis included a provision for Sunday services. These services are still held today, but an occasional Friday-evening service has been added. In addition to Emanuel in St. Louis, Chicago Sinai has remained faithful to the cause, holding services on Sunday morning instead of Saturday morning.[58] Others have services both on Saturday and Sunday. The Sunday liturgy, however, does not differ from any other daily morning service held in Reform congregations throughout the country.

Conclusion

The Sunday-Sabbath in America was instituted for three major reasons: economics, attendance, and Christian acceptance. None of these factors was sufficient for the Sunday-Sabbath to succeed in the American Jewish community. The development of the five-day work week and the improved economic status of Jews enabled them to keep the

Jewish Sabbath on Saturday and participate in Sunday leisure. The non-Jewish world, furthermore, did not change its views of Jews who abandoned their historical Sabbath. The messianic universalist vision of the early German Reformers was shattered, as was the dream of Jewish-Christian unity. The Reform movement began to retrace its steps, back toward the traditional Sabbath.

The Sunday-Sabbath movement failed despite the fact that it lingers on today, especially in congregations which continue to hold daily services on Sunday. Hundreds of Reform congregations across the country hold activities on Sunday, but these activities, whether social or educational, do not threaten the status of the traditional Sabbath. The problem of Sabbath service attendance has not changed since the nineteenth century, but the response is no longer the same.

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Notes

1. *Hebrew Union College Journal* 5 (October 1900): 25.

2. Ibid.

3. David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), p. 293.

4. Samuel Hirsch, *Systematischer Katechismus des israelischer Religion* (Luxembourg: Druck and Verlag, 1856), p. 157.

5. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 359.

6. The Berlin Reform Congregation had its American counterpart in the Chicago Sinai Congregation. In 1873, the Congregation resolved to introduce the Sunday-Sabbath the following year under the guidance of Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, its rabbi. Although Baltimore's Hebrew Reform Association introduced the first American Sunday service in 1854, the Sinai Congregation may be considered the pioneer congregation of the movement for two reasons. First, it introduced Sunday services independently, not merely in sympathy with its European brethren as had the Hebrew Reform Association. Second, it became the first American congregation to abrogate Saturday-Sabbath services completely in 1887. Since Chicago Sinai's Sunday service was introduced in 1875, it has held uninterrupted Sunday services for over one hundred years. On the Hebrew Reform Association, see Charles A. Rubenstein, *History of Har Sinai Congregation of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Har Sinai Congregation, 1918), p. 21. The Hebrew Reform Association in Baltimore held Sunday services for six months in 1854 in sympathy with its Reform brethren in Pest, Hungary. Later, when the Association became Har Sinai Congregation, it reintroduced Sunday services. Rubenstein, *History of Har Sinai Congregation*, p. 21; and William S. Rayner, *Souvenir: Jubilee Year of Har Sinai Congregation* (Baltimore: Har Sinai Congregation, 1892), p. 11. There is an interesting account of the split between the Har Sinai Association and the Hebrew

Reform Association in David Einhorn, "Geschichte des religiosen Umschwunges," *Sinai* 1 (August 1856): 198–199. For Chicago Sinai Congregation, see "Special Board of Directors Meeting, 4 November 1873," Board of Directors Minute Books, Chicago Sinai Congregation (Box 9, Folder 5, Manuscript Collection No. 56, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio). Anshe Chesed in Scranton, Pennsylvania, under Abraham Cohen, its spiritual leader, instituted a Sunday service with lecture in 1860. However, the congregation's main service remained on Saturday. *Occident,* November 15, 1866, p. 208.

7. Otto Irving Wise, ed., *Sermons and Addresses by Jacob Voorsanger* (New York: Bloch, 1913), p. 268.

8. Benny Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1979), p. 114.

9. Janice O. Rothschild, *As But a Day: The First Hundred Years, 1867–1967* (Atlanta: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, The Temple, 1966), p. 59; and David Marx, *Hebrew Benevolent Congregation: Atlanta, Georgia, 1867–1917* (Atlanta: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, 1917), p. 22.

10. David Davidson, *Sabbath or Sunday* (Cincinnati: Bloch, 1889), p. 21.

11. *American Israelite,* May 5, 1876, p. 5.

12. Leo M. Franklin, "A Decade of Sunday Services, 8 June 1913" (Leo M. Franklin Collection, Box 3335, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

13. *American Israelite,* December 2, 1859, p. 172.

14. Ibid., April 22, 1887, p. 4.

15. *Jewish Times,* April 17, 1874, p. 121.

16. Samuel Holdheim, the radical German Reformer, was one of the earliest proponents of the *Shabbat Sheni*. From him, a number of Reformers adapted this analogy to fit their needs. See W. Gunther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of Its European Origin* (New York: World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1963), pp. 194–195.

17. Kaufmann Kohler, "The Sabbath Day of the Jew," *Menorah* 2 (September 1895): 156.

18. Kaufmann Kohler to Chicago Sinai Congregation, June 4, 1879 (Chicago Sinai Congregation, Box 2, Folder 4, Manuscript Collection No. 56, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

19. Kaufmann Kohler, *Sabbath Observance and Sunday Lectures* (New York: Temple Beth El, 1880), pp. 4–5, 8. For an interesting account of Kohler's new position by a lay leader of Kohler's former Chicago Sinai Congregation, Julius Rosenthal, see the *American Israelite,* June 27, 1879, p. 4.

20. Kaufmann Kohler, "Rocks Ahead," *Menorah* 2 (October 1891): 284–293.

21. Eugene Cohn, "The Sabbath Day of the Jew: An Answer to the Rev. Dr. Kohler," *Menorah* 2 (November 1891): 283.

22. *American Israelite,* June 8, 1886, p. 5.

23. *Kansas City Journal,* June 19, 1886 (clipping in Joseph Krauskopf, Miscellaneous File, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

24. *American Israelite,* July 2, 1886, and July 3, 1886, p. 4.

25. William W. Blood, *Apostle of Reason: A Biography of Joseph Krauskopf* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1973), p. 44; and Joseph Krauskopf, *Sunday Lectures,* 37 vols. (Philadelphia: Keneseth Israel, 1888–1924): 5:21:2.

26. Blood, *Apostle of Reason,* p. 45. Attendance at Saturday services also increased after Krauskopf's arrival.

27. Martin P. Beifield, Jr., "Joseph Krauskopf: 1887–1903" (Rabbinic thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1975), p. 101.

28. *Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference November 15, 17, 18, 1885* (Richmond, Va.: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1923), p. 33.
29. *CCAR Yearbook, 1904* (Baltimore: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1904), p. 117.
30. *CCAR Yearbook, 1905* (Baltimore: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1905), p. 112.
31. Ibid., p. 197.
32. For examples of special Sunday rituals, see Leo M. Franklin, *Order of Worship for Sunday Service* (Detroit: Temple Beth El, 1904); Joseph Krauskopf, *The Service Ritual* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1888); Harry Levi, *Sunday Services* (Boston: Stetson Press, 1919); and David Stern, *Sunday Services for Jewish Reform Congregations* (Philadelphia: Edward Hirsch, 1883).
33. *American Israelite,* January 18, 1900, p. 4.
34. Ibid., February 8, 1900, p. 4.
35. Ibid., February 15, 1900, p. 4. See also the December 1900 issues of the *American Jewess.* Note particularly the material concerning Rosa Sonneschein, former wife of the noted Sunday-Sabbath radical, Solomon Hirsch Sonneschein. Unlike her former husband, Rosa Sonneschein was not in favor of the Sabbath transfer.
36. *American Jewish Yearbook, 1902* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1902), pp. 18, 102.
37. *American Israelite,* January 5, 1886, p. 4. The original article which Wise quoted was from the *New York Times,* December 31, 1885.
38. Stuart E. Rosenberg, "The *Jewish Tidings* and the Sunday Service Question," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 42 (June 1953): 372.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p. 377.
41. According to Rosenberg, Sunday services were introduced at Berith Kodesh in 1899. Thus, the *Jewish Tidings* had not failed in its campaign for Sunday services at Berith Kodesh.
42. *Jewish Messenger,* October 28, 1881, p. 5.
43. Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society and Jewish Theological Seminary, 1978), p. 155.
44. Joseph D. Cosoe, *From Leffingwill to Spoede: Highlights of the History of Temple Israel* (St. Louis: Temple Israel, 1977), p. 7.
45. *American Israelite,* April 22, 1887, p. 4.
46. Blood, *Apostle of Reason,* p. 45.
47. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland,* p. 155.
48. Kaufmann Kohler, *Sabbath Observance and Sunday Lectures* (New York: Temple Beth El, 1880), p. 4.
49. Solomon H. Sonneschein, *Sunday Lectures* (St. Louis: Temple Israel, 1886–87), 1:1.
50. Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture,* p. 109.
51. *American Israelite,* June 2, 1876, p. 6.
52. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism,* p. 295, note 3.
53. *Chicago Occident,* November 15, 1866, p. 208.
54. "Congregational Meeting, 29 September 1901" (Minute Books, Rodef Shalom Collection, Box 905, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio). Apparently, the services had ceased when J. Leonard Levy's predecessor left the congregation.
55. *Report of the Committee of Unassigned Pew Seats* (Pittsburgh: Rodef Shalom Congregation, 1970), p. 3.
56. Isaac W. Bernheim, *An Open Letter to Rabbi Stephen Wise* (Louisville: By the Author, 1922), pp. 8–9. Although this proposal was mentioned in the *Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations,* the text of the address was not included. Union of American

Hebrew Congregations, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Convention* (Buffalo: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1921), p. 8895.

57. Board of Incorporation Meeting, January 31, 1957, p. 2, Temple Emanuel, St. Louis, Missouri (Microfilm No. 2505, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

58. Theodore Lenn, *Rabbi and Synagogue in Reform Judaism* (West Hartford, Conn.: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1972), pp. 119–120.

Jews in the Grand'Anse Colony of Saint-Domingue*

Zvi Loker

The Grand'Anse, on the northwestern tip of the southern peninsula of the island of Hispaniola, in present-day Haiti, is a cove formed by the Grand and Voldrogue rivers. The surrounding region, which bears the same name as the cove, is covered by dense tropical vegetation. Its capital, the ancient port-city of Jérémie,[1] was once the focal point of life in the island's southwestern part, which in the colonial era was variously known as Santo Domingo (Spanish) and Saint-Domingue (French).

In revolutionary times, the Grand'Anse area served as a stronghold, first for white settlers, and later for the mulatto insurgents whose rebellion in 1792 sparked an uprising of black slaves. Though it caused much damage to the plantations, this first revolutionary episode was of but brief duration. The French settlers soon gained the upper hand, and fearing a new assault by mulattos and black slaves, they called in the British. The British army obligingly took over the whole region on September 19, 1793; it remained in control for almost five years.

The town of Jérémie (Jeremy) was constructed in 1756 around an earlier burg or embarcation point called Trou Jérémie after a brave and honest fisherman of that name. It suffered from hurricanes in 1772 and 1781, but was always rebuilt. The town is almost inaccessible by road even today, and due to its geographical isolation was relatively quiet at the outset of the Haitian Revolution. During the years of British occupation it served as a peaceful haven where white settlers could continue to trade. A lively commerce took place in the harbor, some of it with merchants from American ports like Charleston,[2] Norfolk,[3] Baltimore,[4] unidentified sites in New England,[5] and most likely other cities on the eastern seaboard as well. All this made Jérémie attractive to white refugees fleeing from other areas.

