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For submission information and author guidelines, see http://www.jewishsouth.org/submission-information-and-guidelines-authors. For queries and all editorial matters: Mark K. Bauman, Editor, *Southern Jewish History*, 6856 Flagstone Way, Flowery Branch, GA 30542, MarkKBauman@aol.com. For journal subscriptions and advertising: Bryan Edward Stone, Managing Editor, PO Box 271432, Corpus Christi, TX 78427, bstone@delmar.edu. For membership and general information about the Southern Jewish Historical Society, visit www.jewishsouth.org or write to PO Box 71601, Marietta, GA 30007-1601.

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Cover Picture: Passover seder conducted at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in 1958. Harry Weissman and his son Donald appear at the right end of the head table. The article by Mark K. Bauman and Leah Burnham on pages 1–60 traces the interaction of members of the local Jewish community with Jewish prisoners, including such seders. (Harry Weissman Papers, courtesy of the Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

From the Editor . . .

Only once previously has my work (a compendium of articles on southern Jewish history) appeared in this journal. I submitted an article coauthored with Leah Burnham for this issue, but I did so reluctantly and only because of the paucity of submissions and people willing to revise this year. Leah and I thank Bryan Edward Stone for acting as our "Junior Slasher" editor throughout the process, including providing essential feedback guiding our revision. Our article breaks new ground with a neglected subject: the work of local Jewish communities on behalf of Jews incarcerated in area penitentiaries. We traced substantial involvement of numerous individuals and institutions from the opening of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in 1902 at least into the 1980s. We suggest that work in prisons should be viewed as a subcategory of aid to Jews with other special needs. Although the article is a case study of Atlanta, at the urging of a peer reviewer we developed preliminary comparisons and contrasts nationally for Jews and locally and nationally for non-Jewish religious groups.

At the last SJHS conference, Phyllis Leffler provided tremendous insights into the Charlottesville, Virginia, confrontations of 2017. This issue includes an expanded version of that presentation with substantial new analysis in relation to short- and long-term, local and national contexts and causation. Leffler delves into the place of Jews in an America divided by culturally defined racial and religious lines.

A pitfall of publishing an article that treats a recent event is that the saga continues. The Charlottesville incident sparked others throughout the country. Leffler completed the article in June 2018, and I write this in July. The journal will appear in print in October, after the next rally is planned in August in Washington, DC. Charlottesville is bracing for activity but its nature is unknown. Change has been evident even from my current vantage point. The initial conflict depicted by Leffler centered on the removal of Confederate memorials from local city parks and the decisions of Charlottesville's city council. The Unite the Right

rally shifted the narrative to antisemitism, racism, and white supremacy. Wes Bellamy, the African American vice-mayor in 2017, and Michael Signer, then the Jewish mayor, remain on the council. In January 2018, the council chose a newly elected member, Nikuyah Walker, to fill the mayoral position. Mayor Walker and her supporters moved the narrative still again to the plight of the poor and, according to *New York Times* writer Farah Stockman, "the ugly reality of racism within the city itself." Leffler provides the background for these unfolding events.

Managing editor Bryan Stone wore many hats for this issue, including authorship of the primary source article under section editor Scott Langston. He provides an unusual and insightful statistical analysis of Jewish immigrants assisted by the Galveston Movement through the port of Galveston, Texas, during the early twentieth century. He unmasks strengths and weaknesses of the movement from the local and personal vantage points, and addresses who the immigrants were, where they came from, why they came, their occupations, where they settled, and chain migration patterns. More than just numbers, immigrants acted in their own behalf and impacted the actual workings of the Galveston Movement.

This issue marks a transition of sorts. We welcome Shari Rabin of the College of Charleston as the new website review editor. Shari replaces Adam Mendelsohn, who moved on to the editorship of *American Jewish History* alongside former editorial board member Kirsten Fermaglich. Adam remains part of the *SJH* family with his new position on the editorial board. The journal has a policy of rotating editorial board members through five-year-terms. Thus this is the end of tenure on the editorial board for Robert Abzug, Stuart Rockoff, Ellen Umansky, and Deborah Weiner. These individuals were always available to provide sound counsel and serve as peer reviewers when called upon. The journal is a better publication because of their concerted efforts.

Thanks also to the section editors who oversaw the journal's usual array of book, exhibit, and website reviews, the anonymous outside peer reviewers, and proofreaders Rachel Heimovics Braun, Karen Franklin, Bernie Wax, Hollace Weiner, and Dan Weinfeld for doing yeoman service again this year.

Mark K. Bauman

The Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and Area Jews: A Social Service Case Study

by

Mark K. Bauman and Leah Burnham*

In 1978 Robert Schneider sent a letter to Arlene Greenberg Peck, a volunteer working with Jewish prisoners at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.[1] Schneider was an inmate at the Georgia State Prison at Reidsville, two-hundred miles from Atlanta, serving three life sentences plus ninety years for murdering three men involved in a nightclub feud the previous year. Schneider explained that his parents had died when he was a child and that he had lived a violent life and spent six years in prison for refusing to go to Vietnam. Twenty-five years old, married, and the father of three children, he was the only Jewish prisoner in Reidsville. Schneider beseeched Peck: "[He] felt completely cut off from the world . . . and [was] desperately looking for his 'Jewish roots.'" He was aware of his Jewish identity, but had little knowledge of Judaism. Peck asked the readers of the *Southern Israelite*, "Does a Robert Schneider deserve our compassion? I think he does, if for no other reason than that's what our religion teaches. I think he is entitled to religion that he seems to be searching for now."[2]

Peck exchanged letters with Schneider for the next two decades, often giving him small amounts of money for incidentals. According to Peck's daughter, Dana Peck Parker, the two lost touch only after he was repeatedly transferred. Parker remembers that Schneider was grateful to her mother and turned his life around. Her mother used a tough-love approach and was hard on Schneider. Peck told him "not to feel sorry for

* The authors may be contacted at MarkKBauman@aol.com and lburnham2 @student.gsu.edu.

himself."[3] Peck, in turn, got her rabbi, Marc Wilson of Atlanta's Congregation Shearith Israel, involved with Schneider. Wilson and Schneider corresponded once a month, and Wilson occasionally visited the inmate at Reidsville and provided Jewish food, books, and possibly a *tallit*. The rabbi remembers that Schneider's letters were "relatively articulate" and that the prisoner created an elaborate pillow that he sent to the rabbi and his new wife for their wedding.[4]

This experience was unusual in some ways although typical in others. Unlike Schneider, during the 1970s most Jewish prisoners were convicted of white-collar crimes. Schneider's conviction for murder placed him in the Reidsville facility instead of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, where he would have been around more Jews and exposed to relatively extensive Jewish programming. The long-term associations between the inmate and Peck and Wilson were also unusual. Nonetheless, Schneider's outreach to the Atlanta Jewish community in search of inclusion and identity, Peck's response, and Wilson's rabbinical involvement typified the extensive interaction between incarcerated Jews and the Atlanta Jewish community.

Although American Jewish history can appear as the almost unmitigated success of individuals who contributed disproportionately to society, an underside of criminality and spectacular court cases has also been documented. Jews broke blue laws by conducting business on Sundays. Some flaunted prohibition through misuse of kosher wine allotments, among other ways. Others were involved in the white slave trade. During the late nineteenth and into the first decades of the twentieth century, Monk Eastman and Harry "Gyp the Blood" Horowitz ran violent gangs in New York City. Abe Bernstein's Purple Gang took Detroit's Prohibition-era criminal activity to new levels, as did Kid Cann in Minneapolis and Alex Shondor Birns in Cleveland. Herman Rosenthal and Arnold Rothstein were key underworld figures who presaged the Bugs and Meyer Mob that merged into Murder, Inc. Louis "Lepke" Buchalter, Meyer "Mickey" Cohen, Meyer Lansky, Abe Reles, Harold "Hooky" Rothman, Arthur "Dutch Schultz" Flegenheimer, and Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel partnered with the Italian mafia from New York to Las Vegas and Los Angeles.[5] Jews involved in famous criminal court cases include Leo Frank, Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, and, more recently, Bernard Madoff and Jonathan Pollard.[6]

An extensive literature exists on these highly visible individuals and cases. This literature often discusses Jewish responses to and actions in behalf of individuals, notably Leo Frank and Jonathan Pollard. The same cannot be said concerning the involvement of Jewish institutions and individuals who assisted Jews who committed less publicized crimes. This article will address this void by providing a case study of the activities of Jewish communal organizations and individuals in Atlanta who assisted Jews incarcerated at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

The Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.
(Federal Bureau of Prisons.)

Several themes emerge from this new avenue of investigation. Representatives from eight congregations, the Hebrew Academy, the Bureau of Jewish Education, the Atlanta Jewish Community Center, the Atlanta Jewish Federation, and the *Southern Israelite* on the local level, and from B'nai B'rith, the Anti-Defamation League, and Chabad on the local, regional, and national levels participated in programs for Jewish inmates across at least nine decades spanning most of the twentieth century. Virtually every individual and organization committed to prison outreach involved themselves in similar activities with similar motivations in behalf of Jews in communities too small to hire full-time religious functionaries; military installations; mental institutions; orphanages; and senior citizen centers. Work with immigrants, those physically and mentally challenged but not institutionalized, and the homeless also fit within this overall category. Thus these programs are most accurately viewed in

a holistic fashion. Jews felt an obligation to and an ethnic identity with fellow Jews in difficult and sometimes marginal circumstances, any societal stigmas notwithstanding.[7]

Although undertaken by local community members, the activities often had the imprimatur of national Jewish agencies. The inmates welcomed interaction with local Jews, and at least a few did not mind their names being known. The inmates and communal workers participated for diverse reasons and received varied benefits. The number of Jewish inmates fluctuated over time, with the high point during Prohibition and the Great Depression.[8] So long as policies were followed, wardens and other prison personnel usually supported the Jewish activities, welcomed outside Jewish aid, and even spoke to the Jewish community. Jews served as volunteers and professionals, and volunteer service occasionally led to professional positions related to the penal system. Finally, the Atlanta Jewish experience resembles that of other Jewish communities and non-Jewish faith-based programs. As shall be demonstrated, the critical differences resulted from the size of the prison population served and, in the case of other religious groups, an emphasis on proselytizing that was absent in Jewish activism.

Early Activity: Rabbi David Marx and Others

Rabbi David Marx, the first member of the Atlanta Jewish community known to be involved with the prisons, acted as a volunteer chaplain conducting services and providing religious instruction at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary starting when the facility opened in 1902 and ending forty-four years later as his health declined. American-born and a recent graduate of Hebrew Union College, Marx pushed the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation (The Temple) into Classical Reform ranks when he became rabbi in 1895. An ardent follower of the prophetic social justice message of the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, Marx's outreach to the Jewish prisoners mirrored his other activities as chaplain to local military installations during the Spanish-American War and World War I, and as visiting rabbi to a congregation that he had established in West Point, Georgia. His prison activities also went hand in hand with his efforts on behalf of new Jewish immigrants.[9]

A conflict arose between Warden William H. Moyer and Marx in 1914, one of the few such conflicts in over eight decades. When the warden

rescinded the policy of allowing Jewish prisoners (numbering fifty-eight at the time) to observe the High Holidays, Marx, along with Isaac Haas and Albert Guthman, two influential Temple members, unsuccessfully beseeched him to change the policy. Marx thereupon requested the intervention of Representative Schley Howard (D-GA); Senator Hoke Smith (D-GA); Simon Wolf, attorney and former international president of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith; and Myer Cohen, Wolf's son in-law and law partner in Washington, D.C., and a member of the Committee on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC). Cohen spoke directly with Thomas W. Gregory, the attorney general of the United States, who consequently directed the warden, according to Cohen's telegram to Marx, "to allow privilege Jewish prisoners abstain from work and hold religious services as heretofore." The attorney general had to be reassured that similar policies were in place at the prison in Leavenworth, Kansas, and had been the policy previously at the Atlanta facility. Cohen informed Gregory of a letter he had sent Francis Duehay, the superintendant of the Bureau of Federal Prisons, in which he likened the issue to "a return to Russian intolerance." Cohen went to the attorney general only after the superintendant had ignored his entreaties. Marx responded to Cohen's good news: "Permit me to thank you on behalf of the men at the Prison on your successful work. May the New Year be all the more enjoyable when you think at the time of the happiness you have brought to them."[10]

In his letter dated October 8, 1914, Marx informed Wolf, "The prisoners observed two days of Rosh Hashanah. One of the men read the services on the first day and Mr. Grossman [Leonard Grossman, a leader later in the fight for women's suffrage], a young lawyer here gave an address on 'peace'; I conducted services and gave a sermon on the second day. On Yom Kippur services were conducted by the men[,] and Mr. Heilbron went out and assisted. Meals were provided by the local charities."[11] The following year, The Temple began serving Passover seders to the inmates.

This incident is important for numerous reasons. It illustrates the deep commitment of Marx, other individuals, and local organizations to the Jewish inmates, as well as the rabbi's willingness to bring the rights of the inmates to the attention of two of the state's congressional representatives and two well-known and connected leaders of national Jewish

Rabbi David Marx in 1917.
(David Marx Family Papers, courtesy of the Cuba Family
Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

Letter from Rabbi David Marx to attorney Simon Wolf, October 8, 1914. (Temple Records, Mss. 59, courtesy of the Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

organizations. Although it demonstrates antisemitism within the local and national prison system, it also illustrates the readiness of members of President Woodrow Wilson's administration to confront that intolerance. As shall become evident, B'nai B'rith's prison activism exceeded that of any other Jewish organization.

The context for the incident is also extremely significant. Leo Frank had been accused and convicted of murdering Mary Phagan in Atlanta and was incarcerated in the Tower, a local prison facility. Frank had been president of Atlanta's B'nai B'rith lodge, and Marx was Frank's rabbi and an ardent supporter. Marx had sought and received assistance from Wolf after Frank's conviction, whereas Louis Marshall, an attorney and one of the most influential Jews of his generation, demonstrated limited interest until after Wolf's involvement.[12] B'nai B'rith had served as the major Jewish defense organization prior to the establishment of the American Jewish Committee in 1906 and had created its Anti-Defamation League in 1913.

It was only natural for Marx to look to Wolf, the B'nai B'rith, and the UAHC rather than Marshall's American Jewish Committee for aid in his fight for prisoners' rights. None of the individuals involved in taking away or regaining the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary's policy of Jewish holiday observance mentioned Leo Frank, but it is hard not to imagine that his case influenced prison officials, Marx, or the other participants in the conflict. It is also evident that the Leo Frank ordeal likely encouraged Marx to openly combat antisemitism rather than remain silent. Although the Frank incident is pertinent to this issue, at no other occasion did it seem to make a difference. The work of Atlanta Jewry to assist the Jews incarcerated in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary did not differ significantly from that of Jewish endeavors with prisoners throughout the United States.

Twenty-five years after Marx's defense of inmates' rights, another generation of inmates reciprocated. Retired Army major general George Van Horn Moseley, an outspoken antisemite and a leader of the Knights of the White Camelia, challenged Marx's patriotism and called him a communist before the House Un-American Activities Committee (the Dies Committee). The *Atlantian*, a newspaper published by the inmates at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, ran a series of tributes to Marx. One signed "Obediently yours, Red," went as follows: "The besmirching of your name is an insult to the intelligence of the American people. I, many times a thief, stand beside you, and call upon Him to forgive them for they know not what they do." Having quoted Jesus at his crucifixion in behalf of the rabbi, Red praised those who spoke out in Marx's defense and asked, "I am just wondering if a great many people know that you have been coming in here to administer to us of your faith for over 30 years. Would that they knew of the dead and dying hopes that you have rekindled, and of the many times you went to bat for us, regardless of race, class, color or creed." Thus the Jewish prisoners offered Marx character references in appreciation for his efforts.[13]

Further B'nai B'rith efforts stand out clearly with the work of Jewish community activist Hyman S. Jacobs. In 1912 the warden at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary asked Jacobs to conduct weekly services for the Jewish inmates. Jacobs continued as a "dollar-a-year chaplain" under the auspices of B'nai B'rith for the next fifty-three years. The height of Jacobs's activity likely took place during Prohibition when an estimated 450 Jews

were incarcerated in the federal facility. Jacobs maintained that he had "a special *'semicha'* issued by the Government." Concerning his motivation, when Jacobs retired in 1963, Warden David M. Heritage noted that Jacobs had undertaken his task "to keep a promise he made to his father [Abraham Jacobs], a *Melamed* and Hebrew teacher for many years in Atlanta." Besides conducting Sabbath and holiday services, Jacobs asked inmates' relatives to give them money if they needed it, but he provided it if family members refused. In 1958 Max Waldman, an inmate who served as the Jewish chaplain's clerk, remarked, "To us he is a spiritual torch, igniting within us the spark to seek the will to look forward to a brighter future. Mr. Jacobs truly is a symbol and a guide of true Judaism."[14]

The tributes to Jacobs suggest the high esteem in which the prisoners, prison officials, and Jewish community held such work. At his forty-sixth anniversary, the members of the prison synagogue presented him with a scroll they had made "extolling his accomplishments," and the entire congregation and prison officials commended Jacobs's devotion. B'nai B'rith District Lodge 5 honored Jacobs as "Georgia's 'Jewish Circuit Rider'" in 1961 at its Miami convention and created the Hyman S. Jacobs B'nai B'rith Youth Fellowship in recognition of his endeavors. By the time Jacobs retired in 1963, he was unable to speak at the prison tribute because of declining health. Warden Heritage acted as emcee and gave remarks. Comments were made and letters read from the prison chaplain, leaders of Jewish community agencies, the director of the Bureau of Prisons, and Fred T. Wilkinson, the deputy director of the bureau and former warden at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. Wilkinson averred that Jacobs's record of service was "unmatched in the annals of the American system of prisons—or for any other institutional history we have ever known." Another fifty or more prison officials attended the ceremony voluntarily without pay. The entire prison congregation attended, and fifty non-Jewish inmates voluntarily assisted in the program. One of the latter painted portraits of Jacobs and his father, Abraham Jacobs.[15] Although these accolades were given to Jacobs, they attest to the extremely positive view of the outreach efforts by all constituents.

Marx, members of his affluent and acculturated Reform congregation, and Hyman Jacobs were not alone in these early encounters with federal prisoners. During World War I, Ida Goldstein served as a social worker at the penitentiary as part of the Jewish Education Alliance's

outreach efforts. Her future husband, Louis Levitas, conducted Sunday school classes there. She became friends with Eugene V. Debs, the perennial socialist candidate for the presidency, who was serving his sentence at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary under the Sedition Act of 1918 for opposing American participation into the war and undermining the draft.[16] Ida and Louis Levitas, like Jacobs, were influential leaders of Ahavath Achim, an Orthodox synagogue of Jews originating in eastern Europe on the road to acculturation, and of numerous Jewish organizations. Although Temple members stand out prominently in Atlanta-area prison service activities, representatives of almost every congregation played significant parts. Concern for the prisoners' welfare transcended affiliation differences.

Robert Schneider, who was highlighted at the beginning of this essay, gained Jewish identity, values, self-worth, and long-term associations that helped him rehabilitate. The Jewish inmates assisted by Marx, Heilbron, and Jacobs were able to continue Jewish practices and likely found succor as part of a group. Other inmates sought Orthodox Rabbi Tobias Geffen's aid because of the shame they felt. Whereas Marx networked with the B'nai B'rith and UAHC and Jacobs with B'nai B'rith,

Rabbi Tobias Geffen in 1924.
(Courtesy of Avie Geffen
and David Geffen.)

Geffen was drawn into prison work through Agudas Harabbanim, a national Orthodox rabbinical association. Through this network, rabbis from Baltimore, Chicago, and New York wrote Geffen asking him to look out for prisoners they knew who were sent to Atlanta. Geffen visited these prisoners individually on a regular basis to keep up their spirits. Geffen's grandson recounts perhaps a representative situation during the early 1920s, when an individual from Detroit went to the rabbi's home on a rainy Friday night and introduced himself. He had been convicted of illegal alcohol sales and remained in the rabbi's home until his papers reached Atlanta and he could be incarcerated. At his request, while in prison he gave letters to Geffen to be exchanged with his wife through his rabbi in Detroit. He had told his wife that he was on a long business trip, and Geffen helped him maintain the charade.[17]

Inmate outreach continued through the next decades. During the 1930s Attorney Charles Bergman, an officer at Congregation Ahavath Achim, remained "quite active in religious work at Atlanta Federal Penitentiary." This was in line with his education work on the school commission as a member of the city council and as future president of the Bureau of Jewish Education.[18] From 1946 Esther Rubin (Mrs. Joseph) Pintchuck participated in a weekly program of counseling, crafts, music, and devotionals cosponsored by B'nai B'rith Women and the Atlanta Council of Church Women for rehabilitating delinquent white women ("forgotten women") at the Atlanta Prison Farm. Mrs. Jerome Levy, an attorney, and Ethel (Mrs. Benjamin) Brodie also participated.[19] When David Marx retired as rabbi of The Temple in 1946, the U.S. Attorney, at the behest of Warden Joseph W. Sanford, appointed Rabbi Harry H. Epstein of Ahavath Achim as his replacement. Continuing until 1951, Epstein's responsibilities "involve[d] visits with prisoners with the idea of improving their morale."[20]

Increased Activism in the 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s witnessed a substantial increase in programming and personal involvement in outreach to Jewish prisoners, although no reasons can be discerned beyond conjectural linkage with this period of social activism. In 1946 the penitentiary newspaper had described prisoner Harry Rothschild as the "number one man of the Fed tennis team." The following year, a B'nai B'rith team led by lodge president Alex Miller, who defeated

Rothschild in singles, received the Rusty Padlock trophy for winning five out of six tennis matches against a mixed group of Jewish and non-Jewish inmates. Although the *Southern Israelite* article announcing the results indicates that future matches were planned, no record of these are available until the 1960s. Then eight tennis players from the Atlanta Jewish Community Center, possibly at the behest of the Atlanta Jewish Federation, played against the inmates on an annual basis. According to Eddie Silverboard, Manny Wolfe managed the contest "mainly because he knew most of the inmates from the days of the old Crew Street gang." The columnist averred, "There was only one incident, and that rather mild—one of the Fed's players kept lobbing the balls over the wall and telling the guard that he'd be glad to go get them, but permission was refused naturally." Although the last statement may have been made in jest, one memory clearly stood out in the minds of two participants over fifty years later. According to Miles Alexander, the staff "provided two balls to each team to play, which I found humorous since the absence of a third ball deterred any excuse to be looking around or leaving the court." Elliott Levitas indicates that the balls had to be accounted for after each match for security reasons. Alexander participated because of his "empathy for Jewish white-collar crime prisoners who the program was trying to reach," although many of the inmates who played were not Jewish. Levitas comments, "When I was asked if I would be willing to do this, I readily agreed to do it because I thought it was the right thing to do. After I had done it in retrospect, I felt gratified that I had. It was a fulfilling experience." Alexander recalls that all "were very appreciative of our participation since it clearly gave them an outlet for an activity they enjoyed and contact with the outside world." Although both men are partners in a law firm, neither remembers legal discussions with the inmates. Former U.S. Congressman Levitas added, "Prison officials were not only cooperative but also appreciative."[21]

In 1963 Chaim Feuerman succeeded Jacobs as chaplain upon the latter's retirement, although Feuerman had been assisting him for the previous six months as Jacobs's health declined. Feuerman, an Orthodox rabbi, had been appointed director of the Atlanta Hebrew Academy, a Jewish day school, two years earlier. The prison activities were worthy of national Jewish news attention. When in 1965 the American Jewish Press Association met in Atlanta during American Jewish Press Week,

Feuerman made arrangements through the warden for journalists to visit the prisoners on a Sunday morning, and one journalist addressed the prisoners.[22]

J. [Jacob] Joseph Cohen's penitentiary work overlapped with that of Feuerman and The Temple. Cohen conducted services and provided job counseling to the inmates from 1965 to 1975. Several experiences qualified Cohen for these efforts. During World War II, he had provided psychological counseling to shell-shocked soldiers in the Pacific. In 1946 he cofounded Apex Linen Service with two of his brothers, and he also served as president of Green Pest Control.[23] Like Jacobs and others, Cohen's was a long-term commitment suggesting that many of the lay people involved perceived the benefits of their work and what they got out of it in positive terms. Like others, Cohen's prison activities cannot be isolated from his other experiences.

Under Jacob M. Rothschild, who succeeded Marx to The Temple pulpit in 1946, the prison chaplaincy devolved into a regular duty for his assistant rabbis beginning with Stuart Davis (1962–1965). Rabbi Phillip Posner (1968–1971) recalls that conducting services had become routine by the time he began. Posner had served thirty-nine days in Parchman Prison in Mississippi as a Freedom Rider, something that helped him empathize with the inmates' situation. That they gave him metal bookends they had made as a departing gift suggests that they appreciated his efforts and got something out of them. During his employment interview in 1971, Alvin Sugarman was advised that this was part of his job description. Sugarman held the service on Saturday mornings from 8:45 to 9:45 until 1972 when he shifted the penitentiary service to 7:45 to allow time for him to return to The Temple to conduct its newly instituted bar mitzvah rites. According to the rabbi, during the first such Sabbath the inmates "raised hell" about the earlier time. An inmate at the back of the room insisted that the inmates do whatever the rabbi wanted. Sugarman "[never] had a word out of the congregation after that." The inmate in question was Simone Rizzo "Sam the Plumber" DeCavalcante, the head of the New Jersey mafia who had been sentenced to fifteen years for extortion and conspiracy in 1969. A non-Jew married to a Jewish woman, DeCavalcante enjoyed attending the Jewish services. The mafioso and rabbi remained in contact after DeCavalcante was discharged in 1976, retired, and moved to Miami. The rabbi recalls that the "sad part was

Rabbi Alvin Sugarman in 1971.
(Courtesy of The Temple, Atlanta.)

visiting those in solitary confinement. I sat on the floor where food was put in and heard their stories." Sugarman "felt very, very welcomed by the inmates. I encouraged them to serve their time and walk the straight and narrow." Nonetheless, another sad thing he experienced was when some were discharged and quickly reentered incarceration.[24]

Sugarman was inside the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary during the Attica Prison riot in New York and was consequently locked in. He felt "spooky being locked inside." "It made me feel like them [the inmates] not having freedom to walk out the gate." This feeling was shared by one of Sugarman's successors as assistant rabbi, Edward Cohn (1974–1976), who commented, "You had to get through the fact that you had to go through the locked doors, and for a few minutes you were locked between

gates." Unlike Sugarman, Rabbis Cohn and Martin Lawson (1974–1976), Sugarman's early assistants at The Temple, had not been informed of the prison responsibilities. Lawson received sudden notification from Connie Giniger, a volunteer who had brought new energy to the program for Jewish prisoners, when, in 1973, she responded to an appeal to the Jewish community from Sugarman. Lawson remembers:

> Sitting in my new office the phone rang. I heard the following: "Hello, Rabbi, this is Connie Giniger." Hello Connie, how can I help you? "Rabbi, I will be picking you up at 6:00 am on Shabbos morning." I thought that someone was pulling a prank. "Why are you picking me up at 6:00 am?" "Rabbi, we're going to prison."
>
> Neither Ed [Rabbi Edward Cohn] nor I had been told that we were going to lead Shabbat morning services at the maximum security Federal Penitentiary every week. Our rabbinate was growing exponentially every moment!![25]

Giniger informed Cohn at his first *oneg shabbat* that he had to be at the prison at 7:30 a.m. Cohn and Lawson alternated Saturdays at the penitentiary. Cohn remembers that perhaps half of the prisoners who attended were not Jewish. These, he contends, were there for the *oneg shabbat* and wine. The Jewish inmates tended to be traditional rather than the Reform associated with The Temple. Yet "[it] was a good, it was an important thing to do." It served as part of Temple outreach before the term was used. "If they said they were Jewish, we said that they were Jewish." According to Cohn, B'nai B'rith sponsored the prison ministry, although another account suggests that the Jewish Welfare Board had appointed Sugarman. In either case, Temple rabbis received imprimatur from community organizations beyond and besides their synagogue.[26]

The Prison Activism of Jewish Women

At about the same time Sugarman appealed to the Jewish community for volunteers, the director of B'nai B'rith's Commission on Community and Veterans Services informed Connie Giniger, the southeast director of B'nai B'rith Women, that a young former member of B'nai B'rith Youth was incarcerated in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and had requested prayer books. The director asked that she investigate the situation. Giniger had received a business degree from the City College of New York, but her reading of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* moved her

to follow her dreams. She returned to school to obtain a teaching degree and taught for many years in New Jersey before moving to Atlanta where she taught at the Hebrew Academy. According to her daughter Barbara, she was "very creative. One of the first innovators in terms of open classroom . . . . She's left a legacy."[27]

One of Giniger's first projects was bringing greeting cards for the inmates to send to their families to help maintain those ties to the outside. She also had her fourth-grade students make holiday cards that she mailed to the approximately forty-five Jewish inmates. Although Sugarman had brought civil rights icon, mayor, congressman and future U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young with him to speak to the inmates, Giniger instituted a rap session every other Wednesday evening that became known as the Jewish Discussion Group.[28] She brought in physicians, attorneys, educators, and media personalities for open-ended discussions. Si Cohen, director of community and veterans' services for the national B'nai B'rith, visited the prison congregation whose members pleaded for additional Judaica. Cohen authorized Giniger, like Feuerman an employee of the Hebrew Academy, to coordinate local B'nai B'rith efforts and author a pamphlet, *All Men are Responsible for One Another: Meeting the Human Needs of Prisoners*, based on the Atlanta experience to be distributed and presented at the BBYO convention in Starlight, Pennsylvania, as well as other venues. The pamphlet emphasized personal contact.

Giniger received permission to bring teenage Temple Youth Group volunteers to provide a chorus and instrumental music for Rosh Hashanah services at the penitentiary. Chaplain Urban A. Cain arranged the evening dinner, and Sisterhoods and B'nai B'rith Women sent holiday cards that the inmates could forward to their families. The national B'nai B'rith provided a Kiddush cup and candelabra. In conjunction with Giniger's activities, Marshall Solomon, president of B'nai B'rith Gate City Lodge, joined numerous lodge members who volunteered to attend weekly services at the penitentiary. Others who volunteered for different activities included Harry Teitelbaum, director of Ahavath Achim's Solomon Schechter School, and Leon Spotts, director of the Bureau of Jewish Education, who arranged and oversaw the Wednesday evening discussion group. According to Rabbi Cohn, Connie Giniger was "a very peppy lady. She was fun, and they didn't want to let her down. This was an important thing." To Rabbi Sugarman, "Connie was incredible . . . a

Connie Giniger c. 1979.
(Courtesy of the Giniger Family.)

spark plug. She gathered volunteers [and] she put her heart and soul into it."[29] Giniger was a remarkable individual, but her work was clearly supported and impacted by a myriad of individuals and agencies. Few people mentioned in this article acted alone.

In 1974 Pat Weerts, assistant deputy of the Georgia Commission of Women's Affairs, requested the help of B'nai B'rith because of its commitment to Jews incarcerated in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary to establish a halfway house for mostly non-Jewish women about to be discharged from the Georgia Penitentiary at Milledgeville. Giniger coordinated the new program and indicated, "These are trusted women. . . . What we want to do is offer them the security of a home-style life so they can work 'on the outside' as their release date nears. This way they can learn to cope gradually with the change from confinement and total supervision to freedom and challenge of daily life." B'nai B'rith requested that the community provide the house in Atlanta and volunteers for the new project under the auspices of the B'nai B'rith men, women, and youth groups. Judy Katz, president of B'nai B'rith Women of Atlanta, and Marshall Solomon, then the Atlanta lodge's social action chair, explained the need for a three- or four-bedroom house in "[an] older established 'hamische' neighborhood" on a bus route for ten to twelve women. The state would provide a housekeeper, and B'nai B'rith members volunteered to refurbish the building. B'nai B'rith also sought volunteers for a state-sponsored workshop to be trained in assisting illiterate adults to improve their skills. Another forty-five women were asked to visit Milledgeville to establish personal relationships with the inmates about to be released or paroled "by reinforcing their pride in appearance and ability." The donation of a house even in poor repair would provide a tax deduction.[30]

Later in 1974 Giniger was selected volunteer coordinator for the state Department of Offender Rehabilitation as the direct result of her work in behalf of B'nai B'rith to assist the Jewish prisoners at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, for all women prisoners at the Milledgeville state corrections facility, and for the new Milledgeville women's work release program at 41 Peachtree Place in Atlanta. The program extended further to the men's prison facility at Stone Mountain.[31] The Atlanta efforts thus mushroomed out into other areas of Georgia and from federal to state facilities.

