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Mordecai M. Kaplan's Orthodox Orientation

Jacob J. Schacter

When Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan became the first graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary to receive a pulpit at an Orthodox synagogue, one of America's most prestigious ones at that, not only eyebrows were raised. Orthodox rabbinic voices denounced the appointment, forcing Kaplan to accept the title of "minister" rather than rabbi until such time as he received a "kosher" ordination. Indeed, Kaplan sought and received such an ordination from one of the great European rabbonim of the time. Yet, in this foretaste of a forthcoming book on Kaplan's relationship to Orthodoxy, Jacob J. Schacter maintains that even before receiving such an Orthodox ordination, Kaplan had begun to move away from Orthodoxy toward a view of Judaism that would bring him into the most serious of conflicts with the traditional Jewish world.

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A Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Immigrant

C.C. Aronsfeld

Like many of his fellow German Jews of the mid-nineteenth century, Gustav Badt sought his fortune elsewhere. Leaving Germany at the tailend of the great German Jewish migration to the Americas, he did not land in New York, but in Lima, Peru. The story is taken up by his twentieth-century relative, C.C. Aronsfeld, who with a mixture of wry humor and obvious family pride, recounts the story of "Uncle Gustavo," who succeeded in business and remained a Jew in circumstances which required working hard at both.

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There is a Doctor in the House

Judah Rubinstein

As a young man of almost eighteen, Marcus Rosenwasser of Cleveland, Ohio left to study medicine in Europe. He went back to

the country of his birth,Bohemia, where he settled in to study at the University of Prague surrounded by family and urged on by his desire to become a physician. His years of study were highlighted by war,a lost love, and academic achievement. He returned home to become an outstanding physician and,according to Judah Rubenstein," Cleveland's first Jewish home-grown physician."

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*The Case of the Part-Time Jew: A Unique Incident
in Nineteenth-Century America*

Ralph G. Bennett

If one can go beyond guessing its remote location on the north-eastern coast of South America, one can learn some very interesting facts about Surinam and its early Jewish population. One can learn, for instance, that by 1730 Surinam was the leading economic community in the Americas, far wealthier than Boston, Philadelphia or New York. This also meant that its Jewish community was an extremely wealthy one. What Ralph Bennett has tried to understand about Surinam and its Jews is the fascinating case of a man who lived both as a Christian and a Jew, the former in America and the latter in Surinam. Through the skillful approaches of genealogical research and networking, Bennett has achieved a reasonable assumption about this "part-time Jew." He has done so in the spirit of the practicing genealogist who "must also be something of an artist, weaving imaginative visions of past worlds."

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Morris Goldsmith: Deputy United States Marshal

Stephen M. Passamaneck

American Jews have been no strangers to law enforcement in the United States, either as the "good" or "bad" guys in its history. Josephine Sarah Marcus married Wyatt Earp and appeared in the movie; various Jews served the mob, from Legs Diamond to Meyer Lansky; and the Texas Rangers counted among their number fearless Jewish upholders of the law. Stephen M. Passamaneck introduces us to the latest good guy. Meet Deputy United States Marshal Morris Goldsmith of Charleston, South Carolina, who in the early decades of the nineteenth century found time to battle

pirates and smugglers and to act as the secretary of the Reformed Society of Israelites, which helped to create the background for the Reform movement in American Judaism. That Goldsmith is the object of Passameck's scholarly inquiry is not surprising, since the author teaches rabbinic literature and is a law enforcement officer. It has taken one sleuth, both as scholar and police officer, to create the historical portrait of another.

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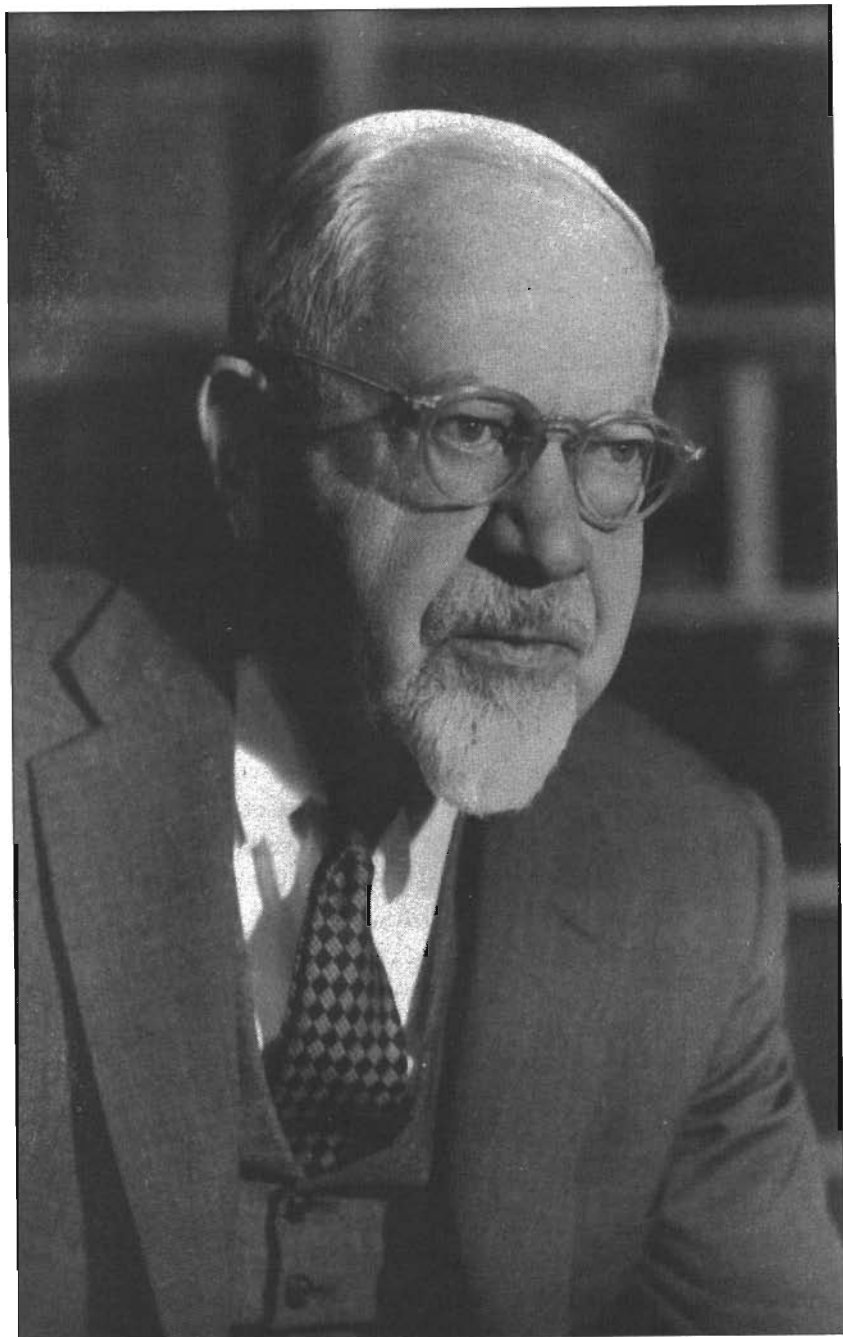
Selected Acquisitions

Mordecai M. Kaplan's Orthodox Ordination

Jacob J. Schacter

Mordecai M. Kaplan was one of the most influential and controversial figures in twentieth-century American Jewish life. As a congregational rabbi in New York City (at Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun, the Jewish Center, and the Society for the Advancement of Judaism), an educator (primarily, but not exclusively, at the Jewish Theological Seminary), and a popular lecturer, he challenged countless congregants, students, and listeners to rethink their conceptions of Judaism, in the process offering a new one of his own. As an original and iconoclastic thinker, his imprint can be found on many current American Jewish practices and institutions. But, at the same time, his originality and unconventionality aroused enormous hostility and antagonism, particularly in Orthodox circles.

Indeed, Kaplan's relationship with Orthodoxy makes for a very interesting and multifaceted study. How did this young talmudic prodigy raised in a Lithuanian shtetl, whose father received rabbinic ordination from some of the greatest rabbis in the second half of the nineteenth century (Rabbi Yizhak Elhanan Spektor, Rabbi Naftali Zevi Yehudah Berlin, and Rabbi Yizhak Reines), who, as a teenager, was so traditional that he could not excuse his friends for speaking English in the bet midrash [daily prayer and study room] of their local synagogue, come to later espouse ideas that were considered by Orthodox Jews to be the epitome of heresy? And what about the Orthodox community's reaction to his heterodoxy? How could this young man in his twenties and thirties, who already by then had distanced himself from traditional Judaism, come to serve as the rabbi of two of New York's most prestigious Orthodox synagogues, Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun on East 85th Street and the Jewish Center on West 86th Street? Finally, and most generally, what do Kaplan's life story and voluminous writings, most of which present a Judaism sharply at odds with Orthodoxy, tell us about Orthodox Jewish life in this country into the sixth decade of this century?



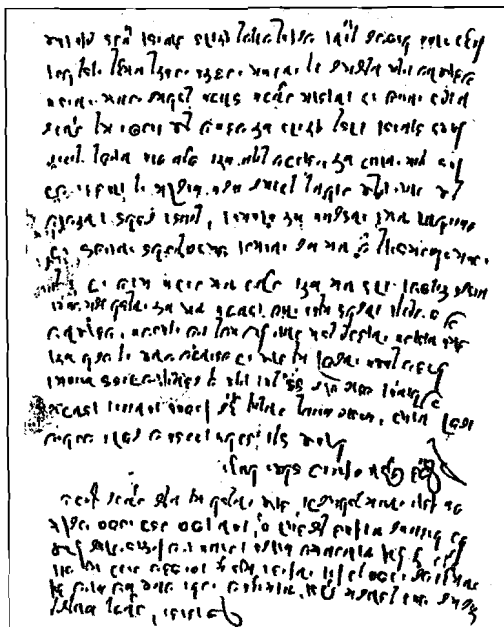
Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan
(1881-1983)

I am completing a book on Kaplan together with Jeffrey S. Gurock which will focus specifically on his relationship to Orthodoxy and Orthodox institutions. We will deal with these as well as other issues, providing a fuller and more nuanced picture of this highly complex and multifaceted individual as well as of twentieth century Orthodoxy. Here I want to focus on a small but significant detail of that account—the story of the Orthodox ordination Kaplan received from Rabbi Reines in 1908.

This story is of significance because Kaplan, by that time, had already distanced himself theologically from Orthodoxy. His earliest diaries, for example, dated 1904–1907, contain very sharply worded statements against the halakhic system which lay at the heart of traditional Jewish life. Other evidence, which we will explore in detail in our book, suggests similarly that Kaplan's move out of Orthodoxy had already begun at this early stage of his life. Nevertheless, as the ordination episode indicates, the break was not complete. In this century's first decade, Kaplan was still uncertain as to whether he should seek to influence American Jews from within Orthodoxy or outside of it. Despite his private misgivings, he sought credibility in the Orthodox community and understood very well that a full-fledged traditional ordination from a venerable East European rabbinic sage would provide him with it. Publicly still within the margins of Orthodoxy, Kaplan felt that he needed semikhah not just simply to become the "rabbi" of his own congregation, as will presently be explained, but to legitimize himself and his future efforts on behalf of American Jewry, and he pursued his quest with vigor.

"Minister" of Kehilath Jeshurun

In June 1902, Mordecai Kaplan received rabbinic ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary. He had entered the "preparatory class" of that institution in late 1893 at the age of twelve, and in 1897–98 moved into the Seminary's dormitory, then located on the top floor of a brownstone at 736 Lexington Avenue, at the corner of 59th Street.² Kaplan was very active in the Seminary's student life³ and, at the end of his stay at that institution, served as president of its student group, the Morais-Blumenthal Society.⁴



Unsure about whether to pursue a career in the rabbinate⁵ but pressured by his parents to do so,⁶ he received rabbinic ordination from the Seminary in June 1902. Unlike his classmates, Kaplan did not immediately get a rabbinical position, and so he continued to attend classes there for another year.⁷ In the fall of 1903, he was appointed head of the Hebrew school of Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun, a prominent Orthodox synagogue in Manhattan's fashionable Yorkville section, and in April of the following year he was invited to serve as the congregation's minister.⁸

Many years later, Kaplan explained why his title was "minister" rather than the more traditional "rabbi." The year 1902 saw the founding of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States, also known as the Agudat ha-Rabbonim. Motivated by a desire to maintain the East European style of Orthodox rabbinic leadership in America, this organization waged a campaign against Kehilath Jeshurun for electing a graduate of the less than purely Orthodox Jewish Theological Seminary to its pulpit.⁹ Long afterward, Kaplan recalled how they "distributed handbills signed by Rabbi

[Bernard] Leventhal [of Philadelphia denouncing the Seminary and the Congregation, the one for designating me 'rabbi' and the other for accepting me as such."¹⁰ As a result, he wrote elsewhere, "the congregation took fright and elected me as minister, with the understanding that I would be given the title rabbi when I would obtain hatarath-horaah [certification of competence to make halakhic decisions] from a recognized Orthodox rav."¹¹

In an article published some forty years after the event, Kaplan wrote:

Being the first Seminary graduate about to occupy an orthodox pulpit in New York, I was made the target of a violent protest issued by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis against the congregation. . . . The congregation was deterred from entrusting its spiritual destiny into the hands of a Seminary graduate, especially as he was then still unmarried. I was accordingly elected as minister instead of rabbi until such time as I should receive hattarat horaah from a recognized authority.¹²

Although at least one trustee was offended by this arrangement and resigned in protest, Kaplan accepted it, acknowledging some ten years later that "the leaders of the Congregation were by no means in the wrong in insisting that I have Smicha from some Rav of the old type whom they could recognize as an authority. In fact, the recently revised By-Laws of the Congregation stipulated explicitly that 'a Rabbi candidate for election must possess the necessary certificate of Hatoras Horaah, from the proper authorities.' "¹⁴

On another occasion Kaplan wrote:

I shall always be grateful to that congregation for having insisted that, if I was to be known as their rabbi, I had to obtain Semikha from some old time Rav whose authority they recognized. That put me on my mettle and necessitated my continuing the study of rabbinics.¹⁵

And continue to study he did, both with his father and with a Rabbi Ebin with whom his father had arranged for him to study Yoreh De'ah, [the second part of the sixteenth century code of Jewish Law].¹⁶ Kaplan was married on June 2, 1908,¹⁷ and, one week later he and his wife left for Europe on their honeymoon.¹⁸ While traveling through Frankfurt he met his father's old friend, Rabbi Yizhak Reines, spent some time with him, and received rabbinic ordination from him.¹⁹ Many years later, Kaplan wrote:

... the Congregation promised to give me the full title "Rabbi," if and when I obtained Hatarat Hora'ah from a Rav of the Old School. Not finding such a Rav to my own satisfaction in New York, I had to wait almost five years till on my wedding trip I had the opportunity to meet the late Rav Yitzhak Reines in Frankfort-on-the-Main and to obtain the requisite Hatarat Hora'ah from him."

Having finally fulfilled his original stipulation with the synagogue made over four years earlier, Kaplan was elected rabbi when he returned to Kehilath Jeshurun in the fall of that year. His new appointment was confirmed at a congregational meeting held on October 18, 1908, as recorded in the minutes:

His [i.e., Kaplan's] credentials as Rabbi "Hataras Horah" which he received from Rabbi Reines of Lida, Russia, was read at the meeting. Upon motion duly made and seconded a resolution was adopted that we acknowledge and recognize Dr M. M. Kaplan as a Rabbi of this Congregation instead of Minister. A committee of the President, Vice President and Treasurer was directed to call upon Rabbi M. M. Kaplan informing him of the action of the members."

In the course of my research on Kaplan at the library of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, I came across the original copy of his ordination certificate written in Rabbi Reines's own hand, as well as a letter from Reines to Rabbi [Reb] Israel Kaplan, Mordecai's father, dated the same day. Both of these documents shed a great deal of light on the circumstances surrounding Kaplan's second, traditional rabbinic ordination "from a recognized authority." They indicate that Rabbi Reines's examination of Kaplan was not a rigorous one, and, as a result, that his issuance of this coveted certificate should not, in itself, be considered an indication of any advanced talmudic scholarship on Kaplan's part.²²

While the text of the semikhah document is fairly standard, it is dated September 24, 1908, a few weeks after Kaplan had already returned to the States. The reason why Rabbi Reines did not give it to Kaplan immediately upon the conclusion of his examination is made clear both in the semikhah document and, even more so, in the letter from him to Kaplan's father. Rabbi Reines wrote in his letter that in the last few years he had avoided granting anyone rabbinic ordination, and certainly had followed that policy when he was away from home. Nevertheless, he had taken "a little time" to discuss halakhic matters with Reb Israel's son and was

impressed with him. But in order to be somewhat consistent, he had told young Kaplan that he would send him the certificate only on receipt of a letter from his father attesting that he was worthy of ordination, for he felt certain that the elder Kaplan, his old friend, would not exaggerate about a matter of such importance even when it involved his own son. Rabbi Reines added that he also hoped, in the interim, to meet people who could testify as to young Kaplan's fine behavior "in the sacred and in the profane." Indeed, he continued, while in Karlsbad, he had met someone who spoke highly to him about the young man, and, finding the letter he requested from Reb Israel upon his return home, he was now pleased to send him his son's ordination certificate. This letter to Reb Israel must have accompanied the ordination certificate, which Rabbi Reines mailed to him and not directly to the newly ordained young rabbi. It is thus quite clear that Reb Israel's close relationship with Rabbi Reines was a very significant, if not the critical and decisive, factor in his son's receiving rabbinic ordination from him.²³ When Kaplan's son-in-law, Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, wrote many years later that "Through his father's old contacts, he [Kaplan] was able to obtain a semikhah or rabbinic ordination after being examined by a leading European rabbi,"²⁴ he may not have known how true that statement was. One thing is certainly clear. The "little time" Reines spent with Kaplan could hardly justify a newspaper report calling it "a searching examination."²⁵

As our book will document in great detail, Kaplan was already moving away from Orthodoxy before he met Rabbi Reines on that summer day in Frankfurt. One safely suspects that had the venerable European sage not depended on the recommendation of his old friend and, instead, probed a bit deeper, he would not have found any reason to make an exception from his policy regarding rabbinic ordination in this case. The die for Kaplan and Orthodoxy was already cast.

Dr. Jacob J. Schachter is the rabbi of the Jewish Center, New York, and is editor of *The Torah unmadda Journal*.

Notes

1. For information about Kaplan's childhood in Swentzian, a small town near Vilna in Russia, until the age of seven, in Paris for less than a year, and finally in New York's Lower East Side, see his "The Influences That Have Shaped My Life," *Reconstructionist* 8, no. 10 (June 26, 1942): 28-29; "The Way I Have Come," in *Mordecai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation*, ed. Ira Eisenstein and Eugene Kohn (New York, 1952), pp. 286-289; "How to Live Creatively as a Jew," in *Moments of Personal Discovery*, ed. R. M. MacIver (Port Washington, 1952), pp. 94-95; "Response," *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America* 15 (1952): 213-215; William Berkowitz's transcript of his interview of Kaplan in his *Let Us Reason Together* (New York, 1970), pp. 71-72; reprinted in W. Berkowitz, *Dialogues in Judaism* (Northvale, 1991), pp. 29-30. Also, Kaplan's voluminous handwritten *Journals*, found in the Rare Book Room of the Jewish Theological Seminary's Library, are full of important information. See, for example, *Journals* I, 256-58 (February 1, 1917); XV, 159 (June 29, 1951); XVI, 185 (July 16, 1953); XIX, 264 (March 7, 1959); XXIII, 101-102 (July 17, 1965). My thanks to Chancellor Ismar Schorsch of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for granting me permission to examine the *Journals* and publish a few excerpts from them and to Dr. Mayer Rabinowitz and Rabbi Jerry Schwarzbard of the Seminary for their assistance. For Kaplan's reminiscences of his father, see Berkowitz, *Let Us Reason Together*; "Response"; *Journals* I, 256 (January 30, 1917); 256-258 (February 1, 1917) and the few loose pages attached to p. 257; IV, 217 (January 17, 1929); V, 181 (October 4, 1929); XIX, 264 (March 7, 1959). For Kaplan's early discomfort with speaking English in a *bet midrash*, see "Response," p. 215. He wrote: "Some of my classmates at the *Yeshiva* would come to the *Bet-Hamidrash* of the Eldridge Street Synagogue. When they began to carry on their conversation in English, I was such a zealot that I would plant myself in front of them and denounce them for acting so goyishly. 'Is it not disgraceful, is it not a *hervah* [written in Hebrew letters in the original] for us Jewish boys to be talking in *shul* a language other than Yiddish?' See too "The Way," p. 287: "Speaking Yiddish meant to me being a Jew, so that when my schoolmates spoke English in the synagogue I resented it and told them so."

2. For Kaplan's experiences at the Seminary, see "The Influences," p. 29; *Journals* XVIII, 188-189 (December 22, 1956); XIX, 227 (January 11, 1959). For a history of the Seminary during that early period, see, most recently, Robert E. Fierstien, *A Different Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1886-1902* (New York, 1990).

3. His name appears often in press accounts about the Seminary from 1900 to 1902. See, for example, *American Hebrew* 68, no. 5 (December 21, 1900): 818; 68, no. 8 (January 11, 1901): 264; 68, no. 18 (March 22, 1901): 546; 68, no. 19 (March 29, 1901): 577; 68, no. 20 (April 5, 1901): 606; 70, no. 5 (December 20, 1901): 170; 70, no. 8 (January 10, 1902): 25 1; 70, no. 11 (January 31, 1902): 343; 70, no. 15 (March 1, 1902): 465; 70, no. 16 (March 7, 1902): 491; 70, no. 16 (March 14, 1902): 521; 70, no. 18 (March 21, 1902): 546; 70, no. 23 (April 25, 1902): 698. These indicate that he participated in student debates, delivered sermons, led services, and represented the students at the school's memorial service for President Joseph Blumenthal on March 16, 1902. See also *Journals* V, 63 (July 1, 1929).

4. *Journals* IX, 130-131 (April 8, 1940); XVIII, 190 (December 22, 1956). The Society was named in memory of two early leaders of the Seminary, Sabato Morais (d. 1897) and Joseph Blumenthal (d. 1901). Cf. Fierstien, *A Different Jewish Theological Seminary*, pp. 99-100.

5. See *Journals* V, 181 (October 4, 1929).

6. See *ibid.*; *Journals* VI, 97 (May 9, 1931); "A Heart of Wisdom," p. 12: "The home into which I was born was such as to destine me for the rabbinic calling from the very first *heder*

which I attended," Berkowitz, p. 71: "my mother expected me to be nothing less than the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain"; Kaplan interview with Gladys Rosen (November 18, 1971), cited by Richard Libowitz, *Mordecai M. Kaplan and the Development of Reconstructionism* (New York, 1983), p. 215, n. 1: "We had in our house a picture of Moses Montefior[e] and so she knew . . . that somehow the only place where a rabbi received government approval was in England. Therefore, I was dedicated to the rabbinate from the moment I was born." See also Ira Eisenstein, "Kaplan the Human Being," *Reconstructionist* 49, no. 7 (June 1984): 19.

7. *Journals* IX, 131 (April 8, 1940); "The Way," p. 290. In a newspaper article describing the Seminary's graduating class of 1902, Kaplan's name is mentioned among those upon whom "the degree of rabbi was conferred." See *American Hebrew* 71, no. 7 (July 4, 1902): 184. See too *Journals* XVIII, 132 (August 31, 1956). His English and Hebrew rabbinical diplomas from the Seminary are both reproduced in "A Pictorial Chronology: The Career of Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan," in *Jewish Civilization: Essays and Studies*, vol. 2, ed. Ronald A. Brauner (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 2—3. The English diploma is hanging on the wall of the Kaplan Library in the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Wyncote, Pennsylvania.

8. See *Journals* I, 65 (August 23, 1914); IX, 131 (April 8, 1940); XVIII, 165 (October 27, 1956); XIX, 28 (December 15, 1957); XXVII, 20 (November 28, 1976); *Minutes of the Members and Board of Trustees Meetings of the Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun, 1903 to 1927* [hereafter cited as *KJ Minutes*], November 24, 1903, p. 28; November 25, 1903, p. 28; January 4, 1904, p. 32; February 1, 1904, p. 34; April 3, 1904, p. 37. This minute book is found in the congregation's archives. My thanks to Mr. Robert J. Leifert, executive director of Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun, and to Mrs. Florence Cohen for their assistance. See too M. Kaplan, "A Founding Father Recounts," *Alumni Association Bulletin*, Teachers Institute and Seminary College of Jewish Studies, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1959), p. 5; *American Jewish Year Book*, 5665 (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 219. For a preliminary study of Kaplan's tenure at Kehilath Jeshurun, see Mel Scult, "Controversial Beginnings: Kaplan's First Congregation," *Reconstructionist* 50, no. 8 (July—August 1985): 21—26, 32. The full story will be told in our forthcoming book.

9. See *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger* 75, no. 5 (June 17, 1904): 130; 75, no. 7 (July 1, 1904): 174, 180. See too *Journals* III, 126 (March 10, 1926).

10. *Journals* XXIII, 240 (April 24, 1966). This became a cause célèbre in the Jewish press at the time. See *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger* 75, no. 4 (June 17, 1904): 130—131; Scult, "Influential Beginnings," pp. 22—23. Kaplan notes the irony that Rabbi Levinthal's son, Israel, was a member of his first homiletics class at the Seminary in 1910 and when he graduated in June of that year, his father "delivered the prayer in which he lauded the Seminary in superlative Hebrew terms." See also *Journals* III, 126 (March 10, 1926); "The Influences," p. 30. For more on Rabbi Bernard Levinthal, see Alex J. Goldman, *Giants of Faith: Great American Rabbis* (New York, 1964), pp. 160—176. His son achieved prominence as the rabbi of the Brooklyn Jewish Center.

11. *Journals* XIX, 28 (December 15, 1957). See too *Journals* II, 96 (August 31, 1922): "The Eighty-fifth Street Congregation refused to elect me Rabbi so long as I did not have Semikha from an orthodox Rabbi of standing. They refused to recognize the Seminary diploma." See too *Journals* XI, 294 (November 24, 1942) and XXVII, 20—21 (November 28, 1976). The excerpts from the *Journals* included in this article are published courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Indeed, even the Seminary itself did not grant *hatarat hora'ah* until 1918, when the first recipient of that degree was Louis Finkelstein. See Israel Davidson, "The Academic Aspect and Growth of the Rabbinical Department—The

Seminary Proper," in *The Jewish Theological Seminary of America Semi-Centennial Volume*, ed. Cyrus Adler (New York, 1939), p. 83.

12. "The Influences," p. 30. Kaplan also tells the story in his "A Founding Father Recounts," p. 5, where he adds: "The trustees of the congregation took fright and asked me to consent to function under the title of 'Minister,' which was considered good enough in Britain for graduates of Jews' College in London."

13. *Journals* I, 65 (August 23, 1914).

14. See Article XIII, Section 4 of the 1903 By-Laws of the Cong. *Kehilath Jeshurun*. This small pamphlet is found in the congregation's archives.

15. "Response," pp. 216—217.

16. *Journals* XVIII, 23 (January 21, 1956). Rabbi Ebin followed Rabbi Samuel Margolies, son of Rabbi Moses Zvulun Margolies (Ramaz), who was Kaplan's rabbinical colleague at Kehilath Jeshurun, as rabbi of Chicago's Anshe Emet Bet Tefillah Congregation after Margolies's tragic death in an automobile accident in 1917. See also the letter Kaplan wrote to M. Davis, president of Kehilath Jeshurun, on April 3, 1904, in which he formally applied for the position of minister of the congregation. He wrote: "In addition [to my Seminary ordination], my father has been giving me instruction in Talmudic lore right along and I hope within a year or two to obtain S'micha from universally recognized Rabbis." The letter is in the archives of the congregation.

17. *Journals* VII, 121 (June 4, 1933); XV, 295 (June 1, 1952). For a picture of his *ketubah* [marriage certificate], see "A Pictorial Chronology," p. 5. The officiating rabbi was Kaplan's senior rabbinic colleague, Rabbi Moses Z. Margolies.

18. KJ Minutes, April 18, 1908, p. 118: "Moved and seconded that Rev. Dr. Kaplan be granted the privilege of going abroad on the 9th day of June as requested in this letter (carried)." For a picture of the young couple leaving on their honeymoon, see "A Pictorial Chronology," p. 6.

19. See *Journals* II, 96 (August 31, 1922); XIX, 28 (December 15, 1957); XXVII, 20 (November 28, 1976); "Response," p. 217; "The Influences," p. 30.

20. "A Founding Father Recounts," p. 5.

21. KJ Minutes, October 18, 1908, p. 125. See too *Journals* XXII, 136 (October 29, 1963).

22. Both of these texts are reproduced below. My thanks to Dr. Arthur Green, president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, for granting me permission to publish them here. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Eli Wise, librarian of the College, for his ever gracious assistance.

23. In the postscript of this letter, R. Reines made reference to money Reb Israel claimed he sent him. Could this also have figured in R. Reines's decision to act contrary to his policy of not granting ordination? Another letter from R. Reines to Reb Israel, found in the Kaplan Archives at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, dated 6 Kislev 5669 (= November 30, 1908), also reflects their closeness.

24. Ira Eisenstein, "Mordecai M. Kaplan," in *Great Jewish Thinkers of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Simon Noveck (Clinton, 1963), p. 255.

25. *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger* 85, no. 11 (July 16, 1909): 284.



*"Uncle" Gustav(o) Badt
(1849-1914)*

Uncle Gustavo in Lima: A Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Immigrant

C. C. Aronsfeld

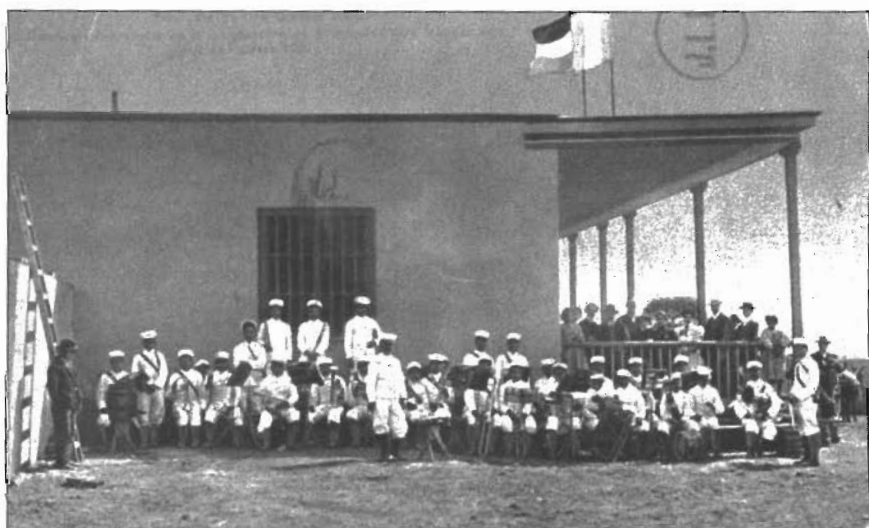
Gustav Badt (1849—1914), my grandmother's half-brother, was among the handful of Prussian Jews who emigrated to South America at the time of the American Civil War—not to vast Argentina or Brazil but to the relatively tiny, almost legendary Peru, virtually on the other side of the moon, which, come to think of it, seemed nearer to us in our little shtetl and more familiar. I knew it to be real only because of the truly outlandish postage stamps which I was allowed to admire in grandma's stamp collection. I still have picture postcards of Lima in those days; and of the lovely little presents we received, two silver llamas have survived which used to occupy a place of honor in grandma's drawing room. Several photos, too, arrived, the handiwork of the apparently well established local photographers Polack-Schneider, one showing a well-turned-out, prosperous country gentleman; and I am sure an obituary would have appeared in the Lima press of July 1914 had it not been for the even more important news that made itself felt even in far-off Lima at that time.

As I tried to reconstruct my great-uncle's life story, beyond the few data already known to me, I sought to obtain information by writing a letter to the editor of Lima's leading daily, *El Comercio*. The contents of the letter were published, but the result was, perhaps predictably, somewhat meager, for how many of that generation, and more so, how many likely to remember Gustav Badt, could have been left? However, the postage was not entirely wasted. I managed to piece together a reasonable tale, and I will tell it, as I feel it might be of more than passing and personal interest.

Gustav Badt was sixteen when he left little Exin (now Keynia) in the province of Posen (now part of Poland) for Lima, the "City of Kings," in the land of the Incas, at the other end of the world. He was not entirely on his own; his brother Michael, six years older, went with him, or was sent with him, and presumably the family



Gustav(o) Badt's tombstone in Lima



Military band at the ceremony marking the opening of Gustav(o) Badt's silk factory (1908),

knew (of) somebody who had gone there before and the reports had been tempting. There were indeed many who were then leaving their ancient homes—most of them for New York, whence some, after a while, would move on to the southern part of the Americas. As early as 1854, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* reported from Bremen, Germany's chief transatlantic port, "not an emigration but a veritable 'migration of the people,' " and the reporter added wistfully: "We cannot really say we are sorry to see them go. Unfair discrimination, humiliation, and the denial of solemnly granted civil rights can be given no better answer than—emigration." This was eighty years before the Nuremberg Laws.

I do not know what precisely the family's expectations were when they sent the boys to Peru. It appears that, with the end of Spanish rule, the now independent South American countries, Peru among them, were believed to offer attractive opportunities in trade and commerce. The famous Yankee railroad constructor Henry Meiggs, now engaged in bold, large-scale operations in Peru, was in need of suitable youngsters who were busily recruited. Some also may have seen bright visions when they heard of the gold mines of Huancavelica, not far from Lima, and some probably saw not much more.

The family no doubt hoped that Gustav and Michael would do well in business in a country clearly in need of European efficiency and drive. As late as the early 1900s, Peru's main industrial trouble was seen not only in the absence of skilled workers but also in a "general disinclination of working people to work regular hours." The nineteenth century, therefore, was a time when European immigrants were welcome and much appreciated. As late as 1873 a Peruvian law provided for each arrival of this type to be assisted with a fair sum of money and a free grant of land.

There were drawbacks, of course. If Prussia was unenlightened in some ways, so was Peru in others. There was liberty, yes, but as likely as not there was license degenerating into lawlessness, violence erupting in revolution, rebellion and coups d'état, assassination and the rule of the gun, bigotry and superstition, the sum total of what Europeans then believed to be typical South American conditions—to say nothing of an all-pervading corruption which was accepted as a fact of public life. Judges at that time virtually

expected to be bribed, and Meiggs, the railroad king, found "the only way to get on with successive Governments of Peru was to let each sell itself for its own price."

A hideously characteristic example of the gangsterism practiced in high quarters happened in 1872 when the minister of war, supported by his three brothers, all army colonels, seized the president and declared himself dictator. He failed, however, to gauge the strength of popular feeling. An angry mob lynched and murdered one of the brothers, whereupon the dictator ordered the imprisoned president to be shot, holding him responsible. Armed civilians now stormed the barracks in which the dictator was hiding. He and his brothers were killed and their mutilated bodies exhibited, for all to see, high up on the towers of Lima's venerable cathedral.

Things were particularly bad after Peru lost its five-year war with Chile (1879—1884). The country was, quite literally, in ruins; the government no longer able to hide its bankruptcy and the people merely a shadow of their former selves. Lima, the capital, once the proud residence of Spanish viceroys, suffered the supreme humiliation of being occupied by the enemy for several years. "Of all its upheavals during the 19th century," writes Jorge Basadre, the national historian, "none was quite like the war of 1879. It was the most tremendous shock suffered by the Peruvian as a human being." It was a time when no one was safe from a looting and marauding mob—Chileans, so the Peruvians claimed; Peruvians according to the Chileans. The historian adds this picturesque if pathetic detail: "It was then rare to see a person wearing new and elegant clothes, and when such a person was spotted people would think he or she must be a foreigner."

I have often wondered how the Prussian small-town boy made his way in this savage society. Oddly enough he soon did. He was helped by the general Peruvian attitude toward business in those days, which a modern Peruvian writer, Juan M. Ugarte Elespuru, defines in these words: "Trade and commerce were reserved for those of the lower classes and acceptable only among foreigners"; and the foreigners, immigrants like Gustav Badt, could offer a wide field. There were hundreds of Britons, North Americans,

Italians, Frenchmen, also a colony of Chinese and Japanese, and there were about 300 Germans too, among them many Jews. Badt naturally sought their company, especially as the Germans were on good terms with the Jews.

There was apparently no anti-Semitism among Peru's transplanted Germans, though an occasional disharmony could not be ignored. E. W. Middendorf, a physician who spent twenty-five years in the country, referred in his book on Peru published in 1893 to the "resident German Jews most of whom are moneylenders." According to Middendorf, "some claim to be citizens of the U.S.A. and prefer to speak English, but the German accent with which they utter their ghetto language [*mauscheln*] betrays their true origin, most of them hailing from the eastern borderland of Prussia."

Some of them indeed came to Lima via New York, and if they preferred to speak English—an understandable preference in view of their experience—they no doubt had (like Dr. Middendorf) a German accent, which only an anti-Semite would have termed *mauscheln*, just as only ill will would have seen their West Prussian homes as an "eastern borderland."

However, a Germania Club had been opened in 1863, and its leading light, in fact its founder, was a Jew, Max Bromberg. Moreover, when the foundation stone was laid for the Jewish cemetery in 1875, the local German choral society, Teutonia, took part in the ceremony, and according to a Jewish reporter, their "splendid chanting added much to the solemnity of the occasion."

Germany in those days enjoyed the very highest reputation, in Peru as well as in the rest of South America, particularly after 1870, when Bismarck made her the foremost power on the continent of Europe. German technology, German education, and especially Krupp's big guns were regarded as symbols of perfection and prestige.

So if German-Jewish immigrants in Lima preferred the German Club to exclusively Jewish society, they had sound reasons, sentimental but also practical. In a study of the foreigners' stake in his country's trade, the well-known Peruvian economist Alejandro Garland remarks (1908):

The Germans today control the greater part of the import trade, having succeeded to a substantial extent in supplanting the English. The steady progress of German trade is due to the fact that they carefully study the tastes and likings of the clients. The increasing efforts of their merchants and commission agents, combined with the special talent of their manufacturers for the making of cheap articles for the great mass of the consumers, are gradually transferring to the Germans the commercial predominance in this country.

An association with these fellow-countrymen was bound to be profitable. So Gustav Badt began his career with a German, or German-Jewish, firm, and there were quite a few. An important position was held by the brothers Sigmund, Hugo, and Ferdinand Jacobi, natives of Thorn (modern Torun), near Bromberg (modern Bydgoszcz, not far from Badt's Exin); they were jewelers, pawn-brokers, dealers in antiques, as well as bankers, in fact agents of the Rothschilds in Lima. During the war with Chile they nearly went bankrupt because, in their patriotic enthusiasm, they lent the government money far beyond the credit it deserved.

Many Jews followed other lines of endeavor, such as the flourishing trade in cigars and cigarettes in which a numerous clan of Cohens seems to have been engaged, importing the famous Havana cigars as well as various brands from Europe. A German traveler at the time remarked on "the custom of smoking," which he thought was "quite general . . . in fact at all levels of society," particularly among women, "from the slave to the duchess." As this indicates, slavery had not yet been abolished in Peru, and the duchesses had survived the Spanish empire, but the German made no distinction between the ones and the other, and his perfect freedom from prejudice is revealed in his observation: "The smoke rises from rosy lips behind which the prettiest teeth can be seen." The ladies' "soothing puff of cigarillo," together with their "fan and dark mantilla," with their "eyes that put to shame the stars," even inspired a modest measure of poetry in a Yankee visitor. In more prosaic terms, the cigar trade clearly yielded substantial profits.

Then, of course, Jews were prominent in the textile trade, in which they, like many of their descendants, soon prospered, and I believe this was the field in which Gustav Badt was apprenticed. He soon developed a particular fancy for the manufacture of silk,

which was a shrewd choice. Silk, like satin, was much in vogue among the ladies of Lima. The two fabrics, said a French expert then visiting the city, were "the only ones the ladies are keen on for their celebrated dresses, the petticoat and the large mantilla." Similarly, the (unfortunately anonymous) German traveler mentioned before refers particularly to the ladies' dresses "made of satin or a material from Tibet which is lined with silk." About that time (1835) Charles Darwin was also in Peru, and in his diary he not only mentioned the attractive young ladies who wear a "black silk veil" but his penetrating eye discovered the "very white silk stockings."

So there was obviously a great demand for silk, and this was, to some extent, supplied by the numerous Chinese importers, but no industry existed that might have profitably manufactured silk, like many other commodities, at home. Here Badt had the idea of attending to the demand directly. The first clothing factory had been opened in Lima in 1874, and gradually silk fabrics also began to be manufactured. Some efforts in this respect were being made elsewhere on the continent, especially in Argentina, and as a token of its interest, the municipality of Lima established a practical school of sericulture which was to help launch the new industry.

Badt started his enterprise by acquiring some land, which was available cheaply, as shown by the immigration law of 1873. His estate, known as the Chacra Colorada, was then outside Lima, though now it is a densely populated part of the city. Here he planted some 14,000 mulberry trees imported from China which, with the help of another import, the silk worm, were to supply the raw material for his operations.