Jews and *Conversos*, living at the Grand'Anse, Saint-Domingue, 1775–1800

Name	Occupation	Site of Residence	Time of Certifiable Activity	Remarks
ALVARES Jean-Baptiste		Jérémie, later Léogane	1796–1797	Free mulatto
CARDOZE Jean	Planter	Les Abricots, near Jérémie	1779–1785	Died in the Catholic faith
DALMEYDA Salomon	Planter and shipping agent	Tiburon and Jérémie	1777–1794	Son of Abraham and Rebecca of Bordeaux
DA SILVA fils (Louis François)	Merchant	Caïemittes (island opposite Jérémie)	1775–1795	Came to the colony from Bordeaux or Bayonne
LANGE Mardochée	Merchant	Grande Rivière (Jérémie)	1784–1799	Lange père and fils were known in Cap Français, 1765
LANGE I., JR. (Israel or Joseph?)	Merchant	Jérémie	1793–1799	Son of Mardochée
LOPEZ-DEPAZ Catherine	Merchant	La Seringue, N.D. du Cap, Dame-Marie	1781–1790	
LOPEZ-DEPAZ Jean-Philippe	Merchant	N.D. du Cap, Dame-Marie	1781–1790	Father of Catherine
LYMA Louis David	Merchant and shipping agent	Rochelois, Fonds des Nègres, Jérémie, Miragoâne, Port-au-Prince	1793–1799	Representing Lyma Frères of Bordeaux
MADURO Jacob		Jérémie	1800	
MARDOCAI (Mardoch)	Planter (coffee, cacao)	Cap, Dame-Marie, Cavaillon	till the end of the colony	
MENDÈS-FRANCE David	Planter	New Orleans, then Les Abricots, near Jérémie, and Port-au-Prince	1763–1785 (1791)	From Bordeaux

MENDÈS-FRANCE Isaac	Planter	Petit-Goâve	1764–1775 (date of return journey to France)	Son of David
MIRANDA Isaac Rodrigues	Merchant and planter	Jérémie	1786–1787	
MIRANDA Eliahu-Elijah ("Eliaou" or "cadet")	Merchant and planter	Jérémie	1787–1792	Son of Isaac
MIRANDA Miss Rodrigues	Merchant and planter	Jérémie	1794	Probably sister of Eliaou
MOLINE (A?) Isaac Israel	Planter (coffee)	Plymouth, near Jérémie	1796	
MONTÈS Abraham	Merchant	Jérémie	1793–1797	
MORON Simon Isaac Henriques	Merchant and planter (coffee)	Jérémie	1778–1799	Came from Curaçao
PENHA I. (P.S.)	Merchant and shipping agent	Islet-à-Pierre Joseph, Cap Dame-Marie	1793	
PETIT David	Merchant	Grande Rivière, Jérémie	1792–1798	From Bordeaux
PETIT Charles	Merchant	Grande Rivière, Jérémie	1781–1782	From Bordeaux, brother of David
RODRIGUE David	Merchant	Grande Rivière, Jérémie	1790	
SEIXAS Isaac Mendes	Planter (coffee)	Grand Rivière, Jérémie, Les Cayes, Coteaux	till the end of the colony	
VIDAL Joseph	Administrator of plantations	Les Cayes, then Jérémie	1796	Refugee from mulatto rule at Les Cayes
VIDAL Raymond		Les Cayes, then Jérémie	1796	Brother of Joseph

A number of Portuguese Jews were among the settlers and refugees who came to Jérémie from 1786 to 1800.[6] During this brief period, notarial records document the presence of some nineteen Sephardi-Portuguese families whose Jewish origins appear certain.[7] At least one of these families migrated from Curaçao, the site of one of the earliest Caribbean congregations. Though most of the Curaçao Jews established themselves farther north at Cap Français (modern Cap Haïtien),[8] Simon Isaac Henriquez Moron and his wife came to Jérémie. Several plantation slaves were also of Curaçaoan origin.[9] Other families came to Saint-Domingue from the "Communities of the Pope" in Avignon, France, and from the Avignon section of the "Portuguese Nation" in Bordeaux. The names Lange (in the German pronunciation) and Petit reflect these origins.[10] Still other families came directly from the southwestern (Atlantic) coast of France, especially from Bordeaux and Bayonne.

Some of Saint-Domingue's Jewish families engaged in businesses spanning the Old and New Worlds, a phenomenon common among those of Portuguese descent. Louis David Lyma, for example, was a very active agent who represented the Bordeaux firm of Lyma Frères.[11] Other businesses were partnerships of brothers, like the Petits,[12] or were passed on from father to son, as in the cases of the Mirandas[13] and the Mendès-Frances.[14]

Portuguese Jews worked as both merchants and planters. It is impossible to ascertain whether those who pursued these occupations formed two distinctly separate classes, as in some other West Indian islands, but both areas of endeavor were certainly "normal" trade activities, characteristic of slave-owning and dominant whites. A few Jews had an interest in shipping, a new and somewhat less usual field for their commercial transactions. They were prominent as investors, insurers, and even as captains of vessels in the Dutch Caribbean possessions,[15] though only a very few Jews in Saint-Domingue bought or sold ships. From the documents so far consulted, it would appear that this activity guaranteed them a supplementary sort of income, as their livelihood was earned mainly by managing plantations (sugar, coffee, cacao, and indigo) and by retail trade. The maritime trade was an accessory branch for some of them;[16] it apparently provided them with another link to their brethren in Holland, the West Indies,[17] and the United States.

In addition to their family businesses, Jewish merchants frequently entered into trading relationships and partnerships with their non-Jewish neighbors and colleagues. There is evidence of conflicts, litigations, and even dissolutions of existing partnerships; on the other hand, there were also very close relationships, as evidenced by powers-of-attorney left by aging, departing, or dying Portuguese to their non-Jewish friends and partners. Some went so far as to name these partners to be executors of their wills. The Portuguese-Jewish community was too small to maintain a completely independent economic activity. Besides, after two generations in Saint-Domingue, the process of acculturation to the mores and way of life of the white planter class had made great strides among the Portuguese Jews. Even racial mixing had occurred. Among the documents we have come across is that of a certain Jean-Baptiste Alvares, mulatto. The patronymic Alvares being typically Spanish, he was either a liberated slave whose former master, an Alvares, had allowed him to adopt the family name, or a descendant of a mixed or interracial marriage. The second hypothesis seems more likely, as the social circle of Portuguese Jews was rather small, and it is unlikely that an outsider would have had such a name.[18]

We can obtain a better picture of acculturation by observing name changes. In this period, many Hebrew-biblical names were transformed into Christian-modern ones. Roman Catholic formulae also appeared in some Jewish wills.[19] Thus there seems little doubt that at the close of the eighteenth century, Portuguese Jews and/or *conversos* were rapidly melting into the surrounding French Catholic ambiance. Jewish identity was declining and approaching its nadir even before the end came to white domination of Saint-Domingue. In addition, some Jews—how many we do not know—emigrated or were killed during the slave uprisings.[20]

A special problem arose under the British military occupation: the new authorities sequestered the property of absentee landlords and plantation owners. Land and property ownership thus became insecure. In order to carry on with business during these "troubles of the colony"—the euphemism often employed in legal papers of settlers and notaries—some businessmen departed the country, leaving behind powers-of-attorney with relatives or friends. A few left before the British military occupation; others fled under its protection. As a result, many saw their property seized. Later, a number of people requested

the return of their property (desequestration), notably Isaac Israel Molina. Though already in Philadelphia in 1796, he had confided his affairs to Messrs. Villemont and Montès-*ainé* (the elder), probably his earlier business associates.[21] We did not find the decision in this particular case, but quite a number of similar requests to the governor-general of Saint-Domingue, Sir Adam Williamson, K.B., met with positive responses. At least one official, James Ester, was specifically empowered to deal with these requests.[22] His name recurs a great many times in notarial minutes.

For all practical purposes, the evacuation of British troops ended the colonial period. It sounded the death knell to white domination, and with it to the Jewish presence in the region. While it existed, however, the "Jeremy group," whose history we have briefly recounted, seems to have been the second-largest Jewish group in colonial Haiti, after Cap Français. The commercial activities of both groups, if only of an ancillary nature, nevertheless contributed to the welfare of the colony, and more particularly to its international trade. A quantitative evaluation is at this stage impossible, but it is undeniable that the Jewish presence—before the rise of the first black republic in the New World—was both dynamic and economically useful: Indeed, Jews attained top financial and social positions.[23]

So far, we lack indications in Jérémie of any autonomous Jewish religious life of the kind found in the northern part of Haiti.[24] We know of no cemeteries and no congregations. The members of the "Portuguese Nation" in and around Jérémie apparently maintained an ambiguous existence on the fringes of both Judaism and Christendom. In larger, more established communities, opportunities for religious and spiritual manifestations of Judaism were probably better.

Saint-Domingue was merely a peripheral and loosely knit unit within the chain of Caribbean Jewish communities. But its existence and persistence is nevertheless important. Even peripheral groups are part and parcel of the worldwide Jewish experience.

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Notes

*Research for this paper was made possible by a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and was carried out mostly at the University of Florida in Gainesville. Unless otherwise stated, all notarial minutes quoted here are from the Jeremy Papers at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

1. For details about this place-name, see my article "Jewish Toponymies in Haiti," *Jewish Social Studies* 40, nos. 3–4 (Summer–Fall 1978): 287–292. A similar essay was published earlier in French in *Conjonction: Revue Franco-Hatienne* (Port-au-Prince), 135 (November 1977): 89–98.

2. Cf. the minutes of the Charleston notary public John Cripps, an official transcription of which, dated July 14, 1793, was consulted and copied from the collection of Dr. Kurt Fischer in Port-au-Prince. It is a power-of-attorney given to Cripps by a resident of Jérémie, I. Lange jeune (junior), on behalf of the enterprise "Rabbah Frères, Marchands à Bordeaux," concerning some funds and merchandise, unfortunately unspecified, at his disposal. The name Lange is also mentioned in B. W. Korn,*The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969), among the "many non-Jewish merchants and customers" of Asher Moses Nathan (p. 140). Korn (pp. 307–308, n. 88) presents details about this family, which he claims "may have been converts to Catholicism in Saint-Domingue or in Cuba." A Lange family was in fact active at Jérémie in Saint-Domingue at the end of the eighteenth century, but so far we have found no evidence of a conversion. While the family may have arrived in the colony as *conversos,* it is more likely that they had remained Jewish. Some members of the Lange family living in Haiti in this period are known to have been practicing Jews. Joseph Lange, for instance, who had business dealings in New Orleans in 1812, is perhaps identical with our I. Lange, junior, the son of Mordekhay (Mardochée) Lange. The latter left an estate officially estimated at £16,870 to his widow, Esther, born Rodrigues, and to their seven children: Abraham, Sarah, Rachel, Esther, Joseph, Judaïque, and Abraham-Joseph. See *Etat Détaillé des Liquidations* (Paris: Ministry of Finance, 1834), 6:526–527.

3. Cf. the procuration issued to Louis David Lyma in Norfolk, Virginia, on January 18, 1793. No. 12 in the minutes of Notary Dobignies of Jérémie.

4. From document no. 37 of Notary Lafuge, dated April 27, 1794, we learn that the "negotiant William Edwards, resident of Baltimore, at present in Jérémie, on the basis of a power-of-attorney by John Carrera [reading not quite certain; possibly Casseres], merchant of Baltimore," sold a ketch named *L'Aigle* of 50 tons for 2,000 gourds, equivalent to 16,000 *livres tournois,* to our Mr. Lyma. It is rather exceptional that the text is made out in English, but it was obviously written by a Frenchman (see "negotiant" = *negociant,* above).

5. A similar procuration, given in February 1794, to L. D. Lyma, no. 16, concerned (ownership of ?) a ship, the *Bienheureux* of 350 tons, "de présent à la Nouvelle Angleterre." The name of the ship's captain, Guillon, is also given, but we do not know anything about its cargo, destination, etc.

6. For example, Joseph Vidal, who fled "from the mulatto rule" at Les Cayes on the southeastern part of the peninsula. His declarations, made on February 24, 1796, are contained in the notarial minutes of Cernon, Box XVI of the Jeremy Papers, Manuscript Section of the University Library of Gainesville, Florida, documents nos. 76, 77, 78, and 80.

7. They are listed alphabetically, with basic references, in the table on pp. 90–91. We possess supplementary data on the same families allowing for genealogical research.

