

SOUTHERN JEWISH HISTORY

Journal of the Southern Jewish Historical Society

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2018
Volume 21



Southern Jewish History

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Articles appearing in *Southern Jewish History* are abstracted and/or indexed in *Historical Abstracts*; *America: History and Life*; *Index to Jewish Periodicals*; *Journal of American History*; *Journal of Southern History*; *RAMBI-National Library of Israel*; *Immigration and Ethnic History Society Newsletter*; and the *Berman Jewish Policy Archive* (www.bjpa.org).

Southern Jewish History acknowledges with deep appreciation grants from the Covenant Foundation, New York, and the Helen Marie Stern Memorial Fund, Atlanta.

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ISSN 1521-4206

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Insiders or Outsiders: Charlottesville’s Jews, White Supremacy, and Antisemitism

by

Phyllis K. Leffler*

America is a paradox: a nation founded upon the ideals of liberty and equality, yet a nation flawed by founding documents that justified the enslavement of African Americans.¹ This original sin continues to play itself out in race-based binaries in which “whiteness” confers privilege and “blackness” often translates into discrimination and inequality.² In this binary, *white* is a fluid and contested category, defined not always by skin pigmentation but by power. America’s Jews have been both white and nonwhite—often described as in-between—sometimes welcomed among the dominant elites and sometimes restricted and shunned both as nonwhite and religiously “other.” Diaspora Jews live with this dual and uncertain identity: they are both insiders and outsiders as antisemitism ebbs and flows, often in direct relationship to the virulence of white supremacy and racism. White supremacy, racism, and antisemitism cohabit common ground.

The history of Jews in Charlottesville, Virginia, offers an important case study of the complex attitudes, perceptions, and experiences of Jews as they navigated the color line. At times, they were welcomed and integrated into the life of the small city they inhabited. At times, they were excluded from the University of Virginia and area social clubs by antisemites who viewed them as either religious or racial “others.” At times, they were targeted with vandalism and personal threats. They continue to live in a city of relative tolerance, but they also live in a region that has

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embraced and deepened white supremacist ideologies. Antisemitism did not suddenly appear in Charlottesville in 2017. Its history is embedded in western civilization and in America's DNA.

On August 11–12, 2017, Charlottesville's residents experienced the virulent antisemitism of alt-right, neo-Nazi, white supremacist, white nationalist, and Klan groups that congregated for the Unite the Right rally. In the aftermath, Charlottesville has become an international meme for the hatred, violence, disruption of civil society, and even death unleashed by the forces of the alt-right in America. Charlottesville is understood internationally as an example of the emerging reality of social upheaval, scapegoating of nonwhite minorities, and potential for deadly fratricide unleashed when political forces tolerate or encourage hate-mongering rhetoric and policy.

Many questions remain in the wake of these shocking days. Among them: How can the vituperative antisemitic tone be explained when the ostensible purpose of the Unite the Right rally was to draw attention to the call for removal of statues of Confederate war heroes in public squares? Why did Charlottesville, Virginia, become ground zero while numerous other cities that had removed Confederate symbols or statues escaped similar treatment? Were the venomous mobs with signs that read "Sieg Heil" and shouts of "Jew" every time a speaker mentioned Jewish Mayor Michael Signer's name reflective of how Jews had experienced life in this small southern city historically?³ How have scholarship and teaching at the University of Virginia supported or resisted the racist and antisemitic concepts that undergirded the rally? How have Charlottesville's Jews and citizens at large responded to and absorbed the public notoriety that has befallen them? This essay addresses these questions through narrower and broader lenses that explicate the events leading up to the rallies.

*Confederate Statues, White Supremacy,
and the Cauldron of August 2017*

On August 11–12, 2017, five to six hundred participants from at least thirty-five states descended on the small city of Charlottesville for a well-publicized Unite the Right rally. The designated purpose of the demonstration was to oppose the removal of a heroic statue of Robert E. Lee sitting astride his horse, Traveller, from a small, one-block square park

whose name had been changed from Lee Park to Emancipation Park on June 5 of the same year. Neo-Nazis, neo-Confederates, white supremacists, white nationalists, militia groups, and Klansmen sought to spread terror by carrying loaded semiautomatic rifles, knives, banners and flags bearing Nazi swastikas, Confederate battle flags, anti-Muslim/antisemitic/antiblack banners, Trump/Pence signs, and tiki torches recalling KKK torch-lit parades. They chanted antisemitic and racist slogans: "White Lives Matter," "Jews will not replace us," "Jews are Satan's children," "Blood and Soil," "The Jewish media is going down," and "The goyim know" could be heard and seen by witnesses and counterprotesters.

As tensions built and people clashed in the streets from the early morning of August 12, Governor Terry McAuliffe declared a state of emergency and canceled the official rally. By early afternoon, counterprotester Heather Heyer lay dead and at least thirty-five people had been injured, some seriously. Two state troopers dispatched to provide helicopter surveillance, H. Jay Cullen and Berke Bates, also died when their helicopter crashed.

Private militia groups march as the Charlottesville Clergy Collective links arms to protect citizens, Charlottesville, August 12, 2017.

(Photograph by Hannah Pearce.)

The eruption followed more than a year of controversy and local study over the call for removal of the Lee statue. The events of August also occurred nine months after the presidential election of Donald J. Trump in a national context that empowered right-wing groups to spew hatred toward immigrants, and ethnic and religious minorities. Both are relevant.

Tensions flared in March 2016 when Charlottesville's vice-mayor, Wes Bellamy, convened a press conference at Lee Park and called for the removal of the statue of General Robert E Lee. He also proposed the renaming of the park. Bellamy had been a member of the Charlottesville City Council for only two months, and he was the sole African American member of the five-person council.⁴ He was joined by a second city councilor, Kristin Szakos, elected in 2009, who had suggested the removal of Confederate statues as early as 2012.⁵ Their supporters included ninth-grade Charlottesville High School student Zyhana Bryant, who collected more than two hundred signatures on a petition she circulated advocating the removal of the Lee statue. One day earlier, aware of the mounting tensions, Mayor Michael Signer proposed a blue-ribbon commission on Confederate memorials to study the issue. Acknowledging the "dark chapters in our past," he quoted Mayor Mitch Landrieu of New Orleans on the need to move Confederate monuments from prominent public places and stressed the importance of striving "to heal the wounds created by slavery and racism in our community."⁶

Leading the discussion in the city council on how to move forward – and in disagreement on how best to proceed – were the Jewish mayor Michael Signer and the African American vice-mayor Wes Bellamy. Both were Democrats and progressives. Both represented groups hated and targeted by the alt-right. Both symbolized to the alt-right what had gone wrong with America: a black man and a Jew held elected positions of leadership and sought to change the heritage narrative of Confederate heroes.

Reaction was swift. At the press conference, the Virginia Flaggers appeared with Confederate flags and attempted to shout down the proceedings.⁷ They called Bellamy a racist and shouted "What about the white slaves?" and "Heritage not hate!" Virginia Flaggers tagged Signer's "very revealing 'statement'" on their blog.⁸ The lines were drawn: defenders of the Confederacy and what they perceived as southern heritage were

pitted against those determined to reassess how public spaces in southern cities reify a Lost Cause and white supremacist narrative.

On May 6, 2016, the Charlottesville City Council resolved to appoint the commission suggested by the mayor, which was created as the Blue-Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces (BRC). Within a few weeks, the commission's charge evolved to "provide Council with options for telling the full story of Charlottesville's history of race and for changing the city's narrative through our public spaces."⁹ The intent of the BRC was to explore how public spaces are used, or could be used, to address race. One month after the initial resolution, the nine-member commission was named. Its work took place in public view and with multiple opportunities for public engagement before it submitted its final report on December 19, 2016.

The report provided options for city council consideration. On the issue of the Lee sculpture, two possibilities emerged: either move the sculpture to McIntire Park or "transform" the statue in place. In either case, the commissioners insisted on the need to "confront" the history of the statue through context determined by a design competition or commission of additional public art.¹⁰

City council meetings were charged. Citizens came armed with signs, and the public comment period revealed the anger and intensity of feelings. Virginia Flaggers, including some from outside Charlottesville, came dressed in militia uniforms. At its January 17, 2017, meeting, before the councilors voted on the options before them, they offered public statements explaining their vote. All acknowledged that historical racism was at the heart of the issue. Mayor Signer called slavery the "great shame of this nation." Kathy Galvin spoke of the "moral dilemma" of removing historic symbols of the Jim Crow era because they were opportunities to focus on the stains of the past. Wes Bellamy condemned the "white moderates" unwilling to take aggressive action. Kristin Szakos advocated moving forward expeditiously to stifle "unwanted interference from the Confederate heritage groups and white supremacy activists around the country, many of whom have no stake in our local decision." And Bob Fenwick recognized that racism was at the core of the discussion.¹¹ No one posited Confederate heritage as a valid reason to maintain the status quo.

Signer and Galvin voted to transform the statues in place within the existing park; Bellamy and Szakos voted to relocate them; and Fenwick

*The statue of Robert E. Lee in Emancipation Park, Charlottesville.
(Wikimedia Commons.)*

abstained, causing a deadlocked vote. Chaos erupted; those that wanted the statues removed disrupted the proceedings for at least thirty minutes.¹² At the second vote, on February 6, Fenwick voted for removal of the statues thereby creating a 3-2 majority.

Between the January and February votes, Donald J. Trump was sworn in as the forty-fifth president of the United States. On January 27, 2017—seven days after his inauguration—Trump issued an executive order banning entry for ninety days by citizens from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen. Mass protests started immediately at airports and in cities across America by those who objected to a ban of peoples from predominantly Muslim countries. Signer held a rally in Charlottesville on January 31 attended by hundreds of people. He proclaimed

Charlottesville a “capital of resistance” — a place that would protect immigrants and refugees within the city. He enunciated three reasons for his presence at the rally: (1) he was responding to the fear and bewilderment of local Muslim citizens as “they wrestled with the cruel chaos coming out of the Beltway”; (2) he was honoring his Jewish paternal grandfather who fought in World War II to liberate the world from Nazism and fascism; and (3) he was responding to his studied understanding of demagogues who try to destroy democracy.¹³ Signer mentioned his Jewish identity twice. He referred to American values of religious toleration, linked them directly to Virginians James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, and quoted the words of Jewish poet Emma Lazarus that are emblazoned on the Statue of Liberty. He implored the people present to act politically and resist.

Quite apart from the issue of the Lee statue, Charlottesville became identified as a city that would fight for humanitarian justice and multiculturalism and would welcome immigrants and strangers. Religious diversity was central to the discussion. The timing of Charlottesville’s BRC report (December 2016), Trump’s inauguration (January 2017), the first “Muslim ban” (January 2017), and the Charlottesville rally declaring the city a site of resistance (January 2017) meant that the statue issue became intertwined with a much broader national agenda. Race, immigration, heritage (southern, Jewish, Christian, Muslim), and political loyalties were all part of the mix.

The place and status of immigrants in the United States has long been interconnected with issues of citizenship, legitimacy, power, and whiteness. As Matthew Frye Jacobson argues, during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century eras of mass immigration, vigorous debate occurred over who was fit for self-government within an Anglo-Saxon nation state.¹⁴ Blacks did not have or frequently could not exercise citizenship rights during this period, and many American immigrants were seen as defiling the purity of the nation. For those in the alt-right who embraced white purity, the leadership of Signer, who drew attention to his immigrant ancestry, and Bellamy, an African American, was viewed as a particular affront.

Although the members of Charlottesville’s city council voted to remove the Lee statue, as well as one of Confederate general Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, they had not yet acted on renaming the two parks

that housed the statues. In April 2017, the public was encouraged to submit recommendations. At the same time, the city council announced that it intended to sell the offending statues, despite a pending court case prohibiting their removal.¹⁵ Within a month, Charlottesville's circuit court presiding judge, Richard E. Moore, issued an injunction prohibiting the statues' removal for six months pending litigation.¹⁶ Although removal of the statues could not go forward, the renaming of the parks could. In June, the council voted unanimously to change the name of Lee Park to Emancipation Park and Jackson Park (adjacent to the Albemarle County Courthouse, also in downtown Charlottesville) to Justice Park. The choice of these names signaled the council's clear intent to alter the public narrative.

The discussion about the Lee statue, its relationship to white supremacy, and the motivations of publicly elected city councilors had turned personal and ugly long before the Unite the Right rally. Substantive issues and personal vitriol could no longer be disaggregated. Jason Kessler, a University of Virginia graduate and self-avowed American white nationalist and alt-right activist, lives in the Charlottesville area. He had become a part-time journalist and activist and started a blog, "Jason Kessler, American Author," near the close of 2015. After Bellamy's call for the removal of Confederate statues, Kessler turned his attention to the removal of the vice-mayor and councilor from office. In November 2016, before the appointment of the BRC, Kessler posted an exposé of Bellamy on his blog, revealing lewd, sexist, and bigoted tweets written by Bellamy before he assumed office. Many of these demonstrated Bellamy's animus toward whites.¹⁷ As a result of the exposure of these provocative and inappropriate comments, Bellamy resigned from his job as a teacher in the Albemarle County Schools and from his seat on the Virginia Board of Education. The question of whether he should be removed from the city council was enmeshed in the larger discussion of public statues in public squares.