He had also begun to employ quite a number of native laborers when work was interrupted by the war with Chile. In 1881, in the defense of Lima, he organized his work force as well as some of his friends in a special home guard with himself holding the titular rank of captain. He does not seem to have excelled in his military career though, which was brief anyway. The regular army (according to a Peruvian historian) was largely "an army on paper," the navy "a naval museum," and so Badt's home guard was likely to have illustrated the Duke of Wellington's observation: "I don't know whether

our captains will frighten the enemy, but, by God, they frighten me." Nor would the patriotic Badt have claimed to be a military genius. His talents shone rather in his business operations.

Around this time the era of Peru's political revolutions was overtaken by something like an industrial revolution. By the turn of the century the economy was showing signs of progress. Various industrial ventures were started which managed to raise capital both at home and abroad. Badt saw his chance, for an expanding silk trade offered opportunities for sound investment. Having practiced in this field over many years, he now entered into partnership with a more technologically minded native Peruvian, Julio T. Chocano, whom he enabled to import some of the most modern machinery from Europe. Chocano built his silk factory on Badt's estate and showed his gratitude by calling it, the first of its kind in Peru, "La Germanica." It was opened in February 1908 in the presence of government officials and representatives of high society, and was under the patronage of the German minister, whose friendship Badt had taken care to cultivate. The occasion was marked as a Peruvian-German event; both the German and the Peruvian flags were flown and a military band struck up the national anthem, at least Peru's: they did not seem to be too sure of *Deutschland über Alles*.

Badt was by then securely established in Lima society. He was and remained, technically, a foreigner. In his association with Chocano, for example, at the opening of the factory, he emphasized his German nationality (which added to his standing), and the hoisting of the German flag side by side with the Peruvian must have seemed to him perfectly natural. He never applied for naturalization (which would have been readily granted), and like the other immigrants from Germany he did not change his name. He just added an o to Gustav.

I was thinking about Uncle Gustavo when I later heard a little ditty which was as true of him as of many of his countrymen in Lima:

He might have been a Prussian,
A Scot, or Turk, or Russian,

Or a native of Peru
Or a native of Peru.

But in spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations
He firmly remained a Jew.

From time to time Badt would send the family clippings about himself that appeared in some of Lima's glossy society magazines, which in those days kept appearing and disappearing at more or less regular (or irregular) intervals, all according to the unsteady finances available to keep them going. There he was presented as a "well-known German gentleman" who not only "by hard and honorable work" had acquired a "considerable fortune" but also was "the first amongst us to start the latest industry, that of silk manufacture, sparing neither cost nor effort in the development of an enterprise called to such high destiny in Peru," and so forth.

In September 1907 the progress of his estate was featured as a tribute to one who "forms part of that great-hearted band of foreigners who have come to our country not only to make their fortune but in order to contribute, solidly and efficiently, to its moral and material progress."

Badt had indeed not merely material interests; he showed himself to be possessed of a social conscience. He was concerned for the health and housing of the poor. At his own expense he built for them a whole street of one-floor houses, such houses being chosen for safety reasons because of the frequent earthquakes that afflicted Lima. He also took up the cause of juvenile welfare. He assisted in the building of schools for the children of the poor, and he financed the construction of a whole block intended to be a juvenile detention center. I have been assured by those who ought to know that because of his social concerns, "Don Gustavo" (as he came to be widely known) was "well liked by the people, who thought of him as charitable and generous."

He never married. Apparently there were relatively few women among the early immigrants. As late as 1876, the 6,500 Europeans and North Americans in Lima included no more than 1,500

females. There was, of course, no lack of native ladies. They in fact, at least those of the (eligible) upper classes, have been credited with quite an extraordinary charm—not only, as might be expected, by impressionable gentlemen. Their “graceful appearance . . . defying the most seductive French woman with their spiritual eyes, their gay manner and the very refinement of their coquetry,” were noted by a Paris-born Peruvian lady, Flora Tristan, the grandmother of Paul Gauguin, the French impressionist painter, who spent his childhood in Lima. Knowing all about the chic Parisiennes, Mme. Tristan thought “the ladies of Lima might well be proclaimed the queens of the earth,” and if they ruled the men (as apparently, according to Mme. Tristan, they did), it was “because they are much superior to them in intelligence and moral strength.”

Other travelers, possibly having had unfortunate experiences, referred to “an evil influence of a subtle kind” in the way the ladies dressed, “decently covering” bust and hips without “hiding the shapely body underneath,” while “a shawl conceals all the head like a hood, leaving an opening through which one beautiful eye sparkles out on the world.” That “one beautiful eye”—“so black and brilliant,” with “such a power of motion and expression”—left its mark even on the sophisticated mind of Darwin, whose visit to Lima I mentioned before.

No wonder there was a great deal of intermarriage, and all the more remarkable that Gustavo Badt preferred (and managed) to stay single. He stressed this in his will, where he described himself as “unmarried,” adding that he had no children—“even less have I recognized any child as mine.” This point was very much on his mind, and he went to the trouble of reiterating this statement in a codicil, two days later, a week before his death, explaining that he was doing so because he feared that a child might be “foisted” on him. There had once been an attempt to enter a child’s name as his on the register of births, he said. If any such attempt were made again, he now declared, it should at once be recognized as a fraud, and the executor was instructed to take legal action.

The stress he laid on this matter may well be due to the fact that he had lived (or was living) with a Peruvian woman, a chola (i.e., of mixed European and Indian stock). They were indeed never

married. The story came to the family's notice in Europe sometime after his death, and they took the news in the charitably resigned spirit that nothing but good must be thought of the dead.

While thus emphatically disowning any family ties in Peru, Gustavo Badt left all his property to his sisters in Germany but made provision for three "godchildren" in Lima, including the daughter of an army colonel and an executor's daughter. The latter woman's son later became a Roman Catholic bishop, and in reply to my letter in *El Comercio*, he kindly supplied me with some information.

Nothing is known of the aforementioned attempt to "foist" a child on Badt, but his fears were proved to be well founded at the time of his death. Three days later, on July 31, 1914, the following personal notice appeared in *El Comercio*: "The daughters, Maria Isabel Badt and Marina Badt, also the grand-daughter, the son-in-law, and other relations of Gustavo Badt, wish to express their most profound thanks to those who kindly attended the funeral."

It was a weird procession, like a scene from another Beggar's Opera that might have appealed to Bert Brecht—a schnorrer's dance behind seven veils, performed in dead men's shoes. Badt had expressly and repeatedly declared that he had no children and recognized none, and therefore the two "daughters" had no right to assume the Badt name in the hope, however pious, of inheriting the "father." Perhaps they were—who knows?—the children who, according to Badt, were to have been "foisted" on him.

Anyway, none of these "family" members are as much as mentioned in the will. It is worth noting, too, that the one person who would have been the principal mourner, the "widow," who must still have been alive, was conspicuous by her absence, and if there was a "son-in-law," why was he not identified and which of the two "daughters," both bearing the "fathers'" name, had he married? And where does the "grand-daughter" come in? Who the "other relations" might have been is another mystery. It was altogether a fishy, thoroughly disreputable business. What legal action (if any) the executor took to expose the obvious swindle, I do not know; I like to think that the obviously fraudulent claim was exposed when the final will and testament was opened—at least

none of the self-appointed mishpacha was ever heard of again.

Similarly, occasional press references to "Badt and his family" at the opening of Chocano's silk factory and at other times were plainly inaccurate, though Badt did nothing to correct the error, which, in the special circumstances of his personal relationships, was perhaps a wise course: the less said the better. In any case, any suspicions were (apparently) not aroused until later.

By contrast, Gustav's brother Michael (Miguel) had (apparently) married, or was credibly believed to be married. At least Leticia de los Ricos claimed to be his wife. At her death in 1931 (thirty-four years after his) she was described as Michael's "widow" ("de Badt"), though Gustav does not seem to have known her as a "sister-in-law." In his will she figures as a nondescript individual to whom he left a (relatively meager) life annuity of ten Peruvian pounds per month, with no reference at all to Michael. Leticia's name was occasionally mentioned, with disdain or derision, by my grandmother (who was, however, glad to pay for an expensive tombstone). In Gustavo's will Leticia appears as one of several females who received legacies, usually for miscellaneous (sometimes specified) "services rendered." Her claim to be Michael's wife was almost certainly spurious. For no marriages other than those blessed by the Catholic Church were then recognized in Peru. A civil marriage therefore was ruled out, and Michael never converted, nor did Leticia, or, for that matter, Gustav.

On the other hand, Michael's association with Leticia was considered sufficiently substantial to cause his involuntary resignation from office in the Jewish representative body, the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita, of which he was vice-president. He attended no religious services during the last ten years of his life—almost certainly because he resented the way he had been treated. The resentment was shared by Gustav, who, however (after Michael's death in 1897), returned to the fold. He even held office, as chairman of a committee for the enlargement of the cemetery. He was not much of a macher. Nor was he, on the whole, a very observant Jew—any more than the majority of the immigrants from Germany, who, by reason of intermarriage, often disappeared in the general

population (or thought they did), though some arranged to be buried among their own kind. Having been born as Jews, they also wanted to die as Jews. Gustav Badt is not necessarily to be counted among them, but this final wish he indeed shared.

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Note

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Dr. Marcus Rosenwasser
(1846-1910)

(courtesy Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland)

There Is a Doctor in the House

Judah Rubinstein

The story of medicine in Cleveland begins almost fifteen years after the city's founding in 1796. In 1810, Dr. David Long of Hebron, New York, arrived there and opened an office, which he shared with Alfred Kelley, Cleveland's first lawyer. Long was joined four years later by Dr. David McIntosh, who was also the proprietor of the Navy House, a hotel. McIntosh may or may not have been a skilled physician for his day; there is no record of his medical career. Our scanty evidence shows that he was a bon vivant and apparently a lover of fast horses, since he broke his neck in a horse race on Euclid Avenue in 1834.

In these early years, the inhabitants of the Western Reserve cured their ailments in a variety of ways. Medical folklore, common herbs and crude drugs, and excessive use of patent medicines characterized self-healing practices, particularly before 1850. Many preferred these treatments to regular medical procedures, such as bloodletting, blistering, and purges of calomel and jalap. When early settlers turned to physicians, they had their choice of doctors—the few well-trained who had studied and ridden with preceptors for three years, Thomsonians who practiced botanic medicine and cured by drugs and steam, europsopists who made diagnoses from patients' urine, or phrenologists and electromagnetic healers. Perhaps wisely, the sick relied mainly on folk remedies, such as horseradish, skunk cabbage, sage, and butternut.

Despite the low public esteem of many physicians, their number increased as the city grew, especially after the opening of the Erie Canal. The city directory listed four in 1839, thirty-one in 1848, and seventy-seven in 1864. In that third year, on June 29, Marcus Rosenwasser, not quite eighteen, the son of Herman and Rosalie Rosenwasser, departed Cleveland for Prague to begin his medical studies. A graduate of Central High School only five days earlier, this was a temporary return for Marcus to the land of his birth. He came back to Cleveland three-and-one-half years later with a diploma from the University of Würzburg as a "doctor of medicine, surgery, and midwifery."

The Rosenwasser family, parents and nine children, had immigrated to Cleveland from the village of Bukovan, Bohemia, in 1854. Their first home was near the Central Market Place, and Herman, typically, began to support his family as a peddler of dry goods. By 1860 there were two more children and Herman had acquired a home on Belmont Avenue (East 29th off Woodland) valued at \$600 and a personal estate of \$400, according to the U.S. decennial census.

Beyond the census-taker, public attention first came to the Rosenwasser family in 1862, through their oldest son, Edward. During the Civil War, Edward, a Western Union telegrapher, was stationed in the communications room of the White House. At a historic moment in September 1862, he tapped out Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. He later simulated this occasion for the camera, and the image of Edward at the telegraph key is part of the pictorial archives of the Civil War. Edward, who anglicized the family name to Rosewater, moved on to Omaha and there in time founded and published the *Omaha Bee* newspaper. Victor, his son, who inherited the *Bee*, gained political prominence as a leading midwestern supporter of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party and chairman of the Bull Moose national convention in 1912.

It was Edward, five years older than Marcus and already in Omaha by the time he came of high school age, who became Marcus's confidant as an older brother. The separation resulted in a series of letters, some of which have come down to us and are now part of the manuscript collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society. The letters show that Marcus's studies at Central High included Latin and Greek, astronomy, geology, and chemistry, in addition to declamation and the writing of essays and orations. He was president of the school's debating society, which, as he wrote boyishly, "is the highest pinnacle of glory man is capable of attaining."

Marcus's interest in the sciences and his skills in debate are reflected in the class oration he delivered at his graduation on June 24, 1864. Entitled "Pleasures of the Imagination," he drew his imagery from science with frequent references to nature and the stars, and predictably combined science with the piety of the day. The pleasures of the scientific imagination "elevate our idea of the

Infinite; they only convince us more and more of the power and wisdom and goodness of the Almighty."

Family tradition has it that Marcus wished for an appointment to West Point, a natural ambition for a young student during the war years, and that his father vetoed the idea. As an alternative, Marcus decided to study medicine and sought his brother's advice on whether to go to a university or "enter immediately a medical institution." He had also written, he informed Edward, to Uncle Bernhard in Prague to ask his views on studying in Germany.

What prompted Marcus to opt for a career in medicine rather than in business with his father or, as it turned out, in journalism with Edward in Omaha? There was no role model in medicine in the family, and there was no one in Cleveland to inspire the son of a Jewish immigrant. It is unlikely that Marcus knew of Cleveland's first medical school at Willoughby University—defunct by 1850—or that its dean from 1836 to 1841 had been Dr. Daniel Levy Maduro Peixotto of Sephardic descent, who had come from New York and returned there long before the Rosenwasser family arrived. Peixotto's poor health—he died in 1843—and the factionalism within the medical faculty, which wrecked the school, very likely caused his departure.

Tradition conceivably turned Marcus, with his father's consent, to medicine, as may have the immigrant experience in a free society. Since ancient times, Jews saw a clear relationship between healing and God, between medicine and religion. Judaism did not regard calling upon a physician for aid as a failure to rely upon God to restore health. The Jewish physician was not acting in defiance of God but as a servant carrying out the will of his master. In fact, in biblical times, priests were in charge of public sanitation, and King Solomon in his day was regarded as a great physician. The Talmud, to stress the point, enumerates ten conditions for a city to qualify as a residence for a scholar. In addition to a house of prayer and a law court, they include a physician in the event that illness interrupted his studies for any protracted time. The injunction is made explicit in another book of the Talmud: "A scholar is forbidden to live in a city in which there is no physician."

The sanctioning of medicine by biblical law was reinforced by

exclusionary laws in the Middle Ages which left medicine as one of the few dignified occupations open to Jews. It also had the advantage of being portable. It was applicable everywhere and did not have to be relearned in a new country. In sum, medicine required knowledge, was everywhere useful, and could not be confiscated. Small wonder that Papa Herman approved son Marcus's choice of a career. Now there remained the question of where to study medicine.

When Dr. Daniel Peixotto left Cleveland, there were only thirty-eight medical colleges in the United States, four of them west of the Alleghenies. The chief medical centers then were New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Twenty-three years later, in 1864, when Marcus thought of a medical career, there were two in Cleveland, the medical department of Western Reserve College and Charity Hospital Medical School, only recently established in association with St. Vincent's Hospital. Reserve by then was rated as good as any medical college in the country in size and arrangement. An American school, even a Cleveland school, would have served Marcus well, but there were a number of cogent reasons to send him to Europe to study.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Pierre Louis, who pioneered statistical measurement in medicine, and Xavier Bichat in pathology had made Paris the center of medical progress to which Americans desiring European training gravitated. In the years after 1825, the German university system enabled Berlin and Vienna to supplant Paris with such medical stars as Johannes Muller in physiology, Hermann von Helmholtz, and Rudolph Virchow, described as the "pope of German medicine."

Herman Rosenwasser possibly knew of Germany's growing ascendancy in science and medicine when he left Bohemia. Marcus's inquiry to Uncle Bernhard about the advisability of studying in Germany suggests some awareness of this trend; but there may have been other, more practical reasons for the decision to study abroad, not in Paris, Berlin, or Vienna, but in Prague. Marcus very likely could not have concentrated on medical studies at home in the midst of a large family of younger brothers and sisters. A medical school in the east might be too expensive and leave young Marcus unattended by family or friends. In Prague,

by contrast, he would literally be surrounded by relatives, costs would be less, and the German language would be no barrier to academic achievement. And so the decision was made. Marcus, who had left Bukovan in 1854 at age eight, departed Cleveland ten years later on June 29 to study medicine at the University of Prague. That same day he began the diary which he kept faithfully, if briefly at times, throughout his medical-student days.

Marcus arrived in Prague on July 19. He was accompanied by his father, who was to visit family before returning home in September. During those two months, father Herman, perhaps by design, assured his son's ties to an extended circle of uncles, aunts, and cousins in the Bohemian villages south of Prague. The excitement of visiting relatives, seeing the house where he was born, and meeting new cousins began to fade in three weeks. On August 7 Marcus "Passed forenoon in studying a little botany," and similar entries became more frequent in the days before school began. Too many boring evenings, one suspects, were spent watching father at card games with relatives, to judge by the tone of the entry on August 22 while at Bukovan: "In the evening looked for the last time on a game of cards between Uncle and Pa." Undoubtedly his mood changed two days later when a letter from Uncle Bernhard informed him of his admission as "extraordinary hearer" to the university.

By August 28, son and father were back in Prague and made arrangements for Marcus to board with a Mr. Singer while at school. The next week was highlighted by attending religious services (in the *Altneuschul*?), visiting the *Cafe Bahnhof*, seeing a Schiller play, and lastly hearing a performance of *Ernani* at the Prague Opera, "splendidly sung for those who understood." Not long thereafter, Herman left for Cleveland, and Marcus at last was on his own, although never out of touch with relatives and family friends. The next entries in the diary are succinct and almost alive in their excitement. On October 7 Marcus registered at the university, on October 10 he heard his first lecture, two days later a lecture in botany, and the very next day "fine lectures" in chemistry and zoology. He missed one lecture in November to attend a family wedding, but in mid-December he wrote, "Began for first time to dissect—a new era on my life's career."

In his last entry for 1864, Marcus reverted to his declamatory

style to sum up his experience of the past six months and his hopes for the future, not without a twinge of homesickness. "At your beginning," he wrote, "I took the first step toward the accomplishment of that, which at your end finds me here far from home, parents and comrades. . . . Your end has finally given me a fair introduction to that calling in the pursuit of which I have determined to pass the rest of my life. But do thou who art about to enter and slowly unfold the rolls . . . keep me on the path which have so favorably begun." Marcus closed with the wish that the new year would be "the harbinger of peace and happiness to my country so long distracted with civil war." And then the last sentence: I bid thee welcome, thrice welcome, thou usherer of the dawn of 1865!" Marcus, it must be remembered, was only eighteen years old, not too long out of high school, and far from family on New Year's eve.

Marcus passed his first exams in March and spent the break between semesters with relatives in Zaluzan. On April 28 classes resumed, and he attended his first lecture on vaccination. June 29, he recalled, was the anniversary of his leaving home, and he went to the theater to distract his thoughts from Cleveland and family. In a contrasting mood on September 6, he marked the day as the "anniversary of my independent life." Five weeks later he passed a colloquium on zoology with *ausgezeichnet Erfolge* ("exceptional success"). The remaining months of 1865 passed quickly in intense study, to judge by the brief entries and the absence of an apostrophe to the second new year away from home.

Still in the middle of his second year, Marcus continued to achieve. At the end of February, he passed topographical anatomy and ten days later general pathology, both with *sehr guten Erfolge* ("very good success"). Soon, however, his peaceful world of medical study was disrupted by political tensions between Austria-Hungary and Prussia. On March 17 martial law was declared in districts around Prague, and riots were reported in various parts of the empire. Three months later the Hapsburg Empire and Prussia were at war, and the University of Prague closed its doors.

Marcus followed the progress of the war and Austria's defeat from the town of Zaluzan to which he retired. There life was "all dull and quiet—not a drum heard nor a fife." He complained that he was "almost entirely ignorant of the outer world of which all I

know is the Austrians are being beaten to mash and that cholera is spreading in Bohemia." Six weeks after leaving, Marcus returned to Prague. He found the "people sulky and dejected" by their defeat but at peace. The university reopened, and he resumed his studies early in November, but with a difference. He was now deeply in love.

Marcus first met his cousin Jane in Prague some six weeks after he arrived from the States. It was the Sabbath, and that afternoon he had walked with cousins Anna and Jane, only briefly because of threatening weather. Undoubtedly he saw her the following April at Anna's wedding in Zaluzan, "where I danced more than I ever had in one night before," probably only because Jane so moved him. Nothing more is known of cousin Jane, who lived in Zaluzan. Marcus wrote that he found her beautiful and on September 29, 1866, recorded in his diary that he had declared his love to her.

To span the distance between Prague and Zaluzan, Marcus and Jane corresponded frequently, to judge by the many brief references to letters received and written. Whatever their hopes, they began to dissolve late the following summer of 1867. Marcus had shared his romantic secret with Edward in Omaha, and the reply he received on September 7, 1867 "scattered his plans for the future to the winds." Quite clearly Edward, writing for his parents, objected for reasons which are not recorded. Marcus only entered in his diary that "I must renounce all my own inclinations: the voice of parents is sacred law to me regardless of interest or consequences."

Marcus, when his brother's letter arrived, was already Dr. Rosenwasser, a diplomate of the University of Würzburg. His degree, possibly because of his status as an "extraordinary hearer," could not be awarded by the Prague school. Knowing this, Marcus in June had contacted the medical schools in Berlin, Munich, Glasgow, and Würzburg and had succeeded in enlisting Dr. Rinecker of the Würzburg medical faculty as his sponsor. On July 19 Marcus left for the Bavarian city to become a "candidate of medicine" and to graduate. Interestingly, on his arrival, he needed to obtain police permission to matriculate and was required to leave his passport at the station.

On July 23 and 24 Marcus took his written exams and completed all eight questions in fourteen and one-half hours. These he

passed. Six days later he and four other candidates were questioned for two hours, and all passed their oral examinations. The final step came on the morning of August 1, 1867. Dressed in a swallowtail coat, Marcus delivered his inaugural lecture at 11:15 a.m., defended his thesis, and was declared "doctor of medicine, surgery and midwifery." The next day his diploma was delivered along with a note from the university for the police, stating that it had no objection to the return of his passport. The next day Dr. Rosenwasser started for Prague and shortly resumed his work in obstetrics at the lying-in hospital there.

Then came the September letter which darkened the new doctor's joy in his success. A trip to Zaluzan to talk to Jane failed to resolve their dilemma, and Marcus sensed the end. In his diary for September 29 he wrote: "A feeling of sadness, loneliness, and remorse overwhelms me on calling to mind the anniversary of my pure love today. How tedious, how lonely is the world now to me! I never thought I could feel so indifferent to everything around me." For the next two months, Marcus submerged his disappointment in postgraduate study in obstetrics in Vienna.

Finally, on December 13, 1867, Dr. Marcus Rosenwasser, in snowy weather, left Vienna on the first leg of his voyage home via Munich and Stuttgart, where he saw a performance of *Fidelio* before taking the train for Strassbourg. There he wrote in his diary that the customs officials were crude and dishonest, and that he was relieved to continue to Paris, arriving on December 17.

He stayed there four days, sightseeing, attending medical lectures, and visiting hospitals, noting one morning that he had "attended the ambulatory Le Docteur Maisonneuve." On December 21, still in Paris, he wrote what may have been a final letter to Jane; it is, at least, the last time her name appears in the diary.

The journey homeward continued the following day. Marcus crossed the channel from Calais to England and spent the next seven days walking around London and visiting friends. On the December 29, he moved on to Southampton. The morning of December 31, he boarded the ship *America*, and at 2:00 p.m. the second phase of his return journey began. That evening he noted the passing of the year. Twelve months earlier he had welcomed

1867 as the year he would reach manhood and obtain his American citizenship. He wondered then whether he would receive his medical degree and whether his "family connections would be settled." Echoing his debating rhetoric at Central High, he had raised "the banner of 'Excelsior' to hail the new year."

Now the eventful year was ending. In a calmer frame of mind than three months earlier when his romance had been shattered, he wrote: "It affords me great pleasure to see how much I've accomplished in this past year. All the questions then entrusted to time are now solved. I'm perfectly content with the result." The new physician seems appropriately sober and serious, but his statement is tinged with resignation. The sea voyage to the States was cold and stormy and made even more distressful by seasickness. But finally, on January 13, 1868, it ended. Marcus disembarked that morning in New York, cleared customs, and in the evening took the train to Cleveland, where he arrived at 9:00 p.m. the next day. A half-hour later he was at home, only to find his parents already asleep. He went to brother Joseph's home, from where he contacted his parents. Sometime after midnight on January 15, he returned to Belmont Avenue. At least, after three and one-half years, there was a doctor in the house.

The rest is epilogue to the diary of Cleveland's first home-grown physician. According to Dr. Marcus Rosenwasser's account, his forty-two months abroad, including tuition, lodging, vacation trips, recreation, and the voyage home had cost the family 3,341 florins, approximately \$7,000, less \$850 earned by giving private English lessons in Prague. Now the doctor had to earn his way and repay his providers.

When Marcus left in 1864, the Cleveland city directory listed seventy-seven physicians. Within a year after his return, 1869-70, the directory listed 135 physicians, 111 allopaths, and 24 homeopaths to care for 103,000 Cleveland residents. It included Dr. Marcus Rosenwasser and two other identifiably Jewish physicians, also allopaths, Joseph Goldberg and Louis Rosenberg. Our new doctor's combined office and residence was at the corner of East 29th and Woodland, then on the eastern fringe of the Jewish immigrant district. He remained there until 1905, when he moved his

office to the Lennox Building on the southeast corner of Euclid and East 9th Street, and his residence to fashionable East 32nd Street off Euclid Avenue.

From the onset, Rosenwasser's practice was centered in a neighborhood containing a large and expanding foreign population. It was already the center of the Jewish community and remained so until the early 1920s. To the German Jewish pioneer families and to the East European immigrants, Dr. Rosenwasser was one of their own, and they made increasingly heavy demands upon him. The Jewish Orphan Home was established the year he returned, 1868, and he served as its medical advisor for forty-two years until his death. In 1893, his health affected by the pressures of twenty-five years of general practice and obstetrics, Rosenwasser eased his practice and became a specialist in gynecology.

Rosenwasser was also ever the student and became a teacher as well. He went to Boston in 1888 and to Europe ten years later for special study. He taught at the Wooster Medical College beginning in 1888 and in 1891 was elected dean of the faculty. He was later professor of gynecology at Cleveland General Hospital and a founder of St. Luke's Hospital in 1908. He was esteemed by his medical colleagues, who elected him president of the Cleveland Medical Society in 1897. Later, in 1902, he was elected a member of the first board of trustees of the Academy of Medicine. That same year he was also president of the Cleveland Board of Health.

Rosenwasser was ever aware of the importance of medical literature for the profession. He joined with Doctors Dudley P. Allen and Henry F. Henderson in 1894 to incorporate the Cleveland Medical Library Association. In his will he left a bequest of \$10,000 to the library, its first endowment, to be used for the purchase of books and journals. The anatomy and surgical atlas he bought to celebrate his graduation from Würzburg is also part of the Allen Library collection.

One note on Rosenwasser's personal life. The good doctor's thwarted student love may have had a lingering effect. Perhaps his efforts to start his practice restricted his social life, or perhaps he remained a bachelor longer than usual to satisfy a Victorian sense of romance. In any event, Marcus did not marry until he was thir-

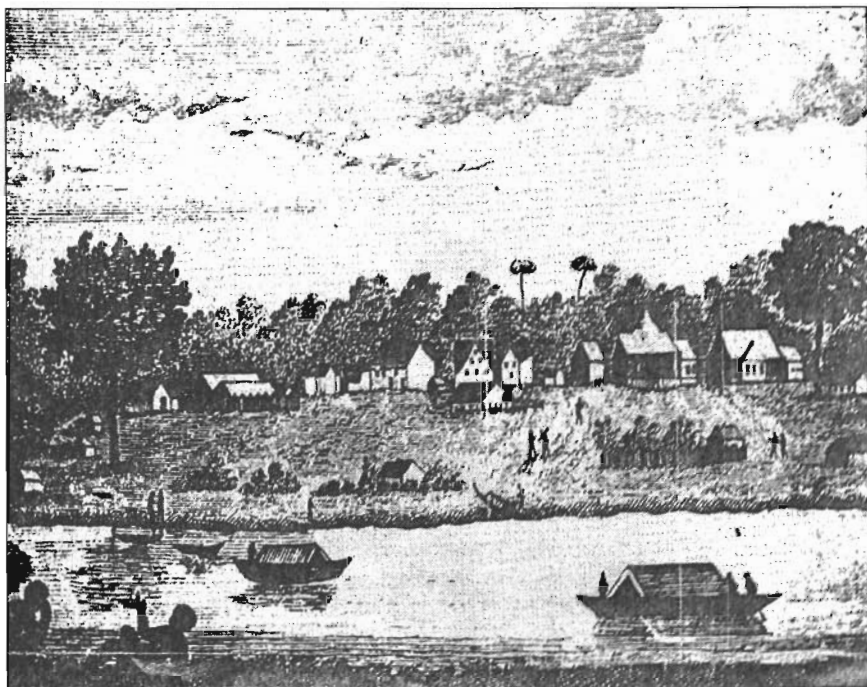
ty-one years of age in 1877, ten years after his return. He married Ida Rohrheimer, daughter of a pioneer German Jewish family.

In failing health during his last years, Rosenwasser died in 1910. The obituary in the *Cleveland Medical Journal* described him as an intelligent, trained, and painstaking medical practitioner, whose success was based on a sound and comprehensive mind rather than upon technique. He possessed an unusual lucidity and directness that made him a "surgeon from his brain outward rather than from his fingers inward." The *Journal* notice concluded by fixing Rosenwasser's place in the development of medicine. He lived, the editor noted, in an interesting transitional period "when art languished and science expands and when diagnosis rests on positive demonstration rather than on deduction. . . . He was, finally, a thorough physician, a student and a lover of books."

One other point could have been added to the Rosenwasser tribute, admittedly more relevant to community history than to medicine. He was Cleveland's first Jewish home-grown physician.

— Judah Rubenstein

Judah Rubenstein is a well known researcher and author on the American Jewish experience. He has for many decades been involved with the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland and was the main researcher for *History of the Jews of Cleveland* and *Merging Traditions: Jewish Life in Cleveland*.



A view of the Jewish Savannah in Surinam, the town the Jews inhabited on the upper reaches of the Surinam River.

(Circa 1800)

The Case of the Part-Time Jew: A Unique Incident in Nineteenth- Century America

Ralph G. Bennett

The work of a genealogical researcher is often similar to that of an archaeologist. Each fresh discovery reveals another stratum of data which leads, in turn, to still another layer of facts. Nothing illustrates this point more than the strange life story I happened upon while researching the history of the Jews in Δ104

, a remote enclave of the old Dutch colonial empire located on the northeastern coast of South America, and formerly called Dutch Guiana.

Abraham Gabay Crasto was a Sephardic Jew born on April 14, 1797 in Surinam. He later emigrated to the United States, and converted to Christianity when he was married at the age of seventeen, in a Methodist Episcopal church in Greenbough, New York, on July 9, 1814. His bride, Rebecca Lynch Purdy, was the granddaughter of a noted minister. Soon after their marriage the young couple journeyed to Surinam, where they were married a second time in the Jewish faith, after Rebecca formally converted to Judaism. The couple, with their two young children, lived as part of Dutch Guiana's Sephardic Jewish community for several years. Then they returned to New York, where they reassumed their identity as Christians; ultimately, they were buried in a Protestant cemetery. Subsequent descendants were unaware that their family had ever had any connection to Judaism.

Who was this man who had been born a Jew, converted to Christianity, converted back to Judaism, and finally spent the rest of his days as a Christian? I was curious to learn the motives behind his unusual behavior. I believe, with anthropologist Franz Boas, that "The passion for seeking the truth only for truth's sake . . . can be kept alive only if we continue to seek the truth for truth's sake."

The Jews of Surinam

First, a few words about Surinam itself and the Jews who settled there. My interest in the history of this obscure country began in

1978, when I started to trace out my family tree and that of my wife. Most people are not even aware of Surinam's existence; if asked, they might place it somewhere in Asia, near Vietnam. Yet a number of people of "European" descent who now reside in the United States have found that some of their ancestors can be traced back to Surinam. For Dutch-American Jews especially, Surinam often provides the "missing link." My wife Shelley, for example, had always assumed that her father was from the Netherlands because he came to the United States from Amsterdam in 1939, as war clouds gathered over Europe. However, I soon discovered through genealogical research that her father was not born in Holland, but in that remote South American outpost, Surinam. In fact, we learned from Dutch genealogical records that Shelley's ancestors were among the original Sephardic Jewish settlers who colonized the Americas in the 1600s.

Surinam became a Dutch colony under the treaty of Breda in 1667, when the British swapped it to the Dutch for New Amsterdam (now New York). At first it proved to be a good bar-



Engraving of galleons sailing into Paramaribo, Surinam harbor (1774).

gain for Holland. The Dutch turned a nice profit for a great number of years on the plantation-based economy they built in Surinam. With its riches of sugar cane, coffee, and chocolate, Surinam became the leading community of the Americas by 1730, far surpassing the wealth of better-known places such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. By the 1600s, many Marranos from Spain and Portugal had fled to Amsterdam to escape the Inquisition and resume their lives as Jews. From there they ventured out to take advantage of the financial opportunities in the Dutch New World colonies. One of the most popular destinations was Surinam, where, with few restrictions on their hard-won financial talents, Jews soon owned about half the plantations in the colony. But the plantation economy failed when slavery ended in the 1800s, and the great majority of white Surinamese, Jews included, abandoned their plantations in hopes of a more secure future in the United States.

Research Resources

I began a correspondence with a number of libraries and researchers in pursuit of more information about the Hebrew nation in Surinam. Three categories of genealogical and historical records exist. Those that are available for general view have been preserved on microfilm in various archives in the Netherlands and in Mormon family-research centers. The birth, marriage, and death registries for the Sephardic communities in Surinam, for example, extend all the way back to the 1600s.

The second category of documents are those that are too fragile to be photographed or handled and are only accessible to a few leading scholars. In the year 1912, the Dutch government decided that all the records that existed in Surinam properly belonged to the Dutch central government, and it decreed, therefore, that all records from before 1816 were to be sent off to the mother country. Unfortunately, the ship carrying the records experienced a rough voyage and many of the trunks full of fragile old documents were substantially damaged by sea water; hence their restricted accessibility now.

The third category of documents are those that were even more severely damaged during that disastrous voyage; they are kept permanently sealed for fear that exposure to the air will destroy

them totally. These remaining documents now reside in the National Archives in the Hague, and are unavailable for viewing by even the most qualified scholars and researchers. The Dutch are awaiting the development of some new restoration technology which will make it safe to open these records so they can be viewed by scholars and the public. In short, some big gaps exist in the information available not only to the public but to specially privileged researchers as well.

In addition to the birth, marriage, and death records of Surinam proper, there are other extant old documents that have a bearing on the history of the Jews of Surinam. For example, the municipal archives of Amsterdam (the Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst) has in its files over three miles of shelves of historical notarial records of the Amsterdam community, many of them related to business transactions between the mother country and its colony in Dutch Guiana.

Another source of information is the Royal Archives in the Hague (Algemeen Rijksarchief). This institution has records of the Dutch colonies because it has preserved the books and papers of the old Dutch East and West India companies.

Genealogical Networking

Because I wanted to gather as much information as possible about Surinam, I placed ads in some of the world's genealogical journals offering to share knowledge with others interested in the Jewish history of Dutch Guiana. Among the scholars whose acquaintance I made by mail was the delightful Rabbi Malcolm Stern, author of *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies from 1654 to 1977*, an expanded version of his earlier book, *Americans of Jewish Descent*. Stern, who died this year, was regarded as the foremost Jewish genealogist in America. As a result of his books, he received queries from many people tracing their early Jewish ancestors not only in the United States but throughout the New World. Stern wrote me to ask permission to give my address to two of them, Virginia Fremon of Hackenstown, New Jersey, and Larry Dunham of Rye, New York, who had questions about their Surinamese ancestors.

I began corresponding with Larry Dunham in January of 1979. Dunham, a Christian, had discovered that his great-grandmother

Rachel Crasto Munsen was the daughter of one Abraham George Crasto and his wife, Rebecca Lynch Purdy. He had concluded, from sleuthing in the birth records, that "George" was an assumed middle name, and that Abraham's true identity was Abraham Gabay Crasto, the son of David Gabay Crasto and his wife Rachel, both of whom had emigrated to New York from Surinam in approximately 1800. I informed Larry that the name Gabay Crasto was an old Sephardic Jewish name and probably indicated that his ancestors had been Jews.¹ Dunham was very surprised to discover that he had a Jewish ancestor and wanted to know as much as I could tell him about the couple's background.

Stern's other correspondent, Virginia Fremon, also wrote to me in early 1979 to tell me that her great-grandfather was one Moses Gabay Crasto. It was soon obvious to me that Moses was another child of Abraham and Rebecca's, which made Virginia Fremon and Larry Dunham third cousins, although they had no idea of each other's existence. Virginia, too, was a Christian and was intrigued to learn that she had Jewish ancestors.

I was able to help Virginia and Larry extend their family trees back even further with the help of my various research sources, including an article by Reverend P. A. Hilfman.² This article included a fragment of the Surinam marriage registry from roughly 1693 to 1744. Over the next several months I traded information back and forth with Larry and Virginia.

Rebecca Lynch Pindy

It was not until nearly ten years later, however, that I discovered a footnote in a book about Surinamese Jews which alerted me to the fact that there might be more to relate to Virginia and Larry about their ancestors than I had originally supposed. The book, *Jews in Another Environment*, was by Robert Cohen, an historical researcher at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He too had answered one of the original ads I had placed in a genealogical journal, and over the years was extraordinarily helpful in going to the original sources sequestered in the archives in Holland in order to research questions I had whose answers were available nowhere else. We had corresponded off and on for over ten years.³

Robert's information had been obtained from the shreds of the documents that had survived in the records stored in Holland. The footnote in his book that caught my attention was a commentary on his description of the outrageous behavior of a young Jewish man named Abraham Moses Bueno de Mesquite, who had been forcibly deported from Dutch Guiana in 1786 as a teenager. Exactly what Abraham had done to offend the Parnassim (elders of the Jewish community) so much was not mentioned in the original sources. Robert's footnote was in reference to Abraham's further flaunting his disdain of the power of the Jewish elders:

Abraham Bueno de Mesquita . . . eventually returned to Surinam after having served as a soldier on the warship Admiral Piet Heijn. Bueno de Mesquita shocked the community years later once again, by marrying a young Christian girl, Rebecca Lynch Pindy, already the mother of two of his children. . . . Bueno de Mesquite's marriage was a final statement of defiance towards the Parnassim.⁴

The name Rebecca Lynch Pindy caught my attention. It was, of course, very similar to the name of the woman who was Virginia Fremon and Larry Dunham's great-great-grandmother, Rebecca Lynch Purdy. She had been married to Abraham Gabay Crasto, not Abraham Bueno de Mesquite, but her name was so close to Pindy that I decided to investigate more thoroughly. It is not uncommon in genealogical literature to find mistranscribed names, especially when dealing with the old script handwriting of nearly illegible documents. I wrote a letter mentioning the Pindy vs. Purdy question to Robert Cohen and received his reply on January 8, 1992; he informed me that "Pindy" had indeed been a mistake and "Purdy" was the correct name. He also wrote:

There is no doubt whatsoever that Rebecca Lynch Purdy married Abraham de Mosseh Bueno de Mesquite. That happened on 2 April 1820. On that date she took the name Ester Ribca and the entry in the official register reads: "Ester Ribca Purdy (Goya, previously known as Rebekah Lynch Purdy) has—as a convert—undergone the ritual bath at the age of 23 years and 13 days and is as such entered in the ritual bath register of the community."

Robert went on to add:

This is my translation of the original and *Goya* is the Hebrew word for non-Jewess. To become Jewish, a woman has to undergo a ceremony in a ritual bath (*Mikve*),

which is what she did. At the same date their daughter Abigail Rahel was also accepted in the Jewish community, as was their son Moses who was born on 1 December 1819.

A Mystery—and Some Clues

My mind began to race. Could the great-great-grandmother of Larry Dunham and Virginia Fremon be the same as the young woman in Robert Cohen's footnote?