8. I. S. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati, 1970), pp. 828–830.

9. Cf. Act no. 5, Notary Layné, dated July 19, 1794, by which a certain François Lafargue ceded a "negresse Curaçaolienne nommée Marie, agée de 22 ans." By Act no. 34, Notary Momal, dated July 4, Catherine Françoise Gion, herself of Curaçao, confirmed having received payment from Isaac Henriquez Moron for "Th(er)èse Désirée et Jeannette toutes deux mulatresses agées de sept ans." Regarding this person, see our articles: "Un Juif Portugais—fondateur de Moron?", *Conjonction* 139 (July 1978): 85–91; and "Simon Isaac Henriquez Moron—Homme d'Affaires de la Grand'Anse (Esquisse)," *Revue Hatienne d'Histoire, de Géographie et de Géologie* 37, no. 125 (December 1979): 56–69.

10. These two families kept their typically Jewish first names throughout the colony and they also intermarried (Lea Lange married Jacob Petit). Cf. Jeremy Papers, no. 161, Notary Billard, February 20, 1798.

11. In the document cited in note 5 above, he is described as representing "sa maison de commerce et Lyma frères de Bordeaux."

12. Charles and David. Another brother, Benjamin, remained at Bordeaux. David, son of Jacob and Lea Lange, also had a commercial association with Abraham Montès, another Portuguese, and Duverger Bourgignon de Lormont, obviously a Frenchman. See notarial minutes of Billard, especially no. 114 of October 21, 1797.

13. Isaac Rodrigues Miranda and his son Eliaou (a common misspelling of Elijah or Eliahu). Cf. Jeremy Papers, Notary Lépine, Act no. 101 of June 18, 1787, by which the father transfers his assets, valued at £67,015, a considerable amount for that time, to his heir.

14. The first Mendès-France known in Saint-Domingue, David, lived at first in Jérémie, where he had a partnership with Jean Cardoze (1779–1785) and also with Mardochée Lange (1785); then he moved to Port-au-Prince. His son and heir, Isaac Mendès-France, was a great *planteur* at Petit-Goâve. The first two statements are borne out in documents of the Fischer Collection in Port-au-Prince (unnumbered).

15. See Appendix 3 (Navigation) in Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* pp. 681–746.

16. In addition to Louis David Lyma, referred to above, other local Portuguese were engaged in shipping transactions. For example, Salomon Almeyda bought a ship in Tiburon on April 27, 1794 (Act no. 172 of Notary Lèpine). So did P. S. Penha (Act no. 51, July 29, 1793, of Notary Huë).

17. The Danish possessions of Saint Thomas and Saint Croix, in the Virgin Islands, had Jewish inhabitants. Their interesting story is beyond the scope of this article. Well-established Jewish communities, complete with Portuguese-type synagogues, cemeteries, communal registers, etc., existed in Jamaica (still active) and Barbados (extinct) and in some of the Leeward Islands. The Jamaican story is related in the work of Jacob A. P. M. Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Time* (Kingston, 1941), but would merit a fuller and more scholarly presentation.

18. Cf. the documents of Notary Baron. The act dated June 1796 shows Jean-Baptiste, mulatto of Jérémie, selling some real estate. He may have been a descendant of the Jewish merchant named Alvares, resident at Léogane and Nippes in 1765, who was mentioned by Abraham Cohen in *Revue des Etudes Juives,* 1882, p. 245, or of Aaron Alvares, who died in 1789 in Port-au-Prince, or perhaps of Abraham Alvares, shipowner and merchant, who resided at Cap Français (Cap Haïtien) from 1762 to 1763. See Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* pp. 706 and 828. He should not be confused with Jean-Baptiste *Jacob* Alvares (notarial minute of 1807 by Notary Baron in Port-au-Prince), who participated in the distribution of the estate of Dubigné-Delamothe. The original act is in the Edmond Mangonès Collection, Bibliothèque Haitienne des Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne, Port-au-Prince.

19. The absence of the Roman Catholic credo in the preamble of a will is prima facie evidence that the testator did not belong to the established church; in other words, that he was either Jewish

or Protestant. When the onomastic form is taken into account, such an omission indicates a Jew. There is no such formula in the will of David Petit, document no. 161 of Notary Billard, dated February 1798, for instance. To use an Inquisition term, there were some "relapses" into Protestanism as well as, earlier, into Judaism.

20. There is some evidence that at least one Jewish family fleeing from the north successfully reached the United States; see Harold Moïse, *The Moïse Family of South Carolina: An Account of the Life and Descendants of Abraham and Sarah Moïse, who settled in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1791 A.D.* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan Co., 1961). There may also have been some Jews among the French refugees in Jamaica; the names of d'Aguilar (pp. 132, 145), Brandon (p. 138), Mrs. Garcia with two children (pp. 37, 100), and Widow Sara Raban-Henriques (p. 47) are mentioned in the monograph by Ph. Wright and G. Debien, *Les Colons de Saint-Domingue passé à la Jamaique (1792–1835),* Extrait of the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 26, no. 4 (1975), reprinted also in the series "Notes d'Histoire Coloniale," no. 168. The problem of the possible survival and evacuation of some Jews from the strife-torn territory of Saint-Domingue at the turn of the century still calls for research.

21. Cf. document no. 14, Notary Layné, dated February 22, 1796, for a desequestration request addressed to the governor-general, Sir Adam Williamson, K.B. On March 7, 1796, the request was registered in Port-au-Prince, probably for consideration.

22. Ester was appointed to deal with such matters by the officer commanding the British occupation forces. To cite just one complex case, the desequestration demand of Stanislas Foäche, the wealthy French owner of a plantation in the vicinity of the Voldrogue River, involved a number of visits to the sites as well as detailed inventories and other legal acts.

23. Postcolonial property evaluations by the French Ministry of Finance indemnified the heirs of the settlers. It is apparent that some of the Portuguese of the Grand'Anse region had widespread activities and generally belonged to the upper classes of their times. For details consult the six volumes of *Etat de l'Indemnité. Etat détaillé des liquidations opérées par la Commission chargée de répartir l'Indemnité attribuée aux anciens colons de Saint-Domingue, en exécution de la loi du 30 avril 1826* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1828–34).

24. See our "Un cimetière Juif au Cap Haïtien," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 136, fasc. 3–4 (July–December 1977): 425–427.

Ezra Stiles, Newport Jewry, and a Question of Jewish Law

Alexander Guttman

I

Ezra Stiles (1727–1795), a Congregationalist minister and president of Yale University, was intimately acquainted with the Jewish community of colonial Newport, Rhode Island. For over thirty years (1755–1786) he was the pastor of the Second Congregational Church in that community, the last twelve of them in absentia.

In his diary Stiles recorded that between 1759 and 1775 he had "been accquainted with six rabbies" at Newport.[1] He was present at the dedication of the new synagogue in Newport on December 2, 1763; his home was not far from the building.[2] Finally, in 1773, he made the acquaintance of Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal, a Palestinian Jew, who

Rev. Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795

during his visit to Newport preached the first Jewish sermon to be published in North America.[3]

The two men, Stiles and Carigal, were quite taken with one another. Stiles, no doubt, because he was struck with the tremendous scope of Carigal's knowledge of Judaism (he found the rabbi "learned and truly modest, far more so than I ever saw a Jew"); and Carigal because of the honest interest that a Christian minister exhibited in him personally and in Judaism generally. Indeed, the two men corresponded almost regularly over the course of the next four years until Carigal's death in Barbados in 1777. Stiles wrote in his diary that on at least two occasions he had written Carigal letters in Hebrew, one numbering twenty-four pages in length and the other twenty-nine pages.[4]

II

Stiles was a learned theologian and Hebraist, and often commented on Jewish ceremonies and customs.[5] It is no wonder then that he took it upon himself to uphold the sanctity of the Newport synagogue in 1780 when a Mr. Channing of Newport—perhaps a clergyman—applied to use the synagogue, no doubt for a Christian service. In all likelihood this occurred because British occupying forces (1776–1779) and then French ones (1780–1781) used the church building to quarter their troops. As can be seen in the letter printed below, Stiles was convinced that agreeing to Channing's request would have violated "Jewish religious principles." Stiles thought he knew the *Halakah* (Jewish law), and for two centuries his opinion has not been tested. In my responsum (legal opinion based on Jewish law) printed below, I have found that the Christian clergyman Ezra Stiles was completely correct in stating that the use of the synagogue for Christian services was prohibited by Jewish law.

Moses Seixas[6] to Aaron Lopez[7]

Newport, October 5th, 1780[8]

Dear Sir,

By what Mr. Brinley wrote you last week, you'll be inform'd that he had applied to me for money on your order and the result of that application. he this day requested he might have what money I had in

hand of yours as he cou'd get it exchang'd for Specia at 70 and saying that he wou'd allow it at that. this I judg'd myself not warranted to do and therefore rejected it, but offer'd to let him have it at 60 for one. he accepted my offer and I have paid him seven thousand two hundred Cont. Dollars and taking his rec't for the same, which hope will not be disagreable unto you. Your Currants and Peas remain unsold and have only sold but 2 p'r Breeches at 8 Doll's per p'r. The 3 boxes of Sugar from Smithfield I received last week. that article is so plenty and low now that I see no prospect of getting rid of ours soon, except at a great disadvantage. Mr. Channing again applied for the use of the Synagogue. I availed myself of the impropriety of letting him having it, whilst I had not Mr. Rivera and your sense on the occation and which had been requested by his and Mr. Merchants desire. Since then Doct'r Stiles is come here on a Visit, and I made it my business to converse with him on the matter. he express'd much concern and amazement at the application, assur'd me it wou'd not have been made had he been here, that he was well convinc'd we cou'd not acceed to it, without violating our religious principles, and that all that lay in his power shou'd be done to remove any unfavorable impressions that a refusal might create amongst his congregation, and on the whole express'd a very friendly feeling for us. notwithstanding all which I think it highly necessary that both you and Mr. Rivera furnish me with your Opinion respecting the matter. My Parents,[9] Mrs. Seixas,[10] her Parents,[11] and all my Connection combine with me in wishing you, Mrs. Lopez,[12] Mr. and Mrs. Rivera,[13] Mr. and Mrs. Mendes[14] and every individual of your worthy family the Compliments of the season and am with great Respect . . .

Your most affec. and hum. serv.
Moses Seixas

The following is my responsum: The Babylonian Talmud, *Megillah* 26b, states: "Raba said: 'A synagogue may be exchanged or sold. But it is prohibited to rent it out or to use it as a pledge [collateral].'" The reason for permitting the sale and exchange of a synagogue is that in these instances the money received for the synagogue as well as the object (e.g., a building) received in an exchange takes over the holiness

of the synagogue. Moreover, the money has to be spent for something *more* holy than the synagogue (see Babylonian Talmud, *Megillah*, chap. 4; Palestinian Talmud, chap. 3.) This is based on the halakhic principle that "in holy matters we must raise [the holiness] but must not lower it" (see Mishnah *Shekalim* 6:4, Mishnah *Menahoth* 11:7, Talmud B. *Berakhoth* 28a, where more references are given).

On the other hand, a synagogue may not be rented out or used as a pledge because in these instances no money is received that would take over the holiness of the synagogue (Talmud *Megillah*, loc. cit.; see also below for later references).

The Hebrew rabbinic codes accept the talmudic opinion as expressed by Raba. Note particularly the following sources: Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhoth Tefillah* 11:20; Jacob ben Asher, *Tur, Orach Chayyim, Hilkhoth Beth Hakneseth*, chap. 153.

Joseph Karo, in *Shulhan Arukh, Orah Chayyim, Hilkhoth Beth Hakneseth* 153:11, states that "it is prohibited to give a synagogue away as a pledge, to rent it out, or to *lend* it to someone . . . because [in these cases] it remains holy."

Explicitly adding the prohibition of *lending* a synagogue is significant. The reason is obvious: in such a case the synagogue would remain holy, as there is no money received that would take over the holiness of the synagogue thus absolving it from its holiness.

To Karo's words Moses Isserles adds the following note: "This [lending of a holy object, such as a Torah scroll or a synagogue] is prohibited only if it is done in a way that would lower its holiness. However, it is permitted to lend even a Torah scroll [the holiest object] for the purpose of reading in it."

Applying Isserles' opinion to the synagogue means that a synagogue may be lent to others provided that its holiness will not be lowered. Consequently the synagogue may be lent to Jews *only*, since otherwise its holiness would be violated.