Prison activities deeply moved Giniger and, consequently, her family. When the prison congregation—a mixture of twenty Jewish and non-

Jewish men—celebrated *rosh chodesh* for the month of Sivan during a Sunday morning service, with tears in her eyes, she reflected, "There is no distinction between age or color or clothing. The whole Congregation participates and for that brief moment a special enchantment, a sense of belonging encompasses the small room." For Giniger, penitentiary outreach became a family undertaking and a common topic for family conversations. Besides her younger daughter, Barbara, she also brought her mother, Celia Lang, to penitentiary services. Her husband, Mort Giniger, a traveling salesman and Carolina director of B'nai B'rith Youth, spearheaded a B'nai B'rith-sponsored, once-a-month salesmanship course for the inmates. Although many of the inmates were incarcerated for white-collar crimes associated with money, the course stressed issues like how to dress properly and how to sell oneself after incarceration. Although Connie Giniger inspired both of her daughters, Patricia Giniger Snyder and Barbara Giniger Cooper, the younger daughter, who remained at home before attending college, was most impacted. In 1979 Barbara and her mother conducted their workshop, "All Men Are Responsible for One Another: Volunteers in Corrections," at the National Conference of the American Society for Public Administration in Baltimore.[32]

Giniger's expansion of penitentiary outreach opened other initiatives. In 1975 Ronald Cahn, BBYO District 5 director and an executive board member of Gate City Lodge of B'nai B'rith, who had previously attended weekly services at the penitentiary with other lodge members, now helped head an effort to launch a one-to-one parole-advisor program for Jewish prisoners at the federal penitentiary. Cahn observed that this was the first B'nai B'rith lodge to create such a program. Edward Cohn commented, "The lay people from B'nai B'rith kept things going when we weren't there. They were the determined effort . . . that the Jews weren't going to be the orphans of the prison system. They were going to be touched. They were going to be a part of the Jewish community."[33]

Arlene Peck, who was sufficiently well known for Robert Schneider to contact her in 1978, began her work at the penitentiary in 1974 as liaison advisor to the Jewish Discussion Group. Her involvement began in an unusual fashion. Her then-husband, Howard Peck, had been asked by the head of the Bureau of Jewish Education to address the inmates as master

of his Masonic lodge on the benefits of being a Mason. When Arlene accompanied him, she was struck by how much the inmates craved attention and sought attachment to the Jewish community and Jewish identity. Because she felt sorry for them, she undertook her penitentiary responsibilities every Wednesday evening under the auspices of the Bureau of Jewish Education, as had Connie Giniger (although Giniger also worked through B'nai B'rith). According to Peck, she had fun leading the discussion group; "it was a kick." She grew the group to seventy-seven inmates including Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims who, she hoped, would behave better together under confinement if they got used to talking together. She brought in members of the state legislature to speak and arranged a day-out program to places of Jewish interest for those preparing to be discharged. Three guards accompanied them.[34]

Marc Wilson, Peck's rabbi at Shearith Israel, remembers, "Once you got on Arlene Peck's radar, you couldn't get off." To him, she was "incredibly nice," and "she had a good heart." She invited him to speak. According to Wilson, it was "very, very casual. Most of the time there were more non-Jews than Jews." The inmates were very respectful of visiting clergy. The members of the Nation of Islam, he pointed out particularly, were "very gentle; very thoughtful"—this at a time when

Rabbi Marc Wilson in 2003.
(Courtesy of Marc Wilson.)

Louis Farrakhan and the Jewish community were especially at odds with each other. Wilson felt like a goodwill ambassador. In still another service provided by the Jewish volunteers, on one occasion Wilson provided moral support while accompanying Peck and Marcia Toppler (later Greene) to a hearing to speak in behalf of an inmate's moral character.[35]

Peck travelled to the Soviet Union in 1976 where she distributed Bibles and other Jewish literature, illegal acts under Soviet law at the time. She and a friend arrived about the same time as journalists from the *Los Angeles Times*, so the Soviet secret service assumed that she was a journalist and did not prosecute. Upon her return, she spoke frequently and wrote a series of articles on her experiences. Robert I. Hern, an inmate, wrote to Adolph Rosenberg, then editor of the *Southern Israelite*, expressing the appreciation of the Jewish Discussion Group for the publication of the articles. He contended that the periodical was widely read and considered highly educational by members of the penitentiary group.[36]

Peck was the most controversial Jewish volunteer at the penitentiary and one with a decidedly different perception of prison officials. Although all other Jewish sources praised the prison officials for their cooperation, Peck describes them as antisemitic. According to her, they rejected the provision of kosher food for the inmates as "Jew food." Her first major conflict occurred when she and Catholic priests brought tomato plants to the prisoners at their request. The plants were stored in the warden's office, and he called her to remove them immediately.[37]

In another altercation, penitentiary officials limited her guests to six with at least one male to every female. This seemingly odd regulation makes sense in the context of a remark made by "The Members of the Jewish Discussion Group" in a laudatory foreword to Peck's book, *Prison Cheerleader: How a Nice Jewish Girl Went Wrong Doing Right*, her recounting of her penitentiary experiences. According to the inmates, "Admittedly, some of us initially attended the Jewish Discussion Group meetings solely to see the lovely ladies that Arlene Peck would invariably have among her guests. Being men deprived of female companionship we looked forward to speaking and sitting next to attractive members of the opposite sex. And the fact that most were pretty, intelligent, articulate and glamorous helped considerably." Peck admitted, "Usually I tried to throw in a couple of pretty girls to give the men something to look at."[38] The foreword's

authors clearly praised Peck's efforts, but officials apparently had legitimate concerns.

The final straw for prison officials came in 1978 when Peck brought state senator and civil rights leader Julian Bond to address the Jewish Discussion Group on the Supreme Court's 1978 *Bakke* decision that limited affirmative action programs. Accompanying them, in addition to her regular volunteers, were his aide and a news reporter. Prison officials denied admission to Bond, his aide, and the reporter, but allowed entrance to Peck and her volunteers. Seemingly the dispute concerned policy and procedure. Peck maintained that she had obtained permission by phone, a procedure she had followed previously. She argued that she later attended an NAACP group discussion inside the penitentiary that had not required advance notice. Prison authorities countered that she received permission from an assistant chaplain unauthorized to grant permission, unlike earlier situations. From the penitentiary staff's perspective, Peck had failed to receive written permission, and Bond presented a security threat. The warden's executive assistant, William Noonen, specified that Bond would draw numerous inmates not normally part of the discussion group and that the consequent overcrowding would create a "potentially explosive [situation] in the prison setting." Peck maintains that they did not want Bond in the prison because he could uncover corruption, that guards ran the concession machines for personal profit. The day after the incident, Spotts, Peck's supervisor as the director of the Bureau of Education,

OPPOSITE PAGE: This picture of Arlene Peck and Julian Bond taken at the time of the confrontation with prison officials marked the end of Peck's work with the Jewish Discussion Group at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. Yet unlike almost every other Jew in the city who assisted Jewish inmates, Peck continued her involvement elsewhere. In collaboration with the controversial head of the Jewish Defense League, Rabbi Meir Kahane, below, she established Jewish discussion groups in other prisons. This 1980 picture depicts Peck and Kahane with an unknown prison chaplain working in behalf of Jewish discussion groups in penitentiaries in New York. Peck's various prisoner-related activities demonstrated her ongoing commitment as well as her role in nurturing a network of activists. (Courtesy of Arlene Peck.)

received a memo barring Peck and her two regular volunteers indefinitely from the penitentiary.[39]

Peck found support from inside and outside the penitentiary, including from U.S. Congressman Wyche Fowler (D-GA). Apparently a "personality conflict" already existed between Peck and prison officials, something evidenced by previous complaints to Spotts. Nonetheless, he and others viewed Peck as the "backbone" of the highly successful program. Vida Goldgar, columnist and future editor of the *Southern Israelite*, observed, "Mrs. Peck apparently pursues her goals in a somewhat unorthodox, possibly controversial, manner. She is outspoken and determined. But she appears dedicated to the program and intends to continue helping behind the scenes as other volunteers troop out to the gray stone complex on McDonough Boulevard on Wednesday evenings, doing their best to carry on." Dana Peck Snyder recalled, "She didn't make the warden very happy. This was a strong Jewish woman." Snyder was not surprised that her mother had not received approval from the correct official: "She was not one to pay attention to details." Rabbi Wilson remembers that Peck had several altercations with prison officials, mostly for advocacy in behalf of prisoners.[40]

Wilson offers a different insight into inmate behavior in relation to the conflicts between Peck and the penitentiary officials: the inmates spent their time antagonizing the prison administration. He observes, "It got a yuck out of them to put the screws to the screws." They constantly fought over the availability of kosher food although few were Orthodox. Rabbi Cohn bears out this position. He commented that, as a twenty-five-year-old, he had to get used to their conning. They were all innocent, they said. He learned that he was being told total lies. In her interview, Arlene Peck insisted that no one conducted Jewish religious services for the inmates—something that the inmates continuously complained about—that her program was new and unique, and that the local Jewish community did not provide her much support. The Atlanta Jewish Federation hated her, she claimed, because she involved the controversial rabbi Meir Kahane in prison-related and other activities. She and Kahane planned to make the discussion program national in scope. She said, "It was like pulling teeth to get people to go. When it became time for them to go, they'd back out." When the interviewer informed her that services were being conducted, she insisted that his sources were lying.[41]

Peck's comments suggest that she was idealistic, albeit ill-informed. Two aspects of her idealism were a naïve acceptance of the words of the inmates and a rejection of protocol and authority. From the perspective of virtually every other individual interviewed, many inmates could not be trusted and liked to manipulate to anger prison authorities. The prison officials were uniformly cooperative, as one might expect of programs geared toward keeping the inmates happy and on the way toward rehabilitation. Peck took the inmates' statements at face value—a trait that some prisoners took advantage of to create situations that riled prison authorities. Numerous individuals interviewed also noted that Peck was sometimes difficult to get along with.

Peck's candid comments in her book illustrate a seamier side. She took pleasure in antagonizing prison officials and breaking rules, including providing a prostitute to an inmate and alcoholic beverages to inmates and their guards allowed out for one of her programs. Such actions gave her a thrill, unlike what she perceived would be her experience as a typical Jewish wife.[42] In some ways, then, Giniger's and Peck's prison activities acted as a medium for their perceptions of the changing roles of women. Ultimately the Wednesday Discussion Group was reinstated after Peck's departure, and individuals continued to bring in outside speakers following penitentiary guidelines.

The stories of Ida Goldstein Levitas, Connie Giniger, Arlene Peck, and others demonstrate the active participation of Jewish women as professionals and volunteers in programs for Jewish male inmates. Fear concerning the circumstances in which they operated proved to be little deterrent to either men or women, and their motivations—with the exception of some of Peck's reasoning—were identical.

Denominational Diversity

The next major national and international Jewish organization to make its mark on the prison population was the Chabad-Lubavitch movement. In 1976 Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson (the Rebbe) delivered a *Farbrengen* message to the international followers of his movement that "emphasized and encouraged the sharing of the Purim experience with Jewish inmates in prisons." The Rebbe commented that the prisoners felt "isolation" and "rejection" and that sharing in the Purim celebration could help overcome these emotions. As a result of this public addresss, Rabbi

Meyer Weiner initiated the prison's first Purim services and party. Weiner made it clear that he undertook his work as a Jewish chaplain at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary under Schneersohn's influence.[43]

The rabbi at Anshi S'fard, a small Orthodox/Hasidic synagogue, Weiner was not a Lubavitch employee. However his successor as chaplain, Shlomo Bluming, served as a Lubavitcher rabbi and the first director of Atlanta's Chabad Center. Chabad rabbis routinely provided chaplaincy services wherever they were located. As with every organization and congregation noted in this essay, prison chaplaincy efforts were viewed as one of many outreach efforts to Jews seeking spiritual fulfillment and inclusion within the Jewish community.[44] The participation of other elements of the Jewish community had been from the bottom up. Local lay and rabbinic individuals volunteered, chaplaincy became a mandate for Temple assistant rabbis, and area representatives functioned under local and regional B'nai B'rith auspices. With Schneersohn's *Farbrengen* message, Atlanta Chabad rabbis followed a mandate from the top down.

After Bluming's departure, Rabbi Yossi New was named director of Chabad of Georgia and served as a funded, part-time prison chaplain into the mid 1990s when a colleague assumed the responsibilities. New filled the pulpit of Beth Tefilah, a congregation in Sandy Springs, a northern suburb of Atlanta. In a departure from previous practices, the rabbi obtained furloughs for medium security prisoners to attend Yom Kippur and Passover services at his synagogue. On one occasion he had about eleven prisoners as guests in his home for a Passover seder. The prisoners conversed with the other guests as if they were not incarcerated, and then, because of curfew, departed in an unmarked prison van at the same time the matzo ball soup was being eaten. Only then did New inform his other guests about the inmates' identity.[45]

On another occasion, the rabbi offered to provide the prisoners a meal following the Yom Kippur fast. They did research and requested sandwiches from a kosher deli that they heard gave the most generous portions of meat. Other activities had clearly become routine, and New's chaplaincy duties were mandated as a Chabad rabbi as a continuation of Chabad's mission. New visited the prison typically once a week on Sunday from eleven to one o'clock. He ministered to three Jewish inmates in the high-security section and seven in the low-security prison camp that housed nonviolent, sometimes white-collar criminals with shorter

Rabbi Yossi New.
(Courtesy of Isser New.)

sentences. The rabbi and inmates laid *tefillin*, recited prayers, and discussed the weekly Torah portion. In December he made special trips to give the inmates Hanukkah packages. The rabbi discussed their issues, counseled their families, and acted as liaison between the families and prison officials. When families of out-of-state prisoners visited, Chabad provided Shabbat meals. Although he did not offer Shabbat services at the penitentiary because he could not drive on the Sabbath, the rabbi provided *yahrzeit* candles, prayer books, and holiday foods. While New served as chaplain, an Atlanta inmate expressed "apologies to the Jewish community for any embarrassment I may have caused them." The inmates received the *Southern Israelite* for free, and the Jewish National Fund sent calendars. A non-Jewish prisoner asked for New's intercession to obtain a furlough so that he could attend the bar mitzvah of he and his Jewish wife's son. The rabbi remembers treating the inmates like regular members of society and not as numbers or prisoners. The religious services provided them an anchor and sense of normalcy.[46]

In 1979 *Southern Israelite* editor Vida Goldgar reported on a Passover seder she attended at the penitentiary. About thirty inmates attended

along with volunteers active with the Jewish Discussion Group now coordinated by Harold "Mike" and Fredricka "Fritzi" Lainoff. Rabbi Bluming served as chaplain and conducted weekly services. The leaders of the seder were Rabbi Donald Peterman of Beth Shalom and Rabbi Shalom Lewis of Etz Chaim, with Cantor Isaac Goodfriend of Ahavath Achim in his eighth year at the prison seder.[47]

Goldgar's account provides evidence for several themes. It reflects the long-term commitment of the Jewish newspaper to cover community interaction with the penitentiary, as well as Goldgar's direct contact with the programs and inmates. The extensive coverage of prison activities by the Atlanta-based, widely circulated *Southern Israelite* attests to the pride taken by the local and regional Jewish communities in prison outreach. Prison activities were important community news concerning what was considered a significant community responsibility. Atlanta Jewry did not hide its dirty linen of Jews convicted of criminal behavior. Nonetheless, little is mentioned of specific crimes committed—things that would place a stigma of criminality on the community.

One might expect variations in the nature of the coverage over eight decades and, for example, between the owner/editorships of Adolph Rosenberg and Vida Goldgar. Yet only two differences are apparent. One is an increase in the number of articles, and the second is a greater number of calls for local volunteers and assistance, both beginning during the 1960s. These changes coincided with the increase in programming and the involvement of more individuals and institutions. Whether the alterations in coverage resulted from the latter or if the wave of social consciousness and activism of the 1960s exerted a causal effect on both increased coverage and prison work remains conjectural.

This article also illustrates the overlap of chaplaincies and programs. As previously demonstrated, Hyman Jacobs's tenure coincided with that of Temple rabbis. Here Goodfriend's holiday participation overlaps with those of Chabad rabbis. Although we have not uncovered evidence of coordination across congregations and between individuals, at least some communication likely took place even if through gaining the necessary approval from prison officials. With the participation of Rabbis Peterman and Lewis, this seder provides the somewhat unusual situation of having four very different congregations—Chabad (Hasidic); Ahavath Achim (founded as Orthodox but changed to Conservative), Etz Chaim

From the Southern Israelite*, April 20, 1979.*
(Digital Library of Georgia.)

(Conservative), and Beth Shalom (Liberal Traditional)—represented on one occasion, a truly ecumenical Jewish holiday observance. The participation in penitentiary activities of rabbis and lay people from every Atlanta congregation, with the exceptions of the Sephardic Orthodox Or VeShalom and Ashkenazic Orthodox Beth Jacob, testifies to the widespread concern for the welfare of fellow Jews, the vast majority of whom were from elsewhere in the country. Although incarcerated, members of almost all segments of the Atlanta Jewish community viewed the inmates as worthy of consideration and inclusion.

From Within the Penitentiary

The Jewish community welcomed prison officials as speakers, something the officials appeared to be pleased to do. In 1942 Warden Joseph Sanford spoke to the Gate City Lodge of B'nai B'rith on conditions in the penitentiary. In 1957 The Temple Couples Club heard Warden Wilkinson discuss "The Road Back" for inmates. The presentation following a Friday night service was one of a series of forums on "sociological problems" sponsored by the club. Three years later, Harry Weissman, the director of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary's Honor Farm, spoke at the Atlanta Jewish Community Center concerning "'The Man Returns'—Rehabilitation of the criminal so that he may return to society." The discussion included such issues as "Methods of Rehabilitation," "Capital punishment—yes or no," and "Conditions in our prisons."[48]

Jewish professionals played roles in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary beyond chaplaincy and programming, thereby demonstrating the variety of prison activity. Weissman epitomized such involvement and how it could intertwine with other community engagement. He held the professional position with the Honor Farm while also serving with his wife as cultural chair of The Temple's Couples Club. When Warden Wilkinson addressed the club, Weissman moderated the discussion. He also participated when the prisoners honored Hyman Jacobs for forty-six years of chaplaincy service in 1958. Weissman provides a link to another national Jewish institution as well: in 1929, he graduated with a degree in agricultural engineering from the National Farm School organized by Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf in 1897 in Doylestown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.[49] Perry Brickman consulted at the penitentiary for twenty years as an oral surgeon. During World War II, Dr. Harry R. Lipton, a lieutenant colonel

in the U.S. Public Health Service, was stationed at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. After the war, he continued to serve as public health staff psychiatrist at the facility. The inmates published articles showering praise on Lipton in their publication, the *Atlantian*. In this as in virtually every other instance described in this essay, these individuals do not represent isolated cases in Atlanta but rather examples of a national phenomenon.[50]

With few exceptions, the inmates have been depicted thus far as recipients of services. Nonetheless, as when they defended David Marx in 1939, their Jewish identities and activities also provided one of their few opportunities for agency while incarcerated. Although the date it began remains elusive, the inmates maintained a congregation sometimes called Temple Jaacov and at other times Congregation Beth Yaacov. In 1946 Ben Cohen served as associate editor of the *Atlantian*, the prisoners' newspaper. Two years hence the paper reported on the inmates' celebration of Passover "in the accepted and traditional manner," including "the customary dinner for those of the Jewish faith." Inmates Solomon B. Heiman and Edward Rubin led the seder service, and through the years inmates acted as assistant chaplains; for example, Seymour Haber held the position in 1958 and 1960. In 1958 chaplain's clerk Max Waldman wrote a column that was cleared by penitentiary censorship before being published in the *Southern Israelite*. In it, Waldman reported that he conducted Rosh Hashanah services "in a conservative manner" with the assistance of inmates Harry Peltz and Joe Kaufman. According to Waldman, "It is probable that this great holiday has a deeper meaning to a Jew here than in many places of the world. Beyond His universal forgiveness of all who may have wronged Him, beyond His heartfelt penitence for our sins, thoughts must meet in necessary communion with the thought waves of our loved ones who bow in prayer apart, who once bowed at our side." The warden and associate wardens attended as guests.[51]

Jewish community members regularly commented about the inmate-run services, with Passover at the prison being the most noted holiday celebration. In "Unique Jewish Congregation," a columnist wrote that the men attended services in their prison garb—blue denim shirts and pants—and used a homemade bimah. During Passover thirty-two inmates participated in the seder attended by outside, invited guests with the encouragement of the wardens. The men prepared the meal and

Unidentified individual at the Piggery on the Honor Farm, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, c. 1960. (Harry Weissman Papers, courtesy of the Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

observed all other Jewish holidays. Plans were in the works for monthly Hebrew instruction, the showing of movies of Jewish interest, and speakers from the Jewish community. The Jewish prisoners were concerned that the local Jewish community not forget them and would contribute appropriate books and periodicals. "Even more would they hope that concerned and committed people will grant them opportunities, when they are released, to prove that they can take their rightful place in society as contributing citizens." Rabbi Posner commented at the end of an interview, "One of the things I do remember was the seder that the inmates prepared for the inmate community to which they invited representatives from the Atlanta Jewish community. They did a really nice job." Vida Goldgar, who attended multiple penitentiary seders, elaborated on her

Seder conducted at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in 1958. The ark in the background, which contained a donated Torah, was built by the prisoners. (Harry Weissman Papers, courtesy of the Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

experience: "A mimeographed booklet sat alongside a Hagaddah [sic] that began 'Shalom—Welcome to the 1979 Temple Jaacov Passover Seder.'" One item especially caught her eye: "As detainees, we must consider ourselves lucky to be celebrating our Passover Seder with such abundance." The kosher meal, supervised by a Temple Jaacov member, included matzo ball soup, gefilte fish, chopped liver, kishke, and honey chicken. About thirty inmates attended along with volunteers from the Jewish Discussion Group.[52]

Another form of agency was evidenced when prisoners gave gifts to the Jewish volunteers and honored them for service. When Jacobs retired in 1963, for example, the prison synagogue members played a prominent role led by their president Milton "Kingfish" Levine. Building a bimah and portable ark, compiling a Hagaddah, and making gifts for those who provided assistance offered the prisoners creative outlets. In 1972 the prisoners voted on and approved a motion to designate their synagogue to be an open congregation, thereby formally welcoming Jews and non-Jews. In 1976 Robert I. Hern wrote to Adolph Rosenberg thanking the editor in behalf of the Jewish Discussion Group for regularly sending copies of the *Southern Israelite* to the prisoners. Although the discussion group was organized and led by members of the Atlanta Jewish community, inmates were clearly empowered by their participation to communicate in this fashion.[53]

Religion also lent itself to negative agency possibly related to Rabbi Wilson's observation concerning inmates' impulse to conflict with prison officials. In 1972 inmate Robert Greene filed suit against the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary requesting "more religious freedom and privileges for the Jewish congregation." Greene alleged that Jewish prisoners were being denied access to Jewish literature and services. Yet a *sefer Torah* was available at the prison for which prisoners had built a portable ark, and they had access to a small number of books of Jewish content in the chaplain's library. Greene maintained that Hebrew instruction had not been made available, but Assistant Warden J. D. Riggsby, who was in charge of programming, responded that no one had ever requested such instruction. Riggsby indicated a strong willingness to provide whatever books the prisoners required. Finally, Greene maintained that officials refused entry to Richard Henig, a member of The Temple who had been conducting services. As has been documented, services were conducted every

weekend, and holidays were regularly celebrated. Although U.S. District Judge Albert J. Henderson ordered the warden to respond through a U.S. District Attorney to Greene's petition within twenty days, it is hard to fault prison officials or local Jewish community members.[54]

Nonetheless, an anonymous letter to the editor from the Congregation of Temple Yaakov appeared in the *Southern Israelite* on August 25, just eight months after Greene's suit. The letter lamented numerous issues while stressing that "more than all there is the very painful void of never seeing or talking with other Jews in the community." The inmates expressed a strong interest in learning Hebrew. "In short, we wonder why we are cut from the Jewish community in so great a city. Our mistakes did not impair our love for God, or lessen our need for kindness from our own kind." An editor's note indicated that Alvin Sugarman was currently conducting services and that anyone interested in teaching Hebrew should contact the rabbi.[55] Again, the prisoners' complaints do not seem to reflect the evidence as much as they do the tendency of some inmates to lash out in frustration at their predicament. Most Jewish prisoners were not from Atlanta, yet local Jews still ministered to them and attempted to involve them in the local Jewish community. Perhaps, too, the prisoners sought more contact with the Jewish community because they felt lonely.

National Jewish and Other Faith-Based Contexts

Although somewhat unusual for Atlanta, Rabbi Marx's conflict with prison authorities in 1914 was not a unique occurrence. In 1916 Rabbi Louis Bernstein, formerly a member of the Board of Charities and Corrections of Missouri, criticized the conditions at Jefferson City Penitentiary.[56] In 1934 Rabbi Charles Mantinband, who served as the Jewish chaplain at the Northeastern Federal Penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and George Z. Medalie, president of New York's Jewish Board of Guardians, protested to the warden when the superintendent of federal prisons prohibited the provision of Passover food by outside organizations. The warden thereupon authorized the use of federal funds to purchase food for Passover. Yet when non-Jewish inmates deployed antisemitic remarks while protesting against special privileges for the Jewish prisoners, the 170 Jewish inmates decided to fast and pray on the first and last two days of Passover. In an ecumenical twist, Catholic prisoners forwarded a petition to Catholic Church officials in support of the Jews.[57] Conflict occasionally

occurred because of outside Jewish involvement, although not necessarily on the same level as in Arlene Peck's case. Samuel Weiskopf, for example, gave a Rosh Hashanah sermon about Jesus Christ for Jewish inmates incarcerated in San Francisco. A columnist for Houston's *Jewish Herald* lamented in 1911, "In our opinion, if San Francisco can not secure a Jewish chaplain for the penitentiary, let the Christian chaplain attend to the needs of the Jewish inmate. He would be considerate enough to speak on Moses and not Jesus for the forty-seven Jews in the penal institution."[58]

As in Atlanta, however, prison officials around the country typically welcomed regular and holiday services.[59] In St Louis in 1912 the superintendent of the Jewish Educational and Charitable Association interceded with the officials at the Missouri State Penitentiary, the city work house, the probation office, and the industrial school for Jews to refrain from work on the High Holidays and, for Jewish children about to be paroled, to be released during the holidays.[60] Demand for books, other materials, and equipment was also universal. In 1975 President Gerald Ford expressed thanks to the Brandeis University National Women's Committee for distributing three hundred thousand books to federal prisons during the previous two years.[61] With more Jewish prisoners, California volunteers independently took the same concept as Atlanta's Jewish Discussion Group many steps further. In 1970, the nation's largest prison, San Quentin, offered new Judaic studies courses including Jewish history, Zionism, Jews and dissent, and black antisemitism to the seventy-five to one hundred Jewish inmates and other prisoners who wished to attend.[62]

Thus far, the picture has been of the Jewish community's open acceptance of Jewish criminality. Yet in Atlanta, as elsewhere, defensive efforts were often undertaken to document the relatively small number of Jews incarcerated in relation to the total Jewish population and the general prison population. Reminiscent of contemporary anti-immigrant rhetoric, in 1908 New York City Police Commissioner Theodore A. Bingham attacked Jewish immigrants as the perpetrators of most of the crime in the metropolis. Jews reacted in a variety of ways including the creation of the New York Kehillah.[63] Dr. H. S. Linfield, the director of the Jewish Statistical Bureau, was particularly active in this area and was likely charged with gathering and disseminating such data. He submitted regular reports often also through the American Jewish Committee.[64] Thus attempting to

influence the perception of limited Jewish criminality served as still another Jewish institutional imperative relating to Jews locked behind bars.

Unlike the situation in Georgia, some penitentiaries' Jewish prison populations were large enough and their programs sufficiently developed and supported to create Jewish chapels.[65] The first Jewish chapel in the federal prison system was established in Sing Sing in New York. B'nai B'rith established the second chapel at the Ohio State Penitentiary in 1929. Dedications became elaborate ceremonies with wardens, local rabbis, and B'nai B'rith representatives participating.[66]

Like Hyman Jacobs and J. Joseph Cohen, laypeople around the country provided services to inmates over extended periods. For example, Charles Ascherman, a jeweler, assisted convicts regardless of race or creed in five Ohio prisons from 1935 into the late 1960s. His contact began when a teenage friend was sent to a reformatory. He arranged for the friend's early release, helped him find a job, and consequently became especially committed to parolees. Thus his initial involvement resulted from a direct link to an individual prisoner, much like the motivation of the director of the B'nai B'rith Commission on Community and Veterans Services described above.[67]

Rabbis served penal institutions as chaplains, and statewide, national, and even international agencies have been devoted to Jewish inmates' interests. Rev. Dr. David L. Liknaitz served as honorary chaplain at the military and federal prisons at Leavenworth, Kansas, from 1905 until at least 1916. He introduced and conducted Friday night services on the first and third Sabbaths of the month and High Holiday services and Passover seders, provided prayer books, and furnished a *sefer Torah*.[68] David Marx's counterpart in Galveston, Texas, Rabbi Henry Cohen, supervised the Synagogue and School Extension in southeast Texas with Rabbi David Rosenbaum of Austin as his deputy. They and others routinely conducted services for the Jewish prisoners and acted in their behalf at the Huntsville State Penitentiary and Wynne Farm, an institution that housed tubercular inmates.[69] In 1909 when "Rev. Dr. Louis A. Alexander was unanimously elected Jewish chaplain, in all the prisons and public institutions in Boston and Eastern Massachusetts," he was the first Jew to hold that state office.[70] Rabbi Nathan Zelizer of Congregation Tifereth Israel in Columbus, Ohio, acted as part-time chaplain at the Ohio Penitentiary for twenty-seven

years until it closed in 1973. Zelizer linked the prison chaplaincy with chaplaincies for mental health institutions, as had Hyman Jacobs.[71]

Rudolph I. Coffee, rabbi of Temple Sinai of Oakland and president of the California Jewish Committee for Personal Service in State Institutions, catered to Jewish prisoners for decades. He had first become involved with the prison at Joliet while serving at Temple Judea of Lawndale, Illinois. In 1922 Coffee was credited as having visited more penitentiaries than any other rabbi in the country. In 1934 he presented a *sefer Torah* lent by the Hebrew Home for the Aged and Disabled of San Francisco to the 175 Jewish prisoners in San Quentin from around the country and overseas including "one colored man from Abyssinia." Six years later, he conducted a service at Folsom State Prison at which he presented the inmates with a *sefer Torah* donated by Maurice L. Raphael and San Francisco's Sinai Memorial-Chapel. In 1935 the warden of San Quentin called on Protestant and Catholic representatives to join with Coffee to lobby the California legislature for fifty thousand dollars for a prison chapel. The group elected

B'nai B'rith Messenger,
April 19, 1940.
(National Library of Israel.)

Coffee its chair. In 1941, after his retirement from Temple Judea, Coffee occupied a newly created position as the Jewish chaplain for San Quentin, Folsom, and Chino prisons. The previous year he had won election as vice president of the new Prison Association of California.[72]

In 1937 the New York Jewish Board of Guardians conducted the first of several annual conferences for Jewish prison chaplains, during which plans for forming a national association were formulated. The bylaws and constitution were geared toward helping "integrate the work of chaplains with prison programs . . . which would stimulate the community's interest in the services rendered to prison inmates by chaplains." At the second conference, Rabbi Jacob Katz reported that his Jewish congregants at the Sing Sing prison expressed great interest in Jewish history and events unfolding in Palestine. For two years he and the inmates had been debating Mordecai Kaplan's concept of Judaism as a civilization, with the discussions occasionally becoming "acrimonious." Rabbi Abraham Holtzberg, chaplain at New Jersey State Prison, questioned the emphasis on Jewish ritual and the provision of special food during Jewish holidays and wondered if these things indirectly encouraged the inmates in "wrongdoing." Instead, Holtzberg suggested that chaplains inculcated Jewish values to address recidivism.[73] Holtzberg's was clearly a minority view in that Jewish chaplains and laypeople in Atlanta as elsewhere saw benefits in the special holiday celebrations and often fought with prison authorities to make certain that they would be available.