I soon began to feel sure that this was indeed the case. Although it was possible that there had been two women by the name of Rebecca Lynch Purdy, both of them alive at the same time, one practicing Christianity in New York and another a convert to Judaism in Surinam, the coincidence was not very probable. In the first place, they were exactly the same age. According to the Sephardic marriage records from Surinam, Rebecca Lynch Purdy was twenty-three at the time of her marriage, having been born on March 20, 1797. The Rebecca Lynch Purdy of New York was also born on March 20, 1797, according to both Virginia's family history and Rebecca's New York marriage records, which stated that she was seventeen in 1814. Rebecca's New York bridegroom, Abraham Gabay Crasto, was the son of David Gabay Crasto, originally from Surinam. In addition, Virginia had written me in 1980 about the existence of a letter in the possession of her aunt, dated June 1818. It was written by Elisha Purdy, Rebecca's father, to his in-law, David Gabay Crasto, requesting information on how to send a package to Rebecca and Abraham in Surinam. Finally, Abraham Gabay Crasto's name appears in the New York city directory of 1827, but not before (though, interestingly, he does not appear in the 1830 census). Therefore, I could be totally certain that Abraham Gabay Crasto and Rebecca Lynch Purdy had been in Surinam sometime between 1814 (after their marriage in New York) and 1827. I was almost positive that they had been in Surinam around 1820, when the "other" Rebecca had been married in the Jewish faith.

There was also the evidence offered by the birth dates of their children. According to a transcription of the Sephardic Jewish birth registry that I was able to examine, the Surinam Rebecca Lynch

Purdy and Abraham Bueno de Mesquita had two children: Rahel Abigail and Mosseh Bueno de Mesquite. Mosseh was recorded as born on December 1, 1819 in Surinam, and Rahel Abigail was recorded as born on April 2, 1820 (the very day on which Rebecca and Abraham Bueno de Mesquite were married). It is possible that Rahel Abigail was born earlier and her "birth date" was in reality the date she was formally accepted into the Jewish community, as Robert mentioned in his letter. Rahel and Mosseh are the Hebrew forms of the names Rachel and Moses, which were also the names of the children of the New York Rebecca Lynch Purdy and Abraham Gabay Crasto.⁵

Virginia Fremon was unable to find the exact birth locations and birth dates of the children in any of the registries that she had researched. Her knowledge of the children's birth dates was derived from other documents later in their lives, such as marriage and death records, tombstones, etc. She knew, however, that Moses Gabay Crasto had been born on December 1, 1819—the same date as Mosseh Bueno de Mesquita in Surinam. (Virginia's family legend had it that her great-grandpa Moses had been born at sea, which must have been either on the outward voyage to Surinam or the return voyage. However, the Surinam Sephardic birth registries disproved this theory.) Her records also showed that Rachel Ann (Rahel Abigail) Crasto had been born on September 5, 1815. Even given this discrepancy in the birth dates of Rachel/Rahel, however, I still felt there was overwhelming evidence that the two Rebeccas were the same person.

Two Men—or One?

The fact remained, however, that Rebecca Lynch Purdy was married to an Abraham Gabay Crasto, not Abraham Bueno de Mesquite. Was it possible that she had been married twice, to two different men? And could it be that both husbands derived from Surinamese Sephardic Jewish families? How unusual for a Protestant minister's granddaughter in the early nineteenth century!

More determined than ever to find out the truth behind the matter, I renewed my correspondence with Virginia Fremon in 1991, asking her to send me all the information in her possession per-

taining to her great-great-grandparents. (Unfortunately, Larry Dunham had died in the intervening ten years.) Virginia wrote me that over the years she had been conducting extensive research in the censuses and old city directories from New York, and she knew for a fact that her great-great-grandparents, Rebecca and Abraham Gabay Crasto, had lived to ripe old ages as Protestants in New York. She was quite incredulous that Rebecca could ever have had more than one husband. She wrote me on November 14, 1991:

About Rebecca Lynch Purdy, back in 1981 I found a framed certificate of marriage among my late aunt's effects. It says:

"This is to certify that Abraham G. Crasto and Rebecca L. Purdy were joined together in Holy Matrimony, on the 9 day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen by me. Signed E. Smith, Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church within Greenbough Westchester County, State of New York."

It seems unlikely to me that Rebecca . . . could be the same person who married another Sephardic Jew in South America. My great-great-grandparents Rebecca and Abraham were 17 years old when they were married in New York and had 3 children in the following five years. Could it have been that Abraham had a name other than Crasto that he used in the Surinam area?

I wrote to Robert Cohen in Jerusalem to ask about the possibility of Abraham Gabay Crasto using an alias when in South America. In his January 8, 1992 letter, Robert replied,

In the circumcision register of the Surinam community, there is *no* entry for Abraham, son of David Gabay Crasto. In fact there is no entry for a Gabay Castro at all in the 1790s. This may mean that Abraham Gabay Crasto was born elsewhere or that it was an alias, which in turn may mean that Abraham Gabay Crasto and Abraham Moses Bueno de Mesquita were one and the same person.

I was beginning to believe it was true. Yet I still had my doubts. The Abraham Bueno de Mesquita in Robert's footnote was mentioned as having served on a Dutch warship. He had offended the Jewish authorities not once but twice in his life, the first time as a very young man. The Abraham Bueno de Mesquite who at age seventeen had married Rebecca Lynch Purdy was not old enough to have done all these things.

I did learn, however, that the name Bueno de Mesquite was a popular one in Surinam in the late eighteenth century. In October

1992, Dr. John de Bye, a Surinamese Christian with Sephardic ancestors, sent me information he had compiled on the old Jewish families of Surinam from the combined files of Surinam and Holland. John had created a computerized database of all the Bueno de Mesquitas from the 1600s up to the present time and sorted it in alphabetical order by first name. There were no fewer than 184 people on the list, and eighteen were Abraham Bueno de Mesquitas! Virginia's husband, Dick Fremon, volunteered to input the information into his own computer and eventually he came up with a family tree. Using the birthdates and other clues from Dr. De Bye's data I supplemented this information with some of my own.

I postulated that several contemporaneous members of the Bueno de Mesquita family in Surinam had been named Abraham. I suspected that Robert might have mixed up several of these namesakes. After thoroughly studying the Bueno de Mesquita family tree, I evolved a theory that there were at least two other Abraham Bueno de Mesquitas who could have been mistaken for "our Abraham": the Abraham who was deported from the colony in 1786 for defying the Jewish elders (Parnassim), and another Abraham who at that time was actually one of the Parnassim!

Further bolstering my theory was the postscript Robert Cohen had added in his same January 8, 1992 letter: "It is of course perfectly possible that the young couple married twice—once for the Methodist Episcopal Church in Greenbough and—six years later—in Surinam for the Jewish community. It would mean an intriguing 'double life.' "

I concluded that Abraham Gabay Castro and Abraham Bueno de Mesquita must have been the same man. For some reason, he had decided to change his name while living in Surinam. He had also, not just incidentally, returned to his original faith and remarried his wife in the Jewish religion after she had formally converted. But why would Abraham, after throwing over the Hebraic tradition his ancestors had died for and marrying a Methodist, then cross the ocean, expose his children to ridicule (since they were considered to be illegitimate by the Jewish authorities), and force his wife, the daughter of generations of Protestants, to take on an alien religion? And why, after this drastic life change, would he

then go back to New York, reaffirm Protestantism, and eventually be buried in a Protestant cemetery?

Jew, Christian, or Both?

To be able to answer all of these questions, it was necessary for me to begin to understand the religious, social, and economic conditions prevailing in the United States and Surinam at the beginning of the nineteenth century. I found it easy enough to comprehend Abraham Gabay Crasto's conversion to Christianity when living in New York with his parents, David and Rachel Gabay Crasto. It was hardly uncommon for Jews to live as Christians in the United States then. In an article in the *New York Tribune* in 1905, for instance, a reporter tells of meeting a Jewish student who complained that

not more than 40 percent of American-born Jews observed the dietary laws and religious ceremonies prescribed by the Mosaic law. Convenience . . . and the customs of the society about him—write that down as the explanation of the irreligion of the American-born Jew. . . . The public school; the business world, adjusted to the observation of the Christian, not the Jewish Sabbath; the Saturday night dance; and the complete ignoring of all Jewish holidays by the mass of people surrounding him. . . . The Jew of the second generation . . . finds that to live in a business world adjusted to a Christian calendar is hopelessly inconvenient, if not practically impossible, if he clings to his racial religious observances. . . . He finds that to keep his job he must work on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, and rest on Sunday, the Christian holiday. Similarly, he learns to surrender his celebration of other religious days for business reasons.⁶

Similarly, Stephen Birmingham, in his *The Grandees*, cites Rabbi Stern's book:

. . . through the long corridor of years, the Sephardic Jewish community in America—from the tight-knit, proud entity it once was—has steadily lost members as Sephardim have turned from Judaism to Christianity. . . . prior to 1840 more than 15 percent of the marriages recorded were between Jews and Christians, and . . . of the total number of mixed marriages only 8 percent involved the conversion of the non-Jew to Judaism; members of only another 5 percent showed any indication of wishing to remain identified as Jews, or as members of the Jewish community.⁷

Abraham's parents, David and Rachel Gabay Crasto, continued to practice Judaism—at least for a while. Larry Dunham had sent me a page from *Portraits Etched in Stone*, a book about the old Jewish

graves in New York City, written by Rabbi David de Sola Pool. Rabbi Pool had become interested in the Chatham Square cemetery, located in what is now New York City's Chinatown. It was the original cemetery of the Shearith Israel congregation, New York's earliest Sephardic synagogue, which was founded in colonial times and continues to flourish today.⁸ Rabbi Pool discusses the "broken illegible tombstone" of Rachel Crasto, who died in 1819:

There are social distinctions even in burial. When David G[abay?] Crasto of Surinam was bereaved by the death of his wife on the festival of Purim, Thursday, March 11, 1819, the trustees of the congregation, considering the lack of space in the old cemetery on Chatham Street, decided to allot her burial room in their new and spacious ground on Milligan Street in Greenwich (now West Eleventh Street). Whereupon he wrote to the trustees the following letter:

"Having been informed that you have resolved my wife should be buried in the Beth Haim in Greenwich, in which decision I find myself aggrieved I therefore request that you will reconsider the subject of permit my wife to be buried in the Beth Haim in Chatham St. The expenses attending the same will be paid . . ."⁹

Pool says that the trustees eventually changed their minds, not wanting David Crasto to feel slighted and misconstrue the board's decision in denying his wife burial in the established cemetery in Chatham Square. David Crasto was, therefore, committed to Judaism to the extent that he requested burial in a Jewish cemetery for his wife; and furthermore he wanted her interred in the "prestigious" older established graveyard. This was five years after his son Abraham's marriage in a church ceremony to Rebecca. Moreover, a notation in the Surinam almanac of 1793 indicated that David Gabay Crasto was a regent (elder) of the Portuguese synagogue there. At one time, then, David had been intensely involved with Judaism, much more so than an ordinary congregation member. But at his death in 1849, he was buried in the White Plains Rural Cemetery, in the Methodist Burial Ground.

Virginia Fremon had written in a letter to me dated February 21, 1979: "I get the feeling the Sephardic leaders were less than pleased with his conversion and his admission to Chatham Square was either not requested or refused. . . . Evidently the marriage of [his son] A. G. Crasto to Rebecca Lynch Purdy was the beginning of [the family's] transition to the Christian community. Everything

from this point on, points to their being very strong Protestants." She noted in another letter (January 12, 1992) that Abraham and Rebecca's son Moses "was a prominent Methodist layman." Furthermore, Moses was so patriotic an American that he was "subsequently unhappy that his parents hadn't arranged for him to be born in the U. S. A."

While it was conceivable that Abraham Gabay Crasto lived as a Christian in the United States in order to be accepted into polite society as well as the community of commerce, some questions remained: Why did he return to Judaism in South America? And why had he gone back to Surinam in the first place? Virginia's opinion was (December 7, 1991) that "they went to Surinam to work in the family business there, perhaps right after their marriage in 1814."

Although she had no documents to prove this, it is nevertheless a good working hypothesis. Many Jews at that time were involved in the import-export trade. Wood, sugar cane, and cacao were regularly shipped out of Surinam, while goods such as china and essential oils were imported. Abraham and David Gabay Crasto may have been the "New York branch" of a Surinamese shipping business, trading with relatives or friends in Dutch Guiana. Or Abraham may have been joining another family business that beckoned him in Surinam. In any case, commerce in the early nineteenth century was a lucrative field for many Jews.

Unfortunately, it proved impossible to pinpoint Abraham and Rebecca's exact departure date for Surinam, or the date they returned. Passenger lists and ship's logs from Surinam from after 1791 no longer exist,¹⁰ and similar lists from New York City are available only from 1881 onward. There is about a hundred-year period, therefore, in which it is difficult to trace the comings and goings of passengers between Surinam and New York. I was disappointed; I had hoped that by discovering the exact date of Abraham and Rebecca's departure for Surinam, I would have some clue as to why they went there. I think it is safe to surmise, however, that the young couple were present in Surinam at least as early as 1818, the date Rebecca's father Elisha Purdy requested advice from his in-law on how to send his daughter a package.

Why Two Surnames?

If business dealings were not the reason for Abraham's journey, family issues were another possibility. Did the name Bueno de Mesquita have a special meaning for Abraham? If so, did this have anything to do with his return to Surinam? I speculated that perhaps Bueno de Mesquita had been his mother Rachel Gabay Crasto's maiden name. (It may also have been her first married name, if we assume that she had been married before—a fact which could not be documented.) Perhaps Abraham used Bueno de Mesquita in Surinam to distinguish himself from another relative there with the same last name, Gabay Crasto.

Following this lead, I asked Virginia if she could give me any information about Rachel Gabay Crasto's maiden name and family history. Virginia told me that Rachel was purported to have been born in Jamaica in 1771, but a search of the Jamaican records had proved fruitless, and the Surinam records, as well, had failed to establish her maiden name. We had plenty of information on the Bueno de Mesquita family but nothing conclusive on Rachel's connection with it. It looked like a dead end.

Then, on January 20, 1992, I received another letter from Robert Cohen informing me about a discovery he had made on his recent visit to the archives in Holland. He had uncovered a crucial piece of the puzzle in records at the Hague that were inaccessible to laymen:

The Surinam Marriage register lists the marriage of David Gabay Crasto, aged 29 years, born and raised in Surinam, with Rachel Lopes Telles, also 29 years old, also born and raised in Surinam. . . . Virginia has a different . . . birthplace, but that is not uncommon in 18th century records. The couple may not have wanted to draw attention to a foreign birthplace.

Even more surprising, Robert continued:

. . . 6 years later (on 15 January 1797) an Abigail Abraham Lopes Telles, 21 or 22 years old (illegible in the manuscript) married Moses Abraham Bueno de Mesquite, who was 36 years old at the time. She was also pregnant. On 14 April 1797 she gave birth to a son called Abraham.

Robert concluded that "it was Abraham Moses Bueno de Mesquita who later married Rebecca Lynch Purdy."

An Adoption Compounds the Mystery

Neither Virginia nor I had ever considered that David Gabay Crasto and Rachel Gabay Crasto were not Abraham's true parents! This information from Robert firmly established Abraham's true parentage: Rachel was Abraham's maternal aunt, not his mother. She and her husband, David Gabay Crasto, obviously brought their young nephew to America, where he assumed his uncle's surname.

I could be fairly sure of the year the Crastos had come from Surinam to New York; David is not mentioned in the 1800 New York County census, but does appear in the 1804 New York directory, listed as having a dry goods store at 31 Fair Street—so he and his wife must have arrived between those two dates. In the 1810 census, the Crasto family appears to have two children, a boy and a girl, both between the ages of ten and sixteen years of age. Abraham was born in 1797, so in 1810 he would have been thirteen years old. Abraham may have traveled with his adoptive parents (really his aunt and uncle) when they first arrived in New York; or he may have been "fetched" or sent to them later.

Virginia Fremon had at first suggested (February 19, 1992): "... maybe Abraham decided for himself, at age circa 13, to seek his fortune in The Big Apple, for which purpose he went for an extended visit with his Aunt Rachel and Uncle David." However, I was more inclined to believe that Abraham had been brought to New York as a very young child. The date he joined the Crastos may have been in 1806, when David Gabay Crasto is known to have been in Surinam attending to his aging mother's affairs at a time when his stepfather prepared to leave Dutch Guiana on a business trip.

In any case we can infer that Abraham was in New York at least by 1810, for there appears to have been no other "son" in the family; the New York census of 1820 shows the David G. Crasto (*sic*) family as comprising one male over forty-five years old (i.e., the widowed David, whose wife Rachel had died in 1819) and one female between twenty-six and forty-five, presumably the daughter who was listed on the 1810 census. Since she was in 1810 assigned to the ten- to sixteen-year-old category, we may infer that

she was approximately sixteen years old in 1810 (in order to be about twenty-six in 1820), so she must have been born in 1794.

Assuming that she had really done so, I was curious as to why Abigail Lopes Telles would have given up her young son to her sister Rachel. I had some ideas. In the first place, I knew that she was six months pregnant at the time of her marriage. Even if Abigail and Moses were legally married by the time she gave birth, the fact that she had conceived the child before her marriage in the Jewish faith might have made a difference to the Jewish community. Rachel and David Gabay Crasto may have offered to raise Abraham as their own son to remove him from the stigma of having been conceived out-of-wedlock.

There were other possible explanations for Abigail Lopes Telles's allowing her son to be adopted by her sister. For one thing, the political climate in Surinam at the time may not have been a healthy one in which to raise children. Uprisings of slaves who had escaped from the plantations were common, often putting the lives of white plantation owners in danger. Abigail and Moses may have wanted their child to be raised in a safer environment. Economic factors may also have been a consideration. Perhaps Abigail and Moses had fallen upon financial hard times and could no longer take care of all of their children; Abraham, the eldest, was therefore given to his Uncle David and Aunt Rachel, who were going to America to seek a better life for themselves. Education may also have been a reason; the Bueno de Mesquitas may have desired their child to attend American schools and receive an American rather than a "provincial" upbringing. After all, it was around this time that many Surinamese Jews and other white Surinamese were beginning to emigrate from Dutch Guiana. Abigail and Moses may not have been able to emigrate themselves because of financial reasons or family issues.

Another possible scenario I thought of goes like this: David and Rachel were the parents of a daughter, but the doctors told Rachel that she must not, for some medical reason, ever bear another child. Despairing of ever having a son of their own, the couple appealed to Abigail and Moses to "lend" them one of their many

children to raise as their own. My support for this fanciful notion comes from a notation in Rabbi de Sola Pool's book that seven months after Rachel died in New York in 1819, a child of hers was laid to rest in its mother's grave. This child obviously must have been an infant—certainly not a full-grown person like the twenty-six-year-old daughter listed in the 1820 census the following year! So my theory is that in 1819, Rachel, approaching menopause, must have inadvertently become pregnant, and the doctors' dire prediction came true—she expired after the delivery. The baby lingered for seven months until it too passed on.

All of these reasons are perhaps viable, but none can be proved. Unfortunately, no documents exist that would shed a light on exactly why Abraham was adopted by his aunt and uncle.

I had managed to prove Abraham's parentage, however, and the reason he took the name Bueno de Mesquite when resuming life in the Sephardic Jewish community of Surinam, for that was his real surname. I also discovered, along the way, that Rachel's connection to the Bueno de Mesquita family was not only through her sister Abigail. A review of the extant Surinam almanac of 1820, obtained from the University Library at Leiden, showed the plantations held by the Bueno de Mesquita family in that year. It became obvious that another sister, Ester Lopes Telles, had been married to Moses' brother, Aron Bueno de Mesquite. Also, Agnes Dunselman, a researcher from the Netherlands hired by Virginia, had discovered a document drawn up in May of 1806. At that time David Gabay Crasto had named Aron Bueno De Mesquita as the executor of his stepfather's will. David himself would soon be returning to America and could no longer personally handle his stepfather's business affairs. Now it was obvious that he had named Aron because he was his brother-in-law. Thus, the Lopes Telles and Bueno de Mesquita families were closely intertwined.

Was It All About Money?

Since Abraham had apparently decided to use his father's true name, Bueno de Mesquite, once he had returned to Surinam, I theorized that perhaps he stood to inherit some money from either the

Bueno de Mesquita family or from his mother's relatives, the Lopes Telles family. After all, Rebecca had chosen the name Ester Ribca—perhaps after Ester, Aron's wife—at the time of her conversion. Her daughter Abigail was named after Abraham's true mother, and her son Moses after Abraham's true father. Could this choice of names have been an attempt to solidify family relationships because of an inheritance? Perhaps Abraham wanted to reestablish his presence in Surinam and claim his birthright, so to speak.

Could money really have been the reason he had relocated with his young Christian wife? Surely this hypothesis would explain his change of religion. As Voltaire wrote, "When it is a question of money, everybody is said to be of the same religion." In order to be accepted into the Jewish community of his birth—and to acquire a fortune by doing so—Abraham Gabay Crasto might have been forced to renounce his conversion to Christianity. Perhaps the Sephardic Jews refused to accept his Christian marriage to Rebecca as valid; the notation Robert unearthed and quoted in his footnotes makes it clear that she was considered his mistress by the Jewish elders, who also regarded their two children as illegitimate. The elders seem to have required Rebecca Lynch Purdy to convert to Judaism before she could be remarried to Abraham in a "valid" religious ceremony.

In an effort to find data to support my theory that Abraham was a fortune-hunter, I attempted to research both the Bueno de Mesquita and the Lopes Telles families thoroughly. I found out that the Bueno de Mesquita family had a history in Surinam going back to 1695.¹¹ I also had some antique Surinam maps showing the sizes of plantations, a record of donations to the provincial government to finance a hospital in 1645, the 1707 list showing purchases of slaves, etc.—all proving that the Bueno de Mesquita and Gabay Crasto families were wealthy landowners in Surinam in the eighteenth century.¹²

Our Abraham might certainly have been a beneficiary of one of these wealthy relatives' wills, but I could not be certain. The old records were for the most part destroyed and the antique maps incomplete. Besides, there seemed to be too many surviving sib-

lings of Abraham's father, Moses Bueno de Mesquite, for Abraham himself to be able to inherit anything of real value. Moses, by the way, was still alive in 1838 and was listed as a licensed ferry boat operator in Surinam—certainly not a profession connoting any great wealth or power.

As for the Lopes Telles family, I could find no evidence of property in either Jamaica or Surinam. Using the printout from John de Bye's computerized list, I discovered that Abraham's uncle, Aron Bueno de Mesquite, whom David Gabay Crasto had named executor of his stepfather's will, owned two plantations, Nahamoe and Watervlate. But he did not die until 1828, at which time these plantations were inherited by his widow Ester, none other than Rachel Gabay Crasto's sister, and Abraham Gabay Crasto's aunt. Ester, in turn, may have been heir to some fortune from the Lopes Telles side which she shared with her sisters Rachel and Abigail, but I could find no proof. Rachel Gabay Crasto had died in New York in March 1819; I toyed with the possibility that whatever share of the "fortune" had devolved to her (if in fact there was a fortune) was now inheritable by her adopted son and nephew Abraham. However, I soon dismissed this possibility as being too far-fetched. For one thing, Ester was survived by at least two children who would certainly have inherited her share.

Rachel's last will and testament, written January 4, 1819, shortly before her death, states: "I do hereby give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my estate both real and personal wherever it may be to my dearly beloved husband, David Gabay Crasto." There is no mention of her nephew/adopted son Abraham; furthermore, the will is a simple document without lengthy codicils, which would seem to indicate that she had no substantial fortune to give away. I could only conclude that Abraham had not come into any money from either his father's or his mother's family.

Possible Reasons for Converting

The psychology of a young man who changes his identity so seemingly capriciously is not easily understood. It is tempting to ascribe his motives to a desire to increase his social standing or wealth, or

to ensure his children's future. Unfortunately, I was never able to come up with any definitive evidence of vast family holdings that would have drawn Abraham across the ocean to South America.

Furthermore, when Abraham Gabay Crasto returned to New York sometime around 1827, there was no indication that he had come back a rich man. Both he and his adoptive father, David Gabay Crasto, worked at various occupations. In 1827 the New York City directory listed Abraham as a cartman, in 1833 he was again a carter, and in 1839 he owned a feed store. In 1844 he filed naturalization papers. In 1847 he was working for the post office, in 1850 as a baker, in 1856 as a police lieutenant, and in 1858 as a contractor. He moved to several different addresses, and by the time he died in 1878, finally owned a home. He remained close to David Gabay Crasto throughout his life; in fact, David lived with his adopted son at various times, and his funeral, in 1849, was held in Abraham Gabay Crasto's home.

Max Beerbohm, the English wit, said, "The past is a work of art, free of irrelevancies and loose ends." If that is so, then the genealogist must also be something of an artist, weaving imaginative visions of past worlds. Tying up loose ends and getting rid of irrelevancies is not the genealogist's privilege, of course; he or she must be above all a meticulous and scrupulous researcher. But it is also true that the facts, carefully accumulated, researched, verified, and weighed, are able to take us only so far. To understand as much as possible about the lives of long-dead human beings, an intuitive leap into their minds and hearts is also necessary.

The real "truth" about Abraham Gabay Crasto may have been that he was a victim of not one but two restrictive societies. He could not live as a Jew in New York because it was not possible to practice Judaism and at the same time live comfortably in the community in which he had chosen to make his home. And in Surinam he was not allowed to live as a Christian among his Jewish relatives. In fact, his church marriage in New York was considered invalid; he and his wife were branded as adulterers, and his children as illegitimate. So he took the only route open to him: he changed religions to suit the society in which he found himself at the time. When he was laid to rest in the "rural" cemetery,

assumed by everyone who knew him to have been a Christian, his past was buried along with his remains. Certainly there seem to be no records in New York of his brief return to Judaism while sojourning in South America, and he may even have been ashamed enough to have taken pains to hide it. It was no wonder that Larry and Virginia's families had no idea there had ever been Jews in their history.

To be fair, it is also possible that Abraham Bueno de Mesquita/Gabay Crasto's "conversions" to Christianity were not as cut-and-dried as they seem. He may simply have disguised his Judaism while living in New York, choosing for expediency's sake to marry in a Christian church and live a Christian life. In other words, he may not have undergone a full-blown conversion, as his wife Rebecca was compelled to do when they moved to Surinam. Yet even so, to his Jewish relatives, this indifference to the faith of his forefathers was condemnation enough. To them he may as well have been whole-hearted about Christianity; in their eyes, not living an actively Jewish life amounted to the same thing.

Does one pity such a man or despise him? Or does one admire his "flexibility" in coping with the challenges presented to him by society's rules? That is a question which will have a different answer for each person who asks it. Until more facts are discovered, nobody can really pass judgment on Abraham Gabay Crasto. I have put together all the bits and pieces of the mystery that I was able to uncover. But the past guards its secrets well, and so we may never really know all the motives that went into making Abraham vacillate between religions, thus living his life as a "part-time Jew."

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Notes

1. The name Crasto (often spelled Crastow) is a variation of the ancient Spanish and Portuguese Castro. Gabay (also spelled Gabbai) is a Hebrew name meaning "treasurer" or "dues collector." It was borne by a family in fifteenth-century Spain that moved to Italy in the seventeenth century. Sephardic Jews customarily had double surnames, such as Gabay Crasto, indicating that there had been a dynastic marriage between members of two powerful families. However, it is impossible to tell exactly when a specific double name was assumed by any individual Sephardic family.

2. P. A. Hilfman, "Notes on the History of the Jews in Surinam," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 18 (1906): 179–207.

3. To my distress, I received a fax on May 19, 1992 from the Hague stating that Dr. Cohen had passed away of a sudden heart attack. Only forty-five years old at the time of his death, he had been one of the greatest living authorities on Surinam. I dedicate this paper to his memory.

4. Robert Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment: Surinam in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1991), p. 297, fn. 28.

5. A third child, Elizabeth Jane, was reputed to have been born sometime in August 1817. However, she does not appear anywhere in the Surinam records. One possibility may be that she died before Rebecca and Abraham settled in Surinam.

6. "Orthodox Inconvenient," *New York Tribune*, October 15, 1905, quoted in Allon Schoener, ed., *Portal to America: The Lower East Side, 1870–1925* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).

7. Stephen Birmingham, *The Grandees: America's Sephardic Elite* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 8.

8. The earliest grave in this cemetery, dating back to 1683, happens to be the resting place of one Benjamin Bueno de Mesquite. Benjamin is the earliest traceable member of the Bueno de Mesquita family, the great-great-great-grandfather of "our" Abraham. Benjamin was born 1600 or thereabouts and was a Jewish merchant who settled in the Caribbean. His life illustrates the historical flow of Jews into the New World. It is not known where Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita was born; he referred to himself as a Portuguese merchant, but he may really have been Spanish, as "Portuguese" was often a euphemism for "Jew." A document with his signature, dated December 11, 1654, was discovered in Leghorn, Italy, so it is known that he traveled there. He had settled first in Brazil, and another document with his signature, matching the signature found in Italy, exists in Recife, the colony established in northern Brazil by the Dutch in the 1630s. He left Brazil when the war between the Portuguese and Dutch began, and lived on several Caribbean islands as business and political fortunes waxed and waned in those turbulent times. In 1661 he requested the British government to release him from the provisions of the Navigation Act, which restricted trade with countries at war with Great Britain. He received permission to trade freely and set up a business in Jamaica. Soon, however, Benjamin, his sons, and several other Jews (possibly his partners) were deported when they failed to find a gold mine as they had pledged they were going to do. It is believed that his wife and daughters were not in Jamaica at the time of his deportation. One of his sons, Joseph, had moved from Barbados to New Amsterdam (New York). Benjamin joined him there around 1679; he died in New York in 1683.

9. David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 106.

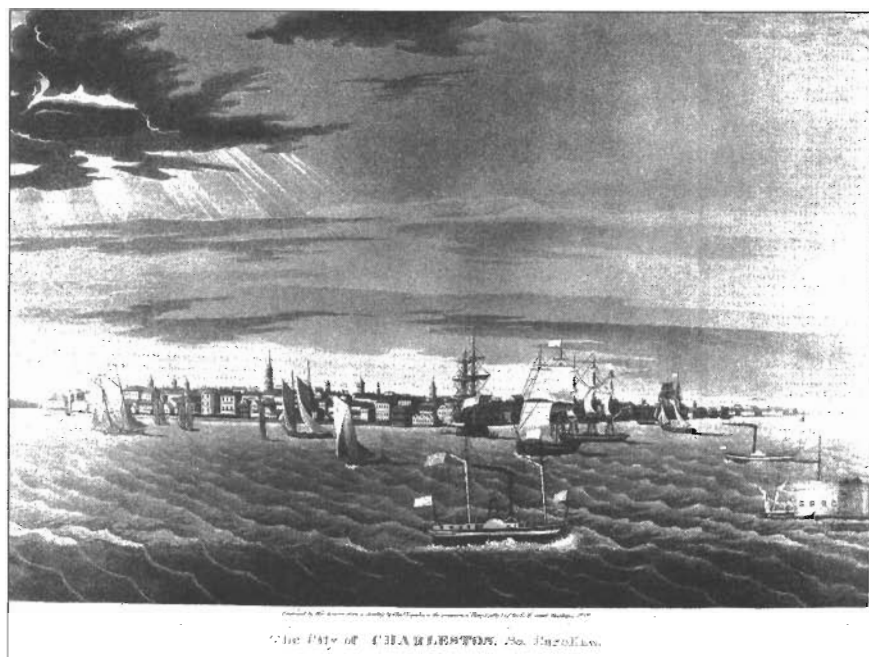
10. Such records from earlier in the eighteenth century are still extant.

11. "Our" Abraham's great-great-grandfather, Moses Bueno de Mesquite, born around 1670, was the first individual in the family who can be definitely identified as having settled in Surinam on plantation #61, Pomibo. The number is derived from a 1740 map by La Vaux, and from another map dated 1737 that is now in the collection of Leiden University in the Netherlands.

Information on subsequent generations of the family is available, but their holdings are not readily discernable until we come down to Moses, father of our Abraham, born around 1770. He is listed in the Surinam almanac of 1793 and 1794 as the "verger" (i.e., deacon) of the Sephardic synagogue in Surinam. And in the 1825 and 1838 almanacs he is listed as a licensed ferry operator. This would seem to indicate that the family fortunes had fallen on rather hard times. The plantation sections of the Surinam almanacs from the early 1800s no longer seem to exist. The only complete one that I was able to locate that had this information still intact was the Surinam almanac from 1840, which I obtained from the Royal Library in the Hague, the Koninklijk Bibliotheek.

12. At that time plantation owners were asked to donate money or goods to the Surinamese government in order to finance the building of a hospital. A Moses Bueno de Mesquita gave 200 pounds of sugar, a considerable amount. Some of the other planters gave only 25 or so pounds. This indicates that the Bueno de Mesquitas must have been quite wealthy. In 1707, Moses Bueno de Mesquita bought seven slaves for a total of 1,430 guilders. According to the list given for the slave auction, he was one of the major buyers.

The Pomibo plantation in the Bueno de Mesquita family was a double plot. The size indicates that the family was most probably growing sugar cane. The map drawn by La Vaux in 1740 shows that Pomibo had passed on to a new owner named Henriquez Granada. An Abraham Bueno owned another plantation, #33. This was a small strip of land most likely used for growing coffee, which needed less land than sugar to be profitable. Jacob Gabay Crasto is shown on this map as owner of plantation #37, Jeprens. He is also listed as owner of #43, not shown on the La Vaux map.



Charleston, South Carolina harbor (1835)

Morris Goldsmith: Deputy United States Marshal

Stephen M. Passamaneck

Morris Goldsmith, a Jewish immigrant to the United States, served as a deputy United States marshal in Charleston, South Carolina, from about 1815 until well into the 1850s. Throughout much of his period of service he was a deputy to Morton A. Waring, who was initially marshal for the District of South Carolina,¹ but on January 9, 1822, when South Carolina was split into Eastern and Western Districts,² became marshal for the Eastern District.³

Goldsmith has occasionally come to the attention of historians of American Jewry, but by and large none of them has been interested specifically in his career as a lawman.⁴ This paper will present the facts of that career, insofar as they can be determined, and will offer some comment and analysis from the twin perspectives of historian and law enforcement officer. For all the obscurity of Morris Goldsmith's life as a whole, it is possible to retrieve a rather good picture of a hardworking and dedicated cop to whom any law enforcement agency could point with satisfaction and admiration.

The qualification already given, that facts "insofar as they can be determined" will be reviewed here, is necessary because much of what is known about Goldsmith is sketchy and at times contradictory. Even his year of birth is a minor mystery. As for his career, one must read between the faded lines of official documents to sense what Goldsmith was really doing. Moreover, the record is all the poorer because federal troops under General William T. Sherman destroyed so many records—along with so much else—when they marched into South Carolina in 1865, to wreak punishment upon the land that had begun the secessions from the Union in 1860 and fired the first shots against Fort Sumter, to begin the Civil War.

Duties and Prospects of a U.S. Marshal

In order to assess Morris Goldsmith's career in law enforcement at a particular time and place, we must necessarily take two matters into account. First, we require some notion of the nature and pur-

pose of the office of United States marshal (and deputy marshal) when Goldsmith served; and second, we need the specific historical circumstances and data bearing on Goldsmith's life in general.

Who and what, then, was a U.S. marshal? One authority on American Jewish history writes that "Goldsmith . . . never rose higher than a deputy United States Marshal, yet served notably in that post."⁵ The statement suggests that a deputy marshal could have aspired to higher rank, perhaps could have risen up some promotional ladder. That was certainly not the case in 1819, and it was really not until well into our own century that deputy marshals began to be a highly trained, professional force among other federal law enforcement agencies, with genuine advancement and career prospects.⁶

In Goldsmith's time, as indeed to a degree today, the United States marshal for a given district was a local gentleman of good reputation in his neighborhood, appointed by the President to serve a four-year term, at presidential pleasure. As a presidential appointee, the marshal generally shared and supported the political views of the President. Indeed, U.S. marshals are still presidential appointees, but nowadays they reckon, among other qualities, some law enforcement experience or background. The marshal's deputies were in effect his employees and were covered by the bond which the marshal had to post.⁸ If the marshal himself had a limited term and served at pleasure, it is clear that the deputies he hired could not have had any illusions about the future of their own employment.

The office of marshal was established by the Judiciary Act of September 24, 1789.⁹ In addition to the specification of the term of service, the Act contained a broad charge as to the marshal's duties. The marshals of each district were required "to execute throughout the District, all lawful precepts directed to them, and issued under the authority of the United States."¹⁰ The Act also provided for deputies to be appointed by the marshal.¹¹ The marshals were charged with executing lawful precepts (written orders) from any of the branches of the federal government. They served federal warrants, subpoenas, and summonses, and they carried out lawful orders issuing from the President, from Congress, and from the federal court system.¹² One marshal, in 1812, styled himself as the

"Executive Civil Officer of the nation within this District."¹³

Such was the task of Marshal Waring, and such was the task of his deputy, his employee, Morris Goldsmith, in the years 1819 and 1820, the most crucial ones in Goldsmith's career as a federal lawman.

Law Enforcement in the Nineteenth Century

It is worth remembering that law enforcement as a profession—and we include federal marshals under the broad heading of law enforcement—was hardly even advanced as far as infancy in 1819. Law enforcement experience could hardly have been a requisite for appointment as a marshal or deputy in 1819 or indeed for many years to come. After all, the first modern police force did not appear on the scene until 1829, when Sir Robert Peel founded the Metropolitan Police Department in London.

Law enforcement was certainly not a profession or even much of a career; and the task of enforcing laws resided in the more or, often, less capable hands of town watchmen, town marshals, town militias, the citizenry as a posse, and the like.¹⁴ Two brief stories in the *Charleston Courier* indicate the quality of policing in that city just at the time Deputy Marshal Goldsmith and his people were fully involved in some dangerous detective work. There is no reason to assume that Charleston was any better, or any worse, than any other American city of the period with respect to crime and law enforcement. The first article appeared on February 28, 1820, and it is presented in full.

It is with extreme pleasure the inhabitants of *Ward No. 4* notice the formation of a *Patrol Guard*, for the protection of lives and property, which stand in such imminent danger, from the repeated attempts lately made to fire the city, and they hope the citizens in other Wards will use the like vigilance to rid themselves of a gang of rascals who now infest the city.

It costs the city somewhat near twenty thousand dollars per annum to support the City Guard, who, it is evident, do not do their duty. Scarcely a watchman is to be seen at 12, though plenty at 10 o'clock, when there is a chance of committing a negro to the guard house.

In other words, where are the cops when we need them? We citizens pay a great deal of money and the patrolmen are not doing their job!

On July 28, 1820, the *Courier* ran a call for improved police service and an end to corruption and bribery in law enforcement. The paper complained that one city marshal could not do an adequate job; there were simply too many "questionable characters," "pirates," and "robbers"—and "improper associations are known to exist."

Public indignation with the police is clearly an ancient theme in American history.

It was in precisely this context of civic policing that Deputy U.S. Marshal Morris Goldsmith carried out his solemn obligation to uphold the lawful authority of the United States. When Morris Goldsmith became a deputy marshal, there was no such thing as a career in law enforcement, as it is understood today, and the system of fees for service of process, making arrests, etc., was hardly calculated to yield a regular and sufficient income.¹⁶

So much for a quick sketch of the post of deputy U.S. marshal: who, then, was Morris Goldsmith, and what are the historical data that we have about him?

Goldsmith's Vital Statistics

Morris Goldsmith was born in London and immigrated to the United States sometime before 1802.¹⁷ In that year he was living in Charleston and married a local girl, Sarah Levy. He died of old age at his residence on Tradd Street in Charleston on February 2, 1861.¹⁸ Various sources, plus simple arithmetic, add up to general confusion over the year of his birth and his age at death. Synagogue records and county death records apparently put his age at death at eighty-three.¹⁹ Since he died in February, he perhaps had not yet passed his birthday in 1861, so simple subtraction puts his year of birth at 1778, or possibly 1777. His age when he married would have been twenty-four or twenty-five. So far so good.

Census data and his naturalization record give quite a different picture. Goldsmith became a naturalized citizen of the United States on September 15, 1812, having become a denizen of the United States on February 4, 1805.²⁰ The age on his naturalization record is twenty-eight. If he were twenty-eight in 1812, his year of birth becomes 1784 and his age at marriage, eighteen—a trifle young perhaps but in harmony with ancient rabbinic dicta.²¹ His age at death, however, becomes seventy-seven, still quite old

enough in 1861 to suffer from "old age." But the census of 1850, in which Goldsmith, functioning as assistant to the marshal, was himself the enumerator for the district of Charleston, gives his precise age that year at sixty-four.²² Quick subtraction discloses a birth year of 1786, making his age at naturalization twenty-six, his age at marriage sixteen, and his age at death seventy-five or so. Then most curious of all: the census of 1860 shows his age as seventy-nine.²³ His birth year is thus 1781 or so, but he is fifteen years older than he was in 1850, something of a biological, not to mention mathematical, impossibility. Further, if he were seventy-nine in 1860, he would have been seventy-nine or eighty when he died, not eighty-three; about twenty when he married, and thirty when he was naturalized.

There are all manner of discrepancies among unimpeachable sources, and there is no way to reconcile them. The major events of Morris Goldsmith's law enforcement career occurred when he was somewhere between his early thirties and his early forties; on any reading he was no longer a youngster, but a man whose years suggest a person with some degree of experience and worldly wisdom. He put all of that at the service of his adopted homeland.