For further clarification of the prohibition of lending a synagogue even to Jews, see *Mishnah Berurah* by Chofez Chayyim (Rabbi Israel Meir Kahan). In his commentary *Mishnah Berurah* on *Orach Chayyim*, chap. 153, notes 72 and 73, Chofez Chayyim explains that (if not otherwise stipulated) the borrower of the synagogue would use it for secular purposes, which, of course, is prohibited.

The context in all the rabbinic sources cited here indicates that the

persons to take over the synagogue are Jews, although it may be *sold* under specific conditions also to non-Jews, which is a different issue, not comparable to lending it to them.

Halakhic authorities would have considered the question of whether a synagogue may be lent to non-Jews as absurd. Thus it was not even raised.

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Notes

1. Quoted in Stanley F. Chyet, *Rabbi Carigal Preaches in Newport* (Cincinnati, 1966), p. 6.

2. Stanley F. Chyet, "A Synagogue in Newport," *American Jewish Archives* 16 (April 1964): 46.

3. Chyet, *Rabbi Carigal Preaches in Newport,* pp. i–ii.

4. Stanley F. Chyet, ed., *The Event Is with the Lord* (Cincinnati, 1976), pp. i–ii.

5. Stiles at one time composed an essay on the Messiah for which he solicited Carigal's opinion. He once observed that during thunderstorms Jews in Newport "opened their doors and windows and recited certain benedictions in preparation to welcoming the Messiah." I have been unable to find a clear relationship between storms and the coming of the Messiah in talmudic and rabbinic sources. See Alexander Guttmann to Jacob R. Marcus, November 17, 1963, in American Jewish Archives, Correspondence File, "Ezra Stiles."

6. Moses Seixas (1744–1809), Jewish businessman who remained in Newport during the British occupation.

7. Aaron Lopez (1731–1782), Jewish businessman who fled Newport during the British occupation and sought refuge in the city of Leicester, near Worcester, Massachusetts. For Lopez see Stanley F. Chyet, *Lopez of Newport* (Detroit, 1970).

8. The letter is reproduced in *Commerce of Rhode Island 1726–1800,* Vol. II, *1775–1800* (Boston, 1915), pp. 109–110. The original letter is in the Newport Historical Society.

9. Isaac Mendes Seixas (1708/9–1780/81) and Rachel Levy Seixas (1719–1797).

10. Jochebed Levy Seixas (1746/47–1828).

11. Benjamin Levy (1692–1787) and Judith(?) Levy (1700/2–1788).

12. Sarah de Rivera Lopez (1747–1840).

13. Jacob Rivera (1717–1789) and Hannah Pimental Sasportas Rivera (1720–1820), father-in-law and mother-in-law of Aaron Lopez.

14. Abraham Pereira Mendes (?–?) and Catherine (Sarah) Lopez (?–?), son-in-law and daughter of Aaron Lopez.

Book Reviews

Moore, Deborah Dash. *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981. xiii, 303 pp. $15.95.

At Home in America captures the direction and spirit of metropolitan-area Jewish neighborhood life outside the immigrant hubs of New York during the interwar period. Utilizing a disparate range of literary, periodical, communal, and oral sources—woven together efficiently by a historian of unique creativity and sensitivity—it is the first work to chronicle effectively the saga of that younger cohort of second-generation American Jews which began the march to suburbia. Equally important, it is a volume which contributes significantly to our understanding of the progress of Jewish identification in an era usually studied only from the perspective of the then-problematic Jewish minority-group status.

Moore is at her descriptive best in detailing the growth history of the new middle-class neighborhoods constructed in the outlying-boroughs and on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. She explores the role Jewish builders played in constructing modern apartments—complete with "spacious rooms, stained glass windows . . . self-operating absolutely fool-proof Otis elevators"—that provided the acculturated, upwardly-mobile American Jew with an "ethnic version of the American Dream." Ever the good economic-urban historian, she is also quick to emphasize that the 1920's did not bring equal prosperity to all Jews. The movement to what was then defined as suburbia involved Jews of many different economic stations, and as she notes, the Grand Concourse adjoined working-class Hunts Point, while the burgeoning community of Borough Park was not far from impoverished Williamsburg.

Far more significant than Moore's conclusion that Jews moved, however, is that they migrated together—albeit with class distinctions—and there in the new neighborhoods created institutions consciously designed to facilitate the next generation's synthesis of Jewish and American values and mores. In doing so they were repudiating

Louis Wirth's contemporary prediction that the Jew was destined to rapidly assimilate once acculturated and then removed from the immigrant ghetto. As Moore demonstrates, Jewish population concentrations in the outer boroughs were as pronounced as those on the Lower East Side. Moreover, while the social-religious efforts of Conservative synagogue-centers, and the successful campaign to legitimize Hebrew in the American heritage by including it in the public school curriculum, did not halt totally the inevitable inroads of assimilation, these proclivities and efforts offered Americanizing Jews a new, proud, unifying Jewish rootedness and identity quite different and far more resilient than that of their immigrant parents.

The 1920's, however, were not the time for beginning the struggle to perpetuate a second-generation identity, nor were the suburbs of that era the place for such efforts. Unfortunately, Moore's otherwise excellent study fails to note the important inner-borough background to interwar attempts to stem assimilation. As early as 1900 American-born, university-enrolled Jews on the Lower East Side, children of the first Russian-Jewish immigrants to reach these shores at the start of the 1880's, were already concerned with reconstructing the traditional synagogue along American lines in order to stem disaffection with the ancestral faith. Some of these Jews identified with the Jewish Endeavor Society, a project encouraged by the Jewish Theological Seminary. Others spoke out through the early Orthodox Union for English sermons and prayers, decorum, and most importantly, ancillary synagogue activities. These earliest initiatives laid the groundwork both for the inauguration of the Young Israel Synagogue downtown and in Brownsville and for the Institutional Synagogue in Harlem in the early 1900's.

Significantly, some of the individuals Moore correctly identifies as inspiring and leading the anti-assimilationist struggles of a later period began their communal careers here well before they and the younger segment of their generation acquired the economic resources to settle beyond the ghettos. Such evidence certainly argues for a wider periodization than Moore's for the study of a maturing second-generation Jewish life in New York.

That many of the second-generation individuals and Americanized institutions identified by Moore as predating World War I characterized themselves as Orthodox—we would today call them American

or Modern Orthodox—gives pause for comment on one additional unfinished aspect of Moore's work, her treatment of Orthodox Jewish adjustment patterns during the interwar years. While undeniably sensitive to the expressed desire of segments within that denomination to accommodate traditional Judaism to American life (her chapter on the evolution of Yeshiva College is a valuable case in point), Moore has not chosen the best example of this difficult process for close investigation. A more intriguing study would have been an exploration of what became of the synagogue-center concept within Orthodox precincts, and even more specifically, of the fate of the Young Israel movement during the interwar years. To be sure, Moore does note one Orthodox rabbi's negative response to the proliferation of late-Friday-night services among congregations beginning to identify themselves as Conservative. But more needs to be known about those synagogues which embraced America short of accepting the non-Jewish world's clock or its sense of appropriate prayer seating arrangements. In fairness, it may well be that such a study was envisioned but not completed and was stymied by the sorry state of record-keeping among Orthodox Jews a generation or so ago.

These criticisms—which in reality are primarily calls for future work by this and other historians—do not obscure the overarching value of a book which may well emerge as the standard work on its subject. For far too long, second-generation American Jews have been seen as disappearing from history or have been deemed too difficult to identify for historical study. Moore's book has provided us with both a methodology for future research outside of the New York milieu and a conclusive refutation of this "easy way out" in the study of a significant generation in the American Jewish experience.

— Jeffrey S. Gurock

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Schwarz, Jordan A. *The Speculator: Bernard M. Baruch in Washington, 1917–1965*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. 680 pp.

Bernard M. Baruch embodied the American dream at its most extravagant. Born in Reconstruction South Carolina, the son of a German-Jewish immigrant physician and an impoverished Southern belle, he became a New Yorker when in 1880 his family moved north. In the 1890's the young Baruch began to play the New York stock market, and within a decade—using methods which Jordan A. Schwarz's new biography of him thoughtfully warns would-be emulators are now generally illegal—he was a multimillionaire. Around 1912 Baruch, then in his forties and somewhat dissatisfied with mere money-making, turned to politics and contributed financially to Woodrow Wilson's first presidential campaign. Faced with the increasingly likely prospect that the United States would be drawn into the European conflict which broke out in 1914, from early 1915 he was a leading Democratic advocate of American military and industrial preparations for war. After American intervention Baruch won his reward: in March 1918 Wilson appointed him chairman of the War Industries Board, the official body which attempted to coordinate and regulate American industrial production in the best interests of the war effort. After the Armistice Baruch turned down the post of secretary of the treasury, preferring to accompany Wilson to the Paris Peace Conference as an economic adviser. Although during World War II he chaired the Rubber Survey Committee of 1942 and the committee which in 1944 studied postwar adjustment problems, and in 1946 served as chairman of the American delegation to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, after 1919 Baruch, then just on fifty, never again held any major public office. As a private individual, however, he became something of a national institution, and for almost half a century was to fill the roles of self-styled "adviser to presidents" and representative *pro bono publico*, "park bench statesman," commentator on current events, purveyor of political and economic advice to all whom he felt might profit thereby, and a leading financial angel of the Democratic party.

In recent years Baruch's reputation has suffered an eclipse. The man whom in the 1920's George C. Marshall "enjoyed talking to . . . more than any other prominent character [except Newton D. Baker] . . . in Washington" has been widely regarded as, in John Kenneth Galbraith's words, "the most successful humbug since Henry Ward Beecher," vain, lightweight, a shallow self-promoter whose principal aim was to publicize a much-inflated picture of his own political sagacity and influence. "He was," wrote a somewhat uncharitable ex-mistress, "an obsessive conniver and manipulator who liked to be described as a mysterious Richelieu-like figure behind the scenes. There has been no more widely publicized secret string-puller in our history."

At least in some respects, Jordan A. Schwarz's new study of Baruch, the first scholarly full-length biography of him, dilutes the force of such derogatory comments. Summing up Baruch in 1965 Henry A. Wallace, an old adversary, wrote: "He did more good than harm but I doubt if the full truth will ever be printed." This book, which will certainly be the definitive work on Baruch's public career, comes as close to "the full truth" as any is ever likely to attain, in the process confirming Wallace's verdict. Prodigious, painstaking research in over eighty manuscript collections, including the daunting mass of Baruch's own huge accumulation of personal papers, has resulted in a monumental work which does BMB full—at over six hundred pages, perhaps even excessive—justice.

Schwarz presents his subject unsentimentally, giving full weight to the notorious vanity and egotism which led Galbraith to describe Baruch as "a man of self-inflicted self-importance." From World War I onwards the ex-speculator supported a phenomenal publicity machine whose maintenance, he estimated in the early 1940's, cost him an annual $150,000 to $200,000. At various times such leading journalists as Frank A. Kent, Arthur Krock, Samuel Lubell, Mark L. Sullivan, and many others graced his entourage, some on his payroll, others favored with financial advice, loans, hotel rooms, vacations, and choice inside information from the great man. For almost forty years the editor Herbert Bayard Swope was Baruch's inseparable companion and lavishly rewarded master-publicist, deploying a skill and budget probably unsurpassed by Hollywood studios to stage-manage his employer's indefatigable zeal for self-advertisement. Sedulous cultivation of the press ensured Baruch instantaneous and generally friendly

attention from leading quality newpapers and journals, especially the *New York Times*. Despite denials, a large staff generally wrote his numerous speeches and articles. John Foster Dulles earned $10,000 in exchange for producing *The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty,* supposedly Baruch's account of the American economic advisers' work at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919; ghost-writers, principally Lubell and Harold Epstein, were responsible for large sections of his memoirs, an earlier and unpublished version of which Marquis James wrote in the 1930's. Baruch also subsidized the writing of the War Industries Board's final report—reprinted at his expense early in World War II—and of Grosvenor Clarkson's official history of the WIB. Thousands of libraries and institutions throughout the United States received copies of these publications and of Carter Field's adulatory biography of Baruch.