The first national association of Jewish prison chaplains formed by the conference was not the last.[74] In 1975 the Jewish Identity Center of New York organized a Union of Jewish Prisoners for Jews incarcerated in federal prisons as part of its outreach program. The organization had been in touch with several prisons housing five to twelve Jewish prisoners each and found sporadic Jewish religious services. The center sent literature with religious content to assist them "to re-establish a Jewish identity." The organization solicited religious books and articles as well as money to provide "holiday fare" to Jewish prisoners incarcerated throughout the country.[75] Twenty years later, Gary Friedman founded Jewish Prisoners Service International and chaired it until his death in 2016. The rabbi at Congregation Shaarei Teshuvah in Seattle also served as the first Jewish chaplain for the Washington State Department of Corrections from 1992 to 2004 and communications director of the American Correctional

Chaplains Association from 1998 to 2016.[76] Through the Chabad-Lubavitcher network, programs were established in numerous American locations and as far away as Australia. Some of these go under the title Aleph Institute and employ the motto No One Alone, No One Forgotten.[77]

Conferences and organizations offered mechanisms for communication and interaction, and the Jewish press served as another such platform. Jewish periodicals from Boston to Los Angeles informed readers concerning individuals, activities, and events throughout the country. On August 24, 1917, for example, the Chicago *Sentinel* reported that Rabbi David Marx "received a very hearty ovation" when he addressed the twelve hundred inmates at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, and that after his address he conducted services for the Jewish prisoners.[78] Unsurprisingly given the extensive B'nai B'rith involvement already documented, its Los Angeles–based publication, the *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, published numerous articles on programs for Jewish prisoners from across the country.

Jewish youth throughout the country—mirroring those in Atlanta—demonstrated interest in the plight of inmates and participated in prison programs including attending regular and holiday services. Israel Kaplan, rabbi emeritus at Congregation Ahavath Chesed in Jacksonville, Florida, brought future historian Stephen J. Whitfield to Raiford Prison to assist him in conducting Sabbath services circa 1957.[79] Thirteen young men and women visited the twenty Jewish prisoners at the Correctional Facility in Wallkill, New York, north of New York City. The Hebrew Congregation at Wallkill had forwarded the prisoners' invitation to Bet Kafe, a free Jewish coffee house in Greenwich Village. The young people brought Jewish foods and books donated by the Jewish Theological Seminary library. A Sephardi visited with a prisoner from the same background, and one visitor spoke with a former neighbor.[80] Neither were Connie Giniger and Arlene Peck alone among female activists. In 1914, the Independent German-American Woman's Club, "many members of which number among our most active Jewish club women in the city," visited the Illinois State Penitentiary even though "there are *no Jewesses among the women prisoners at Joliet*."[81]

Although far more research is needed, this introductory comparative analysis suggests that the activities and experiences of the Atlanta Jewish community were relatively typical. Virtually every pattern identified for

From the Aleph Institute website devoted to the organization's prison activities. (www.aleph-institute.org.)

Atlanta mirrored those found elsewhere. The few differences—including the creation of chapels and statewide organizations—resulted from the presence of larger numbers of Jewish inmates in specific prisons and states rather than regional differences.

Comparative studies concerning non-Jewish prison activities, including those of Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim organizations, also disclose similarities with and differences from the Jewish activities documented here. These groups dealt with larger numbers of prisoners in contrast to the extremely small population of Jewish inmates. Prisons typically employed full-time Catholic or Protestant chaplains professionally trained to work with the incarcerated, whereas Jewish chaplains were typically part-time volunteers. Many Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim clergy and laypeople considered proselytizing a legitimate goal. Jews, on the other hand, may have been motivated in their actions to counteract such conversion activities aimed at Jewish prisoners, but they did not espouse conversion as part of their mission. During the 1930s the emphases of

Catholic and Protestant clergy, however, shifted toward rehabilitation, a change that Muslim clergy undertook more recently.[82]

The word *penitentiary* derives from *penitent*, and Protestants and Catholics became deeply involved in prison work virtually from the onset of incarceration as a punishment. Chaplains expanded their prison work during the Progressive Era, and the American Correctional Chaplains Association was established in 1885.[83] The Catholic Church and Episcopalian and other Protestant denominations sponsor national chaplaincy associations paralleling their Jewish counterparts. In 2011 the Association of Muslim Chaplains was established although statewide organizations existed earlier. From the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* and other sources, the activities of the Nation of Islam to proselytize inmates, give them a sense of pride and self worth, and help them once they left prison can be traced.[84] From Arlene Peck, we know that the local NAACP conducted a study group with speakers for African American prisoners at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary at the same time that she ran the Jewish Discussion Group.

Catholic and Protestant religious work at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary provides several specific insights for a comparative approach. The Reverend Dr. H. Park Tucker, a Baptist, served as full-time chaplain beginning in 1948, having previously served at Chillicothe Delinquent Center in Ohio. Tucker wrote "A History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, 1901–1956," which praises Rabbi Marx profusely and provides substantial material for comparison and contrast with Jewish activities in that era. From 1901 to 1915, Dr. Tullius C. Tupper, an Episcopalian chaplain, served in a full-time capacity while Marx worked part-time. Tupper established and ran the prison library and school, compiled religious statistics, conducted funerals, censored prisoners' mail, and obtained the donation of numerous Bibles and other books. He also established the precedent of inviting local religious organizations to assist in services, much like the case later for the Jewish community. Music accompanied the services, guest speakers including evangelist Billy Sunday and Evangeline Booth, the commander of the Salvation Army, participated, and Tupper published a prison bulletin. Over the next five decades, Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Christian ministers, as well as a major from the Salvation Army, served as chaplains, with local clergy filling in during vacancies. During the 1920s, under Rev. George

Ladlow, the Salvation Army chaplain, a Brighter Day League met twice a month as a discussion group featuring outside speakers similar to the Jewish Discussion Group of later decades. In 1923 the Protestant chaplain occupied a new residence built within the penitentiary "Reservation." Until 1920 all prisoners including Jews had to attend Sunday services.[85]

During the 1930s chaplains were released from their responsibility over the educational program with the hiring of a full-time instructional employee. In 1939 a Saturday morning town hall forum was established under the auspices of the supervisor of education. Numerous outside speakers stimulated the discussions. Other individuals also assumed duties over the legal department and assistance to needy families. A full-time librarian took away another task, so that the chaplains thereafter concentrated on religious functions and services. Area ministers frequently assisted the regular chaplains so that, like the Jews, numerous Protestant denominations worked together. Into the 1940s and 1950s, for example, the local Salvation Army conducted monthly services, provided church music, and distributed religious literature. During the same period, Chaplain H. Park Tucker instituted a Religious Psychotherapy Group.[86]

Tucker indicated that from 1901 to 1909, a visiting priest from Immaculate Conception Church conducted mass every fourth Sunday. By 1909 Catholics comprised one-third of the prison population, justifying the employment of a full-time chaplain. From 1909 to 1911, T. J. Morrow worked in that position. He helped Tupper with the library and education program, conducted an English class for mostly Italian prisoners, and ran singing and Bible classes. From 1911 on, regular Catholic chaplains filled the role with the exception of vacancies, during which local priests performed as part-time volunteers.[87] Father Michael J. Byrne greatly expanded the recreation program during his tenure from 1917 to 1922 and secured athletic equipment through donations from throughout the country. Initially Catholic clergy conducted weekly mass in the penitentiary auditorium. In 1917 Bishop Kelley of Savannah blessed a new Catholic chapel situated above the auditorium that seated five hundred people. Besides mass, Byrne heard confessions on Saturdays, conducted personal conversations with inmates on Tuesdays, helped Catholic inmates secure employment after incarceration, and assisted inmates' families through the St. Vincent de Paul Society. He also served the entire prison population as morale and welfare officer. Regardless of Byrne's

LEFT TO RIGHT: Hyman S. Jacobs, Chaplain H. Park Tucker, and Harry Weissman at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, c. 1960. The handwritten message is from Tucker to Weissman and reads: "To my friend Harry Wiseman [sic], a gentleman & friend. Chaplain H. P. Tucker, U. S. P., Atlanta G." (Harry Weissman Papers, courtesy of the Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

full-time status, Catholics, like Jews, could bear the brunt of prejudice, as when a deputy warden refused to allow Catholic prisoners to attend mass. Byrne was prepared to fight the issue in Washington—as Marx had done for Jews in 1914—until the warden and superintendent of prisons intervened and allowed the men to practice their beliefs. During the 1920s the Knights of Columbus offered the prisoners a vocational training course similar to what Jewish groups provided in later decades.[88] Thus, unlike Jewish prisoners, Protestant and Catholic inmates benefited from the presence of full-time clergy.

Until the 1930s these full-time employees of the prison system performed duties assigned by the wardens that far exceeded what their Jewish part-time volunteer counterparts would have even wanted to undertake. Beginning during the 1930s, they became religious specialists and engaged in programming similar to the work of the Jewish chaplains and religious lay leaders, but primary differences stemmed from the size of the inmate populations. The Protestant inmate population justified a full-time chaplain from the opening of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, and a full-time Catholic chaplain's position was established once the Catholic inmate population was sufficiently large to warrant it. Ultimately the increase in Catholic incarceration also justified the creation of a separate Catholic chapel, whereas a separate Jewish chapel was never considered.[89]

Ministers from a variety of Protestant denominations catered to the needs of the Protestant inmates in the same way that Reform, Orthodox, Conservative, and Hasidic rabbis served the Jewish inmates. Behind prison doors the form of worship did not seem to be as significant as having people care and show interest, and being able to find respite and meaning in one's faith.

Conclusion

The prisoners' complaints and those of Arlene Peck—whether or not they had sufficient grounds—does not distract overly from the extensive record of Jewish commitment to the prisoners. Motivations varied from Jacobs's commitment to his father, to the social justice endeavors of Classical Reform rabbi David Marx, to the designated roles of Temple and Chabad rabbis, to the fulfillment of B'nai B'rith and Union of American Hebrew Congregations missions, to the thrill felt by Peck, and to the personal desire of individuals to help those in need. Motivation does not

appear to have changed over time. For almost every individual and institution, it centered on helping fellow Jews in need. The rise of activism of Chabad reflected the single alteration in any sort of evolving American Jewish zeitgeist. Rather than being hidden in shame, the activities of those individuals and organizations devoted to penitentiary outreach were advertised, and the Jewish community encouraged participation. With few exceptions, those involved received the support and cooperation of penitentiary officials who believed that the efforts of the volunteers would exert a salutary impact on the inmates. The religious freedom of those incarcerated as a constitutional right only arose as an issue on the few occasions when penitentiary officials denied the holding of religious services or withheld permission to miss work in order to participate in holiday celebrations.

Like the volunteers, the prisoners desired the Jewish programming for a variety of reasons. They gained a sense of fulfillment, Jewish identity, and belonging to the larger Jewish community and found diversion from the monotony of prison life. They attended for food, wine, and interaction with beautiful and interesting women, found positive and possibly negative agency, and gained hope for greater opportunity and inclusion within Jewish communities when they were freed from incarceration.[90]

This article documents how penitentiary outreach mirrored programs to Jews in mental facilities, Jewish immigrants, Jewish orphans, college students through Hillel, Jews stationed at military installations, and Jewish senior citizens. Ministering to the needs of inmates and how inmates benefited from faith-based programming and worship did not differ markedly from these similar endeavors, and every individual and organization active in prison work did so as part of involvement in such similar activities. These stories of all of these people and programs are intertwined. Such a finding suggests that these programs should be viewed from a holistic perspective as fundamental aspects of Jewish social service.

Finally, this paper raises numerous issues for future research. What happened to the inmates who participated in these programs after they left prison? Did the programs help them stay out of prison? Did they join local Jewish communities, and did their incarceration impact the way in which the community received them?[91] In terms of B'nai B'rith and Chabad, prison outreach clearly went beyond Atlanta. For example, the B'nai B'rith Community and Veterans Services Committee received requests

from Jewish prisoners at the Raiford State Prison and the Belle Glade Correctional Institute in Florida and federal correctional facilities in Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Worth, Texas, for programs similar to that developed by Connie Giniger in Atlanta.[92] Research as that only touched on in this essay in other Jewish communities near federal and state penitentiary facilities and for Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim communities should be undertaken and compared and contrasted with the Atlanta experience. The preliminary research presented here suggests the potential fruitfulness of further study.[93]

NOTES

[1] The Atlanta Federal Penitentiary opened in 1902 as a medium-security federal prison. It continues to operate today as the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta.

[2] Arlene G. Peck, letter to the editor, *Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), April 14, 1978; Arlene G. Peck, interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 22, 2018.

[3] Dana Peck Parker, telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 21, 2018.

[4] Marc Wilson, telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 21, 2018.

[5] Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York, 2012); Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870–1939* (New York, 1983); Albert Fried, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Gangster in America* (New York, 1980); Alan A. Block, *East Side–West Side: Organizing Crime in New York, 1930–1950* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983); Burton B. Turkus and Sid Feder, *Murder, Inc.: The Story of the Syndicate* (New York, 1992); Rich Cohen, *Tough Jews: Fathers, Sons, and Gangster Dreams* (New York, 1998); Leo Katcher, *The Big Bankroll: The Life and Times of Arnold Rothstein* (New York, 1959); Nick Tosches, *King of the Jews: The Arnold Rothstein Story* (London, 2005); David Pietrusza, *Rothstein: The Life, Times, and Murder of the Criminal Genius Who Fixed the 1919 World Series* (New York, 2003); Bradley Lewis, *Hollywood's Celebrity Gangster: The Incredible Life and Times of Mickey Cohen* (New York, 2007); Robert Lacey, *Little Man: Meyer Lansky and the Gangster Life* (New York, 1991); Dennis Eisenberg, Uri Dan, and Eli Landau, *Meyer Lansky: Mogul of the Mob* (New York, 1979); Paul Sann, *Kill the Dutchman: The Story of Dutch Schultz* (New York, 1971); Paul R. Kavieff, *The Purple Gang: Organized Crime in Detroit* (New York, 2000); Gus Russo, *Supermob: How Sidney Korshak and His Criminal Associates Became America's Hidden Power Brokers* (New York, 2006); Jenna Weissman Joselit, *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and the New York Jewish Community, 1900–1940* (Bloomington, IN, 1983); Robert A. Rockaway, *But – He Was Good to His Mother: The Lives and Crimes of Jewish Gangsters* (Jerusalem, Israel, 1993).

[6] Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case* (New York, 1968); Steve Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank* (New York, 2003); Simon Baatz, *For the Thrill of It: Leopold, Loeb, and the Murder That Shocked Chicago* (New York, 2008); Hal Higdon, *Leopold and Loeb: The Crime of the Century* (Urbana, IL, 1975); Virginia Carmichael, *Framing History: The Rosenberg Story and the Cold War* (Minneapolis, MN, 1993); Alvin H. Goldstein, *The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* (New York, 1975); Walter Schneir, *Final Verdict: What Really Happened in the Rosenberg Case* (Brooklyn, 2010); Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File* (New Haven, 1997); Wolf Blitzer, *Territory of Lies: The Exclusive Story of Jonathan Jay Pollard, the American Who Spied on His Country for Israel and How He Was Betrayed* (New York, 1989); Bernard R.. Henderson, *Pollard: The Spy's Story* (New York, 1988); Ronald J. Olive, *Capturing Jonathan Pollard: How One of the Most Notorious Spies in American History Was Brought to Justice* (Annapolis, MD, 2006).

[7] An example of the holistic view of service programs supported by Gate City Lodge of B'nai B'rith appears in "Atlanta Lodge drive aids Russian immigrants," *Southern Israelite*, August 17, 1979. "[C]onducting services and supporting Jewish inmates at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary" stood along with picking up household goods and clothing for the 150 Soviet families expected to settle in the city, a minicamp for blind children, a BBYO chapter for twenty mentally handicapped children, and activities at the Veterans Administration hospital and Jewish Home.

[8] We were able to trace only two inmates after incarceration. William Silver, according to prison records, broke prohibition laws in New York and entered the Atlanta Federation Penitentiary around 1910. He had run a liquor enterprise with his two brothers for whom he took the rap. His father in-law was Philip Solomon "Shalom" Clein, the *shamash* at Shearith Israel in Atlanta. Because of this connection, Rabbi Tobias Geffen visited Silver in jail. After serving his sentence, Silver remained in Atlanta where he ran a janitorial service, the Atlanta Winter Cleaning Company. William Silver (his grandson and namesake), telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 19, 2018. Harry Goldenhirsch was convicted of mail fraud and served in the penitentiary from 1929 to 1932. As Harry Golden, he later gained renown as a speaker, author, and publisher of the *Carolina Israelite*. Kimberly Marlowe Hartnett, *Carolina Israelite: How Harry Golden Made Us Care About Jews, The South, and Civil Rights* (Chapel Hill, 2015).

[9] Mark K. Bauman and Arnold Shankman, "The Rabbi as Ethnic Broker: The Case of David Marx," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 2 (Spring 1983): 51–68; Mark K. Bauman, "The Emergence of Jewish Social Service Agencies in Atlanta," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Winter 1985): 488–508; "Rabbi Marx Dies at 89, Brilliant Career as Spiritual Leader of Temple for 51 Years," *Southern Israelite*, February 23, 1962.

[10] The conflict was actually more complex than depicted here. Myer Cohen, telegram to David Marx, September 18, 1914; David Marx, telegram to Myer Cohen, September 18, 1914; David Marx, letter to Myer Cohen, September 22, 1914; Earnest Knaebel, assistant attorney general, letter to Myer Cohen, September 22, 1914; Simon Wolf, letter to David Marx, September 25, 1914; David Marx, letter to Simon Wolf, October 8, 1914. These documents are all in The Temple Records, MSS 59, box 2, file 5, Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History at the Breman Museum, Atlanta (hereafter cited as Cuba Family Archives). Archivist Jeremy Katz graciously provided this and other Breman records.

[11] Marx letter to Wolf, October 8, 1914, Cuba Family Archives. Mr. Heilbron, whose first name is unknown, conducted Sunday school classes at the penitentiary under Marx's direction. This partnership between a rabbi and layperson typified future interactive efforts.

[12] Simon Wolf served as president of the Hebrew Orphans' Home in Atlanta, an institution to which Marx was also deeply committed. B'nai B'rith District Lodge 5 established the home in 1889 as one of a network of such enterprises nationally. In a similar fashion to how chaplaincies in multiple venues mirrored that in the Atlanta penitentiary, B'nai B'rith's participation in prison outreach fit well with its mission to assist Jewish orphans. On Wolf, Marshall, Marx and the Frank case, see Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise*, 346, 348. Connie Giniger's penitentiary work through B'nai B'rith and presumably that of many others discussed below fell under the auspices of B'nai B'rith's Commission on Community and Veterans' Services, a reflection of how the fraternal order viewed the work as part of similar endeavors. Barbara Giniger Cooper, telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, April 9, 2018.

[13] This and other tributes from the *Atlantian* quoted in "Dr. Marx Retains Respect of Community: Many Tributes Offered in Defense of Rabbi's Character; Chosen as Flag Day Speaker by Elks," *Southern Israelite*, June 16, 1939.

[14] "Atlanta Federal Prisoners Honor Jacobs for 46 Years as Chaplain," *Southern Israelite*, June 20, 1958, (for "dollar-a-year" and Waldman quotations); Greville Janner, "In American Gaols," *Southern Israelite*, February 3, 1956, reprinted from *Jewish Chronicle* (London, England, for quotation on his ordination); "60 Year Volunteer: Georgia's 'Circuit Rider' Will Be Honored by District 5, B'nai B'rith, on June 4," *Southern Israelite*, June 2, 1961; Adolph Rosenberg, "Federal Prison Rites Pay Rare Tribute to Retiring Chaplain," *Southern Israelite*, December 27, 1963 (warden's quotation concerning Jacobs' father; Wilkinson quotation). In 1900 Jacobs helped organize the Georgia Association of B'nai B'rith Lodges and later served as president of Atlanta's Gate City Lodge and presided over B'nai B'rith District 5. He helped form B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations at the Universities of Florida and Georgia as well as Atlanta's B'nai B'rith Women's chapter. In 1945 the executive director of the Atlanta Federation of Jewish Social Services and of the Atlanta Jewish Welfare Fund called Jacobs "the indomitable, unperturbed 'lone wolf' of B'nai B'rith work" for Jacobs's efforts in behalf of the Jewish students at the Riverside Military Academy. Jacobs also led services for Jewish patients at the State Hospital in Milledgeville and for outlying congregations lacking rabbis. Edward M. Kahn, "Atlanta Takes Stock: The Jewish Community at Work During 1944–1945," *Southern Israelite*, September 14, 1945. Jacobs served as president of Ahavath Achim, the Atlanta congregation of the more affluent and acculturated eastern European Orthodox Jews, and held dual membership at The Temple. Apparently, at least for some of his tenure, Jacobs and a Mr. Golden served as Marx's assistants during services at the prison, and Jacobs conducted services in Marx's absence. Jacobs continued to assist Rabbi Harry Epstein, but when Epstein resigned in 1951, Jacobs assumed the primary responsibility with the assistance of M. Krugman (1950–1953) and Seymour Haber (1954), with an occasional visit by Rabbi Arnold Heisler. In December 1951 the executive director of the southern Zionist district, Irvin Abrahamowitz, conducted services, introducing still another organization. The local Christian Science community provided a similar mix of individuals. During the 1920s the Jewish prison population

at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary approximated 160. During the 1930s this number increased to 175. The Protestant chaplain frequently attended the Jewish services. H. Park Tucker, "The History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, 1901–1956" 260, 268, 349, 503–4, 505, Appendix E, 613, Archival Collection, Federal Bureau of Prisons, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. Tucker's history was graciously provided by Anne Diestel, Archivist/Historian, Federal Bureau of Prisons, National Corrections Academy.

[15] "Atlanta Federal Prisoners Honor Jacobs"; "60 Year Volunteer"; Rosenberg, "Federal Prison Rites." Dr. Irving Greenberg, honorary president of the Hebrew Academy, who spoke at the 1963 tribute, was Arlene Peck's uncle.

[16] Elliott Levitas, son of Ida Goldstein and Louis Levitas, telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, February 13, 2018. The Jewish Educational Alliance, forerunner of the Atlanta Jewish Community Center, largely served eastern European Jewish immigrants and their children.

[17] David Geffen, e-mail to Mark K. Bauman, March 23, 2018. Ultimately, Tobias Geffen investigated this man's case and helped him obtain parole. Geffen often helped locate men who had abandoned their wives so that the women could receive a get. To this end, he, a witness, and a scribe visited a man in a Florida prison and convinced him to sign the Jewish divorce document that the scribe wrote inside the prison. The rabbi served Congregation Shearith Israel in Atlanta from 1910 for almost six decades and represented the less acculturated and less affluent eastern European Jews in the city. See Joel Ziff, ed., *Lev Tuviah: On the Life and Work of Rabbi Tobias Geffen* (Newton, MA, 1988), 32, 33.

[18] "Charles W. Bergman, New Atlanta School Commissioner," *Southern Israelite*, June 30, 1933; "Education Bureau Invites Public to Hear Israeli Scholar Rabin," *Southern Israelite*, April 21, 1967. Bergman was also involved with B'nai B'rith and served as president of the Atlanta Zionist district. *Southern Israelite*, December 5, 1941; April 21, 1967.

[19] As was virtually universally the case, prison work served as one of numerous, often interrelated, causes for Pintchuck. She also worked in behalf of American Relief for Korea, Inc., the Atlanta War Records Committee during World War II, and provided assistance in Grady Hospital's children's polio ward while president of B'nai B'rith Women of Atlanta (1947–1949). Pintchuck was elected district deputy of B'nai B'rith Women, chaired the Interfaith Committee of The Temple Sisterhood, and served on the boards of National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), the Jewish Children's Services, and the Battle Hill Haven of the Women's Advisory Committee for Georgia Civil Defense. *Southern Israelite*, December 28, 1945; January 30, 1948 (includes a picture of her at the prison farm); July 29, 1960.

[20] "Rabbi Epstein Named Chaplain in Atlanta Pen," *Southern Israelite*, March 15, 1946. Epstein served as chaplain for area military bases during World War II and honorary chaplain of Jewish War Veterans post 112. Mark K. Bauman, *Harry H. Epstein and the Rabbinate as Conduit for Change* (Cranbury, NJ, 1994), 58.

[21] "Sports on Bennett Field," *Atlantian*, July/September 1946; "B'nai B'rith Bests Pen Tennis Team," *Southern Israelite*, July 4, 1947; Eddie Silverboard, "Hits—Splits—Bowling Bits: Eight AJCC Racketeers Serve at Atlanta Federal Pen," *Southern Israelite*, September 3, 1965; Miles Alexander, e-mail to Mark K. Bauman, February 22, 2018; Levitas interview, February

13, 2018. The Jewish program was neither unique nor isolated since the penitentiary conducted a tennis program that expanded, especially under Warden Fred T. Wilkinson, an avid player. Tucker, "History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary," 595.

[22] Rosenberg, "Federal Prison Rites"; "Education Intangibles Theme for Hebrew Academy Season," *Southern Israelite*, October 20, 1961. Feuerman served on the board of the Atlanta Jewish Community Center, and during his short tenure, the Hebrew Academy grew exponentially. He remained penitentiary chaplain until his departure for a new position in Montreal in 1967. *Southern Israelite*, January 14, 1966; November 22, 1963; "Nation's Jewish Editors Head for Atlanta Parley Next Week," *Southern Israelite*, May 13, 1965; Gertrude Krick, "Hebrew Academy Success Story: From Affiliation to Accreditation," *Southern Israelite,* December 10, 1971; "Rabbi Feuerman to Leave Academy for Montreal Post," *Southern Israelite*, May 5, 1967.

[23] A member of Gate City Lodge, Cohen's prison activities exemplified his many volunteer commitments often in leadership capacities in behalf of the Louis Kahn Group Home for the Elderly, the Atlanta Jewish Community Center, the Hebrew Academy, and the Jewish National Fund. He participated in the Russian immigrant resettlement and employment committee of the Jewish Family and Children's Bureau. "Joseph Cohen, ex-JFS chairman, dies at 64," *Southern Israelite*, June 27, 1986; "Joseph Cohen to Head AJWF Allocations Committee," *Southern Israelite*, September 26, 1975; February 14, 1975; February 16, 1973; April 5, 1947; January 4, 1980; December 24, 1971; November 13, 1970; October 19, 1979; Rosalind Pap, "Remembering J. Joseph Cohen," *Southern Israelite*, July 25, 1986; February 26, 1971; May 2, 1969; November 3, 1961.

[24] "Unique Jewish Congregation," *Southern Israelite*, July 21, 1967; "Will Address AJCC Group," *Southern Israelite*, May 3, 1968; Phillip Posner, e-mail to Mark K. Bauman, March 7, 2017; Alvin Sugarman, telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 5, 2017; "Rabbi Samuel Will Install Rabbi Sugarman April 26," *Southern Israelite*, April 12, 1974. On DeCavalcante, see Henry A. Zeiger, *Sam the Plumber: The Real-Life Saga of a Mafia Chieftain* (New York, 1970). In 1965 Richard J. Lehrman became Rothschild's assistant and conducted Sunday morning services and counseled prisoners at the penitentiary for three years. After serving as assistant rabbi at The Temple, Lehrman became the founding rabbi of Temple Sinai, thus providing a link to still another congregation. Although this article stresses the Jewish community's contribution to the lives of the prisoners, in his interview Sugarman noted that after he informed DeCavalcante about a child with spina bifida who celebrated his bar mitzvah at The Temple, the Spina Bifida Foundation consequently notified the rabbi that the DeCavalcante Family Foundation had contributed four thousand dollars to the cause. After his discharge from the penitentiary, DeCavalcante continued to be in touch with Connie Giniger. When she visited New Jersey, he had his chauffeur pick her up at the airport and drive her to the Playboy Club, where DeCavalcante met her and treated her to lunch. Cooper interview. Rabbi Rothschild's widow, Janice Rothschild Blumberg, recalls the presence of Meyer "Mickey" Cohen in the penitentiary. This Jewish boss of the West Coast rackets was convicted of tax evasion and false and fraudulent statements, transferred to the Atlanta facilities in the early 1960s after the close of Alcatraz, where he had been incarcerated, and discharged in 1972. Janice Rothschild Blumberg, e-mail to Mark K. Bauman, March 27, 2018; "Meyer Harris Cohen," Alcatraz, California, U.S.

Penitentiary, Prisoner Index, 1934-1963, AncestryLibrary, accessed May 11, 2018, https://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=xVp148&_phstart=success-Source&usePUBJs=true&gss=angs-g&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Meyer%20Harris%20&gsfn_x=0&gsln=Cohen&gsln_x=0&catbucket=rstp&MSAV=0&uidh=d24&pcat=ROOT_CATEGORY&h=1518&recoff=8%209%2010%2022%2068&dbid=34666&indiv=1&ml_rpos=1.com; Lewis, *Hollywood's Celebrity Gangster*; Steve Stevens and Craig Lockwood, *King of the Sunset Strip: Hangin' With Mickey Cohen and the Hollywood Mob* (Nashville, 2006); Tere Tereba, *Mickey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A.'s Notorious Mobster* (Toronto, 2012).

[25] Sugarman interview; remarks by Rabbi Martin Lawson during The Temple's 150th anniversary, February 2, 2018, "The Temple and the Brockey-Rothschild Memorial Institute Present: *Aseh L'cha Rav*—Find Yourself a Teacher: Temple Rabbis Return Home," brochure, The Temple, Atlanta, Georgia, February 2–3, 2018; Edward Cohn, telephone interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 5, 2018.

[26] Cohn interview; Adolph Rosenberg, "Atlanta Penitentiary Inmate Claims Jewish Prisoners Deprived of Religious Freedom," *Southern Israelite*, January 21, 1972.

[27] On this and following see Vida Goldgar, "Connie Giniger Mobilizes Communal Talent for New Era at Federal Pen," *Southern Israelite*, October 12, 1973; Sugarman interview; Adrienne Abramson Mendel, "The Atlanta Story," *Congressional Record*, March 21, 1974 (the bottom of the *Congressional Record* page indicates that this document was available from the B'nai B'rith Commission on Community and Veterans Affairs); Cooper interview.

[28] Congressman Andrew Young to the editor, *Southern Israelite*, May 18, 1973.

[29] Cohn interview; "Connie Giniger: 92, Germantown, Md.," *Southern Israelite*, April 6, 2018. Ten to fifteen members of The Temple Youth Group participated in numerous Sabbath services, according to Giniger's daughter Barbara Giniger Cooper, a regular attendee. Cooper recalls something similar to what several interviewees commented about. When a person entered the penitentiary, they stood between a gate in front and a gate behind. It was "really frightening." The volunteer faced the choice of going forward or backward. As a teenager, she got used to this. "Once the gate closed there were always bodyguards—inmates that would surround us to make sure we'd be safe." When one inmate convicted of bank robbery was released from prison, Connie and Morton Giniger introduced him and his wife into their Temple *havurah* group where they were made welcome. An artist who painted a picture for Giniger, he became very active in The Temple. Cooper interview. Giniger indicated, "My visits are always emotionally charged experiences and yet the prisoners know what areas are beyond our purview. Legal action regarding their parole, pardon or appeal status are NOT legitimate expressions of the type of service we can properly undertake." Mendel, "The Atlanta Story."