Kessler attracted the attention of Republican gubernatorial candidate Corey Stewart, a strong Trump supporter. In February 2017, Unity & Security for America (USA), a white nationalist group founded by Kessler that he describes as a "transformational movement within the Cultural Marxist hell that is Charlottesville," hosted Stewart's Charlottesville campaign event. (The reference to "cultural Marxism" is antisemitic code for

Jewish leaders who allegedly wish to use their cultural influence to corrode Western values.¹⁸) Stewart claimed that he was only interested in keeping the Lee statue and removing Bellamy from office, but he praised Kessler for his courageous stance against “real racism.”¹⁹ Kessler’s exposé of Bellamy influenced state and national politics. For his role in this episode, Kessler garnered national attention, including an “extremist file” compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The attacks on Bellamy came from the far right. His defenders hailed from organizations like Stand Up for Racial Justice, Black Lives Matter, antifa (antifascist) groups, and progressives who understood the critical importance of having black representation on the city council. Every council meeting from then on was filled with incivility and acrimony during the public comment period. At the June meeting announcing the name changes for the parks, Kessler stated, “You talk about black people, you talk about gay people, you don’t give a damn about white people. And white people have a right to organize and advocate for our rights as well.” He then promoted the just-announced rally set for August 12 in Lee Park.²⁰

Race-baiting, claims of white victimhood, and personal vendettas doomed reasoned discussion. The battle lines were drawn primarily in racial terms. Signer’s speech about his Jewish roots, furthermore, triggered the possibility of antisemitic reaction. Long before August, two events in Charlottesville were harbingers of the August firestorm.

On May 13, 2017, Richard Spencer led an afternoon rally in Lee Park. Several dozen torch-wielding protesters chanted, “You will not replace us,” “Blood and Soil,” and “Russia is our friend.” When the white supremacist crowd gathered a second time that evening, they were met with a large group of counterprotesters. Police arrived, and the crowds quickly dispersed.²¹ The following night, a much larger group of counterprotesters held a candlelight vigil at the same park. Although small in scale and of little long-term consequence, the symbols and chants reflected the values that Spencer promotes.

Spencer, like Kessler, is no stranger to Charlottesville. In 2001, he graduated from the University of Virginia with a double major in music history and English. A well-educated, polished speaker, he coined the term *alt-right* in 2008. He worked briefly at the *American Conservative* (from which he was fired for his extreme views) and *Taki’s Magazine* before becoming president of the National Policy Institute (NPI).²² The NPI is an

organization “dedicated to the heritage, identity, and future of people of European descent in the United States and around the world.”²³ Spencer managed NPI’s publishing division, Washington Summit Publishers. In 2012, he launched *Radix Journal*, a website and publication that hosts such noted antisemites as Kevin McDonald. In 2017, he cofounded and shifted his focus to AltRight.com.²⁴

Spencer attempts to avoid traditional political labels, preferring to call himself an “identitarian,” thereby allying himself with the European white nationalist movement associated with the French Nouvelle Droite and strongly anti-Zionist Unité Radicale. These movements were founded in the last years of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The identitarian movement opposes multiculturalism, demeans Muslims and immigrants, and embraces fascist ideologies.²⁵ Identitarians claim to reject antisemitism, but Spencer nonetheless made common cause with Andrew Anglin of the *Daily Stormer*, a neo-Nazi website, and Mike Enoch of the *Daily Shoah*, an antisemitic podcast, to target and threaten a Jewish realtor who had been involved in the sale of some property held by Spencer’s mother.²⁶

In national politics, Spencer and the alt-right strongly endorsed Donald Trump’s presidential candidacy. Spencer was especially impressed by Trump’s determination to build a border wall with Mexico as an important step in constructing a white “ethno-state.” In July 2016, Steve Bannon, executive chair of Breitbart News from 2012 until he joined the Trump campaign and administration, asserted at the Republican National Convention that his media conglomerate was the “platform for the alt-right.”²⁷ When Trump made Bannon the CEO of his campaign in August 2016, the direct association of the alt-right with the presidential campaign was cemented. At the NPI fall conference just a few days after Trump’s election, Spencer offered a toast in front of the nearly two hundred attendees: “Hail Trump, hail our people, hail victory!” A handful of those present responded with stiff-armed salutes emulating Nazis saluting Hitler. He went on to attack the *lügenpresse* – a Nazi term for “lying press” – as “leftists and cucks” and “genuinely stupid.” He wondered “if these people are people at all, or instead soulless golem animated by some dark power.”²⁸ The antisemitic overtones were unmistakable.

The websites, blogs, publications, and organizations that form the world of Jason Kessler and Richard Spencer reek of racist and antisemitic

tropes. These are the University of Virginia alumni, familiar with Charlottesville, who organized the rallies in May, August, and the following October, and have called for a replay in August 2018. Their followers feel emboldened to spout xenophobic and ethnocentric slogans in support of a white, fascist world order. They want “peaceful ethnic cleansing” that Spencer says will usher in “a new society based on very different ideals than, say, the Declaration of Independence.”²⁹ Even their term *alt-right* has a double entendre: *Alt* is the German word for *old*, indisputably hearkening to memories of Nazi Germany and its genocidal policies. (Kessler has said that whites have adopted “Nazi” as a “term of endearment.”³⁰) *Alt* also suggests an alternative perspective to mainstream thought. *Right* refers both to a political ideology and to that which is morally correct and honorable. By calling attention to the Declaration of Independence, Spencer, as a representative of the alt-right agenda, suggests that America was insufficiently racist at its founding. These ideologies have deep roots in America’s troubled race history and return to late nineteenth-century nativist Nordic ideologies made popular by Madison Grant in his 1916 book *The Passing of the Great Race*.³¹

Yet another organization, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (LWK), took responsibility for the July 8, 2017, rally that drew around fifty Klansmen to Charlottesville who hailed largely from across the southern Virginia border in Pelham, North Carolina. Formed about 2012, the LWK is a local offshoot of the KKK. According to their now defunct website, www.kkkknights.com, The LWK is a legal, “Christian” organization whose main goal is to “protect our family, race and nation” and “restore America to a White, Christian nation founded on God’s word.”³²

The LWK’s Imperial Wizard, Christopher Barker, did not attend the group’s Charlottesville rally because he could not leave North Carolina as a condition of his bond for an attempted murder case pending against him.³³ Yet this did not stop him from spouting his hateful views. In an interview held on his property in late July with Ilia Calderon, an American citizen originally from Colombia, he discovered that she was black. He called her a “nigger” and a “mongrel” during the taped interview and threatened to “burn” her off his property. When she pressed him on how that would happen, he responded: “Don’t matter. . . . We killed six million Jews. Eleven million is nothing.”³⁴ Antiblack racism and antisemitism are coequal in Barker’s mind.

During the LWK rally on July 8, Klansmen sported robes and hoods and carried Confederate flags and signs embracing white supremacy and equating Jews and communists. Police escorted them to and from the site of the rally in Justice Park. Massive numbers of Virginia state and local police were on site in full riot gear and were equipped with armored vehicles. LWK members were met by about one thousand counterprotesters representing Black Lives Matter, antifa groups, and local citizens who wanted to send a message to the LWK that they were not welcome in Charlottesville. The Charlottesville Clergy Collective (CCC) of about thirty black and white religious leaders was among the antiracist organizations offering nonviolence training, prayer, drinking water, and music. The CCC had formed in the aftermath of the tragic 2015 shooting at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, so that there could be a rapid response should anything similar happen in Charlottesville. The organization's broader mission is to promote racial unity and social justice by faith leadership through collaboration and relationship building.³⁵ On the morning of July 8, senior rabbi Tom Gutherz of Charlottesville's Congregation Beth Israel was one of many clergy who spoke at an alternate site, delivering the message that only love will conquer hatred.³⁶

After the LWK left, counterprotesters lingered. The police declared their gathering an unlawful assembly. Eventually the authorities used tear gas to disperse the crowd and made numerous arrests. The only violence that occurred that day was between police and counterprotesters. The police, who had seemingly protected LWK members but now wanted counterprotesters to disband, angered those who remained. Subsequently, the police were severely criticized by counterprotesters for overreacting.³⁷

Nonetheless, the small numbers of the LWK that gathered on July 12, the capacity of the police to keep the opposing groups separated, and the lack of any direct violence from Klan members caused many in Charlottesville to breathe a sigh of relief. The counterprotesters were the much larger force, and the LWK limped out of town.

The extreme racism and antisemitism of both May and July 2017 set the context for the events of August 11–12. Many people anticipated that the crowds would be large, drawn from across the nation, and heavily armed. (Virginia is an "open carry" state, meaning that licensed individuals can openly display their weapons in public.) Social media sites had been promoting the rally for months on white nationalist and neo-Nazi

platforms. Despite the foreknowledge and expectations, citizens were shocked by what transpired.

Among those white nationalists who came to Charlottesville, a group of about two hundred decided to march through the Grounds of the University of Virginia. On Friday night, August 11, they gathered at Nameless Field (very close to the main traffic artery, Route 29). They carried lit tiki torches and chanted "Blood and Soil," "You will not replace us," and "Jews will not replace us." Many marched with their hands raised in Nazi salute as they moved to the iconic statue of Thomas Jefferson at the Rotunda. News of the gathering spread quickly through social media, and they were met by student counterdemonstrators. University police were not in evidence initially, but Virginia state police appeared to avert the worst violence. The hostility of the marchers was palpable, and as students reacted to the unwelcome rioters, some were injured in the ensuing melee.³⁸ Nonetheless, these actions paled in comparison to what took place the following day.

On August 12, five to six hundred Unite the Right protesters arrived in downtown Charlottesville determined to intimidate. In addition to organizers Spencer and Kessler, David Duke, the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, a Holocaust denier, antisemite, member of the American Nazi Party, and unsuccessful candidate for several elective offices, was present. Duke declared that he was there to "take our country back" and "fulfill the promises of Donald Trump."³⁹

Congregation Beth Israel (CBI) is located one block from the rally site at Emancipation (formerly Lee) Park. The only synagogue in the city, it has been in continuous operation in downtown Charlottesville since its founding in 1882. Its current membership is approximately four hundred families. Its board and rabbi decided that regular Shabbat morning services would be held on the day of the rally despite the ominous reports of potential violence. Synagogue leaders attempted to secure police protection only to be told that the city lacked the resources to provide dedicated officers. "We had to hire the service of security guards because of the events," Rabbi Gutherz acknowledged. "We're sad but we had no choice."⁴⁰

The start of the service was moved to 9 A.M. so that congregants could leave the building and lock it before the rally began. However hundreds of protesters and counterprotesters milled around the downtown

*Congregation Beth Israel, Charlottesville.
(Courtesy of Congregation Beth Israel.)*

*Rally participants representing Vanguard America
displaying banner justifying gun use.
(Photograph by Hannah Pearce.)*

OPPOSITE PAGE: *Tom Gutherz, senior rabbi; Rachel Schmelkin, rabbi educator; and
Alan Zimmerman, president, of Charlottesville's Congregation Beth Israel.
(Gutherz and Zimmerman portraits by Robin Macklin Photography; Schmelkin
portrait by Tod Cohen Photography. Courtesy of Congregation
Beth Israel, Charlottesville.)*

area where the synagogue is also located from the early morning hours. Beth Israel's president, Alan Zimmerman, posted his reactions two days later on a Reform Judaism blog site:

On Saturday morning, I stood outside our synagogue with the armed security guard we hired after the police department refused to provide us with an officer during morning services. . . . Forty congregants were inside. . . . For half an hour, three men dressed in fatigues and armed with semi-automatic rifles stood across the street from the temple. . . . Several times, parades of Nazis passed our building, shouting, "There's the synagogue!" followed by chants of "Seig Heil" and other anti-Semitic language. Some carried flags with swastikas and other Nazi symbols. . . . When services ended, my heart broke as I advised congregants that it would be safer to leave the temple through the back entrance rather than through the front. . . .

Soon, we learned that Nazi websites had posted a call to burn our synagogue. I sat with one of our rabbis and wondered whether we should go back to the temple to protect the building. . . . Fortunately, it was just talk – but we had already deemed such an attack within the realm of possibilities, taking the precautionary step of removing our Torahs, including a Holocaust scroll, from the premises.