Important though his hold on public opinion came to be, Schwarz demonstrates that Baruch's political reputation and influence rested not simply on calculated self-promotion but also on his wealth. Until the rise of organized labor in the late 1930's, he was the largest single financial contributor to the Democratic party's often threadbare coffers. Selected senators and congressmen, usually from the South and West, were recipients of his bounty. On major issues, especially financial and economic questions, key conservative Democratic senators, including Key Pittman of Nevada, Byron "Pat" Harrison of Mississippi, Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, and James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, rarely failed to consult Baruch. His political power reached its apogee during the final two years of Hoover's presidency when, as Schwarz's earlier monograph on the period has shown, he helped to persuade congressional Democratic leaders to support various Hoover-inspired measures, notably the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Although his failure to be "for Roosevelt before Chicago" and his distaste for many New Deal policies excluded him from the inner circle, Franklin D. Roosevelt's possibly erroneous belief that Baruch controlled the votes of sixty congressmen guaranteed him a modicum of attentive respect from the Democratic White House. Throughout the 1940's and even beyond, a Baruch pronouncement carried considerable clout on Capitol Hill, influence which politicians and presidents of both parties recognized and when possible gladly exploited. Baruch, who valued the prestige conferred by

presidential or adminstration favor, was rarely disinclined to oblige those in power.

Schwarz's Baruch is primarily the *homo oeconomicus.* Deftly and impeccably guiding the reader through the confused maze of half-a-century's American economic, monetary, and fiscal policies, Schwarz points out that Baruch, though a committed capitalist, "was frequently an outsider . . . in business" and not necessarily a barometer of either general or big business thinking. The stock-market operator attracted the disdain of such blue-chip bankers as the partners of J. P. Morgan & Company and the hostility of many other businessmen. In return Baruch on occasion argued that businessmen, especially big business and leading bankers, were overly greedy, and in the public or national interest should either restrain their appetite or be restrained. Baruch never, Schwarz believes, forgot the lessons of classical political economy, whose theory he learnt in Professor George B. Newcomb's classes at the City College of New York, and whose practice, on the stock market. He nourished a lifelong detestation of John Maynard Keynes, fueled in part by the British economist's patronizing criticism of Woodrow Wilson, Baruch's idol. Fundamentally an economic and fiscal conservative, advocating the law of supply and demand, balanced budgets, free enterprise, and the financing of expenditures through taxation, on rare occasions Baruch could tolerate deficit spending. Inflation in any form, by contrast, he never condoned. Schwarz suggests that as a speculator he found deflation and falling prices far more profitable than their reverse. In any event, in wartime and in peace, for fifty years Baruch waged a committed battle against all inflationary policies, endeavors which are this biography's most persistent theme and which Schwarz feels America's current problems make particularly relevant.

Second only to Baruch's anti-inflation crusade as a major thread of this work are his labors on behalf of wartime industrial mobilization. For any serious student of the subject, Schwarz's account of American economic mobilization during both world wars is indispensable reading. Baruch's most memorable public assignment was his 1918 chairmanship of the War Industries Board, where Schwarz believes he was more activist and less pro-business than Robert D. Cuff's excellent monograph on the organization suggested. His WIB experience remained crucial to Baruch's subsequent career. He quickly established a fraternal organization of ex-WIB officials, complete with its own gold

pin and annual reunions addressed by the chairman. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's his was a lone voice promulgating to the Army and those few others whom he could persuade to listen the lessons of national economic mobilization for war which his work during the previous conflict had instilled in him. Like Herbert Hoover and a few other "progressive" businessmen of the 1910's and 1920's, in peacetime Baruch, no disciple of "small is beautiful," believed in voluntary—but not enforced—cooperation among businessmen and between business and government, if necessary in disregard of the anti-trust laws. Indeed, in November 1918 Baruch with more speed than grace dismantled the WIB, within two months hastily ending virtually all governmental wartime direction of industry. During war, by contrast, he supported sweeping governmental management of the economy, the requisitioning of those raw materials and manufactured goods essential to the war effort, the imposition of wage and price controls to prevent inflation and profiteering, rationing, standardization, and heavy taxation, particularly of excess profits. War, he argued, was a time for national self-denial and social discipline, when the government's war production needs should take priority over civilian demand, even if this necessitated the compulsory conversion of industrial plants from peacetime to military purposes. Throughout the Second World War Baruch, though generally only an interested observer, propounded his philosophy of industrial mobilization; his advice, experience, time, money, and connections were freely at the disposal of many inhabitants of the chaotic and often antagonistic bureaucratic jungle of agencies that did duty as the official American war-production apparatus. Usually allied with the generals, lawyers, bankers, and businessmen who manned the War Department, Baruch strove to impose austerity upon the civilian population, expedite the war effort, and keep prices low. From the onset of the Cold War the Old Man again, though unsuccessfully, supported such measures, asserting that in fact if not by declaration the United States once more faced a wartime situation.

Though admirable, Schwarz's portrait of Baruch has its flaws. Perhaps reflecting his own preferences, his discussion of Baruch's foreign policy attitudes and activities occasionally gives excessive weight to economic considerations. Baruch himself later stated that on travels abroad and from his father, a refugee from Prussian Poland who at

fifteen fled the country to avoid conscription, he imbibed a hatred of Prussian militarism, facts Schwarz fails to mention when discussing Baruch's strong support from 1915 onward for military and industrial preparations for war against Germany. In what seems an even more glaring omission, Schwarz neglects even to consider the possible effect of Baruch's position and sympathies as one of America's leading Jews upon his attitude toward Hitlerian Germany, which he detested. From the mid-1930's onward, Baruch believed that war between America and Germany was inevitable. He strenuously advocated industrial and military mobilization in readiness for such a conflict, opposed the Neutrality Acts, and endorsed American aid to the Allies. Despite the contrary views of most leading American policymakers, including his close associates in the War Department, during 1944 and 1945 Baruch concurred in Henry Morgenthau's plan for the pastoralization and dismemberment of Germany and the destruction of her industrial base, and also called for the imposition of heavy reparations. Only increasing fears of Russia persuaded Baruch in 1946 to reverse himself and approve the economic rehabilitation of Germany as a bulwark against Soviet expansionism. Schwarz argues simply that Baruch feared cartelized, state-subsidized, and protected Germany manufacturers, taking advantage of favorable exchange rates and their own low wages, would compete "unfairly" with Americans for export markets, especially in Latin America; yet while from World War I onward the economic designs of other powers, especially the British Empire, aroused similar apprehensions in Baruch, he did not on that account anticipate war with them. Baruch was a far from totally committed Jew: his children were reared in his wife's Episcopalian faith, he claimed to be an American first and a Jew second, and though he gave large sums for Jewish war relief, it was only in 1946, when Israel was virtually assured of success, that he became a Zionist supporter. Nonetheless, the "American Disraeli" supported many Jewish philanthropies and observed high holidays; he was also a target for many anti-Semitic attacks and in Germany would have been a prime candidate for extortion and exile if not the gas chamber. Circumspect as the always-politic Baruch may have been in expressing his feelings, it seems unlikely that the Holocaust left him entirely indifferent.

It is, moreover, difficult to believe that whereas most leading New York businessmen of the 1920's "exhibited an internationalism of resig-

nation[,] Baruch demanded an enthusiastic internationalism." Faithful to Wilson's policies at the Paris Peace Conference, he continued to urge official American representation in the League of Nations and on the Reparation Commission, supported the reduction by the Allies of German reparations, and lobbied against the imposition of a protective tariff. Unlike many leading "internationalists," however, Baruch opposed the Washington Disarmament Treaties of 1922, possibly, as Joan Hoff Wilson has suggested of him and other Democratic businessmen, in revenge for the Harding administration's failure to join the Wilsonian League, but also because he felt that they permitted the Japanese, a "yellow race," to establish a sphere of influence in the Pacific. Unlike many prominent New York businessmen, he never supported the reduction or cancellation of Allied war debts to the United States, nor did he ever acknowledge the existence of any connection between the payment of those debts and of reparations. Baruch was not one of those American financiers and businessmen who played any part in the negotiation of the Dawes or Young Plans, and in the early 1930's he argued that the sources of the American depression were domestic rather than international.

In most respects, indeed, Baruch seems an unregenerate nationalist. Later, he opposed the Bretton Woods agreement of World War II, fearing that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund would prove agencies whereby European nations could take advantage of U.S. generosity to expand their economies and subsidize their exports, industries, and living standards at American expense. Only a burgeoning fear of Russian intentions induced Baruch, who had previously opposed the American loan of 1945–46 to Britain and expressed skepticism over Europe's supposedly desperate economic plight—"there are," he claimed, "too many Anglophiles, Francophiles and not enough Factophiles" among American diplomats—to support the Marshall Plan. Despite a lasting friendship with Winston Churchill, he always harbored deep suspicions of the British Empire, believing that the imperial preference system and government-sponsored cartels gave British industrialists an unwarranted advantage over American manufacturers and exporters. From World War I onward Baruch feared British designs upon international supplies of raw materials, especially oil; in 1947 he believed that the British had pulled their troops out of Greece in order to leave intact those protecting their Middle Eastern oil

wells. Inasmuch as he supported American intervention in both world wars and, provided it did not adversely affect any American economic or strategic interest, was no foe of his country's participation in international organizations, one could not term him an "isolationist." Reviewing his career, it seems most accurate to describe Baruch as an American nationalist who, due to the accident of his personal association with Wilson, supported U.S. membership in the League of Nations.

Throughout his life Baruch was to revere Wilson as his idol, to whom among subsequent presidents only John F. Kennedy could compare, and to use the principles which he had learned in this century's second decade as a political rule of thumb. While Schwarz recognizes this period's formative influence upon Baruch's thought, a more extensive initial discussion of his political philosophy, covering social issues besides corporate and economic questions, and mentioning the extent to which men of his type and era shared such attitudes, would have been welcome. Schwarz acutely observes that Baruch rarely took up ideas before they had become fashionable, a comment remarkably apposite in connection with his relatively late entry into the "progressive" movement. A thorough consideration of the belief in a national harmony of interests transcending special-interest groups, fear of class conflict, distrust of politics, elitism, sense of *noblesse oblige,* and commitment to "practical idealism" which characterized many contemporary middle-class reformers, not all of whom supported Wilson, might well have proved illuminating. As Schwarz later points out, throughout his life Baruch's ideas on commercial and economic issues—his perennial advocacy, for instance, of an apolitical supreme court of commerce to settle tariff policy, labor-management disputes, disagreement within and between businesses, and business-government relations, and of similar commissions to settle other important issues, and his belief that national policies should if possible benefit all constituencies approximately equally—reflected the influence of such thought. In view of the importance which family background often played in the making of a "progressive," Schwarz might have given less cursory attention to Dr. Simon Baruch's commitment to public service and his indifference to his son's financial achievements, attitudes which Baruch *fils* later averred were major factors in his decision to devote less time to business. Finally, since Baruch survived—

and often disapproved of—the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier, dying only as the Great Society programs came into operation, his biography presented a fine opportunity to explore the relationship between the various American reform eras this century, a coda twenty-five years on to Otis L. Graham's study of the old "progressives" and the New Deal. At a moment when the American government at all levels is perceived as embracing the principles of the pre–New Deal era, such a discussion would have been not untimely, and one regrets that Schwarz does not give this aspect of Baruch greater emphasis.

Such reservations notwithstanding, by any standards this biography is an outstanding accomplishment, gracefully synthesizing a vast and complicated mass of material, much of which a reviewer cannot even mention, and vividly depicting a character whom none other upon the American scene resembled. An unregenerate individualist, this prophet of corporate, economic, and social cooperation made himself into a public institution. At times Schwarz compares Baruch with both Eugene Meyer and Herbert Hoover. Meyer, however, bought himself the *Washington Post,* while Hoover spent eight years running the Commerce Department before becoming president of the United States. Other equally wealthy men ran for political office, established prestigious philanthropic foundations, or were associated with powerful financial or corporate institutions. By contrast Baruch, though he probably regretted his 1918 decision to decline the Treasury and in 1933 would have welcomed a cabinet portfolio, applied the majority of his energies to promotion of himself as a uniquely talented and knowledgeable individual. Schwarz maintains that in Washington he speculated in political influence much as he had once gambled in stocks on the New York exchange; if so, one must conclude that his later investments were probably less successful. Though superbly publicized, his political power was essentially peripheral and ephemeral, and he found it difficult to win official acceptance as a serious figure. In *The Best and the Brightest,* David Halberstam suggested that the true political insider rarely feels it necessary or even desirable to advertise his consequence. Within governmental circles Baruch's indefatigable efforts to win popular recognition as elder statesman and sage probably prevented his ever attaining the status of authoritative commentator on public affairs to which he aspired. Most of his time was passed, albeit often extremely agreeably, on the political sidelines.