[30] Similarly, in 1962 Rabbi Morris Shapiro of Temple Beth Israel of Jackson, MI, helped establish a halfway house "similar to that of Father Dismas Clark's 'The Hoodlum Priest,'" in St Louis. Staff Reporter, "Rabbi Had Light Case Load in World's Largest Prison," *Sentinel* (Chicago), August 2, 1962.

[31] Vida Goldgar, "B'nai B'rith Seek Atlanta 'Half-Way' House for Georgia Ex-Prisoners," *Southern Israelite*, January 25, 1974; "Notes," *Southern Israelite*, July 26, 1974; Cooper interview. Giniger addressed the University of Georgia Hillel Foundation on "All Men are

Responsible," based on her prison work and pamphlet. "Mrs. Giniger Will Speak at UGa," *Southern Israelite*, February 6, 1976.

[32] Connie Giniger, "Sunday Morning Reflections," *Southern Israelite*, July 16, 1976; Cooper interview; "Connie Giniger: 92." Barbara Giniger Cooper received her bachelor's degree in administration of justice and was then serving as a job development specialist at American University. During her college years, she worked as a cooperative education intern with the Montgomery County Detention Center and as a volunteer assisting female inmates. Her mother's work had inspired her to pursue this major and her career with substance abuse and prevention for the criminal justice system. Patricia Giniger Snyder produces videos concerning reentry issues for federal clients. Connie Giniger's position as coordinator was only funded for one or two years. At the end of that period, her supervisor, Tom Jenkins, had already departed. She was placed with probation and parole, a position not on a par with her previous work. She became regional director of B'nai B'rith Women and finished her professional career as the director of Meals on Wheels for Jewish Family and Career Services. Governor Jimmy Carter honored Connie Giniger for her penitentiary efforts, and U.S. Senator Herman Talmadge placed an article discussing her accomplishments, "The Atlanta Story," by Adrienne Abramson Mendel, in the *Congressional Record*, March 21, 1974.

[33] Cohn interview.

[34] Arlene Peck, interview conducted by Mark K. Bauman, March 28, 2018; Arlene Peck, *Prison Cheerleader: How a Nice Jewish Girl Went Wrong Doing Right* (n.p., 2009), 11–16 (the "kick" quotation is on p. 16). Peck's book, providing her description of her work and her side of the various conflicts, should be read with care. For example, on p. 17 she claims, "I could be the first female into the institution with a regular program." She either ignores or is unaware of Connie Giniger's prior efforts and creation of the program. Nonetheless, Peck was a deeply committed Jewish communal leader. She served as the first president of the Atlanta women's division of the American Society of Technion and as vice president of North Atlanta ORT, Tel Chai and Sabra Hadassah, the Shearith Israel Sisterhood, and the first female vice president of that synagogue. "Technion," *Southern Israelite*, September 30, 1977; "Technion Women," *Southern Israelite*, April 29, 1977.

[35] Wilson interview; Peck interview. Wilson and Peck recall that Mike Thevis, a non-Jewish prisoner who attended the discussion group regularly accompanied by two bodyguards, was one of Peck's favorites. Thevis was one of the more notorious inmates from Atlanta at the time, having been involved in strip clubs, pornography, and murder. While he languished in prison, she accepted his offer of picking up family movies at his mansion for sale at a bazaar.

[36] *Southern Israelite*, April 16, 1976; "Arlene Peck Will Speak at Shule," *Southern Israelite*, February 6, 1976; Arlene Peck, "Look Out Russia, Here Comes Arlene Peck," *Southern Israelite*, January 23, 1976; January 30, 1976; February 27, 1976. Peck was described as "a contributing writer to the *Jewish Post and Opinion* (Indianapolis) and "a TV personality, columnist, and humorist." "Bat Ami Hadassah launches new season," *Southern Israelite*, August 17, 1979; "Atlanta City of Hope to have luncheon," *Southern Israelite*, August 29, 1986.

[37] Peck interview.

[38] Peck, *Prison Cheerleader*, 8, 15.

[39] Vida Goldgar, "Jewish Group Leaders Barred: Prison Program in Jeopardy," *Southern Israelite*, March 31, 1978; Peck interview.

[40] Goldgar, "Jewish Group Leaders Barred"; Peck interview; Wilson interview; Parker interview.

[41] Wilson interview; Cohn interview. Wilson notes that the Muslim prisoners also wanted access to kosher food because of their religious dietary requirements. When they got on that cafeteria line, they were given thirty days in a holding cell.

[42] Peck, *Prison Cheerleader*, 17, 31–33, 44–46, 59.

[43] Weiner was assistant director of the Atlanta Bureau of Jewish Education and regional director of United Synagogue Youth. He also conducted Torah study classes on Wednesday evenings in his home for Hillel college students. "Atlanta Jews Get Shalach Monos Thanks to Chabad-Lubavitch," *Southern Israelite*, March 12, 1976; October 1, 1976; December 12, 1975; "Regional NCSY Shabbaton Set for Birmingham," *Southern Israelite*, January 24, 1975; "Hillel-Federation Charts Winter Quarter Courses," *Southern Israelite*, January 10, 1975.

[44] "Lunch and learn Talmud at AJCC," *Southern Israelite*, October 14, 1977; January 19, 1972; "Chabad's Rabbi Bluming Accepts Pulpit in Connecticut," *Southern Israelite*, August 12, 1983. Bluming also served as chaplain of the city department of public works, taught a lunch and learn Talmud class cosponsored by the Atlanta Jewish Community Center and Bureau of Jewish Education, purportedly the only one of its kind at the time at a JCC, and developed numerous other creative programs in the city. He had previously served a year as chaplain for the Orange County Prison in California. Bluming had worked in Atlanta for nine years when he departed in 1983, which would indicate that he was already in the city when Weiner served as prison chaplain.

[45] Yossi New, telephone interview conducted by Leah Burnham, March 24, 2018; "Chabad's Rabbi New to head Atlanta's new Orthodox shul," *Southern Israelite*, December 7, 1984.

[46] New interview; Max Meltzer, "Jews behind bars: Rabbi New provides link to Yiddishkeit," *Southern Israelite*, December 20, 1985.

[47] Vida Goldgar, "My four seders," *Southern Israelite*, April 20, 1979.

[48] "B'nai B'rith Meeting," *Southern Israelite*, October 16, 1942; "Temple Couples Club to Hear Pen Warden," *Southern Israelite*, October 18, 1957; "At Home Series," *Southern Israelite*, March 25, 1960. The four-hundred-plus-acre Honor Farm was opened during the 1930s and closed in 1995. It was designed for exemplary prisoners to produce food for themselves and the inmates at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. Lauren King, "Weird South: Archive Materials on the Old Atlanta Prison Farm," About South, November 15, 2014, accessed April 18, 2018 , https://medium.com/about-south/weird-south-archive-materials-on-the-old-atlanta-prison-farm-7f8b28a78781.

[49] "Temple Couples Club"; "At Home Series"; "Atlanta Federal Prisoners Honor Jacobs." Weissman began working at the Honor Farm in rural DeKalb County as a dairyman in 1941 when he brought his family from Pennsylvania to live on the farm. He won promotion to assistant manager in 1942 and to manager in 1945. He retired in 1961. The farm produced beef, pork ("the piggery"), dairy products, and vegetables for human and animal consumption. It became a model for outstanding farming. Weissman actively participated in Jewish services at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and took his son to a Passover seder where the young boy found the hidden matzo, something Donald Weissman recalls over six decades

later. Donald Weissman, e-mail to Mark K. Bauman, April 17, 2018. Susan Weissman Shields remembers that her father treated the prisoners fairly and with dignity. No guards were stationed at the farm, and the prisoners recognized that they were being given special privileges including family visitation. Susan Weissman Shields, interview conducted by Crystal Perez for the DeKalb History Center, January 20, 2012, accessed April 18, 2018, http://www.dekalbhistory.org/documents/2012.3.392SusanWeissmanShields.pdf. See also Harold Martin, "Prisoners Work on Model Farm," *Atlanta Constitution*, July 11, 1946; "Story Behind Prison Honor Farm Which Has no Bars, Few Escapes," *Suburban Gazette*, November 11, 1959; Harry Weissman, "The Contribution of Atlanta's Farm to Institutional Economy," *Prison Problems: Answers to Some Pertinent Questions!*, U.S. Bureau of Prisons (1954), 49; Dorothy Cremin, "Prisoners Beat Rap On High Cost of Living," *Atlanta Journal*, June 20, 1957; "Rewarded for Capture," *DeKalb New Era*, December 12, 1957; Jack Wolfe, "USP's Honor Farm No. 2," *Atlantian*, undated clipping, 10, Harry Weissman Collection, in possession of Donald Weissman (hereafter cited as Weissman Collection); *DeKalb New Era*, December 12, 1957, 1 (about a prisoner who escaped from the Honor Farm and was captured by two DeKalb County police officers); Warden W. H. Hiatt to Harry Weissman, July 15, 1949 (praising Weissman for his assistance in capturing three inmates who escaped the Honor Farm), Weissman Collection. On the origins of the Honor Farm, see Tucker, "History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary," 111–16.

[50] In 1951, for example, Col. Maxwell B. Grossman was appointed commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Corrections. Grossman had represented the United States in 1950 at an international penal conference. Barbara Abrams worked as social worker in the Ohio penitentiary system. Participation in general prison reform was also not unusual. Michel Heymann, superintendent of the New Orleans Widows and Orphans Home for twenty-one years (1868–1870, 1887–1908), served as a delegate and gave presentations at several International Prison Reform Congresses. Locally, he belonged to the Prisons and Asylums Commission, Prison Reform Association, and Board of Charities and Corrections. In 1895 Heymann attended the Fifth Congress of the International Prison Association in Paris as the representative of Louisiana. "Col. Grossman Commissioner of Correction," *Jewish Advocate* (Boston, MA), January 25, 1951; "Public Officials, Community Leaders Pay Last Respects to Col. Grossman," *Jewish Advocate*, June 20, 1963; "Col. M. Grossman to Represent U.S. at Penal Conference," *Jewish Advocate*, June 15, 1950; "Social Worker at NCSY," *Cleveland Jewish News*, October 22, 1993; "Supt. M. Heymann Resigns," *Jewish Herald* (Houston), November 19, 1908; *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), July 26, 1895; William J. Batt, Heymann obituary, American Prison Association, 146–47. The last two documents were graciously provided by attorney and author Marlene Trestman.

[51] "Sports on Bennett Field," *Atlantian*, July/September 1946; "Atlanta's Religious Views," *Atlantian*, July 1948; "At Home Series"; Max Waldman, "Rosh Hashona in Atlanta," *Southern Israelite*, January 31, 1958.

[52] "Unique Jewish Congregation"; Rosenberg, "Atlanta Penitentiary Inmate Claims Jewish Prisoners Deprived of Religious Freedom"; Goldgar, "My four seders."

[53] "Atlanta Federal Prisoners Honor Jacobs"; Robert L. Hern, letter to the editor, *Southern Israelite*, April 16, 1976; Rosenberg, "Federal Prison Rites."

[54] Rosenberg, "Atlanta Penitentiary Inmate Claims Jewish Prisoners Deprived of Religious Freedom," *Atlanta Constitution*, January 13, 1972.

[55] The Congregation of Temple Yaakov, letter to the editor, *Southern Israelite*, August 25, 1972.

[56] *Jewish Independent* (Cleveland, OH), October 20, 1916.

[57] "Jewish Prisoners Are Denied Passover Food," *B'nai B'rith Messenger* (Los Angeles, CA), April 6, 1934.

[58] "The Country Rabbi's Column," *Jewish Herald* (Houston), October 26, 1911.

[59] See, for example, "Services at Penitentiary," *Jewish Independent* (Cleveland), October 12, 1917; "Jewish Prisoners Observe Passover," *Jewish Advocate* (Boston), April 12, 1931.

[60] "Holyday Observances," *Jewish Review and Observer* (Cleveland), September 6, 1912. See also "Observe Holy Days, *Sentinel*, September 21, 1917. Often getting off work for holiday observance was through the intercession of local Jews. In this case Morris Shlensky interceded for the Jews incarcerated in Joliet.

[61] "Books for Prisoners," *Jewish Advocate*, February 20, 1975. See also "Jewish Inmates Need Tape Recorder," *Cleveland Jewish News*, June 30, 1966. Rabbi Nathan Zelizer, the prison's Jewish chaplain, explained that the Jewish prisoners had greater needs than those of other religions "perhaps because of the higher education level of the Jewish prisoner, or, as I would prefer to believe, their Jewish heritage, both spiritually and psychologically."

[62] "San Quentin Prison to Offer Course in Judaic Studies," *B'nai B'rith Messenger,* December 25, 1970.

[63] Arthur A. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community: The Kehillah Experiment, 1908–1922* (New York, 1970). In fact, when Bingham made his assertions, Jewish criminality in New York was disproportionately high. Annie Polland and Daniel Soyer, *Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the Age of Immigration, 1840–1920* (New York, 2012), 162–63.

[64] In 1932 Jews constituted 15 percent of New York State's population but only 4.9 percent of its prison population. "Low Rate of Criminality Among Jews," *Jewish Advocate*, September 29, 1933. Linfield's study, published in *American Jewish Year Book* 33 (1931–32), found that Jews comprised 1.74 percent of the inmates in state reformatories and prisons from 1920 to 1929 in contrast to the 3.43 percent of Jews in the total population. "Percentage of Jewish Inmates Very Small," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, September 18, 1931. For another Linfield report, see "Low Rate of Criminality," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, February 14, 1936. Statistics from the Federal Bureau of Prisons support the figures developed by Jewish sources. In 1929, for example, 285 Jews were incarcerated at the Atlanta, Leavenworth, and McNeil Island facilities out of 10,068 total inmates. Annual reports graciously provided by Anne Diestel.

[65] "Jewish Inmates Need Tape Recorder," *Cleveland Jewish News*, June 30, 1966, for the Jewish chapel at the Columbus, Ohio, penitentiary.

[66] "Jewish Chapel at Ohio State Penitentiary Dedicated," *Sentinel*, March 8, 1929.

[67] Grace Krieger, "A Friend of the Friendless Prisoner: Charlie Ascherman Gives Devoted Service to Cause of Helping Parolees," *Cleveland Jewish News*, September, 29, 1967, 17. Krieger indentified Columbus insurance agent Abe Wolman as "another longtime champion of the 'cause.'"

[68] David L. Liknaitz, "Urgency of Jewish Prison Work," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, December 15, 1916.

[69] "Rabbi Visits State Prison," *Jewish Review and Observer*, March 12, 1920; "Union of American Hebrew Congregations: Prisoners' Welfare Work In Texas," *Jewish Review and Observer,* November 27, 1914.

[70] *Jewish Herald*, September 9, 1909.

[71] "Chaplain Should Serve Inmates," *Cleveland Jewish News*, December 14, 1973. Zelizer complained that rabbis were not serving the seven other correctional institutions in Ohio, although two Hebrew Union College students served the Jewish inmates at the Lucasville, OH, facility. This was not the only time that rabbinical students served inmates. In 1926 students from the Hebrew Theological College conducted High Holiday services at the Statesville branch of the Illinois state prison system. The inmates' "Executive Committee" thanked them for their efforts. Rabbi A. Neuberger, "Jewish Inmates of Statesville Penitentiary Thank Hebrew Theological College for Sending Rabbi to Conduct Yom Kippur Services," letter to the editor, *Sentinel*, September 24, 1926.

[72] Coffee had been visiting San Quentin and Folsom every month for twenty years even before becoming full-time chaplain. In 1943 he reported that there were roughly seventy-five Jewish inmates in each prison. Rudolph I. Coffee, "I Go to Prison Every Month," *Sentinel,* September 23, 1943; "Sec. Blumenthal and Rabbi Coffee Visit Folsom State Prison," *B'nai B'rith Messenger,* June 30, 1922; "Real Prison Reform," *Sentinel*, January 24, 1919; "An Echo From Joliet Prison," letter to the editor, *Sentinel*, May 9, 1919; "Sefer Torah is Given to San Quentin Prison," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, April 20, 1934; Rudolph I. Coffee, "Yom Kippur at San Quentin," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, October 5, 1934; "Dr. R. Coffee Heads Project for Chapel at the State Prison," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, March 1, 1935; "Sepher Torah Makes a Hit During Game at Folsom Prison," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, April 19, 1940. By 1927 laypeople and rabbis conducted High Holiday services throughout the California state prison system. "Holy Day Services at State Prisons," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, September 30, 1927.

[73] "Rabbi Discusses Problems of Jail Inmates: Sing Sing Prisoners Interested in Palestine, Judaism," *Jewish Advocate*, July 15, 1938; "Sing Sing Prisoners Interested in History," *Sentinel*, March 10, 1938.

[74] "Plan National Jewish Chaplains Prison Group," *Sentinel*, May 20, 1937.

[75] "Jewish Identity Center is a Prison Outreach Program," *Sentinel*, June 26, 1975.

[76] Jewish Prisoners' Service International, accessed May 11, 2018, http://jpsi.org/about/who-we-are/. See also Neshama: Association of Jewish Chaplains (NAJC), accessed May 11, 2018, JewishChaplain.net. The Jewish Prison Outreach Program of Congregation Neve Shalom in St. Louis won the "2011 Unsung Heroes Award." Congregation Neve Shalom, accessed May 11, 2018, http://www.neveshalom.org/html/outreach.html.

[77] For example, in 1984 Rabbi Moishe Mayir Vogel began his career work with Jewish inmates when he led High Holiday services at the Federal Prison Camp in Allenwood, PA. In 1991 he moved to Pittsburgh where he launched Aleph Institute–North East Region. In 2005 his institute opened a facility in the Squirrel Hill section of that city where he catered to Jewish prisoners and their families. "Reaching Out to Jewish Prisoners," The Aleph Institute North East Regional Headquarters (Pittsburgh, established 1991), accessed May 11, 2018, http://www.alephne.org/templates/articlecco_cdo/aid/3627454/jewish/Our-History; Aleph Institute (Miami, established 1982), accessed May 11, 2018, www.aleph-institute.org;

"Reaching Out to Jewish Prisoners," accessed May 11, 2018, http://jewishprisoner.com/AboutUs.aspx. See also "No One Alone, No One Forgotten," accessed May 11, 2018, https://aleph-institute.org/wp/programs/prison-programs/. The Rabbinical Association of Greater Boston included a Chaplain's Service Department that worked with local prisons. Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, "Prison Riots," *Jewish Advocate*, December 4, 1952.

[78] "Prison Welfare in Georgia," *Sentinel*, August 24, 1917.

[79] Stephen J. Whitfield, e-mail to Mark K. Bauman, May 14, 2018. Whitfield recalls having a thrill in doing this while not feeling any peril.

[80] "At Inmates' Request: Involved Greenwich Village Youth Are Visiting Jewish Prison Inmates," *Sentinel*, March 8, 1973.

[81] Nannie A. Reis, "A Visit to the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet," *Sentinel,* October 23, 1914. The sisterhood of Baton Rouge's Congregation B'nai Israel forwarded gift boxes and eyeglasses to prisoners in the Louisiana State Penitentiary, or Angola. Congregation B'nai Israel Sisterhood minutes, January 1910, October 1910, January 1918, December 12, 1921, Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati (hereafter AJA). See also Baton Rouge Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society minutes, January 1910, October 1910, AJA. The Columbia, SC, section of the NCJW raised money to train female teachers for vocational education for the Door of Hope, a program for prison inmates. Columbia, SC, NCJW minutes, October 18, 1921, AJA. The Selma NCJW women donated funds for a chapel to be built at the federal prison in Alderman, WV, after an investigation of Jewish needs. Selma, AL, NCJW minutes, February 9, 1928, February 23, 1928, April 17, 1928, December 5, 1930, AJA.

[82] See, for example, Richard Tewksbury and Sue Carter Collins, "Prison Chapel Volunteers," *Federal Probation* 69 (June 2005): 26–30; Jody L. Sundt, Harry R. Dammer, and Francis T. Cullen, "The Role of the Prison Chaplain in Rehabilitation," *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 35 (2002): 59–86; Judith Coleman, "Chaplains: God's Partners in Prison," *Corrections Today* 65 (December 2003): 122–25; Diana Eck, "Muslim Chaplaincy in the U.S.," The Pluralism Project, Harvard University, accessed May 11, 2018, http://pluralism.org/religions/islam/issues-for-muslims-in-america/muslim-chaplaincy-in-the-u-s/. In "Faith at Angola Prison: After 'Civic Death,' a Resurrection," *Commonweal* 144 (April 14, 2017): 10–11, Michael Hallett contends that Angola "is the only prison in America that allows inmates to run their own churches—a practice with roots in the prison's history as a plantation, where slaves organized their own churches." Prisoners formed "Baptist, Pentecostal, Catholic, Methodist, and other Christian worship communities—collectively referred to as the 'Angola Church.'" Small numbers of Muslims also practice their religion at Angola (10). The New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary offers courses to inmates and trains inmates to be ministers within the prison. Inmate ministers lead the prison churches, conduct funerals, and visit inmates on death row. These inmate congregations even tithe, giving back what they can in stationery, toiletries, etc. Hallett is apparently unaware of the Jewish congregation that existed at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

[83] American Correctional Chaplains Association, accessed May 11, 2018, http://www.correctionalchaplains.org/. Richard Denis Shaw, *Chaplains to the Imprisoned: Sharing Life with the Incarcerated* (New York, 1995) explains the chaplains' roles as seen by inmates, chaplains,

and coworkers. Shaw's chapter 2, "Historical Perspectives on the Prison Chaplaincy," emphasizes the negative view of the role of chaplains during the Progressive Era (23–33). For overviews of the interface of religion and prisons in American Jewish history, see Jennifer Graber, *The Furnace of Affliction: Prisons and Religion in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, 2011); Jennifer Graber, "Prisons and Religion in the Americas," *Religious Compass* 7 (2013): 532–40; Larry E. Sullivan, "History of Religion in Prisons," in *Encyclopedia of Prisons and Correctional Facilities*, ed. Mary Bosworth (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2004): 420–22; Harry R. Dammer, "Religion in Prison," in Bosworth, *Encyclopedia of Prisons and Correctional Facilities*, 835–40, which provides a good historical overview and discussion of issues including what inmates derive from religious programs, separation of church and state, and a short bibliography; Bruce D. Stout and Todd R. Clear, "Federal Prison Chaplains: Satisfied in Ministry But Often Undervalued," *Federal Prison Journal* 2 (Winter 1992): 8–10. In *Prison Religion: Faith-Based Reform and The Constitution* (Princeton, 2011), Winnifred Fallers Sullivan discusses the issue of church and state, something extensively debated among contemporary criminal justice academics and practitioners. Professor William Sobel, Georgia State University, graciously provided several of these citations.

[84] The organizations include the Association of Professional Chaplains, the National Association of Catholic Chaplains, and Episcopal Bishop for Armed Forces and Federal Ministries. Association of Muslim Chaplains, accessed May 19, 2018, https://associationofmuslimchaplains.org/about-us/#story; Malcolm X with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York, 1992 [1965]); Jed B. Tucker, "Malcolm X, the Prison Years: The Relentless Pursuit of Formal Education," *Journal of African American History* 102 (Spring 2017): 184–212. For a list of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim programs for inmates, see Jail and Outreach Ministry, accessed May 10, 2018, http://jail-outreach-ministry.com/resources/. See also Eck, "Muslim Chaplaincy in the U.S."

[85] Ernest Rogers, "Park Tucker Keeps Spiritual 'Bargain' As Chaplain of Atlanta's Penitentiary," *Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution*, January 17, 1954. Tucker, "History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary," 9–11, 41, 45, 145, 194, 260.

[86] Tucker, "History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary," 340–43, 399–402, 446, 492–500, 561–62.

[87] Ibid., Appendix, 68–72.

[88] Ibid., 134, 151–63, 208; Michael J. Byrne, "Work of a Federal Prison Chaplain," *Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia*, June 1, 1921, 16.

[89] In 1921 the First Church Scientist of Atlanta created a group to cater to Christian Science inmates. With small numbers, this group may have had more in common with the situation for Jews. Tucker, "History of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary," 149.

[90] In "Religion in Corrections," *The Encyclopedia of Crime and Punishment*, ed. David Levinson (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2002), 1375, Harry Dammer summarized the positive and negative reasons why prisoners of all religious beliefs seek and benefit from religion-based programs while incarcerated. These are identical to those described here for the Jewish prisoners at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

[91] Initially the authors hoped to locate prison records to be able to quantify information concerning the Jewish prisoners and possibly trace their actions after incarceration. Although

some digitized databases are available, they do not record the religion of the inmates. Requests directed to the National Archives and Records Center in Morrow, Georgia, and to the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) did not result in finding records concerning the various prison activities of the inmates or Jewish community, even with the cooperation of NARA archivist Shane Bell and the historian of the BOP, Dr. Jody Klein-Saffran.

[92] Mendel, "The Atlanta Story."

[93] The keyword "prison" on the Historical Jewish Press search page, hosted by the National Library of Israel, draws 26,014 links. Although some of these were from the *Palestine Post* and European Jewish newspapers, the majority were from the *Sentinel* and *B'nai B'rith Messenger*. The authors reviewed the first 337 items as a sample. Historical Jewish Press, accessed May, 2018, http://web.nli.org.il/sites/JPress/English/Pages/default.aspx.

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

* The author may be contacted at pleffler@virginia.edu.

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 Commision 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 Württenberg, 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, Mopsicks, 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 antimiscegenation 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 antimiscegenation 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 Colord 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 coexist 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

[1] For a rich discussion of this topic, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975).

[2] For a discussion of the "original sin" of America's founding, see Annette Gordon-Reed, "America's Original Sin: Slavery and the Legacy of White Supremacy," *Foreign Affairs* (January–February 2018): 2–7.

[3] Ron Kampeas, "Charlottesville's Jewish mayor is an expert on demagogues, and now on anti-Semitism," *The Times of Israel*, August 15, 2017, accessed January 4, 2018, http://www.timesofisrael.com/charlottesvilles-jewish-mayor-is-an-expert-on-demagogues-and-now-on-anti-semitism/.

[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.

[7] Organized in 2011, the Virginia Flaggers seek to defend Confederate monuments and memorials and to promote their understanding of southern heritage. See Virginia Flaggers, accessed March 14, 2018, http://vaflaggers.blogspot.com/.

[8] "Charlottesville 'Tear Down the Monuments' Rally Report and Update," Virginia Flaggers, March 24, 2016, accessed March 14, 2018, http://vaflaggers.blogspot.com/2016/03/httpm.html.

[9] "City of Charlottesville Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces: Report to City Council," December 19, 2016, 4, accessed January 4, 2017, http://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=48999.

[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/.

[18] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Jason Kessler," accessed February 8, 2018, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/jason-kessler; Southern Poverty Law Center, "'Cultural Marxism' Catching On," August 15, 2003, accessed February 8, 2018, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2003/cultural-marxism-catching.

[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.

[20] "Charlottesville City Council Votes to Rename Lee, Jackson Parks," *NBC29.com*, June 5, 2017, accessed January 7, 2017, http://www.nbc29.com/story/35595559/charlottesville-city-council.

[21] Laura Vozzella, "White nationalist Richard Spencer leads torch-bearing protesters defending Lee statue," *Washington Post*, May 14, 2017.

[22] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Richard Bertrand Spencer," accessed May 8, 2018, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/richard-bertrand-spencer-0.

[23] National Policy Institute, "Richard Spencer—About," accessed March 14, 2018, https://nationalpolicy.institute/whoarewe.

[24] National Policy Institute, https://nationalpolicy.institute/, accessed March 14, 2018; Radix Journal, https://www.radixjournal.com/, accessed March 14, 2018; Altright.com, https://altright.com/, accessed March 14, 2018. See also, Graeme Wood, "His Kampf," *The Atlantic*, June 2017.

[25] Southern Poverty Law Center, "American Racists Work to Spread 'Identitarian' Ideology," October 12, 2015, accessed January 8, 2017, https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/10/12/american-racists-work-spread-'identitarian'-ideology.

[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.

[28] Daniel Lombroso and Yoni Appelbaum, "'Hail Trump!': White Nationalists Salute the President-Elect," *The Atlantic*, November 21, 2016. The term *lügenpresse* was first used in Germany after the revolutions of 1848, implying that the mainstream media was controlled by Jews and Freemasons. See "America's alt-right learns to speak Nazi: 'Lügenpresse,'" *The Economist*, November 24, 2016. For quoted material, see Maya Barzilai, "How Richard Spencer created a new Atl-Golem, *Forward,* November 23, 2016.

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

[32] See Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium, "Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," accessed May 8, 2018, https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/loyal-white-knights-ku-klux-klan-lwk.

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[35] Charlottesville Clergy Collective, "About Us," accessed March 14, 2018, https://www.cvilleclergycollective.org/about.html.

[36] "Rabbi Tom Gutherz's Remarks and Prayer," Charlottesville Clergy Collective Blog, July 11, 2017, accessed January 22, 2018, https://www.cvilleclergycollective.org/blog/archives/07-2017.

[37] Lauren Berg, "Activists ask city to drop charges; ACLU asks city to revise police tactics," *Daily Progress*, July 14, 2017.

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[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/.

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[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". 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 Mathemetician 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://dcchs.org/LouisFOberdorfer/LouisFOberdorfer_Complete.pdf.

[59] Kent Schlussel, 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 Albemarle 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 Pickins 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://congregatecville.com/; Rabbi Tom Gutherz, 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.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Galveston Diaspora: A Statistical View of Jewish Immigration Through Texas, 1907–1913

by

Bryan Edward Stone*

Statistics of Jewish Immigrants Who Arrived at the Port of Galveston, Texas, During the Years 1907–1913 Inclusive, Handled by Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau of Galveston, Texas [1914].

Letter from "Secretary" [David Bressler], April 13, 1914.[1]

Between 1907 and 1914, nearly ten thousand Russian-Jewish immigrants arrived in the United States at Galveston, Texas, rather than the more common and familiar ports of the east coast. From there they dispersed throughout the country by rail, joining Jewish communities in hundreds of cities and towns where their skills and energy were desired. They were part of an organized, transnational effort known as the Galveston Movement (or Galveston Plan), by which organizers identified potential immigrants in Europe, matched them with American jobs, and facilitated their travel through Galveston to cities and towns throughout the country. In addition to such direct aid to immigrants, movement officials encouraged further migration by assisting Russian Jews coming to reunite with family members who had already immigrated and supported a significant number of "courtesy" cases, people who traveled independently but took advantage of movement officials' guidance and support along the way.

* The author may be contacted at bstone@delmar.edu.

Harbor scene, Galveston, Texas, c. 1910.
(Courtesy of Forshey Postcard Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.)

The Galveston Movement is a well-recognized event in American Jewish history and in the history of Jewish immigration to the United States. It has been the subject of numerous historical accounts, most notably Bernard Marinbach's near-definitive 1983 book *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West*, analyzed in articles and book chapters, and included in general narratives of American Jewish history. In addition, it has been the subject of a filmed docudrama, *West of Hester Street*, and figures prominently in a traveling museum exhibit, *Forgotten Gateway*, about immigration through Galveston.[2]

However, with the notable exception of the *Forgotten Gateway* exhibit, which included material gleaned from interviews with immigrants and their families, these narratives are institutional histories that take a broad, top-down view of the effort and focus on the well-known individuals who planned, supervised, and executed it. At best, they give only scant attention to the actual immigrants. Marinbach includes a small number of immigrant stories, including an extended account of Charles and Sarah Hoffman, who settled in Fort Worth, Texas.[3] The memoir of Alexander Gurwitz, *Memories of Two Generations*, includes an account of Gurwitz's voyage from his home in Yenaveh,

Russia (Yenakiyeve, Ukraine), to Galveston and on to San Antonio, Texas, that may be the only example of a Galveston immigrant narrating his personal journey from door to door.[4] With these and a few other exceptions, judging from the published historical record, the Galveston Movement might have been a strictly bureaucratic effort acting on behalf of an abstract group known as "the immigrants." Information about the actual immigrants as individuals is hard to locate.[5]

In my research on the Galveston Movement—which I conducted both for my history of Texas Jewry and for my introduction to Gurwitz's memoir—I relied on a document I first discovered at the American Jewish Archives (AJA) in Cincinnati in 1996: "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants Who Arrived at the Port of Galveston, Texas, During the Years 1907–1913 Inclusive, Handled by Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau of Galveston, Texas." This item is a report prepared by Galveston Movement officials, probably in early 1914, the final year of the movement. It consists entirely of tabular data showing statistical information about the immigrants, in particular the states and cities they traveled to, their ages and genders, and the professions they claimed to pursue. The tables do not provide a sense of each immigrant's personal story—they say nothing, in fact, of individuals at all—but they contain valuable aggregate data that illuminates the Galveston immigrant experience. They help us imagine more clearly the beneficiaries of the institutional program that has been otherwise so thoroughly explained and documented.

