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Mark K. Bauman, *Editor*

Rachel B. Heimovics, *Managing Editor*

Eric L. Goldstein, *Book Review Editor*

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Edgar Goldberg and the *Texas Jewish Herald*: Changing Coverage and Blended Identity

by

Bryan Edward Stone

In March 1910, after a mob raided a Dallas courtroom and lynched the 68-year-old African American defendant, the founding editor and publisher of the *Jewish Herald* of Houston ran a brief comment about the controversy the event had generated. "Murder, yes, lynching," Edgar Goldberg wrote, "is a crime to be condemned in the most stringent manner, and nothing, absolutely nothing, can be said in its defense."¹ The victim, Allen Brooks, was standing trial in the Dallas County Courthouse when about two hundred whites stormed the court, overwhelmed the seventy armed policemen and sheriff's deputies who tried to stop them, seized the defendant, tied a rope around his neck, and hurled him from the courtroom's second-story window. As a crowd of more than two thousand looked on, assailants dragged Brooks through the street, beating him viciously, tearing most of the clothes from his body, and almost certainly killing him. Then, in full public view in the middle of the day at the downtown intersection of Main and Akard, as lunchtime customers of the Palace Drug Store peered out through the windows, they passed the end of the rope over a lamppost and hoisted the body up until it dangled about four feet over the street. Before the corpse could be cut down and taken to a hospital for examination, the crowd had stripped the last of Brooks's clothing for souvenirs.²

While it may not be surprising, given the brutality of the attack, that Goldberg would comment on it, it was in fact unusual for him to cover events, however momentous, that did not have a

clear Jewish relevance.³ The remainder of Goldberg's statement, however, in which he moderates his initial condemnation, provides the key to its appearance in the *Jewish Herald*. Although the story had no significance for his readers as Jews, it was a welcome opportunity for Goldberg to appeal to them as southerners. Noting that "[t]he press from all over the country" was "commenting unfavorably upon the actions of some of the citizens of Dallas of recent date," Goldberg offered an apologist statement that could have come from many southern papers of the day.⁴ Seeking to justify the mob's anger toward Brooks, who was accused of assaulting the three-year-old daughter of his white employer, Goldberg explained that "[t]he sanctity of the home to our Southern citizens . . . is superior to the law" and that "[t]he people make the laws and the people can suspend the laws." In any case, he claimed, lynchings occurred in the North at least as frequently as in the South. "Each section has conditions to contend with that can not be governed to suit the like or dislike of the other section," he wrote. "The South is well able to take care of its own notwithstanding the comments of our Northern contemporaries."⁵

Unlike many Jewish newspaper editors of the time, Goldberg was not a rabbi. The *Herald* was his profession and his sole livelihood, his "Pet Baby," as he called it, and he spared no effort to build its readership.⁶ In this, as in many other cases in his early career managing the *Herald*, Goldberg sought to win readers in Houston and throughout Texas by employing the regional rhetoric of the post-Civil War South. Even as the Jewish community he wrote for was growing rapidly and becoming increasingly integrated with Jews throughout the nation and the world, Goldberg regularly described Houston as a southern city, Texas as a southern state, and Texas Jews as distinct from other American Jews. While Jewish journals of national circulation, particularly the *American Israelite* of Cincinnati and several New York publications, offered a national perspective, often including news items from local communities across the country, Goldberg emphasized the particularly southern identity of his Texas readers and skewed his coverage of national events accordingly.

Edgar Goldberg

*Goldberg was the founding publisher and editor of
the Texas Jewish Herald, which he established in 1908
as the Jewish Herald and managed until his death in 1937.*

(Photo courtesy of Bryan Edward Stone)

While it is likely that Jewish immigrants in Houston read and subscribed to the *Herald*, Goldberg clearly imagined his readers as acculturated Americans. The *Herald* never published a non-English word, except for the occasional transliterated Hebrew liturgical term, and the issue of immigration was treated solely from the native point of view. A number of articles, for instance, sought to familiarize readers with the experiences of immigrants, conspicuously identified as "The Other Half," and advised them not to mock the immigrants' accents. In another item Goldberg explained that a Yiddish-language event in Houston was well-attended because the audience "wanted to listen to the language of their childhood."⁷ The *Herald's* readers, that is, may not have been born in America, but Goldberg assumed that they had become American and had therefore accommodated to the regional distinctions that had been so much a part of their adoptive nation's history. Thus, in 1909, he reprinted an article titled "The Southland" that celebrated the myths of the Old South and the Lost Cause without a single mention of Judaism, and the next year ran a story on Jewish statesmanship which included a lengthy account of Judah P. Benjamin, a South Carolinian and Louisiana senator who had held several cabinet posts in the Confederate government.⁸ While the *Herald* included, on balance, far more coverage of national and international Jewish issues than distinctly southern or Texan ones, Goldberg believed that Texas Jews identified themselves as southerners as well as Jews and that they would respond to an appeal on that basis.