This is 2017 in the United States of America.⁴¹

Weeks prior to the rally, clergy from Charlottesville had worked to create a plan for peaceful counterdemonstrations. Both Gutherz and newly hired rabbi educator Rachel Schmelkin of CBI actively participated in that effort. According to Schmelkin, the CCC was sensitive to the need to protect identifiable Jewish colleagues. Yet the violence was so extreme on August 12 that the First United Methodist Church, designated a "safe space" during the rally, had to initiate several lockdowns during the day. Schmelkin attempted to play music on her guitar to "drown out the sound of their hate with songs of love, kindness, and peace," as part of the clergy-related, nonviolent stand. On several occasions she was rushed inside the church because her *kippah* and *tallit* made her even more of a target.⁴² Gutherz commented: "To see the marching, to hear it, the hate walking by, was really quite startling. . . . I had never witnessed antisemitism as overt as this."⁴³

Congregants at CBI were shaken and saddened by the events. Parents worried about the future safety of their children who use the building for preschool, Sunday school, bar/bat mitzvah training, and social events.

Professor Emeritus Henry Abraham, a distinguished political scientist at the University of Virginia, emigrated from Hitler's Germany after he had experienced *Kristallnacht* at age fifteen. He commented that he never thought he would have to bear this level of antisemitism twice in his lifetime.⁴⁴

Elsewhere in Charlottesville, Jewish groups felt threatened by the gathering storm and the events of August 11. The Jewish Renewal Chavurah, a community of close to sixty members who meet twice monthly for Shabbat services and who use facilities at the Hillel House at the University of Virginia, shifted the location of their services for Saturday, August 12. For several months afterwards, they locked the doors once services started.⁴⁵

Charlottesville's Jews were also defiant and determined to stand up to the hatred and resist intimidation. Mayor Signer appeared on CBS's *Face the Nation* the following day in the aftermath of Trump's "moral equivalency" statement in which he said that there was "hatred, bigotry and violence on many sides – on many sides."⁴⁶ Signer laid the blame on the president for much of the hatred that had been in evidence the day before:

[He] made a choice in his presidential campaign, the folks around with him, to, you know, go right to the gutter, to play on our worst prejudices. And I think you are seeing a direct line from what happened here this weekend to those choices. . . . What I did not hear in the president's statement yesterday . . . I didn't hear the words "white supremacy." And I think that it's important to call this for what it is.⁴⁷

The Jewish community of Charlottesville has been alarmed and unsettled by the open hostility, menacing chants, Nazi symbolism, armaments, and intense racism of those who participated in the Unite the Right rally. Many believe that they are experiencing antisemitism in America in ways they never imagined possible. Jews live in an America where they believe opportunity abounds for themselves and their families. The overt white supremacist doctrines which antisemitism and racism cohabit and which were omnipresent in Charlottesville appear incongruous with the seemingly progressive city and university community. This begs the questions: Were these events unique in the history of Jewish Charlottesville? Do the hateful ideas have an American history to them? Are there direct connections to central Virginia?

Charlottesville mayor

Michael Signer.

(Wikimedia Commons.)

Charlottesville's Jewish history is a microcosm of the insider/outsider line that Jews in America navigate. When their numbers were too small to be a threat and when they accepted the norms of the region in which they lived, they were welcomed as insiders. This was largely the case in nineteenth-century Charlottesville. At the University of Virginia, however, a different set of values prevailed as the university's faculty adopted white supremacist values in support of the plantation elites from its earliest years, and Jews were tiny in number. By the late nineteenth century, as nativism and white supremacy intensified in the aftermath of Reconstruction, Jews in Charlottesville and at the university, like all Jews in America, lived in a world in which their whiteness was suspect. They became outsiders carefully evaluating their place and opportunity. Nonetheless, until August 2017, Charlottesville's Jews escaped the worst vitriol of white supremacy and antisemitism.

Town and Gown Take Shape

Albemarle County and Charlottesville are historically important because three presidents had close ties to the area. Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe established residences in Albemarle County—Monticello and Highland—and James Madison lived only thirty miles away at

Montpelier. The men were friends and consulted frequently about the nature of the nascent American government. The association with America's founding fathers and with the country's iconic documents—the Declaration of Independence and Constitution—make Charlottesville and Albemarle County central to American history.

Thomas Jefferson also wrote the provisions of the Virginia Assembly Bill No. 82 in 1779 that called for the complete disestablishment of religion from government. The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom did not become law until 1786, and it required the able negotiation of James Madison to get it passed in the assembly, but it enshrined the doctrine of separation of church and state, established the principle of freedom of conscience, and asserted that there would be no religious test for holding office.⁴⁸ These precepts were fundamental for Jews living in Virginia. They afforded legal protection for the practice of Judaism and encouraged religious toleration. Jefferson considered the passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom to be one of his crowning achievements, along with writing the Declaration of Independence and founding the University of Virginia. He recognized the importance of the bill because its universal protection extended to “the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mahometan, the Hindoo and infidel of every denomination.”⁴⁹ His commitment nurtured religious toleration in Charlottesville and made it a comfortable place for Jews to conduct business.

Jewish families resided in Charlottesville and surrounding Albemarle County from the colonial era. Their presence in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as far as is known, was in the single digits. Jews in Charlottesville owned land and were storekeepers in a tiny town that served large plantation owners in the surrounding county.⁵⁰ Family, religious, and economic ties linked them to Richmond, Virginia, where a Jewish congregation formed as early as 1789.⁵¹ One prominent merchant, David Isaacs, came to Charlottesville in the 1790s after first settling with other family members in Richmond.

Jefferson's strong belief that religion should be a matter of individual conscience and his interest in learning about non-Christian faiths led him to interact with several Jewish merchants in Charlottesville, both for the practical necessities required by his plantation and his reading interest. Jefferson had business dealings with Isaacs and other Jewish merchants

including Isaac Raphael and Raphael's brother-in-law, Joel Wolfe. In addition to selling Jefferson's overseer a ball of twine that was used to lay out the contours of the first University of Virginia buildings, Isaacs provided Jefferson with such basic provisions as meat, butter, cheese, wax, fish, hops, and even a horse. Perhaps more relevant, he obtained for Jefferson books and pamphlets on the Jewish faith.⁵²

David Isaacs's personal history sheds light on the place of Jews in the small town of Charlottesville, which at the time had fewer than three hundred residents. He and his common-law wife, Nancy West, a mulatto woman, occupied side-by-side houses on Main Street. Seven children were born to this union, and the children seem to have been schooled with white children. David Isaacs ran a successful dry goods store, and Nancy West sold cakes in addition to possessing substantial real estate holdings.⁵³ By 1850, she was the wealthiest nonwhite person in Albemarle County. The prominence of this mixed-race family was most unusual, and the acceptance of their relationship surprising for its day. Jews, like blacks, were clear minorities, and historian Joshua D. Rothman has suggested that this union may have evoked benign neglect and tolerance because of the "cultural marginality and social prejudice" experienced by both groups. But when West moved into Isaacs's dwelling around 1820 and started to run her bakery out of the building, that tolerance ended. The Albemarle County Court grand jury brought charges against the couple in 1822 for illicit sex. And yet, after five years in both the local and Richmond court systems, all charges were dismissed.⁵⁴

David Isaacs provides a fascinating glimpse into the place of Jewish merchants in Charlottesville. He associated with many people prominent in social, legal, and civic circles. At the same time, as a Jew, he would have been an outsider to the Christian community. His lifestyle choice—a forty-year relationship with Nancy West—would have made him more of an oddity. None of this seems to have affected his business dealings, including his relationship with Jefferson.

The University of Virginia, less than three miles away, developed as a separate entity from the town. It was Jefferson's dream to create an institution of higher learning divorced from religious pieties that would have a broad, secular, and liberal curriculum. The university opened its doors in 1824 based on these radical notions. It set a high bar for

*E. Sachse & Co., "View of the University of
Virginia, Charlottesville, and Monticello," 1856.
(Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.)*

academic freedom and tolerance. By 1820, however, Jefferson was increasingly concerned about sectional rivalries developing over slavery and the bitter debate over its territorial expansion that resulted in the Missouri Compromise. Jefferson believed it was critical to create an institution that would reinforce white southern values and foster principles of states' rights. The men of the next generation, educated at Jefferson's university, needed "to receive the holy charge" that would offset northern Federalist ideas.⁵⁵ It is no surprise, then, that the original students were largely the sons of the elite planter class of Virginia.

For the University of Virginia to compete with other leading institutions in America, an international faculty had to be recruited. The British Jew Joseph Sylvester was hired in 1841 to teach mathematics for a trial one-year period. (At the same time, the Polish Catholic Charles Kraitsir was offered a three-year appointment.) The appointment of a Jew to teach a non-Semitic subject was unprecedented at an American university, and his hiring spoke to the efforts of the university to employ the most highly qualified faculty.

However, tolerance did not extend to those who defied the racial or religious status quo. Sylvester was an outspoken abolitionist, had a bad temper, and did not look the part of English nobility. His Jewish background was highlighted as a moral problem by *The Watchman of the South*, the Richmond-based Presbyterian journal. The periodical's writers strongly objected to the hiring of "a Jew of London and . . . a Hungarian Papist" (Kraitsir), on the grounds that appointments needed to reflect the constituencies of the university—native-born Virginia Protestants. Sylvester was also determined to establish discipline among his rowdy students, who responded with violent and intimidating tactics. Sylvester resigned four months after his arrival and beat a hasty retreat to New York. Although the university administration was open to people of different faiths, the students rejected "foreigners," and the Presbyterian Church lashed out against those who were not Protestant.⁵⁶

The exact number of Jewish students who attended the university during the nineteenth century, although clearly few, is hard to determine unless they self-identified. One such student was Gratz Cohen of Savannah, who attended from 1862 to 1864 following his service in the Confederate army. As a southerner and a supporter of the Confederacy, Cohen was welcomed into the ranks of students and became president of the Jefferson Society, the university's oldest debate club. Yet he also complained of the antisemitic attitudes of the university's gentile students.⁵⁷

Gratz Cohen, c. 1865.
(Contributor Leon Edmund
Basile, www.findagrave.com.)

Charlottesville's Jewish Community Takes Root

By the time Cohen became a student at the university, circumstances in Charlottesville had changed as a new group of Jewish merchants arrived during the wave of immigration in the 1840s and 1850s. Those who would become most prominent emigrated from the German states, specifically Württemberg, Stuttgart, and Baden. These included the Letermans, Oberdorfers, and Kaufmans. Brothers Isaac and Simon Leterman came with their wives and raised ten children in Charlottesville. By 1852, they had established a retail business on Main Street. Moses Kaufman arrived

Simon and Hannah Baum Leterman, 1870s.
(Courtesy of Joan Nussbaum, Albemarle Charlottesville
Historical Society.)

at the age of eleven in 1858 as the ward of his Leterman uncles. He married Isaac Leterman's daughter, Hannah (his first cousin), and they raised twelve children. Bernard Oberdorfer arrived in New York in 1849 and migrated to Charlottesville some years later. He married twice and had ten children. These families established roots in Charlottesville, with some descendants remaining until the 1950s.⁵⁸

During the Civil War, a number of these prominent Charlottesville Jewish citizens, including Bernard Oberdorfer, Simon Leterman, and Samuel Aronhime, supported and fought for the Confederacy. Isaac Leterman

served in some limited way in the Confederate Army reserve.⁵⁹ At the University of Virginia, most students left to fight for the Confederacy, and the faculty dwindled in size. The university never closed entirely, but Charlottesville businesses—including those owned by Jews—would surely have been impacted during the war years by the decline in university-associated commerce.

As life returned to some degree of normalcy at the end of the Civil War, Charlottesville's Jews created the basic institutions needed to maintain religious practices and thereby established a viable Jewish community. In 1870 they formed the Hebrew Benevolent Society and purchased land for a burial ground. After years of meeting in peoples' homes or on an upper floor of Oberdorfer's department store, they decided to build a synagogue.⁶⁰ When the cornerstone for Congregation Beth Israel was laid in 1882, the local Masonic Lodge and the Third Regiment Band performed at the ceremony. The Christian community participated in the celebratory event, and the synagogue's president, D. H. Stern, thanked the non-Jewish community for its support. Jewish-Christian relations were cordial. One year later, the congregation hired Rabbi William Weinstein of Alabama to fill the pulpit. His tenure, according to congregation record books, ended in 1885.⁶¹

First and foremost, these Jewish families were merchants who ran the largest department stores in town. The Oberdorfer, Kaufman, and Leterman stores created the central shopping district of downtown Charlottesville. In 1898, the Leterman brothers combined their businesses to create the largest department store Charlottesville had ever seen. These founding Jewish families became pillars of the Charlottesville community and integrated well into the life of the city. Prominent and successful merchants, they won election to the town council and later the city council after Charlottesville became an independent city. They actively participated in civic groups like the Masons, Ladies' Aid Society, and the Temperance Society. Some, like Hannah Baum Leterman, were known for activism on behalf of the poor.⁶² By 1875, Simon Leterman served as a director of the Peoples National Bank. His son Moses Leterman helped found the Chamber of Commerce in 1888. When the first town council was elected, Moses Leterman was chosen among its members. When the first school board was created, Moses Kaufman became a member. He was so

*Postcard of Main Street, Charlottesville, c. 1900, with the Leterman
Company store, known as the "Big Store," on the left.
(Courtesy of Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.)*

beloved that when he died in 1898, schools closed for his funeral. Years later, his son Mortimer Kaufman also served on the school board.