Even without data for 1914, the partial final year of the effort, "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" provides factual information of unparalleled detail and specificity about the Jews who arrived at Galveston. It shows, for example, that movement officials processed a grand total of 8,407 immigrants of whom 6,571 were male and 1,836 female; 1,271 were children. The immigrants were distributed to 235 cities in 32 states; Kansas City was the most frequent destination. The immigrants pursued 133 occupations, of which men's tailor, clerk, and housewife were the most common. The data can be organized and extrapolated in a number of ways besides the format in which it was presented in the original document, making it a rich source of details like these that have otherwise been unknown or unsubstantiated. It makes it possible, furthermore, to evaluate the movement's achievements in greater depth than previously.

The Galveston Movement: Origin, Methods, and Challenges

Between 1881 and 1924, more than 2.5 million eastern European Jews immigrated to the United States. The vast majority settled in New York City, where by 1910 about one-quarter of the population was Jewish.[6] Even though this influx established New York as the Jewish cultural capital of the United States, it created severe problems. The Lower East Side, where most Jewish immigrants lived, was grossly overcrowded, unsanitary, and poor. Nevertheless, once they arrived in the Jewish neighborhood, immigrants were reluctant to leave. As squalid as it was, the small, compressed district provided Jewish culture, the Yiddish language, kosher food, synagogues, schools, rabbis—all traditional necessities that smaller communities were hard-pressed to supply. As the numbers of immigrants increased and conditions worsened, members of the established Jewish community, mostly of central European descent, doubted their ability to assist the newcomers and feared a rise of antisemitism as the immigrants' condition became widely known.

A variety of local and national Jewish charities was formed in the early twentieth century to help ease the struggles of East Side Jews. In 1901 communal workers in New York formed the Industrial Removal Office (IRO) with the purpose of reducing the city's overcrowding by "removing" Jews from New York and reestablishing them in communities throughout the nation. A network of IRO employees fanned out around the country seeking locales with specific labor demands that could be matched to individual Jewish workers in New York seeking employment. Once matched, the IRO sent the workers to the new town, where a local contact met them and became responsible for looking after them until they became independent. The national B'nai B'rith played a key role in this distribution, forming local committees in dozens of communities that accepted responsibility for placing this constant influx of new settlers. The IRO operated until 1922 and relocated about 79,000 immigrants from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.[7]

But despite this apparent success, the IRO was barely making a dent in the massive numbers of Jewish immigrants continuing to arrive in New York, its primary focus. The city was by far the most frequent and convenient point of arrival for travelers leaving Europe, and as experience

continued to prove, it was nearly impossible to persuade immigrants to leave once they arrived. Financier Jacob Schiff, a prominent member of New York's German-Jewish elite and one of the IRO's strongest philanthropic backers, was concerned about its limited success. On the recommendation of U.S. immigration authorities, Schiff determined that rather than trying to remove immigrants who had already settled in New York, it might be easier to divert them to a different port of arrival and then disperse them to preselected destinations through a network of local agents built on the IRO model.

Schiff, who became the chair and sole financial supporter of the Galveston Plan, was responsible for the selection of Galveston as the program's point of entry. He chose the Texas city over New Orleans and other possibilities because it already received routine steamship service from Germany and was the Gulf port furthest to the west, where most of the immigrants were headed. Galveston was also the terminus of numerous railroad lines spreading throughout the American interior and was a small enough city, with a small enough Jewish population, not to run the risk that the immigrants would prefer to remain there rather than travel on to their selected destinations.[8] When the organization began, he pledged five hundred thousand dollars to fund the project, which he hoped "would suffice to place from 20,000 to 25,000 people in the American 'Hinterland,' and I believe, with the successful settlement of such a number, others would readily follow of their own accord."[9] The self-perpetuating result, if successful, would achieve nothing less than a complete diversion of Jewish immigration from New York to Galveston and into the hinterland beyond.

Schiff's audacious plan had three interlocking objectives, all of which prioritized the greatest possible dispersal of the immigrants. As conditions worsened for Jews in eastern Europe—devastating pogroms occurred in 1891, 1903, and 1905—it was imperative that the United States remain a refuge for them. Anti-immigration nativism was gathering strength with every arriving ship, and Schiff and his colleagues worried that a poor, unacculturated, and rapidly growing Jewish population in New York would supply a pretext for Congress to adopt restrictionist legislation. The key to preventing a nativist backlash, he considered, was dispersing the immigrants throughout the country. They would thus have a better opportunity to attain self-sufficiency and, not incidentally, be a

great deal less conspicuous. A program of dispersal was thus in the interest not only of recent immigrants who would have better employment potential outside New York, and of the preexisting Jewish community that felt responsible for their care, but of all Russian Jews who might seek sanctuary in the United States in the future.

In addition to this pragmatic political concern, Schiff was motivated by a second, more ideological objective: opposition to the emerging Zionist movement. Like many American Jews of his background, Schiff was deeply anti-Zionist, believing that a continued diaspora provided the best hope for Jewish survival. "[The] Jew must maintain his own identity—not *apart* in any autonomous body but *among* the nations," he wrote to Israel Zangwill in 1905.[10] Zangwill, the English playwright and activist, had formed the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO) to seek the creation of a Jewish state somewhere other than Palestine, an effort Schiff also opposed as undesirable and impractical. Arguing that the Galveston Plan was, unlike Territorialism, "immediately practicable," Schiff successfully diverted Zangwill from his mission by enlisting the ITO as a partner in the new effort.[11]

Jacob Schiff.
(Wikimedia Commons.)

Israel Zangwill.
(Wikimedia Commons.)

Finally, Schiff saw the Galveston Plan as a means of strengthening Jewish communities in the United States by bringing an influx of population to smaller Jewish enclaves. Perhaps most importantly, Schiff the businessman believed that immigrants would contribute to the economic development of the American interior. The "great American 'Hinterland,'" he wrote, "needs the sturdy immigrant, capable of becoming promptly self-supporting."[12] The immigrants, he wrote, "have the pioneer spirit" and would be followed by waves of additional arrivals who "will be an asset to the growth of the western territory."[13] All of these motives required the greatest possible dispersal of the immigrants, and as "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" reveals, they were ultimately sent to more than two hundred cities. Schiff's goals, considered together, reveal the Galveston Plan to be essentially a distribution program to scatter Jews from the Russian Empire as widely as possible across the American landscape.

To accomplish this distribution, Schiff oversaw a vast global institutional infrastructure. In New York, he formed a steering committee comprised of wealthy and influential New York Jews including Cyrus Sulzberger and Felix Warburg. David M. Bressler, general manager of the IRO in New York, served as committee secretary and was responsible for most of its daily operations, including retooling the IRO's extensive national network of local community contacts to accommodate the new program. Under Zangwill's supervision in London, the ITO managed the European side of the effort, and from an office in Kiev, ITO partners distributed Yiddish-language advertisements touting the advantages of a Texas entry, promising that if immigrants traveled to Galveston, representatives would meet them on the dock, secure them jobs in new cities, and provide directions and tickets for their further travel. The ITO also worked closely with the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* (Aid Society for German Jews), headquartered in Berlin, which facilitated the emigration of Jews from Germany. The *Hilfsverein* helped Schiff's staff expedite the movement of Russian Jews through the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany to Bremen, on the North Sea, from where the German Lloyd Line provided direct passage to Galveston.

While these international arrangements took shape, Morris D. Waldman, Bressler's assistant at the IRO in New York, traveled to Galveston in January 1907 to establish the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau (JIIB), an office charged with arranging for the immigrants' care

upon arrival and their transportation onward. He carried a letter of introduction from Schiff to Rabbi Henry Cohen, who had served as the city's Jewish spiritual leader since 1888 and would continue to do so until his death in 1952. Cohen was already a local institution and the foremost rabbi in Texas. His enthusiastic support for the effort and his indefatigable advocacy of the immigrants would be a key to its success, and with the clear exception of Schiff, Cohen became the most visible individual supporting the Galveston Movement. He met every ship that arrived at his city, greeted each immigrant in Yiddish, arranged for them to receive kosher food and accommodations, argued on their behalf with U.S. immigration authorities, and guided them to the trains that took them to their new homes. Although Waldman was replaced as JIIB director in 1909 by social worker Henry Berman, who, in turn, was replaced in 1913 by Maurice Epstein, Cohen remained a consistent, humane, and universally admired presence.

Despite the good intentions and excessive talent of its personnel, as well as its methodically organized and well-funded structure, the Galveston Movement encountered a variety of ultimately insurmountable problems. These included, predictably, garden-variety institutional rivalries, especially in Europe, where the ITO and *Hilfsverein* tangled continuously over which immigrants to target and what assurances could responsibly be made to them. In the United States, local communal organizations charged with receiving the immigrants complained bitterly about larger-than-expected numbers they were required to place and, most commonly, that the immigrants they received did not actually possess the employable skills they had claimed they had and that communities had been promised.[14]

Institutional infighting, however, was the least of Schiff's concerns. At a meeting in New York on April 9, 1914, he met with the steering committee to discuss ending the program and cited two reasons as definitive. These are described in detail in the meeting minutes and are summarized in a letter dated April 13, 1914, four days after the meeting, probably written by committee secretary David Bressler. According to the letter, steamship service from Bremen to Galveston had proven "wholly inadequate"—uncomfortable, crowded, and long in duration, generally at least three weeks. Conditions on board the ships were notorious enough, in fact, so as "to discourage any considerable volume [of potential

immigrants] from availing themselves of the Galveston route."[15] Letters home from America carried word, transmitted through European grapevines, of the horrors of travel to Galveston, and officials in Kiev found it increasingly difficult to sell potential immigrants on the route. Attempts had been made to persuade the Lloyd line to improve the treatment of its immigrant passengers, but these efforts had failed.

Rabbi Henry Cohen with immigrants, c. 1907. (Courtesy of Congregation B'nai Israel, Galveston.)

An even more frustrating problem was "the unduly severe enforcement of the Immigration Laws and Regulations at the Port of Galveston."[16] According to Bressler's letter, research presented at the termination meeting by Maurice Epstein, the latest manager of the Galveston JIIB office, indicated that an average of 4.3 percent of immigrants arriving in Galveston were excluded or deported, usually for perceived health problems, whereas the deportation rate at northern ports averaged between 0.6 percent and 1.1 percent. The figure for Galveston had, in fact, risen significantly in early 1914 to 5.87 percent. "It was further pointed out that there were instances of immigrants excluded at Galveston who experienced no difficulty subsequently in gaining admission at a northern port."[17] Word of the harsh inspections at Galveston and the likelihood of being returned to Europe or forced to seek entry at another American port further eroded the willingness of potential immigrants to book their passage to Texas.

Immigration authorities in Galveston may have been stricter in their inspections and admissions than those in New York and other cities for

U.S. Life Saving Station and Federal Immigration Station, Galveston.
(Courtesy of Galveston Photographic Subject Files,
Rosenberg Library, Galveston.)

several reasons. Galveston received fewer immigrants overall, so inspectors may have given more attention to each one and discovered a greater number of problems. Possibly also, the extended voyage at sea affected the health of the immigrants so that more arrived in Galveston exhibiting medical issues that compelled their exclusion. Bernard Marinbach, however, attributes the greater rigor to the personnel assigned to the immigration station in Galveston, officials who were conspicuous in their resistance to immigration and to Jews in particular.[18]

These difficulties, Bressler's letter relates, "constituted an insurmountable handicap to the realization of the purpose for which the movement was started." The committee's goal had been to divert Jewish immigration from New York to Galveston, but that effort had clearly failed. "[Because] of these handicaps, no deflection of Jewish immigration in any appreciable volume had been accomplished." At no time, in fact, had the number of Jewish immigrants arriving in Galveston risen above 3 percent of the national total.[19] With more than $235,000 of Schiff's money already expended, the committee voted to terminate the program as of September 1914. The committee members, of course, did not know that

World War I would begin in August, virtually eliminating travel across Europe and greatly increasing the expense and hazard of transatlantic passage. The onset of war was not a consideration in ending the Galveston Movement, but it almost certainly would have made any further activity impossible.

How the Data are Presented

At the final meeting of the Galveston Movement steering committee, according to Bressler's letter, members were advised that their effort "had handled and distributed between 8000 and 9000 people consisting of men, women and children."[20] They were given statistics on deportations supplied by Maurice Epstein, who also reported the numbers of immigrants who had arrived during the first three months of 1914: an average of 162 per month, down from 217 per month for the same period in 1913.[21] Extensive qualitative discussion ensued concerning conditions on board the passenger liners and about the hardships of dealing with American immigration authorities, but the committee's interest in numerical data is clear from the reports of that meeting. This was, in nearly every respect, a data-driven enterprise.

The existence of a document like "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants," therefore, is no surprise, even if its provenance is unclear. The document does not indicate where the data was collected, where the report was composed, or whose files were consulted to gather the information it contains. It does not credit an author or researcher or supply a cover letter, and nothing in the document hints at its intended purpose or audience. The document, among the Henry Cohen Papers at the AJA, is attached to a copy of Bressler's letter describing the final committee meeting. Cohen did not attend that meeting, but he was in frequent correspondence with everyone involved in the effort, and he collected and kept a variety of documentation related to the program in which he was so personally engaged. He possibly received the report from New York along with the letter attached to it.

The document's title, however, identifies its subjects as the immigrants handled by the JIIB "of Galveston, Texas," which suggests that the data it contains was gathered in Galveston rather than by the IRO in New York. I could not locate another copy of the document, furthermore, in a search of the JIIB records, which were extracted from the files of the IRO

and are now held by the American Jewish Historical Society. If it had been created in New York, it would likely be in that collection.[22] The few researchers, including Marinbach, who have consulted the document cite only the copy in the Cohen Papers at the AJA. No other archival collection appears to hold the document, suggesting that Cohen's copy may be the only one that has survived. Cohen did not likely personally collate the data—record-keeping was not his forté or his role in the enterprise—but it may have been gathered by JIIB staff directed by Maurice Epstein and working closely with Cohen. Epstein had, in any case, supplied other statistical data to the IRO and to Schiff's steering committee and clearly had the means at his disposal to do so.

Even without knowing its author or origination, the data that "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" contains is clear and essential. The document is arranged into three sections: 1) distribution of the immigrants by the states where they were settled, which is further broken down by city; 2) statistics of trades, including a separate table quantifying the immigrants' most common trades; and 3) statistics on age and gender. The state and city data is divided into "Bureau Territory" and "General Territory." "Bureau Territory" refers to states where the JIIB put its main emphasis, had the strongest local connections, and aimed primarily to place the immigrants. These are: Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Wisconsin. The total number of immigrants sent to these states was 7,886. "Other Territory" is everywhere else, including states in the Far West and Northeast, where the JIIB did not place an organizational emphasis but where the immigrants went anyway for a variety of reasons, often to reunite with family members. Those states outside the bureau's primary scope account for only 521 of the total immigrants it helped to place.

The tables on trades are roughly organized by type of work, although these divisions are not labeled. Included among the trades listings are "None" (possibly comprised mostly of children, although the report does not specify) and "House-wife." Housewives number 535 out of a total of 1,225 female immigrants over the age of fifteen; if most of the immigrants listed with no profession were in fact children, then nearly half of the adult women worked in paying trades. Age tables are broken

down by age group and gender and indicate ages ranging from infant to forty-six and older.

In all of the tables, immigrants are subdivided into three categories: "Direct," "Reunion," and "Courtesy," terms used by the JIIB to distinguish the various forms of assistance it provided. Direct removals were those who received the bureau's primary attention, while reunion and courtesy cases were those the bureau assisted but had not recruited or originally planned to help. Schiff's willingness to extend assistance to these unforeseen arrivals illustrates his wish to promote ongoing migration—his desire that bureau removals be followed by family and others traveling along the same route to Galveston.

Direct removals were most commonly men between thirty-one and thirty-five whom movement officials had selected for direct assistance. They were identified as potential immigrants in Russia, encouraged to purchase passage to Galveston, matched with specific contacts and jobs in selected American cities, and sent at bureau expense to their final destinations. With 6,115 cases, direct removals naturally constituted the bulk of the bureau's activity. Reunion cases, who were expected to pay their own expenses, were immigrants traveling to join those whom the bureau had brought previously. Reunions numbered 1,004 cases, of which 338 were adult women (over fifteen years old), the rest children of both sexes; only 180 men over fifteen years old were reunited with their families in this way.

Courtesy cases were those who, for a variety of reasons, availed themselves of the bureau's financial support or guidance, although they had not been identified or recruited by European caseworkers. They numbered 1,288, roughly equal parts male and female, the largest share being children. The presence of so many courtesy cases suggests that one of Schiff's original goals was materializing: families of Russian Jews seeking to go to America were independently choosing Galveston as their preferred port of entry, even when movement officials had not singled them out for attention. Immigrants without bureau-determined destinations traveled alongside the bureau's placements throughout Europe and crossed the Atlantic on the same ships. They went to Galveston of their own accord, chose their own ultimate destinations, and traveled entirely at their own expense, but they arrived in Galveston interspersed among those the bureau had supported all along. Bureau officials recognized

them as a different category of immigrants, but nonetheless attempted to convey them if they could. In some cases, the bureau extended financial support to courtesy cases who arrived in Galveston without the means to travel further. The JIIB preferred to pay the rest of their transportation costs rather than see them deported back to Europe.

What the Data Show: Destinations

"Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" provides texture and detail that improves our understanding of the identities of the Galveston immigrants. Although it contains only numerical data, its figures suggest a variety of observations about the movement and its participants that amplify and illustrate what we already knew and point to new directions for future research.

The first set of tables, breaking down immigrant arrivals by destination, is presented alphabetically by state, within the bureau's territory and then outside it. By compiling and reordering the data in these tables, one can see at a glance which states and cities were the most popular destinations and how many communities in each state received immigrants (see Tables 1, 2, and 3).

TABLE 1. States receiving Galveston immigrants, all categories, 1907–1913.[23]

State	Arrivals	% of total	State	Arrivals	% of total
Texas	2,144	26%	Michigan	26	< 1%
Iowa	1,225	15%	Georgia	25	< 1%
Missouri	1,099	13%	Ohio	19	< 1%
Minnesota	997	12%	Oregon	19	< 1%
Nebraska	641	8%	Utah	19	< 1%
California	349	4%	Kentucky	17	< 1%
Louisiana	296	4%	Washington	15	< 1%
Colorado	284	3%	Arizona	8	< 1%
Illinois	283	3%	Alabama	6	< 1%
Oklahoma	245	3%	Connecticut	5	< 1%
Kansas	208	2%	New York	4	< 1%
Tennessee	191	2%	Indiana	2	< 1%
Arkansas	155	2%	Massachusetts	2	< 1%
Wisconsin	48	1%	New Mexico	2	< 1%
Mississippi	35	< 1%	Nevada	2	< 1%
North Dakota	35	< 1%	Rhode Island	1	< 1%
			Total	**8,407**	

NOTE: *Italics* indicate "bureau territory."

TABLE 2. Cities receiving Galveston immigrants, all categories, 1907–1913.

City	Total arrivals	City	Total arrivals
Kansas City, MO	716	Colorado Springs, CO	38
St. Paul, MN	547	Chicago, IL	36
Omaha, NE	473	Muscatine, IA	36
Houston, TX	392	Pine Bluff, AR	34
Dallas, TX	343	Council Bluffs, IA	33
Minneapolis, MN	316	Waterloo, IA	31
Galveston, TX	287	El Paso, TX	30
Ft. Worth, TX	263	Joplin, MO	30
Des Moines, IA	250	Ft. Smith, AR	29
Rock Island, IL	213	Milwaukee, WI	29
New Orleans, LA	204	Victoria, TX	29
San Francisco, CA	201	Wharton, TX	28
Davenport, IA	189	Detroit, MI	24
San Antonio, TX	184	Quincy, IL	24
Memphis, TN	178	Ft. Dodge, IA	21
Lincoln, NE	149	Helena, AR	21
Burlington, IA	143	Atlanta, GA	20
Oklahoma City, OK	140	Oakland, CA	20
St. Louis, MO	140	Calvert, TX	19
Dubuque, IA	136	Corsicana, TX	19
Sioux City, IA	134	Portland, OR	19
Denver, CO	133	Salt Lake City, UT	19
St. Joseph, MO	133	Centreville, IA	18
Los Angeles, CA	121	Palestine, TX	18
Waco, TX	117	Superior, WI	18
Cedar Rapids, IA	111	Austin, TX	17
Duluth, MN	95	Hugo, OK	17
Ottumwa, IA	92	Denison, TX	16
Pueblo, CO	87	Fargo, ND	16
Cleburne, TX	82	Lawton, OK	16
Leavenworth, KS	66	Seattle, WA	15
Little Rock, AR	66	Natchez, MS	14
Topeka, KS	63	Ashley, ND	13
Texarkana, TX	58	Port Arthur, TX	13
Sedalia, MO	55	Tulsa, OK	13
Tyler, TX	50	Chisholm, MN	12
Marshall, TX	46	Lake Charles, LA	12
Shreveport, LA	45	Louisville, KY	12
Beaumont, TX	43	Ardmore, OK	11
Wichita, KS	43	Vicksburg, MS	11

TABLE 2, cont.

City	Total arrivals
Bryan, TX	10
Cincinnati, OH	10
Nashville, TN	10
San Marcos, TX	10
Chickasha, OK	9
Cleveland, OH	9
Corpus Christi, TX	9
Dublin, TX	9
Gainesville, TX	9
Hannibal, MO	9
McAlester, OK	9
Oscaloosa, IA	9
Shawnee, OK	9
Texas City, TX	9
Yoakum, TX	9
Atchison, KS	8
Cripple Creek, CO	8
Hastings, NE	8
Marshalltown, IA	8
Virginia, MN	8
Vivian, LA	8
Alexandria, LA	7
Hibbing, MN	7
Hutchinson, KS	7
Iola, KS	7
Laredo, TX	7
Okmulgee, OK	7
Springfield, MO	7
Victor, CO	7
Hattiesburg, MS	6
Liberty, TX	6
Luling, TX	6
Monroe, LA	6
Baton Rouge, LA	5
El Reno, OK	5
Eveleth, MN	5
Grand Forks, ND	5
Hamilton, TX	5
Moberly, MO	5
Staples, MN	5

City	Total arrivals
Bridgeport, CT	4
Danville, IL	4
Grand Island, NE	4
Guthrie, OK	4
Keokuk, IA	4
Macon, GA	4
Mingus, TX	4
Navasota, TX	4
Parsons, KS	4
Seguin, TX	4
Lexington, KY	4
Tucson, AZ	4
Amarillo, TX	3
Chatanooga, TN	3
Clinton, IA	3
Eagle Lake, TX	3
Ft. Scott, KS	3
Gatesville, TX	3
Hallettsville, TX	3
Hot Springs, AR	3
Imperial, CA	3
Iowa City, IA	3
Lafayette, LA	3
Nocona, TX	3
Pittsburg, KS	3
Selma, AL	3
Webb City, MO	3
Argenta, AR	2
Birmingham, AL	2
Boston, MA	2
Chariton, IA	2
Denton, TX	2
DeRidder, LA	2
Dickinson, TX	2
Douglas, AZ	2
Durant, OK	2
Ennis, TX	2
Fremont, NE	2
Gilbert, MN	2
Independence, KS	2

TABLE 2, cont.

City	Total arrivals
Indianapolis, IN	2
Lake Providence, LA	2
McKinney, TX	2
Monte Vista, CO	2
Nehawka, NE	2
New York City, NY	2
Pecos, TX	2
Pierce, TX	2
Richmond, TX	2
San Diego, CA	2
Silsbee, TX	2
Teague, TX	2
Trinidad, CO	2
Waverly, IA	2
Weimar, TX	2
Wichita Falls, TX	2
Winnemucca, NV	2
Yazoo City, MS	2
Anderson, TX	1
Aurora, IL	1
Bastrop, LA	1
Beeville, TX	1
Bremond, TX	1
Boulder, CO	1
Bowman, ND	1
Brooklyn, NY	1
Brownwood, TX	1
Carthage, MO	1
Clifton, AZ	1
Cottage Grove, WI	1
Cruger, MS	1
Del Norte, CO	1
Duncan, OK	1
Evanston, IL	1
Falls City, NE	1
Flint, MI	1
Franklin, TX	1
Fruitville, CA	1
Galena, KS	1
Gilmer, TX	1
Gonzales, TX	1
Grand Rapids, MI	1
Hartford, CT	1
Hempstead, TX	1
Hockley, TX	1
Holdrege, NE	1
Humble, TX	1
Kankakee, IL	1
Kenedy, TX	1
La Junta, CO	1
La Grange, TX	1
La Mesa, NM	1
Lockhart, TX	1
Marquez, TX	1
Maywood, IL	1
Mesquite, NM	1
Mobile, AL	1
Muskogee, OK	1
Nacogdoches, TX	1
Napoleonville, LA	1
Newport, KY	1
Norfolk, NE	1
Nowata, OK	1
Okawville, IL	1
Peoria, IL	1
Phoenix, AZ	1
Rochester, NY	1
Rosenberg, TX	1
Salina, KS	1
Savannah, GA	1
Silver City, MS	1
Stockton, CA	1
Taylor, TX	1
Temple, TX	1
Terrell, TX	1
Woonsocket, RI	1
Total[24]	**8,470**

TABLE 3. Number of cities in each state receiving Galveston immigrants, 1907–1913.

State	Number of cities	State	Number of cities
Texas	69	Georgia	3
Iowa	19	Kentucky	3
Oklahoma	15	Michigan	3
Kansas	12	New York	2
Louisiana	12	Tennessee	3
Colorado	10	Wisconsin	3
Illinois	10	Connecticut	2
Missouri	10	New Mexico	2
Minnesota	9	Ohio	2
Nebraska	9	Indiana	1
California	7	Massachusetts	1
Arkansas	6	Nevada	1
Mississippi	6	Oregon	1
Arizona	4	Rhode Island	1
North Dakota	4	Utah	1
Alabama	3	Washington	1
		Total	**235**

As a group, these tables demonstrate the tremendous diffusion of the immigrants throughout the country. Many of the more popular destinations—states like Iowa and Nebraska, cities like Des Moines and Omaha—are not immediately obvious as places to which Jews would be drawn. Their appearance so high on these lists indicates that movement organizers chose them for reasons other than Jewish continuity or community. Perhaps they were home to especially willing and competent agents to place the immigrants, or perhaps their transportation systems made them relatively easy to reach. Further study of individual communities is needed to ascertain their appeal.

In any case, dispersal, as explained above, was the movement's unifying purpose, and this data reveals the extent to which it succeeded. As Schiff noted in the final steering committee meeting reported in Bressler's letter, the movement had not achieved its primary goal of diverting Jewish immigration permanently to Galveston, and Galveston immigrants represented a mere fraction of the overall Jewish immigration to America, but

to the extent that dispersal was the goal, these figures prove that the Galveston Movement succeeded for the relatively small number of people it assisted.

Immigrants arriving in Galveston were transported to 235 American cities in 32 states, with only 16 states failing to receive immigrants. Previous studies of the Galveston Movement have focused on its executive activities in New York, Galveston, Kiev, and London—the sites from where the international effort was coordinated. These figures confirm, however, that the Galveston Movement influenced hundreds of local communities, some of which received significant numbers of new arrivals who undoubtedly affected the behavior and activity of the Jewish community. Research remains to be done on most of these American cities and the impact the arrival of so many Russian Jews may have had on them. How were the immigrants received in places like Ottumwa, Iowa (92 immigrants), Victoria, Texas (29), Quincy, Illinois (24), and Natchez, Mississippi (14)? How long did they remain in those communities? Did their distinctive language and religious practice have an effect on Jewish customs there? "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" suggests that the Galveston Movement could usefully be reconsidered and studied as a local, rather than a national or global, phenomenon. The effects of the effort on individual communities are an important and largely untold story.

Nonetheless, the data provided in "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" make some general observations about the movement's regional outlook possible. As Table 4 reveals, the largest share of the immigrants were directed to midwestern states, notably Iowa and Missouri; Kansas City received more of the immigrants than any other community. The South places second, with Texas receiving by far the greatest number within the region. The West and Northeast were barely contemplated by movement planners—the Northeast, indeed, was the region from which they were trying to remove immigrants—and they consequently received many fewer than either the Midwest or South.

During the movement's planning stages, organizers tended to assume that the South would not provide suitable destinations, and they anticipated directing immigrants to the Midwest and West instead. As Marinbach explains, Schiff "did not want the Jews to be used as pawns in the poisoned racial politics of the South."[25] This view probably accounts

TABLE 4. Galveston immigrants by destination region, 1908–1913.

Region/State[26]	Immigrants	No. of Cities
Midwest	*4,583*	*82*
Iowa	1,225	19
Missouri	1,099	10
Minnesota	997	9
Nebraska	641	9
Illinois	283	10
Kansas	208	12
Wisconsin	48	3
North Dakota	35	4
Michigan	26	3
Ohio	19	2
Indiana	2	1
South	*3,114*	*120*
Texas	2,144	69
Louisiana	296	12
Oklahoma	245	15
Tennessee	191	3
Arkansas	155	6
Mississippi	35	6
Georgia	25	3
Kentucky	17	3
Alabama	6	3
West	*698*	*27*
California	349	7
Colorado	284	10
Oregon	19	1
Utah	19	1
Washington	15	1
Arizona	8	4
Nevada	2	1
New Mexico	2	2
Northeast	*12*	*6*
Connecticut	5	2
New York	4	2
Massachusetts	2	1
Rhode Island	1	1

for why the movement entirely neglected southern states with larger populations, notably Virginia and South Carolina; Schiff ruled these out immediately, thus organizers never made contacts in the Jewish communities there, and neither state received a single Galveston immigrant. Schiff's mind was always on the hinterland, and accordingly the southern states most involved in the effort were those furthest to the west—Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas—which clearly also offered the shortest traveling distance from Galveston. Significantly, however, although the Midwest received more immigrants overall than the South, the movement reached a much greater number of southern communities—120 in total. This fact, suggesting the wide range of the movement's effect in the South, indicates a growing awareness among American Jewish leaders of the possibilities of the South as a region ripe for the development of Jewish population and institutions. It also implies a direct link between the American South and eastern Europe, where immigrants' families remained. The Galveston Movement reinforced the South as part of an international network of migration and communication.

Of the southern states, Texas was clearly the most involved in the effort and not only because the organization brought immigrants through a Texas port. For the first several months of the effort, David Bressler, running the enterprise from New York, actively discouraged attempts to describe Texas as an immigrant destination. The immigrants' path was to run through Galveston and Texas to points further west. However, under pressure from Jewish leaders across Texas, who desired an influx they saw as beneficial to their communities, Bressler relented and began strengthening contacts in Texas towns. By the end of the program, fully 25 percent of the Galveston immigrants had made their homes in Texas. The Lone Star State accounts for more than two-thirds of the South's total number of immigrants (2,144 of 3,114) and more than half of its recipient cities (69 of 120). Of the ten American cities receiving the most immigrants, four are in Texas. Exclusive of Texas, the South would still have been the second most popular destination region for Galveston immigrants, but its prominence would have been substantially reduced.

The statistical data for Texas reveals a phenomenon that deserves greater in-depth study. The Texas cities receiving the largest numbers of immigrants were, predictably, the state's largest: Houston, Dallas, Galveston, Fort Worth, and San Antonio. But many smaller communities like

Waco (with 117 immigrants), Cleburne (82), Texarkana (58), and Tyler (50) seem disproportionately involved. Influxes of this scale must have massively impacted their relatively small and loosely organized Jewish communities.