Family and Private Life

The facts of Goldsmith's personal life are quite sparse. We do not know why he selected Charleston as his destination when he emigrated from England, but an Abraham Goldsmith was present there by 1802²⁴ and became a naturalized citizen in 1818. Abraham was a shopkeeper and a clerk to the synagogue, K.K. Beth Elohim. Perhaps Morris and Abraham were related. Perhaps both men left London together to find a new life in the States. Perhaps they already had some friends or relatives in Charleston who wrote them of fine opportunities in the new country. Charleston in that era boasted the largest Jewish community in the United States; and its Jews participated actively and productively in all sorts of enterprises, in civic leadership, politics, the professions, and the intellectual life of that vigorous and cosmopolitan city.²⁵ Charleston's Jews had founded what was even then deemed a distinguished synagogue and other communal institutions.²⁶ What better place for a young and eager Jewish boy to establish his own roots in a

vigorous new society? But precisely when and why Morris Goldsmith came to Charleston is and remains unknown.

Morris's wife, Sarah, was born in Charleston in 1785, and died of convulsions on December 23, 1828, at the age of forty-three.²⁷ Her parentage is unknown. She would have been seventeen at the time of her marriage to Morris; their union lasted twenty-six years. Sarah's age at marriage suggests that Morris would have been at least eighteen, which is just the age one derives from the information on the naturalization record.

Morris and Sarah had a number of children. The 1830 census, the first after Sarah's death, reflects the presence in the Goldsmith household of one male and four females who could have been offspring.²⁸ The record shows one male between forty and fifty, Morris himself, and one between thirty and forty, too old, really, to be their child. This person was probably not one Henry Goldsmith who had been born in England in 1805, and was likely a younger brother, cousin, or nephew of Morris's.²⁹ Henry would have been twenty-five or so in 1830. The male between thirty and forty cannot be identified on the basis of the data available.

Henry Goldsmith died of a "complicated disease" at a Tradd Street residence—doubtless Morris's—on January 9, 1861, not quite a month before Morris died.³⁰ Henry had become a naturalized citizen in 1821, was also a member of K.K. Beth Elohim, and found employment in the courts as a deputy registrar in equity and as a shop clerk.³¹ Morris and Henry also shared the same address in 1831, 129 Wentworth Street, according to the *Directory and Strangers Guide for the City of Charleston*, a sort of city directory, which Morris published in that year.³²

The one remaining male was no doubt Joseph H. Goldsmith, born in Charleston in 1813.³³ He also died at the Tradd Street residence, on December 5, 1853, of "intemperance." He worked as a clerk, was listed at the Wentworth Street address in 1831, and is the right age to have been Morris's son. The 1850 census data show Joseph in Morris's household, at age thirty-six, a clerk. Joseph was most probably the son of Morris and Sarah Goldsmith.

Morris and Sarah had perhaps five daughters. The best-documented of all of them is Rosy, who died on October 5, 1813, when

she was only eighteen months old.³⁴ She was, therefore, born sometime around April, 1812. Perhaps Rosy's birth prompted Morris to complete the naturalization process. After all, his infant daughter (perhaps his firstborn) was a citizen—he should be one as well. But there may have been other reasons behind naturalization in 1812, as we shall presently suggest.

The other four females noted in the 1830 census have left far fainter traces. The documents lists one female under five, two between five and ten, and one between twenty and thirty.³⁵ An Abigail Goldsmith was born in 1823, and a Cecilia D. Goldsmith was born in 1826.³⁶ Historical records also disclose the presence of a Catherine Goldsmith, but she appears to have been the daughter of Isaac and Frances Phillips Goldsmith, unrelated to the Morris Goldsmith family.³⁷ Abigail is listed in Morris's household in 1850 and Cecilia is listed in Morris's household for both 1850 and 1860; the latter census gives her age as thirty-six: close enough to a birth year of 1826!³⁸ Thus we can account for Abigail as one of the two between ages five and ten, and Cecilia as the child under five. But the other female between five and ten and surely the one between twenty and thirty left no discernible traces. Even poor Rosy would only have been eighteen in 1830.

The Goldsmith's had, so it seems, five or perhaps six children if the one mysterious female is counted. None of the birth dates of the children coincides with Morris's most active period of law enforcement activity.

Goldsmith's Early Years in Charleston

Even though we do not know quite when or why Morris Goldsmith fetched up in Charleston, sometime before 1802, we do know that at the time of his naturalization, September, 1812, he listed his occupation as inspector of the customs.³⁹ Presumably he had been serving in that capacity for some time. Moreover, we know that another transplanted Jewish Londoner, Abraham Alexander, was a clerk in the Charleston Customs House in 1802.⁴⁰ So again we come to one or more sorts of perhaps: perhaps Goldsmith knew Alexander through some family or business connection; perhaps Alexander's experience in Charleston had filtered

back to London and prompted Morris to take ship and pursue his fortune; perhaps Morris, already having arrived in Charleston, came to Alexander's attention as a bright young fellow; perhaps Goldsmith as a newly married man—or a man on the eve of marriage—was casting about for some good, steady work; perhaps he had brought some experience of ships and cargoes from London or had quickly acquired knowledge of such matters working on the Charleston docks. One or some combination of these possibilities could account for the notation that Morris Goldsmith was an inspector of the customs by September 15, 1812. Whatever sequence of events led to Goldsmith's appointment as inspector, one important factor had to have been a productive political connection. Political patronage was the pathway to a job in the customs service, just as it was to the office of marshal or deputy marshal. Someone with political leverage apparently befriended Goldsmith and helped his career. Somebody who knew somebody knew Goldsmith; there is no indication of who that person was: another minor mystery.

The years 1811 and 1812 could not have been pleasant for someone employed on the docks of Charleston in any capacity. The country was stumbling toward a second war with Britain.⁴¹ The supremely powerful British fleet had interdicted American trade with continental Europe with a heavy hand. United States merchantmen were being taken on the high seas and American seamen pressed into British service. The life-and-death struggle with Napoleon left the British no room for half-measures. The Jefferson administration imposed an embargo prohibiting trade with both the British and the French, but American commerce suffered badly, and doubtless customs inspectors were seriously affected by the collapse in trade during the slide toward war. Congress finally declared war on June 18, 1812.⁴²

Perhaps Morris Goldsmith, preoccupied with the addition to his family in 1812, became a naturalized citizen because of concern that he might come to the attention of the government as an enemy alien. When war broke out, President Madison, under the authority of the Alien Act of 1798, charged U.S. marshals to take notice of all enemy aliens in their districts.⁴³ British citizens were required to register with the marshals, who monitored their activities.⁴⁴ The

possibility of espionage was a serious matter, and any alien—even though a denizen—might become suspect; the ports were particularly sensitive areas. So it may have been as much due to the pressure that larger events often exert on the lives of individuals as to the birth of little Rosy that Morris Goldsmith became a United States citizen in September of 1812.

Sources on Goldsmith's Early Cases

Presumably, Goldsmith continued to work as a customs inspector during and after the War of 1812, which finally ended in 1815. The few extant sources suggest that he became a deputy marshal somewhere around 1815. The principal sources are a report by the congressional Committee on Claims from 1824, and two petitions by Goldsmith, one dated 1820 and the other dated 1834.⁴⁵ Contemporary newspaper reports supply a variety of details which, as we shall see, reveal the background for some specific events and supplement the 1824 report and the petitions with pertinent information.⁴⁶ The newspaper stories, however, require some careful sifting because they give dates and numbers that do not square precisely with the major sources. The records of the federal district court for South Carolina furnish an additional dimension to the recreation of Morris Goldsmith's law enforcement career, as do two personal letters, one from Judge John Drayton to Representative Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, and one from Pinckney to President James Monroe.⁴⁷ Both letters are dated in 1820.

Although the various sources are somewhat at odds with each other, the outline of the picture they disclose is, on the whole, quite sharp and distinct. The 1824 report asserts that Goldsmith was a deputy at the time of the events enumerated, i.e., late 1818 through August, 1820. It is reasonable to assume that he was *already* a deputy in 1818, since his appointment as such is not noted in the report. In the 1834 petition, Goldsmith states that he had been a deputy under Marshal Morton Waring for "nearly twenty years." Waring served from 1813 to 1832, nineteen years all told. In 1834 a period of "nearly twenty years," say nineteen, would mean somewhere around 1815. While this dating of his appointment is admittedly vague, it is the best that can be made from the sources. So

Morris Goldsmith seems to have become a deputy U.S. marshal somewhere around 1815.

Goldsmith's years as a customs inspector were probably excellent training for the tasks he was to face as a deputy marshal. He certainly got to know the captains and vessels that frequently called at Charleston. He doubtless got to know many of the seamen, factors, and merchants who made their living on the docks as well as the laborers and hangers-on. He must also have had an excellent knowledge of the geography of Charleston Bay and the Charleston waterfront area, its warehouses offices, taverns, flophouses, and so forth.

Clearly, Goldsmith knew his territory and was ready to do his job. Among his many waterfront and seafaring acquaintances, he probably also knew who was honest, who was not above some smuggling, and who might fit out a vessel for a bit of piracy down the eastern coast of Florida and on toward Cuba and the Caribbean islands.

This was especially important, because East Florida had belonged to Spain until February of 1819, when it was ceded to the United States, and American pirates certainly had no qualms about taking Spanish ships and cargoes.⁴⁸ To compound the problem, independent states were emerging throughout Spanish America, as Simon Bolivar and others shattered Spain's power on the South American continent. In particular, the former Spanish province of Buenos Aires (Buenos Ayres in the contemporary documents), which was for practical purposes functioning as an independent state in 1819 and 1820, was recruiting American vessels, American captains, and American seamen willing to sail as privateers. Cruising the Atlantic and even the Mediterranean in search of plunder, the privateers particularly sought out Spanish ships and cargoes.

The Anti-Piracy Task Force

The most comprehensive source for events between January 1819 and August 1820, the most critical phase of Goldsmith's law enforcement career, is the report of the Committee on Claims of the 18th Congress, first session, in the case of Goldsmith and a fellow

deputy marshal, Roderick. Dated March 22, 1824, the report to the House was accompanied by a bill for the relief of Goldsmith and Roderick. The bill was read twice and committed to a Committee of the Whole. Private in nature, it was passed on April 30, 1824, almost four years after the events which prompted it, and sent to the Senate, which passed it on May 19, 1824. The law authorized and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to pay Goldsmith and Roderick the funds they had sought.⁴⁹

The committee report indicates that Goldsmith, identified as a deputy to the marshal for South Carolina, went out of pocket in the course of his law enforcement endeavors. In the absence of an expense account or fund to reimburse deputy marshals for monies advanced, the only way he could get his money back was by Act of Congress. Just as a deputy U.S. marshal could expect little in the way of remuneration, so too, apparently, could he expect little—or nothing—in reimbursement.

The document begins by explaining that in late 1818 and early 1819 piracy had become very frequent along the U.S. coast and on the high seas, causing serious alarm. The federal government took various and sundry steps to suppress piracy up and down the Atlantic coast. Among other things, "the late Thomas Parker, then District Attorney" (i.e., U.S. attorney),

communicated freely and frequently with the said Goldsmith, and directed him to obtain the assistance of the most active and energetic men that could be procured, and to be unremitted [*sic*] in his exertions to detect those pirates, who were believed to be concealed in the city, where their plunder was brought secretly, and disposed of; and that the said Goldsmith, and his associates, would doubtless be rewarded by the Government for any extraordinary exertions that might be made in this respect.

Apparently the D.A. knew there was no funding for the operation, but he enlisted Goldsmith and others anyway. What Parker did, of course, was to appoint what we would today call a special task force unit. Curiously, Marshal Waring's name does not appear anywhere in the document, though we shall see that he was certainly aware of Parker's, and Goldsmith's, activities. Why Parker chose Goldsmith for this duty has already been suggested. Who better to detect pirates and their loot than a former customs inspec-

tor who was in a position to know the major players in the waterfront underworld, their associates, and their hangouts?

The "Louisa" Case

At any rate, the 1824 report proceeds to list the successes scored by Goldsmith and his associates in the prosecution of the anti-piracy campaign. In January 1819 they arrested eighteen persons on charges of piracy; the evidence they developed led to four convictions, and two of the four received capital punishment. How the other fourteen got off is not recorded, but Goldsmith and his crew had clearly put a serious dent in the piracy operation in Charleston.

Goldsmith's petition for reimbursement presumably describes the same event but provides details that are somewhat at odds with the 1824 report. The petition was originally submitted to Judge John Drayton of the federal district court, before whom Goldsmith had appeared on numerous occasions to testify in condemnation and forfeiture proceedings, and Justice William Johnson of the Supreme Court, who had heard numerous causes in the U.S. circuit court for South Carolina.⁵⁰ On January 28, 1820, a full year after the first series of arrests, Drayton wrote to Charles Pinckney, then a congressman from South Carolina, enclosing Goldsmith's petition for reimbursement. The object of the letter to Pinckney was to get Goldsmith's reimbursement plea before President Monroe for appropriate action by way of a draft on the contingent fund. Eventually, in a letter dated March 16, 1820, Pinckney solicited the President's consideration of Goldsmith's case.

As all this makes evident, Goldsmith had access to powerful men who knew him and what services he had performed. We shall presently return to their handsome remarks, but the details of the petition are in immediate point.

Goldsmith addressed his petition to the "Honorable The Judges of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of South Carolina." He made the following points: He had been ordered the preceding January (i.e., 1819) to execute a bench warrant against several members of the crew of the ship *Louisa* who had been charged with piracy. Goldsmith had employed some people to help in the service of the warrant, and had paid them. Their fees

and other expenses came to \$30.50. This sum may also have included payments to informants; after all, Goldsmith and Roderick could not have known every secret on the waterfront. Informants, or snitches, who for money will set the cops on to a crook, may not appeal to high-minded and law-abiding persons as very savory characters, but they are often the difference between making a case and not making a case.

The two judges certified the account and sent it on to the Secretary of State, says Goldsmith in his petition, but nothing more has been heard. He asserts that he spent six days and nights on the case and arrested eleven of the crew. The petition then passes to other arrests that occurred in August 1819, which we will discuss in due course.

The 1824 report and Goldsmith's 1820 petition differ on details of the anti-piracy operation. This does not mean, however, that Goldsmith's task force served two different warrants in January 1819. The 1824 report and the petition presumably concern the same event. Perhaps the petition is the more accurate, since it comes from Goldsmith himself. He provides the name of the ship and the actual amount of money in question. He tells us that the development of the case took six full days. The number of arrests, however, is different: eleven, as opposed to the report's eighteen. There is no mention of subsequent convictions and punishments, but the main point on Goldsmith's mind in the petition is recouping his expenses. For that, he only needed to declare briefly how long he had worked and what he had done. The judges had already certified the account, and a full recital of events in detail was not necessary at this stage. Goldsmith is only reiterating that he went out of pocket while executing a lawful precept, that the paperwork had indeed been indeed certified, but that no check had come in the mail.

The *Charleston Courier* for Monday, January 18, 1819, ran a story under the head "Piracy" which mentions six persons under arrest and in jail for that crime. The *Courier* for February 2, 1819 notes in passing that part of the crew of the pirate ship *Louisa* was in jail. The newspaper does not tell us whether these were the same as the six arrested in the earlier story. Goldsmith asserts that he and his

men spent six days and nights on the case, so it may be that there were two groups of arrestees, the six, and then "part of the crew." The team may have arrested the pirates piecemeal as they discovered them.

For a moment we should reflect on where and when these piracy arrests occurred. We should imagine the chill and damp of a waterfront in January darkness. No lamp or lanterns could do more than emphasize the darkness of the night. When honest folk went home at sundown, the gloom and shadows of the docks and warehouses must have afforded a thousand places of concealment. Moreover, piracy was a major federal felony. Those who practiced robbery and murder at sea would probably not have yielded to men any less determined than themselves. It is fair to suppose that Deputy Marshal Goldsmith and his men planned their operation very carefully indeed and then struck with overwhelming force. To this day the surest way to prevent injury to arresting officers and suspects is to present the villains with absolutely no choice but to go quietly.

Due notice should also be taken that six full days and nights on a plainclothes surveillance-and-apprehension operation is a very long time. (Later on we shall come across a case that took thirteen nights of surveillance.) Any officer who has ever worked an extended surveillance will read volumes between the lines of the petition, ". . . after Six Nights and Days of labor, Succeeded in Arresting Eleven of the Crew." These few spare words stand for hours of fatigue, boredom, anxiety, and even fear as the case progressed through nerve-wracking hours of daylight and hours of pitch-black night when even familiar surroundings loom ominously in the murk. The strain of those days was punctuated by a few minutes of violent, heart-pounding action, with adrenalin suddenly surging; and then, when the crooks were cowed and cuffed, relief and euphoria masked the officers' utter fatigue for a little while. Goldsmith and his men accomplished a tough and dirty job, and they did it well.

Further, if the *Courier's* description of the quality of police service available to Charlestonians of that era is anywhere near accurate, federal officers who would carefully plan and then success-

fully execute an operation over an extended period of time must have been far more devoted and hardworking than their law enforcement colleagues in the employ of the city.

Back to the documents. Judge Drayton's letter to Representative Pinckney expresses the hope that Goldsmith's reasonable claim will come to President Monroe's attention and that the President will satisfy it from the contingent fund. Drayton assures Pinckney that "Goldsmith is a very deserving officer," and provides another detail: Goldsmith was the "Cryer of the District and Circuit Courts." He is also described as deputy to the marshal. Drayton writes that the bench warrants for pirates came from him, and thus he knows that the claim is entirely justified. He includes in his letter the information that "Mr. Goldsmith is an *Hebrew* [emphasis in original]; and a deserving one of that profession: but in low and indigent circumstances, very active and zealous in the service of the U.S."

Goldsmith, it seems, made himself generally useful—customs inspector, deputy marshal, court crier—but still did not earn a decent living. In his last years, Goldsmith gave his occupation as clerk, and there is no reason to assume that he did not supplement his meager earnings as a deputy U.S. marshal with store clerking. He had a family to support.

Pinckney, as requested, wrote to President Monroe, enclosing the communications from Judges Dayton and Johnson. He added his own word of support to the petition: ". . . they are of the opinion that the uncommonly meritorious exertions of Mr. Goldsmith the Deputy Marshal in apprehending so many Pirates as he has done and who through his exertions as I understand solely were taken and brought to Justice entitle him to the particular attention of the Government." The matter of Morris Goldsmith's religion was apparently irrelevant for Pinckney.

Alas, the urging of friends in high places by itself does not seem to have opened the federal coffers. As we have seen, all the formality of an act of Congress was required to claim a just debt. Once the Treasury had been ordered to pay, one supposes that President Monroe signed the bill and the check eventually arrived to reimburse Goldsmith and Roderick.⁵¹

The congressional report of 1824 speaks of two accounts.

Goldsmith's petition really only gives one. The first account in the report gives the number of days and nights Goldsmith (and Roderick) actually spent in federal service for all the incidents mentioned. The fee per day was \$3 to \$5 each, "according to the dangers and privations of the service." (We are not far off the mark about the dangers of chasing pirates in the dark cold of the Charleston waterfront. Five dollars was very good money for a day's work in 1820.) The other account is for expenses incurred in employing assistance ("and furnishing refreshment to the men in their employ": one can imagine that the men needed a hot drink of something strong after a night out in the cold and wet.)

The first account came to \$476, and Justice Johnson of the Supreme Court certified it with words of praise for Roderick and Goldsmith: "... they discharged several dangerous laborious, and critical duties with extraordinary zeal." Marshal Waring also certified that "from his knowledge of the services performed" the amount sought was not extravagant.

The second account appears to be the petition itself, which Goldsmith submitted to Justice Johnson and Judge Drayton, and which we have already reviewed in some detail. The report notes that the two jurists had certified that account to be correct on the basis of vouchers they examined. The amount in question there, we recall, was \$30.50, though why this precise sum is not recorded in the report is not clear. Perhaps the figures in the petition, which was, one imagines, part of the full file reviewed by the committee, was quite enough. The total claim, therefore, was for \$506.50, the sum which the law specified for payment.

The "Lawrence" Case

We return to the law enforcement activities of Morris Goldsmith as recorded in both the 1824 report and the petition.

According to the 1824 report, Goldsmith's task force, in June 1819, operating in Charleston, and in Savannah, a short distance down the coast, arrested the crew of the pirate schooner *Lawrence*. No number of arrests is given. The vessel had captured the British brig *Ann*, killing her captain and four of the crew. The cargo of the *Ann* was restored to its owners. The task force discovered the cargo

of another vessel as well, the *Francisco*, and that, too, was restored to its owners. The 1824 report then records vaguely that "both vessels were libelled, condemned and sold," and the U.S. Treasury became \$800 richer for the sale. "Both vessels" may refer to the *Lawrence* and the *Ann* or to the *Lawrence* and the *Francisco*.

The contemporary news story (published in late July, of which more presently) describes the piratical seizure of the *Ann* and how the pirates had cut her masts and run her aground. Perhaps the beached hulk was recovered, or perhaps the *Francisco*, which is not mentioned at all in the paper, was the other libeled vessel. This little mystery remains unsolved. The more striking problem is the correct date of the *Lawrence* affair. The 1824 report places it in June; the other sources differ.

The petition declares that Goldsmith was ordered in August to execute a bench warrant against certain persons charged with murder and piracy, and that he spent thirteen nights searching out and apprehending nine of them. Surely this statement is a reference to the *Lawrence* case.

The vivid detail surrounding these arrests and seizures appears in the *Charleston Courier* for July 30, 1819, which published a brief story under the head "Piracy and Murder" relating how the crew of the sloop *Lawrence* had seized the British brig *Ann* and murdered people on board her. On July 31, there was news of an arrest in the *Lawrence* case. On August 2, the paper ran a full column of particulars on the depredations of the sloop *Lawrence*. (August 1 was a Sunday, and the paper did not appear on Sundays.) The story of the piracy and murder surpasses any seafaring fiction on the subject. The paper no doubt relieved its readers that day by declaring that seven of the culprits were then in jail. On August 5, one James Brian, another crewman of the *Lawrence*, was arrested after an abortive attempt at burglary on board another vessel in which he had wanted to ship out of Charleston. On August 7, the *Courier* reported that two more of the pirates had been arrested in Savannah, and that a jailbreak by the pirates in Charleston had been foiled.

The 1824 report mentions arrests in Charleston and Savannah. According to the *Courier* as well, arrests occurred in both places.

The petition and the newspaper agree closely enough to allow the conclusion that the 1824 report, written a few years after the events, somehow confused the facts and put the *Lawrence* case in June rather than late July and early August. The number of arrests in the petition is nine; the *Courier's* tally appears to total ten: seven in jail by August 5, plus Brian and the two in Savannah. The numbers are close enough, even without suggesting that Goldsmith included in the petition only those he personally arrested. The difference in dates does not, of course, affect the substance of the matter. Whether the deeds were done in June or July, the deeds were done. The point to be drawn is perhaps that archival material, even official archives, can occasionally err. Corroboration of them wherever possible is only prudent.

The *Courier* of July 8, 1820, reports that one James Chase, mate of the piratical sloop *Lawrence*, received punishment for misprision of piracy. He was put into the pillory in front of the jail, from noon until to one in the afternoon. Unfortunately the fate of his several piratical compatriots is not mentioned in any of the records pertaining to Morris Goldsmith.

Contemporary admiralty court records for South Carolina mention the condemnation and sale of a sloop named the *Laurence* on September 23, 1819.⁵² The libellant was A. A. Villalobos, Spanish consul in Charleston. Spain had ceded East Florida to the United States only seven months before, so Spanish interests and Spanish property were still much in evidence along the southeastern coast. After expenses and charges, half the sum realized went to the libellant and half to the United States. The court action had begun on August 24, 1819, so the timing is about right for identifying the *Laurence* as the *Lawrence*; the seizure of the *Lawrence* was in July (June, in the 1824 report).

There are, however, two unresolved elements in the identification. The court records and the newspaper accounts describe the *Lawrence* as a sloop. The 1824 report calls her a schooner. Both are fore-and-aft rigged ships, but a schooner has two masts while a sloop has one. Again, there may have been some error in the transmission of the records that were used to prepare the 1824 report. Newspapermen in a port city, not to mention admiralty court

clerks, must have known the difference between basic ship types. They would not have made that sort of an error. A landsman could make it—with ease. So the schooner or sloop problem may be a simple error by a land-bound clerk in Washington.

The second unresolved matter is why Consul Villalobos was concerned in the case. The *Lawrence* was a U.S. vessel, the *Ann* was British. *Ann's* cargo, and *Francisco's*, were restored to their owners. What was Spain's interest in the *Lawrence*? Or was there another vessel—a sloop—named *Laurence*? Did Spain's interest have something to do with the ship *Francisco*, whereabouts unknown? There is not enough information on any of these matters to form a conclusion. It is, however, not at all unreasonable or farfetched to identify the *Laurence* and the *Lawrence* as one and the same despite the unresolved questions.

The entire affair of the *Lawrence* must have kept Charlestonian tongues wagging at a furious pace. The *Lawrence* was a local ship, and her captain, Atwick, a well-known figure in town.⁵³ Goldsmith probably knew Captain Atwick, or knew of him, and probably recognized some of the crewmen he later arrested.

In another admiralty case on February 20, 1820, the court condemned the schooner *Ann*. The brig *Ann* was seized in June 1819. The differences between a brig and a schooner suggest strongly that these were two different ships, each with the same name.

In the petition, Goldsmith states that owing to his exertions in the line of duty, he got "the Feaver" and was ill in bed for more than a week, incurring medical expenses—"For which service (Without which most probably the Criminals would have escaped) your Petitioner receives no remuneration." Thirteen straight nights of dangerous surveillance work in the heat and damp of a South Carolina August could easily sap the strongest constitution. It is not clear how the medical bill was figured into the total, but presumably there was a voucher for it somewhere in the paperwork. The "Feaver" was no small medical concern in Charleston in 1819. Just as January was cold and wet, so August could be stifling with sultry heat that hardly abated at night. Every physician in town was familiar with epidemics of yellow fever and cholera. An exhausted man who developed "a Feaver" would have been easy pickings for

yellow fever or malaria, the knowledge of whose origin, prevention, and cure still lay generations in the future in 1819.

The "General Ronderaus" Case

There seems to have been a hiatus in Goldsmith's anti-piracy activities until June 1820. In that month, the pace quickened considerably. The matter-of-fact narrative of the 1824 report is supplemented by newspaper stories which demonstrate that the deputy marshal was in the thick of the biggest news stories in Charleston that summer of 1820. What had he been doing from, say, September 1819 to June 1820? He was probably working for Marshal Waring, acting as court crier, and perhaps helping out the collector of customs, or even doing some clerking in order to scrape together some sort of a living.

The report jumps ahead to June 10, 1820, when Goldsmith and Roderick arrested Andrew Hudson, John Thomas, William Thomas, and others who were part of the crew of the *General Ronderaus*, charging them with piracy. They also recovered money and merchandise.

The story of the *General Ronderaus* broke in the *Charleston Courier* on Monday, June 12, 1820, and remained the hot story until July, when, as we shall see, another fast-breaking news story crowded it out of the paper.

The voyage of the *General Ronderaus*, which the *Courier*, with no apparent reason, method, or consistency, variously calls the *General Ronderaus*, *Ronderau*, and *Rondeu*, is the stuff of high adventure. The armed brig *General Ronderaus*, Captain David Miles, out of Baltimore, had hoisted the Buenos Ayrean flag to sail the Atlantic and the Mediterranean as a privateer, doubtless looking for Spanish prizes given the political situation then existing between Spain and its late South American viceroyalty.⁵⁴ A privateer was nothing more than a fast, well-armed commerce raider, commissioned by a government that lacked a strong navy but had serious financial and political problems, to go after the commerce of its "enemies," whoever they might turn out to be.⁵⁵ The commissioning of a privateer was a "state" business venture. The backers invested in the enterprise for profit; the captain and crew sailed

for a piece of the action, so to speak. Plain piracy, on the other hand, was purely private enterprise. At any rate, Captain Miles took the Baltimore brig off to plunder the sea lanes under the flag of Buenos Ayres.

Apparently the privateer had a rather successful voyage at first. On the return leg, however, there was mutiny and murder.⁵⁶ Captain Miles was wounded. His lieutenant, one McSweeney, was killed. When the ship reached U.S. coastal waters off the Carolinas, small groups of crew members apparently put off for shore, taking with them a portion of the loot. One group fetched up at Wilmington, North Carolina; another group of seven or eight came ashore near Georgetown, South Carolina, a tiny port sixty or so miles north of Charleston.⁵⁷ The *General Ronderaus* sailed on, meanwhile, with a revenue cutter in pursuit, but she escaped over the horizon.

On Monday, June 12, the *Courier* broke the story that three of the pirate crew—for in many respects privateersmen were really pirates—had been arrested in Charleston.⁵⁸ Several citizens had spotted them and, according to the news story, had taken the three before a magistrate.

The 1824 report identifies three men, Andrew Hudson, John Thomas, and William Thomas, whom Goldsmith and Roderick took into custody on June 10, which would have been the Saturday. (We recall that the paper did not publish on Sunday.) At some point between the time the citizens spotted the three and their appearance before a magistrate, Goldsmith and Roderick must have come on the scene. The interrogation in the presence of the magistrate elicited contradictory stories. The men's lodgings were searched (Goldsmith and Roderick again, no doubt), and two trunks of jewelry and clothing turned up.

What possibly or even probably occurred that June weekend in Charleston is perfectly familiar to any police officer. Three strangers showed up around the waterfront. They were obviously seamen, but not off any ship in port; they probably had some money to spend; and doubtless asked where they could fence some jewelry and other valuables for cash. They probably had some loot on them to give the locals an idea of the great values

they offered. While the strangers were pursuing their salesman-ship, somebody snitched on them. The lawmen came round to the shop, or saloon, or bordello, or whatever while the three strangers were engrossed in their business and asked a few questions: "Where are you men from? Where did you get those fancy trinkets? Hey, maybe they're stolen? They don't look like the kind of stuff you'd buy!" The men's answers were halting and unconvincing. Then: "Well now, we're U.S. marshals, and you boys are under arrest—suspicion of burglary (or suspicion of receiving stolen property, or some such). Let's go talk to the judge." No *Miranda* cautions in 1820.

The three pirates had been in town for perhaps a day. They had already secured lodgings, and their goods were quickly found when their rooms were searched. It turned out that they had come ashore as part of the Georgetown group of seven or eight and made their way overland to Charleston. The rest of the Georgetown group also landed in jail.

On June 14, the *Courier* ran another story on the stranded pirates. The ship's boy, who had been arrested in Georgetown, and had probably had enough of the carefree life of the pirate to last him a lifetime, blurted out the whole lurid tale of the *General Ronderaus*.

The *Courier* kept on publishing related stories. The June 17 edition ran a report from Wilmington, dated June 11, relating that six men had been put ashore from the *General Ronderaus*. On June 19, we have a report that the pirates arrested in Georgetown had arrived by cutter in Charleston.

On Friday June 23, charges of piracy and murder were brought against the late crew members of the *General Ronderaus*, then in custody in Charleston, in the U.S. district court. They were held to stand trial. Goldsmith was no doubt in court that day. We do not know whether the ship's boy, whose age was given as fourteen, received any special consideration for turning in his erstwhile shipmates. On Wednesday, June 28, three more of the *General Ronderaus's* crew were picked up and sent to Charleston for trial.

In all, the *Courier* ran eleven stories on the *General Ronderaus* and related matters. The excitement provoked by the voyage of the *General Ronderaus* is drained away in the single sentence of official

prose that recalls Goldsmith's part in the matter. On June 27, a report in the Norfolk, Virginia, paper informs us that the *Wilson* was being sent to take the place of the *General Ronderaus*, which had become a ship of scoundrels and an utter loss to its enterprising owner. We shall hear more of the *Wilson*.

The *Courier* for July 21 ran a brief story about some multiple arrests: "Another attempt was made Wednesday night to embark between 20 and 30 men for the brig *Wilson* which was frustrated by the vigilance of the Marshal and other U.S. officers."

The "Bolivar" Affair

The highly successful *Ronderaus* operation was still a major focus of public attention in July 1820, when the armed Buenos Ayrean brig *Bolivar*, "alias *Wilson*," with her prize *Santiago* (also: *St. Iago*) in consort stood off Charleston harbor and became the premier story of the month in the news columns of the *Courier*. The *Wilson* was apparently a worthy privateer successor to the *General Ronderaus*.

The capture and arrest briefly noted in the 1824 report occurred on July 19. Back on July 7, the *Courier* had informed its readers that the *Bolivar* (*Wilson*) and the *Santiago* were offshore and that an officer of the brig had been in town on July 6 purchasing supplies. Further, a boat filled with men had inquired for Captain Almieda's ship (the *Bolivar* / *Wilson*). They were "no doubt a reinforcement" for her crew. A group of men in Norfolk had eluded the U.S. marshal there and joined the ship. The story concluded, "By a like expedient, she may soon recruit her full complement of men upon the coast."

Privateers generally carried large crews in order to have plenty of force on hand when they boarded their captures and in order to have plenty of prize crews available. Of course, the more men the more prizes the ship had to seek, so that there would be money enough to repay the owners and the seamen for their considerable risk.

On July 11 the citizens of Charleston learned from the *Courier* that two U.S. revenue cutters had gone out in pursuit of the *Wilson* and the *Santiago*. The privateers were too fast for the cutters. They escaped over the horizon. But there was good news, too. The cutter *Gallatin* had captured a fishing smack from the *Wilson* and

recovered some specie and coconuts which, it was suggested, were going to be smuggled ashore. The paper does not say so, but arrests must have been made as well. The boat would hardly have been taken without the crew.

On July 12, there was more *Wilson*—*Santiago* news. One Job Weeden, supposedly the ship's doctor of the *Wilson*, appeared before Judge Johnson on a writ of habeas corpus to get out of jail. The court required him to return to prison to await trial at the next session of the U.S. district court or to make bond for his appearance in the amount of \$3,000 "and one or more securities in like sum."

The paper does not tell us what charge or charges were laid against Weeden. He may have been the ship's officer who had been in town back on July 6 and had been arrested for recruiting hands for the privateer. Alternatively, he may have been taken off the fishing smack that the *Gallatin* captured. The *Courier* on July 24 reported that a Mr. Dean had been taken on board the smack. Dean could be a corruption of Weeden, just as *Rondeu* was for *Ronderaus*! At any rate, Weeden was arrested on a federal charge relating to the *Wilson*/*Santiago* matter sometime between July 6 and July 11. On July 12, he apparently made bail, because on August 3 he and William Christie, according to the 1824 report, were arrested for enlisting men for the privateer *Willson* (*sic*). Job Weeden, unlike his biblical namesake, hardly seems to qualify as a perfectly righteous man. He needed a good attorney in Charleston, and he found one. We shall presently meet Mr. Weeden again in the U.S. district court.

The *Courier* for July 20 primly reports that "notwithstanding the arrest and confinement in jail of upwards of 20 seamen with the persons who enlisted them," twenty or thirty men recruited in Charleston had shipped out on Tuesday, July 18, and joined the *Wilson*, Captain Almieda.

Further, a new suit of sails for the *Santiago*, made in Charleston, had also been taken out to the privateers. Those ships had come to Charleston with at least two purposes, first, to recruit more men, and second, to refit *Santiago* as a privateer. The sailyards and ship chandlers must have been doing an excellent business. The article ends with the somber remark, "Thus are our laws evaded and our public officers circumvented in the execution of their duty."

Any detective will agree that, despite good information and good planning, some of the crooks slip through the net. The big success, like the one on July 19, becomes all the more important because of the difficulties and frustrations of the failures in other operations. Doubtless Goldsmith and Roderick had moved through the waterfront, along the docks and into the ships and yards, collecting intelligence and gathering information, but they must have known better than anyone that they could not win them all. Perhaps those "improper associations" played a part in foiling some attempts to catch the pirates. The difficulties and frustrations of the job, whatever they were, made the July 19 arrests all the sweeter.

The July 19 story added gleefully that the new sails for the *Santiago* had also been recovered from a small boat by revenue cutter *Gallatin*. On July 24 and 25, however, the *Courier* printed stories which retracted the account of the recovery. The customs collector, a fine officer, according to the *Courier*, had no right to detain the sails. The sails had been given proper legal clearance through customs and could not be held.

It would appear that the *Wilson* and the *Santiago* were still off Charleston on August 3, when Goldsmith and Roderick arrested Job Weeden for recruiting men for the *Wilson*. If the ships had sailed off, what would have been the point of Weeden's effort? At any rate, Weeden was in jail again and perhaps made bail a second time. His second arrest, in any event, did not stop his attorneys from skillfully representing his interests in court. If they were half as skillful in arranging bail for the August 3 arrest, Weeden was present in court when two particular lawsuits were heard in U.S. district court in August 1820.

What happened to the *Wilson* and the *Santiago*? Our data do not reveal the fate of those speedy privateers. And we must get back to the career of Deputy U.S. Marshal Morris Goldsmith.

Two "Qui Tam" Actions

On August 1, 1820, Morris Goldsmith appeared in the admiralty court in re: *Morris Goldsmith, qui tam v. Certain Sails* and on August 2, 1820, he appeared in re: *M. Goldsmith, qui tam v. 23 coils of rigging*.³⁹ The legal term *qui tam* means "who as well." In a *qui tam*

action, an informer, in this case Goldsmith, sues in a civil action to recover the statutory penalty for omission or commission of an act.⁶⁰ The penalty goes in part to the informer and in part to the state, because the informer is suing for himself as well as for the state. In these cases, Goldsmith was suing to get part of the money from the libel and condemnation of the seized sails and rigging, with the other part going to the United States Treasury. The seizure of the sails and rigging probably came sometime during the hectic weeks of July, either in one or another of the events chronicled by the *Courier* or in some incident it did not report. Presumably the case was heard by Judge Drayton sitting in admiralty.

On August 10, 1820, the court ordered the sails to be sold, with Goldsmith and the United States sharing the proceeds after deduction of costs and charges. On August 14, the court rescinded the sale order on a motion by Job Weeden's attorney. On August, 28, the twenty-three coils of rigging were returned to a claimant whose name is indecipherable in the record. Thus Goldsmith lost both suits.

Weeden had been up to his neck in outfitting vessels, and perhaps was already notorious for his involvement with pirates. Morris Goldsmith apparently lost his share of the proceeds because the lawyers cut a legal corner and Judge Drayton would not go along. Deputy Goldsmith had certainly been led to expect some remuneration for his hard and dangerous work. He came very close to getting it. The attorney, however, had misled him; he lost his chance at the money because of the attorney's error. The case was probably one of the first, but not the last, in the United States in which a law enforcement officer suffered because of the mistakes of attorneys. The judge gave his decree on November 2, 1820, returning the goods to Weeden.

Here is what happened. Job Weeden petitioned the court through his attorney that the condemnation and sale should be rescinded because the sails, and canvas for sails, had been new and "never affixed to any vessel." The sail canvas had been seized on shore, from a store in Charleston. Now the information that had been filed against the sails and the canvas asserted that they had been procured for the brig *St. Iago Santiago* which was going to

commit hostilities, that is, piracy, against subjects of the King of Spain, the United States and Spain then being at peace.

In any case, all the paperwork for the warrant was duly executed and the warrant issued by the admiralty court. Deputy Marshal Goldsmith was, of course, the informer, and no doubt it was his showing of probable cause that gave rise to the warrant. Everything went smoothly until Weeden petitioned to have the sale set aside and the matter heard in district court because the property in question "had never been attached to any vessel so as to become her tackle, apparel or furniture or to bring them under the admiralty jurisdiction and could only be considered *in rem* and as *merchandise*" (emphasis in the original).

This finding alone was enough for Judge Drayton to cancel the sale. The matter had never been under admiralty jurisdiction, and therefore the warrant was no good. The judge declared that, though the information had been filed in the district court, the matter had been handled as an admiralty case, "and it was a known principle of law that silence, inadvertence, or consent cannot give jurisdiction where the Law has not given it." The parties were directed to start all over again in district court, before a jury.

But how did the admiralty court wind up outside its jurisdiction? The proctor for the libelant (i.e., Goldsmith's attorney) explained that years before the same sort of case had been instituted before a jury in district court but "the lawyers found it so inconvenient that cases of similar nature have been allowed to be carried on under admiralty process." An inadvertent sanction for such procedure had been established, but Judge Drayton recognized the error, corrected it, and asserted that he would not accept a "plea of *inconvenience* among Gentlemen of the Bar to warp or obstruct the course of law."

Drayton, who knew Goldsmith and had written on behalf of his petition back in January, may have had a pang of regret that the deserving deputy marshal would not get a portion of the sale. (After all, Judge Drayton himself had probably issued the flawed warrant.) Goldsmith would now have to take his chances, probably not very good chances, before a jury in the district court.

Whether or not the parties did in fact proceed, and what the outcome of their case was, are unknown.⁶¹

Census-Taking and Other Activities

The 1824 report covers a twenty-month period in the career of Morris Goldsmith, January 1819 to August 1820. He—with his associates—compiled quite a record. They arrested pirates in job lots, seized ships and property, and generally dampened the ardor of the pirate fraternity. They made piracy a very risky proposition. It had been a dangerous and exhausting assignment. The precise number of arrests is uncertain, since the petition gives the figure in one case and only mentions "certain persons" in another. The 1824 report mentions forty-seven arrests, but some cases in the report note only "the crew" or some other indeterminate reference. The total number of arrests could easily have been somewhere between fifty and sixty. Any pair of detectives who can point to a record of fifty-plus felony arrests in a period of twenty months, as Goldsmith and Roderick could probably have done, would have ample reason to feel quite satisfied indeed with their accomplishments.