The children of these commercial and civic leaders sought educational opportunities. In the 1890s, Archie and Leo Oberdorfer, the twin sons of Charlottesville merchant and Confederate soldier Bernard Oberdorfer, were day students at the University of Virginia, riding the new streetcar between home and university. Perhaps because they came from such an "insider" family, they found opportunity at the university. Leo was awarded the Orators Award from the Washington Society and went on to study medicine while Archie studied law.

Charlottesville's founding Jewish families were also involved in the cultural and entertainment life of the city, and their engagement extended well into the twentieth century. Sons of the Oberdorfers and Letermans worked with Jefferson Monroe Levy, the owner of Monticello from 1879 to 1923. Levy lived most of the year in New York, but he took an interest in Charlottesville's civic life. He purchased Charlottesville's deteriorating town hall in 1887 and turned it into the Levy Opera House. It became a

*TOP: P. B. Oberdorfer store, 1917. BOTTOM: Kaufman's Clothing store, 1915.
(Courtesy of Holsinger Studio Collection, University of
Virginia, Charlottesville.)*

*Oberdorfer family portrait, 1890s. Mathilde and Bernard Oberdorfer are in the center, grandsons Archie and Leo at the front.
(Courtesy of Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.)*

center for the arts in the region.⁶³ In 1896, Jacob Leterman, son of Simon and Hannah, opened the Jefferson Auditorium, which replaced the Levy Opera House as a center for the arts until Leterman's building was destroyed by fire in 1907. Expanding toward more popular entertainment, Leterman then opened a spectacular amusement park called Wonderland, where animals, motion pictures, and rides were featured. About 2,500 people attended its opening.⁶⁴ In 1922, Sol Kaufman provided the major financial support when the city municipal band was organized.⁶⁵

Charlottesville's Jews lived only a short distance from the capital of the Confederacy in Richmond. They were surrounded by the white supremacist philosophies that spawned Lost Cause nostalgia. Some

supported activities that glorified the Confederacy. In 1893, a monument to the Confederate war dead was unveiled at the University of Virginia at the site of a burial ground established during the war. A very large parade, led by members of General Robert E. Lee's staff, wound its way to the Confederate cemetery. The full front-page article in the *Daily Progress*, Charlottesville's local newspaper, cited the thanks of the Committee on Entertainment to "M[oses] Leterman, P[hilip] Leterman, N. Neuman . . . who rendered invaluable assistance to the committee."⁶⁶ The men mentioned were prominent Jewish merchants, active in the city's civic life. The Leterman brothers were also the sons of a Confederate soldier.

*Sol Kaufman, c. 1923, performing
with the Municipal Band of
Charlottesville.
(Courtesy of Albemarle
Charlottesville
Historical Society.)*

Typical of such communities throughout the South and country from the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth century, the Jews of Charlottesville were central to the economic, political, and cultural life of the city. These German Jewish merchants were people of distinction and means who took their place with other leaders. They were welcomed into the community for their talents, resources, and civic commitments. With

the exception of their religious practices, they appear to have integrated fully with their white, Christian neighbors. Evidently, no resistance or antisemitism hampered their business success.

Yet despite their integration on a local level, storm clouds in the nation would define Jews as outsiders. In 1902, the federal government offered the congregation ten thousand dollars for its property on Second and Market Streets. The ostensible reason was that the government needed that land for a larger post office. However, extensive tracts of land were still available in Charlottesville, raising questions about the primary motivations. The offer caused division in the community, but eventually the synagogue building was moved one block and reopened in 1904. The rededication was reported in detail in the *Daily Progress*—the same day that B. Oberdorfer and Sons took out a full-page ad announcing a dissolution sale.⁶⁷ Isaac Leterman and Bernard Oberdorfer, the original trustees of the Jewish cemetery and the synagogue, both died on July 5, 1905. The moving of the synagogue, the liquidation of the Oberdorfer store and the deaths of the original trustees mark the turn from nineteenth- to twentieth-century Charlottesville.

Twentieth-Century White Supremacy

Mostly insiders in the nineteenth century, the status of Jews changed significantly in the early decades of the twentieth. They had to be aware of the ways that white supremacists sought to terrorize those who did not belong. Throughout the first half of the century, Jews in America were tolerated—never fully white—and could find their status challenged by antisemitism at any point. In Charlottesville, as elsewhere, this coincided with an influx of immigrant families mostly of eastern European origin.

Increasing European immigration led to a national redefinition of whiteness. Those who arrived from eastern and southern Europe were viewed as less civilized, less prepared to become full citizens, and less white than those who had come earlier. With the founding of national groups like the Immigration Restriction League in 1893 to regional organizations like the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of Virginia in 1922 and the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and 1930s, Jews increasingly understood their precarious position as nonwhites in a racial hierarchy where Anglo-Saxons dominated.⁶⁸

Antisemitism, in its modern guise, adopted Darwinian scientific justifications from the late nineteenth century. Jews were implicated with other groups in diminishing and defiling the purity of Aryan blood through intermarriage and sexual relations.⁶⁹ The ultimate application of this odious theory came in the form of Germany's Nuremberg Laws in 1935 and associated Nazi policies, reaching their apex in the Holocaust.⁷⁰

Charlottesville's new arrivals were often more religious than their German Jewish forebears. The Newmans, Yuters, Shaperos, Rubins, Mopicks, Kobres, Michtoms, Levys, Hymans, and O'Manskys, among others, became well-known small storeowners. They served the Charlottesville community as tailors and with eateries, dry goods, and shoe stores. Less involved in the political and civic life of the city than their German predecessors, they kept to themselves socially either out of necessity or by choice.

As first-generation eastern European Jews with more traditional forms of worship settled in Charlottesville, some tensions developed. Many were not comfortable with the Classical Reform worship services at Congregation Beth Israel. No doubt Charlottesville's more assimilated Jews were also wary of worship styles that would further distinguish them from their Christian neighbors. Synagogue trustees, in order to protect a worship style that jettisoned *tallit* and *kippot* and adopted English as the exclusive language of prayer, affiliated with the Reform movement during the 1920s.⁷¹ More traditional Jews often held services elsewhere, frequently in a room above Harry O'Mansky's Young Men's Shop on Main Street. Nonetheless, they supported Congregation Beth Israel and the Hebrew Cemetery with their dues and time.

The Jewish population of Charlottesville has always been a tiny percentage of the total population of the city and surrounding Albemarle County. Ninety-one Jews are listed in 1905, but only fifty are accounted for in 1912.⁷² The numbers grew to 112 by 1927, dipped to 85 by 1937, and reached 140 by 1960.⁷³ By 2015, the population reached 1,500. During the entirety of the twentieth century, the Jews of Charlottesville never constituted more than 1 percent of the population.⁷⁴ With the number of Jews so small, it was difficult to sustain Jewish worship. Congregational records list only twelve contributing members in 1910 and only twenty-four by 1930.⁷⁵ These families had to create peace among themselves for Jewish institutions to survive.

These new immigrant families arrived in a southern city and region where race distinctions were being codified into law. Segregation, disenfranchisement, and miscegenation laws proliferated based on the assumption of inferior and superior races. As part of the white supremacist goal to disenfranchise African Americans, Virginians held a constitutional convention from 1901 to 1902 and rewrote their state constitution, instituting a poll tax that placed severe restrictions on voter eligibility. Two of Charlottesville's strongest voices arguing for the inequality and incapacity of "southern Negroes" were James Lindsay, the owner and editor of Charlottesville's *Daily Progress*, and Dr. Paul Barringer, the chairman of the faculty and superintendent of the hospital at the University of Virginia.⁷⁶ The Lost Cause and white supremacist values were alive and well in Charlottesville. African Americans bore the brunt of the race hatreds of the era, but Jews also had reason to fear.

In this worldview that defined people by race, Jews were often not defined as white. As fears of "invisible blackness" spread, Jews were stereotyped for their curly hair, facial features, and swarthy complexions. In 1910, Rev. Arthur Talmadge Abernethy, a North Carolinian, wrote *The Jew a Negro* with the aim of demonstrating the similarity between Jews and African Americans. He argued that ancient Jews thoroughly mixed with African peoples, leaving little difference between them in physical features, moral attributes, artistic tastes, and sexual control.⁷⁷ Although Jews would reject such comparisons, they too often adopted a language of race as a way to maintain their distinctiveness in American culture.⁷⁸

The American South, with its traditions of violence and narrow conformity to Protestant fundamentalism, was one of the most antisemitic regions in the country. The Leo Frank trial in Atlanta, in which a black man's testimony was believed over that of a Jew, and Frank's 1915 lynching struck terror in the Jews of the South. As Jews continued to be defined racially, it was never clear what violence might befall them.⁷⁹ Excluded from admission to America's finest universities, aware of the growing fascist ideologies in Europe and America, Jews were increasingly aware that their place in American society was at risk.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Charlottesville's Jews lived in the midst of a Lost Cause nostalgia and white supremacist resurgence that had begun in preceding decades. In 1909, a Confederate

monument was unveiled at the Albemarle Courthouse to a grand procession with eloquent speeches venerating Robert E. Lee and the Confederacy. In October 1921, the "Stonewall" Jackson statue was unveiled during a Confederate reunion. Five thousand people participated, listening to florid speeches glorifying the role of the Confederate soldier.⁸⁰

In a more ominous vein, a chapter of the Ku Klux Klan formed in Charlottesville in June 1921. Its arrival in the city was reported on the front page of the local newspaper, the *Daily Progress*: "Hundreds of Charlottesville's leading business and professional men met around the tomb of Jefferson at the midnight hour one night last week and sealed the pledge of chivalry and patriotism with the deepest crimson of red American blood."⁸¹ On July 19, 1921, the *Daily Progress* reported on notices from the

*Charlottesville Daily Progress, June 28,
1921, announcing the creation of a
local Ku Klux Klan organization.
(University of Virginia Library.)*

Klan that appeared on various bulletin boards in Charlottesville with both warnings and an invitation to join:

If you are a man, we respect you. If you are 100 per cent American, we want you. Only native-born white Americans who hold no allegiance to any government, sect, ruler, person or people that is foreign to the United States.

Do you believe in the tenets of the Christian Religion, Free Schools, Free Press, Law Enforcement, Liberty and White Supremacy? . . .

Drop a line to M. N. T., General Delivery, Charlottesville, Va.

State age, reference, religion, present employer, etc.⁸²

The Klan warned that it was watching, and that undesirables should leave town. Charlottesville's Jews, especially those who were not native-born, would have had to take notice and understand their potential risk.

The Klan reached an all-time membership peak of around four million in the United States in 1924—the year that many other Confederate memorials were dedicated including the one to Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville.⁸³ That dedication also coincided with a reunion of the United Confederate Veterans and Sons of Confederate Veterans. In the months and days surrounding the dedication of the Lee statue on May 21, 1924, the Klan was particularly active in Charlottesville.⁸⁴

A few miles away, at the University of Virginia, the philosophical and intellectual underpinnings of “scientific” race theory were developed and supported at the highest echelons. Its seeds at the university were planted in the nineteenth century with racist justifications for slavery and segregation. They became rooted during the twentieth century under the leadership of Paul Barringer. Edwin Alderman, who served as president of the university from 1905 to 1931, played a central role attracting faculty to the university and actively supported those in biology and medicine who embraced ideals of Anglo-Saxon superiority and race purity. Eugenics research found a very supportive home at the university. Anatomist Harvey Jordan (hired in 1907 and made dean of the school of medicine in 1939) and biologist Ivey Lewis (hired in 1915, dean of students from 1932, and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in 1946) trained generations of students in its principles and techniques for race purification.⁸⁵

In such an environment, hardly any Jewish students enrolled at the university. One exception was Edward N. Calisch, a Reform rabbi. He

accepted the pulpit of classically Reform Beth Ahabah in Richmond in 1891 and enrolled at the University of Virginia in 1901, commuting three days a week and earning his Ph.D. in 1908. He joined the Washington Literary Society and held charter membership in the Raven Society and Phi Beta Kappa.⁸⁶ The rabbi was acceptable because he blended into the landscape of the gentry.