The data for California also suggest the need for further study. The state was not part of the bureau's primary territory, so it received just 69 direct placements. These were followed, however, by 248 courtesy cases, making California the western state most greatly affected by the Galveston Movement. The large number of courtesy cases suggests the popularity of California as a Jewish destination independent of the movement's activities, as well as the convenience of travel from Galveston to the western state. Even if California was not part of the bureau's main focus, the influx of so many Galveston Jews must have significantly affected these communities.

What the Data Show: Occupations

The records offered in "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" related to the immigrants' occupations open a unique window into their working lives. The huge array of professions evidenced here provides a glimpse into Jewish life in Europe, where the immigrants were trained and began their careers, and illuminates some of the characteristics of those Russian Jews who sought to immigrate. Although the document's author did not label the divisions they created in this section of the document, the occupations are arranged by type of work and could be designated as follows (see Table 5): shoe and leather work; clothing manufacture, repair, and care; metal and machine trades; carpentry and woodwork; medical, musical, and educational fields; construction; food services; housewares and home decoration; transportation; paper trades; jewelry; and miscellaneous manufacturing and services.[27] In total, 133 occupations are listed (including "None"). The most common trade among the direct removals was men's tailor. Housewives were most common among the reunion and courtesy cases, indicating the frequency with which the movement was able to reunite women with their husbands.

With such a large number and variety of occupations, the near-absence of Jewish parochial trades stands out. There are among the immigrants no rabbis and just eleven *shochtim*. "Butchers" are listed separately and could include kosher food preparers. The sixty-four

TABLE 5. Trades of Galveston immigrants by type, 1908–1913.

Type of Trade	Total	Most Common Trade in Type
Shoe and leather work	685	Shoemaker (463)
Clothing manufacture, repair, and care	1,352	Men's tailor (551)
Metal and machine trades	547	Locksmith (183)
Carpentry and woodwork	525	Carpenter (370)
Medical, musical, and educational	144	Teacher (64)
Construction	72	Glazier (39)
Food services	415	Butcher (202)
Housewares and home decoration	204	Painter (146)
Transportation	63	Driver (34)
Paper trades	69	Book binder (51)
Miscellaneous	2,845	None (765); Clerk (537)
Jewelry	73	Watchmaker (47)
Total	**6,994**	

"teachers" may include rabbis and *melamdim*. Even if Jewish parochial workers were counted among these butchers and teachers, however, they still represent a miniscule portion of the total number of immigrants. This information attests to the movement's overriding interest in enlisting immigrants who would become self-supporting, enterprising, and productive in an American setting. Schiff explicitly discouraged the recruitment of immigrants in religiously oriented professions, just as he discouraged the selection of those who prioritized religious observance. Schiff, as Marinbach explains, "saw nothing wrong with this stipulation and defended it as being entirely consistent with the labor conditions of the West."[28] Judging from the available statistics, this did not become an absolute prohibition, but the lack of emphasis and even discouragement had its desired statistical impact. Further study could gauge the impact of religiosity, or lack thereof, on the immigrants and receiving communities.

What the Data Show: Age and Gender

Finally, the data provided in "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" pertaining to age and gender corroborate much of what is already known or

could readily be guessed about the immigrants. In the original document, the data are broken down into age groupings that make it difficult to discern the total numbers of immigrants by age, gender, or category. Compiling and rearranging the data makes this possible (see Tables 6, 7, 8, and 9).

Given what is known of the Galveston Movement, several observations from this data stand to reason. The "average" Galveston immigrant was male, between thirty-one and thirty-five years of age.[29] This would be the most employable group and therefore logically the prime target of movement coordinators. Necessarily, then, the same category represents the largest portion of the direct placements. Also, predictably, the

TABLE 6. All categories by age and gender, 1908–1913.

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 15	660	611	1,271
15-30	1,677	467	2,144
31-35	3,242	542	3,784
36-45	920	166	1,086
46+	72	50	122
Total	**6,571**	**1,836**	**8,407**

TABLE 7. Direct placements by age and gender, 1908–1913.

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 15	160	163	323
15-30	1,376	204	1,580
31-35	3,039	240	3,279
36-45	844	44	888
46+	35	10	45
Total	**5,454**	**661**	**6,115**

TABLE 8. Reunion cases by age and gender, 1908–1913.

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 15	254	232	486
15-30	86	105	191
31-35	58	152	210
36-45	28	65	93
46+	8	16	24
Total	**434**	**570**	**1,004**
Exclusive of Children	180	338	518

TABLE 9. Courtesy cases by age and gender, 1908–1913.

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 15	246	216	462
15-30	215	158	373
31-35	145	150	295
36-45	48	57	105
46+	29	24	53
Total	**683**	**605**	**1,288**

largest groups among reunion cases were women and children. The numbers of male and female reunion cases seem roughly balanced unless children are removed, in which case it becomes clear that of 518 adult reunions, the vast majority were women. These data give some texture to our understanding of the movement without offering surprises.

Surprising, perhaps, is the number of children under fifteen, both as direct placements (323) and reunion/courtesy cases (948). In addition, the number of housewives, as noted above, and the large number of immigrants over thirty-six years old (1,208) suggests the extent to which the Galveston Movement was not exclusively, as it is usually depicted, a job placement service. It was, rather, a form of Jewish family service, facilitating the immigration and placement of entire families, including significant numbers of children, clearly important objectives of the immigrants and their sponsors.

Immigrants at customs inspection station, Galveston, Texas, c. 1910.
(Courtesy of Forshey Postcard Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.)

Conclusion

At the final meeting of the Galveston Movement steering committee, at which Schiff announced the impending termination of the effort, the tone of the conversation was generally bleak. As the letter by Bressler summarizing the meeting attests, Schiff and the other committee members concluded that their attempt to deflect the major flow or at least substantial numbers of Jewish immigration from New York to Galveston had failed. Schiff was at pains, however, to point out their positive outcomes as well:

> The Chairman, in summing up the situation, repeated emphatically what had been brought out upon many previous occasions, namely that the placement of the Jewish immigrants by the Galveston Bureau had been attended with gratifying success; that insofar as the welfare of the immigrants in and by itself was concerned, the money expended by the Bureau, since its inception, had been thoroughly justified; that within the limitation of the comparatively small number of immigrants handled by the Bureau, their successful settlement in the interior had already attracted, and would undoubtedly continue to attract a number of their dependents and friends who otherwise would have come to, and remained in one of the ports of the Atlantic seaboard.[30]

The data contained in "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" affirms Schiff's faith in the effort's achievements. He and his staff had not succeeded in altering the direction of Jewish immigration or of establishing the Galveston route as a familiar, let alone the default choice, for Jewish immigrants from Russia. They had, however, settled more than 8,000 people and given them opportunities for professional advancement and economic security they would almost certainly have lacked had they landed in New York or been returned to Russia. Schiff and his staff also had augmented the number of Jews in hundreds of small enclaves, in many cases providing an influx that substantially altered the Jewish population of these hinterland communities. This must be counted a success, even if it was not among the movement's main purposes, and much research remains to be done on how this influx may have affected specific communities.

"Statistics of Jewish Immigrants" provides a valuable starting point for developing a deeper understanding of the Jewish people in hundreds of American communities who benefited from the institutional efforts of professional staff in New York, Galveston, London, and Kiev. While the

movement by no means affected the South exclusively, it made a southern city and state the focal point of an international effort, and it brought southern Jewish communities into closer institutional contact with those elsewhere in the United States and Europe. Finally, by bringing thousands of Russian Jews directly into hundreds of American communities, it shaped those communities in ways we have barely begun to understand.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

In the original document, transcribed below, there are a number of obvious arithmetical errors. In some cases, lines of figures were added incorrectly, in others totals from one table were transferred incorrectly to other tables. In cases like these where the mistake is clear, I have inserted the correct sums in brackets next to the errant originals. With these corrections included, the grand totals align perfectly: column totals provided in the original document are correct, and the grand totals reported for state distributions of all three categories match the totals for age and gender. The grand total of immigrants by trade, however (6,985 [6,994] people in all three categories), is significantly less than the overall grand total (8,407 in all categories). Much of this difference would be accounted for if the trades total does not include children, but the document does not clarify this point. Possibly also data on trades were not collected for every immigrant.

Inexplicable and irremediable mathematical errors exist in the tables breaking down the data by state. In several cases, totaling the given number of immigrants sent to all cities in a state does not result in the same figure reported in the state distribution totals. Because the state distribution totals match the age/gender totals, I assume they are correct. There are, therefore, mistakes in the reporting of some city data, but it is impossible to determine which cities. I have not attempted to correct these but have noted the errors in endnotes appended to the tables where they occur.

The original document begins with a table of contents, which I have not reproduced here, nor have I preserved the original pagination. I have adjusted the tables' formatting and title styles to save space and enhance clarity but have otherwise tried to reproduce them as faithfully as possible. I have indicated necessary editorial corrections in brackets.

(Courtesy of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.)

(Courtesy of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.)

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Statistics of Jewish Immigrants Who Arrived at the Port of Galveston, Texas, During the Years 1907–1913 Inclusive, Handled by Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau of Galveston, Texas [1914].

STATISTICS OF DISTRIBUTION

Total State Distribution

A) Bureau Territory.

State.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Arkansas.	149	3	3	155
Colorado.	171	8	105	284
Illinois.	242	36	5	283
Iowa.	1,138	72 [71]	15 [16]	1,225
Kansas.	178	26	4	208
Louisiana.	189	51	56	296
Minnesota.	922	50	25	997
Missouri.	781	200	118	1,099
Mississippi.	30	1	4	35
Nebraska.	505	81	55	641
North Dakota.	31	4	No	35
Oklahoma.	200	26	19	245
Tennessee.	165	20	6	191
Texas.	1,159	378	607	2,134 [2,144]
Wisconsin.	48	No	No	48

B) General territory.

State.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Alabama.	4	No	2	6
Arizona.	8	"	No	8
California.	69	32	249 [248]	349
Connecticut.	1	No	4	5
Georgia.	25	"	No	25
Indiana.	2	"	"	2
Kentucky.	17	"	"	17
Michigan.	26	"	"	26
Massachusetts.	No	"	2	2
New Mexico.	"	1	1	2

State.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
New York.	"	"	4	4
Ohio.	19	"	No	19
Oregon.	12	7	"	19
Rhode Island.	No	No	1	1
[Utah].	7	8	4	19
Washington.	15	No	No	15
Nevada.	2	"	"	2

Total of Direct Bureau Removals	6,115
Total of Reunions with Previous Bureau Removals	1,004
Total of Courtesy Cases	1,288
Grand Total of Removals	8,407

Statistics of State Distribution

A) Bureau territory.

Arkansas.

Town.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Argenta.	2	No	No	2
Ft. Smith.	28	"	1	29
Helena.	21	"	No	21
Hot Springs.	3	"	"	3
Little Rock.	63	3	"	66
Pine Bluff.	32	No	2	34
Total	149	3	3	155

Colorado.

Boulder.	1	No	No	1
Colorado Springs.	38	"	"	38
Cripple Creek.	7	"	1	8
Denver.	41	3	89	133
Del Norte.	No	No	1	1
La Junta.	1	"	No	1
[Monte] Vista.	No	No	2	2
Pueblo.	74	1	12	87
Trinidad.	2	No	No	2
Victor.	7	"	"	7
Total	171	8[31]	105	284

Illinois.

Town.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Aurora.	1	No	No	1
Chicago.	36	"	"	36
Danville.	No	"	4	4
Evanston.	1	"	No	1
Kankakee.	1	"	"	1
Peoria.	1	"	"	1
Maywood.	1	"	"	1
Okawville.	1	"	"	1
Quincy.	24	"	"	24
Rock Island.	176	36	1	213
Total	242	36	5	283

Iowa.

Burlington.	141	2	No	143
Cedar Rapids.	90	21	"	111
Centreville.	18	No	"	18
Chariton.	No	2	"	2
Clinton.	3	No	"	3
Council Bluffs.	25	4	4	33
Davenport.	174	15	No	189
Marshalltown.	8	No	No	8
Ottumwa.	92	No	No	92
Des Moines.	234	16	No	250
Dubuque.	132	3	1	136
Ft. Dodge.	20	1	No	21
Iowa City.	3	No	"	3
Keokuk.	4	"	"	4
Muscatine.	36	"	"	36
Oscaloosa.	9	"	"	9
Sioux City.	119	6	9	134
Waterloo.	30	No	1	31
Waverly.	No	1	1	2
Total	1,138	72 [71]	15 [16]	1,225

Kansas.

Atchison.	8	No	No	8
Ft. Scott.	3	"	"	3
Galena.	1	"	"	1
Hutchinson.	7	"	"	7
Iola.	7	"	"	7

Town.	**Direct.**	**Reunion.**	**Courtesy.**	**Total.**
Independence.	2	"	"	2
Leavenworth.	61	5	"	66
Parsons.	4	No	"	4
Pittsburg.	3	"	"	3
Salina.	1	"	"	1
Topeka.	54	9	"	63
Wichita.	27	12	4	43
Total	178	26	4	208
		Louisiana.		
Bastrop.	No	No	1	1
Baton Rouge.	5	"	No	5
[DeRidder].	2	"	"	2
Lafayette.	3	"	"	3
Lake Charles.	12	"	"	12
Lake Providence.	2	"	"	2
Napoleonville.	1	"	"	1
New Orleans.	132	34	38	204
Monroe.	4	No	2	6
Shreveport.	21	9	15	45
Vivian.	1	7	No	8
Alexandria.	6	1	"	7
Total	189	51	56	296
		Minnesota.		
[Chisholm].	12	No	No	12
Duluth.	95	"	"	95
[Eveleth].	5	"	"	5
Gilbert.	2	"	"	2
Hibbing.	4	3	"	7
Minneapolis.	269	26	21	316
St. Paul.	522	21	4	547
Staples.	5	No	No	5
Virginia.	8	"	"	8
Total	922	50	25	997
		Mississippi.		
Cruger.	1	No	No	1
Hattiesburg.	3	"	3	6
Natchez.	14	"	No	14

Town.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Vicksburg.	10	1	"	11
Yazoo City.	2	No	"	2
Silver City.	No	"	1	1
Total	30	1	4	35
		Missouri.		
Carthage.	1	No	No	1
Hannibal.	9	"	"	9
Joplin.	26	4	"	30
Kansas City.	449	177	90	716
Moberly.	5	No	No	5
Sedalia.	53	1	1	55
St. Joseph.	109	11	13	133
St. Louis.	119	7	14	140
Springfield.	7	No	No	7
Webb City.	3	"	"	3
Total	781	200	118	1,099
		Nebraska.		
[Fremont].	2	No	No	2
[Falls] City.	1	"	"	1
Grand Island.	4	"	"	4
Hastings.	7	1	"	8
[Holdrege].	1	"	"	1
Lincoln.	109	36	4	149
Norfolk.	1	No	No	1
Nehawka.	No	"	2	2
Omaha.	380	44	49	473
Total	505	81	55	641
		North Dakota.		
Ashley.	13	No	No	13
Bowman.	1	"	"	1
Fargo.	12	4	"	16
Grand Forks.	5	No	"	5
Total	31	4	No	34 [35]
		Oklahoma.		
Chickasha.	9	No	No	9
Ardmore.	11	"	"	11

Town.	**Direct.**	**Reunion.**	**Courtesy.**	**Total.**
Duncan.	1	"	"	1
Durant.	No	"	2	2
El Reno.	5	"	No	5
Guthrie.	4	"	"	4
Hugo.	4	9	4	17
Lawton.	12	No	4	12 [16]
[McAlester].	8	"	1	9
Muskogee.	1	"	"	1
Nowata.	1	"	"	1
Oklahoma City.	125	11	4	140
Okmulgee.	1	5	1	7
[Shawnee].	7	No	2	9
Tulsa.	11	1	1	13
Total	200	26	19	245
		Tennessee.		
[Chattanooga].	3	No	No	3
Memphis.	152	20	6	178
Nashville.	10	No	No	10
Total	165	20	6	191
		Texas.		
Anderson.	1	No	No	1
Amarillo.	3	"	"	3
Austin.	9	6	2	17
Beaumont.	32	8	3	42 [43]
Beeville.	1	No	No	1
[Bremond].	No	"	1	1
Bryan.	6	"	4	10
Brownwood.	1	"	No	1
Calvert.	17	"	2	19
Corsicana.	19	"	No	19
Corpus Christi.	5	3	1	9
Cleburne.	72	8	2	82
Dallas.	175	55	113	343
Denison.	12	2	2	16
Denton.	2	No	No	2
Dickinson.	2	"	"	2
Dublin.	6	3	"	9
Eagle Lake.	No	3	"	3
El Paso.	10	No	20	30

Town.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Ennis.	2	"	No	2
Franklin.	No	"	1	1
Ft. Worth.	158	50	55	263
Gatesville.	1	2	No	3
Gainesville.	7	No	2	9
Galveston.	120	84	83	287
Gilmer.	1	No	No	1
Gonzales.	1	"	"	1
[Hallettsville].	3	"	"	3
Hamilton.	4	1	"	5
Hempstead.	1	No	"	1
Houston.	182	72	138	392
Hockley.	1	No	No	1
Humble.	No	"	1	1
Kenedy.	1	"	No	1
[La Grange].	No	"	1	1
Laredo.	3	"	4	7
Liberty.	2	"	4	2 [6]
Lockhart.	No	"	1	1
Luling.	1	"	5	6
Marquez.	No	"	1	1
Marshall.	23	23	No	46
[McKinney].	No	No	2	2
Mingus.	2	"	2	2 [4]
[Nocona].	1	"	2	1 [3]
Nacogdoches.	No	"	1	1
Navasota.	4	"	No	4
Palestine.	16	1	1	18
Pecos.	No	No	2	2
Pierce.	2	"	No	2
Port Arthur.	10	1	2	13
Richmond.	No	No	2	2
Rosenberg.	1	"	No	1
San Antonio.	108	16	60	184
San Marcos.	3	No	7	10
Seguin.	1	"	3	4
Silsbee.	No	"	2	2
Temple.	1	"	No	1
Texarkana.	51	"	7	58
Tyler.	29	4	17	50
Taylor.	1	No	No	1
Teague.	2	"	"	2

Town.	**Direct.**	**Reunion.**	**Courtesy.**	**Total.**
Texas City.	1	"	8	9
[Terrell].	1	"	No	1
Waco.	73	16	28	117
Weimar.	1	No	1	2
Wichita Falls.	No	"	2	2
Wharton.	5	3	20	28
Victoria.	12	No	17	29
Yoakum.	9	"	No	9
Total[32]	1,159	378	607	2,144
		Wisconsin.		
Milwaukee.	29	No	No	29
Superior.	18	"	"	18
Cottage [Grove].	1	"	"	1
Total	48	"	"	48

B) General territory.

		Alabama.		
Birmingham.	No	No	2	2
Mobile.	1	"	No	1
Selma.	3	"	"	3
Total	4	"	2	6
		Arizona.		
Clifton.	1	No	No	1
Douglas.	2	"	"	2
Phoenix.	1	"	"	1
Tucson.	4	"	"	4
Total	8	"	"	8
		California.		
Fruitville.	1	No	No	1
Imperial.	No	"	3	3
Los Angeles.	32	10	79	121
Oakland.	3	2	15	20
San Diego.	No	No	2	2
San Francisco.	33	20	148	201
Stockton.	No	No	1	1
Total	69	32	248	349

Connecticut.

Town.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Bridgeport.	No	No	4	4
Hartford.	1	"	No	1
Total.	1	No	4	5

Georgia.

Atlanta.	20	No	No	20
Macon.	4	"	"	4
Savannah.	1	"	"	1
Total.	25	"	"	25

Indiana.

Indianapolis.	2	No	No	2
Total.	2	No	No	2

Kentucky.

Louisville.	12	No	No	12
Newport.	1	"	"	1
[Lexington].	4	"	"	4
Total.	17	"	"	17

Michigan.

Detroit.	24	No	No	24
Flint.	1	"	"	1
Grand Rapids.	1	"	"	1
Total.	26	"	"	26

Massachusetts.

Boston.	No	No	2	2
Total.	No	No	2	2

New Mexico.

[La Mesa].	No	No	1	1
[Mesquite].	"	1	No	1
Total	"	1	1	2

(Courtesy of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.)

New York.

Town.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Brooklyn.[33]	No	No	1	1
New York City.	"	"	2	2
Rochester.	"	"	1	1
Total.	"	"	4	4

Ohio.

Cincinnati.	10	No	No	10
Cleveland.	9	"	"	9
Total	19	"	"	19

Oregon.

Portland.	12	7	No	17 [19]
Total	12	7	No	17 [19]

Rhode Island.

Woonsocket.	No	No	1	1
Total	No	No	1	1

[Utah].

Salt Lake City.	7	8	4	19
Total	7	8	4	19

Washington.

Seattle.	15	No	No	15
Total	15	No	No	15

Nevada.

Winnemucca.	2	No	No	2
Total	2	No	No	2

Total of Direct Bureau Removals	6,115
Total of Reunions With Previous Bureau Removals	1,004
Total of Courtesy Cases	1,288
Grand Total of Removals	8,407

STATISTICS OF TRADES

[Shoe and leather work.]

Trade.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Shoemaker.	417	10	36	463
Shoe-upperer.	162	2	2	166
Harness-maker.	25	No	2	27
Leather-worker.	20	1	No	21
Hide-dresser.	8	No	"	8

[Clothing manufacture, repair, and care.]

Tanner.	129	1	2	132
Tailor, men's.	437	40	74	551
" ladies.	46	1	2	49
Trimmer.	4	No	No	4
Umbrella-maker.	1	"	"	1
Weaver.	78	1	2	81
Hat-maker.	19	No	3	22
Cap-maker.	49	2	6	57
Buttonhole-maker.	1	No	No	1
Pants-maker.	1	"	"	1
Glove-maker.	1	"	"	1
Furrier.	31	"	"	31
Millinery.	7	3	2	12
Dressmaker.	100	41	59	200
Seamstress.	69	33	41	143
Cutter.	7	No	1	8
Corset-maker.	3	"	1	4
Coat-padder.	1	"	No	1
Dyer.	13	"	1	14
Lace-worker.	3	"	No	3
Hosiery-worker.	7	1	1	9
Embroider.	4	No	No	4
Cloth-presser.	4	"	1	5
Operator.	2	"	No	2
Last-maker.	2	"	"	2
Laundry-presser.	13	"	1	14

[Metal and machine trades.]

Tinner.	108	5	1	114
Gas-fitter.	1	No	No	1
Boiler-maker.	1	"	"	1

Trade.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Technic.	2	No	1	3
Black-smith.	120	2	5	127
Lock-smith.	169	7	7	183
Copper-smith.	8	No	No	8
Gold-smith.	4	"	"	4
Metal-turner.	3	"	"	3
Oiler.	1	"	"	1
Wagon-worker.	2	"	"	2
Electrician.	20	"	1	21
Brass-worker.	6	"	No	6
Polisher.	2	"	"	2
[Zinc]-worker.	3	"	"	3
Iron-moulder.	4	"	"	4
Roofer.	3	"	"	3
Motor-man.	1	"	"	1
Copper-worker.	1	"	"	1
Machinist.	20	1	2	23
Mechanic.	24	No	1	25
Plumber.	10	1	No	11
[Carpentry and woodwork.]				
Wheel-wright.	19	No	1	20
Cooper.	14	"	No	14
Wood-turner.	24	"	"	24
Wood-[carver].	5	"	"	5
Carpenter.	332	16	22	370
Cabinet-maker.	41	No	7	48
Shingle-maker.	13	"	No	13
Frame-maker.	3	"	"	3
Upholsterer.	23	1	4	28
[Medical, musical, and educational.]				
Druggist.	18	No	2	20
Chemist.	4	"	No	4
Midwife.	3	"	"	3
Musician.	5	"	"	5
Teacher.	58	2	4	64
Pupil.	7	No	2	9
Book-keeper.	24	1	2	27
Dentist.	5	No	1	6
Tooth-technic.	2	"	1	3

Trade.	**Direct.**	**Reunion.**	**Courtesy.**	**Total.**
Stenographer.	2	"	1	2 [3]
[Construction.]				
Brick-mason.	16	"	2	18
Plasterer.	2	"	No	2
Glazier.	39	"	"	39
Marble-worker.	7	"	"	7
Panel-maker.	1	"	"	1
Cement-worker.	3	"	"	3
Builder-supervisor.	1	"	"	1
Chimney-sweeper.	1	"	"	1
[Food services.]				
Butcher.	187	4	11	202
Waiter.	5	No	1	6
Wine-distiller.	3	"	1	3 [4]
Wine-presser.	1	"	1	1 [2]
Confectioner.	32	No	No	32
Macaroni-worker.	1	"	"	1
Baker.	125	6	11	142
Cook.	2	No	No	2
Shoichet [*shochet*].	9	"	2	11
[Sausage]-maker.	6	"	1	7
Brewer.	6	"	No	6
[Housewares and home decoration.]				
Brush-maker.	18	"	1	19
Bristle-cleaner.	5	"	1	6
Painter.	125	4	17	146
Photographer.	13	No	4	17
Paper-hanger.	9	"	1	10
Drapery-maker.	2	"	No	2
Decorator.	3	1	"	4
[Transportation.]				
Cab-man.	26	1	2	29
Driver.	32	1	1	34

[Paper trades.]

Trade.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Book-binder.	48	1	2	51
Paper-box-maker.	17	No	1	18

[Miscellaneous.]

None.	548	65	152	765
House-wife.	165	190	180	535
Merchant.	384	11	27	422
Clerk.	469	14	54	537
Laborer.	318	1	13	332
Sailor.	1	No	No	1
Miller.	30	1	1	32
Farmer.	46	1	6	53
[Gardener].	11	No	2	13
Barber.	31	3	1	35
Wig-maker.	9	No	No	9
Typographer.	9	"	"	9
Printer.	13	1	1	15
[Lithographer].	8	No	No	8
Mattress-maker.	2	No	1	3
Soap-maker.	16	"	1	17
Tobacco-worker.	19	1	2	22
Pocket-book-maker.	7	1	1	9
Pursemaker.	2	No	No	2
Rope-maker.	9	"	"	9
Button-maker.	2	"	"	2
Candle-maker.	1	"	"	1
Oil-worker.	1	"	"	1
Comb-maker.	4	"	"	4
Suit-case-maker.	6	"	"	6
Drummer.	2	"	"	2
Pottage-worker.	1	"	"	1

[Jewelry.]

Watchmaker.	41	"	6	47
[Jeweler].	15	"	1	16
Engraver.	7	"	1	7 [8]
Diamond-polisher.	1	"	1	1 [2]

Statistics of Principal Trades

Trade.	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Shoemaker.	417	10	36	463
Tailor.	483	41	76	600
Butcher.	187	4	11	202
Tinner.	108	5	1	114
Painter.	124 [125]	5 [4]	17	146
Black-smith.	120	2	5	127
Lock-smith.	169	7	7	183
Merchant.	384	11	27	422
Clerk.	469	14	54	537
Laborer.	318	1	13	332
Carpenter.	373	16	29	418
Shoe-upperer.	162	2	2	166
Dressmaker.	169	74	100	343
Baker.	125	6	11	143
Tanner.	129	1	2	132
[Unskilled]				
None.	548	65	152	765
Housewife.	165	190	180	535

Total of Trades	134 [133]
Total of Direct Cases	5,693 [5702]
Total of Reunion Cases	479
Total of Courtesy Cases	813
Grand Total	6,985 [6,994]

STATISTICS OF AGES

Children Under 15.

	Direct.	Reunion.	Courtesy.	Total.
Male.	160	254	246	660
Female.	163	232	216	611
Total.	323	486	462	1,271

15–30 Inclusive.

Male.	1,376	86	215	1,677
Female.	204	105	158	467
Total.	1,580	191	373	2,144

31–35 Inclusive.

Male.	3,039	58	145	3,242
Female.	240	152	150	542
Total.	3,279	210	295	3,784

36–45 Inclusive.

Male.	844	28	48	920
Female.	44	65	57	166
Total.	888	93	105	1086

46 and Over.

Male.	35	8	29	72
Female.	10	16	24	50
Total.	45	24	53	122

Grand Total of Direct Bureau Removals	6,115
Grand Total of Reunion with Previous Removals.	1,004
Grand Total of Courtesy Cases	1,288
Grand Total of Removals	8,407

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Letter from "Secretary" [David Bressler], April 13, 1914

April 13th, 1914.

A meeting of the Galveston Committee was held on April 9th, at the [New York] residence of the Chairman, Mr. Jacob S. Schiff. There were present all the New York members of the Committee, with the exception of Mr. Felix Warburg, who sent his excuses.

The Chairman stated the purpose of the meeting and in the discussion which ensued the following was brought out: that the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau of Galveston had been organized to influence the deflection of the stream of Jewish immigration from the Northern seaports to the territory west of the Mississippi, with Galveston as the port of entry; that since its formation the Bureau had handled and distributed between 8000 and 9000 people consisting of men, women and children, at a cost of, approximately, $235,000; that after an existence of seven years, five of which might be called the active years, the volume of Jewish immigration to Galveston had not increased appreciably over the period before the formation of the bureau, and that at no time since its history had the yearly numbers coming to Galveston exceeded 3% of the total Jewish immigration for any one year; that two factors were mainly responsible for the failure of Galveston becoming popular as a port of entry:

> 1: The wholly inadequate steamship facilities between Europe and Galveston, and
>
> 2: The unduly severe enforcement of the Immigration Laws and Regulations with regard to the admission of immigrants.

As to the first factor, namely; the inadequate steamship facilities and the conditions of travel, it was pointed out that they were such as to discourage any considerable volume from availing themselves of the

Galveston route. The journey between Bremen and Galveston is generally of three weeks' duration, and often longer. While the sponsors of the movement were, at its inception, fully cognizant of the fact that the then existing steamship facilities were inadequate, it was hoped at the time that with proper representations to the Companies engaged in Trans-Atlantic Travel, they could be made to realize in due time the advantage of faster and better steamship service between European ports and Galveston. Despite attempts in this direction by the Committee and of personal effort of the Chairmen himself, the service remained unchanged. In addition, the treatment on board the steamer in the steerage had been complained of time after time and has resulted as a further deterrent to taking passage to Galveston.

As to the second factor, namely: the unduly severe enforcement of the Immigration Laws and Regulations at the Port of Galveston, it was shown that whereas the number of exclusions and deportations from the northern ports averaged from .6% to 1.1% (fiscal year ending June 30th, 1913), at the port of Galveston it was 4.3%; that whereas the percentage of exclusions and deportations of Jewish immigrants from all ports was 1.21% (the same period) from Galveston it was 2.75%; that since July 1st, 1913, an ever severer and more rigorous enforcement had been inaugurated, as shown by the fact that for the calendar year 1913 the percentage of Jewish exclusions from Galveston had jumped to 4.99% and for the first quarter 1914 it was 5.87%. It was further pointed out that there were instances of immigrants excluded at Galveston who experienced no difficulty subsequently in gaining admission at a northern port. (This information came from both Mr. Zangwill and Mr. Jochelmann of the ITO in recent communications from them, in which they deplored the harsh and unfair treatment of the immigrants by the Galveston Immigration officials, stating (see Mr. Jochelmann's letter March 16th, 1914) that "unless the amazing and wholly unjustified conduct of the Immigration officials at Galveston gives place to a fairer and more tolerant enforcement of the law, the 'movement' must fail of its purpose". Continuing, the letter says: "Among the emigrant population, itself, the harsh treatment at Galveston has become a by-word, so that now, in describing a particularly inquisitorial proceeding, one often hears, 'they examine just like at Galveston'").

The Chairman expressed the opinion that the two factors above stated constituted an insurmountable handicap to the realization of the

purpose for which the movement was started. That because of these handicaps, no deflection of Jewish immigration in any appreciable volume had been accomplished.

The Chairman, in summing up the situation, repeated emphatically what had been brought out upon many previous occasions, namely that the placement of the Jewish immigrants by the Galveston Bureau had been attended with gratifying success; that insofar as the welfare of the immigrants in and by itself was concerned, the money expended by the Bureau, since its inception, had been thoroughly justified; that within the limitation of the comparatively small number of immigrants handled by the Bureau, their successful settlement in the interior had already attracted, and would undoubtedly continue to attract a number of their dependents and friends who otherwise would have come to, and remained in one of the ports of the Atlantic seaboard.