Law enforcement was not Goldsmith's only task in 1820, however. From 1790 until 1870, assistants to U.S. marshals acted as census enumerators.⁶² Thus, in addition to everything else he did that year, Goldsmith took the census for Charleston County. His name as enumerator and assistant to the marshal of the South Carolina District appears on the census submitted by Marshal Waring for 1820. Morris Goldsmith must have been a very busy man that year.

For the next fourteen years Goldsmith's law enforcement career apparently disappeared from the record. Doubtless he continued his various duties—executing precepts, serving federal writs, acting as court crier, taking the census, and perhaps doing some clerking. Whatever he was doing, he seems to have prospered. The 1830 census notes that the Goldsmith household then had twelve slaves, and the 1840 census registers thirteen of them. The head of the Goldsmith household apparently had achieved some modest degree of wealth. In the 1850 census, Goldsmith had \$5,000 in real estate in his name. By 1860, however, he has none listed on the census.⁶³

During this long period of quiet in his law enforcement career, Morris Goldsmith took a hand in Jewish communal matters. (He was the secretary of the Reformed Society of Israelites from 1825 to 1827. This group was a breakaway from the K.K. Beth Elohim synagogue to which Goldsmith had previously belonged and which he apparently rejoined after the Reformed Society faded away.

Goldsmith's Last Case

Over the years, the problems of the waterfront probably remained Goldsmith's special area of interest. After a fourteen-year break, he again comes into focus as a lawman.

By any reckoning of his age, Morris Goldsmith was past fifty when he became a key member of an antismuggling patrol on the Charleston wharves. The story is well documented because Goldsmith and his colleague William Neve, another deputy U.S. marshal, subsequently petitioned the Secretary of the Treasury in order to obtain what they believed to be their legitimate portion of the proceeds from sales of seized property.⁶⁵ The customs collector had interpreted the law in such a manner as to squeeze Goldsmith and Neve out of their share of the money, although "they were led to believe that there was no doubt about their right." Again the cops took the short stick when it came to the money.

This petition describes in ample detail what went on in the summer of 1834 on the Charleston waterfront. By that time, T. D. Condry had become the United States marshal and Morris Goldsmith had been reappointed as a deputy.

In conversation with Condry one day, Goldsmith brought up the subject of smuggling and how it had become so common. He expressed the opinion that something should be done to stop this illegal traffic. The marshal agreed and suggested a night watch on the wharves, since the customs inspectors almost always left the vessels in their charge after nightfall. Condry appointed Deputy William Neve to assist in the anti-smuggling patrol. Neve and Goldsmith went to work with a will; on occasion they used their own money to hire assistants.

Soon they made some small seizures and got a conviction of one

smuggler, who was, however, too poor to pay his fine. Goldsmith and Neve appeared content that at least the one smuggler was out of business and that the conviction would deter the rest of his gang from their crimes.

Early in August the two deputies developed information that the steward on board a British ship, the *Lady Rowena*, was going to smuggle into Charleston some "ready made clothing." They informed Marshal Condry, and further told him the name of the person suspected of being the receiver of the contraband. When the vessel made port in Charleston, the two asked the marshal to file the information with the collector of customs, which he duly did. A guard was posted on the vessel, and that night the steward and another person, a citizen of Charleston—not, however, the suspected receiver—were apprehended in possession of the contraband. The men were arrested and the goods seized. The surveyor of the revenue was told of the seizure and arranged to have the ship searched for other contraband. The search party (including Goldsmith and Neve?) found more contraband, which was promptly libeled, condemned, and sold, the proceeds going to the collector of customs.

A few days after those events, deputy Goldsmith informed the collector that another vessel which would soon call at Charleston was also carrying packages of ready made clothing and broadcloth that were to be smuggled into the United States. Sure enough, when the ship made port, a search party found the contraband goods, which were thereupon seized, libeled, condemned, and sold. Doubtless the collector took charge of the proceeds as well. Goldsmith and Neve insist that without their information neither seizure would have occurred. There is no reason to believe that their claim was not valid. After more than twenty years on the docks as a customs inspector and then as a deputy marshal, Goldsmith must have had a network of informants who gave him the whispered word of what was up.

His informants must have trusted him to keep their identities quiet; a snitch in 1834 doubtless wanted his confidence and anonymity respected as much as a snitch today does. Further, Goldsmith must have been a master at handling his sources of

information, because Charleston, though a major port of call in early nineteenth-century America, was still by modern standards a small town. The crooks, the informants, and the officers all worked within a few-score city blocks of each other.⁶⁶ Less than one hour of leisurely walking covers the distance from one end of the old port to the other. If Goldsmith could move through that crowded area, gather his intelligence, make his cases, and continue to do so for twenty years, he must have possessed enormous skill and tact, as well as zeal and courage.

Goldsmith and Neve petitioned that, according to section 91 of the 1799 Act to Regulate the Collection of Duties on Imports and Tonnage, they should have received a quarter of the proceeds from the condemnation sales, the proportion due to informers. But the collector saw matters differently. In his view, Goldsmith and Neve were not entitled to the informer's share of the proceeds because they had named one person as the suspected receiver in the *Lady Rowena* case but the goods were found with other persons. Goldsmith and Neve remained adamant that the goods were in fact seized *in consequence* of their information, and therefore that "they come not only within the Spirit, but actually the letter of the Law: viz., 'in pursuance of such information.' "

The petitioners went on to declare that two more prosecutions stemming from the information they provided were still pending in the district court.

The document ends in a burst of anger and frustration. Goldsmith and Neve lay it on the line to the Secretary of the Treasury. Smuggling had been a very serious problem, and they, with help hired out of their own pockets, had instituted the night patrol. They do not reiterate their record of successes against smuggling—that was clear in the previous paragraphs, and a matter of public record, but they complain bitterly that under the collector's interpretation of the law, their hard work gained them nothing except "the degrading name of Informers." Others share the petitioners' just due. They assert that if they had entertained any idea that their claim was somehow questionable, "they would have applied to the Court to decide the Question," but they had been misled. Their only hope for redress lay in the fair-mindedness

of the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury.

It is not known what action, if any, that gentleman took in the matter. Whatever the outcome, Morris Goldsmith remained a deputy United States marshal for many more years. Unfortunately, the newspapers of the era provide no further background or details. It would seem that smuggling was just not newsworthy in 1834. In August of that year, railroad accidents and test-oath politics supplanted crime stories in the news columns of the *Courier*.

The census of 1840 lists Goldsmith as a deputy marshal, and so does the census of 1850.⁶⁷ By 1860, though, Goldsmith was far too old for the rigors of federal service. The census that year records him as a clerk. Perhaps when the weather was fine the old deputy strolled down to the familiar waterfront, to sit in the sun and swap stories with the other old-timers.

The young men at the docks probably did not stop to listen. Youngsters usually have little time or patience for the yarns of old men, and in the late 1850s the young men of Charleston probably had even less time for tales of the past because they sensed a great tide of events sweeping them toward a splendid future of Southern independence and gallant deeds. Just two months before Morris Goldsmith died, church bells all over Charleston pealed joyously when the state's Ordinance of Secession was passed, December 20, 1860. He must have heard them.⁶⁸ The writ of the federal government that the old man had served so many years no longer ran in his adopted city and state. The country was racing toward disunion and war when Deputy U.S. Marshal Morris Goldsmith died of old age on February 21, 1861. He was buried in the Coming Street cemetery of K.K. Beth Elohim.⁶⁹

Less than two months later, South Carolina batteries thundered a declaration of war against the lawful authority of the United States that Morris Goldsmith had enforced with dedication, courage, and honor for so many years. We know nothing specifically of Goldsmith's politics at any stage of his life (though clearly he had enjoyed some political connection from the start); was the old man overwhelmed by the secession fever that gripped virtually every South Carolinian? All we know is that the cannonade began the destruction of the world he had known and doubtless

cherished. Perhaps it is just as well that the old scourge of pirates and smugglers did not live to hear the guns of Sumter.

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Notes

Professor Stanley Chyet read the manuscript of this article and exercised his masterful editorial hand upon it. Any remaining errors and unclarities are the sole responsibility of the author.

The author also wishes to thank Dr. Frederick S. Calhoun, the historian of the United States Marshals Service, who read the manuscript and offered several valuable suggestions for its improvement.

1. Information on Marshal Waring and the division of the South Carolina district comes from a letter written by David Scott Turk, a research analyst with the United States Marshals Service, to the author. The letter is dated August 19, 1992.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. E.g., Jacob R. Marcus, *United States Jewry*, 2 vols. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991) and Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron, eds., *The Jews of the United States, 1790—1840*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963). Even though several of the most important sources on Goldsmith are found in the latter work, both in its text and its notes, the editors are intent on providing a documentary history and do not explore his career in any depth.

5. Marcus, *United States Jewry*, vol. 1, p. 91.

6. Frederick S. Calhoun, *The Lawmen: United States Marshals and Their Deputies, 1789—1989* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991). Dr. Calhoun's history of the Marshals Service, for all its thoroughness and detail, does not mention Morris Goldsmith and hundreds of other anonymous deputies from times past. There was obviously not enough time, space, documentation to do so. The book does occasionally mention Marshal Waring. On the prospects for career development and advancement in the post of deputy marshal, see pp. 2, 7, 249—251, 295 f.

7. Ibid., pp. 12, 15.

8. Ibid., p. 15.

9. Ibid., p. 14.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., pp. 15—23.

13. Ibid., p. 17, quoting Marshal James Prince of Massachusetts in 1812.

14. The complexity of local law enforcement is illustrated both by the Charleston Courier, as we shall presently see, and by some references to Jews in Charleston city law enforcement bodies in Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1905). The Courier story mentions the city guard and a citizen patrol guard; Elzas records Moses Salomon, a constable in 1802; Nathan Hart, a constable in 1821; and Solomon Moses, a constable in 1822; also, Elisha Elizer, a city deputy sheriff in 1806, and Mark Marks, a city deputy sheriff in 1822. Solomon Moses was the city marshal from 1833 to 1836. Thus we have a collection of guards, constables, sheriffs, and marshals. And that is only for the city. There is no reason to believe that Charleston was unique among American cities in the complexity of its law enforcement bodies. See also the next note.

15. The *Charleston Courier* was published daily except Sunday for the period of Goldsmith's documented activity. As the city's only daily newspaper, it is an excellent source of corroborative detail for Goldsmith's exploits. The *Courier* apparently ran every bit of crime news it could find. On December 23, 1818, for instance, a story of murder in the

streets and an arrest for bank robbery. On March 18, 1819, there was a story about George Clark, late captain of a pirate ship, who supposedly broke out of jail with a murderer; on March 19, Clark was reported to be still in jail, but there was a \$1,000 reward for the murderer. The escapee was caught on March 20 by Edward Morris, nineteen, a relative of the murder victim, who was out looking for the felon with the Charleston Riflemen Militia units. So the local military companies also took a hand in law enforcement! There are reports of hangings, e.g., on February 2, 1820; and of thefts from the mail, February 23, 1820.

All in all, crime stories were as popular 173 years ago as they are today. We can be quite confident, therefore, that if there was something brewing in the underworld, or if the forces of law and order had triumphed in some small way, the columns of the *Courier* would tell the tale.

The *Courier* material comes from the Microfilm Collection of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C., from the originals on file in the College of Charleston Library.

16. Calhoun, *The Lawmen*, pp. 17 f., 21. ff. Although the figures given come from the period 1790—1802, there is no reason to assume that the situation had materially improved by the time Goldsmith came along fifteen years later.

17. Information on Goldsmith's life is taken from various sources. One of them is a letter to the author from Mr. Solomon Breibart, the historian of K.K. Beth Elohim of Charleston, which was founded in 1749. Mr. Breibart's letter is dated December 11, 1991. He uses newspaper material, census data, and of course synagogue records. This source will be hereafter styled the Breibart letter.

A second source of data was supplied by James Hagy, professor of history at the University of Charleston. On November 24, 1992, he supplied the author with a series of computer printouts giving the vital statistics, birth dates, death dates, causes of death, marriage information, names of children, etc., of every person in the Jewish community of Charleston named Goldsmith during the first half of the nineteenth century. Prof. Hagy had prepared this database on the early Jewish community of Charleston as part of his own research, and he is most kind to have shared the material with me. The database includes information from newspapers, journals, city directories, state and local archives, the federal census, various books which treat Charleston Jewry, synagogue records, and so forth. It is a most comprehensive compilation; if a Goldsmith was in the neighborhood and left any sort of a trace, Prof. Hagy found it. I am in his debt for his assistance on my own much smaller project. His material will be hereafter styled the Hagy Database.

18. Breibart Letter; Hagy Database.

19. *Ibid.*

20. National Archives Microfilm Collection. U.S. Circuit and District Court, Charleston, South Carolina, List of Aliens admitted to citizenship, 1790—1860. Record group no. RG 21.

21. Pirque Avoth 5:21, in the name of R. Judah B. Tema(?): "Twenty is the [proper] age for marriage." See also B. Qiddushin 29b f.

22. National Archives Microfilm for the census of 1850 for Charleston County, S.C., p. 133; Hagy Database.

23. National Archives Microfilm for the census of 1860 for Charleston County, S.C., p. 240; Hagy Database.

24. Hagy Database.

25. Marcus, *United States Jewry*, vol. 2, p. 31.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Hagy Database.

28. National Archives microfilm for the census of 1830 for Charleston County, S.C., p. 100. This report is far easier to read than those from previous enumerations. A printed form was employed. The enumerator simply put the proper numbers in the proper spaces and did not have to write the entire document in longhand.

29. Hagy Database.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Marcus Goldsmith, *Directory and Strangers Guide to the City of Charleston and Its Vicinity from the Fifth Census of the United States* (Charleston: printed at the Office of the Irishman, 1831). The book gives names in alphabetical order, occupations, and addresses. Page 77 lists Goldsmith, Morris; Goldsmith, Henry; and Goldsmith, Joseph H.; all at 129 Wentworth St. The only occupation listed is for Morris—deputy U.S. marshal. The women of the household are not listed. The information was, after all, taken from the census which Morris had compiled. Presumably the book was sold publicly for profit. Such use of information by a federal officer who had collected the information at government expense apparently raised no eyebrows in 1831. Goldsmith remained a deputy marshal for years to come. The 1830s were a far more relaxed and benevolent era in such matters.

33. Hagy Database.

34. Hagy Database; Barnett A. Elzas, *The Old Jewish Cemetery at Charleston, S.C.* (Charleston, 1903), p. 74.

35. Hagy Database; and cf. n. 28 above.

36. Ibid.

37. Hagy Database.

38. Cf. above, nn. 22 and 23.

39. Cf. above, n. 20.

40. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, p. 44. The old Customs House, now known as the Old Exchange Building and Provost Dungeon, stands at the foot of East Bay Street. The splendid colonial building has been restored as a tourist attraction and is one of the finest examples of colonial architecture extant. In 1791, the city of Charleston held a concert and ball there for President Washington. Its basement has been restored as the dungeon where pirates were chained two centuries ago. This is also the building where Morris Goldsmith worked as a customs inspector. If one is of an imaginative turn of mind, one can get a sense down there of Deputy Marshal Goldsmith and Deputy Roderick herding their prisoners into the noise and reek of the dungeon by the dim and shadowy light of lanterns. The Old Exchange stands only moments away from eighteenth-century cobbled alleys and squares, surrounded by eighteenth-century buildings, now restored and refurbished and used as private business offices. Despite more than eight-score years of natural disaster (including Hurricane Hugo), war, and "progress" of all sorts and descriptions, there remains still the faint hint of the waterfront, the wharves and ships and warehouses, that Morris Goldsmith knew so very well so long ago.

41. See, e.g., Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 140 f.; Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763—1893* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924); Calhoun, *The Lawmen*, pp. 40—48.

42. Ibid.

43. Calhoun, *The Lawmen*, pp. 44 f.

44. Ibid.

45. See *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, Eighteenth Congress, first session* (Washington, 1856); *Annals of the Congress of the United States, Eighteenth Congress, first session*; Blau and Baron, *Jews of the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 336—339 and pp. 613 f. at note 66.

The author wishes to thank the staffs of U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein and Representative Anthony Beilenson for providing provide material on the fate of the bill for the relief of Goldsmith and Roderick in the House and Senate.

46. Cf above, n. 15.

47. Blau and Baron, *Jews of the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 334 ff.; National Archives Microfilm, Minutes, Circuit and District Courts, District of South Carolina, 1789—1849; National Archives Microfilm, Admiralty Minute Books for the State of South Carolina, 1819—1826.

48. See Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, pp. 157 f.; Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, pp. 183 ff.

49. Cf. above, n. 45, *Debates and Proceedings*, col. 1873; Monday March 22; Mr. Whittlesey from the Committee on Claims made a report on the petition of Morris Goldsmith and Anthony Roderick, accompanied with a bill for their relief; which was read twice and committed to a Committee of the Whole.

Col. 2504, Thursday, April 29, third reading of the bill ordered.

Col. 2506, Friday, April 30, the bill was read for the third time, passed, and sent to the Senate for concurrence. On the Senate action, see *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, vol. 6 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), pp. 308 f. The statute book gives the full text of the enacted bill, which of course includes the precise amount to be funded.

50. Blau and Baron, *Jews of the United States*, vol. 2, p. 614 at n. 67.

51. Cf. above, n. 49.

52. Cf. above, n. 47. Admiralty Minute Books for South Carolina.

53. *Charleston Courier*, August 2, 1819.

54. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1965 ed.), s.v. "Buenos Aires" (vol. 4, p. 373).

55. On pirates and privateers, see Alexander Winston, *No Man Knows My Grave* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), pp. 3—40, 224—231.

56. *The Courier* for July 4, 1820 dates the mutiny and the murder to May 24, 1820.

57. Cpl. Hess of the Georgetown, S.C., Police Department informed me that Georgetown lies about 60 miles north along the coast from Charleston by modern highway, and about 70 or so miles by way of the back roads. The country is flat and open. In 1820 Georgetown would have been a very small community where strangers stood out. Three men could have made the journey from Georgetown to Charleston in a week or less on foot, and faster if they had horses. This would have put them on shore at Georgetown on or about June 1, about a week after the murder. The chronology appears to fit well enough.

58. Cf. above, n. 55.

59. National Archives Microfilm, Admiralty Minute Books for the State of South Carolina, 1819—1826.

60. See Henry C. Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, rev. 4th ed. (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1968), p. 1414.

61. The National Archives pamphlet on the *Minutes, Circuit and District Courts, District of South Carolina, 1789—1849* (National Archives Trust Fund Board, Washington, D.C., 1981) bluntly states that no district court minute books have been located for the period October

1814—November 1833, which covers the period in which we are interested. Were those records another casualty of the Civil War?

62. Calhoun, *The Lawmen*, pp. 17 ff.

63. For all this, see National Archives Microfilms for the 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860 census returns for Charleston County.

64. Marcus, *United States Jewry*, vol. 1, p. 91, and the Breibart Letter.

65. Blau and Baron, *Jews of the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 336—339.

66. The author has strolled along the waterfront and in the area surrounding the old Customs House. The old city of Charleston with much narrower streets and alleys cutting in at all sorts of angles, really covered a relatively small area. A fast walk from the battery up along the waterfront to the "new" Customs house requires perhaps 20 minutes, and a morning's walk covers much of old Charleston.

67. Apparently Morris Goldsmith continued as a deputy marshal for as long as he possibly could. He must have been very good at what he did and rather skilled as an adviser and diplomat to have remained so long in a position that was always exposed to the winds and storms of political change. He weathered them all: from the time of Madison to the time of Pierce or perhaps even Buchanan.

And one more thing: Goldsmith must have loved the work. He must have relished being a federal lawman. Many cops would never admit it, but being a peace officer gives a person a very special sense of pride and dignity. I think Morris Goldsmith would have agreed.

68. W. A. Swanberg, *First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957), p. 80.

69. Breibart letter, Hagy Database.

Review Essay

Jewish Settlement In Argentina: A View from Jersusalem

Ignacio Klich

Avni, Haim *Argentina & the Jews: A History of Jewish Immigration*. Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1991 xii, 268 pp.

Together with other writers in Latin America, the US, Israel and Europe, Haim Avni has been instrumental in putting Latin American Jews on the Judaica and Latin American studies map. That this is a relatively recent development goes some way to explain why English readers have long been deprived of this volume. More than others, Avni deserves warm acknowledgement for his pioneering academic work on Jewish agricultural colonization in Argentina, which spurred scholars in Israel to research other Latin American Jewries, or to delve into specific aspects of Argentine Jewry. Avni's *Argentine "the Promised Land": Baron de Hirsch's Colonization Project in the Argentine Republic*, which appeared in Hebrew in 1973, followed by the Buenos Aires Jewish community (AMIA)-sponsored *Argentina y la historia de la inmigración judía (1810—1950)* a decade later, have rightly stood as the first comprehensive studies of the Jewish influx into that country. With American Jewish Archives (AJA) backing this long overdue English edition, an engrossing panorama stretching from Argentine independence into the late 1980s, is 'an abridged and updated version' (p. xii). In this context, the AJA, publishers of various materials on the region, as well as Alabama's Judaic studies series, should be applauded for taking an active interest in furthering the English speaking public's knowledge of Latin American Jewry.¹

Easily accessible to the scholar and non-academic alike, Avni's book has been beautifully translated from the Hebrew by Gila Brand, thereby adding to the volume's appeal. However, there are

rare exceptions (which may have nothing to do with the translator's skills): the jarring references to Hipólito Yrigoyen, the Radical (UCR) party leader who was first elected head of state at the age of 64, as elderly in 1916 as well as more than a decade later (pp. 94 120) carry the unfortunate implication that he had aged so much by the time he first wore the presidential sash that he was above ageing thereafter. In contrast with Avni's text, other authors have referred to the veteran Yrigoyen as 'aged' or 'senile' when he was voted president for the second time in 1928. Moreover, Spanish being in all likelihood, beyond Brand's remit, responsibility for failing to retranslate into that language some of the important Argentine Jewish leaders' first names - e.g. Moshe Goldman in the text, instead of Moisés Goldman in reality; Jedidia (rather than Jedidio) Efron in the bibliography - must be pinned elsewhere.

In tune with Avni's doctoral work on Jewish agriculture in Argentina, this book's main archival source, like those of the above mentioned titles, are the papers of the London-registered Jewish Colonization Association (JCA); in addition to this, there are other records, as well as a long list of published materials. Not surprisingly, the English volume is largely devoted to the beneficiaries of JCA's endeavors, members of the country's Ashkenazi majority. Unlike the Spanish language edition, though, this book incorporates findings of the research project 'Latin America and the Jewish people during the Holocaust era.' Undertaken by the Latin American division of the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ), under Avni's stewardship, the project has already yielded important articles, as well as an in-depth book on Argentina and an edited version of a collection of lifestories on Uruguay.²

Immigration since the last decades of the nineteenth century turned Argentina, albeit unwittingly, into Latin America's largest recipient of Jews, and also laid the foundations for the region's weightiest Jewish community, nowadays estimated at 225,000 souls. To be sure, Jews *qua* Jews, like the nationals of Eastern Europe, as well as the Middle East and North Africa (whence most of the Jewish arrivals hailed), in general were neither among the Argentine élites' most awaited nor as absolutely rejected as blacks. As Avni cogently shows in the chapters devoted to developments

prior to 1933, the book's best, preference for northern Europeans, and later for Catholics from southern Europe's Latin countries, did not prevent successive Argentine governments from turning a deaf ear to those wishing to slam the door on other less desirable entrants. Thus, with ups and downs, according to the vagaries of the Argentine and world situations, almost unimpeded landings by Jews proceeded until the 1920s, with some authors prepared to argue that such Jewish immigrants encountered 'a climate of racial tolerance [in Argentina] that was higher than in the countries they had left behind.'³ Here, a small though important correction is called for: Avni's statement that in the first decade of this century 'Jews constituted the only body of non-Christian immigrants' (p. 88) is negated by contemporary calls in the Argentine Congress (and even earlier ones in the press) to curb Syro-Lebanese entries due to Muslim arrivals, in fact several thousand of them by 1909, among other reasons.⁴ This said, Argentina's immigration policy became increasingly restrictive towards Jews and other 'exotic' groups after the big economic crash of the late 1920s, with the unwillingness to consider a larger intake of European Jews and others affecting those most desperate to leave, and the Cold War-related ban on entries from Eastern Europe affecting all except numbers of those favored by the Anglo-American allies and the Holy See, the war time collaborationist past of a proportion of these aside.

Of course, settlement in Argentina has always been problematic for those seeking to channel Jews exclusively towards Palestine first and Israel later, a fact which is important for an understanding of various writers' excessively pessimistic, if not always entirely illegitimate, portrayal of conditions in Argentina and other Latin American destinations for yesteryear's Jewish migrants.⁵ Not surprisingly, therefore, in the early days of Jewish statehood some Israeli decision makers even toyed with the notion of encouraging a transatlantic exchange of populations. Indeed, with their sights set on deflating the Palestinian question and propping up Israel's Jewish population, they embarked upon a feasibility study about the transfer of Palestinian peasants in one direction and simultaneous contraflow of Argentina-based Jewish agricultural-

ists in the Jewish state's direction. Though never implemented, such a chimerical idea was consistent with the Zionist view that "Jewish colonization in Argentina was a byproduct of Jewish love and yearning for the land of Israel," given the initial desire to settle in Palestine, not South America, of some of the early Russians Jews arriving in Buenos Aires.⁶ Clearly some have yet to forgive Baron Maurice de Hirsch for helping Jews sink roots in Argentina, which in their view took manpower from the Zionist enterprise. In Avni's own words, more than once 'immigration to Argentina was in direct conflict with immigration to Palestine' (p. 59). Hardly a coincidence, Avni describes Baron Hirsch's vast colonization scheme, accounting for some 30,000 Jews in farming settlements by 1922, as creating 'the infrastructure for a new, major diaspora' (p. 42). Echoing similar comparisons since the 1930s, whether in Arthur Ruppin's *Los judios en América del Sur* or the Argentina v. Palestine section in Avni's own Hebrew edition, he draws readers' attention to Hirsch's JCA and the Zionist movement's Jewish National Fund (p. 52), the latter at the outset nowhere as richly endowed as the association; he also charts the initial progression of Jewish immigration to Argentina and Palestine. Before long one can justly infer from Avni that the fruits of JCA's endeavors became a poor match to Zionist achievements. Without forgetting the important attention drawn by other authors to the risks involved in exclusive (or even heavy) reliance on the official histories of any ethnic group's institutions,⁷ the English language reader naturally stands to benefit from meshing Avni's analysis with the perfectly sober evaluation of JCA's unattained objectives in Argentina in the association's well-documented, though little-noticed official history.⁸

Despite an otherwise coolly confident style Avni's treatment of the period after Adolf Hitler won office, when Argentine governments made it increasingly difficult for the Jewish victims of Nazi-fascism to land in Buenos Aires, is naturally laced with strong emotions. Argentine neutrality during most of the war quite rightly prompts him to compare the country's potential for rescuing Jews with its performance. Avni is spot on when he advances the conclusion that the country could have done much more.

Unquestionably, though, this could also be said of the leading nations in the anti-Nazi struggle and their Latin American associates, but Avni does not do so.

The rich irony, however, is that just as a larger proportion of Dutch Jews perished as a result of the Nazi occupation (in contradistinction to those in Western European countries that were more unfriendly to Jews than the Netherlands),⁹ so most of the European Jews who found a Latin American haven did so in Argentina, notwithstanding the closer alignment with the US of nearly all other countries south of the Rio Grande. In fact, while Avni prefers to leave this undisclosed, the divide between neutrality and association with the Allies does not afford the best yardstick to measure and classify the comportment towards Jews of Latin American and other countries: for example, whereas Avni admits that once in neutral Argentina Jewish refugees lived relatively unmolested, in Australia, a pro-Allied belligerent nation, other authors have remarked that such Jews had to report regularly to their local police station and were forbidden from owning a radio.¹⁰ Following the calculations of JCA's Simón Weill, Avni says that some 40,000 Jews entered Argentina during 1933-45. Those unwilling to take anything for granted will find a useful reference to various estimates on Argentina's intake of Jewish and other German speaking refugees, Weill's excluded, in Carlota Jackisch's valuable study. Suffice it to say here that Avni's figure is not the highest. This said, less conservative estimates confirm that Argentina, like other countries in the Americas and elsewhere, took in fewer Jews than would have been required to spare the lives of the millions who died on account of the Third Reich's genocidal policies. Far from being the lowest, Avni's estimate is certainly lower than the unmentioned 45,000 German speaking Jews (i.e. German, Austrian, Czech, etc.) until 1943 publicized by the Buenos Aires-based Asociación Filantrópica Israelita (AFI), which assisted Central European Jews. It is also below another figure based on 'the statistics of local Jewish aid committees.' Indeed, Olga Rojer has written that that number is somewhere in between the estimates of Weill and AFI. In Rojer's favor is Jackisch's unimprovised calculation of nearly 31,000 German refugees (mostly, though not

only, Jewish) who entered Argentina legally in 1933-45; the more than 12,000 Jews who, according to Polish emigration statistics, moved to Argentina during 1933-38; and those who still succeeded in leaving Poland before the war broke out in September 1939 also the unquantified newcomers from other countries, as well as the Jews from all provenances who filtered in despite Argentina's increasingly tighter mesh of official restrictions.¹¹

As in other Latin American states, or in Argentina since the 1920s, a number of Jews arrived by stealth. If Avni has got it right, and he is not alone on this, those forced to sneak in only numbered in the hundreds (p. 157), at the very most a few thousand. Hence, the wide gap between the nearly 25,000 Jewish immigrants recorded by the Argentine authorities and the almost 40,000 publicized by Avni is largely attributed, albeit unexplicitly, to legal arrivals by first, second and third-class passengers, whether candid or economical with the truth in respect of their Jewish identity and/or future intentions, rather than to landings of those en route to landlocked Bolivia and Paraguay who stayed in Argentina unauthorizedly, or to illegal crossings from neighboring countries (p. 170). It bears stressing though, that this is not the picture that emerges from Elena Levín's study on the pre-war influx of German speaking Jews. In effect, if her 41 interviewees are representative of the whole, some 20 per cent of those who ended up in Argentina arrived in transit to other countries and stayed on, or were part of the human contraband from Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. Should such representativity be confirmed, their total would have been more than a few thousand, certainly not hundreds. Bearing in mind the Achilles heels of other works largely based on oral accounts, it is important to stress that a measure of support for this conclusion is lent by an American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee estimate which put at 3,000 those among the 5,000-15,000 Jews who reportedly entered Bolivia during 1933-43 who crossed into Argentina during part of 1940-41 alone. Suggestive of the same is the fact that according to official statistics for 1947 some 85 per cent of the 520 foreigners arriving by rail in La Quiaca, a crossing point on the Argentine-Bolivian border, still sought to enter the country without meeting Argentine official requirements.¹²

While acknowledging the tremendous impact on Argentina and

other Latin American states of the US Quota and Johnson acts of the 1920s, with all their racist connotations (p. 100), Avni sidesteps consideration of the probably just as crucial link between Anglo-American and Argentine attitudes towards Jewish refugees, i.e. the former's reluctance to do more for the actual and potential victims of Nazism as a negative influence on the Latin Americans in general and Argentines in particular. Avni also avoids making use of other studies to compare the record of various neutrals; this casts Argentina in a worse light in some respects than countries like Switzerland (responsible for the Third Reich's stamping of a stigmatizing 'J' on Jewish passports).¹³ In fact, if Raul Hilberg has put an accurate finger, the number of Jews who settled in neutral Spain, Sweden, Switzerland or Turkey was smaller than Avni's estimate for those who squeezed their way into Argentina.¹⁴ As with the neutrals, Avni does not draw on other works to offer a second badly needed comparison, that of Argentina's performance vis-a-vis the Latin American states aligned with the US. Elements for such an exercise had already been variously sketched by Herbert Strauss, Leonardo Senkman and Carlota Jackisch; indirectly, Alfredo Schwarcz's fine study of the German speaking Jews in Argentina also provided some unnoticed food for thought on the subject: the existence of few critics of the country's restrictive immigration policy among his 80 informants and 357 questionnaire respondents, many of them victims of Nazism, implies that Argentina's limitations either did not compare unfavorably with those of other countries, or were simply not as harsh as the latter.¹⁵

It is to be regreted that a limited bibliographic update, especially when this volume's incubating period is considered, coupled with other factors, have taken their toll on equanimity and accuracy in chapters five and six. Here, one might cite Avni's infelicitous assertion about the conservative Castillo administration remaining neutral 'when the US uncovered a broad German spy network' in 1942, and his claims for Argentina's full diplomatic and economic ties with Nazi Germany during 1942-44 (p. 159). Another telling example of this is Avni's reiteration that Castillo's interior minister, Miguel Culaciati, was 'a German supporter' (p. 169), as mentioned in a Third Reich document.

In their award-winning volume Leslie Rout and John Bratzel

shed more light than any of their predecessors on the activities of Axis agents in Argentina and raise some notable points. Crucially, they wrote that the report on German military espionage which the US handed to Culaciati in November 1942 was, 'to an uncomfortable extent, an exercise in misinformation,' a 'tissue of fiction, innuendo and occasional fact' aimed at provoking an Argentine break with the Axis.¹⁶ And yet, without yielding the top prize, i.e. the severance of relations, the exercise led to Captain Dietrich Niebuhr, the German military intelligence (Abwehr) chief in Buenos Aires and his country's naval attache to Argentina, Brazil and Chile since 1936, being declared persona non grata. Put differently, while bilateral links were not severed until a year later, Niebuhr's departure in disgrace in January 1943, like the earlier recall of ambassador Edmund *Freiherr* von Thermann and Berlin's lack of choice but to leave representation of the Third Reich in the hands of a chargé d'affaires, confirms that the implications of Argentina's neutrality and the claim for fullness of diplomatic ties are in need of qualification. The same must be said of economic relations as early on the war dramatically dislocated trade links with Nazi Germany. To be sure, this was not the fate of German investments in the country. Nevertheless, in sharp contrast with the iron ore and other commodities freely secured from European neutrals, including Swiss weapons and machinery until October 1944,¹⁷ the Third Reich had to rely on its agents in Argentina to smuggle out small quantities of strategic minerals. Commerce having been such a salient component of bilateral economic links, with Argentina placed among the countries where even the severest critics of such relations had to admit that Berlin had hitherto fulfilled its pledge to meet Latin American needs through barter arrangements, Avni's claim is somehow not quite borne out by the facts.¹⁸

As for Culaciati's support for Germany, the unguarded quotation from a single document would lend credence to the intensity of his alleged Germanophilia, were it not for the compelling evidence to the contrary in other reports. Indeed, the German chargé d'affaires in Buenos Aires catalogued the same Culaciati as a saboteur of Castillo's policy of neutrality due to his 'US Jewish-masonic orientation.' Clearly, US ambassador Norman Armour's

undiplomatic conduct in having the 1942 report on Abwehr activities delivered directly to the alleged German supporter, rather than through Argentine foreign ministry channels, had not been a gaffe: as recommended by the American embassy, Culaciati agreed to entrust the job of detaining some of those working for Niebuhr to provincial policemen, with detentions taking place in areas outside their jurisdiction. For understandable reasons, Culaciati, whose sheltering of Emilio Troise could also be used to inaccurately label the then interior minister as a Communist or fellow-traveller, was reviled by local nationalists as having links to Argentina's foreign exploiters; this was already highlighted half a century ago in Adolfo Lanús' valuable chronicle of the anti-Nazi struggle in the country. Giving credit to a similar pro-Allied slant, the memoirs of the then British press attache in Buenos Aires, Sidney Robertson, also dating from the 1940s, portray the interior minister as a helpful friend of his country.¹⁹

Usually, the availability of relevant raw material largely dictates the shape of the finished historiographical product. However, despite the suggested link between the country's immigration policy and international relations Avni's updated analysis of the Peronist era's attitude to Jews does not benefit from the relevant works of Carlos Escudé, Robin Humphreys, Callum MacDonald, Ronald Newton, Ryszard Stemplowski, Joseph Tulchin, Bryce Wood and most others who have helped advance the state of knowledge on Argentine foreign affairs during the world conflagration and early post-war years.²⁰ Whereas his two previously mentioned books were issued when most such contributions had yet to be written, or had only recently seen the light of day, this volume's readers will come away puzzled by Avni's decision not to take advantage of such historiography.

The consequences of this, some might argue the reasons for this, are not entirely surprising. Avni is quite certain that US assistant secretary of state Spruille Braden's Blue Book 'attests to Perón's close ties with the Axis' (p. 177). Undeniably, Perón was among the admirers of Italian fascist methods, and was defined by a prominent Third Reich intelligence analyst as initially pro-German. Moreover, notwithstanding the inconclusiveness of Nazi docu-

ments, he had an important part, at least according to some historians, in Argentina's improvised efforts to acquire from the Third Reich the weapons which the US was denying his country. Also, without putting the worst possible gloss on Perón's links with the Nazis, it would be manifestly incorrect to pretend that he did not seek to attract scientists, technicians and other Germans to Argentina, as did many Latin American and world leaders of different political stripes after the war. However, Avni's certainty on the Blue Book bears little resemblance to the fruits of recent historiography.²¹ Avni also hazards an opinion on US ambassador George Messersmith's not improbable role in Peralta's departure from the Immigration Directorate without actually having seen the relevant documents at US archival repositories. Peralta's exit, though, can be seen as part of the weeding out of several fiercely nationalist and anti-Jewish office-holders, when the Truman administration decided to open a new page in US-Argentine relations, with the Washington envoy at the forefront of those prodding Perón into taking the necessary measures to facilitate this process.

Significantly, Avni's earlier treatment of the years 1946-55 did not posit that 'Perón and his supporters were not discriminating as it were, against "undesirable" immigrants; they were only granting priority to the desirables' (p. 184). To all intents and purposes, such an unequivocal affirmation, hedged in the Spanish version by the less assertive term 'seemingly,' is a bonus for the reader of the English version. As in the past, Avni accurately points out that such a policy, which kept out of Argentina larger numbers of Jews, was equally acceptable to many of Perón's 'political opponents' (p. 184). Unmentioned, however, is the fact that Argentine priorities affected other non-Catholics as much as Jews, if not more so. While a *Diario Arabe* appears in the bibliography of the Spanish and English versions among the papers Avni monitored,²² he does not discuss the implications of Argentina's exclusionary policies for ethnic and religious groups from the Middle East, in particular their consequences for Levantine Christians, Muslims and Jews since 1928. On the Arabic speakers' little-studied immigration he, nonetheless, has an unqualified reference to Arabs as 'desirable immigrants' when Perón was around (p. 180). That things are not

as black and white as this has been shown elsewhere. Indeed, a careful review of Argentine immigration policy during Perón's incumbency tends to give the claimed desirability of Arab newcomers the aura of an overstatement.²³

Additionally, haziness in respect of the date of commencement of the short stint of Santiago Peralta at the immigration directorate, which he headed during the first of Perón's nine years of elected rule, obscures the fact that the Judeophobic Peralta accepted such a directorship in November 1945, a month after Perón had left General Edelmiro Farrell's unelected government. A precise date here is important as the ambiguous 'when the war was over' risks pointing the less well-informed in the wrong direction, i.e. of Peralta taking office earlier, when Perón was still the country's vice-president and acting president. This said, even if Peralta was hired when Perón was out of office, his appointment raises questions as to whether this was primarily the result of a deal cut by Perón with civilian nationalists, or at least some of them, to win their backing for his presidential bid, as can be deduced from Félix Luna's influential reconstruction of events during 1945,²⁴ a gesture by a military government which had been faced with requests for Perón's head by nationalist army officers in October 1945, or something else. Needless to say, such queries, and ultimately the question of whether Peralta was the president's man after Perón's inauguration and/or a carryover from the previous *de facto* government, are among those awaiting conclusive answers. In looking for well-informed answers, the British ambassador's awareness of Perón as one who did not like Jewish immigrants all that much, yet at the same time was not markedly anti-Jewish, can not be swept under the carpet. *En passant*, it is as well to keep in mind that such a combination was not uncommon among enthusiastic pro-Allied politicians in Latin America and elsewhere. If looking with disfavor at Jewish immigrants would have been more uncommon among democrats with pristine Alliedophile credentials, Rómulo Betancourt would not have had to admit that he had been the architect of Venezuela's ban on Jewish immigrants and visitors during 1945-48, and Australia perhaps would not have waited until 1953 to delete from immigration applications an item direct-

ing candidates to confirm or deny their Jewishness.²⁵ By the same token, the favorable measures which a pragmatic Peronist government adopted despite Perón's reported absence of appreciation for Jewish arrivals must not be forgotten. Unlike Avni's delicately balanced contrast between the attitude towards Jews of Tomás Le Bretón, the agriculture minister of President Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear (1922—1928), and his subordinate Juan Ramos, the then immigration director (pp. 102-3), there is, in short, an unrecognized scintilla of difference, if not more, between the rabidly anti-Jewish Peralta and the pragmatic, some will say opportunistic, Perón. Truth be told, admitting the latter is not necessarily weighing the dice in favour of Perón, whose rule included elements at odds with a liberal vision of democracy, and was not devoid of anti-democratic connotations as well.