Ivey Lewis kept detailed records for decades beginning in the 1920s tracking “Virginians, non-Virginians, and Hebrews” who applied as students.⁸⁷ He was alarmed by the growing numbers of Jewish students seeking entrance to the university, and by the 1920s claimed they had reached 8.5 percent.⁸⁸ His memos to the university’s presidents tracking the numbers of Jewish students from all states continued on an annual basis until at least 1940.⁸⁹ (The numbers have never risen much above 10 percent of student enrollment. In 2018, it is estimated that the Jewish student undergraduate population is only 6 percent of total enrollment.⁹⁰)

Lewis was a virulent antisemite, believing that Jews were inferior to “Nordic” whites. In a 1924 speech sponsored by the Anglo Saxon Clubs of America and delivered before University of Virginia students, Lewis argued that Jews were unassimilable and a threat to the American race. There were both “good” and “bad” Jews, but the “bad” represented the dominant trait.⁹¹ Lewis continued to support eugenics-based thinking long after it had been discredited internationally. Responding to a letter from a former student in 1948, Lewis wrote:

There is a lot of sap-headed thinking about it [race as it relates to heredity], mostly based on the silly notion that all men are brothers and therefore alike in their potentialities. Actually, there is no biological principle better established than that of inequality of races, and yet sociologists, especially the Jewish ones, are loud and effective in their denial of any racial differences, even saying there is no such thing as race. They deride and laugh to scorn such books as Madison Grant’s “Passing of the Great Race.”⁹²

Lewis remained a person of stature at the university until his retirement in 1953. He successfully limited the number of Jewish students admitted to the university and influenced the university’s policies of race segregation for decades.

During the 1920s, Virginia’s first Anglo-Saxon Club was created by University of Virginia alumnus and benefactor John Powell. Its purpose

*LEFT TO RIGHT: Paul Brandon Barringer, Edwin Alderman, and Ivey Foreman Lewis.
(Courtesy of the University of Virginia Visual History Collection, University
of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.)*

was “to preserve the purity of the white race and to maintain the qualities and purposes of the Anglo Saxon race.” Clubs such as this opposed immigration beyond northern Europe and supported antiscegenation laws. Their founders believed the organization to be the respectable alternative to the KKK.⁹³ Barringer and Lewis strongly admired them.⁹⁴

Powell collaborated closely with author Earnest Sevier Cox and state registrar Walter Plecker to pass the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 through the Virginia Assembly, endorsing the “one-drop” rule and enshrining antiscegenation laws that were not repealed until 1975.⁹⁵ These eugenics researchers also supported the sterilization of undesirable elements in the population. They wanted to protect the gene pool even if this meant involuntary sterilization. In 1927, in *Buck v. Bell*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Virginia statute allowing for eugenic sterilization. This law was not repealed until 1974.

In such an environment, Jewish student life at the university remained socially segregated. As the numbers of students began to rise, Jewish fraternities formed. Zeta Beta Tau and Phi Epsilon Pi, which catered to Jews of central European origin, were established in 1915, followed by Phi Alpha and Alpha Epsilon Pi in 1922 and 1924, catering to Jews of eastern European origin not typically welcomed in the earlier

Jewish fraternities.⁹⁶ Beginning in 1939, B'nai B'rith established a Hillel Foundation at the university to serve Jewish students, and the Hillel House was dedicated in 1945 at the end of World War II.⁹⁷

Jewish students had diverse experiences at the university. During the 1930s, Mortimer Caplin, a Jewish student from New York, joined a fraternity, fought on the boxing team, and presided over the Virginia Players, a theater group. He was also a member of the prestigious Raven Society. He felt no active discrimination and experienced numerous opportunities to excel. Caplin maintained a lifelong commitment to the university, becoming a generous donor and serving on the Board of Visitors. He also became a member of the law faculty in 1950.⁹⁸ The Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Karl Shapiro attended briefly from 1932 to 1933, supported by his uncle and successful Charlottesville businessman Harry O'Mansky. Shapiro wrote a scathing poem about his experiences, titled "University." He felt ostracized both by the elitist white students and those Jewish students of central European background. "To hurt the Negro and avoid the Jew" is the beginning line of his poem.⁹⁹ Apparently at the university, class divisions impacted religious demarcations.¹⁰⁰

The Jewish faculty could be counted on the fingers of one hand — no doubt because the values of Alderman, Lewis, Jordan, and many others in hiring positions favored whites, Protestants, and Anglo-Saxons. After Sylvester fled, no known Jewish faculty member was appointed until 1920, when Linwood Lehman joined the Latin department. Ben-Zion Linfield was appointed instructor of mathematics in 1919, left to pursue his Ph.D. at Harvard, and returned as a professor of mathematics in 1926. These were the only three known Jews on the faculty before the 1950s, when Marvin Rosenblum joined the mathematics department, Mortimer Caplin joined the law school, and Walter Heilbronner, a German émigré, joined the German department.¹⁰¹

The Modern Civil Rights Movement Comes to Charlottesville

In the South, the "long civil rights movement" that began in the late 1930s and continued well into the 1960s presented Jews with a dilemma.¹⁰² How would they respond to the growing demands of African Americans for basic rights as citizens? Would their concern for social justice and the sensitivity to prejudice based on race that Jews recognized all too well transcend their anxieties about their social standing, their business

dealings, and their place in the racial hierarchy? As the school desegregation crisis mounted, the forces of the conservative right stirred hatreds and fears of “mongrelization” of the races.¹⁰³ White Citizens’ Councils that formed to maintain segregation were also strongly antisemitic and targeted Jewish businesses for boycotts if they stepped out of line.¹⁰⁴ In the Cold War environment, communists and Zionists were lumped together as anti-American and as fomenters of destructive change to the racial status quo.¹⁰⁵

Jewish northerners who were active through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Anti-Defamation League (ADL), and other organizations drew attention to Jews everywhere. Their involvement with Freedom Rides and Freedom Summer specifically targeted southern communities. During the late 1950s into the 1960s, a rash of synagogue bombings took place.¹⁰⁶ Many southern Jews in particular grappled with their fears of race-based antisemitism and the need to conform to southern racial norms.¹⁰⁷ They often kept a low profile, attempting to influence opinion through their quiet voices, if at all.¹⁰⁸

At the same time, in the aftermath of World War II and the worldwide recognition of the genocidal evil of Hitler’s “final solution,” organized and overt antisemitism began to wane.¹⁰⁹ The generation of Jews that experienced the most ferocious hate saw much richer opportunity for their children. Nonetheless, the persistent and volatile activities of white supremacists spurred anxiety among Jews in communities where they were small in number and therefore more vulnerable.

In 1954, the Supreme Court handed down the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, ruling that separate schools for blacks and whites were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. The following year, the court established the “all deliberate speed” requirement for ending segregation. The ambiguity of the latter created time for segregationists to organize resistance movements and for integrationists to test the doctrine.

In 1955, Charlottesville African Americans Eugene and Lorraine Williams filed suit to compel the integration of the city’s schools.¹¹⁰ Eugene Williams headed the Charlottesville chapter of the NAACP, a local unit that won a national award from the organization for its membership drive that soared to 1,500 people. In response to this and many other efforts to move forward with integration, U.S. Senator Harry F.

Byrd, Sr., advocated a policy of massive resistance to block desegregation efforts.

Also in 1955, segregationist John Kasper, well known for his antisemitic views and associated with numerous far-right organizations including the National States' Rights Party, White Citizens' Council, and Ku Klux Klan, chose Charlottesville as the ideal place from which to attack school integration. He created a local chapter of his virulently racist organization, the Seaboard White Citizens' Council, attempting to intimidate black and white civil rights activists.¹¹¹ This existed in addition to the White Citizens' Council of Charlottesville and Albemarle County, which had an informal association with Kasper's group.¹¹² Both could have targeted businesses for boycott in the area, and Charlottesville's Jews knew to keep a low profile in the desegregation battles or face retaliation. In July 1956, federal district judge John Paul ordered the segregation of Charlottesville's schools to cease, effective September of that same year. The Commonwealth of Virginia sued to halt integration, and the Charlottesville chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties grew exponentially.¹¹³ Charlottesville was suddenly at the center of the desegregation struggle in Virginia.

*Students walking to the Venable School in
Charlottesville following desegregation, 1959.
(Photograph by Rip Payne, courtesy of the Albemarle
Charlottesville Historical Society.)*

The forces supporting massive resistance descended on Charlottesville to collect signatures on petitions to resist the integration order. Benjamin Muse, a prominent white liberal journalist writing for the *Washington Post*, reported that the petition seekers were jubilant about the number of signatures they collected in one July day in 1956. For the most part, it was not difficult to get people to sign, although one petition carrier reported that the mayor, Sol Weinberg, was one of a handful who refused to do so.¹¹⁴

Weinberg served as Charlottesville's mayor from 1954 to 1956. Born a Jew, he married a Southern Baptist, and the family joined Christ Episcopal Church. Although he did not worship as a Jew, he never converted to Christianity.¹¹⁵ He served on the Charlottesville City Council between 1952 and 1960 and was also on the school board. Weinberg was well-connected civically, with memberships in the Lions, Elks, Masons, Shriners, American Legion, and Keswick Country Club.¹¹⁶ A pharmacist, Weinberg owned and operated the Monticello Drug Company on Main Street downtown. He had become a Charlottesville insider, despite his Jewish-sounding name and Jewish ancestry.

Weinberg seems to have had no difficulty speaking up and speaking out for what he believed. When he decided not to run for reelection to the city council in 1960, he used the occasion to blast state senators Edward McCue and Harold Burrows, who were attempting to control local government from Richmond.¹¹⁷ His outspokenness at a time when others kept their heads down is impressive. Apparently, he was not targeted as a Jew.

Despite Judge Paul's ruling, resistance to integration continued. In 1958, Virginia became a leader in the massive resistance efforts against school integration. James Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond News Leader*, launched a major campaign calling for legal resistance through the "interposition" doctrine that claimed that a state had the right to impose its authority between its citizens and the national government.

In one editorial, "Anti-Semitism in the South," Kilpatrick suggested that the ADL was responsible for fanning the flames of antisemitism. He publicized that the Richmond office had sent "pro-integration" literature to an NAACP workshop in Charlottesville, inviting retaliation. His claim was that "Jewish agitators" through groups like the ADL were the force for integration efforts.¹¹⁸ This typical trope sent shock waves through the

Jewish community of Richmond, and the Jews in Charlottesville were well aware of Kilpatrick's attack.

In fact, the Richmond chapter of the ADL mostly focused narrowly on issues of antisemitism and steered clear of race issues. A young New Yorker, Murray Friedman, had been sent to Richmond to open an ADL office in 1954. He found the prominent and successful Jewish citizens who served on its board "acutely conscious of their relations with their neighbors and worried about antisemitism."¹¹⁹ Yet, despite their caution, they did occasionally take a stand on race issues. During the school crises, the Richmond chapter of the ADL filed an *amicus curiae* brief before the U.S. Supreme Court in support of school integration. And during summers, in partnership with the local office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, they sponsored an all-day Youth Seminar on Human Relations which brought together black and white high school seniors. It was these activities that caused alarm among segregationists. Articles attacking the role of the ADL appeared in numerous papers.¹²⁰

Richmond's ADL board pulled back in the wake of the negative publicity. It canceled sponsorship of the Youth Seminar against Friedman's objections and agreed to refrain from activities that dealt with the integration-segregation question. Richmond's Jews would not risk more antisemitic notoriety during such racially charged times. Apparently Friedman recognized the misfit between him and his board and left Richmond in 1958.¹²¹

Charlottesville's Jews were not on the front lines in the legal and political struggles to integrate the city. With both the White Citizens' Council and the Seaboard White Citizens' Council in Charlottesville, Jewish and Christian merchants knew that their businesses could be targeted. On rare occasions, individual Jews assumed leadership positions in support of the needs of children or improved community relations. School integration continued to constitute a major problem. When some African American parents brought their children to white schools to register them on September 22, 1958, Governor Lindsay Almond ordered schools to close, and they remained closed until January 23, 1959. In the interim, a group called "The Ten Mothers" opened their homes to families and provided sustained education in their basements and living rooms. One of the cofounders was Ruth Caplin, a Jewish woman married to the eminent law professor at the university, Mortimer Caplin.¹²²

The Charlottesville–Albemarle chapter of the Virginia Council of Human Relations, formed in 1956, worked to foster improved race relations in the area. Regular leaders included university faculty. Efforts were made to reach out to clergy, including the Hillel rabbi. Not until 1968 and 1969 did a Jew preside over the council – Francesca Langbaum, an Italian Jewish immigrant married to English professor Robert Langbaum.¹²³

In other southern communities, rabbis were present who spoke on behalf of local Jews, but Charlottesville’s synagogue did not have a rabbi. Jews in the city mostly kept silent. One long-term Jewish resident commented: “The Jewish community . . . in the late fifties was very small and we did not have a Rabbi or spokesperson, integration was controversial, and standing up carried a risk in a community where being Jewish already carried a risk.”¹²⁴

Such risks were real. A rash of cross-burnings by the Klan and Seaboard White Citizens’ Council began in 1956 and continued into the 1960s. Some members of the Council on Human Relations and others like Sarah Patton Boyle who wrote about the benefits of integration were targeted, along with the Westminster Presbyterian Church that hosted a meeting of the Human Relations Council.¹²⁵ In 1960, a rash of antisemitic vandalism occurred. Swastikas were painted on the wall of the synagogue, on the Hillel House, and on the exterior wall of Jewish podiatrist Sam Ruday’s house.¹²⁶ At the same time, intruders entered St. Paul’s Memorial Episcopal Church and badly defaced the interior with Nazi symbols. The slogan “Jews go home” appeared on a university building.¹²⁷ These incidents were reported in the press well beyond Virginia.