Still, though his weaknesses provided much fodder for derision, Baruch scarcely deserves too harsh a verdict. His foibles were an expensive but harmless indulgence which many others found decidedly profitable; throughout his public career he was generally kind, affectionate, and exceedingly generous to a myriad of individual and institutional beneficiaries; on occasion, particularly but not only during World War II, numerous persons within and outside government found his advice shrewd and sound and his assistance invaluable; and frequently those politicians who mocked his insatiable vanity regularly turned to their own ends his eagerness to participate in public events. However great Baruch's desire for fame and recognition, he was less of a weather vane than is often suggested; over fifty years his basic principles remained fundamentally consistent and unchanged. Schwarz has given an impressive portrait of a colorful and picturesque figure, a notable addition to the motley gallery of variegated characters who have thronged the twentieth-century American political stage.

— Priscilla M. Roberts

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Herscher, Uri. *Jewish Agricultural Utopias in America, 1880–1910.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981. 197 pp. $15.95.

One of the most fascinating aspects of American Jewish history is the story of the various agricultural communities that were established in the United States a century ago. The basic details of the ventures are vaguely familiar to students of American history, and from time to time articles appear chronicling the history of newly discovered colonies. What has been missing is a systematic treatment of these agricultural settlements. In 1943 Gabriel Davidson published *Our Jewish Farmers and the Story of the Jewish Agricultural Society;* seven years later Leo Shpall's lengthy article on the same subject appeared in *Agricultural History.* More recently, in 1971, Joseph Brandes considered the colonies established in New Jersey in his *Immigrants to Freedom.* All of these remain valuable studies, but a more comprehensive and scholarly volume on Jewish farmers has long been needed. To a large extent Uri Herscher meets this need in his *Jewish Agricultural Utopias in America, 1880–1910.*

As Herscher carefully notes, it is a myth to assume that no Jews farmed in Russia or Poland. It is not, however, safe to assume that Jewish agriculturalists in America were those who had farmed in the old country. In fact, there is no link between the two. Almost "without exception," Herscher observes, the Eastern European Jews engaged in agriculture in the United States were "inexperienced as farmers and were drawn from the artisan and intellectual classes" (p. 19).

Why were there efforts to encourage farming in the 1880's and 1890's? The utopian immigrants wanted to live off the earth. They hoped to eliminate anti-Semitism, which, they believed, was in part caused by the association of Jews with commercial pursuits. Moreover, farming would prove to the world that Jews could do physical labor. American Jews were receptive to these arguments because they considered agricultural colonies as places that could give useful jobs to the able-bodied poor who could not find suitable jobs in the cities. Since the number of Jewish emigrants leaving Russia increased dramatically after 1880, some American Jews viewed farming as a way to relieve urban congestion. Help from such philanthropists as Baron de Hirsch

and others for would-be farmers provided a further impetus for the colonies.

But the colonies were doomed to fail. Bad weather, social isolation, unsuitable land, and bickering amongst colonists were perhaps the most apparent reasons for the failure of the settlements at Sicily Island, Louisiana, New Odessa, Oregon, and Crémieux, South Dakota. The timing for the creation of the Jewish colonies could hardly have been worse. Low agricultural prices because of overproduction of crops, relatively high railroad rates to transport food products to market, and discontent from the Populists and others all marked the end of the nineteenth century. During the very years that utopian Jews sought to move to the farm the trend nationally was from rural areas to the city. So even with good weather and better land the Jewish colonies would have faced rather rough times. That the New Jersey agricultural colonies experienced some successes was largely attributable to their proximity to Philadelphia and the colonists' willingness to mix agriculture and industry.

Herscher is at his best describing the motivation of the colonists and the nature of their ideological rifts. He has read widely in a variety of sources in English and Yiddish—though the Shpall article in *Agricultural History* is conspicuously absent from his bibliography—and his conclusions are both plausible and well reasoned. The footnotes should prove invaluable to those wishing to find out more about specific colonies. Herscher's two appendices, which he has translated from Yiddish, make available important information neglected by non-Yiddish-speaking researchers. One wishes, however, that this book were at least twice as long. Excluding notes, bibliography, and appendices, *Jewish Agricultural Utopias* is a mere 121 pages long. One wants to know more about William Frey, the Russian Christian idealist, professor, and former tsarist army officer, who was the guiding force behind the New Odessa colony. Since this book will doubtless be the authoritative study of its subject, the reader is likely to wish that the author had been more comprehensive in discussing colonies. Admittedly there would have been the danger of repetition if all of these farming ventures had been chronicled in detail, but Herscher is unnecessarily succinct. All in all, these criticisms are minor and should not detract from the fact that *Jewish Agricultural Utopias* is an interest-

ing and well-reasoned book that provides insights on a subject too long ignored.

— Arnold Shankman

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Gartner, Lloyd P. *Hayishuv Hayehudi Beartsot Habrit Mireishito ad Yamainu* [The Jews of the United States from earliest days to the present]. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1980. 146 pp.

After a series of important works on American Jewish communal history and Jewish education written in English, Professor Lloyd P. Gartner of Tel Aviv University has written his first book in Hebrew on American Jewry. The book specifically addresses Israeli readers and attempts to give them a succinct overview of American Jewish history from its beginning to contemporary times, encompassing Jewish social, economic, religious, and communal life. As Professor Gartner rightly points out, Israeli interest in the study of American Jews is a relatively recent phenomenon and the publication of Hebrew works in this field is still in its infancy; hence, an overview such as this is a clear desideratum.

The book itself is largely based on Professor Gartner's article on the Jews in the United States in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 15, cols. 1596–1648), although substantive additions and some internal reorganization of the material render it more than a mere translation. With only slight modification in periodization, the book keeps the essential historical framework of the *EJ* essay. Four of its six chapters survey the German Jewish immigration, 1820–1880; the Eastern European Jewish immigration, 1880–1920; the age of plenty and crisis, reform and peace, 1920–1945; and the postwar generation, 1945–1970. The other two chapters are new additions. The first, an introductory chapter, provides a sociological profile of American Jews, and highlights their special sensitivities to world affairs as well as their political, religious, cultural, and organizational activities in the United States. The second depicts the American Jewish community from its origins in 1654 through colonial times and up to 1820.

As a historical synopsis, the book succeeds admirably. In but a few sparing chapters, it manages to introduce an enormous amount of material and portray skillfully the basic contours of American Jewish experience against the backdrop of both American and world events. Patterns of Jewish demography, acculturation and assimilation, social and communal organization, intergroup relations, and the rise of

American forms of Judaism are all presented within the various historical and immigrant contexts with which the book deals. The Jewish contributions to American society are not lost in the narrative, nor is the impact of American culture on the Jews. While the student familiar with American Jewish history will find no startling revelations, he will nevertheless find the book quite useful as a digest and synthesis.

One suggestion: A second volume that would interpret and analyze conceptually some of the vital issues and trends in American Jewish life would certainly be a welcome complement to the present work. Questions and issues that could be addressed which would illuminate the American Jewish experience for the Israeli reader could include: What, if anything, is unique about the American Jewish diaspora experience—socially, communally, politically—from both a vertical and a horizontal Jewish historical perspective? What is specifically American about the various forms of American Judaism—how do they differ, if at all, from previous patterns of Judaism, and how do they engender a sense of ethnic solidarity? Moreover, of particular import to Israelis, how do we explain the incredible paradox that Zionism and Israel have won the moral, financial, and political allegiance of overwhelming numbers of American Jews but not their personal *aliyah,* despite an era with unprecedented practical opportunities for Jews to return to Zion? Further, how do we account for the vital role which Israel's existence plays in fostering American Jewish identity in light of Professor Gartner's own observation that Israel has not even won substantial American Jewish tourist interest, since only 10 percent of American Jews have visited the State! The fates of Israel and of American Jewry seem inextricably intertwined, and yet, the two communities seem to follow their own singular and often polarized socio-cultural paths. This merits some discussion. Finally, the impact of the Holocaust on contemporary Jewish consciousness and the way it is used to shore up American Jewish identity could also be explored; a discussion of the use and abuse of the Holocaust by American Jews might prove quite revealing about how a Jewish society structures its social existence and religio-cultural ethos in a free and democratic society.

It is clear that Professor Gartner's present work fills a great need in Israel in offering Israelis a lucid, insightful, and historically coherent account of American Jewish life. It is hoped that the book will spark further interest in the American Jewish experience among Israelis gen-

erally, and perhaps even stimulate the academic study of American Jewish history by Israeli scholars. Toward achieving the latter end, much yet needs to be done.

— Benny Kraut

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Brief Notices

Friedlander, Henry, and Sybil Milton, Edited by. *The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy, and Genocide.* Millwood, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1980. vii, 361 pp. $35.00.

In 1977 and 1978 two symposia were held under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews at San Jose, California. They dealt with the significance and place of the Holocaust within the entire Nazi "phenomenon," a unique and much-needed approach. Most of the papers presented at the symposia sessions have been published in this interesting and important volume. There are outstanding essays by leading American scholars from several academic disciplines, among them Raul Hilberg, Franklin H. Littel, Henry L. Feingold, John S. Conway, Allan Mitchell, Lawrence Langer, Werner Angress, and the editors of the volume, Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton.

Gittler, Joseph B., Edited by. *Jewish Life in the United States: Perspectives from the Social Sciences.* New York: New York University Press, 1981. xi, 324 pp. $20.00.

This volume is a most important one. Without alluding to the fact, it is a clarion call for a multidisciplinary, multivolume history of the American Jewish experience. The field of American Jewish studies has long neglected such an approach, and no one historian is individually competent enough to explain all the varieties of the Jewish experience in this country. The contributors to this volume would be ideal members of an editorial board drawn together for such a project. The authors are Joseph B. Gittler on a general systems theory for the study of Jewish life; Sidney Goldstein on American Jewish demography; Morris N. Eagle on psychology and American Jewry; Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., on American Jewish social and political values; Samuel Z. Klausner on American Jewish sociology; Arcadius Kahan on the economics of the American Jewish community; Henry L. Feingold on American Jewish history; and Sol Tax on anthropology and the American Jewish community.

Gorelick, Sherry. *City College and the Jewish Poor.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1981. 269 pp. $14.95.

When Columbia, Harvard, and other major American universities decided to impose a numerical quota on Jewish students soon after World War I, it was to keep from literally being drowned by huge groups of Lower East Side immigrants. In a sense, and by all accepted understandings of the Jewish experience with American education, this was a development related to the American Jewish passion for learning. Professor Gorelick has attempted to revise this notion in a book which must be read carefully and whose implications are bound to lead to a major reinterpretation of the Jewish immigrant experience from 1881 to 1924.

Specifically, Gorelick rejects two commonly accepted notions about immigrant Jews and American education. First is the notion that institutions of higher learning, such as New York's City College, allowed poor Jews to take their passion for education and turn it into professional success. Second is the belief that immigrant Jews came to America with "internalized middle-class values," and that a love of Talmud was easily transferred to a love for law and medicine. Rapid social and economic mobility through education is the stuff that myths are made of, according to the author. Instead, she claims, early immigrants did not care for higher education, since it was designed as to serve as a finishing school for proper Christian gentle-

men. Furthermore, there was such a great diversity among the early Jews from Russia—socialists, anarchists, and political types of all leftist colorations—that the term "inherited middle-class values" is nonsense. Instead Gorelick demonstrates that class mobility only followed class conflict, and that Jews had to work for change before they got change. Beyond this, in entering the world of American higher education, Eastern European Jews left a great part of themselves and their culture on the doorstep. Reform of education in New York was in great part due to the efforts of the German Jewish element, who hoped that education would serve as the great Americanizer, and deradicalizer, of the Russian Jew. It would be interesting to speculate whether the great crisis in American public education, the demise of the liberal college education, and the hunger of American Jews for their ethnic immigrant roots are part of the unraveling of that which the Americanizers hoped to achieve.