On a different tack, Avni's choice of words when referring to surreptitious arrivals in the post-war's first quinquennium and earlier, when the urgency was greatest, seems to play down the record of Argentina's non-Peronist governments of 1933-43. Indeed, Avni points to the illegal entry of 3,300 Jews, out of a total of 4,800 Jewish immigrants in 1945-49 (p. 193). This, in contrast with the already mentioned hundreds of 1933-45, and to some 10,000 Jews who normalized their situation due to an amnesty of 1948.²⁶ Assuming that the amnesty's Jewish beneficiaries numbered no more, although at the time the American Jewish Committee and the Peronist Organización Israelita Argentina (OIA) spoke of at least three times as many illegal Jews, what evidence is there to support the conclusion that most of the 10,000 reached Argentina before 1933? By the way, if confirmed, Holger Meding's estimated 30,000-40,000 German-born and ethnic German immigrants in post-war Argentina - including 300-800 seriously tainted by Nazism, and a minimum of 50 war criminals among them - suggests that by design or accident the Perón government amnesty may have benefited many more Jews than ethnic and other German Nazis.²⁷ This, however, remains to be verified. Above all, a comparative perspective on Jewish immigration during the early post-war years is patently missing. Avni's postponement of such instructive comparisons, whether for the period after

Hitler's rise to power or as soon as peace broke out in Europe, tends to work here against Argentina.

Interestingly, Avni would have us believe that Perón unequivocally promised to throw Argentine support behind the partition of Palestine (p. 189). While the paragraph in question is unsourced, the Spanish version reveals that far from stemming from a combination of Argentine and other records of the day, oral histories, memoirs, etc, the evidence in support of such a pledge is a single anonymous report of 1950 at the Central Zionist Archives. Penned by someone with an indubitable axe to grind against Perón and his small Jewish following, the report in question claims that the president offered such a pledge to the OIA. While Perón's knack for charming an audience with agreeable statements is beyond doubt, recourse to such a report confirms that the extensive oral history which the ICJ's Latin American division recorded with Moshe Tov, like his memoirs, offers nothing as conclusive in support of Perón's alleged commitment to OIA. As head of the Jewish Agency's Latin American department would the then Moisés Toff, an indefatigable campaigner to secure Argentine backing for Jewish statehood, not have known of such a pledge? Instead, a look at the instructions repeatedly given to Argentina's UN representative in 1947 indisputably shows that Perón was prepared to countenance a Jewish home in Palestine so long as this was not irreconcilable with a hitherto fruitful relationship with the Arab world. Therefore, Argentina, like the other regional heavyweights, Brazil excluded, abstained in November 1947 when asked to take a stand on an undivided federal state in Palestine (a plan inimical to Zionist aspirations), as well as on partition, which paved the way to Jewish statehood.²⁸ Strictu sensu, none of this is imperative for a history of Jewish immigration to Argentina; nevertheless, the view of an alleged Perón commitment to support Israel's creation standing on such feet is a bit of an eyesore. Paradoxically, by the time the 1950 report was drafted, Argentina had supported Israeli entry to the UN and recognized the Jewish state *de jure*. It had also opened the first Latin American diplomatic representation in Tel Aviv and had signed a bilateral trade accord, which the Israeli signatory deemed economically advantageous to the Jewish state.²⁹

Unfortunately, the Perón government's liberalization of naturalization procedures, like war minister Perón's earlier elimination of the formal requirements preventing the admission of non-Catholics to the military institute (*Colegio Militar*) and the effects, positive and/or negative, both measures had among Jews, has no place in Avni's study.³⁰ Voting being restricted to Argentine citizens, however, Eugene Sofer has contended that 'Jewish participation in Argentine politics increased after Perón came to power.' Sofer also noted that successive previous regimes had 'placed obstacles in the paths of those foreigners who were willing to assume the responsibilities and privileges of Argentine citizenship.' Instead, Avni passes over in silence the gains reaped by the country's Jewish population, the amnesty for illegal immigrants aside, during Perón's two consecutive terms in office. The progressive fall in Judeophobia during 1946-55, part of what Richard Walter rightly describes as Perón's reaching out 'to the Jews with a mixture of conciliatory rhetoric and concrete benefits,' is not spelled out.³¹ It is a fact, though, that under Perón management his supporters within the Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista (ALN), whose anti-Jewish outrages had made headlines throughout the Jewish world in 1945, were weaned away from Judeophobia by 1953.³² Seen in this light, it is not so astounding that when Perón was ousted and the ALN headquarters were flattened by those who deposed him one of the main local Jewish worries was, according to a confidential report distributed by the Political Department of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), whether records showing Jewish contributions to a tame ALN had not fallen into the wrong hands.

Given Avni's survey of the post-1955 scene - with its reference to 'the first Jew appointed to a cabinet position' during Arturo Frondizi's incumbency, and to two others elected governors (pp. 206-7) - his silence on the Peronist era's first Jews in vice-ministerial, ambassadorial and magistrate positions, as well as to earlier entrants in the Argentine foreign service and armed forces, are not insignificant omissions. Available since the 1980s (if not earlier) at the Israel State Archives, other countries' repositories, as well as among the papers of the WJC, some of the historical nuggets that

are not part of Avni's cuisine have to be savored elsewhere, whether among the writings of other historians or in the highly enjoyable memoirs of Benno Weiser Varon, a former New York-based director of the Jewish Agency's Latin American department and later Israeli diplomat.³³ Evidently no closet Peronist, Weiser commented that Perón's incumbency was the first occasion when, 'in anti-Semitic Argentina, manifestations of anti-Semitism would not be tolerated. For the first time ever, Jews were appointed ambassadors, there was a Jewish cabinet minister, and I would play host in New York to a Jewish under secretary.' And unlike earlier ones, Perón's most prominent Jewish appointee was not of the self-effacing variety. Fortunately, Weiser's reminiscences also include an account of the ALN's conversion; this helps fill in some of the blanks left by the intriguing reference to a 'Baron Ben Weiser' in the useful though anecdotal recollections of then Alianza leader Guillermo Patricio Kelly.³⁴

Inasmuch as the deep passions aroused by Peronism have not yet been universally overcome, it is no coincidence that many remain more hostile to Perón than to other Argentine rulers. In the case of Jews, this is partly explained by Perón's rise in the company of Judeophobes; his longstanding reluctance to make a clean break with such elements, as opposed to simply striving to contain them, as well as his late 1960s inclusion of Zionism among the five internationals seeking to dominate the Third World.³⁵ Needless to say, all this has been absorbed into Jewish historiography much better than other things. Hence, it is uncharacteristic to find references to Irving Louis Horowitz's accurate observation that under Perón 'Jews fared exceptionally well economically,' with the 'occasional outbursts against Jewish financial interests' becoming 'increasingly muted after the defeat of Nazism in World War II.'³⁶ Most scholars have also shied away from Robert Weisbrot's notably more comprehensive conclusion that despite everything, Perón 'evolved [in the 1940s and 1950s] into a president who was one of the most benevolent toward the Jewish community in modern Argentine history.' Even more exceptional have been those readily agreeing with Sofer's later appraisal that 'Peronism had an enormous and largely beneficial impact on the Jewish community,'

or with David Rock's most recent contribution that despite the Perón-led military lodge's 'heavy clerical accent,' Perón himself 'did not voice any support for the extreme xenophobes and anti-Semites' within that lodge, the GOU.³⁷

Worthy of note is the fact that the intensity of Jewish dislike for all things Peronist is in some cases apparently greater than that generated by Argentina's military regime of 1976-83. Under that junta, not less than 195 Jews (among the nearly 9,000 documented disappearances) were murdered by the security forces.³⁸ Without producing figures, Avni's reference to 'an inordinate number of Jews' (p. 207) among those who disappeared prevents the less well-informed reader from taking in the sheer enormity of what had happened (not excluding of course, the controversial aspects of the respective records of the then leadership of the Argentine Jewish umbrella organization and Israeli government³⁹): even the above mentioned lowest of ceilings surpasses the number of Jews murdered in the tragic bombing of the Buenos Aires Jewish community headquarters in July 1994, and indicates that the military regime's Jewish victims, largely killed during the latter part of the 1970s, were more numerous than those assassinated on political grounds by officially tolerated groups at all other times since Argentine independence, the *Semana Trágica* possibly excepted. With sights set on the whole world outside the Middle East, it is not an overstatement to say that all the disappeared Jews also represent one of the single largest losses of life by affiliated and unaffiliated individual Jews since 1945.

Returning to chapter six, for whatever reason, there is a considerable gap between this and what might otherwise be a more complete account of Perón and the Jews. One can only agree with the fairness of Ronald Newton's inclusion of Avni's work, listed in the bibliography of his superbly documented debunker of the Nazi threat to Argentina as being among those deemed important to gain an insight on Jews in that country, while cautioning readers that 'a full study' on Perón and the Jews 'still remains to be written.'⁴⁰ Such a study, like any other on Latin America and the Jewish people during the war and early post-war periods, would not avoid a thorough look into Anglo-American as well as Latin

American diplomatic and other papers, in addition to Jewish sources, or neglect most of the patient reconstruction of the country in question's foreign relations during that complex period. Equally, a definitive study of Jewish immigration needs to include more than incidental references to Maghrebi and Levantine Jews so as to overcome what has been aptly described (certainly not in relation to Avni's work) as 'the small interest Ashkenazis generally had for developments among the Sephardi communities.'⁴¹ Moreover, despite its unique features the Jewish influx was part of the larger migration of Bulgarians, Czechs, Italians, Poles, Russians, Spaniards, Syro-Lebanese, etc; as knowledge on such groups has been advancing scouring the literature on their immigration has become a must: it could help determine, for instance, whether certain restrictions were particularly aimed at Jews, or if Jews were among those most adversely affected.⁴² Inescapably, a definitive study on Jewish immigration to Argentina will have to translate the degree of interconnection between Argentine immigration and foreign policy into a careful and thorough exploration of the country's consular, diplomatic and immigration documents (as well as literature) for the entire period considered. In the final analysis, a fair and balanced reconstruction of the Jewish people's Argentine or other chapters can not but hinge on the history of the chosen country being treated with the same care and sensitivity accorded to Jewish history, a treatment which need neither be excuseful nor uncritical of the country in question's record vis-à-vis Jews.

Towards the end, Avni returns to an early Zionist leader's *fin-de-siècle* prognosis that just as A leads to Z, 'so Argentina will lead to Zion,' and proclaims that 'for tens of thousands of Argentine Jews' such words turned out to be prophetic. Surprisingly, though, the reader is left in the dark on the fiction and non-fiction literature on the Latin Americans, namely Argentinians, in Israel.⁴³ As for the remaining Argentine Jews, a vast majority, Avni posits that 'a large proportion have personal, family ties with the State of Israel, perhaps more than any other Jewish community in the West' (p. 210). These statements, like an earlier one laying claim on the 'organizational ties with world Jewry, particularly through the Zionist

Organization' (p. 203) of Argentine Jewry's umbrella body (DAIA), are meant to underline the potency of Zionism;⁴⁴ the same conclusion is afforded by Argentine Jewish donations to the Zionist cause - larger than the meagre funds to dispense aid to Jewish immigrants in the 1920s (p. 113), or to the Nazi era's Jewish refugees in Argentina (pp. 131ff) and the post-war displaced Jews striving to land there.

A second look at what is implied or spelled out in these affirmations shows that just as the pro-Zionist DAIA's links with the Jewish people result from its affiliation to the WJC, not the World Zionist Organization (WZO), with which DAIA has never had organizational ties, a more definitive evaluation of Argentine Jewry's Zionism and pro-Zionist sentiments will have to wait until various parameters - eg. immigration to Israel and other countries; emigration from Israel; affiliation with the local Zionist federation; (OSA); contributions to Israel's main fundraising drive (CUJA), etc - are compared with those for other countries. Once gathered, such data may well validate Avni's argument. As things stand today, however, what is unarguable is that Argentine Jewry has contributed a total of 40,000 immigrants to Israel, less than 15,000 affiliates to OSA and about 9,000 yearly donors to CUJA. Moreover, among the country's tens of thousands of Jews with relatives and friends in Israel, some have shown that support for the Jewish state has not ruled out concealment of aspects of such an identification when their lives were placed at a disadvantage by their pro-Zionism.⁴⁵ Additionally, the book's Israel-centred finale begs a crucial question: What direct or indirect role, if any did the Zionist movement's desire not to lose any of the survivors of the Nazi genocide as immigrants for Palestine play in postwar Argentina's rather limited intake of Jews? Not addressed by Avni or other Israeli works on Argentina and the Jews, such a thorny issue is not meant to deny the importance of local and other factors opposed to a more substantial Jewish influx. Nevertheless, consideration of this issue seems entirely justified in view of the candid evaluations that other Israeli authors have been making of Zionism's performance during World War II. For instance, in a January 1936 letter which Rabbi Stephen S. Wise addressed to Albert Einstein, readily

available among the latter's papers, the pro Zionist leader of the American Jewish Congress reported that a prominent US Zionist supporter, Justice Louis Brandeis, was "opposed to transfer [of victims of Nazism] to any other country because it means diversion from Palestine, " making it absolutely clear that by no other country he meant "the USA, Biro-Bidjan, South America." Moreover, on the strength of Zionist documents, one Israeli historian has written that the possibility of Jewish survivors of Nazism choosing to rehabilitate themselves on European soil was seen by the Zionist leadership 'as a move which should be categorically negated, a potential nightmare,' while rehabilitation outside Europe, but not in Palestine, was also viewed 'as an intolerable situation.'⁴⁶ Hardly a cause promoted by Argentina's governments since World War II, Jewish immigration to the Plate was apparently more than an undesirable scenario for the Zionists, whether in 1936 (when the Nazis were interested in encouraging Jewish departures from Germany) or after the Wannsee Conference.

Finally, if it can be confidently affirmed that we are far from a first draft on Argentina and the Jews this is certainly due in part to Avni's relentless and unswerving efforts. There is no question that this relevant book inches forward towards a final version on the subject too. Hence, for the time being, it is certainly premature to write off Avni's contribution as little more than a starting point, as others have already suggested. In fact, reading Avni is quite an education, especially for the uninitiated. Moreover, accretions to a none too lengthy list of titles on Latin American Jewry open Israelocentric and other vistas on aspects of this far from extensively mined subject, as well as promote further study. Sparking many further questions, this volume, like others, belongs on more than one reading list. However instructive, though, Spanish-speaking immigration and ethnic studies' specialists, Argentinists, as well as scholars interested in Judaica, will unquestionably find the English volume less detailed than its uncompressed predecessor and not as updated as might have been expected.⁴⁷

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Notes

1. See, for instance, Isaac S. Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati: AJA, 1970), 2 vols; Jerry W. Knudson, 'The Bolivian Immigration Bill of 1942,' *AJA*, vol. xxii no. 2, 1970, Donald Herman, 'Israel's Latin American Immigrants,' *AJA*, vol. xxxvi no. 1, 1984; Dan La Botz, 'Roberto Haberman and the Origins of Modern Mexico's Jewish Community,' *AJA* vol. xliii no. 1, 1991. See also a collection of articles by members of the US-based Latin American Jewish Studies Association in *AJA*, vol. xxxiv no. 2, 1982.

2. See, for example, Elvira Rissech, 'Inmigración judía a la Argentina 1938—1942: Entre la aceptación y el rechazo,' *Rumbos* (Jerusalem), 15 (1986), Leonardo Senkman, 'Argentinien und der Holocaust: Die Einwanderungspolitik und die Frage der Flüchtlinge 1933—1945,' in Achim Schrader and Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, eds. *Europäische Juden in Lateinamerika* (Münster: Werner J. Röhrig Verlag 1989); Leonardo Senkman, 'Argentina's Immigration Policy during the Holocaust (1938—1945),' *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem), 21 (1991); Leonardo Senkman, *Argentina, la Segunda Guerra Mundial y los refugiados indeseables. 1933—1945* (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1991); Haim Avni and Rosa Perla Ralcher, eds., *Memorias del Uruguay: Holocausto y lucha por la fundación del Estado de Israel*, ICJ, Jerusalem, 1986.

3. Edgardo Bilsky, 'Etnicidad y clase obrera: La presencia judía en el movimiento obrero argentino,' *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1989, p. 29. All-encompassingly, another author reminds readers that 'Cuba and the New World were far more tolerant and welcoming than the countries from which the [Jewish] emigrants had fled.' See Robert M. Levine, *Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 293.

4. Ignacio Klich, 'Criollos and Arabic Speakers in Argentina: An Uneasy *Pas de Deux* 1888—1914,' in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992), pp. 261, 263-64. Similarly Avni has argued that since the 1910s the promotion of 'clerical Catholicism as the new Argentinean nationalism' undermined 'the legitimacy of the Jews even more so than that of other non-Catholic Argentines.' Proof to the contrary, however, are the conversions to Argentina's predominant religion of a large number of Muslims and Druze, president Carlos Saúl Menem and the cashiered colonel Mohamed Alí Seineldín among the most notable cases. See Avni's review of Victor A. Mirelman, *Jewish Buenos Aires. 1890—1930: In Search of an Identity* (Detroit Wayne State University Press, 1990), in *AJA* vol. XLIV no. 2, 1992, p. 648.

5. On the legitimate reactions such pictures can lead to, see, for example, Dora Schwarzstein's lucid observations in her review of Senkman's documented *Argentina y los refugiados indeseables*, op. cit. in *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani"* (Buenos Aires), Third Series, no. 7, 1993, p. 160.

6. The quote belongs to Israeli diplomat Aba Gefen, see his *Defying the Holocaust: A Diplomat's Report* (San Bernardino: Borgo Press, 1993), pp. 168-69. On the proposed transfer of Palestinians to Argentina, see Ignacio Klich, 'La posibilidad del asentamiento de palestinos en la Argentina (1948-1952): una perspectiva comparada,' *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires), April 1994, pp. 115-33.

7. Hilda Sábato, 'El pluralismo cultural en la Argentina: Un balance crítico,' Paper presented at the II Jornadas del Comité Internacional de Ciencias Históricas/Comité Argentino, Paraná, October 1988, p. 24.

8. Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm: A History of the Jewish Colonization Association* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp. 240-41.

9. Whereas some 75 per cent of Dutch Jewry perished as a consequence of Nazi policies,

in unfriendlier France and Norway the proportion of Jews who did not survive World War II was 25 and 40 percent respectively. J.C.H. Blom, 'The Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands: A Comparative Western European Perspective, *European History Quarterly* (London), July 1989, p. 333.

10. Rodney Gouttman, 'A Jew, and Coloured Too! Immigration of "Jews of Middle East Origin" to Australia, 1949-58,' *Immigrants and Minorities* (London), March 1993, p. 77.

11. Olga Elaine Rojer, *Exile in Argentina 1933-1945: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (New York/ Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), p. 81; Cartota Jackisch, *El nazismo y los refugiados alemanes en la Argentina 1933-1945* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1989) pp. 149-58; Jacob Lestschinsky, 'National Groups in Polish Emigration,' *Jewish Social Studies* (JSS) (New York), April 1943, p. 110, Marta Kowalska, 'La emigración judía de Polonia a la Argentina en los años 1918-1939,' *Estudios Latinoamericanos* (EL) (Warsaw), 1989, p. 259. The figure of 45,000 Jewish arrivals is also mentioned by Werner Hoffmann, 'Die Deutschen in Argentinien,' in Harmut Fröschle, ed., *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika: Schicksal und Leistung* (Tübingen/Basel: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1979), p. 143.

12. Elena Levin, *Historias de una emigración (1933-1939): Alernanes judíos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Manrique Zago ediciones, 1991), pp. 39-54; Sherry Mangan, 'Storm Clouds over the Bolivian Refuge,' *Commentary* (New York), August 1952, p. 100; Knudson, p. 149.

13. Daniel Bourgeois, 'La porte se ferme: la Suisse et le problème de l'immigration juive en 1938,' *Relations internationales* (RI) (Paris), Summer 1988, pp. 197-204.

14. Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945* (London: Lime Tree, 1993) pp. 257-58. In the Swiss case, refugees were allowed in until 1938, as well as after 1942, with the Helvetic authorities insisting since 1936 that theirs could be no more than a country of transit. André Lasserre, 'La politique d'asile en Suisse de 1933 à 1945,' *RI*, Summer 1993, p. 210.

15. Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (ii),' in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (London), vol. xxvi, 1981; Leonardo Senkman, 'La política inmigratoria argentina durante la década del treinta,' in *Primeras Jornadas Nacionales de Estudios sobre Inmigración en Argentina*. Ministerio de Educación y Justicia, Buenos Aires, 1985, pp. 600-603; Herbert A. Strauss, *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.* (New York/ Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag 1987), vol. 6, pp. 210-25; Jackisch, pp. 84-87, 140-42, 150; Alfredo José Schwarcz, *Y a pesar de todo...: Los judíos de habla alemana en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1991), p. 110.

16. Leslie B. Rout, Jr. and John F. Bratzel, *The Shadow War: German Espionage and US Counterespionage in Latin America during World War II* (Frederick: University Presses of America, 1986) pp. 339-40.

17. Daniel Lewis, 'Internal and External Convergence,' in David Rock, ed., *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 209.

18. Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Castillo's Argentina and World War II: Economic Aspects of the Argentine-British-United States-German Quadrangle,' *Beitrage zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 8 (1981); Salvatore Prisco, 'Vampire Diplomacy: Nazi Economic Nationalism in Latin America, 1934-40,' *Diplomacy & Statecraft* (London), March 1991, pp. 176-77; Andrés Musacchio, 'La Alemania nazi y la Argentina en los años '30: crisis económica, bilateralismo y grupos de interés,' *Ciclos*, Second Semester 1992; Ronald C. Newton, *The 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina. 1931-1947* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp 88-107.

19. Erich von Meynen to German foreign office, 1 October and 26 November 1942, in *Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtiges Politik 1918-1945* (Göttingen, 1979), vols. E-III and E-IV.

Hetvio I. Botana, *Memorias: Tras los dientes del perro* (Buenos Aires: Peña Lillo editor, 1985), p. 318; Adolfo Lanús, *Campo minado* (Buenos Aires, 1942), pp 80-81; S. R. Robertson, *Making Friends for Britain* (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft, 1948), p. 72.

20. Other than those mentioned elsewhere in this essay see, for example, Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Las potencias anglosajonas y el neutralismo argentino (1939-1945),' *EL* 1976; Callum A. MacDonald, 'The Politics of Intervention: The United States and Argentina, 1941-1946,' *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Cambridge), November 1980; R. A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War* (London: Athlone Press, 1981-82), 2 vols.; Ronald C. Newton, 'Indifferent Sanctuary: German-Speaking Refugees and Exiles in Argentina, 1933-1945,' *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (Coral Gables) November 1982; Carlos Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942-1949* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1983) Ronald C. Newton, 'The United States, the German-Argentines and the Myth of the Fourth Reich,' *Hispanic American Historical Review* (Chapell Hill), vol. 64 no. 1, 1984; Bryce Wood, *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Allies and Rivals: Latin American Aspects of US-British Relations and World War II,' *Hemispheres* (Wroclaw), 4 (1987); Guido di Tella and D. Cameron Watt, eds., *Argentina and the Great Powers, 1939-46* (London: St. Antony's/ Macmillan, 1989); Joseph Tulchin, *La Argentina y los Estados Unidos: Historia de una desconfianza* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1990).

21. Ignacio Klich, 'A Background to Perón's Discovery of Jewish National Aspirations,' in AMLAT, eds., *Judaica latinoamericana: Estudios histórico-sociales* (JL)(Jerusalem: Magnes/ Hebrew University Press, 1988), p. 194; Ignacio Klich, 'Failure in Argentina: The Jewish Agency's Search for Congressional Backing for Zionist Aims in Palestine (1946),' in AMLAT, eds., *Judaica latinoamericana: Estudios histórico-sociales II* (Jerusalem: Magnes/Hebrew University Press, 1993), pp. 260-61, n. 10.

22. Histories of the Middle Easterners in Argentina and other Latin American states, or of the Arab press in general, fail to mention any such *Diario Arabe*, whether in the Plate or other countries covered by these studies. Unless the *Diario* appeared elsewhere, this is probably an undetected mistranslation in regard to Argentina's *Diario Siriolibanés* or *La Gaceta Arabe*. See, for instance, Philip di Tarrazi, *A History of the Arab Press* (Beirut, 1933) (Arabic) Mohamed Yassine Abderrahmán, *Adalid Ríoplatense* (Buenos Aires, 1954); Elie Safa, *L'Emigration libanaise* (Beirut: Université St. Joseph, 1960).

23. Leonardo Senkman, 'Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo,' *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Tel Aviv), July-December 1992, p. 23; Klich, 'La posibilidad del asentamiento de palestinos,' *art cit*, pp. 128-29. See also Leonardo Senkman, 'Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo,' *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Tel Aviv), July-December 1992, p. 23.

24. Félix Luna, *El 45: Crónica de un año decisivo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1986, fourteenth edition) pp. 399-400. See also David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement. Its History and Its Impact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) p. 155. While other authors have read Luna's data as meaning that Perón reached out to all nationalists in 1945, Rock interpreted this as an approach to some nationalists instead. Hence, the legitimacy of viewing Peralta's appointment as resulting from a Perón entente with some nationalists needs to be substantiated in evidence, rather than deduced from Perón's utilization of the nationalists.

25. P. R. Bartrop, 'The Jewish Race Clause in Australian Immigration Forms,' *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, vol. 11 part 1, 1990, pp. 69-78; Benno Weiser Varon, *Professions of a Lucky Jew* (New York/ London: Cornwall Books, 1992), pp. 165-67; Gouttman, p. 86.

26. Either a typesetting error or factual inaccuracy, some writers appear as dating this amnesty back to 1946. Jack Twiss Quarles van Ufford and Joep Merckx, 'Ich Hab' Noch einen Koffer in Berlin: German-Jewish Identity in Argentina, 1933—1985,' *JSS*, 1988/ 1992, p. 100.

27. Holger M. Meding, 'Refugio seguro: La emigración alemana de posguerra al Río de la Plata,' paper presented at the conference 'El genocidio ante la historia y la naturaleza humana,' Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Buenos Aires, 8-10 September 1993.

28. ICJ, Hebrew University, Oral history interview with Moshe Tov. Moshé A. Tov, *El murmullo de Israel. Historial diplomático* (Jerusalem: Semana, 1983). Analysis based on Argentine and other records on the country's attitude on Jewish statehood, can be found, for example, in Juan Archibaldo Lanús, *De Chapultepec al Beagle: Política exterior argentina, 1945—1980* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1984), pp. 354-55; Ignacio Klich 'Argentina, the Arab World and the Partition of Palestine,' in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986); vol. iii, pp. 271-77.

29. Ignacio Klich, 'The First Argentine-Israeli Trade Accord: Political and Economic Considerations,' Paper presented at the XVII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, 24-27 September 1992.

30. Following a DAIA presentation to Perón in April 1945, the military institute's entry requirement discriminating against non-Catholic aspirants and others unable to produce a baptism certificate was removed. Unlike the potential impact of the liberalization of naturalization, this calculated kindness did not excite Jewish interest in a military career, an indication perhaps that the measure was not meant to open the *Colegio Militar* to Jews. *Diario de Sesiones*, Cámara de Diputados, 31 July 1946.

31. Eugene F. Sofer, *From Pale to Pampa: A Social History of the Jews of Buenos Aires* (New York/ London: Holmes & Meier, 1982), pp. 129-30; Richard J. Walter, 'The Right and the Peronists, 1943—1955,' in Sandra McGee Deutsch and Ronald H. Dolkart, eds., *The Argentine Right: Its History and Intellectual Origins: 1910 to the Present* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Books, 1993), p. 112.

32. Prior to this change, some ALN rank and filers had argued in favor of a Jewish state on grounds that this would confirm the foreign character of Argentine Jewry and lead to a *judenrein* Argentina. A variation on the theme of Israel's future pull on diaspora Jews was articulated by a prominent Jesuit intellectual and later unsuccessful ALN parliamentary candidate in 1946; he implied that a Jewish state would make it easier to rid the country of inassimilable Jews as well as suggested that Jewish concentration in Israel would afford the possibility of eventually achieving a Catholic church expectation, Jewish conversions *en masse* to Christianity. See Leonardo Castellani, *Decíamos ayer...* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudestada, 1968), pp. 328-29.

33. Benno Weiser Varon 'Dictators, Democracy and Latin American Jewry,' *Commentary*, December 1953; Leonardo Senknan, 'El peronismo visto desde la legación israelí de Buenos Aires: Sus relaciones con la OIA (1949—1954),' in *JL II*.

34. While US envoys and others erroneously assumed that Perón's interior minister was Jewish this was certainly the case of Angel Borlenghi's wife, Clara Maguidovich, and of his ministry's No. 2 man, under secretary of the interior Abraham Krislavin, a vice-minister in the hierarchy of other countries. The same can be said of judge Liberto Rabovich. Though not in the same league as Pablo Manguel, Enrique Aaron Reznick was the Perón government's first labor attaché in Rumania. Not uncommon for a memoir written nearly forty years after the events, Weiser does not recall the exact year of Kelly's takeover of the ALN and of the visit the new Alianza leader paid him in New York, which took place in 1953 and 1955 respectively. Horacio de Dios, *Kelly cuenta todo* (Buenos Aires: Gente, 1984) pp. 26-27; Weiser, pp. 133, 206-8.

35. Robert A. Potash, *Perón y el G.O.U.: Los documentos de una logia secreta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1984) pp. 145, 246 and 252; Juan D. Perón, *La hora de los pueblos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Norte, 1968), p. 32; Enrique Pavón Pereyra, *Coloquios con Perón* (Madrid: Editores Internacionales Técnicos Reunidos 1973), pp. 9 and 146; Enrique Pavón Pereyra, *Perón tal como es* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Macacha Güemes, 1973), pp. 220 and 224

36. Irving Louis Horowitz, 'Jewish Ethnicity and Latin American Nationalism,' in Abdul Said and Luiz R. Simmons eds, *Ethnicity in an International Context* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1976), p. 97.

37. Robert Weisbrot, *The Jews of Argentina: From the Inquisition to Perón* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), p. 240; Rock, pp. 134, 139. For those alluding to Weisbrot's conclusion, see Sofer, p. 125; Allan Metz, 'Reluctant Partners: Juan Perón and the Jews of Argentina, 1946–1955,' *Judaism* (New York), Fall 1992, p. 394; Walter, p. 112. This said, Weisbrot's references to OIA as a Perón-created alternative to DAIA, an accurate reflection of the apprehensions of mainstream Jews, have since been found questionable by those scrutinizing the Argentine president's attitude to DAIA and that Peronist Jewish outfit (see note 33).

38. This is the lowest documented number of disappearances, those on whose behalf the Argentine Jewish umbrella organization claims to have made representations, as documented in 'Informe Especial sobre Detenidos y Desaparecidos Judíos 1976–1983,' DAIA, Buenos Aires, January 1984. In sharp contrast with DAIA, the New York-based Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) compiled a list of some 1,200 names. Clearly, the first figure is but a reflection of the cases directly reported to DAIA, rather than an approximation to the much larger universe of disappeared Jews, while the number arising from ADL's Argentine prisoner project could be flawed because of the inclusion of people whose names sounded Jewish, some Jews who had vanished prior to the military takeover, as well as duplications stemming from different spellings of the same surname. Even when taking cognizance of the latter detractions, there are enough reasons to consider that the number of Jews killed by the security forces during 1976–83 is well in excess of 195. For the first documentary and analytical works on the subject, after the DAIA report, see 'Réplica al Informe Especial sobre Detenidos y Desaparecidos Judíos 1976–1983 publicado por la Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA),' Buenos Aires, n.d.; Judith Laikin Elkin, 'We Knew but Didn't Want to Know' *Jewish Frontier* (New York), February 1985; Ignacio Klich, 'Communal Policy under the Argentine Junta,' *Jewish Quarterly* (London), 118 (1985); Javier Simonovich, 'Desaparecidos y antisemitismo en la Argentina (1976–1983),' *Nueva Sión* (Buenos Aires), 19 October 1985. See also Marguerite Feitlowitz, "Life Here is Normal," Colloquium Series, Bunting Institute, Radcliffe College, Boston, 18 November 1992, p. 29. See also Ronald C. Newton's review of Leonardo Senkman, comp., *El antisemitismo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1989, Second edition), in *Latin American Jewish Studies Newsletter* (Ann Arbor) 1 (1994).

39. See Yehuda Bauer's address to the Ninth Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress (Jerusalem, 5–9 May 1991), and to the British Friends of the Hebrew University (London, 16 May 1991); Marcel Zohar, *Let my People Go to Hell* (Tel Aviv: Citrin Publishing House, 1990) (Hebrew); Ignacio Klich, 'Challenges to Jewish Life in Latin America: Argentina,' in William Frankel, ed., *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1991* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), pp. 216, 220, 229.

40. Newton, *The Nazi Menace*, p. 481.

41. Margalit Bacchi de Bejarano, 'Fuentes para la historia de los sefáradies en la Argentina,' *Sefárdica*, May 1986, p. 99. Recent additions to the bibliography on the immigration to Argentina of Jews from the Middle East and North Africa includes: Margalit

Bejarano, 'L'intégration des sefaradim en Amérique latine: Le cas des communautés de Buenos Aires et de La Havane,' Paper presented at the Colloque International Mémoires juives d'Espagne et du Portugal, Université de Paris IV, 14-16 December 1992; Victor C. Mirelman, 'Sephardim in Latin America after Independence,' *AJA*, vol. xLiv no. 1, 1992; Margalit Bejarano, 'From Turkey to Latin America: Immigration and Sephardic Jews to Argentina and Cuba,' Paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association (LAJSA), Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993; Diana L. Epstein, 'Aspectos generales de la inmigración judeo-marroquí a la Argentina 1875-1930,' *Temas de Africa y Asia* (Buenos Aires), no. 2, 1993; Juan Bta. Vilar, 'La emigración judeo-marroquí a la América Latina en la fase pre-estadística (1850-1880),' Paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of LAJSA; Diana Lía Epstein, 'Los marroquíes en Buenos Aires 1875-1910,' Paper presented at the XVIII International Congress of LASA, Atlanta, 10-12 March 1994.

42. Stemplowski, for instance, cites Polish diplomatic papers attesting to the fact that Argentina's immigration restrictions of October 1938 affected Christian Poles as well. However, the reference in such documents to Argentina granting no more visas to Poles afterwards is not supported by Argentine immigration statistics. Transcribed by Senkman, the latter show that some overseas Poles either gained legal entry into Argentina or secured the right to do so during 1939-45: 1,399 (1939); 87 (1940); 77 (1941); 31 (1944) and 60 (1945). Needless to say the aforementioned figures do not include all Polish re-migrants from the neighboring countries. See Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Los esclavos en Misiones: Consideraciones en torno al número y la distribución geográfica de los campesinos polacos y ucranianos (1897-1938),' *Jarbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* (Cologne), vol. 19, 1982, p. 386; Senkman, *Argentina y los refugiados indeseables*, *op. cit.*, pp. 210ff.

43. Among those which appeared before the volume under review see, for instance, Fernando Peñalosa, 'Pre-Migration Background and Assimilation of Latin American Immigrants in Israel,' *JSS*, vol. xxiv no. 2, 1972; Iehoshúa Faigón, *Los tiempos de Avot* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pardés, 1984) Donald Herman, *The Latin American Community of Israel* (New York: Praeger, 1984); José A. Itzigsohn and Sara Minuchin Itzigsohn, 'Inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Israel: Problemas de identidad,' *Dispersión y Unidad* (Jerusalem), Second Era 3 (1986); Florinda Goldberg and Josef Rozen, eds., *Los latinoamericanos en Israel: Antología de una alidá* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Contexto, 1988); José A. Itzigsohn, 'Los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Israel: Aspectos clínicos,' in *JL*; Luis Roniger, 'The Latin American Community of Israel: Some Notes on Latin American Jews and Latin American Israelis,' *Israel Social Science Research*, vol. 6 no. 1, 1988/9.

44. Despite a Zionist presence among the DAIA leadership, the inexistence of an organizational link with the WZO, as opposed to the pro-Zionist WJC, is confirmed by the foremost historian of Argentine Zionism. See Silvia Schenkolewski-Kroll, 'The Influence of the Zionist Movement on the Organization of the Argentinian Jewish Community: The Case of the DAIA 1933-1946,' *Studies in Zionism* (Indiana), vol. 12 no. 1, 1991, pp. 17-27. Schenkolewski's description of the Argentine political background, however, is not past friendly correction or nuance, especially (though not only) as regards the identity of the second Yrigoyen presidency's military successor, General José Félix Uriburu, rather than Evaristo or any other Uriburu.

45. With disarming frankness and honesty an Argentine Jewish physician's reminiscences on his Zionism include the remarkable, some will say repugnant, admission that having discovered that his police file stigmatized him as a Zionist, he seized on the venali-

ty of some policemen to pursue, apparently successfully, the sanitization of such records. See Alberto D. Kaplan, *Memoria de un médico* (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1993), pp. 55-56.

46. Yechiam Weitz, 'Jewish Refugees and Zionist Policy during the Holocaust,' *Middle Eastern Studies* (London), vol. 30 no. 2, 1994, p. 358. See also Monty Noam Penkower, 'American Jewry and the Holocaust: From Biltmore to the American Jewish Conference,' *JSS*, vol. xLvii, no. 2, 1985, pp. 108-9.

47. That important Argentinists have been unenthused by *Argentina & the Jews* is not only highlighted by Newton's gentle reference to Avni's book (see n. 40) but also by a review essay in the Latin American Studies Association journal. The latter described this volume as lacking 'a critical thrust,' and, as such, dismissed it as being 'more a chronicle than a work of interpretative history.' Peeling away the notion that Avni's work is based on Argentine and US diplomatic documents, and unimpressed by the fruits of his use of some British, French, German and Spanish diplomatic papers, the reviewer also assessed Avni's knowledge of Argentina somewhat harshly when describing it as 'at best rudimentary.' See David Rock, 'Ideas, Immigrants et Alia in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Argentina,' *Latin American Research Review* (New Mexico), vol. 29 no. 1, 1994, pp. 178-79.

Book Reviews

Klingenstein, Susanne *Jews in the American Academy 1900—1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991. xxii, 248 pp.

"I am reminded of the Talmudic story of the Four that entered the Garden [of secular learning]," wrote Harvard business school professor Nathan Issacs in 1929. "One died, one lost his mind, one became a heretic, and only one entered in peace and departed again in peace. The same general proposition obtains today among bechurim who gain admittance to American graduate schools."¹ Susanne Klingenstein's history of the Jewish presence in humanities departments of early twentieth century American universities confirms Issacs's observation. The success of an encounter, Klingenstein argues, was largely determined by the scholar's ability to create a *modus vivendi* between "descent" and "consent" cultures, the "bondage," or alternatively "obligation," of the Law, common to the Judaic and Jewish worlds from which the scholar emerged, and the "freedom" of the humanistic, secularizing world to which they aspired. Within the humanistic disciplines prior to World War II, there were only a handful of successful encounters.

Jewish participation in American higher education began with the colonial colleges, but sustained interaction occurred in the late nineteenth century when a normative shift from Protestant denominationalism to a *wissenschaft* ethos heightened Jewish interest in an apparently more "neutral" academic enterprise. Scholars often associate this Jewish presence with the physical and social sciences. English offered greater resistance, perhaps because its advocates were conducting their own insurgency against the domination of the nineteenth century college curriculum by Greek and Latin, heretofore idealized for their purported ability to discipline and furnish the mind. A Jewish presence in the midst of the first generation of humanistic Gentile professors might help to undermine the assault on the classicists, based as it was on a "cultural defender" mentality that continued to dominate thinking about the humanities for decades after the battle was won.

Jews in the American Academy, noting the nearly non-existent Jewish presence in pre-World War II English departments, selectively examines Jewish professorial appointments in cognate departments. The survey begins with Leo Wiener's 1896 Harvard appointment in Slavic philology. The narrative proceeds to Harvard-educated philosophers Harry Wolfson, Horace Kallen, and Morris R. Cohen. A chapter on "men of letters" emphasizes Ludwig Lewisohn, with nods to Felix Adler (Cornell, 1874—1877) — save for this mention, the book does not examine the 16 or more Jewish academics clustered in Semitic philology departments — Joel Spingarn (Comparative Literature, Columbia, 1899—1911), and to Jacob Zeitlin (University of Illinois, 1907—1937), the only Jew to obtain an English department professorship between 1860, when Yale awarded the first American Ph. D., and 1939. The book culminates in a detailed analysis of a "success" story — Lionel Trilling's Columbia 1939 appointment to a Columbia professorship in English. Harry Levin's simultaneous Harvard appointment receives attention in a coda that also alludes to the next generation of professors of English, especially Daniel Aaron (Smith College), and Meyer Abrams (Cornell).