The reaction in Charlottesville was swift. The city council passed an ordinance making it a crime to deface religious institutions or other property.¹²⁸ In an era in which synagogues and Jewish community centers were bombed in Nashville, Tennessee; Jackson, Mississippi; and Atlanta, Georgia, among other locations, the incidents that occurred in Charlottesville seemed relatively minor. Charlottesville’s Jews certainly knew that they were targeted as agitators and outsiders by national racist hate groups. But they also knew that the city’s leaders would act to protect their property.

At the University of Virginia, integration made scant progress. Colgate Darden, the university’s president between 1946 and 1959, supported the continued segregation of primary schools but understood that

Charlottesville Daily Progress,
January 11, 1960.
(University of Virginia
Library.)

segregation could not be sustained at the university level. In the 1950s, African American students were admitted for advanced degrees in law, education, and medicine. But progress was slow, and aggressive recruitment to integrate the student body did not occur until 1970. That year, black student numbers climbed to 117, or 1.8 percent of total undergraduate enrollments.¹²⁹

For Jewish students and faculty, the situation was different. The University of Virginia tripled in size from 1960 to 1975. The university's president from 1959 to 1974, Edgar Shannon, eagerly recruited a national faculty. The number of faculty more than doubled between 1966 and 1976, from 700 to 1500, and total student enrollment went from about five thousand in 1960 to close to twenty thousand by 1975. No records were kept on precise numbers of Jewish faculty and students, but Jewish academics now competed successfully for positions. More known Jewish faculty were at the university, and Jewish life in Charlottesville became more robust.¹³⁰ By 2018, Jews served as provost, deans, faculty chairs, heads of medical divisions, and in other administrative leadership positions.

Changes at the university greatly impacted the local Jewish community. Between the 1970s and 2018, Charlottesville Jews experienced growth in numbers as well as diversity of programs and worship experiences. Few individuals affiliated with the Jewish community in the city believe that

their religious identity circumscribes their opportunities. The Jewish community flourished.

By the mid 1970s, Congregation Beth Israel boasted close to one hundred Jewish families. The lay-led, all-volunteer congregation desperately needed clerical leadership. Members had relied on the part-time services of the rabbis at the University of Virginia's Hillel and on visiting rabbinical students from Hebrew Union College hired for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services. In 1979, the congregation hired Sheldon Ezring as its first full-time rabbi in almost a century.¹³¹ He remained only two years, however, believing that Charlottesville's Jews were not ready for strong communal leadership.¹³² In 1982, Rabbi Bernard Honan replaced him, serving the congregation for five years.

Since the late 1980s, Charlottesville's Jewish groups have grown exponentially. In 1988, Daniel Alexander was hired as rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel and remained in that position for twenty-seven years. He became deeply involved with other local clergy, helped form numerous social justice initiatives to combat hunger and homelessness, and became a respected community voice. Synagogue membership grew to close to four hundred families. In the early 1990s, the *havurah* P'nei Yisrael formed. In 2018, it serves close to sixty people. The university Hillel is vitally active, and a highly regarded Jewish preschool that enrolls close to fifty children has existed for twenty years. In 2001, a Chabad House opened that serves students and community members. Diverse Jewish groups have found places of sanctuary, comfort, and enrichment. In the broader community, Jews have been elected to the city council (as is the case with mayor Michael Signer), school board, and numerous civic organizations. By 2000, the Jewish population of Charlottesville had grown to 1,500.¹³³

The atmosphere for Jews in Charlottesville throughout its history was no worse—and probably somewhat better—than many other places in the country. Jewish families were rarely targets of direct antisemitic attacks. Nonetheless, they could not help be aware of their precarious acceptance. The white supremacy and nativist dictates associated with the Lost Cause movement, the Klan, the Seaboard White Citizens' Council, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, and numerous other organizations meant that Jews needed to be wary of where they fit on the race spectrum.

Most felt that they needed to exercise caution in speaking out about rampant discrimination lest they become the next target. Even with the dramatic numerical increases in the twenty-first century, Jews in the Charlottesville–Albemarle region represent less than 1 percent of the population.¹³⁴

Conclusion

The Unite the Right rallies that shook Charlottesville to its core should not be surprising. Racism, antisemitism, and white supremacy co-exist and cannot be disassociated. The long history of white supremacy that African Americans, Native Americans, immigrants, and Jews have endured was eventually discredited by mainstream Americans who sought to promote tolerance and appreciation for racial diversity and religious pluralism. Yet these divergent mentalities ebb and flow in our nation's history. America's leaders can sanction either set of values, as can those who feel empowered or unrepresented. We live in a time when permission to hate has been given free rein.

In Charlottesville, the leaders of the Unite the Right rallies aligned themselves against the progressive values of the city they knew well. They embraced the neo-Nazi, white supremacist forces that support the Trump administration in Washington, D.C. Charlottesville became a catalyst for a number of reasons. Its organizers knew the city as home to the University of Virginia, which they had both attended. While the university in its earlier years embraced much of the white supremacist ideology they spout, it also is now seen by right-wing organizers as a hotbed of liberal thought, home to "cultural Marxists" and "outsiders." Moreover, Charlottesville has an important connection through Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe to American nationhood—a concept that white nationalists find symbolically significant. They also knew—not least because of the July Klan event—that the local community would react strongly. As a result, violence would be more likely to occur, news coverage would follow, and they could claim victimhood. On an ad hominem level, the constellation of events relating to Confederate statues lined up with an opportunity to attack two new members of the city council—its black vice-mayor and its Jewish mayor. The racism and antisemitism could provoke even more reaction because of these personal targets.

(DailyStormer.com, via HuffingtonPost, August 16, 2017.)

During the civil rights era, right-wing, racist, antisemitic groups also felt justified in spewing hatred and violence. Benjamin Muse, a moderate Virginia senator turned newspaper columnist, became an outspoken critic of the massive resistance movement in the state. Writing about the campaign in Charlottesville to obtain signatures to maintain a segregated society and calling the activities there a “racial test-tube,” Muse pondered why Charlottesville had been singled out for the petition campaign. In 1956, he wrote:

The city has an estimated population of 29,500, 18.2 per cent of which is Negro. It is no town of "red necks." With its large and fairly cosmopolitan leisured element, Charlottesville is a blue stocking district. Race relations there have been good. . . .

Why did they pick out Charlottesville? I asked the question of some of the defiance group. "Obvious," was one reply. "Charlottesville, home of Thomas Jefferson—Monticello—University of Virginia—two former Governors—"—"And Sarah Patton Boyle," chimed in another—"and Francis Pickens Miller—intellectuals and all."¹³⁵

The very factors that defined Charlottesville in the 1950s also existed in 2017 and infuriated the alt-right. Its ties to American founders, its refinement and somewhat gentrified lifestyle, its intellectual overlay as a university town, and the knowledge that there were people who would resist made Charlottesville an attractive target.

Postscript

Charlottesville in 2018 has been disrupted by the hatred and vitriol that shook the city, and its citizens are still grappling with the fallout and the reality that this could happen again. As of August 2018 the statues remain in place, and an injunction stands against their removal. Petitions and court hearings continue to occur. The organizers plan a rally in Washington, D.C., to mark the anniversary of the Charlottesville confrontation.

For Jews in Charlottesville, a double message reverberates. First, be aware, proactive, and protective. All Jewish organizations in America are aware of the huge increase of antisemitic assaults and vandalism since the Trump administration came to office. In 2015, the ADL reported a 3 percent increase over the previous year; in 2016, the increase was 34 percent; and in 2017, the number of incidents had risen by 60 percent. During the latter year, the ADL recorded 1,015 incidents of harassment, including 163 bomb threats and 952 incidents of vandalism.¹³⁶

In Charlottesville, Jews feel increased vulnerability. The leadership of the centrally located Congregation Beth Israel had already begun to take steps to increase its security before the rally occurred. Meetings have been held with police, the FBI, and the Department of Homeland Security to assess the safety of the building. Congregants have been issued entry codes to the building, and the doors now remain locked at all times including during services, with only one door of access where an usher is

present at all times. Other security upgrades are in process. Since the rallies of August 2017, a full-time security guard has been hired who is present seven days a week. The building is abuzz with activity most days. The security guard offers peace of mind to the parents of preschool children who occupy the building daily and to congregants who worship and participate in programs within. While some congregants question this need, for the present the additional security brings comfort and reassurance.

At the Chabad House, similar precautions have been taken. Meetings have occurred with Homeland Security officials, the FBI, and university and city police. A guard has been hired for times of high access to the building.¹³⁷ The Brody Jewish Center at the University of Virginia serves about 70 percent of approximately 1,500 Jewish undergraduate and graduate students on campus. With the numbers of Jewish students small, the center becomes a place of comfort and sanctuary for those who seek it. In the aftermath of August 2017, security was enhanced through upgrades to the building and attention to access. A security guard is now present on every occasion when large groups gather. The professional staff has paid particular attention to student anxieties. Programming reflects the need to come to terms with how antisemitism fits within the narrative of white supremacy and racism. Students appreciate the focus on learning to talk about antisemitism and helping to educate others about their own feelings. The events of August 2017 loom large on the Grounds of the University of Virginia.¹³⁸

Being aware also means being engaged. Both the city and university have responded to the hatred unleashed in August 2017 with ongoing focus on issues of racial justice. The Charlottesville Collective Clergy, providing leadership on August 11–12, is now engaged in reaching out beyond congregational boundaries as a biracial interfaith group that fosters greater understanding among people from different backgrounds. At least thirty people meet regularly to work on personal understanding, address systemic issues of racial injustice in the city, and constitute a religious and moral voice for healing. A subset of younger clergy has created a group called Congregate Charlottesville that participates with more activist groups like Standing up for Racial Justice and Black Lives Matter. Congregate Charlottesville's goal is to share information quickly about developing events in the community, to "bear public witness to (in)justice,

and educate faith communities on issues of justice and liberation.” Although there is a sensitivity to antisemitism and an awareness that Jews are menaced by neo-Nazis who continue to show up in Charlottesville, the larger focus is on black/white issues that historically and currently create systemic injustice.¹³⁹ Rabbis Gutherz and Schmelkin of Congregation Beth Israel are active participants in these groups.

The second message recognizes the kindnesses of strangers and neighbors. Perhaps the major difference between the present moment and the past environment is that total strangers, outraged by the actions of those who targeted Jews, engendered fear, and staked out Congregation Beth Israel, one block from the events and thus most vulnerable of the Jewish institutions, put their lives on the line. CBI’s president Alan Zimmerman was joined on the steps of the synagogue on August 11–12 by a thirty-year Navy veteran, John Aguilar, who stood next to the hired armed guard. Aguilar simply felt he should be there. An elderly Roman Catholic woman also stood on the steps of the sanctuary, crying at what she witnessed. Others came by to ask if the members wanted them to stand by and help protect the synagogue. The CCC proposed that its members would surround the building as well. While their offer was not accepted for fear of drawing even greater attention to the site, CCC members kept the local rabbis in their vision and whisked them indoors as necessary. Antifa and other counterprotesters also put their bodies on the line to get between members of the Clergy Collective and the mob of Nazi alt-righters.¹⁴⁰

Shortly after the Unite the Right rallies, the Jewish holidays of Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, and Simchat Torah were celebrated. On Sukkot, in October, people gathered in the courtyard of the synagogue to pray in the sukkah. This coincided with yet another white supremacist, neo-Nazi rally at Lee Park with renewed chants of “You Will Not Replace Us.” Charlottesville clergy members, realizing the danger, arrived with community activists including people of color, stood guard to protect the sukkah, and walked Jewish congregants back to their cars.¹⁴¹

The response of love has been worldwide. Congregation Beth Israel has received extensive contributions from over a thousand donors from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom representing Jewish organizations, non-Jewish houses of worship, and individuals. In addition to the financial outpouring of support are the two large boxes that have

been collected of letters, notes, cards, children's drawings, poems, banners, teddy bears, and hats designed by middle school children. Many come with the message "We stand with you."¹⁴²

Those Jews who experienced genocidal antisemitism during the Holocaust or who witnessed it in their countries of origin recognize the ugly potential of the events of August 11–12. Chabad rabbi Shlomo Mayer commented a few days later: "Ironically, this whole situation feels like home. Communists and antisemites were staples of life growing up in Bucharest,

*Rabbi Shlomo Mayer of Charlottesville's
Rohr Chabad House. (Courtesy of Shlomo Mayer.)*

Romania. Constantly peering out our window to see who was there. Not sure who to hope for."¹⁴³ Similarly, Henry Abraham expressed shock that he would witness this twice in his lifetime. Nonetheless, both men recognize differences. Abraham commented that his Christian friends reached out in ways that were unfathomable in Nazi Germany.¹⁴⁴ Mayer observed:

I was gifted this land. I ♥ America. No, I really mean that—I. LOVE. America. I feel so free here. Free to raise my family without fear. Free to live a proud Jewish life and teach others to do that also. And even if there's people out there with baseless hatred against me, this is nothing

new. Not to me or the Jewish people. Same story. Goodness is all around us here in Charlottesville. So much love has poured in. Like nothing we ever saw in Eastern Europe.¹⁴⁵

The Jews of Charlottesville do not feel alone, and most do not feel personally threatened. Yet there remains an uncertainty—an angst—about where the country is headed, when the next eruption of hate will take place, and what its consequences will be.