The Jewish Population of Rochester, New York (Monroe County), 1980. Rochester, New York: Department of Planning and Budgeting, Jewish Community Federation of Rochester, 1981. 61 pp.

This is a model community study employing scientific techniques in demography. The study is important certainly for the statistical information that it reveals. It is also important because the authors realize the need for such information "to plan programs and services in the coming years," and because the authors possess a sense of history. They realize that "our community is in many ways a microcosm of the American Jewish community. This study will contribute . . . to the historical record of the Jewish experience in America."

Litvin, Martin. *The Journey.* Galesburg, Illinois: Galesburg Historical Society, 1981. xi, 471 pp. $10.00.

August M. Bondi was a member of the small but important group of Jewish "48ers," German and Austrian liberals who opposed the reactionary rule of the Metternich era in nineteenth-century Central Europe. The "failed" revolution of 1848 was a further liberal defeat on the road to German imperialism and militarism, and was one of the largest nails driven into the coffin of liberal hopes for the creation of a democratic Germany. This failure of the "revolution from below" was solidified in 1879 when Bismarck fashioned an economic and political alliance between industry and agriculture. Liberalism as a political force was dead.

Yet the Vienna-born Bondi and other veterans of the liberal grab for power were in some ways able to transfer their idealism and democratic values to an America vastly different from their own continent. With the exception of a few immigrant rabbis, most of these individuals fit Isaac Deutscher's categorization of the "non-Jewish Jew," men and women who used their political activism to go beyond Jewish identity into a sort of universalist self-image. In Bondi's case this was carried out through abolitionist sentiments and his eventual involvement with John Brown and his riders.

Martin Litvin's book is a well-researched biography of this noble and interesting figure in the history of American Jewry.

Metzker, Isaac, Compiled and edited by. *A Bintel Brief, Volume II: Letters to the "Jewish Daily Forward," 1950–1980.* New York: Viking Press, 1981. x, 167 pp. $10.95.

In 1906 Abraham Cahan created the *Bintel Brief* (Bundle of Letters) column in New York's *Jewish Daily Forward.* Cahan was an Americanizer, an individual who was willing to sacrifice nearly every vestige of European Jewish life (including the Yiddish language) for the creation of the new American socialist Jew. His column was advice to the immigrant lovelorn, those

convinced that America was the Promised Land but unsure how to get there beyond their physical presence. Cahan knew, or thought he did. This collection of letters to the modern column (Cahan died in 1951), unlike those of an earlier era, no longer includes pleas for advice about the departure of a husband to parts unknown or tales of woe about a young boy loving baseball instead of his violin. Instead they reflect the dilemmas of a new Jewish generation, sure of its American identity but no longer confident of its Jewish one. The letters also reflect the kinds of questions that highlight the impersonality of our modern society and the dilemma of growing old in America. While the questions and the situations have indeed changed since 1906, one receives the distinct impression that for the *Bintel Brief* the answers are still rooted in the years when it was trying to explain America to a generation of "greenhorns."

Paris, Erna. *Jews: An Account of Their Experience in Canada.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1980. 304 pp. $15.95.

Jews: An Account of Their Experience in Canada is a highly readable effort to examine the micro- and macro-histories of a community yearning to know something about itself. Erna Paris has skillfully blended intimate portraits of Canadian Jewish life in Montreal, Toronto, and the Prairie Provinces with a survey of the important events in the national life of the community. She has also given us a most interesting glimpse into the left-wing politics and thought of the small group of Jewish socialists and communists who were active in Canada earlier in this century.

This is by no means a comprehensive history of Canadian Jewry. There is little or nothing on the development of Judaism in Canada, on Canadian Zionism, on Canada and the State of Israel, or on a number of other important topics. But Ms. Paris's volume was not intended to be more than what it is: an effort to allow many more Canadian Jews than ever the opportunity to understand themselves in the light of their experience. Erna Paris has raised many more questions than she has answered. For Canadian Jewish history, especially, that is a most positive development.

Schmier, Louis, Edited with an Introduction and Conclusion by. *Reflections of Southern Jewry: The Letters of Charles Wessolowsky, 1878–1879.* Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1982. 184 pp. $12.95.

The editor of this volume, Professor Louis Schmier, is a transplanted Northerner, a New Yorker, and a Jew, qualities which two or three decades ago would hardly have endeared him to the hearts of most Southerners. But the South of 1982 is a different place, and the Sun Belt phenomenon plus a deeper awareness by Southerners of the necessity for change in order to survive has allowed Louis Schmier to fit into his adopted region like the smoothest of kid gloves. Schmier, in fact, is a veritable one-man institute of Southern Jewish history. He is the only academic fully engaged in the study of the Southern Jewish experience, he is co-founder of the important Southern Jewish Historical Society, and he has created a pictorial exhibit on the Jews of Georgia which is a valuable addition to the historical documentation of the region.

Charles Wessolowsky (1839–1908) is brough back to life in the writing of Louis Schmier. In the comprehensive biographical sketch of Wessolowsky drawn by the editor, one can almost feel the tension in the dual identities inherent in the existence of the Southern Jew. In the series of letters written by Wessolowsky as he traveled to Jewish communities throughout the South in order to promote his newspaper, the *Jewish South,* B'nai B'rith, and the "family of Israel," one can begin to learn something of Jewish life in the South in the early years after the Civil War. One begins to understand its Judaism, its social and communal activities, the doings of its movers and shakers. Finally, in his conclusion, Schmier contributes a valuable essay on the

historiography of Southern Jewry and posits a number of probing questions about the nature and quality of its historical experience.

Urofsky, Melvin I. *A Voice That Spoke for Justice: The Life and Times of Stephen S. Wise.* Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1982. xi, 439 pp. $49.00 (Paper, $16.95).

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was a figure larger than life. No one who heard him preach at his Free Synagogue, who heard the prophetic voice boom out the call for social justice in the fashion of Isaiah and Micah, could forget this giant of his time. Wise was as American as he was Jewish, and realized that each was a perfect complement of the other. He dared to do what few other men could. Who else would turn down a call to the most prestigious synagogue in the world, New York's Temple Emanu-el? Who else would espouse the Zionist cause with such vigor when his own religious movement and most of his rabbinic colleagues in that movement rejected it out of hand? Who else could be an intimate of presidents and at the same time arouse the hopes and emotions of young, lost children just freed from the horrors of the European Holocaust?

With such a place on Mount Olympus, the life of Stephen Wise would seem safe from the foibles of mere mortals. But Melvin I. Urofsky, one of the most prolific and gifted authors in the area of American Jewish history, has chosen not to avoid controversy. Instead, in what must be considered the authoritative work on Wise, Urofsky has confronted the controversy now raging about Wise, one that finds him particularly at fault in the generally woeful response of American Jewry to the Holocaust. Urofsky has done it fairly and with a good deal of impartiality. While he has not entirely set the record straight, his contribution is an important addition. One thing emerges from Urofsky's work beyond anything else. American Jewry was fortunate to have Stephen S. Wise while it did. The memory of his life and his work sustain us in a period of nongiants.

Weinfeld, M., W. Shaffir, and I. Cotler, Edited by. *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic.* Rexdale, Ontario: John Wiley and Sons Canada Ltd., 1981. 511 pp. $27.95.

In the perennial search for the understanding of identity, the question "who is a Jew?" is closely followed by the nearly equally baffling "what is a Canadian?" Long before Americans began to understand the gravitational strengths of ethnicity, Canadians were living with relative comfort in the diversity of their geographic and cultural backgrounds, if one can exclude the tensions betwen Anglophones and Francophones. If America is a melting pot, or even a finely tuned and harmonized orchestra, as in Horace Kallen's view, then Canada is an artist's mosaic, an ethnic pattern of coexistence.

Even Canadians themselves have a difficult time accepting this identity, yet there is nothing to put in its place. Canadian Jews, too, suffer from this crisis of identity. In an effort to at least begin to understand what a Canadian Jew is, the editors of this excellent volume have offered the mosaic theme to study the diverse factors that constitute one of the largest, most important, and least understood Jewish communities in the world. The Introduction to this book, by William Shaffir and Morton Weinfeld, is especially instructive in its efforts to distinguish the differences between Canadian and American Jewries, an effort which was recently also undertaken by a historian of American Jewry, Jonathan Sarna.

In its attempt to combine such topics as Canadian Jewish history with studies of the social and political institutions of Canadian Jewry, with that community's subgroups, with its culture, and with a very candid view of the threats to its continued existence, *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic* has allowed the Canadian Jewish experience to become a much better understood one. The volume represents a quantum leap for the scholarly community interested in that experience, and for Canadian Jews who are interested in their past, anxious to understand their present, and concerned for their future.

1981 Selected Acquisitions

Congregational and Community Records and Histories

Alabama. Tombstone inscriptions from the Jewish cemeteries in Claiborne, 1843–1899, and Eufaula, 1870–1925, and correspondence concerning these towns, 1979; *Typescript*
(Received from Leo E. Turitz, Meridian, Miss.)

Athens, Ga., Congregation Children of Israel. Constitution and bylaws, 1887; *Printed*

Charleston, S.C., K.K. Beth Elohim. Constitution, 1820; *Printed*
(Received from Solomon Breibart, Charleston.)

Chicago, Ill., Chicago Sinai Congregation. Correspondence, speeches, reports, financial records, and nearprint, 1861–1976; *Inventory available; Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from Chicago Sinai Congregation, Chicago.)

Cincinnati, Ohio, Congregation Bene Israel (Rockdale Temple). Correpondence, reports, vestry records, minutes, business and financial records, roll of members, burial records, pew deeds, records of the Hebrew Relief Association and numerous committees, 1829–1960; *Inventory available; Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from Congregation Bene Israel.)

Cincinnati, Ohio, Congregation Bene Yeshurun (Isaac M. Wise Temple). Correspondence (1906–1957), financial records (1897–1914), minutes (1841–1968), committee reports, miscellaneous records, and nearprint; *Inventory available; Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from Congregation Bene Yeshurun.)

Davenport, Iowa, Temple Emanuel (Congregation B'nai Israel). Board minutes and miscellaneous correspondence, 1862–1957; constitution and bylaws, 1892; rules and regulations, 1954 and proposed constitutions, n.d.; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*

Jamaica, West Indies. Wills, 1692–1798, *Typescript; Microfilm*

Las Vegas, N.M., Congregation Montefiore. Miscellaneous congregational records, 1880–1969; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
(Received from Milton Taichert, Las Vegas, N.M., through John T. Feldman, Cincinnati.)

Macon, Ga., "Business Directory . . . Published expressly for Purim Ball," consisting of rhymed couplets making fun of local Jewish businesses, 1871–1872; *Typescript; Xerox copy*
(Received from Mervin Rudolph, New Orleans, La.)

Macon, Ga., Congregation Beth Israel. Minutes of board meetings and miscellaneous correspondence, 1916–1959; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
(Received from Congregation Beth Israel.)

Richmond, Ind., Temple Beth Boruk. Articles of Incorporation, May 23, 1962; constitution, 1948, 1963; minutes of Temple Board and Sisterhood meetings and miscellaneous correspondence, membership and memorial lists, 1962–1979; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Printed; Microfilm*
(Received from Temple Beth Boruk, through Rabbi Lance J. Sussman, Cincinnati.)

Records and Papers of Societies and Institutions

American Pro-Falasha Committee. Correspondence, minutes, reports, financial records, membership lists, and nearprint, 1922–1949; *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from David L. Davis, New York, N.Y.)

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Publications and articles pertaining to their activities taken from the nearprint files of the American Jewish Archives, 1913–1980; *Typescript; Microfilm*

Cincinnati, Ohio. Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations. Pamphlets, brochures, financial records, and reports, 1920–1977; *Typescript* and *Manuscript; Inventory available*
(Received from Mrs. Albert Goldberg, Cincinnati.)