Jews in the Academy discusses the intellectual evolution and the institutional environment of each scholar. The book contributes to our understanding of these oft-studied academics by adding Judaism, its problematics, texts, and methods, to the list of intellectual influences. Adherence to variant religious and cultural patterns within Judaism, Klingenstein suggests, affected the degree of intellectual assimilation and acculturation experienced by these scholars. The backgrounds ranged from

German-tinged bourgeois Russian culture (Leo Weiner), from the Haskala-touched world of the Lithuanian yeshivot (Harry Wolfson), from the impoverished world of the traditional shtetl (Morris Cohen), from German Orthodoxy (Horace Kallen) from German Reform Judaism (Felix Adler), and from the post-Romantic Prussian-German bourgeoisie (Ludwig Lewisohn) . . . [Lionel] Trilling's father came from the city of Bialystock, which Leo Wiener had left in his youth.

Klingenstein shows how each scholar attempted to reconcile the tension between *harut* (bondage) and the *herut* (freedom) of American culture. Despite the subtitle, "The Dynamics of

Intellectual Assimilation," the book foregoes a simplistic "from-to" approach in favor of delineating nuances along a continuum. Focussing on early twentieth century Columbia and Harvard, at a time when anti-Semitic presidents replaced philo-Semitic predecessors, Klingenstein also attempts to show how institutional realities affected intellectual aspirations. Intellectual assimilation to the "consent" culture and personal circumspection, her evidence suggests, best predicted receipt of a permanent university appointment.

Trilling, Weiner, Wolfson, and Zeitlin received these appointments. Weiner remained rooted in universalist philological scholarship, less controversial than criticism within humanities departments, and deemphasized his Jewishness. Harry Wolfson's "scholarship established an interfaith community of thought in which the common problems of philosophy overrode theological or dogmatic differences." Jacob Zeitlin, "steeped in a cult of gratitude" towards American universities, (113) studied and edited the works of the anti-Semitic critic Stuart P. Sherman. Trilling, a generation younger, succeeded in spite of a position nearer to the continuum's center, though Klingenstein's complex analysis defies easy categorization. He reverted to his ordinarily genteel demeanor after a pivotal desk-pounding episode, in which he charged that anti-Semitism motivated Columbia English department members to consider terminating his appointment.

By the same criterion, Adler (Cornell tenure), Kallen, Cohen, Lewisohn, and Spingarn failed. Felix Adler left Cornell in 1877, not quite of his own free will, and remained out of academia for a quarter century, during which time he evolved the principles of the Ethical Culture movement.

Whereas for Harry Wolfson a oneness emerged out of the philosophical writings of medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims, for Kallen, reality was found in multiplicity. Forsaking traditional Judaism, Horace Kallen gravitated towards a pluralist conception of democracy as "'the inalienable right' to be different" — a right that included advocacy of Zionism as "the attempt at self-realization of his own ethnic group." (35) He left a Princeton instructorship in English literature in 1905 when his contract was not renewed. "It was intimated," writes Klingenstein, "that he would

not have been appointed in the first place had the administration [Woodrow Wilson was Princeton's president] known that Kallen was Jewish." He later became an instructor of philosophy and psychology at Wisconsin, but resigned over an academic freedom issue in 1918. The next year, he helped to found the New School for Social Research, and taught there until his retirement in 1970.

Morris Cohen attributed his failure to obtain an appointment to the Columbia philosophy department to anti-Semitism and, like Kallen, settled for an off-Broadway career. But Cohen rejected Kallen's pluralist response to the harut-herut dichotomy in favor of a universalism — Klingenstein is ambivalent about "assimilationism" (78 and 80) — and a cosmopolitanism that acknowledged the enduring nature of polarities, denied the ultimate validity of any "ism," and celebrated instead rationalism — derived in part from his work with Felix Adler — logic, and scientific method.

Ludwig Lewisohn, Klingenstein continues, "became a champion of the subjective and individual, whereas Cohen remained firmly committed to the objective and communal." (86) She attributes Lewisohn's decline as a literary and social critic to a transmutation of subjectivism into narcissism. In any case, Lewisohn's life was full of transmutations — marital, nationalistic, and religious. He embraced Judaism and Zionism in the 1920s, after years of gyration between forms of Christianity. Lewisohn had left graduate studies on Morningside Heights in 1905 when Columbia English professor Brander Matthews told him that Jews had little hope for an academic appointment, and returned to academe in 1910 to the German departments at Wisconsin and then Ohio State. His Germanic sympathies prompted him to depart from Columbus at the onset of World War I; his next academic appointment came in 1948, when Brandeis University appointed him to a comparative literature professorship. Lewisohn's intellectual flamboyance and self-image as perpetual victim complemented his "not entirely genteel" demeanor. These characteristics bode poorly for a aspirant to a humanities faculty post at an elite university.

Joel Spingarn, taught in Columbia's Comparative Literature department — an entity created to reduce tension between Matthews and George Woodbury, Spingarn's mentor — until his

role in an academic dispute and his refusal to administer the comparative literature department led Columbia to release him in 1911. Applied to Spingarn, the term Jewish refers to an "accidental detail of his descent," Klingenstein notes. She adds, however, that "the sharp dichotomies dominating his life resemble so strongly the intellectual grammar and structures found in other 'alienated' Jewish academies [sic] of the time." (104)

These scholars, too intellectually venturesome, too visible — too Jewish — at best obtained consolation prize appointments. Klingenstein identifies barriers resembling Peter Novick's evidence for history. "Concern with lowering the status of the profession," Novick wrote, "merged into concern with who should be entrusted with the guardianship of the Geist, and with reservations about the allegedly aggressive intellectual and personal style of Jews; a concern that discourse and social life within the profession would become less genteel if it became less gentle."²

Harry Wolfson's story illustrates the strengths and limitations of Jews in the Academy. "Wolfson's intellectual recreation of their [Crescas, Philo, Saadia, Maimonides, and Spinoza's] philosophical worlds," Klingenstein asserts, "was at first graciously acknowledged and later honestly respected by Harvard's academic community." (32) She suggests that Wolfson was "socially paralyzed outside the world of the yeshivot," and attributes his circumspection at Harvard to "the continuation of the traditional respect of the talmudist for the institution that shelters his teaming." (22)

Klingenstein's comment that Wolfson had "thrown in his lot" with Harvard (29) suggests a considerable degree of control over his early career, thereby permitting her to attribute his circumspection to a yeshiva background. But the evidence for control is questionable, as Klingenstein herself acknowledges in a footnote (215, n. 32). Harvard's refusal to pay Wolfson's salary out of unrestricted funds reflects the icy treatment continually meted out by president Abbott L. Lowell. Neither Wolfson's Jewish nor Gentile friends could alleviate a decade of marginality as a decent in the Semitics — not the philosophy — department, symbolized by frequent reappointments, an inability to secure a subvention for the publication of *Crescas*, and residence in out-of-the-way Divinity Hall at a time

when heightened anti-Semitism pervaded Harvard Yard.

Harvard's George Foote Moore, author of the three-volume *Judaism*, recognized the contribution Wolfson achieved in *Crescas*, and persuaded Lowell to renew Wolfson's contract for three years in 1921, contingent upon continued communal funding. But the two also agreed that, unless an endowment miraculously appeared, the renewal would be Wolfson's last. Wolfson gained half a loaf in 1923 when he accepted Stephen Wise's offer to join the new Jewish Institute of Religion, which then agreed to tender half his time back to Harvard for as long as the university wished to continue the arrangement. Lucius Littauer's 1925 endowment of the Nathan Littauer professorship finally ended Wolfson's dependence on hostile Harvard administrators. Perhaps greater use of archival materials that graphically reveal the constraints imposed by Harvard might have led Klingenstein to attribute Wolfson's circumspection to the harut of both Harvard and the yeshiva. In any case, academic recognition and a permanent appointment did not extend to personal acceptance, and Wolfson remained institutionally and socially marginal.

Intellectual assimilation and personal circumspection, Klingenstein's evidence further suggests, were necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for academic success since anti-Semitism could thwart the careers of even the most creative, circumspect, and assimilated scholars. Klingenstein shows that Brander Matthews's cautionary advice to Lewisohn, oft-echoed by other Gentile mentors throughout the humanities, was not incorrect. But, the lack of archival evidence leads us to wonder whether paternalistic "cooling-out" of graduate students substituted for — or complemented — doing battle against one's colleagues, and perhaps for confronting oneself.

The Jewish scholars admitted to the pre-World War II American academic pantheon in the humanities encountered a "consent" culture that might be as restrictive as the "descent" culture. For other early twentieth century Jewish aspirants, full intellectual efflorescence drew upon — but could also require release from — both Judaic and disciplinary traditions. Susanne Klingenstein, though more at home with intellectual than institutional history,

insightfully adds to our knowledge of some influential scholars. *Jews in the Academy* should motivate scholars to investigate the Judaic roots of other university - based Jewish humanists and social scientists.

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Notes

1. Nathan Isaacs to Henry Hurwitz, February 6, 1929, Henry Hurwitz Menorah Association Memorial Collection, American Jewish Archives, Box 2722, "1927—1932" file.

2 Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, U. K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 172.

Goldsmith, Emanuel S., Scult, Mel, and Robert M. Seltzer, Edited by. *The American Judaism of Mordecai Kaplan*. New York: New York University Press, 1990, xviii, 460 pp.

What is distinctive about Reconstructionism is its emphasis on rationality. Yet the movement also possesses a reverence for its founder which often borders on cultism. This book at whose core is a collection of papers delivered at a conference of the same title at the Graduate Center of the City University in 1986, exemplifies both tendencies. In it Mordecai Kaplan is allowed to cross swords with the Jewish intellectual luminaries of his day. Kaplan emerges larger than life. What his Reconstructionism intended was nothing less than to rejoin Jewishness and Judaism which had been torn apart by modernity. From the outset the movement was intended to be more than merely a way station between Conservatism and Reform. It was *sui generis* and far more radical a departure than perhaps even Kaplan realized.

We are reminded in these essays that Mordecai Kaplan was not the only Jewish thinker to confront the crisis of faith posed by modernity. The sense of crisis was "in the air." There are remarkable parallels in Kaplan's conceptualizations with the thinking of Israel Friedlander, Achad Ha-Am and others. But Kaplan was virtually alone in his willingness to restructure Judaism to enhance its potential for survival. The solution he proposed was very American, the optimistic Americanism of the Progressive period and the New Deal which placed much confidence in social engineering. He proposed to intrude deeply into the religion with new reshaping mechanisms so that the old vehicle could travel on new highways.

In his introductory essay Robert Seltzer calls him "the Americanizer of Dubnovism," because of the emphasis Kaplan gives to the use of culture as a communal cement. "Before we can have Judaism," Kaplan concludes, "we must have Jewishness." That communalism offered an answer was also a common notion among the Progressive reformers who viewed it as requisite for the proper functioning of democracy. The emphasis on community also made Zionism desirable if only for its peoplehood element. Like Kaplan, Solomon Shechter viewed Zionism as a reinforcing cement and Cyrus Adler who opposed political Zionism through-

out his life was eventually able to reconcile himself to cultural Zionism for the same reason. The Jewish Center was hardly a new idea when Kaplan conceived as a vehicle to carry Jewish religious culture forward. But the weave of Reconstructionism and its willingness to address the problems of faith in a modern secular setting was new. Seventy years later the faith placed in culture and community seems strange. How could such confidence have been mustered when the symptoms of decline in the Yiddish theater and press, synagogue attendance and even the Zionist movement in America were so apparent?

Mordecai Kaplan's conceptions have not withstood the ravages of time. The crisis of survival of American Jewry is sharper than ever and decline is still in the air. But Reconstructionism was the first serious attempt by an American Jewish thinker to confront the new secular mind set whose primary commitment was to the development of self rather than the worship of God. The task he set himself, to construct out of the secular sensibility a Judaism which would survive in the American environment and bear some linkage to the traditional religious culture was difficult, perhaps impossible to fulfill. He emerges from these essays very much an engaged modern person and like so many moderns he is less intent on belief and faith and more on understanding and program. He proposed a radical departure from what Judaism was in order, he imagined, to save it. He was perhaps too pessimistic about orthodoxy which paradoxically also placed great stock in communalism. But it was not based on an abstract sociological conception but on communities of faithful. After World War II it was precisely such communities which displayed the greatest vitality.

Aside from an insightful introductory essay there are twenty articles in this collection organized in five categories. The first "Contexts" seeks out the Jewish intellectual nexus out of which Reconstructionism grew. The second "Stages in Life" is biographical. The third "Intellectual Contemporaries" compares Kaplan's thought with contemporaries like Dewey, Henry N. Wieman, Ahad Ha-Am, Joshua Heschel, Martin Buber and others. A fourth section "Reinterpreting Judaism," deals with Kaplan's theology and metaphysics. Finally the last and in some sense the most interesting section, deals with Kaplan's approach to modern secular

ideologies. It includes an instructive piece on Kaplan's Zionism by Jack Cohen, long associated with the Reconstructionist movement. Carol Kessner explores the role of women in Kaplan's life and does some merciless pop-psychologizing on the impact of his domineering mother. But ultimately the essay frees itself of its feminist stridency to become informative. Baila Shargel expends talent and energy in trying to find a bridge between Friedlander and Kaplan only to discover that although they were contemporaries and colleagues they transacted little intellectual or fraternal business. Simon Noveck observes, I think accurately, that in some sense Milton Steinberg, one of the coterie of students drawn to Kaplan and a founder of Reconstructionism in his own right, was perhaps more theologically profound than his mentor precisely because he was less spoiled by sociology and cultural anthropology. The most informative of these essays because it is focused on a single theme is Mel Scult's "Becoming Centered". What promises to be the most exciting essay of all, Eliezer Schweid's "The Reconstruction of Jewish Religion out of Secular Culture" looses something in translation from the Hebrew and is difficult to follow.

There is no single voice which emanates from this volume but the many things it touches upon informs us that Kaplan's thinking was broad. He shared the optimistic posture of the pre-Holocaust modernist of the twenties. He thought its value-free, amoral character could be altered and even used to save an ancient faith. Distressed by the crisis of faith he observed in his students at JTS he became convinced that an opening to such laundered modern values would allow Jews to have the best of both worlds. The Reconstructionist movement and all "modern" Jews still struggle with that solution. A contrived ethnically rooted religious culture can celebrate Judaic principles and precepts. It can enshrine its ceremonies. But it cannot sacralize them nor can it create faith where there is none. There can be no Jewishness without Judaism.

—Henry L Feingold

Henry L. Feingold is Professor of History at Baruch College of the City College of New York. He is one of the most admired historians of the American Jewish experience. His latest work is *A Time for Searching: Entering the Main Stream, 1920—1945*, the fourth volume in the five volume series, *The Jewish People in America*, (1992) of which he is general editor.

Helmreich, William B.; *Against All Odds; Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made* New York: Simon and Schuster 1992, 348 pp.

This book, which the author, a professor of Sociology and Judaic Studies, decided to write as "a popular work", is well researched and contains much valuable information regarding the post-war adjustment of Holocaust survivors.

The book is based on 170 interviews of survivors of the Holocaust who had come to the United States after W. W. II. The author describes these interviews as having been conducted "indepth". However, they were not designed to discover depth-psychological problems, rather, they focused on the survivors social *adjustment* in the United States. In view of this, one wonders why, in his summary, the author cites only psychological rather than social and economic factors that contributed to the survivors' successful adjustment in the United States.

One of the most praiseworthy features of the book is that the author was careful not to make broad generalizations. Instead, in order to underscore a particular observation, he had chosen verbatim descriptions by individual survivors from the 15,000 pages of data he collected over a six year period. This design also served to emphasize the uniqueness of each survivor's experience; the differences in their pre-Holocaust lives, their ages, the length and the severity of their camp experiences and the extent of their losses. However, in spite of this diversity, certain "Jewish values" became apparent in these interviews. For example, in the Displaced Persons camps, while waiting for immigration, survivors set up schools, organizations and published newspapers, indicating a capacity to resurrect a value system that "had been nurtured and developed in the families and communities in which they were raised prior to the war".

The "official reception" of the refugees, on the part of the American government, was highly disappointing. For the first three years after the war, until 1948, only 50,000 Jews entered the United States since immigration could occur only in keeping with the quota of the country of their origin. The majority of survivors entered after June 1948 when the first Displaced Persons Act was

passed which allowed 200,000 Jews and non-Jews to enter. This was still an extremely low number in terms of the actual need and was eventually expanded in 1950 to 415,744.

The book provides excellent insight into the efforts that the American Jewish agencies as well as individuals made in order to meet the special needs of the refugees: a cultural gap had to be bridged as right after the war little was known about the extent and the severity of the survivors' sufferings. The HIAS and the USNA (United Service for New Americans) provided a great deal of help in the form of job training, equipment for new enterprise, English language instructions and other needed social services. The *Landsmanschaften* (societies of natives of a particular town or region in Europe) on the other hand, provided a cultural network and a badly needed sense of belonging. Though much had changed in the survivors' social lives since those early days, most have emphasized that there remained a high degree of consciousness of their special status among Americans and that they felt "marginal" to American society at large.

Most survivors used the financial help from the various agencies as a stepping stone and soon struck out on their own. Some of the statistics in this respect are truly remarkable, such as that (according to USNA) by 1953 less than two percent required financial assistance, and, of these, nearly all were either aged, sick or physically disabled. A study in Cleveland found that while two thirds of the survivors had unskilled jobs upon arrival (only very few were professionals and most had to interrupt their schooling during the war), that percentage was reduced to one third five years later. They also earned the same amount of money as native Cleveland residents. Reading about the success of some of these men and women, is a heart-warming and uplifting experience. Though many of them became multi-millionaires, they considered raising "a nice family" as the most legitimate source of pride. The book is a welcome antidote to the image that was created of the Holocaust survivor by many psychological investigators which — based on the small sample of survivors who sought professional help — focused on the pathological consequences of the survivors

traumatic experiences. Random sampling, such as was done in this book, indicates that we know little about the "average" survivor's mental health.

Marriage and family life was of prime importance to the survivors: 83% were married in comparison to 62% American Jews in the same age bracket. Their children had excellent school records and "there was relatively little crime or juvenile delinquency among the survivors and their children". Once reasonably secure, they spent time, energy and money on causes related to Israel and other Jewish affairs. About 67% belonged to Jewish groups as compared to 48% American Jews — many of them assuming leadership in these organizations. More recently, survivors had become concerned with preserving the memory of, and the education related to, the Holocaust. This may be responsible for the proliferation of Holocaust museums and memorials in this country.

Though this is not a book on the psychological aspects of the survivors' adjustment, the chapter "Living with Memories" indicates that though their memories could easily be awakened (for example 72% agreed with the statement that "the sight of a uniform, a knock on the door, dogs barking, smoke from a chimney and hearing the German language, could provoke anxiety in them), only about 18% sought professional help because of persistent psychological problems. The author's admiration for the survivors' capacity to recover is obvious in this chapter and he concludes that "their ability to lead normal lives suggests that even conditions as horrible as those in Nazi-occupied Europe could not destroy the effects of positive socialization in the crucial years of infancy and childhood".

The book's value would have been greatly enhanced, had the author — in addition to the ten psychological factors which he cites — included in his explanation of the survivors' success, the economic conditions that existed in the United States following the war years: in the fifties and sixties, the United States enjoyed a tremendous economic boom and anyone with a workable idea for business or with the ambition "to make it" in the world of commerce had an excellent opportunity to do so. The other important factor in the success of the survivors that ought to have been

emphasized was the average age of survivors. In order to survive physically, they had to be between the ages of seventeen and somewhere in the mid-thirties or early forties. People in this age-group are most resilient physically and emotionally — and most importantly — as long as their reproductive organs remained intact, they could create new families which inspired and motivated them to work hard and provide their children with financial and educational benefits that they themselves were deprived of. Particularly fortunate were those survivors who, like this reviewer, were young enough to embark on postgraduate education and acquire an advanced degree. Universities, having had good experiences with earlier Jewish refugees from Europe, were particularly receptive and helpful to these new comers. Obviously, this too depended on the relative wealth that institutions of higher learning enjoyed in the two decades following the war.

This book will inspire equally those who are well informed about the Holocaust as well as those who have only meager knowledge about it and the adjustment that these severely traumatized people had made in the United States.

— Anna Ornstein

Anna Ornstein is Professor of Child Psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine. A survivor of Auschwitz, she has written extensively on various aspects of Holocaust survival.

Athans, Mary Christine *The Coughlin-Fahey Connection*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991. 265pp.

Long overdue, this research attempts to examine the theological roots of anti-Semitism in the United States in the second quarter of the twentieth century via Father Charles Coughlin, famous "radio priest."¹

Focusing on the notorious figure of Father Charles Coughlin, the author follows systematically his Sunday sermons and writings to prove that his crusade against the Jews operated within a religious framework, based upon ultraconservative European sources. It was the relationship between Coughlin and Denis Fahey, an Irish priest of the Holy Ghost Congregation, Professor of Philosophy and Church History at the Holy Ghost Missionary College, Kimmage, Dublin, that helped to justify Coughlin's anti-Semitic statements in the United States after 1938.

Whereas the object of this study is to explore the rise of religious anti-Semitism in the United States via Father Coughlin, a major part of the study examines Fahey's personality, writings and convictions. Fahey's role as a source of support to Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic agitation has never been denied. Father Coughlin himself referring to Fahey whenever he needed an authoritative source to prove his anti-Semitic arguments.² He cited repeatedly and extensively parts of Fahey's *Mistical Body of Christ and the Reorganization of Society*; he reprinted and publicized Fahey's works and confirmed the Irish priest's authority on many anti-Jewish arguments.

No doubt, the author's conclusion concerning Fahey's influence on Father Coughlin is well established. She rightly states that Coughlin used Fahey's rationale to promote his own anti-Semitism. Coughlin indeed made good use of Fahey's Catholic persuasion to give his anti-Semitism a respectable and more authoritative stance. He no doubt operated within a comfortable religious framework. Yet, it seems to me that his anti-Semitism was intermingled with all sorts of other prejudices in an overall nativism. Although the author handles well the comparison between the

two priests, (pp. 160-163) she could have perhaps gone deeper into Coughlin's theological convictions, before 1938 and after, in order to arrive at clear conclusions regarding religious anti-Semitism in the United States.

The author breaks new ground in her discussion of Fahey. The book is a distinct and significant contribution to the study of Irish Catholic anti-Semitism in the second quarter of the twentieth century. The chief virtue of the work is the (until now) unused primary source materials and their incisive analysis, especially when dealing with Fahey's intellectual perspectives. However it seems to me that it contributes less to the understanding of religious anti-Semitism in the United States.

The book is divided into unequal parts. Most of the chapters deal with Fahey's perspective on theology, economics, ecology and the Jewish question. With Fahey the author has indeed done pioneering work. However, if the object of the research was, as stated, to examine the theological roots of anti-Semitism in the United States via Father Coughlin, she could have done more. The two figures of the Irish and American priests are not dealt within proportion. Wider treatment is given to Fahey. (138 pages as against 60 pages devoted to Father Coughlin). Fahey's writings are analyzed thoughtfully whereas Coughlin is presented in one dimension. The author pays less attention to Coughlin's religious convictions and provides simplified explanations for his sudden move, in late 1938, towards anti-Semitism.

In order to show the wide influence Fahey's anti-Semitic writings had on the American scene the author reveals "a substantial group of Americans, both Catholic and Protestant, with a theological rationale for their anti-Semitic orientations." (p.211) Of the many Americans who, according to the author, corresponded with the priest only four are mentioned. The author herself is not sure if the American correspondents supported Fahey's anti-Semitic perspective. Some, she admits, may have approved of his theological concepts or his beliefs on economy and ecology. (p. 209) Although it might prove that the four mentioned were receptive to Fahey's anti-Semitic perspective it does not however establish the author's final conclusion, that Fahey "had indeed become a significant per-

son to a substantial number of Americans in the period 1938—1954 after his introduction to the United States by Coughlin." (p. 233) Apart from Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith who was indeed a notorious anti-Semite, the others were less known, if at all. Even with Reverend Smith, the correspondence cited (pp. 211-215) does not indicate that his views were influenced by Fahey's Catholic theological thinking. More so, Smith was often accused of anti-Catholicism. (pp. 214, 222.)

Notwithstanding the above criticism, the author has contributed significantly to the on going discussion of an important topic - anti-Semitism in the United States. Her emphasis throws new light on conservative ideas prominent in the Catholic church and its relationship to American anti-Semitism, popular bigotry and sophisticated anti-Jewish theology in the period between the two world wars.

—Bat Ami Zucker

Bat Ami Zucker is Professor of American History at the Bar-Ilan University, Israel. She is the author of numerous books and articles dealing with American Jewish history and life.

Notes

1. Previous scholars focused on Father Charles Coughlin mainly from a political and socio-cultural point of view. See for example: Ruth Mugglebee, *Father Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower*. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1933; Charles J. Tull, *Father Coughlin and the New Deal*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1965; Sheldon Marcus, *Father Charles E. Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower*. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1973; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and The Great Depression*. New York: Random House, 1983; David H. Bennett, *Demagogues in the Depression: American Radicals and the Union Party, 1932—1936*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969; Louis B. Ward, *Father Charles E. Coughlin: An Authorized Biography*. Tower Publications, 1933; Gary Marx, *The Social Basis of the Support of a Depression Era Extremist: Father Coughlin*. (Survey Research Center, University of California, 1962; Gerald S. Brown, S. Brown, S.S. "The Reverend Charles S. Coughlin and the 1936 Election". M. A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1971.)

2. Coughlin's radio series (November 6, 1938 - June 1, 1939) published under the title "*Am I an Anti-Semite?: 9 Addresses on Various "ISM" Answering the Question*". Royal Oak, Michigan: Radio League of the Little Flower. 1939.

Schwartz, Shuly Rubin. *The Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America: The Publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1991. xii, 235 pp.

At a time when we are being treated to numerous Cassandra prophecies regarding the future of Jews and Judaism in the United States, Shuly Rubin Schwartz tells the inside story of the production of the Funk and Wagnalls *Jewish Encyclopedia* at the turn of the century, hailing the project as signifying a shift in the center of Jewish scholarship from Vienna, Berlin and Breslau to New York.

The first encyclopedia in our history was the Talmud, that gigantic compendium of all that was connected with Jewish civilization for a thousand years.¹ It was the work of a body of scholars, reflecting diverse points of view. One of the reviews of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, when it first appeared, hailed it as follows: It "will become to the Jews of today what the Talmud and the Shulhan Arukh were to the Jews of former generations."

Such enthusiasm may be understood in view of the fact that the *JE* was indeed the first comprehensive Jewish encyclopedia. Ahad Ha-Am had thought of producing an "Otzar Yisrael," a vast compendium embracing every aspect of Jewish life and scholarship, but nothing ever came of the idea. At about the same time a beginning was made on a comprehensive encyclopedia in Hebrew, but it was never followed through to completion. Volume II of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* carries a detailed account of the many attempts to produce such compendiums. The *JE* itself contains a rather short survey of attempts by its predecessors, The Preface to Volume I provides a 15-page account of the birth of the *JE*, but it contains none of the fascinating details which Dr. Schwartz presents.

At the outset she pays tribute to that complex personality, Isidor Singer, scholars' visionary and entrepreneur who fathered the plan for the *JE* and saw it through to the end. Singer always thought big. In 1892 he had proposed an international Jewish loan of \$500,000,000 to finance Jewish emigration out of Eastern Europe, the annual interest presumably to be covered by contributions. Nothing came of it. In 1901 he was promoting a plan for establishment of a University of Jewish Learning. Unlike the rabbinical seminaries of the time, it was to be international and cosmopolitan

in nature. Later there were dozens of other grandiose plans for sets of books, motion pictures and radical revision of theologies among other dreams.

Yet his "confrontational personality and wild ideas" antagonized people and alienated him from many American Jewish leaders.

He first planned to produce the *JE* in Germany, then in France, but failing to obtain a publisher and financial backing, in New York. Here he met with opposition, in part because the CCAR (Central Conference of American Rabbis) had its own plans for an encyclopedia. Singer turned to the non-Jewish firm of Funk and Wagnalls. Funk, a Lutheran minister, was interested in religious works, but also saw commercial possibilities for the work among Jews. It was made clear to Singer that this could not be a one-man affair. He agreed to broaden the editorial direction, and obtained the cooperation of men like Richard Gottheil, Cyrus Adler, Morris Jastrow and later others. "The board was a fragile alliance of rabbis and laymen, traditionalists and reformers, Jews and Christians," leading to constant tensions and disagreements.

We are told of the conflicting ambitions and the personality clashes among the editors and scholarly contributors, with threats to resign. Many of the tensions were caused by differences between adherents of Reform Judaism and advocates of a more traditional point of view. Practical problems included the assignment of articles, which topics to include, their lengths and who was to give final approval of texts.

Volume I appeared in the spring of 1901. Only 6,000 subscribers had been obtained, and the costs were mounting, in part because of the habit of many writers of making last minute changes on the proofs.

The immediate financial crisis was solved when 17 wealthy Jews guaranteed the amount required, receiving copies of the encyclopedia in return. Despite obstacles and tensions, which are described in detail, all 12 volumes were completed by December 31, 1905, as targeted, a masterful accomplishment indeed. Dr. Schwartz tells that it was reprinted in 1909 and 1914, adding not too many new subscribers. My personal set of the *JE* is marked "Copyright, 1901 and 1912."

Several chapters in the volume under review are devoted to a

thoughtful analysis of the contents of the *JE*. Racism in those days did not have the same connotations as in our time, and many contributors sought to prove that Jews were indeed a race, even a pure one. Other articles strived to show that Jews were not a separate race, for this militated against the authors' desired goal — for full integration.

The editors tried to paint a positive image of Judaism, bearing in mind that many of the readers would be non-Jews. An aura of objectivity was obtained by including contributions from many non-Jewish scholars.

The review of Jewish life in America was almost apologetic in tone, seeking to prove that Jews were good Americans. The treatment of Eastern European Jewry, though it introduced much new materials was marked by an attitude of criticism and disdain, with many "unflattering characterizations". There is no entry under Yiddish; the heading is "Jargon - see Judaeo-German", where the subject is given about six pages. Compare with Judaeo-Persian, in the same volume, which is given almost eleven pages!

The entry on Jesus runs for about 13 pages. Compare with less than four pages in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

Antisemitism was treated in some articles as a "fundamental absurdity", while other articles sought to combat accusations with rational arguments. In the spirit of the times, perhaps, the longest article in the set which deals with one specific event, is that on the Dreyfus Case.

Dr. Schwartz makes her point quite clearly that publication of the *JE* marked the emergence of America as the center of Jewish scholarship from the early 1900s, citing the various institutions and manifestations of such learning. Yet, she adds, America "did not replace such endeavors elsewhere. Today the serious study of Judaism flourishes in many areas of the world, especially in the state of Israel."

This is faint praise indeed for Israel, and there are many in that country, and perhaps elsewhere as well, who find more than a few symptoms of the new transfer of the center of scholarship now from New York to Jerusalem. Our author takes only casual note of the publication of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971) in Israel as "another English language encyclopedia completed on a scale large enough to supplant the original one."

There is no gainsaying that the production of the *JE* at the turn of the century was a stupendous achievement and we are indebted to Shuly Rubin Schwartz for bringing us the full inside story of its creation

One of the key figures on the editorial board was Prof. Richard Gottheil, first president of the Federation of American Zionists, and he was interested in having the Zionist movement adequately represented. The articles on Basel Congress and Basel Program are signed only with an asterisk, but the Guide to the *JE* lists Herzl as the author. Volume VI (published in 1904, the year of his death), contains his biography, written by Jacob deHaas, who had been "honorary secretary" to Herzl in Britain, and his spokesman there.

I can lift the veil from the mystery of Herzl's collaboration in the *JE*, citing from correspondence originally given to me by a member of the Gottheil family, and now on deposit with the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

There was a prolific correspondence between Gottheil and Herzl, and as early as March 34, 1900, Gottheil wrote to Herzl: "My letter to you today is of a somewhat peculiar nature. It does not deal with our current Zionist work, and yet it has some bearing on it. In looking over the thousands of topics which will enter into the Jewish Encyclopedia which we are now preparing, I see that naturally the article 'Zionism' comes at the very end of the alphabet, and will consequently not appear for four or five years. I have therefore gained the consent of my fellow editors to insert an article under the heading of "Basle Congress", which will bring it into the second volume, which we hope to have ready early next year. You can imagine that I do not want any one but yourself to sign that article, which ought to treat of the three Congresses which have already been held, and perhaps I may still have time to add a note in regard to the fourth. Any material which ought to be added to that which will naturally come in this articles can of course come in under the article 'Zionism'. The article can contain from 1500 to 2000 words and can be written in German as we have a force of translators in the office. One of your assistants can no doubt put together the figures and data which the article ought to contain, but we wish you to be responsible for it and sign it."

Gottheil returned to the subject again on May 4, 1900, asking

Herzl: "Will you not have some young men in Vienna put together an article on the "Basler Congresses" from your various writings, and send them to us? I do very much want to have your name in the first volume of our work."

The galley proof, which I have in my possessions is dated April 15, 1902, and carries the initials T.H. It contains essentially the same articles which were eventually published in Volume II under the headings of "Basel Congress" and "Basel Program", except for minor emendations which for the most part update them to 1904.

On April 28, 1902, Herzl wrote to Gottheil: "I return to you herewith proof of the Encyclopedia, and ask you to see that the letters T.H. are omitted, as I do not want to pose as collaborator on the congress."

Gottheil made one final attempt. In a letter to Frank Vizitelly, who was secretary of the editorial board, he wrote on May 14, 1902: "The Doctor returned the proof-sheets uncorrected to me, with a letter in which he absolutely refused to have his signature attached to it. I enclose his letter [quoted above]. I imagine that his reluctance to let us use his signature arises from the fact that his name is mentioned in the article. Perhaps if the publishing house writes to him he may change his view."

This apparently spelled the end of the effort to obtain Herzl's signature on the articles.

The 20-page comprehensive article on Zionism which appears in Volume XII was written and signed by Gottheil.

I close on a personal note. My own set of the *JE* contains a frontispiece, bound into Volume IV printed in elaborate and colorful calligraphy, reading as follows: "This set of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* has been especially prepared for Max L. Alpert, and presented by him to his beloved wife, Flora, on this Fourth day of August in the year Nineteen Hundred Twelve. Signed, Benjamin F. Funk."

It is an indication of the methods used at the time to promote the sale of the Encyclopedia. It also tells something about my father, then a struggling immigrant of less than ten years in the U. S., who made this his wedding gift to his young bride on their wedding day.

Thus, I was raised on the *JE*. As soon as I learned to read, the most available material in the house was the twelve volumes over which I pored from early childhood, I was raised on the *JE* in a lit-

eral sense as well, for when I was too small to reach the dining table, I am told, one of the thick volumes was placed on the chair so that I might be raised to the proper height.

—Carl Alpert

Carl Alpert was Associate Editor for Americana of the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia and a contributor to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. He was for some years Managing Editor of *The New Palestine*, and since 1952 has been resident in Haifa, where he was associated with the Technion. He authors an internationally syndicated weekly column from Israel.

Note

1. Misha Louvish, "World Civilization in Hebrew", *Zionist Newsletter*, December 13, 1949, p. 20, This is an early book review of *Ha'entziklopedia Ha'ivrit*, Volume I.

Fishmah, Sylvia Barach. *A Breath of Life: Feminism in the American Jewish Community*. New York: Free Press, 1993 xii, 308 pp.

If there was ever a time when feminism could be dismissed as a passing fad, by the early 1970's most segments of the American Jewish community were taking it seriously. Bounded on one end by those who claimed that they had long ago acknowledged the full equality of women and on the other end by those who denied that feminism had anything to say to Judaism, most American Jewish institutions from the synagogue to the family were to be permanently altered by it.

Sylvia Barack Fishman's book charts the past twenty-five years of this transformation. It expands on her article, "The Impact of Feminism on American Jewish Life," first published in the 1989 volume of the *American Jewish Year Book*. From issues of marriage, parenthood, career and volunteer work, to gender roles, prayer and education, Fishman's thesis is that feminism has been a "breath of life" for the American Jewish community. Jewish feminists, she claims, are renewing and revitalizing American Jewish spiritual and intellectual life just as the Eastern European immigrants did in the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries (p. 199). "Jewish feminism had made Judaism as a religion a matter of critical attention and importance to more Jews than any other recent movement in American Jewish life" (p. 244).

Her book draws primarily on a combination of personal interviews and Jewish demographic studies to demonstrate these sweeping changes. Interviews and oral history are favorite methodologies of feminist researchers as they try to balance analytic, "objective" data with more experiential personal accounts. While this statistical/anecdotal format works well most of the time, it can be confusing. Demographic data comes to life when buttressed by an example but we can never be sure how representative personal stories are.

The author is also successful when she corrects misperceptions and takes on those who point to feminism as the source of all evil, from the alarming rise in the Jewish divorce rate to the plunging

Jewish birth rate. She recalls some of the failed prophecies of doom such as the imminent demise of male participation in synagogue and Jewish communal life and disabuses those who labor under the misconception that the phenomenon of Jewish women in the work place is a contemporary innovation which has destroyed the tradition of communal volunteerism by women. Persuasively she argues that part-time women workers are the most likely to volunteer for Jewish causes and that the real "'enemy' of women's vibrant involvement in American Jewish communal life is not higher education or careerist aspirations. Rather, it is a weak Jewish life in other areas as well — social, cultural, and religious — regardless of educational or occupational profile (p. 76)." And Fishman credits Orthodoxy, contrary to popular belief, for being the first denomination to provide extensive Jewish education for women (p. 190).

Indeed, of all the denominational responses to Jewish feminism, those of the Orthodox seem the most interesting. First of all, though the Orthodox community may constitute less than 7% of the American Jewish community, it is comprised of many factions whose diversity of views is evident when discussing feminist issues no less than when discussing Zionism. The very idiom of the Orthodox discussion, however, is at issue in the debate. Feminism, it is often argued, is a secular movement whose values are foreign to Judaism and cannot be imposed on it from the outside. Orthodox Jewish women, whose primary allegiance is to *halakha* and to the rabbinic authorities (male) who interpret *halakha*, must struggle to define their goals without resorting to the modern liberal vocabulary of "rights" or "equality." They must function within the categories of traditional *halakha*. Fishman misses the significance of this dynamic when she concludes her extensive *halakhic* discussion of women reclining at the Passover Seder by claiming, "Not for legitimate Jewish legal reasons, therefore, but because he fears the supposedly irresistible effects of female sexuality, Karlinsky prohibits the reclining of women at the Seder table" (p. 176). And later she decries the fact that, "When rabbinical authorities cannot find a specific legal reason for preventing women from assuming a role that implies public status, they often

fall back on sexual innuendo — women may not participate in a given role because their participation may lead to sexual improprieties” (p. 204). Fishman doesn’t seem to understand that sexuality is in and of itself not only a valid traditional Jewish legal category, but perhaps the overriding female characteristic of concern to the rabbis.

Second, while non-Orthodox Jewish feminists may bemoan the lack of freedom and creativity available to their Orthodox sisters, it can also be argued that the proliferation of Jewish women’s prayer groups, described at length here, is primarily an Orthodox phenomenon and that together with the numbers of Orthodox women who are becoming proficient in rabbinic literature, it demonstrates a vitality and commitment among Orthodox women that must of necessity impact on the community at large. We are now witness, for example, to a new-found willingness on the part of primarily Orthodox women to organize and speak out on the issue of *agunahu*, something they were not prepared to do twenty years ago.

Lastly, Orthodoxy is of interest because the most vocal opponents of Jewish feminism — both male and female — can be found within its ranks. The vociferousness of this opposition is a good barometer of the impact that feminism has had on the American Jewish community. As Fishman notes, even those newly Orthodox women who overtly rejected feminism “used feminist rhetoric and emphases to describe their Orthodox lives” (p. 115).

On the other end of the spectrum, Fishman doesn’t hesitate to call to task both those who see the task of feminism as devolving solely upon females as well as those Jewish feminists who, in her view, would sacrifice values which constitute the “bedrock” of Judaism on the altar of radical feminism. Of course there is much disagreement within the Jewish community as to what constitutes authentic Judaism and that is as it should be.

Sylvia Barack Fishman has given us a well-organized, joyfully readable account of the past quarter century of American Jewish feminism. Its impact on the American Jewish community is evident on every page. But as Jews discovered in the latter part of the

19th century, the struggle doesn't end with emancipation. There is a post-equality agenda still to be carried out by Jewish feminism.

— Regina Stein

Regina Stein is completing her doctoral dissertation, a study of the role of gender in American synagogues and Jewish denominations, 1913—1963, at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Phillips, Bruce A. *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990. 146 pp.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the city of Boston has been prominent as a center of American Jewish life. Famed for education, culture, and technology, the "Athens of America" has attracted and produced some of the most talented Jews in America, from Brandeis to Bernstein. Though more renowned for its Brahmin and Irish populations, the New England capital has fostered one of the most creative and productive Jewish communities in the U. S. Historically active in diverse fields of Jewish activity - from early Zionism to contemporary Orthodoxy - the Boston Jewish community is especially noteworthy for having given birth both to the first Jewish Federation (1895) and to the first Havurah (1968). Today, metropolitan Boston is home to the sixth largest Jewish population in America, and remains a leading Jewish center. And yet we know little about its past, as the scholarly literature is sorely lacking. Beyond some brief early portraits, there have been only two modern attempts to write a history of Boston Jewry. The first (Ehrenfried, 1963) is a lengthy but amateurish "chronicle" of the community to 1900; and the second (Fein, 1976), though written by an academic, is nearly as superficial as the first and far less informative. Beside these, there are only assorted articles and papers on early Boston Jews (e. g., Reznikoff, 1953), two fine institutional studies (Mann, 1954; Solomon, 1956), and several monographs on local Jewish communities of Boston such as the North End, Chelsea, Mattapan. and, most recently, Roxbury and Dorchester.