NOTES

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⁴ Samantha Baars, “Rally to remove Robert E. Lee statue brings flagwavers,” *C-ville* (Charlottesville), March 22, 2016.

⁵ Jacey Fortin, “The Statue at the Center of Charlottesville’s Storm,” *New York Times*; Chris Suarez, “Movement afoot to remove Lee statue in Charlottesville,” *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville), March 21, 2016; Katie Watson, “Robert E. Lee statue comes under fire,” *Cavalier Daily* (Charlottesville), March 23, 2016. Szakos claims that her home address and phone number were posted on Aryan Nation websites all over the country and that she received death threats as a result.

⁶ Jasmin Caldwell, “Charlottesville student petitions to have Robert E. Lee statue removed,” *CBS19 News*, March 21, 2016, accessed January 6, 2018, <http://www.newsplex.com/home/headlines/Charlottesville-student-petitions-to-have-Robert-E-Lee-Statue-Removed-373002931.html>.

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹ Lisa Provence, “Council chaos: Audience erupts over Confederate statue vote,” *C-ville*, January 24, 2017.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ “Mike’s ‘Capital of the Resistance’ Speech,” Councilor Mike Signer website, January 31, 2017, accessed January 17, 2018, <http://www.mikesigner.com/news-events/2017/1/31/mikes-capital-of-the-resistance-speech>.

¹⁴ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 7–8.

¹⁵ The Virginia Division, Sons of Confederate Veterans filed the lawsuit alleging that the removal of the statues violated state law protecting war memorials.

¹⁶ In October 2017, the judge extended the injunction without providing an end date.

¹⁷ Jason Kessler, “Anti-White Charlottesville Vice-Mayor Wes Bellamy attacks Whites, Women, Blacks Who Talk White,” November 24, 2016, accessed January 17, 2018, <https://jasonkessler.us/tag/wes-bellamy/>.

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¹⁹ Graham Moomaw, “In Charlottesville, GOP candidate for governor Corey Stewart allies with alt-right-inspired blogger who wants to protect ‘glorious Western civilization,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 16, 2017.

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²⁶ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Richard Bertrand Spencer."

²⁷ Sarah Posner, "How Donald Trump's New Campaign Chief Created an Online Haven for White Nationalists," *Mother Jones*, August 22, 2016.

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³¹ Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 81-82.

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⁴⁰ "Charlottesville Jewish community hired security ahead of rally," *The Times of Israel*, August 14, 2017, accessed February 9, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/charlottesville-jewish-community-hired-security-ahead-of-rally/>.

⁴¹ Alan Zimmerman, "In Charlottesville, the Local Jewish Community Presses On," *Reform Judaism*, August 14, 2017, accessed February 9, 2018, <https://reformjudaism.org/blog/2017/08/14/charlottesville-local-jewish-community-presses>.

⁴² Dahlia Lithwick, "Drowning Out the Hate," *Slate Magazine*, August 17, 2017, accessed February 9, 2018, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/08/how_the_local_rabbi_deals_when_the_neo_nazis_come_to_town.html.

⁴³ Daniel J. Solomon, "Charlottesville's Rabbi: I Saw 'The Hate Walking by,'" *Forward*, August 14, 2017.

⁴⁴ Henry Abraham, interview conducted by Phyllis Leffler, February 1, 2018. Abraham taught government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia from 1972 until his retirement in 1997. At the time of the events in Charlottesville, he was ninety-six years old.

⁴⁵ Latifa Kropf, cofounder of P'nai Yisrael *havurah*, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, March 1, 2018. For more information on this *havurah*, see P'nai Yisrael Chavurah, accessed February 9, 2018, <http://pnaiyisrael.org/>.

⁴⁶ Dan Merica, "Trump condemns 'hatred, bigotry and violence on many sides' in Charlottesville," *CNN Politics*, August 13, 2017, accessed February 9, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/12/politics/trump-statement-alt-right-protests/index.html>.

⁴⁷ "Transcript: Charlottesville Mayor Michael Signer on 'Face the Nation,'" August 13, 2017, accessed February 9, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-charlottesville-mayor-michael-signer-on-face-the-nation-aug-13-2017/>.

⁴⁸ Constitutional Rights Foundation, "The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom: The Road to the First Amendment," *Bill of Rights in Action* 26 (Fall 2010), accessed March 9, 2018, <http://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/bria-26-1-the-virginia-statute-for-religious-freedom.html>; Frederic Cople Jaher, *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Anti-Semitism in America* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 123–24.

⁴⁹ "Extract from Thomas Jefferson's Draft Autobiography," February 6, 1821, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, accessed February 12, 2018, <http://tjrs.monticello.org/letter/1399>. See also Charles B. Sanford, *The Religious Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, 1984), 28.

⁵⁰ The Virginia General Assembly established the county in 1744. Charlottesville became a town within the county in 1762 and was incorporated as a city in 1888.

⁵¹ Its founders were Jacob Cohen and Isaiah Issacs, brother to David Isaacs of Charlottesville. See "Richmond," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed March 10, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/richmond>.

⁵² "David Isaacs to Thomas Jefferson, 5 September 1816," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed February 19, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-10-02-0254>; "David Isaacs to Thomas Jefferson, 1 February 1818," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed February 19, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-12-02-0340>. For general correspondence between Isaacs and Jefferson, see Founders Online, National Archives, accessed February 19, 2018, [https://founders.archives.gov/search/Correspondent:"Isaacs,David" Correspondent:"Jefferson,Thomas"](https://founders.archives.gov/search/Correspondent%3A%22Isaacs%2C%20David%22%20Correspondent%3A%22Jefferson%2C%20Thomas%22). For entries in Jefferson's memorandum books, see Founders Online, National Archives, accessed February 19, 2018, <https://founders.archives.gov/index.xqy?q=Isaac+Raphael&s=1111211111&sa=&r=1&sr>. See also Louis Ginsberg, *Chapters*

on the Jews of Virginia, 1658–1900 (Richmond, 1969), 61–62; John Hammond Moore, *Albemarle: Jefferson's County, 1727–1976* (Charlottesville, 1976), 99–100.

⁵³ James Alexander, *Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James Alexander, 1828–1874*, ed. Mary Rawlings, rev. ed. Velora Carver Thomson (Charlottesville, 1963 [1942]), 77, 84.

⁵⁴ Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families Across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861* (Chapel Hill, 2003), 61, 58.

⁵⁵ Thomas Jefferson to Gen. James Breckinridge, February 15, 1821, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York, 1984), 1452.

⁵⁶ Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York, 1994), 176; Karen Hunger Parshall, *James Joseph Sylvester: Jewish Mathematician in a Victorian World* (Baltimore, 2006), 68–76; Lewis S. Feuer, “America’s First Jewish Professor: James Joseph Sylvester at the University of Virginia,” *American Jewish Archives* 36 (1984): 151–201; Minutes of the Board of Visitors, 1841–42, Harrison Institute and Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville (hereafter cited as Small Special Collections Library).

⁵⁷ University of Virginia students’ letters and diary, 1860–69, Accession #8209, Small Special Collections Library.

⁵⁸ Carol Ely, Jeffrey L. Hantman, and Phyllis K. Leffler, *To Seek the Peace of the City: Jewish Life in Charlottesville* (Charlottesville, 1994), 9–11; Louis F. Oberdorfer, interview conducted by Susan Low Bloch, 1992, 79, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit, accessed March 10, 2018, http://dchchs.org/LouisFOberdorfer/LouisFOberdorfer_Complete.pdf.

⁵⁹ Kent Schlusell, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, July 27, 2018; Gary Gallagher, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, July 29, 2018.

⁶⁰ Nancy E. Willner, “A Brief History of the Jewish Community in Charlottesville and Albemarle,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History* (1983): 12.

⁶¹ Little is known about D. H. Stern. He moved to Philadelphia a few years later, but often returned to Charlottesville during summers. See *Jeffersonian Republican* 13 (July 15, 1885): 3; Willner, “A Brief History,” 12; Congregation Beth Israel Record Book, MS. 11604, Small Special Collections Library.

⁶² Willner, “A Brief History,” 9.

⁶³ After Jefferson died in 1826, his home at Monticello fell into disrepair. Uriah P. Levy, a commodore in the U.S. Navy and Sephardic Jew, purchased the property and initiated major repairs. At his death in 1862, his will could not be executed because of the Civil War. In 1879, his nephew Jefferson Monroe Levy, a U.S. congressman from New York, became owner. He participated somewhat in the life of the surrounding community, inviting people every July 4 for fireworks. Marc Leepson, *Saving Monticello: The Levy Family's Epic Quest to Rescue the House that Jefferson Built* (Charlottesville, 2003); Melvin I. Urofsky, “The Levy Family and Monticello,” *Virginia Quarterly Review* (June 1, 2002): 401–407.

⁶⁴ “Construction at Wonderland,” *Daily Progress*, April 20, 1907; “Activity at Wonderland,” *Daily Progress*, May 4, 1907; “Wonderland Nears Completion,” *Daily Progress*, June 12, 1907; “Wonderland Now Opened to Public,” *Daily Progress*, June 25, 1907.

⁶⁵ Ely, Hantman, and Leffler, *To Seek the Peace*, 17–19. The band played at most civic events, including those that dedicated Confederate monuments in Charlottesville.

⁶⁶ "Unveiled: Monument to the Confederate War Dead," *Daily Progress*, June 8, 1893. Moses and Philip Leterman were sons of Simon and Hannah Leterman.

⁶⁷ Albemarle County, Virginia, Deed Book, 65: 599, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville; "New Synagogue Dedicated," *Daily Progress*, February 10, 1904; "B. Oberdorfer & Sons Dissolution Sale," *Daily Progress*, February 10, 1904.

⁶⁸ See Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.

⁶⁹ Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Jews and the Nation: Revolution, Emancipation, State Formation and the Liberal Paradigm in America and France* (Princeton, 2002), 225; Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 58–61; "Antisemitism in History: Racial Antisemitism, 1875–1945," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, accessed March 2, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007171>.

⁷⁰ James Q. Whitman argues that Jim Crow laws were the model for Hitler's Nuremberg laws in *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law* (Princeton, 2017).

⁷¹ Most similar congregations of the era began as traditional and only gradually moved to Classical Reform during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Such congregations also typically affiliated with the Reform movement earlier than the 1920s. Yet ascertaining such information for Beth Israel remains elusive. Ely, Hantman, and Leffler, *To Seek the Peace*, 24–27; "Charlottesville, Virginia," *Encyclopedia of Southern Jewish Communities*, accessed March 13, 2018, <http://www.isjl.org/virginia-charlottesville-encyclopedia.html>. For patterns in the South, see Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 180–81.

⁷² *American Jewish Year Book* 16 (1914–15), 352, 377.

⁷³ *American Jewish Year Book* 30 (1927–28), 195; *American Jewish Year Book* 64 (1963), 74.

⁷⁴ For population data on Charlottesville and Albemarle County, see "Population of Virginia—1960," accessed May 24, 2018, www.virginiaplaces.org/population/pop1960numbers.html; World Population Review, "Charlottesville, Virginia: Population 2018," accessed May 24, 2018, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/charlottesville-population/>; Population.US, "Population of Albemarle County," accessed May 24, 2018, <http://population.us/county/va/albemarle-county/>; U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts: Albemarle County, Virginia," accessed May 24, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/albemarlecountyvirginia/PST045216>.

⁷⁵ "Charlottesville, Virginia," *Encyclopedia of Southern Jewish Communities*.

⁷⁶ On views of Lindsay, see "Division of School Funds," *Daily Progress*, June 20, 1901, and "Franchise Comes First," *Daily Progress*, July 3, 1901; for Barringer, see "The Future of the Negro," *Daily Progress*, February 22, 1900, and "Another Negro Hater: Dr. Barringer of the University of Virginia Goes Negro Mad," *Colored American*, March 3, 1900.

⁷⁷ Leonard Rogoff, "Is the Jew White?," in *Dixie Diaspora: An Anthology of Southern Jewish History*, ed. Mark K. Bauman (Tuscaloosa, 2006), 390, 394–95; 402–4; Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton, 2006), 43–44. Abernethy was a highly valued author, named by Franklin D. Roosevelt an "American Ambassador of Sunshine" in 1938, and honored by Governor R. Gregg Cherry as the first Poet Laureate of North Carolina for 1948 to 1953. Although *The Jew a Negro* did not find an extensive audience, the

pseudoscientific debate made it clear that the Jew's racial identity was and would continue to be contested.