Continuing, the Chairman questioned, however, if, in view of the failure to more nearly approximate the original purpose of the movement, namely: the deflection of the stream of Jewish immigration from the larger eastern ports of entry, the time had not come to discontinue the Galveston Bureau. He pointed out that at no time had our Committee or the ITO Committee cooperating in the movement felt satisfied with its progress; that on the one hand we had constantly expressed our dissatisfaction with the small numbers coming to Galveston, and on the other hand the ITO had uniformly called attention to the serious obstacle to the realization of the project presented by the wholly unfavorable existing steamship facilities, and more latterly, to the additional handicap created by the unduly severe enforcement of the Immigration Laws at Galveston.

A motion, therefore, was duly made, seconded and unanimously carried,

> 1: That the Galveston Bureau be discontinued after September 30th, 1914.
>
> 2: That the usual provisions be made for all those coming to Galveston until that time.
>
> 3: That with regard to the wives and children of Bureau removals previous to June 1st, 1914, our agreement in meritorious cases to

pay one half their fare from Galveston to destination remain in force until December 31st, 1914.

The Secretary was instructed to notify Mr. Zangwill in a comprehensive letter of the foregoing, and likewise send due notice to our Galveston Manager, Mr. Epstein.

The Chairman appointed Messrs. Sulzberger, Arkush and Bressler, a Committee of Three, to prepare a statement for the press to be released at their discretion.

Meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Secretary.

(Courtesy of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.)

(Courtesy of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.)

(Courtesy of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.)

NOTES

[1] Both items are included in the Henry Cohen Papers, MS Collection 263, Box 1, Folder 4, Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati (AJA). I am indebted to the AJA, and especially to Dr. Gary Zola, the archive's director, and Joe Weber, associate archivist, for permission to reproduce these documents in their entirety.

[2] Bernard Marinbach, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (Albany, NY, 1983). For articles and chapters see, for example, Gary Dean Best, "Jacob H. Schiff's Galveston Movement: An Experiment in Immigration Deflection, 1907–1914," *American Jewish Archives* 30 (April 1978): 43–79; John Livingston, "The Industrial Removal Office, the Galveston Project, and the Denver Jewish Community," *American Jewish History* 68 (June 1979): 434–458; Henry Cohen II, "'The Man Who Stayed in Texas': Galveston's Rabbi Henry Cohen, a Memoir," in *Lone Stars of David*, ed. Hollace Ava Weiner and Kenneth D. Roseman (Waltham, MA, 2007), 78–92; Bryan Edward Stone, *The Chosen Folks: Jews on the Frontiers of Texas* (Austin, TX, 2010), 81–93. General histories of American Jewry that mention the Galveston Plan include Howard M. Sachar, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York, 1992) and Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654–2000* (Berkeley, CA, 2004). The film is Cynthia and Allen Mondell, *West of Hester Street* (Dallas, 1983); the exhibit is *Forgotten Gateway: Coming to America Through Galveston Island, 1846–1924*, curated by Suzanne Seriff, which originated at the Bullock Texas State History Museum in Austin in 2009 and continues to travel. Humanities Texas: Exhibitions, accessed December 27, 2017, http://www.humanitiestexas.org/exhibitions/list/by-title/forgotten-gateway-coming-america-through-galveston-island; see also Bryan Edward Stone, "Exhibit Review: *Forgotten Gateway: Coming to America through Galveston Island, 1846–1924*," *Southern Jewish History* 12 (2009): 264–67.

[3] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 161–65.

[4] Alexander Z. Gurwitz, *Memories of Two Generations*, trans. Amram Prero, ed. Bryan Edward Stone (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2016), 275–95.

[5] A recent online article looks into the lives of a few individual Galveston immigrants: Rachel Siegel, "When Yiddish Became Y'all," These Fifty States, June 7, 2017, accessed December 31, 2017, http://thesefiftystates.org/when-yiddish-became-yall/.

[6] Diner, *Jews of the United States,* 88, 105.

[7] Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 186; Marinbach, *Galveston*, 3. See also Hollace Ava Weiner, "Removal Approval: The Industrial Removal Office Experience in Fort Worth, Texas," *Southern Jewish History* 4 (2001): 1–44.

[8] For detail on Schiff's selection of Galveston as a point of entry, see Marinbach, *Galveston*, 12; Stone, *Chosen Folks*, 85–86.

[9] Jacob Schiff to Israel Zangwill, October 25, 1906, in Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters* (New York, 1928), 2:99.

[10] Jacob Schiff to Israel Zangwill, November 21, 1905, quoted in Best, "Jacob H. Schiff's Galveston Movement," 46.

[11] Jacob Schiff to Israel Zangwill, August 24, 1906, in Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff*, 2:97.

[12] Jacob Schiff to Henry Cohen, January 8, 1907, Cohen Papers, Coll. 263, Box 1, Folder 4, AJA.

[13] Jacob Schiff to the manager of the Transcontinental Passenger Association at Chicago, December 22, 1909, in Adler, *Schiff*, 2:105.

[14] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 18–19.

[15] Letter signed "Secretary" [David Bressler], April 13, 1914, Cohen Papers, Box 1, Folder 4, AJA.

[16] Letter signed "Secretary."

[17] Letter signed "Secretary." See also Marinbach, *Galveston*, 173–74.

[18] Marinbach, *Galveston,* 60. Marinbach reports that the medical examiner in Galveston when the program began, Dr. Corput, had been overheard "making anti-Semitic remarks" and vowing to "make it as difficult as possible for Jewish immigrants to enter." The inspector in charge of the Galveston station, Alfred Hampton, was notoriously severe and was, Marinbach writes, "out to make a name for himself as a vigorous enforcer of the immigration statutes." For more on Hampton's actions, see Best, "Schiff's Galveston Movement," 60–63.

[19] Letter signed "Secretary."

[20] Letter signed "Secretary."

[21] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 172. This average means that 486 immigrants arrived in 1914 by April 1. Added to the figures provided in "Statistics of Jewish Immigration" through 1913, this brings the grand total of Galveston immigrants as of that date to 8,893. No data is immediately available for the subsequent months before the termination of the effort in September 1914.

[22] "Guide to the Records of the Jewish Immigrant Information Bureau (Galveston, Tex.). Galveston immigration plan records, undated, 1901–1920," American Jewish Historical Society, accessed December 30, 2017, http://digifindingaids.cjh.org/?pID=109182. The AJHS website includes digital scans of everything in the JIIB collection.

[23] The data in this and all other tables is derived from "Statistics of Jewish Immigrants Who Arrived at the Port of Galveston, Texas, During the Years 1907–1913 Inclusive, Handled by Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau of Galveston, Texas [1914]," Henry Cohen Papers, AJA.

[24] This is the correct total for the figures above it, but it does not align with the grand total provided in the original document and in Table 1. The error is most likely in the figures provided for some cities, but it is impossible to know which ones.

[25] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 11.

[26] Regions are defined according to the U.S. Census Bureau, "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States," accessed February 4, 2018, http://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf.

[27] The groupings by type of work provided in the document are haphazard and hard to explain. It is unclear, for example, why the document's author chose to list shinglemakers in a separate category from glaziers and plasterers, or why they placed dentists, musicians, and teachers together in a single group. In the absence of informative labels in the original, I have devised titles to designate each type of work based on my estimate of what each group has in common, but these are imprecise at best.

[28] Marinbach, *Galveston*, 11.

[29] I am unable to determine whether the average Galveston immigrant resembled the average Jewish immigrant to the United States at large, as I have been unable to locate previous statistical studies that provide information on broader patterns.

[30] Letter signed "Secretary."

[31] This total is correct, and the Colorado total of 284 matches the corresponding figure in the state distribution table. It is not, however, an accurate sum of the figures in the rows above, which suggests that some Colorado city data was incorrectly reported or incorrectly added.

[32] The totals in this row are correct, and the Texas total of 2,144 matches the figure in the state distribution table. They are not, however, accurate sums of the figures in the rows above, which suggests that some Texas city data was incorrectly reported or incorrectly added.

[33] The five boroughs of New York City were consolidated in 1898, fifteen years before these tables were produced, so it is unclear why the JIIB opted to treat Brooklyn as a separate entity from New York. I have combined them in my calculations.

Book Reviews

Cotton Capitalists: American Jewish Entrepreneurship in the Reconstruction Era. By Michael R. Cohen. New York: New York University Press, 2017. 259 pages.

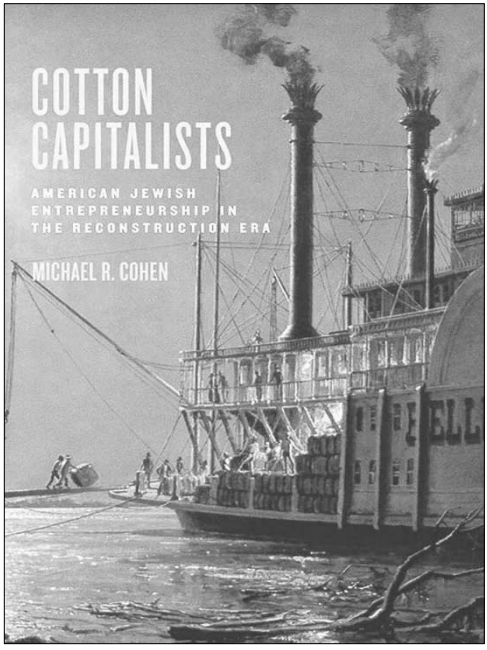
One of the most famous events in the history of American antisemitism occurred on December 17, 1862, when General Ulysses S. Grant, commander of Union forces in the Department of the Tennessee, issued General Order No. 11. The order expelled all Jews from the territory under Grant's command, which then encompassed Kentucky and parts of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. "The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also department orders," it read, "are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order." President Lincoln immediately rescinded the order. As Jonathan D. Sarna reports in *When General Grant Expelled the Jews* (22), Henry W. Halleck, General-in-Chief of all Union armies, explained to Grant that the president did not object to "expelling traitors and Jew peddlers, which, I suppose, was the object of your order; but, as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it." Grant, in fact, was not an antisemite, and his order merely reflected the conventional wisdom of the time that equated "Jew peddlers" with unscrupulous business practices, particularly smuggling.

But did his order exaggerate the centrality of Jews to the southern economy and their prominence in smuggling? To answer these and other questions, historians are now able to turn to Michael R. Cohen's *Cotton Capitalists*. It chronicles the role that Jews played in the southern economy during the Civil War and Reconstruction, particularly, as mentioned in his book's title, in the marketing of cotton, the South's major cash

crop. A professor of history at Tulane University and chairman of its Jewish studies program, Cohen earned his Ph.D. in history at Brandeis University, where he was a student of Sarna, the leading contemporary historian of American Jewry. Cohen's first book, *The Birth of Conservative Judaism: Solomon Schechter's Disciples and the Creation of an American Religious Movement* (2012), astutely analyzed Conservative Judaism's early years and marked him as a scholar to be watched.

The engrossing and well-written *Cotton Capitalists* is his second book, and he has not disappointed. It is highly readable, solidly grounded in a wide-ranging reading of primary and secondary sources, sober in its conclusions, and deserving of a wide audience of professional historians and general readers alike, especially those interested in the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The history of the South's cotton industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century and of the cotton Jews constitutes an important story that Cohen has told well.

Cotton was the key raw material in the textile factories responsible for much of the rapid industrialization which swept across western Europe and the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, and nowhere was the cultivation of cotton as productive, profitable, and central to the local economy as in the Deep South. Cohen's book focuses on Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and part of Arkansas, and here cotton was the leading source of wealth and the determinant of social values. In the two decades prior to the Civil War the value of cotton shipped along the Mississippi River alone increased by forty times, from fifty million dollars to two billion.



Although Jews comprised less than one-third of one percent of the general population in the cotton

South during the 1860s, their importance was disproportionate to their numbers. Except for the actual cultivation of cotton, they were significant in all aspects of the industry during the Civil War and Reconstruction. According to Cohen, Jews were "at the forefront of global capitalist expansion for much of the second half of the nineteenth century" (2). Jewish-owned stores and wholesale firms were ubiquitous in the market towns of the region, purchasing cotton from farmers and providing them the goods and credit without which the local economy could not function. These Jews were primarily immigrants from central Europe, and their involvement in the cotton economy was shaped by informal familial, ethnic, and religious ties. The trust necessary for successful economic relationships came easier when southern Jews were dealing with Jewish exporters, merchants, and bankers both within and outside the South, or with family members who had been sent to northern cities, particularly New York, to represent their interests.

The towns that are featured in Cohen's book were centers of cotton commerce such as Greenville, Natchez, and Vicksburg in Mississippi and Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Bayou Sara, and Shreveport in Louisiana. These communities were located along navigable rivers or were serviced by railroads and were close to centers of cotton production. Cohen calculates that antebellum Jews owned approximately 40 percent of the general stores in these towns. These merchants included Charles Hoffman, Abraham Levy, and Julius Freyhan of Bayou Sara; the Seligman family of Selma and Mobile, Alabama; Isidor and Herman Weil of Opelika, Alabama; Isaac Friedler of Vidalia, Louisiana; Edward and Benjamin Jacobs and Simon Herold of Shreveport; Leopold Wilczinski of Greenville; Levi Lowenberg of Vicksburg; Joseph and Leon Baum of Meridian, Mississippi; Henry Frank, Simon Jacobs, and Isaac Lowenburg of Natchez; Samuel Bernheimer of Port Gibson, Mississippi; Emile Schaefer of Yazoo City, Mississippi; Simon Seelig of Helena, Arkansas; Gabe Meyer of Pine Bluff, Arkansas; and Isaias Meyer, Moses Mann, and Julius Weis of New Orleans. Marriage frequently strengthened the religious and ethnic bonds among these families.

Financial success frequently correlated with social and political prominence; and it was not uncommon for these businessmen to be elected mayors and legislators, to be among the leading philanthropists of their communities, and to win the esteem of gentiles. For example,

T. H. Watts, the wartime governor of Alabama, praised Mayer Lehman as a man "of established character and one of the best Southern patriots . . . and is thoroughly identified with [the Confederate cause]" (76).

The cotton Jews created what Cohen calls a "niche economy," which was not unusual. Jews also played predominant roles in other niche industries, including the production and marketing of feathers, liquor, jewelry, chickens and eggs, and clothing. Other American ethnic groups have had their own niches as well, such as Asian Indians in motels and convenience stores, Vietnamese in nail salons, and Chinese in dry cleaning and restaurants. Historians and sociologists have long debated the economic and social reasons why certain groups have gravitated to entrepreneurship in general and distinct areas of the economy in particular, and Cohen is undoubtedly correct in identifying one explanation for the success of the cotton Jews as their commercial connections with other Jews. He recounts occasions when the credit provided by this ethnic network enabled Jewish businessmen to survive while their gentile competitors in the cotton economy went bankrupt.

Other elements also help explain the disproportionate number of Jewish merchants in the region. Few barriers impeded the decision to become a merchant in the South. Start-up expenses were small. Prizing economic independence, Jews had a long history of involvement in business. Antisemitism also encouraged Jews to concentrate in niche sectors of the economy and to deal with one another. Distrust of Jews was widespread throughout America during the mid–nineteenth century, and the most common antisemitic canard at this time focused on their supposedly questionable business practices. One credit report described a prominent southern Jewish mercantile family as "trustworthy as it is possible for Jews to be" and "an exception to the race, being [considered] honest" (50).

Among the most interesting chapters in *Cotton Capitalists* is its account of the Lehman brothers—Emanuel, Henry, and Mayer—of Montgomery, Alabama. The profits from their dry goods store enabled them to purchase slaves, buy local real estate, and establish Lehman Brothers, their private investment bank. Most of the bank's operations moved to New York City in 1865, with important family cotton enterprises remaining in Montgomery and New Orleans. Lehman Brothers provided capital to scores of cotton merchants, most of whom were Jews.

Part of this capital had been generated by their businesses, and part was funneled through Lehman Brothers from European and New York Jewish-owned banks such as Hallgarten, Lazard Frères, J. W. Seligman, M. & M. Warburg, and Kuhn, Loeb. Through such connections, Cohen says, Lehman Brothers "assumed an essential role in an ethnic economy that connected these businesses with the capital and credit they needed to thrive" (151).

Jewish merchants who had their own capital or who could tap Lehman Brothers and other sources for credit were able to recover from the devastation of the Civil War and become significant figures in the post-1865 cotton industry. By World War I, however, the economic importance of the Jewish cotton niche had virtually disappeared. Cohen's penultimate chapter discusses the broad economic reasons for the marginalization of cotton merchants, including the vicissitudes of the business cycle, the emergence of investment banking, the rise of impersonal cotton exchanges, the growth of new cotton-growing regions in Asia, Africa, and the American Southwest, periodic floods and insect infestation, particularly the boll weevil, and the competition of mail-order companies such as Sears, Roebuck. "Networks of trust, which had been a competitive advantage for ethnic minorities in the industry," Cohen concludes, "began to lose their importance, overtaken by more impersonal cotton exchanges and state bureaucracy" (181). The "Jew store" remained part of the southern landscape, but the era of the Jewish niche economy in cotton had ended.

But other factors, which Cohen mentions but does not examine in depth, were at work as well. The small size of the Jewish population of the cotton towns, the lack of Jewish educational and religious facilities, the shortage of suitable Jewish marriage partners, and the greater economic and social opportunities offered to younger Jews by industrialization and urbanization inevitably hollowed out the Jewish population and the ethnic and religious identity on which the distinctive Jewish networks rested. The historian Eli N. Evans famously argued that the central theme of the southern Jewish experience is the fact that businessmen built enterprises of which their children wanted no part. This was certainly true of the cotton South.

Cotton Capitalists provides more than a chronicle of mercantile Jews in the postbellum South. Cohen's book also offers a paradigm for inter-

preting economic history in which ethnicity looms large. The history of these merchants shows that "ethnic networks fostered the trust upon which capitalism relied" (202). If the postbellum economy influenced Jews, they, in turn, shaped the economy through an ethnic economic network based on trust. The relationship between the South and its Jews was symbiotic, with each side influencing and being influenced by the other. And if this niche economy was pivotal to the development of modern industrial capitalism, then, by implication, so might be the economic networks of other ethnic groups. *Cotton Capitalists* thus challenges conventional economic historians to realize that their subject cannot be confined to the economy.

Edward S. Shapiro, Seton Hall University
The reviewer may be contacted at edshapiro07052@yahoo.com.

The Jews of Key West: Smugglers, Cigar Makers, and Revolutionaries, 1823–1969. By Arlo Haskell. Key West, FL: Sand Paper Press, 2017. 200 pages.

In seven lavishly illustrated chapters, Arlo Haskell, the executive director of the Key West Literary Seminar, explores a century and a half of Jewish life in the nation's southernmost city, an exotic locale known as the "Conch Republic." Written in a highly accessible style, this welcome addition to southern Jewish historiography introduces a fascinating cast of characters, revealing a unique saga of Jewish community life that no previous historian has chronicled. Florida State University has awarded Haskell's book the prestigious 2017 Phillip and Dana Zimmerman Gold Medal for Florida Nonfiction.

The opening chapter, "Sailors and Merchants, 1823–1862," traces the antebellum roots of a small group of Jewish settlers who migrated to Key West prior to the Civil War. The first of these settlers was Levi Charles Harby, a Charleston, South Carolina, native who served as a sailing master in Commodore David Porter's antipiracy squadron. But the most influential member of Key West's nascent Jewish community was Moses Cohen Mordecai, another transplanted South Carolinian, who established the town's first regular mail service in 1848. A decade later he was joined by Key West's first Jewish merchants, Mordecai Abraham

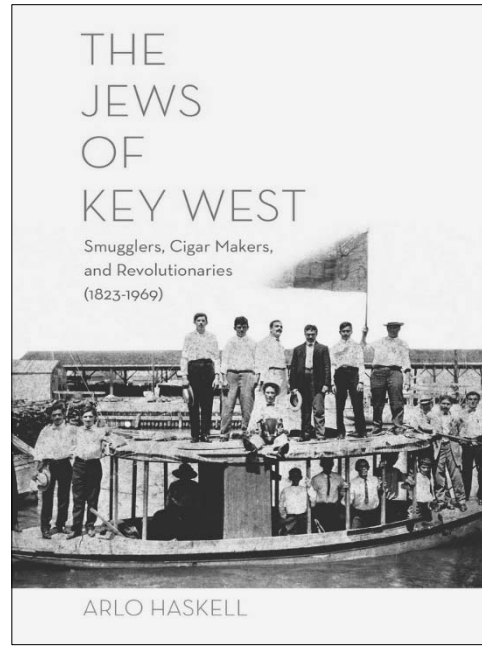
"Max" White and Samuel Cline, partners who prospered in a distinctive local economy that relied heavily on salvaging shipwrecks and clandestine involvement in the illegal slave trade.

The second chapter, "Jewish Cigar City, 1867–1886," documents Jewish involvement in late nineteenth-century Key West's most dynamic industry: cigar making. Often characterized as a Cuban-based enterprise, cigar making in Key West was, as Haskell demonstrates, "a Jewish story almost as much as . . . a Cuban one" (29). The story began with Samuel Seidenberg, a German-born, New York tobacco wholesaler, who moved to the island in 1867. A decade later, in partnership with another German-born Jew named Samuel Wolf, Seidenberg had become the nation's largest manufacturer of cigars. In 1880, a poor investment decision drove the partners into bankruptcy, but other Jewish cigar manufacturers soon picked up the slack, including Pincus and David Pohalski, brothers who developed the massive Monte Cristo factory and the adjacent Pohalski City, a company town with more than three hundred residents. As Haskell points out, although Seidenberg and the Pohalskis were generally "known as powerful capitalists, not as Jews," their activities led to a considerable expansion of Key West Jewry (37).

Chapter 3 focuses on peddlers and shopkeepers from 1886 to 1893, when local Jewish institutions emerged—notably a Jewish cemetery, an organization known as the Jewish Alliance, and Congregation B'nai Zion. The early 1890s arrival of Louis Fine, a grocer, dry goods salesmen, and *shochet* from Vilnius, Lithuania, marked the beginning of organized Jewish religious life in Key West. His lay leadership ultimately led in 1904 to the building of the first synagogue, which later housed Roidef Sulim, a congregation derived from B'nai Zion.

Fine was one of several prominent Key West Jews who became passionately devoted to the war for Cuban independence during the 1890s. Chapter 4, "Jewish Revolutionaries, 1892–1898," examines the close relationship between Cuban expatriates, especially José Martí, and their Key West Jewish allies. Fine and several other Jewish "filibusterers" smuggled arms for the Cuban revolutionaries and openly supported the Cuban liberation struggle.

Chapter 5, by far the longest chapter of the book, chronicles the maturation of "A Flourishing Jewish Community, 1900–1919." With help from the New York–based Industrial Removal Office (IRO), the



population of the local Jewish community increased from 158 in 1905 to more than 200 by the close of World War I. The community experienced commercial expansion and growing selfconsciousness as a part of a dynamic early twentieth-century town, but also suffered from a devastating hurricane in 1909 and rising prohibitionist sentiment that threatened Jewish merchants' reliance on the liquor trade.

Chapter 6, "Smugglers and Aliens, 1918–1939," covers the difficult eras of the tribal Twenties and the Great Depression. The xenophobic and antisemitic excesses of the 1920s, fueled by the rise of the second Ku Klux Klan, placed considerable pressure on Key West's Jewish community, including the fostering of illegal Jewish migration from Cuba. Combined with the imposition of Prohibition, the smuggling of Jewish refugees pushed a number of Key West Jews into alliances with notorious Cuban traffickers. Even so, smugglers such as Samuel Weisstein, Abraham Leibovit, and Rabbi Lazarus Schulsinger became folk heroes to many Key West Jews. Set against the backdrop of severe restrictions on immigration to the United States and the rising totalitarianism in Europe—a dark reality dramatized by the nearby Caribbean standoff that prevented the refugee ship SS *St. Louis* from reaching its destination in 1939—the attempt to bring Jewish refugees to Key West was, as Haskell argues, a heroic expression of community will and human compassion.

The final chapter, "Renaissance: 1939–1969," offers a brief extension of the saga of Key West Jewry. Unfortunately, ten pages of text are not enough to do justice to three decades of history. This chapter has a tacked-on quality that detracts from the otherwise balanced approach that characterizes the rest of the book. Key West has experienced enor-

mous change since 1939, developing into a major tourist destination, as Robert Kerstein's excellent 2012 monograph, *Key West on the Edge: Inventing the Conch Republic*, demonstrates. Kerstein's work does not appear in Haskell's bibliography; nor does Maureen Ogle's groundbreaking narrative, *Key West: History of an Island of Dreams* (2003).

There is much to admire in *The Jews of Key West*, including its imaginative use of local archival records. Yet a more comprehensive examination of contextual sources such as Kerstein's and Ogle's, not to mention the broader literature on the Caribbean borderlands, almost certainly would have taken the book to a higher level of sophistication.

Raymond Arsenault, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg
The reviewer may be contacted at roarsenault@gmail.com.

Jews on the Frontier: Religion and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America. By Shari Rabin. New York: New York University Press, 2017. 192 pages.

Jews on the Frontier begins with a brief account of the life of Edward Rosewater, a Bohemia-born Jew who was raised in Cleveland and who, having learned telegraphy, wandered around Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, and the District of Columbia before finally settling down in Nebraska. This is an appropriate opening for the book because the volume's main thesis is that the unfettered mobility of Jews in nineteenth-century America was the primary factor in shaping the distinctive nature of their religion. More specifically, the book's author, Shari Rabin of the College of Charleston, contends that during the six decades or so before 1880, the Jews in America "did not assimilate" but rather developed "new, more expansive standards" for living Jewish lives "on the road" (8). Readers of *Southern Jewish History* will be especially interested in Rabin's book because the Jewish experience in the South was frequently the kind of itinerant or small-town experience that is the focus of this work.

Rabin's volume is divided into three main sections, each comprised of two chapters. The first section considers the legal status of the Jews in America, contrasting it with the status of Jews in Europe and emphasiz-

ing how the acceptance of Jews as white and the general lack of restrictions on Jewish mobility and settlement in the United States promoted an individualism essentially unknown in Europe. This first section also considers how Jewish mobility not only provided Jews with a sense of freedom and with economic opportunities, but also created situations in which they could feel isolated and lonely. In order to mitigate these negative consequences of mobility and to stabilize their identity as Jews, Rabin explains, those in the hinterland adopted a variety of strategies: they found companionship with non-Jews, sought out coreligionists even where these were few and far between, read the Jewish press, joined mutual aid societies and America's nascent Jewish fraternal organizations like the B'nai B'rith (founded in 1843), gathered for informal prayer services, and ultimately established new congregations. In other words, the mobile Jews of the nineteenth century adopted a wide range of innovative approaches to dealing with new realities and complexities.

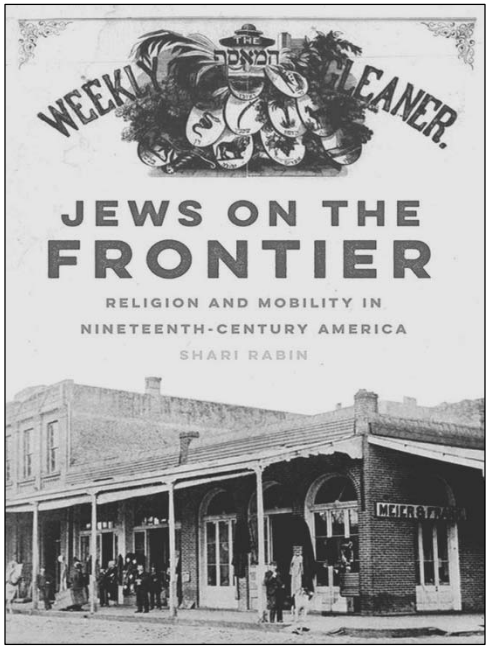
The second part of Rabin's book explores the impact of mobility on Jewish family life, material culture, and popular theological thinking. It explores the ways in which new forms of what Rabin calls "Jewish authenticity" (8) emerged from the experiences of Jews on the move. This part of the book examines, for example, how American Jews came to rely on individual preferences and on American law even more than on halacha in matters of courtship, marriage, and divorce, and it considers how Jews who lacked the "materials of traditional Judaism," (78) such as Torah scrolls, prayer books, and kosher meat, developed new criteria for what constituted legitimate Jewish practice. The behaviors and the views adopted by mobile Jews, Rabin argues, "fueled the creation of new Jewish ideologies—including Reform Judaism—not the other way around" (80). So, too, the situation of Jews in the hinterland encouraged an emphasis on the spirit of Judaism rather than on its rituals and practices.

Finally, part three of *Jews on the Frontier* follows some of the key figures of nineteenth-century American Judaism such as rabbis Isaac Mayer Wise and Isaac Leeser as they sought to bring a certain order to the somewhat chaotic nature of the Judaism that was developing in the United States. They saw a need for both institutional formalization and ideological uniformity. Thus Wise, for example, created a new syna-

gogue ritual called *Minhag America*, embodied in a new prayer book that he hoped would be adopted as the standard throughout the United States, and he worked to create a Union of American Hebrew Congregations that would serve as a network linking all American synagogues together. Those seeking to impose order on American Judaism were only partially successful, but their efforts bore some fruit and their labors help to illuminate some of the difficulties American Jewish leaders faced.

Occasionally Rabin attempts to place the history she has studied in a larger context, arguing that the Jewish experience in the United States reflects the history of nineteenth-century religion in America more generally. She asserts that the story of all American religions in that century is one of a search for identity and stability in a nation of mobile strangers. Indeed, Rabin floats the idea that "the mobile Jew, selectively revealing, expressing, and creating religion as he goes" might be seen as the "archetypical religious American" (9).

Rabin's approach to understanding the development of American Judaism in the nineteenth century is innovative, insightful, and very helpful. Deservedly, *Jews on the Frontier* has been widely praised: it won the 2017 National Jewish Book Award in the category of American Jewish Studies and was a finalist for the Jewish Book Council's Sami Rohr Prize. Nonetheless, Rabin's study is not without its weaknesses. For one thing, some of its author's assertions are simply too absolute. This is the case, for instance, when, completely discounting influences that other scholars have identified as factors in shaping American Judaism, Rabin contends that the development of the religious lives of nineteenth-century American Jews "were not cases of secularization, assimilation, or Protestantiza-



tion, but rather were reactions to the profound effects of their unfettered mobility" (143). Would it not have been more reasonable to suggest that the new Judaism created by nineteenth-century American Jews resulted not only from secularization, assimilation, or Protestantization, but also (or, even more so) from the effects of their unfettered mobility?

Another shortcoming of this volume is its general failure to substantiate the quantitative generalizations it makes with reference to concrete numerical data. Early in her book, Rabin explains that she has "largely avoid[ed] quantitative data," opting instead to base her narrative on "the lived complexity and ambivalence of individual Jewish lives" (6). Certainly, anecdotal information about individual lives can be interesting and enlightening, but without quantitative data any observations about extent or frequency must remain vague and open to question. Statements such as "many far-flung Jews made Christian friends" or that in "many small communities" Jews and Christians were entirely integrated (36) beg for some confirmation on the basis of quantifiable information. And how can Rabin possibly be so certain that "throughout the country, congregational women . . . attended worship in larger numbers than did men" (45) or that "often corpses had to await their relocation to Jewish burying grounds" (74) without recourse to numerical data? In the few cases where Rabin does report specific numbers, her claims are much more convincing. Thus, when she observes that "in 1840 there were 18 formal Jewish congregations in the United States, in 1850 there were at least 76, and by 1877 there were no less than 277," readers can understand exactly what the author means when she writes that during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, "more and more congregations were founded and managed to persist" (42).