In this last category we may now include *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb*, by Bruce Phillips, a welcome addition to the literature on Jewish Boston. Phillips, a sociologist at Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, has updated (and abbreviated) his 1975 Ph. D. dissertation for the Garland Publishing series on "European Immigrants and American Society." Written under the direction of Marshall Sklare, the work was an early experiment in "historical sociology," an application of the sociological method to historical material (and a field which has come a long way since). Relying mainly on oral interviews and

synagogue records to analyze the structure of ethnic community, Phillips has sketched a portrait of a representative American Jewish neighborhood of the interwar period. With chapters on residential and occupational mobility, social and religious life, and interethnic relations, it is a standard sociological study. At the same time, Phillips offers a social history of a particular locale. Brookline, once an exclusive Yankee suburb called the "richest town in America," later was turned into "the cultural center of Boston Jewry" and "one of America's most vibrant Jewish communities." This remarkable transformation took place during the interwar years, 1915–1940; Phillips chooses to focus on this period to tell his story of Jewish acculturation and continuity.

The original sources are both the strength and the weakness of the book. Liberally sprinkling quotes from interviews throughout his narrative, Phillips draws us further inside the mindset of these second generation Jews than is usual in such studies. Whether the subject is Jewish-Gentile relations, occupational pursuits, or synagogue styles, we are treated to the uncensored comments and attitudes of the past generation. While uneven in his analysis, Phillips builds an impressionistic communal portrait from the cumulative personal testimonies. Yet, on their own, Phillips' elderly informants cannot possibly reconstruct the earlier history accurately and in its entirety. The reliance on oral sources thus yields some rather poor historical writing, which is regrettable since some of the most interesting questions raised by his study are left unanswered. We learn little about the Jewish pioneers of Brookline, the German Jews who left the relative security of the ethnic South End for the Protestant enclave at the turn of the century. What was their initial reception, and what relations developed between the natives and the newcomers? Similarly, we are left uninformed about the analogous relationship between the German-Jewish "oldtimers" and the first East European arrivals following World War I. Phillips may be forgiven for some of these oversights (Others, such as errors of geographical location, might have been avoided with more careful research), since his study is primarily concerned with the evolution of the community between the world wars.

Whereas documentary resources also have their limitations, the book's best chapters are based on synagogue records. Chapter 4 compares the two major congregations of Brookline, the moderate Reform Ohabei Shalom and the right-wing Conservative Kehillath Israel. By stressing their contrasting styles, or "institutional personalities" (Sklare), Phillips demonstrates the complementary social functions of the American synagogue. Ohabei Shalom, through its program of religious acculturation, provided Brookline Jews with the institutional means to find acceptance in the Gentile world. Kehillath Israel, on the other hand, enabled the creation of a Jewish world in Brookline. Both synagogues fulfilled important needs of the community and therefore coexisted in a symbiotic relationship. Such an arrangement - a left-of-center "temple" and a right-of-center "shul" jointly serving the community - is far more prevalent in American Jewish life than has been previously noted, and is an important alternative to the more familiar threefold division of congregational life. Likewise, Phillips case study of the Temple Brotherhood is an original and valuable contribution to the literature on Jewish communal life.

As a sociology of an American Jewish community, *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb* warrants comparison with other communities and their studies. Here, the title is somewhat misleading: Brookline is not a suburb in the classical sense of a Levittown or a Lakeville. Rather, it is what Sam B. Warner, Jr. called a "streetcar suburb," an originally sub-urban town drawn into the ecological sphere of the city by public transportation and commercial development. Brookline is where city turns into suburb, it is both and neither. Phillips makes the point by emphasizing both the urban quality of Coolidge Corner, the epicenter of Jewish Brookline, and the more pastoral qualities of the formerly rural village. The duality explains the powerful pull of Brookline upon Boston's Jews: as Jewish urbanites, they gravitated to a familiar environment; and as rising Americans, they aspired to the country living of their Yankee predecessors. Like Brookline itself, they became both part of and separate from Boston - not suburban at all, but living in the mediating middle ground of a quintessential American-Jewish "neighborhood" (the more appropriate term).

Thus, the relevant comparison is not to Marshall Sklare's *Jewish*

Identity on the Suburban Frontier (1967), but to Deborah Dash Moore's *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (1981). In Brookline as in Brooklyn, a Jewish neighborhood was defined by its matrix of apartment houses and private homes, of synagogue centers and public schools. While Moore's is a far more richly detailed history and remains the standard work on the period, Phillips nonetheless fills in some gaps. In addition to his comparative approach to the neighborhood's synagogues, he offers statistical information on the occupational structure of Jewish Brookline as well as an interesting discussion of interethnic relations, both of which are topics missing from *At Home in America*. Phillips, unlike Moore, brings his subject up to date with a concluding chapter on contemporary Brookline; it is an interesting though all too brief excursus. (Neither book explores the roles of women and family, subjects that have gained greater currency of late.) Brookline - in whole or in part - might usefully be added to course syllabi as a companion to Moore's text. For the popular audience, however, Phillips' is sadly inadequate. Where Moore's book has many wonderful photographs and just the right number of tables, the Garland publication lacks any such appeal. Too many charts and graphs (the sociologist's delight) and no photographs at all combine to make this seem still a dreary dissertation (though the bibliography has been inexplicably omitted) rather than a readable community history. [Not that photographs are irrelevant to the scholar. Pictorial evidence of synagogue architecture to support the otherwise valuable congregational comparison would have been particularly welcome.]

Though imperfect in many respects, *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb* as a whole offers an important corrective to the controversial thesis advanced in the recently published *Death of an American Jewish Community*, by Larry Harmon and Hillel Levine. Harmon and Levine assert that the demise of the Jewish neighborhoods of Roxbury and Dorchester was due less to the incremental socioeconomic rise and resulting residential shifts of the Jewish community than to the classist and racist policies of banking and real estate concerns, city authorities, and of the Jewish leadership itself. In their elaborate diatribe, they virtually ignore the lure of the nearby Jewish haven of Brookline, the "miss-

ing link" of their flawed argument. We now await a more comprehensive approach than either book, a study that might examine the links between the neighborhoods and the ties between the generations, and thus portray the greater panorama of the Jewish community of Boston. In the meantime, Bruce Phillips has provided a handy portrait of Boston's current "Jerusalem of America" - Brookline, U. S. A.

—David Kaufman

David Kaufman did his doctoral work, with a dissertation on the synagogue-center as institution and movement, at Brandies University.

Schwartz, I.J. *Kentucky* (translated from the Yiddish by Gertrude W. Dubrovsky). Tuscaloosa, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 1992. xvi, 238 pp.

When one thinks of Kentucky writers the names that come to mind first are those of Robert Penn Warren and Jesse Stuart. Up to now, hardly anyone would have had any reason to mention I. J. Schwartz (1885—1971) in the same breath. With the publication of Gertrude W. Dubrovsky's translation from the Yiddish of Schwartz's epic poem "Kentucky," Schwartz's name, however odd the association, must be inextricably linked to those of Warren and Stuart.

The association is odd because while Kentuckians and other Americans up to now have never heard of Schwartz, his "Kentucky" was well known to three generations of Yiddish readers throughout the world, many of whom subsequently immigrated to the United States. For them it was their first introduction to life in the great American hinterland, to the huge class of alien country beyond the familiar urban Jewish settlements of the East coast.

Sociologically, the translated poem is inordinately valuable, for it convincingly confirms the ubiquitous presence in the post-Civil War American Southland of Jewish settlements — there were Jewish settlers before the war too — a fact that sophisticated Jewish and non-Jewish urbanites outside the South continue to find curious and surprising. Because the Southern Jewish community has produced no national literary giants to tell its story as the Northeast and the Midwest have produced Philip Roth and Saul Bellow, for example, Jews living outside the South know little about the history and life-styles of Southern Jews.

I. J. Schwartz knew and lived that history for a time, and he was therefore well-qualified to write about it. He came from Lithuania to America in 1906 and settled in New York. Almost immediately, he was associated with *Di yunge* (the young ones) a coterie of immigrant Jewish poets, polemicists and intellectuals writing in Yiddish. In 1918, he moved with his wife and daughter to Lexington, Kentucky where his sister had settled in 1904. There he and his wife became dry goods, millinery and ready-to-wear merchants. They moved on in 1930, first to Florida and then to several

points west. "Kentucky" was composed in Lexington between 1918 and 1922. It appeared serially in the Yiddish journal *Zukunft* and was published in its entirety in 1925.

While "Kentucky's" sociological value is of phenomenal interest, its literary worth must be our major concern, for its permanent reputation must rest on its literary merits. The process of assessing the value of a translation of poetry is always fluid and chancey, and few of us know enough Yiddish to render substantive judgments. It is clear from Ms. Dubrovsky's introduction that she is competent, sensitive and professional, and that her translation, while it was a labor of love, made every attempt to render the text objectively and in terms closest to the author's intentions.

As a Southern Jew born in a coal-mining hamlet in Kentucky close to Lexington one year after the epic poem was published in book form, I find that its characterizations, depictions of non-Jewish community life and Jewish responses to it, and Jewish generational changes ring absolutely true. My father, who came from Lithuania to Kentucky just after the turn of the century, could easily have served as the model for Schwartz's protagonist, Joshua. Like Joshua, he started out as a peddler and then began to provide farmers with household goods and farm supplies, at the same time buying from them scrap metal, hides, wool and ginseng. Hence, the poem brought back my own past, and put it sharply in focus in the thematic terms of interfaith relations, Baptist fundamentalism, Jewish-black relationships, black poverty and exploitation (both internal and external), Jewish and Christian family dynamics separate and intertwined, the ambiguity of the juxtaposition of Puritan sexual inhibitions and unbridled lust, racial and gender intolerance, a value system that put the worth of horses and alcohol above the worth of human beings, the enchanting but deadly beauty of the landscape and the Southerners' propensity for violence. Schwartz didn't miss a thing; he got it all, and he got it right!

In an age that has all but eschewed serious poetry the epic poem is totally vulnerable. If it has a chance of being read at all, that option is dependent upon one or the other of two structural presences. One is a swiftly-moving captivating narrative; the other is lyrical beauty. If both are present, so much the better. Schwartz has the narrative

capability and it alone commands the reader's attention. While there are passages where the deft manipulation of adjectives provides for the embodiment and fleshing out of the imagery appropriate to the locale — in a few cases this is exceptionally well managed — on the whole it is clear that Schwartz's talent as a lyricist is limited. There are hardly any passages of sustained beauty. Perhaps they are there in the original Yiddish; they are nowhere to be found in translation. As a poet Schwartz is no Robert Penn Warren. However, if one compares Kentucky to Warren's enormously perceptive and appealing work *Wilderness*, his novel of a German-Jewish immigrant fighting with the Yankees during the Civil War, Schwartz's epic poem does not come up lacking. Whatever its shortcomings, it deserves to be widely read and studied.

—Joseph Cohen

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Kaufman, Menahem, *An Ambiguous Partnership: Non Zionists and Zionists in America, 1939—1948*. Detroit and Jerusalem: The Magnes Press-The Hebrew University and Wayne State University Press, 1991. 418 pp.

"I would prefer to be called a 'pro-Palestinian' than a nonZionist," Cyrus Adler once remarked.¹ The difference was more than mere semantics. During the years that Louis Brandeis led the American Zionist movement (1914—1921), Zionist ideology in the United States underwent a process of Americanization which all but eradicated the differences that had previously separated American Zionists from those American Jews who regarded themselves as "non-Zionists." Both factions were advocates of refugee-Zionism, or "Palestinianism," Yonathan Shapiro's unwieldy but incisive term for the approach that stressed the philanthropic aspect of helping Jewish refugees build a homeland in Palestine, while downplaying contentious European Zionist concepts such as the inevitability of anti-Semitism or the promotion of Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora.² This "Palestinianism" bridged the gap that formerly separated Adler and his friends from Brandeis and other leaders of the Zionist movement.

Nevertheless, the road to unity between American Zionists and non-Zionists was not always smooth. Some of the more outspoken Zionists were never comfortable with the alliance; consider Stephen Wise's colorful denunciation of Felix Warburg, leader of the non-Zionists during the 1930's, as someone who "would be a fine president for a *Chevra Kedisha* [Jewish burial society] in Hamburg in 1730, but he is not the man to dominate the living purpose of a reborn people."³ Tension between the two sides was exacerbated when the subject of Jewish statehood was thrust to the forefront by the Peel partition plan of 1937. Zionists who favored Peel's plan for the establishment of a Jewish State clashed with non-Zionists who feared that statehood for Jews in Palestine would raise questions about the loyalties of Jews in the Diaspora. This fundamental disagreement over whether the Jews should have a sovereign state, as most of the Zionists wanted, or some-

thing considerably less than that, as the non-Zionists preferred, intensified during the war years, which is where Menahem Kaufman's account begins. The plight of European Jewry convinced most American Zionists that statehood had become an absolute imperative, even if promoting that goal meant rupturing the Zionist movement's alliance with the non-Zionists.

The fragility of the alliance was illustrated by fate of the Cos Cob talks, which Kaufman describes in appropriate detail. These negotiations, initiated by David Ben Gurion in late 1941, were intended to renew cooperation between American Zionists and the non-Zionist leaders of the American Jewish Committee. The talks produced a draft text which backed Jewish immigration to Palestine and the creation of a Jewish commonwealth there, but the draft never made it off the drawing board. Kaufman, repeating the conventional explanation, ascribes the ultimate failure of the Cos Cob negotiations to the fact that a vociferous anti-Zionist faction within the American Jewish Committee (AJC) lobbied to prevent AJC president Maurice Wertheim from agreeing to the compromise formulae proposed by the Zionists. This explanation is correct — so far as it goes.

What Kaufman neglects to consider is the possibility that the Zionist negotiators, too, had to contend with pressure from political rivals. Just as Wertheim was faced with a challenge from his left, Stephen Wise and the other American Zionists involved in the negotiations were faced with a challenge from their right. Two militant Zionist groups had recently become increasingly active on the American scene: the New Zionist Organization, which was the official U. S. arm of the Revisionist Zionist movement; and the maverick Bergson Group, consisting of a handful of Revisionist sympathizers from Palestine whose flair for hard-hitting newspaper advertisements and other dramatic publicity techniques attracted considerable attention during the war years. Internal discussions among mainstream American Zionist leaders indicate that even as they were bargaining with Wertheim and the AJC, they were looking over their shoulders with apprehension at the rise of the Zionist right. Nahum Goldmann was worried about what he perceived as "the growing strength" of the Bergsonites;⁴

Hadassah's Bertha Schoolman cited the "increase in Revisionist strength in this country" as one of the factors necessitating a more aggressive Zionist posture in 1941;⁵ the ZOA's internal annual report for the year 1942 characterized it as a year of "Zionist political inadequacy" during which "the popularity of [the Bergson Group] zoomed."⁶

The activities of the Revisionists and the Bergsonites threatened to outflank the Zionist establishment in the competition for the sympathy of grassroots American Jews. The Zionist delegates who negotiated with Maurice Wertheim knew that making too many concessions to the non-Zionists could leave them vulnerable to the barbs of their rightwing rivals. This explains the refusal of the Zionists to accept a mid-1942 proposal by Wertheim that Kaufman describes as "quite similar in tone" to the Zionists' own Basle platform. As Kaufman puts it, "given the realities of 1942, [the proposal] was unacceptable to the Zionists." One of those realities' was the growing threat to the Zionist leadership from the Zionist right.

Alarmed by reports of the catastrophe in Europe and pestered by their rightwing Zionist rivals, American Zionist leaders decided, in late 1942, to dramatize their demand for a Jewish national home by convening an American Jewish Assembly that would serve as both a protest rally and an organizing conference. Billed as representative of American Jewish opinion, the Assembly was intended to demonstrate that only a tiny minority of Jews subscribed to the anti-Zionist views of the recently-established American Council for Judaism and the new president of the American Jewish Committee, Joseph Proskauer. Kaufman's detailed description of the pre-Assembly wrangling shows how the Zionists were willing to make cosmetic concessions, such as changing the name of the gathering from Assembly to Conference (Proskauer feared that an "Assembly" might be perceived by non-Jews as something akin to a Jewish parliament), but they would not compromise on the need for a resolution endorsing the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth. The handful of Zionist leaders who tried to soften the language of the Palestine resolution, in order to avoid antagonizing the non-Zionists, were easily outvoted by their more militant colleagues. When the resolution passed,

the AJCommittee angrily withdrew from the Conference. The feeling was mutual; as far as many of the Zionists were concerned, the AJC's exit was 'good riddance to bad rubbish'.

Kaufman offers a critical view of how the AJC behaved following its withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference. He notes that while AJC officials sought to convince the Jewish community of their active opposition to the British White Paper, they privately assured the State Department that they opposed Zionism, supported American policy in the Middle East, and did not expect any change in Britain's administration of Palestine. Kaufman concludes that the AJC's statements regarding the White Paper were merely "for internal consumption" and "were less calculated to achieve positive results than to mend fences within the Jewish community" in order to recoup some of the public support it had lost after the American Jewish Conference fiasco. Even that fence mending was made only grudgingly, according to Kaufman's account. He suggests that the AJC pretended to become more democratic in order to score points with grassroots Jewry, while most of the changes were actually superficial. Here Kaufman takes issue with Naomi Cohen, whose history of the American Jewish Committee, *Not Free to Desist* (1966), portrays the community outreach efforts by the AJC in 1943—1944 as having "concentrated on giving service to the community, rather than on 'selling' AJC."

While Cohen depicts the creation of new AJC departments during 1943—1944 as a response to events in Europe and the rise of anti-Semitism in the United States, Kaufman sees it as a response to the realization "that grassroots Jewry did not support the AJC or its policies." After visiting a number of Jewish communities around the country in the fall of 1943, AJC vice-president Morris Waldman reported back to his superiors that — in Kaufman's words — "American Jews think that the AJC is a New York clique of oligarchs." For Cohen, the establishment of the new departments and the creation of new chapters around the U. S. demonstrated that the AJC's days "as a tight-lipped organization controlled by a New York elite had officially ended."⁸ For Kaufman, they were merely gestures. He emphasizes that an attempt to gain representation for the out-of-town chapters on the AJC's Executive

Committee was "quashed"; those AJC leaders who were part of the 'New York elite' were given the power to name non-elected members to the AJC's governing bodies; and the New York branch safeguarded its control by insisting that delegates to the AJC's decision-making branches be selected according to the size of the Jewish population in each chapter's city, rather than according to the size of the chapter itself.

The postwar revelations about the full extent of the Holocaust moved many of the non-Zionists considerably closer to the Zionist camp. Newsreel footage of the liberated death camps was a powerful argument in favor of creating a Jewish homeland, and the continuing plight of Jewish refugees in Europe's Displaced Persons camps gave that argument a special urgency. Consider the case of Adele Levy, sister of Lessing Rosenwald, the leader of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism. Kaufman describes how Levy, who seems to have previously been sympathetic to her brother's point of view, returned from a visit to the DP camps in 1945, and announced at a convention of the United Jewish Appeal in Atlantic City: "Zionism or no Zionism, ideology or no ideology — that is not my concern. But if Palestine means that they will once more be able to laugh and sing, then we must help these Jews in all possible ways."⁹

The same Joseph Proskauer who had led the American Jewish Committee out of the American Jewish Conference in 1943 over its resolution endorsing a Jewish commonwealth, reversed his position in the summer of 1946 and endorsed the Jewish Agency's proposal to create a Jewish State in a partitioned Palestine. Kaufman's description of the Proskauer reversal is somewhat incomplete, in part because it is based too heavily on AJC sources (he also cites *Not Free to Desist*, which erroneously implies that the Truman administration decided in August 1946 to support partitions); a more comprehensive examination of this episode, based on a wider range of sources, is presented in Michael Cohen's recent study, *Truman and Israel* (1991).¹⁰ Nonetheless, the important point for this study of relations between Zionists and non-Zionists is that the two factions had at last arrived at a common platform, and Proskauer became — in Kaufman's astute observation — "a silent partner in Zionist

political efforts, much as Louis Marshall had been in the 1920's." Zionists and non-Zionists had indeed come full circle, except now, instead of uniting behind refugee-Zionism (or 'Palestinianism'), they joined hands in supporting Jewish statehood.

Despite its occasional lapses, *An Ambiguous Partnership*, is a valuable contribution to the historiography of American Zionism. Rich in detail and keen in analysis, this volume offers the first comprehensive look at an intra-Jewish struggle which has long eluded scholarly scrutiny. There may be no period in American Jewish history more complex and controversial than the early 1940's. Menahem Kaufman has contributed to our understanding of the dilemmas that American Jews faced during those tumultuous years and the disputes that kept them from uniting at a time of unprecedented crisis.

—Raphael Medoff

Raphael Medoff has taught Jewish history at The Ohio State University and Denison University. He is the author of *The Deafening Silence American Jewish Leaders and the Holocaust* (1987)

Notes

1. *New Palestine*, October 26, 1928, 295.
2. Yonathan Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization, 1897—1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 248-261.
3. Wise to Gottheil, September 8, 1930, Folder 7, Box 3, Stephen Wise Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.
4. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 5, 1942, p. 6, Hadassah Archives, New York [hereafter HA].
5. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, December 17, 1940, HA.
6. Annual Report to the Zionist Organization of America - 47th Annual Convention, October 14-17, 1944, Atlantic City, New Jersey, p.59, File 1753, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.
7. Naomi W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee 1906* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America), 235.
8. Cohen, 261.
9. *Ibid.*, 299.
10. Michael J. Cohen, *Truman and Israel*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 137-143.

Langlais, Jacques and David Rome, translated by. *Jews and French Quebecers: Two Hundred Years of Shared History*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991. xxii, 187 pp.

During the 1980s, a small but significant stream of books on the Jews of Quebec began to appear in French. This spate of publications was inaugurated in 1981, with the 1,700-item bibliography, *Les Juifs du Quebec: bibliographic retrospective annotee*, one of whose compilers, the archivist and historian David Rome, is a co-author of the book under review here. The bibliography's 60 citations for books and articles by Rome are a measure of the large debt owed him by historians of Canadian Jewry. Rome's present collaborator, Jacques Langlais, is a Jesuit priest and founder of an intercultural community center in Montreal. Their personal friendship led them to write a book that seeks to lift the veil of ignorance about Jews that still prevails among French Quebecers.

The commonality of the two groups' experiences is repeatedly invoked by Rome and Laglais. In their words, "This book emerged from dialogue. It is a movement toward in-depth communication between two communities that are at once separated and united by sister traditions" (p. xxii). While the intended reader of the French edition (1986) was the educated Catholic Quebecer (it was brought out by the Catholic publisher Fides), the translation has a different audience in mind. Issued by a Canadian university press, it is aimed primarily at academic specialists in Jewish studies and Canadian studies.

Jews & French Quebecers is not a narrative history; its chapters deal instead with several major themes: the early history of Jews in Quebec, the mass immigration of Yiddishspeaking Jews, anti-semitism from 1880 to 1945, the economic and social adaptation of Jews to post-World War II society, and prospects for the future.

"By choosing Quebec as a refuge," Langlais and Rome assert, "Jews signalled their confidence in the laws and institutions of the land and the openness of its people" (p. xix). Remarks such as this sidestep British influences on Quebec society and politics, along with the profoundly Anglo-Canadian orientation of the Jewish community that was established there. Yet, it was not so much

Quebec that Jewish immigrants "chose," as Canada — or rather, America. Indeed, during the era of transatlantic mass migration, Montreal served as the fourth most important gateway for European immigrants to the *United States*. Geography, combined with the growth of the city's industrial economy, must not be overlooked in explaining the "choice" of Quebec by Jews. Similarly, the authors do not touch upon what Michael Brown (in *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians and Anglo-Canadians, 1759–1914*) has labeled "the North American triangle," the broad network of familial and institutional relationships maintained by Canadian (and Quebec) Jews with British and American Jewry. These are serious omissions.

By contrast, the amply documented section on ultramontane Catholic antisemitism in Quebec from 1880 to 1940 represents the book's most compelling contribution to the literature on Jewish French Canadian relations. Langlais and Rome portray "the immense anti-Semitic shroud of the 1930s . . . as a fit of collective paranoia," which subsided "once the Nazi horrors and the reality of genocide were made known" (p. 107). Postwar Quebec society, they claim, was characterized by a "new openness toward the Jewish community" (p. 119). Even so, opinion polls taken as recently as 1991 have shown that antisemitic attitudes remain more common among French-speaking Quebecers than among other Canadians.

While *Jews & French Quebecers* deals primarily with historical events and attitudes, its authors also write with an eye to the present. As they note, groups such as Southeast Asians, Haitians, Italians, Greeks, and Sephardic Jews are now being channeled — not altogether voluntarily — into the linguistic mainstream of Quebec. This is being done through the province's language legislation, which mandates that French be the predominant language of the workplace and that children of immigrants attend French schools. One of the by-products of this experiment in social engineering has been a "shift of economic activity westward" from Montreal (mainly to Toronto), which Langlais and Rome view as a positive development, since "it also helped Montreal affirm its French personality and character, thus enriching the entire nation"

(p. 141). Nevertheless, the Quebec government's policy of *francisation* has resulted in the out-migration of tens of thousands of Jews, along with much of the province's English-speaking minority. While Langlais and Rome do acknowledge that "the Jews' future in Quebec is closely tied to Quebec's future in Canada" (p. 146), they do not, however, state flatly that the independence of Quebec would hasten the decline of its Jewish population.

Along with other observers of the Quebec scene, Langlais and Rome have taken note of the Jewish community's high level of bilingualism and biculturalism. The latter characteristic has been accentuated by the arrival, since the 1960s, of some 20,000 French-speaking, North African Sephardim, whose presence in Quebec, they posit, will facilitate French Canadian-Jewish rapprochement.

When the French edition of *Jews & French Quebecers* came out in 1986, it was already somewhat dated. The English translation has unfortunately not been significantly revised. Population statistics that are now twenty years old are cited as if they were the latest ones available, and the appended chronological table (pp. 153-160) stops in 1976. The text is marred by occasional typos and by frequent misspellings of personal names, some of these reflecting a rather casual approach toward translation (such as rendering the names of popes in French, e. g., Benoît XV, p. 93). It is unfortunate, too, that the publishers did not follow standard practice by providing an index.

Langlais and Rome conclude by quoting the French-Jewish philosopher Albert Memmi: "The future belongs to Quebecers and hinges on their action." While Memmi "was almost certainly referring to French Quebecers alone," Langlais and Rome observe, they add a cautionary note:

To be considered a home by everyone, Quebec must become a place where all communities work together. Otherwise, it will experience the setbacks that have torn so many other nations apart.

Still, in their optimistic assessment, French Quebec is turning its back on its earlier biological ethnocentrism . . . the Jewish community has left the Anglophone ghetto and . . . the language barrier is becoming blurred between Ashkenazim and the Sephardim as it is between Jewish and French Quebecers. (pp. 150-152)

In this reviewer's opinion, Langlais and Rome take too sanguine a view of the Quebec Jewish community's prospects and, indeed, of ethnic relations in Quebec as a whole. The exodus of Quebec Jewry continues, even as the increasingly multiethnic composition of French Quebec that is a side-effect of the provincial government's language legislation poses new challenges to French Canadian society, which has traditionally been subject to an inward-looking nationalism and a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity. It may still be too early to proclaim the passing of linguistic, ethnic, and religious "solitudes" in Quebec.

—Zachary M. Baker

Zachary M. Baker is the head librarian of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. New York. He lived in Montreal for six years where he was associated with the Montreal Public Library.

Brief Notices

Zietz, Robert J. *The Gates of Heaven (Congregation Sha'arai Shomayim): The First 150 Years. Mobile Alabama, 1844-1944*. Mobile, Ala.: Congregation Sha'arai Shomayim, 1994. 293 pp.

Southern Jews were different. This we are beginning to learn as the penchant to write and research the history of Jews in the South gains new adherents on a steady basis. Just how different is of course related to the questions of place and time, two very Southern concepts that continue to vie for ascendancy in the Southern psyche.

What was different for southern Jews was the stifling system of Jim Crow and the cultural and religious conformity which defined the region in the years before 1945. It took a special sense of survival to be a successful Jewish community in places like Natchez, Montgomery and Mobile, Alabama.

Robert J. Zietz has given us an understanding of the strategy in this well-researched synagogue history. Jews and Christians seemed to take to each other in Mobile in ways that were unknown in other parts of the South, let alone the nation. In New Orleans, the leading Jewish families often left town rather than face the embarrassment of having no major role in Mardi Gras. In Mobile, Jews have participated in Mardi Gras since the 1840s and one organization, conceived by a congregant of Gates of Heaven Congregation, Dave Levi, has been a part of the Mobile Mardi Gras since 1884.

We also learn much about the congregation's road to Reform Judaism and about the personalities and leadership of its rabbis, some of them legendary names in the American rabbinate.

We learn all of this from the author, Robert J. Zeitz, the part-time archivist of the congregation and a devout Roman Catholic. Southern Jews *are* different.

Friedman, Murray, Edited by. *When Philadelphia Was the Capital of Jewish America*. Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press, 1993. 191 pp.

Philadelphia Jewry has a deep and passionate attachment to its communal history. Within that historical pride lies a smattering of resentment, a feeling that Jewish Philadelphia has always had to play "second fiddle" to New York. That "second city" imagery has perhaps added a bit more passion to Philadelphia's pride.

Now, thanks to the hard work of Murray Friedman, director of both the Philadelphia chapter of the American Jewish Committee and the Center for American Jewish History at Temple University, Philadelphia Jewry can look with even greater pride upon a time when, as the title of this collection of essays states, Philadelphia was the capital of Jewish America.

The essays in this volume, by some of the finest scholars working in American Jewish history, concentrate upon the "Philadelphia Group," an extraordinary group of nineteenth and early twentieth century Jewish Philadelphians who no doubt shaped the institutional framework of American Jewish life in a manner unparalleled before or since. From Isaac Leeser and Rebecca Gratz to Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, Sabato Morais and Solomon Solis — Cohen, among others, the "Philadelphia Group" shaped Orthodox and Conservative Judaism in this country, the role of Sunday School education, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Jewish Publication Society, The American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Historical Society, among other institutions. This first-rate collection of essays provides an excellent and comprehensive view of this exceptional yet relatively little known group of American Jewish leaders.

Waskow, Howard and Arthur Waskow. *Becoming Brothers*. New York: The Free Press, 1993. 218pp.

Arthur Waskow was easy to remember. During the 1960s and early 1970s he was a frequent visitor to university campuses, especially in the Washington, DC area, and quite visible as a media per-

sonality who was filmed and interviewed as one of the important strategists of the New Left and the anti-Vietnam movement. But his flowing black beard and his bear-like build made him look more like a secular member of a hasidic sect than Che Guevara. At the same time that Waskow was seeking peace abroad, he was on his way to discovering how little *shalom beit* (peace at home) existed in his own family life. His brother Howard, younger, slower of speech and gait, had harbored an intense resentment of his older sibling and ultimately it would explode into an even more intense hatred with threats of bodily harm. "Be close to your brother above all! Some day you'll need each other!" their mother would tell them in their youth. This admonition was given by a woman whose own mother had not spoken to a sister for twenty years, and who herself had been separated from a sister for a number of years. The warning was not heeded. The story of the collision course upon which the brothers were headed and their reconciliation at middle age is a remarkable tale of Jewish familial hate and love.

Dalin, David D., Edited by. *American Jews and the Separationist Faith*. Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1993. 169pp.

If one could strip away all that Jews have earned in their struggle to feel "at home" in this country, the effort to maintain a strong separation between church and state would stand exposed as the foundation stone of their place in the American sun. Nothing arouses the folk memory of Jewish life like the recounting of church inspired persecutions of Jewish communities over the ages. Nothing has frightened American Jews more than various Christian "Great Awakenings" over the past two centuries and related efforts to "baptize the Constitution," by amending the document to state that America is a Christian nation. But in the history of Jewish life in this country, there have been Jews who felt that prayer in the classroom was not an evil thing, that praying to a Creator was the perfect way to start a school morning. Advocated at first primarily by ultra-Orthodox elements, the idea that the state and religion may find a certain unity of positive purpose has

found favor with more "modern" American Jewish thinkers. In this volume, over three dozen American Jewish intellectuals debate the notion of church-state separation in the decade before the year 2000.

Marrus, Michael R. *Samuel Bronfman. The Life and Times of Seagram's Mr. Sam*. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1991. 551 pp.

A respected scholar of the Holocaust, Michael Marrus has also written on French Jewry at the time of the Dreyfus affair and on European refugees in the twentieth century. It is thus somewhat peculiar to find that his latest project is a biography of Seagram whisky founder, Samuel Bronfman. But a first-rate historian will make any project a worthwhile one, and this Marrus has done in portraying Bronfman as a legend who was only as large as life and not larger. He dismisses the notion that Bronfman, whose family came to Canada from possibly Bessarabia at the end of the nineteenth century, made his millions running bootleg whiskey between Canada and Prohibition America. He paints him as a social and business outsider, a man worth millions and the most important Canadian Jew for over three decades, who commuted between French-speaking Montreal and his office in New York but hurried home to his family on weekends. He also places Bronfman, who became president of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1939, within the context of the free world response to the Holocaust, especially the Canadian government's stated policy that, regarding the immigration of European Jewish refugees into the nation, "none is too many." Suddenly Michael Marrus's previous scholarly interests seem to converge in this well-written and researched biography.

Rabinowitz, Stanley. *The Assembly. A Century in the Life of the Adas Israel Hebrew congregation of Washington, D.C.* Hoboken: Ktav Publishing House Inc., 1993. 592pp.

On December 31, 1869, nearly forty members of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, Washington, D.C.'s first, officially with-

drew to form the Adas Israel Hebrew Congregation, the city's second. Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, Adas Israel's spiritual leader for over a quarter century (1960–1986) has written a first-rate synagogue history about the first century (1869–1969) of a distinguished Conservative congregation. Rabinowitz is clearly aware that the history of a synagogue is influenced by many factors, both internal and external. He is careful to balance his assessment of each of these factors, always framing the internal development of the synagogue within the broader picture of American Jewish life. That, in itself, makes this study so different from most synagogue histories and clearly an outstanding work.

Bauman, Mark K. *Harry H. Epstein and the Rabbinate as Conduit for Change*. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994. 160pp.

Mark K. Bauman is one of the finest historians at work in the history of the Southern Jewish experience. His special emphasis is upon Judaism in the South and especially the southern rabbinate. He is particularly intimate with the great rabbinic leadership of Atlanta's Reform rabbi David Marx, Orthodox rabbi Tobias Geffen, and now with this book, Conservative rabbi Harry H. Epstein.

Bauman's portrait is one which allows the reader to understand Epstein and his congregation's, Ahavath Achim, evolution from an orthodox shul into the largest Conservative congregation in the South. In Epstein's fifty plus years as AA's (as it is popularly known) spiritual leader, he played perfectly the role that defined the modern American Conservative rabbinical experience. He maintained tradition but initiated change. He was not a "power broker" and ambassador to the Gentiles as was David Marx, but he participated in interfaith work. He advocated civil rights for African Americans but not to the point of having his synagogue bombed as did Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Marx's successor. Through Rabbi Epstein, Bauman seeks to create a composite of the denominational rabbinate of the twentieth century altered somewhat by the fact that Epstein served a congregation which for the first four

decades of his leadership existed in an environment shaped by Jim Crow racism and the peculiar nature of Jewish existence in the South.

Tenenbaum, Shelly. *A Credit to Their Community. Jewish Loan Societies in the United States, 1880–1945*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993. 204pp.

We know the scenario well: American Jewish business was built upon the back of the peddler who walked his wares, obtained a horse and wagon and graduated to the retail store. But the scenario can never be seen in quite the same way after the appearance of Shelly Tenenbaum's *A Credit to Their Community*. In many respects this is one of the most important volumes to appear on the American Jewish experience in a very long time. Beyond the importance of the sources it employs and the light that it sheds on an underresearched aspect of the growth and success of American Jewish business, it is marked by a sophisticated theoretical and cultural approach rarely seen in volumes dealing with American Jewish history. Tenenbaum highlights the extensiveness of Jewish loan societies in this country, defines the different approaches to Jewish credit, discovers the existence of women's loan societies and measures the influence of old world cultural traits and responses to the new environment upon ethnic institutions. In a discipline such as American Jewish Studies, eager to gain acceptance from the wider field of American Studies and History, such a book can only strengthen the potential for a positive response.

Bard, Mitchell G. *Forgotten Victims. The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994. 171pp.

Holocaust survivors have always feared the assault upon truth that marks the real danger of Holocaust deniers and denial. The survivors have been grateful that at least one other group with impeccable and impenetrable qualifications has been there to support their tales of the horrors of the concentration camps—those liberators who stumbled upon the terrible scenes that accompa-

nied the liberation in the spring of 1945. Until Mitchell Bard's volume, we did not know that a second group of American soldiers and civilians knew even more about the suffering of concentration camp prisoners, for they, too, were prisoners in many of those same camps, including Buchenwald. American Jewish POWs were singled out by their German captors and some were sent to slave labor and concentration camps and forced to participate in the notorious death marches in the spring of 1945. But non-Jewish GIs were also imprisoned in the camps. The response of the American government was zero although it apparently knew what had happened to the American prisoners of war. Above all, those American soldiers who survived, did not and could not fully recover from their experiences, both physically and psychologically. As long as they continue to live, they will be a front-line of defense against the assault on truth, even though the truth of their suffering was repressed or denied and the American soldiers kept their suffering mostly to themselves. One of the American POWs, a Greek American named Costa Katimaris, explained it well: "I think I became a Jew since I was in Berga[slave labor camp]."

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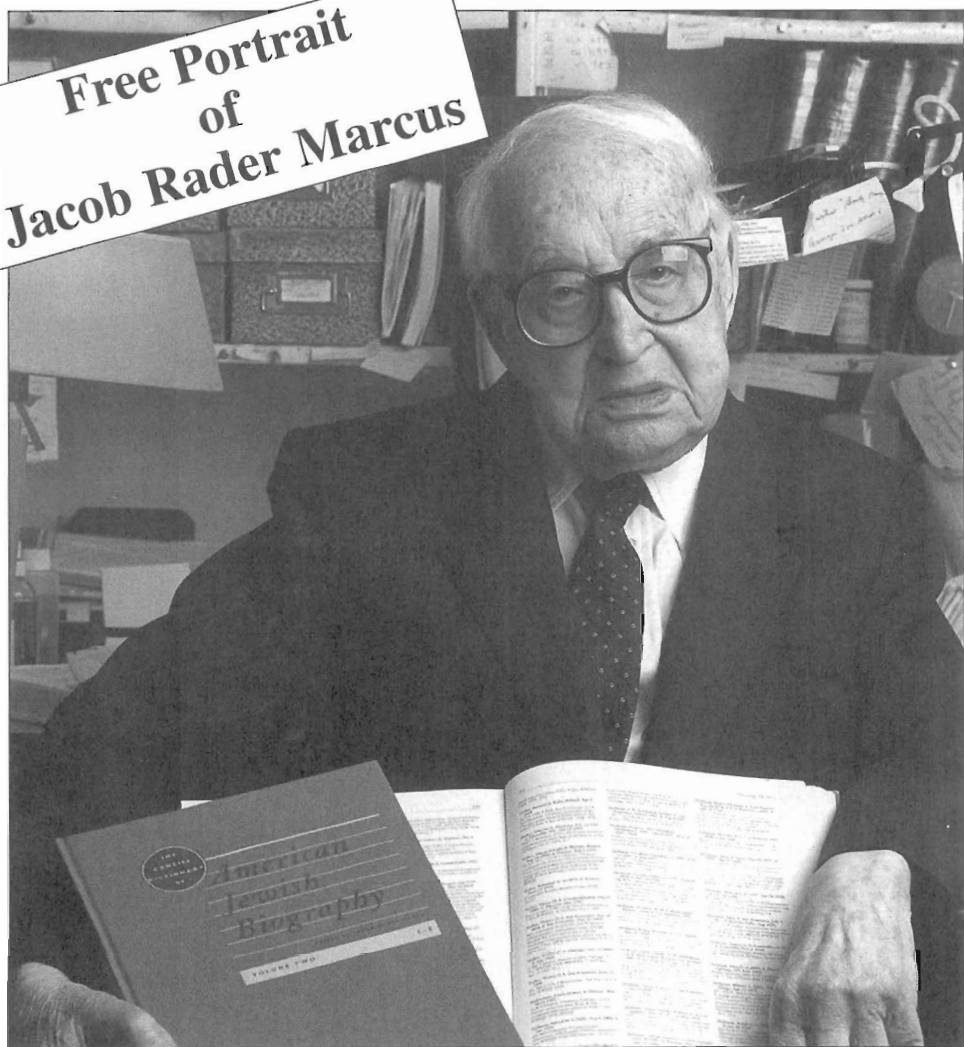
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