⁷⁸ Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness*, 19–22.

⁷⁹ Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 95–96, 176–79.

⁸⁰ “Monument is Unveiled Today,” *Daily Progress*, May 5, 1909; “Jackson Statue is Unveiled,” *Daily Progress*, October 19, 1921.

⁸¹ “Ku Klux Klan organized here,” *Daily Progress*, June 28, 1921.

⁸² “Ku Klux Klan Issues ‘Warning,’” *Daily Progress*, July 19, 1921.

⁸³ Adam Hochschild, “Ku Klux Klambakes,” *New York Review of Books*, December 7, 2017.

Both Jackson Park and Lee Park, with their statues to Confederate war heroes, were the gifts of Paul Goodloe McIntire. McIntire was born in Charlottesville in 1860, attended the university for one session, and then left to earn his fortune on Wall Street. He gave generously to the City Beautiful and Lost Cause movements, as well as to the University of Virginia.

⁸⁴ “Klan Speaker Here Last Night,” *Daily Progress*, April 26, 1924; “Cross Burned on Patterson’s Mountain,” *Daily Progress*, May 17, 1924; “Klan Parade Drew Big Crowd,” *Daily Progress*, May 19, 1924.

⁸⁵ Gregory Michael Dorr, *Segregation’s Science: Eugenics and Society in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 2008), 53–69, 71–93, 170–74.

⁸⁶ *All the Hoos in Hooville: 175 Years of Life at The University of Virginia*, online exhibit, accessed May 14, 2018, <https://explore.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/show/hoos/breaking-traditions/edward-nathaniel-calisch>.

⁸⁷ Report of the Dean of the College, in Annual Report to the President, 1926–1927, Small Special Collections Library. For other studies on quota systems for Jewish students at universities, see Marcia Graham Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900–1970* (Westport, CT, 1979), 32, 44–47, 138; Marcia Graham Synnott, *Student Diversity at the Big Three: Changes at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Since the 1920s* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2013); Dan A. Oren, *Joining the Club: A History of Jews and Yale* (New Haven, 1985).

⁸⁸ Report of the Dean of the College.

⁸⁹ Ivey Lewis memo to John Lloyd Newcomb, January 31, 1939, box 5, President’s Papers, subseries RG-2/1/2.491, Small Special Collections Library.

⁹⁰ Hillel International College Guide, “University of Virginia,” accessed May 14, 2018, <http://www.hillel.org/college-guide/list/record/university-of-virginia>.

⁹¹ Dorr, *Segregation’s Science*, 174–75.

⁹² Ivey Lewis to John D. Martin, Jr., January 16, 1948, folder “M,” box 7, Ivey Lewis Papers, Small Special Collections Library. See also Gregory Dorr, “Segregation’s Science: The American Eugenics Movement and Virginia, 1900–1980,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2000), 235 n. 66.

⁹³ J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 5, 76–81; *All the Hoos in Hooville*, accessed May 4, 2018, <https://explore.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/show/hoos/famous--infamous-and-fictitious/john-powell>.

⁹⁴ Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*, 82.

⁹⁵ Brendan Wolfe, "Racial Integrity Laws," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed March 3, 2018, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Racial_Integrity_Laws_of_the_1920s; Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*, 87–89. Cox cofounded the Anglo Saxon Clubs of America with John Powell in 1922 and published *White America* in 1923, arguing that white civilizations could not survive the influx of nonwhites and that black Americans needed to be repatriated to Africa. See Douglas Smith, "Earnest Sevier Cox," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Cox_Earnest_Sevier_1880-1966#start_entry. Walter Plecker was a physician and the first state registrar of vital statistics in Virginia, holding the position from 1912 to 1946. See Tori Talbot, "Walter Ashby Plecker," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Plecker_Walter_Ashby_1861-1947.

⁹⁶ "Mu Chapter History," Alpha Epison Pi Mu Chapter, University of Virginia, accessed March 13, 2018, <http://aepimu.com/history.html>. See also Ely, Hantman, and Leffler, *To Seek the Peace*, 23.

⁹⁷ Willner, "A Brief History," 16.

⁹⁸ "Mortimer M. Caplin," Caplin & Drysdale Attorneys, accessed May 24, 2018, <http://www.capdale.com/mcaplin>; Andrew Martin, "Mortimer Caplin: 100 Years Young, and Still Serving," *UVA Today*, June 27, 2016, accessed May 24, 2018, <https://news.virginia.edu/content/mortimer-caplin-100-years-young-and-still-serving>.

⁹⁹ Karl Shapiro, "University," Poetry Foundation, accessed August 5, 2018, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/poems/22722/university>.

¹⁰⁰ For further information on Karl Shapiro's background, see "Karl Shapiro: Biography," accessed March 13, 2018, http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/stadler_center/shapiro/bio.htm.

¹⁰¹ Ely, Hantman, and Leffler, *To Seek the Peace*, 23; The University of Virginia Undergraduate Record, (1920–1921), 6:102, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; David Heilbronner, interview conducted by Phyllis Leffler, January 18, January 22, 2018.

¹⁰² See Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91 (March 2005): 1233–63.

¹⁰³ Renee C. Romano, *Race Mixing: Black-White Marriage in Postwar America* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 152.

¹⁰⁴ Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 189; Clive Webb, *Fight Against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens, GA, 2001), 48–50.

¹⁰⁵ Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 163; Clive Webb, *Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens, GA, 2010), 59, 157.

¹⁰⁶ Webb, *Fight Against Fear*, 55–68; Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 190–93.

¹⁰⁷ Webb, *Fight Against Fear*; Eric L. Goldstein, "'Now is the Time to Show Your True Colors': Southern Jews, Whiteness, and the Rise of Jim Crow," in *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*, ed. Marcie Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg (Waltham, MA, 2006), 142.

¹⁰⁸ For the responses of southern rabbis, see Mark K. Bauman and Berkley Kalin, eds., *The Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights, 1880s to 1990s* (Tuscaloosa, 1997); P. Allen Krause, *To Stand Aside or Stand Alone: Southern Reform Rabbis and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Mark K. Bauman with Stephen Krause (Tuscaloosa, 2016).

¹⁰⁹ Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 150–74.

¹¹⁰ Bryan McKenzie, “Lorraine and Eugene Williams: A civil rights power couple,” *Daily Progress*, September 18, 2017.

¹¹¹ Webb, *Rabble Rousers*, 3, 10, 54; Murray Friedman, “Virginia Jewry in the School Crisis: Antisemitism and Desegregation,” in *Jews in the South*, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson (Baton Rouge, 1973), 346.

¹¹² “Citizens Council Chief Clarifies Kasper Link,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*, March 14, 1957.

¹¹³ Benjamin Muse, “Why Charlottesville Is a Racial Test-tube: Charlottesville Still Isn’t Mississippi,” *Washington Post and Times Herald*, July 22, 1956.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Joan (“Jodi”) Clements (Sol Weinberg’s daughter), conversations with Phyllis Leffler, March 5, 2018. Weinberg was born in Staunton, Virginia, and moved to Charlottesville in 1923. He attended the University of Virginia and then the University of Maryland for pharmacy school.

¹¹⁶ “Weinberg plans to retire; Raps McCue, Burrows,” *Daily Progress*, January 26, 1960.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ James J. Kilpatrick, “Anti-Semitism in the South,” *Richmond News Leader*, July 7, 1958. See also Murray Friedman, “One Episode in Southern Jewry’s Response to Desegregation: An Historical Memoir,” *American Jewish Archives* 33 (November 1981): 173–75.

¹¹⁹ Friedman, “One Episode in Southern Jewry’s Response,” 171.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 171–72.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 171, 173–77, 179, 181.

¹²² Ruth Caplin obituary, *Daily Progress*, August 8, 2014.

¹²³ Council on Human Relations Papers, MS 9606-a, box 1, file “Charlottesville and Albe-marle Ministerial Association Mailing List”; box 3, “File kept by President Francene [sic] Langbaum, 1968–69,” Small Special Collections Library.

¹²⁴ Edward Brownfield, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, March 10, 2018.

¹²⁵ “Cross Burning Called Result of Court Defiance,” *Washington Post*, August 31, 1956; “Cross is Burned at Boyle Home,” *Daily Progress*, August 30, 1956; “Mrs. Boyle Hits Defiance Course,” *Daily Progress*, August 31, 1956; “Third Cross Burning Described by Mrs. Morris Brown as ‘Dud’,” *Daily Progress*, September 7, 1956; “Cross Burned Wednesday Night is Fourth Here,” *Daily Progress*, December 7, 1956.

¹²⁶ “Vandals Paint Swastika on Temple Beth Israel,” *Daily Progress*, January 11, 1960; “Wrong Way Swastika,” *Daily Press*, January 12, 1960. See Ely, Hantman, Leffler, *To Seek the Peace*, 29; Willner, “A Brief History of the Jewish Community,” 19.

¹²⁷ Milton Friedman, “Nazi Swastika Shall Not Desecrate Charlottesville,” *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* (Milwaukee, WI), March 18, 1960; Milton Friedman, “Vandals Paint Swastikas at Virginia Church,” *Kingsport (TN) News*, February 29, 1960.

¹²⁸ Friedman, “Nazi Swastika.”

¹²⁹ The university did not maintain official statistics before 1976. However, some records in university archives offer tentative numbers. See “Increases in Enrollments, U.Va. 1968–

1973 (Fall Academic Session), 1974, RG 2/1/2.761, box 9, President's Papers, Small Special Collections Library.

¹³⁰ Robert Pack, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, May 29, 2018 (with data from Office of Institutional Assessment, University of Virginia).

¹³¹ Sheldon Ezring Papers, MS 643, box 13, folder 8, "Board of Trustees, 1979-1981," Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter cited as Ezring Papers).

¹³² Sheldon Ezring to Rabbi Steven Jacobs, December 13, 1979, box 4, folder 16; Sheldon Ezring to Sylvan Schwartzman, April 17, 1981, box 8, folder 14, Ezring Papers.

¹³³ "Jewish Population in the United States," *American Jewish Year Book* 103 (2003): 173.

¹³⁴ Current population data lists the population of Charlottesville at 47,000 and the population of Albemarle County at 108,000. See U.S. Census Bureau, Quick Facts, accessed May 23, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/charlottesvillecityvirginiacounty/PST045217>.

¹³⁵ Muse, "Why Charlottesville Is a Racial Test-tube." Sarah Patton Boyle was a southern woman who spoke out actively in favor of integration and wrote an explosive article, "Southerners Will Like Integration," in the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 19, 1955, 25, 133-134. Francis Pickens Miller, a liberal Democrat, ran for Virginia governor in 1949 and was deeply critical of the Byrd machine. He moved to Charlottesville in 1946. See Francis Pickens Miller obituary, *Washington Post*, August 5, 1978.

¹³⁶ "ADL Audit: Anti-Semitic Assaults Rise Dramatically Across the Country in 2015," accessed March 12, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-audit-anti-semitic-assaults-rise-dramatically-across-the-country-in-2015>; "ADL Audit: U.S. Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged in 2016-17," accessed March 12, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/search?keys=incidents+surged+2016>; "Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged Nearly 60% in 2017, According to New ADL Report," accessed March 12, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/anti-semitic-incidents-surged-nearly-60-in-2017-according-to-new-adl-report>. See also Editorial Board, "Mr. Trump, Get it Right on the Holocaust," *New York Times*, January 26, 2018.

¹³⁷ Rabbi Shlomo Mayer, Director of Chabad House, telephone conversation with Phyllis Leffler, March 16, 2018.

¹³⁸ Rabbi Jake Rubin, Executive Director of Brody Jewish Center, telephone conversation with Phyllis Leffler, March 14, 2018.

¹³⁹ Congregate Charlottesville, accessed March 15, 2018, <https://congregateville.com/>; Rabbi Tom Guthertz, telephone conversation with Phyllis Leffler, March 15, 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Zimmerman, "In Charlottesville, the Local Jewish Community Presses On"; Lithwick, "Drowning Out the Hate"; Dahlia Lithwick, "Yes, What About the 'Alt-Left?'" *Slate*, August 16, 2017, accessed March 4, 2018, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2017/08/what_the_alt_left_was_actually_doing_in_charlottesville.html.

¹⁴¹ Ariel P. Cohen, "Sukkot in Charlottesville," *The Times of Israel*, October 16, 2017, accessed March 4, 2018, <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/sukkot-in-charlottesville/>.

¹⁴² Kathryn Mawyer, Congregation Beth Israel Executive Director, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, November 12, 2017.

¹⁴³ Shlomo Mayer, e-mail to Phyllis Leffler, March 16, 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Abraham interview.

¹⁴⁵ Mayer e-mail.