Cincinnati, Ohio. Judah Touro Cemetery Association. Cemetery records, 1856–1970; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
(Received from Judah Touro Cemetery Association, through Donald Harris, Cincinnati.)

Cincinnati, Ohio. Orthodox Jewish Orphan Home. Minutes, 1922–1924; *Typescript*

Cleveland, Ohio. Bellefaire. Minutes, 1867–1894, reports of orphan asylum, 1868–1918 (1909–1914 missing), and 50th anniversary history; *Manuscript* and *Printed; English* and *German*
(Received from Bellefaire.)

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. Correspondence, form letters, *Proceedings of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods,* and transcripts of Biennial Assemblies, Executive Board meetings, and other Federation meetings, 1913–1971; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*

New York, N.Y. Constitution of Konin Young Men's Benevolent Association, 1896; historical review and financial statement published by the Kurlander Young Men's Mutual Aid Society for their 35th anniversary, 1924; and constitution of Lomazer Young Men's Benevolent Association, Inc., as amended, 1957; *Typescript* and *Printed; English* and *Yiddish; Original* and *Xerox copy*
(Received from Jonathan D. Sarna, Cincinnati, Mrs. Frances Michelson, New York, and Solomon Gluck, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.)

San Francisco, Cal. Hebrew Free School. Catechism and prayers entitled "Torat Emet," written by Rabbi Aaron J. Messing, 1887; *Printed; English* and *Hebrew; Xerox copies*
(Received from Joseph Hirsch, Arcadia, Cal.)

Terre Haute, Ind. National Council of Jewish Women. Correspondence, minute books, financial reports, and newsclippings, 1881–1943; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from Stanley Miles, Cincinnati.)

Letters and Papers

Bender, Rose I. (Mrs. Oscar G.); Philadelphia, Pa. Correspondence and miscellaneous items, 1912–1950, concerning her involvement in Hadassah during the 1930's and 1940's, as well as her work with numerous other Zionist organizations; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*

Billikopf, Jacob; Philadelphia, Pa. Correspondence, newsclippings, photographs, and miscellaneous items relating to his efforts as a fund-raiser and social activist, 1893–1951; *Typescript* and *Manuscript; Inventory available; Restricted*
(Received from Mrs. Ulrich Schweitzer, Scarsdale, N.Y.)

Brandeis, Louis Dembitz; Washington, D.C. Microfilm copies of Reel Nos. 58–118 of "The Louis Dembitz Brandeis Papers" (1810–1959), housed at the University of Louisville, University Archives and Records Center, Louisville, Ky., *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
(Received from the University of Louisville, University Archives and Records Center.)

Cohen, Benjamin V.; London, England. Correspondence, minutes, reports, notes, and miscellaneous items relating to the members and activities of the American Zionists with the

World Zionist Organization, 1902–1935; *English, French,* and *German*
(Received from Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Klau Library, New York.)

Dietz, David and Rosalie; Trenton, N.J. Letters during their courtship, 1926–1933; *Manuscript; Restricted*
(Received from Ms. Paula Dietz, New York.)

Eichhorn, David Max; Satellite Beach, Fla. Correspondence relating to the question of Reform rabbis officiating at intermarriage, 1955–1957, 1963–1969, and 1971–1974; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from David Max Eichhorn.)

Englander, Isaac; New York, N.Y. Constitution and miscellaneous letters and documents pertaining to the American Zion Commonwealth (Inc.), 1921–1934; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Printed*
(Received from Mrs. Stanley R. Brav, St. Petersburg Beach, Fla.)

Feinberg, Abraham H.; Youngstown, Ohio. Correspondence, sermons, and miscellaneous material pertaining to his professional career, 1926–1947; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from Dorothy Feinberg, David Reich, and Natalie Reich, Parkersburg, W. Va.)

Feldman, Abraham J.; Harford, Conn. Correspondence, congregational records, sermons and addresses, newsclippings, photographs, and miscellaneous material, 1906–1977; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from Abraham J. Feldman and the Feldman estate.)

Frank, Leo M.; Atlanta, Ga. Clippings and recorded testimony concerning his trial for the murder of a young girl, 1913–1915; *English* and *German; Microfilm*

Goldenson, Samuel H.; New York, N.Y. Sermons, 1918–1947; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from HUC-JIR, Klau Library, New York.)

Goode, Alexander D. Commendations, 1943–1957; sermons, student papers, articles, research papers, 1931–1942; manuscript for a book on democracy, 1942; bound volume of notes, and sermons and writings, 1938–1941; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from Mrs. Theresa Goode Kaplan, Columbus, Ohio.)

Gottschalk, Alfred; Cincinnati, Ohio. Lecture entitled "Images of Man—Ancient and Modern," n.d.; television program "Essence of Judaism," featuring Dr. Gottschalk speaking about Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, 1968; Yom Hashoah service with Dr. Gottschalk speaking on "The Reform Movement Faces Israel," 1970; address to the HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, Luncheon Club concerning the President's Commission on the Holocaust, 1979; address at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, Board of Overseers meeting concerning the Holocaust, 1980; and correspondence with prominent world figures concerning matters of interest to both the Christian and Jewish communities, 1981; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Tape Recording*
(Received from Alfred Gottschalk.)

Hahn, Harold D.; Cincinnati, Ohio. Correspondence, sermons and addresses, book reviews, and miscellaneous material relating to his professional career, 1958–1979; and letter written by Rabbi Hahn shortly before his death asking rabbis to give financial support to the HUC-JIR Year-In-Israel program, and letter from Rabbi Norman Kahan stating that contributions will be used for a scholarship in Rabbi Hahn's memory, 1979; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from Congregation Bene Israel, and Mrs. Nancy Hahn.)

Holtzmann, Fanny E.; New York. Correspondence, newsclippings, legal materials, photographs,

awards, and miscellaneous items relating to her many years of professional service as lawyer and friend to celebrities and nobility, as well as to her personal life, 1920–1980; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Printed; Inventory available*
(Received from Fanny E. Holtzmann and from the heirs to the Holtzmann estate.)

Kaplan, Harry; Columbus, Ohio. Correspondence, lectures, sermons, and nearprint which detail Kaplan's early career as the rabbi of Temple Anshe Amunim, Pittsfield, Mass., 1926–1935, and his later career as Ohio State University Hillel director, 1935–1969; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from Mrs. Harry Kaplan, Columbus.)

Kelman, Yitzchak; Brooklyn, N.Y. *Sefer Moreshes Avos, The Heritage of Our Fathers,* selected responsa, sermons, and correspondence, compiled by Rabbi Kelman and Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kelman, n.d.; *Printed; English* and *Hebrew*
(Received from Wolfe Kelman, New York.)

Klein, Abraham Moses; Quebec, Canada. Correspondence concerning "Seven Poems," clippings and reviews, 1948–1949, *Typescript, Manuscript,* and *Printed; English* and *French; Xerox copies*
(Received from the Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, Canada.)

Kohler, Kaufmann; Cincinnati. Correspondence, telegrams, sermons and addresses, condolences, notes, memorials, photographs, newsclippings, and some miscellaneous material, 1851–1959; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; English, German,* and *Hebrew; Inventory available*

Levinson, Abraham and Ida; Chicago, Ill. Correspondence, pocket diaries, and miscellaneous material which reflect Dr. Levinson's career in pediatrics as well as the couple's devotion to Zionist activites in the 1920's and early 1930's. Of special interest are the descriptions of Dr. Levinson's contacts with Chaim Weizmann and other well-known Jewish personalities in Europe, 1910–1955; *Manuscript; Hebrew* and *English; Inventory available*

Lichtenberg, Leo; Cincinnati, Ohio. Letters and documents concerning his activities, 1933–1940 and 1970–1977; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Printed; German* and *English; Typescript* and *Xerox copies*
(Received from Mrs. Leo Lichtenberg, Cincinnati.)

Magnes, Judah Leon; Jerusalem, Israel. Inventory of Magnes papers, including Archives of New York "Kehillah," 1908–1922, housed at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, 1978; and two letters and a sermon concerning Magnes, 1977 and 1979. *Typescript* and *Printed; English* and *Hebrew*
(Received from Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, and Howard B. Lazar, San Francisco, Cal.)

Mendes, Henry Pereira; New York. Correspondence, minutes, sermons and addresses, and memorabilia which reflect the career of Mendes as an Orthodox Sephardic rabbi and active member of New York's Jewish community. Especially well-documented is the material dealing with the Jewish-affiliated Institute for the Improved Instruction of Deaf-Mutes in New York City, 1862–1937; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from A. Piza Mendes and Samuel Pereira Mendes, New York.)

Messer, Sam. War correspondence and miscellaneous documents concerning his acting career, 1944–1957; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Printed*
(Received from Mrs. Levi A. Olan, Dallas, Tex.)

Newfield, Morris; Birmingham, Ala. Speeches, personal correspondence, newspaper clippings, and nearprint that reflect the career of this distinguished rabbi, author, and social worker, documenting his involvement with Zionism, Jewish-Christian relations, problems of Reform Judaism, anti-Semitism, and Eastern religions, 1891–1940; *Manuscript* and *Typescript;*

Inventory available
(Received from Mayer U. Newfield, Birmingham.)

North Carolina. Material concerning the Circuit Riding Rabbi project and the North Carolina Associations of Jewish Women and Jewish Men, 1955; *Typescript* and *Printed; Xerox copies*
(Received from Herman Blumenthal, Charlotte, N.C.)

Pearlson, Jordan; Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Correspondence with Archbishop Edward W. Scott, Primate of Canada, concerning the deletion of anti-Semitic passages from the Good Friday liturgy, 1980; *Typescript* and *Printed; Original* and *Xerox copies*
(Received from Jordan Pearlson.)

Richman, Julia; New York. Biographical outline; correspondence with Felix M. Warburg, 1910–1912; miscellaneous newspaper articles and documents concerning schoolchildren of New York's Lower East Side, 1908–1912; *Printed; Typescript* and *Manuscript; English* and *Yiddish; Original* and *Xerox copies*
(Received from Martha Kransdorf, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

Rosenau, William; Baltimore, Md. Correspondence, sermons, addresses, book reviews, prayers, editorials, confirmation services, newsclippings, and photographs. Rosenau's anti-Zionist stance is documented in the correspondence with the American Council for Judaism and other individuals in the collection, 1889–1944; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from the Rosenau family, Baltimore.)

Rosenthal, Trudie (Mrs. Karl); Wilmington, N.C. Transcript of interview with Mrs. Rosenthal, a Holocaust survivor, 1976; and correspondence with Dr. and Mrs. Martin M. Weitz, 1975–1979; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Original* and *Xerox copy*
(Received from Albert D. Warshauer, Greenville, N.C., and Martin M. Weitz, Laguna Hills, Cal.)

Simonhoff, Harry; Miami, Fla. Literary manuscripts, nearprint, and letters of Simonhoff, a Miami, Florida, attorney and author. The collection reflects Simonhoff's interest in American Jewish history and fiction as well as his activities within the Miami Jewish community, 1948–1964; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Inventory available*
(Received from Rachel Simonhoff, Miami.)

Southern Jewry (United States). Material related to "In Dixie Land, I Take My Stand: A Study of Small-City Jewry in Five Southeastern States," written by David J. Goldberg, 1955–1973; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Original, Xerox,* and *Typescript copies*
(Received from David J. Goldberg, New York.)

Steinhardt, Laurence A.; New York. Correspondence, embassy papers, speeches, writings, personal papers, clippings, and financial papers, 1930–1948; and letter from Chaim Weizmann, offering his best wishes on his appointment to the American Embassy in Ankara, Turkey, 1945. *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Original* and *Microfilm*
(Received from Frank Untermyer. Chicago, Ill.)

Weitz, Martin M.; Laguna Hills, Cal. Correspondence and nearprint which reflect the career and interests of Rabbi Weitz, 1925–1978; *Typescript* and *Manuscript; Inventory available*
(Received from Martin M. Weitz.)

Wise, Isaac Mayer; Cincinnati. Passenger list including "Isac Weis, Instructor," 1846; and letters to Congregation Beth Jacob, Albany, N.Y., and concerning his move to Cincinnati, 1847 and 1853; *Manuscript; German* and *English; Original, Xerox* and *Photostat copies*
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