The decision to avoid the use of quantitative data is rather surprising in light of the fact that Rabin herself has recognized the significance of data collection for an understanding of developments in nineteenth-century American Judaism. In a recent article in the journal *American Jewish History* she shows how Jewish leaders came to appreciate the importance of what they called "statistics," and she goes so far as to assert that the collection of demographic data, rather than the creation of Reform Judaism, is the lasting legacy of the nineteenth century. Admittedly, numerical information concerning many of the topics Rabin

explores may be difficult or impossible to locate, but this should only have made her somewhat more circumspect in her assertions.

Despite the limitations related to quantification in her study, Rabin has done a great service by focusing new attention on the nineteenth-century as the formative period for American Judaism. She has made a major contribution to American Jewish history by mining a variety of sources for information about the lives of individual Jews, especially those who were pioneers as Jewish settlement spread across America. Just as importantly, she has focused attention on aspects of nineteenth-century American Jewish history that have been largely overlooked in the past, chief among these being the profound influence of mobility on the American Jewish experience.

Lee Shai Weissbach, University of Louisville
The reviewer may be contacted at lee.weissbach@louisville.edu.

Exhibit Reviews

The Legacy of the Hebrew Orphans' Home: Educating the Jewish South Since 1876. At the William Breman Jewish Heritage Museum, Atlanta, Georgia, August 14 through December 26, 2017. Curated by Catherine Lewis.

A walk through *The Legacy of the Hebrew Orphans' Home: Educating the Jewish South Since 1876* at the Breman Museum provides an engaging glimpse of southern Jewish philanthropy through the past century and a half and the oldest nonprofit in the state of Georgia. Viewers are invited to witness the connective threads tethering late-nineteenth-century waves of Jewish immigration to contemporary efforts to support Jewish education nationwide. The exhibit provides an informative and compelling lens on the historical foundations that produced the Jewish Educational Loan Fund (JELF), which has provided nearly twelve million dollars in low-interest loans to more than four thousand students since 1961.

The exhibit proceeds chronologically, the entrance showcasing architectural elements of the original Hebrew Orphan's Home, which opened its doors in 1889 at 748 Washington Street, then the center of Jewish Atlanta. From its opening until 1930, the home provided a proverbial "home away from home" for destitute Jewish children in the five-state southeastern B'nai B'rith district. The exhibit makes artful use of photographs and other material culture from the extensive holdings of the Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History. Several enlarged images of the Home's children—"inmates" as they were called in the nineteenth and early twentieth century—help transport visitors one hundred years into the past. Early photographs supply striking depictions of life at the home: well-dressed orphans stand at the entrance of Loew's Grand Theater downtown for a matinee or cluster on the home stairs around superintendent Ralph A. Sonn. Less formal images capture

children roller skating or playing on the home's grounds, or a group of boys enjoying a summer getaway at Camp Fendig on St. Simons Island off the Georgia coast. These children are hardly the orphans of Charles Dickens lore; they appear as normal, healthy, and above all beloved children. And indeed, these images convey the uniqueness of southern Jewish orphan care, exemplary compared to the non-Jewish orphan homes of the South and to the Jewish orphan homes of the North. The Southeast's smaller Jewish population—with relatively few immigrant settlers compared to northern urban centers—translated to a smaller orphan home. The Atlanta home's leaders invested greater attention to orphans' cultural and social uplift in a region tightly scripted by the rules of the racial color line.

Although elements of the institution's early history resonate throughout, the majority of exhibit space is devoted to documenting the more recent history and widespread impact of JELF. Curator Catherine Lewis has a doctorate in American studies and holds a faculty appointment at Kennesaw State University. She is well trained in the art of visual and material storytelling within museum spaces, having curated and managed more than forty exhibitions, and her curatorial vision is

(Courtesy of the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

persuasive and moving. She places the individuals affected by JELF and its institutional precursors at the exhibit's center, with two video installations/stations providing testimony of people who received financial support from the institution over its more than fifty-five-year educational loan history. Individual "JELFies" share their stories in moving detail of economic hardship and family tragedy, describing how JELF loans enabled them to fulfill their educational dreams. The exhibit is accessible, inviting, and comfortable, with ample room to sit and view the videos, or to rest between viewing the still materials. As the visitor navigates the space, the voices of JELF's beneficiaries follow, offering an audible reminder of the way benevolent legacies resonate in our present.

Museum exhibits are by necessity spatially and temporally limited; they provide visitors a fleeting glimpse of often-complex subject matter, and visitors will see and read only as much as their time and interest allow. The curator therefore faces a difficult decision to determine which materials go on display and which remain in the less-accessible archive. Inevitably, complexity and nuance must be sacrificed to space and time limitations given the multiple ways in which different people approach the lessons of the past. To address the limitations of space and

(Courtesy of the Breman Museum, Atlanta.)

the overabundance of relevant archival materials (the Cuba Family Archives at the Breman Museum holds over seventy boxes of materials related to JELF's history), two scrapbooks containing documents and images from the orphans' home are available for viewers to peruse. I appreciated this opportunity to investigate the institution's "deep history" but realized these materials might not receive the same attention as the two video stations. The scrapbooks contain letters documenting the more complex ups and downs of orphan home management, contributing nuance to the more than 150-year story of philanthropic transformation that eventually led to JELF. And yet the exhibit as a whole suggests a narrative of relatively seamless institutional transition from residential orphan home to foster care, to generalized social services, to its current form as JELF. What this smooth and conflict-free story misses are the often–heated debates that accompanied many of these transformations. For example, the home's early leaders were often at odds over the optimal ways to educate the children of poor and unacculturated coreligionists. Some argued that orphans should learn to make a living through "manual trades," while others clung stubbornly to the idea that all Jewish children, especially the children of the poor, should pursue their intellectual ambitions to the limit. Given the institution's eventual incarnation as the Jewish Educational Loan Fund, it is easy to forget this episode of conflict over the very core values many take for granted today.

Also modulated in the exhibit are the grim realities that brought the Orphans' Home into existence in the first place: the crushing poverty, illness, and death that forced destitute Jewish families to relinquish their children to benevolent caretakers and the social and cultural distance between impoverished families and their benefactors that often led to conflict and resentment. These were the urgent realities of the past, and they resurface today as the nation confronts polarizing debates over immigration and refugee policies. As we peer back in time to reflect on the fascinating institutional roots of JELF, may the nuance and complexity of the southern Jewish struggle for acceptance afford us deeper insight into our contemporary considerations of education and value, of social justice and belonging in its fullest sense.

Caroline Light, Harvard University
The reviewer may be contacted at clight@fas.harvard.edu.

Kehillah: A History of Jewish Life in Greater Orlando. Kehillah Jewish History Project. Accompanying catalog: *Kehillah: A History of Jewish Life in Greater Orlando* (2017). At the Orange County Regional History Center, Orlando, Florida, November 12, 2017, through February 20, 2018. Curated by Marcia Jo Zerivitz.

In 1963, after searching for an East Coast outpost for his entertainment empire, Walt Disney put his finger on a map of central Florida, near the edge of a little-known city named Orlando. For Orlando, Disney's choice turned acres of swampland into the first of a series of theme parks, assuring the provincial city's survival—and prosperity. And, as this exhibit illustrates, it also assured the survival and prosperity of central Florida's Jewish community, which has since drawn a steady stream of in-migration. In 1971, when Disney World opened, there were four thousand Jews in central Florida; today, there are an estimated thirty thousand. As the legend at the exhibit's entrance puts it, "To tell a history of Orlando's Jewish community is to tell the history of Orlando itself."

Kehillah: A History of Jewish Life in Greater Orlando grew directly out of plans to celebrate the centennial of Congregation Ohev Shalom, the first synagogue founded in central Florida, and the exhibit is dedicated to the Conservative congregation in honor of this milestone. This anniversary led to a broadened undertaking, which eventually involved a task force of sixty-five community volunteers. It also benefited greatly from the involvement of guest curator Marcia Jo Zerivitz, a former Orlando Jewish community leader who established and directed the Jewish Museum of Florida (Miami Beach) and who collected many of the photographs included in the exhibition.

Spread out over 277 linear feet in the downtown Orange County Regional History Center, the compact exhibition includes 450 photos, 75 objects, and 65,000 words in captions. The designers suggest a three-hour visit, but half that is sufficient for a self-guided tour. The organization is a blend of thematic and chronological sections, sometimes overlapping, devoted to "Roots," "Branches," "Seeds of Change," "Growth," "Caretakers," and "Blossoms." Most of the exhibit is composed of photos and commentary panels, but there are also cases displaying documents; free-

standing clothing, artifacts, and architectural models; a small, salvaged, stained-glass window from an early Ohev Shalom building; and an 1855 Czech Torah saved from the Nazis. Necessity became the parent of innovation when a budget freeze for the host center required a 30 percent cut in space for *Kehillah*. Center officials suggested they pivot to technology, displaying the material on touch screens. There are also light boxes with narrated slide shows. One screen runs a loop of local personality Sam Behr's over-the-top TV commercials for Allied Discount Tires.

As the exhibit's "Roots" section explains—and all the exhibit section titles exemplify—what makes Orlando's Jewish settlement distinctive is that its genesis was essentially agricultural rather than commercial. The yearning of Orlando's pioneering Jews to work their own land was not thwarted in America as it had been in Europe. A few itinerant wanderers, peddlers, and adventurers passed through central Florida during the nineteenth century, with just a handful settling permanently. Most notable among the permanent Jewish settlers was Dr. Philip Phillips, a Columbia University–trained physician who morphed into a citrus land baron and, ultimately, into a major philanthropist. While his foundation, which remains active, is gun shy about his Jewish identity, old timers say Phillips spoke Yiddish and shared holidays with other Jewish grove owners, although he never affiliated with a synagogue.

But the story of Jewish settlement begins in earnest between 1912 and 1918 with the arrival of a handful of farm-minded families from Pittsburgh. They bought citrus groves and, with the help of extended family members, they thrived. They expanded from growing oranges and grapefruit to fruit and juice packing, processing, and distribution. Some raised cattle, in part to provide dairy products and kosher meat. In 1915, using a Torah they brought from Pittsburgh, they began holding services and weddings in their orange groves. In *Kehillah*, this unfolding Jewish growth is told largely through the lives of these first Jewish families and their descendants who are still active and prominent in the community.

Agriculture drew retailers, the next significant wave of settlement, from the 1930s to the early 1960s. By then, 200 Jewish merchants operated 340 stores in and around downtown Orlando. But for two decades beginning in the 1960s, several developments threatened the economic

lifeblood of the Jewish community. The growth of suburban shopping malls largely decimated the downtown retail scene. Only two of the original Jewish-owned businesses survived, including—anomalously, given the area's high temperatures—a fur and cold storage store. Then, in the 1980s, four killer freezes essentially wiped out central Florida's citrus-growing industry. By then, however, Disney-generated prosperity had transformed the Jewish community's economy, leaving it sufficiently robust and diversified to survive. The theme parks—Universal Studios Florida and SeaWorld, which joined Disney—have had an incalculable effect. Directly or indirectly, the larger hospitality industry has stimulated and accelerated development in defense (what became Martin Marietta arrived in 1958); aerospace (Cape Canaveral is less than an hour away); biomedical research and higher education (the gargantuan University of Central Florida and Rollins College, both of which have had Jewish presidents); and, most recently, computer gaming and simulation (both relying on animation). As the *Kehillah* catalog notes, "More than 150 technology companies are now based in what was once a sleepy farming and citrus area." All of these industries have drawn Jews to the area, many with high-paying jobs and—along with the professions and businesses that serve them—have helped keep the children and grandchildren of earlier Jewish arrivals in the area after attending college.

In other ways, Orlando fits the historic pattern of Diaspora Judaism. As one might expect, the exhibition tracks the development of the traditional institutional benchmarks of many midsized Jewish communities: multiple congregations, some established through splits, others through geographic expansion; a weekly newspaper; a senior residential high-rise; and a vibrant Hillel at the University of Central Florida. Most prominent is a campus housing a Jewish Community Center (with a second on the other side of town), Federation offices, a day school, and the Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center.

As others have for millennia in the Diaspora, central Florida's Jewish community has depended on the philanthropy of those who have achieved great economic success and who have become community patrons and benefactors. There has been so much philanthropy that the exhibit's curators set a relatively high standard for inclusion: only those who have made one-time gifts of at least one million dollars to the

ABOVE: *Entrance to* Kehillah: A History of Jewish Life in Greater Orlando. *(Photo by Sarah M. Brown.)* BELOW: *A photo from the exhibit of Aaron Fechter with his creation, the Rock-afire Explosion. (Photo by Seth Christie, used with permission of Marcia Jo Zerivitz.)*

Jewish or the Greater Orlando community or the State of Florida are pictured in that category.

Kehillah, both serious and celebratory, is not without a sense of humor. One quirky, whimsical example is a life-sized, animatronic gorilla sitting at a keyboard, a Rock-afire-Explosion creation of Aaron Fechter, who is also credited in the exhibit with inventing Whac-A-Mole. Fechter gets the same amount of space in the exhibit as Marshall Warren Nirenberg, who shared the 1968 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine.

Central Florida replicates familiar patterns of Jewish life in the American South, although settlement in Orlando came a century or more later than many of the historic Jewish centers like Charleston and Savannah. Orlando also has not suffered the same decline and disappearance as so many small-to-midsized inland Jewish communities across the region.

As a postbellum community, central Florida's Jews did not have to face the wrenching challenges and legacy of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. The tumultuous civil rights movement of the 1960s and early 1970s receives a gloss in *Kehillah*, but with little introspection into the tension in many southern Jewish communities during the period between those wanting to fit in (and keep customers) and those who wanted to speak the truth clearly and unambiguously about the intrinsic evil of segregation and white supremacy. Those Orlando Jewish activists, who are justly celebrated in *Kehillah*, were moderates rather than prophetic insurgents who risked jail or personal safety. They involved themselves in the civil rights movement by working through established community channels, forums, and in court—and were always civil.

Kehillah introduces numerous memorable activities and individuals. A page in the accompanying catalog is devoted to Jewish doctors who responded in the aftermath of the 2016 mass shooting at the Pulse night club, tirelessly treating shooting victims. Even fiery former U.S. Representative Alan Grayson is represented with a photo and favorable caption. For a decade, from 2006 to 2016, Grayson was the central Florida Jewish political figure who was best known locally and nationally, although some in the Jewish community found him too brash and impetuous to offer their support.

Kehillah is a celebratory exhibit. Unmentioned is that the Federation is perennially cash-strapped and experiences high turnover at the execu-

tive level; that the day school has had to dramatically retrench; and that some congregations are hanging on by a thread. Critics have argued that the exhibit devotes too much of the limelight to Congregation Ohev Shalom and its members, which is probably understandable since its centennial was the inspiration and impetus for *Kehillah*. Although there is no handout fact sheet or brochure, laminated glossaries are provided for those unfamiliar with Yiddish and Hebrew words and Judaism. The large-format catalogue includes all the images and objects, many shown in color, along with the entire exhibit text.

Mark I. Pinsky, Orlando, Florida
The reviewer may be contacted at osopinsky@aol.com.

Website Review

The Texas Slavery Project, www.texasslaveryproject.org. Reviewed May 21–28, 2018.

The Texas Slavery Project is the creation of Dr. Andrew Torget, associate professor of history at the University of North Texas. Torget's graduate research on slavery in pre-annexation Texas culminated in the 2015 book *Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery, and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800–1850*, which examines how slaveholding Anglo-American settlers in northern Mexico, rebelling against an abolitionist Mexican government, created the first North American republic with a slave economy at its core.

In conjunction with his doctoral work at the University of Virginia, Torget spearheaded the creation of the Texas Slavery Project between 2007 and 2008 as an effort to explore how the tools of digital humanities can render statistical data more accessible and more meaningful. Together with a staff that assisted with research, design, and programming, Torget created a website that brings the story of slavery in Texas to life through interactive maps, graphs, charts, and primary source documents.

The website offers visitors a variety of ways to engage with data that show the exponential growth of slavery in the Republic of Texas from 1837 to 1845. Color-coded maps depict the number of slaves and slaveholders in each county based on data recorded in tax returns. The map turns redder in shade with each passing year, illustrating the rapid pace with which Texas's slave society grew in its first years of existence. Double-clicking on an individual county on the map brings up a screen with data on the number of slaves and slaveholders in a given year, including statistics that group slaveholders in accordance with how many slaves they owned. Other features of the Texas Slavery Project site include line graphs

Home page, Texas Slavery Project, http://www.texasslaveryproject.org/.

that chart both the total number of slaves and slaveholders over time, as well as graphs that track the numbers for individual counties and allow for side-by-side comparison.

As a resident of modern-day Harris County, which includes Houston, naturally I was curious to learn about the area's slaveholding past, and the following statistics provide an example of what can be gleaned from exploring the Texas Slavery Project's resources. From the website's population database I learned that both Harris County's slave and slaveholder populations more than doubled between 1837 and 1845, and that almost no slaveholders in the county owned more than nineteen slaves at any time. Just to the south, however, in Brazoria County, which was home to some of the earliest Anglo settlement in the region, the numbers were

much higher in all respects. The average slaveholding family in Brazoria owned as many as fifteen slaves, according to the charts, compared to just four in Harris County.

While the site allows the visitor to uncover and compare this data, the historical background required for the nonspecialist to make deeper meaning out of these numbers is occasionally lacking. The bottom line: slavery spread quickly throughout Texas in the pre-annexation period, although it spread much more rapidly in some areas of the republic than others, for reasons that are left unexplained.

How do these numbers compare to that of Jewish slave ownership in the same era? Based on scholar Bertram W. Korn's estimations in his classic essay "Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South," the profile of the average southern Jewish slaveholder more closely resembles that of Harris County than Brazoria Country, since very few Jews owned plantations. Most southern Jews, working in petty trade, had neither the need

"Texas Slavery Project Maps," http://www.texasslaveryproject.org/maps/hb/.

for slave labor nor the resources to acquire it. All the same, as Korn points out, information from census records and wills suggests that about one in four southern Jewish families owned slaves. The 1840 census recorded fifty-five Jewish slaveowning families in New Orleans, who owned a total of 348 slaves between them, for an average of about six slaves per slave-owning Jewish family.

A treasure trove of primary sources (transcribed, not digitized in their original format) completes the site's offerings and lends a human dimension to the facts and figures on slavery in Texas. Documents offered here include Republic of Texas legislation relevant to slavery and taxation, personal correspondence about owning and selling slaves, and newspaper advertisements related to the slave market. In one particularly striking document, dated June 25, 1837, J. Pinckney Henderson, as the Republic's new minister to England and France, is given instructions from the Texas Department of State as to how to win political recognition from the two European superpowers. Anticipating that Texas's adoption of slavery may be a stumbling block in the diplomatic process, Henderson is directed to admit that slavery is "cruel and impolitic," yet due to the "peculiar organization of the Government, the nature of the climate, the habits of the people and the locality of the country, it must continue as provided by the constitution and laws." Henderson is further instructed to state that slaves in Texas receive far better treatment than in other parts of the southern United States, so it is to their benefit to be imported to America's new neighbor. Primary sources such as these lend valuable insight into the mechanisms and rhetoric by which Texans justified buying, selling, and abusing other human beings.

It is beyond my expertise to assess the technical quality of the project, and one must also bear in mind that the website was built over a decade ago, primarily through the labor of graduate students. Although some visualization methods are more appealing and accessible than others, and although more historical context would help, this is an impressive achievement of lasting educational value.

What of its applicability to the field of southern Jewish history? Little of the content is directly relevant: although Jewish slave ownership in antebellum America is well-documented, only a small number of Jews were among the earliest settlers of Texas, and organized Jewish life there begins only in the 1850s, after annexation. However, as an early model of what

digital scholarship can do for the study of population flows into and out of a region, and for the dissemination of important primary texts to a wide audience, taking note of the Texas Slavery Project and spending time with its maps, charts, and historical records is worthwhile. The field would be especially enriched by new digital humanities projects that take advantage of mapping technology to illustrate migration patterns into and within communities, particularly as a means of preserving the history of those cities and neighborhoods where Jews have departed. Similarly, websites that integrate demographic statistics with images and primary source documents, offering visitors comprehensive historical narrative, would bring greater visibility and accessibility to southern Jewish life in all its breadth and depth. Hopefully the field will grow in this direction in the years to come.

Joshua Furman, Rice University
The reviewer may be contacted at joshua.furman@rice.edu.

Glossary

Bar mitzvah ~ traditional coming-of-age ritual for Jewish males reaching the age of thirteen; **Bat mitzvah** ~ modern coming-of-age ritual for Jewish females usually at age twelve or thirteen, introduced in the United States in the twentieth century

Bimah ~ platform from which services are led in a synagogue

B'nai B'rith ~ literally, *children of the covenant;* Jewish social service fraternity established in 1843

Chabad (also **Chabad-Lubavitch**) ~ an acronym for the Hebrew words for wisdom, understanding, and knowledge; an alternative name for the Lubavitch movement, one of the most famous and powerful Hasidic sects

Diaspora ~ originating in the sixth century BCE with the Babylonian exile, refers to Jewish communities and their residents living outside Palestine or modern Israel; more generally, people settling far from their original homeland

Farbrengen ~ literally, *gathering*; a celebratory event in Chabad-Lubavitcher Hasidism featuring discussion, lecture, singing, storytelling, and refreshments

Get ~ Jewish divorce decree

Golem ~ from medieval Jewish folklore, a being made into the form of a human from inanimate material and given life

Goy (*plural*: **goyim**) ~ gentiles, people who are not Jewish

Haggadah ~ book read during the Passover seder describing the exodus from Egypt and related ritual and customs

Halacha (*also* **halaka)** ~ Jewish religious law

Hanukkah (*variants include* **Chanukah**, **Hanukah**) ~ Festival of Lights, eight-day holiday commemorating victory of the Maccabees over Syrian rulers, 167 BCE

Hasidism ~ a Jewish mystical sect founded in Poland in the mid-eighteenth century; **Hasidim** ~ followers of Hasidism; **Hasidic** ~ of or relating to Hasidism

Havurah ~ a Jewish fellowship group that meets informally for discussion, worship, and Jewish celebrations

Heymishe (*also* ***hamish*** or ***hamische***) ~ familiar, homey

High Holidays (*also* **High Holy Days**) ~ Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the two most important holidays on the Jewish calendar

Kehillah ~ Jewish religious community; organizations joined together representing a Jewish community

Kiddush ~ literally, *sanctification*; the blessing recited over wine; **Kiddush cup** ~ a special goblet used for saying the blessing

Kippah (*plural:* ***kippot***) ~ yarmulke, skull cap

Kishke ~ a form of sausage, animal intestine or casing stuffed with a mixture of flour, onion, fat, and spices

Kosher ~ conforming to Jewish law, especially dietary law

Kristallnacht ~ literally *night of broken glass,* November 9–10, 1938; Nazi-sponsored pogrom throughout Germany and Austria bringing widespread murder, arrests, and destruction of property, including synagogues, escalating the violence against Jews

Matzo ~ unleavened bread eaten primarily during Passover; **matzo ball soup** ~ a classic dish served at holiday meals in which balls similar to dumplings, made from matzo meal, eggs, and salt, are floated in chicken soup

Melamed (*plural*: ***melamdim***) ~ Jewish teacher

Minhag (*plural*: ***minhagim***) ~ Jewish practice; ***Minhag America*** ~ Jewish ritual and customs according to American tradition

Oneg shabbat ~ reception after Sabbath services

Passover ~ spring holiday commemorating the deliverance of the ancient Hebrews from Egyptian bondage

Purim ~ holiday celebrating the heroine Esther, who saved the Jews from the villain Haman

Rebbe ~ the spiritual leader of a Hasidic community

Rosh chodesh ~ literally, *head of the month*; the celebration of the first day of a new month

Rosh Hashanah ~ literally, *head of the year*; the new year on the Hebrew calendar; one of the holiest days of the Jewish year

Seder ~ ceremonial meal, usually held on the first and second evenings of Passover, commemorating the exodus from Egypt

Sefer Torah ~ (*variant of* **Torah**); first five books of the Hebrew scripture; often refers to the physical Torah scroll

Semicha ~ rabbinical ordination

Sephardic ~ having to do with Jews and Judaism associated with Spain and Portugal; **Sephardi ~** a Sephardic Jew

Shabbat (*also* ***shabbes*** or ***shabbos***) ~ Jewish Sabbath; Friday night to Saturday night at the appearance of the first stars

Shamash ~ a synagogue caretaker; a congregational official

Shochet (*plural*: ***shochtim***) ~ ritual slaughterer, kosher butcher

Shul (*variant*: shule) **~** synagogue

Simchat Torah ~ literally, *Rejoicing in the Law*; annual celebration marking the beginning of the annual cycle of Torah reading

Sivan ~ the ninth month on the Hebrew calendar corresponding to May or June

Sukkah ~ temporary open-air structure used for the festival of Sukkot

Sukkot ~ fall holiday or Festival of Tabernacles commemorating the Hebrews' wanderings in the desert after the Exodus from Egyptian bondage

Tallit (*variants:* ***tallis, tallith;*** *plural*: ***tallitot, tallesim***) ~ prayer shawl

Talmud ~ collection of postbiblical writings justifying and explaining Jewish law and texts

Tefillin ~ phylacteries; small boxes enclosing Jewish prayers attached with leather straps to forehead and forearm in a prescribed manner referred to as "laying tefillin"

Torah ~ Five Books of Moses; first five books of the Hebrew scripture; the body of Jewish law and ritual tradition

Yahrzeit ~ anniversary of a death observed by an immediate family member

Yarmulke ~ skull cap

Yiddishkeit ~ Yiddish culture

Yom Kippur ~ Day of Atonement; holiest day of the Jewish year

Note on Authors

Raymond Arsenault is the John Hope Franklin Professor of Southern History at the University of South Florida St. Petersburg. He received his doctorate from Brandeis University, and his most recent publications are *The Sound of Freedom: Marian Anderson, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Concert That Awakened America* (2009) and *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of Sheldon Hackney* (2013), coedited with Orville Vernon Burton. Arsenault's *Arthur Ashe, A Life* is scheduled for publication in 2018.

Mark K. Bauman received his doctorate from Emory University in American history and retired as professor of history from Atlanta Metropolitan College. He is the author or editor of seven books and over fifty scholarly articles. The University of Alabama Press will publish selected essays of his on southern Jewish history, and he has compiled a history of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation ("The Temple") of Atlanta emphasizing the social service efforts of the congregation and its members for its 150th anniversary. The editor of *Southern Jewish History*, Bauman has received two American Jewish Archives fellowships and the SJHS Samuel Proctor Award for Outstanding Career Scholarship in Southern Jewish History.

Leah Burnham is a Ph.D. student at Georgia State University. Her dissertation focuses on the Mariel Boatlift and the Atlanta and Oakdale prison riots.

Joshua Furman is the director of the Houston Jewish History Archive at Rice University, which is dedicated to the study and preservation of Jewish life in South Texas. He received his Ph.D. in modern Jewish history from the University of Maryland. His published works include "Across the Ocean and Across Town: Migration and Mobility in American Jewish History" in *Interpreting American Jewish History at Museums and Historic Sites,* edited by Avi Decter (2016), and "Accentuate the Positive: The Influence of Kurt Lewin's 'Bringing Up the Jewish Child' on Postwar American Jewish Life" in *Contemporary Jewry* (2017). Currently he is working on a book about the history of Houston's Jewish community.

Phyllis K. Leffler, vice president/president-elect of the Southern Jewish Historical Society, holds a Ph.D. in history from Ohio State University. She is currently Professor Emerita from the University of Virginia, where she served on the faculty from 1986 to 2015. She has published books and essays in the fields of public history, the history of women at the University of Virginia, and African American history, including *Black Leaders on Leadership: Conversations with Julian Bond* (2015), a work that synthesized a twenty-year oral history project that she directed with Bond. Her current research interests focus on the Jewish history of Charlottesville in the twentieth century, seeking to bring previous work on this topic up to date.

Caroline Light is the director of undergraduate studies and a senior lecturer in Harvard's Program in Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality. She has a doctorate in history, and her work explores the ways in which race, gender, and region shape collective (mis)memory and archival silence. Her first book, *That Pride of Race and Character: The Roots of Jewish Benevolence in the Jim Crow South* (2014), explores the gendered and racialized performances of elite, white cultural capital that served as a critical mode of survival for a racially liminal community of southerners. Her recent book, *Stand Your Ground: A History of America's Love Affair with Lethal Self-Defense* (2017), tracks the history of our nation's relationship to lethal self-defense, from the duty to retreat to the "shoot first, ask questions later" ethos that prevails in many jurisdictions today.

Religion writer **Mark I. Pinsky** (M.S.J. Columbia) is a former staff writer at the *Orlando Sentinel* and the *Los Angeles Times*. His specialties include Diaspora Judaism and Sunbelt evangelicals. He is author of six books, including *A Jew Among the Evangelicals: A Guide for the Perplexed*. He has been an adjunct professor at the University of Central Florida and Rollins College, where he taught a course called "Kasha & Corn Bread: The Jewish Experience in the American South." He has lectured widely, including at Princeton University, Cambridge University, Duke University Divinity School, Perkins School of Theology, and Southern Methodist University.

Edward S. Shapiro earned a B.A. with honors in history from Georgetown University and a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University. He taught at the University of Maryland, St. John's University

(Collegeville, Minnesota), and Seton Hall University. He is the author of *A Time for Healing: American Jewry Since World War II* (1992); *We Are Many: Reflections on American Jewish History and Identity* (2005); and *Crown Heights: Blacks, Jews, and the 1991 Brooklyn Riot* (2006). His areas of interest are American Jewish history and the history of World War II.

Bryan Edward Stone is a professor of history at Del Mar College in Corpus Christi, Texas, and has been a visiting professor at the Schusterman Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. He is the editor of Alexander Z. Gurwitz's historical memoir, *Memories of Two Generations: A Yiddish Life in Russia and Texas* (2016), and the author of *The Chosen Folks: Jews on the Frontiers of Texas* (2010), which won the Southern Jewish Historical Society Book Prize in 2011. He is also the managing editor of *Southern Jewish History*. His current project is a cultural history of the Galveston hurricane of 1900. He holds a Ph.D. in American studies and civilization from the University of Texas at Austin.

Lee Shai Weissbach holds the title of Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Louisville, where he also served as chair of his department and as associate dean in the College of Arts and Sciences. Among other honors, he was recognized with both his college's Distinguished Career of Service Award and its Career Award for Outstanding Scholarship. He has also held a Senior Scholar Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a Fulbright Fellowship that allowed him to spend a year at the University of Haifa in Israel. Among his publications are *The Synagogues of Kentucky: Architecture and History* (1995); *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History* (2005); and *A Jewish Life on Three Continents* (2013), which is an edited and annotated version of his grandfather's memoir, which he translated from the original Hebrew.

Errata for Volume 20 (2017)

The exhibit review of *The First Jewish Americans: Freedom and Culture in the New World*, published in volume 20, neglected to name three people who acted as curators of the exhibit. In addition to the two named, the list should have included Debra Schmidt Bach of the New-York Historical Society; Margaret K. Hofer of the New-York Historical Society; and Ann Meyerson.

Contacting the Editors

Correspondence regarding the content of *Southern Jewish History*, including submission queries, should be addressed to:

Mark K. Bauman, Editor
Southern Jewish History
6856 Flagstone Way
Flowery Branch, GA 30542

e-mail: MarkKBauman@aol.com

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Correspondence regarding management and business issues, including questions about subscriptions, circulation, and advertising, should be addressed to:

Bryan E. Stone, Managing Editor
Southern Jewish History
PO Box 271432
Corpus Christi, TX 78427

e-mail: bstone@delmar.edu

Book, Exhibit, and Website Reviews

Book Review Editor: Stephen J. Whitfield, swhitfie@brandeis.edu
Exhibit and Film Review Editor: Jeremy Katz, jrkatz@thebreman.org
Website Review Editor: Shari Rabin, rabinsl@cofc.edu

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The Southern Jewish Historical Society awards annual grants to support research in southern Jewish history. The application deadline for each year's awards is in June. Information is available at http://www.jewishsouth.org/sjhs-grants-applications.

The Project Completion Grant is intended to facilitate the completion of projects relevant to Jewish history in the Southern United States. Such projects might include the publication of books or exhibit catalogs or the preparation of exhibit modules. Grants may not be used to fund research or travel.

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