Goldberg's hyperbolic regionalism sometimes approached chauvinism, as in one notable instance that will receive extensive treatment below, when he challenged the presumption of Jewish leaders in New York (whom he disparaged as a "syndicate") to speak on behalf of American Jewry as a whole and of southern Jews in particular.⁹ He imagined a line roughly midway through the country and saw Jews on the other side of that line, "them" as markedly different from the "us" on this side. Thus, in making his appeal to his readers' southern identity, Goldberg emphasized that Texas Jews, whatever they actually were, were *not* New

Yorkers, nor were they northerners or easterners, terms he tended to use interchangeably. He offered the *Herald* explicitly as a challenge to the national Jewish press and in direct competition for subscribers. "The Jews of Texas are interested in Texas just a little bit more than they are in Ohio or New York," he wrote in one early statement. "Matters of interest to the Jews of Texas can be more thoroughly disseminated through the columns of the Jewish Herald than any other medium."¹⁰ Thus, defining his audience in terms of what they were not, Goldberg wasted no effort trying to clarify whether Texas was in fact in the South or if it was rather a western state or even a region unto itself.¹¹ Goldberg envisioned his readers as southerners and Texans *and* westerners *and* southwesterners *and* Americans *and* Jews all at once or alternately as circumstances warranted.¹² He edited the *Herald*, he said, "in behalf of no particular faction of Jewry, but in the interest of the Jews of Texas as a unit. . . . 'Texas news for Texas Jews.'"¹³

An examination of how a newspaper editor like Edgar Goldberg exploited the presumed distinctiveness of Texas Jews, and how he deliberately drew lines marking off differences between Jews in one place and those in another, adds an important dimension to an ongoing scholarly debate about regional differences among American Jews.¹⁴ At issue is the question of whether such differences even exist or have ever existed. For every anecdote about kosher grits or drawling cantors, there is opposing evidence that Jewish communities in the South and the West have always been fully part of general currents affecting Jewish life throughout the nation. Goldberg's conspicuous use of southern regional rhetoric indicates that whether or not such distinctions can be confirmed through objective analysis of community activity, institutional behavior, or religious practice, they are quite real in the minds of individuals such as Goldberg and in the self-identification of groups like his readers. At the same time, Goldberg's approach suggests that regional differences were shifting from a real historical basis, as perhaps they had before the Civil War, toward one of pure rhetoric, a nostalgic marketing device that spokesmen like Goldberg could deploy at will to define their

group, to rally action around a shared sense of uniqueness or, indeed, to sell newspapers. Rather than trying to resolve the question of whether regional differences among Jews exist, then, this essay suggests some of the ways that community leaders have used the belief that they exist to a variety of possible ends. It also affirms the importance of the debate about Jewish regionalism for refining our understanding of American Jewry and of American identity in general.

Community Origins

Edgar Goldberg introduced the *Jewish Herald* on Rosh Hashanah, September 24, 1908, as the Jewish communities of both Houston and Texas were growing rapidly after a long, fitful beginning. The first Jews in the state, possibly the first Jews, in fact, anywhere in what is now the United States, were Sephardic fugitives from the sixteenth-century Mexican Inquisition, *conversos* whose forced conversion to Christianity may or may not have been sincere or lasting.¹⁵ A handful of central European and American Jews found their way into Mexican Texas, and at least one, Samuel Isaacks, was part of Stephen Austin's original "Old 300" settlers. A small number participated in the signal events of the Texas Revolution, including the siege of the Alamo, the Goliad massacre, and the battle of San Jacinto. With the establishment of the Anglo-Texas republic in 1836, followed by its 1846 annexation into the United States, larger numbers of Jews joined the streams of migration then bringing tens of thousands of white settlers and their slaves into the new state.¹⁶

Houston was a new city at the birth of the Texas Republic and a popular destination for immigrants with mercantile hopes because it served as the shipping and distribution center for goods arriving at the neighboring port of Galveston. It grew quickly: from its establishment in 1836, it claimed about two thousand inhabitants by 1850 and about ten thousand by the end of the Civil War. With the expanding population came a bustling business climate and great opportunities for peddlers and retail merchants, positions that an influx of Jewish entrepreneurs quickly filled. By 1850, possibly seventeen Jewish adults (eleven men and

The first offices of the Jewish Herald

The building still stands on the corner of San Jacinto and Prairie in downtown Houston. The Jewish Herald office faced Prairie Avenue.

*(Sketch prepared by the Jewish Herald-Voice,
courtesy of Bryan Edward Stone)*

six women) were included in Houston's total white population of 1,863.¹⁷ Following a respite during the Civil War, the Jewish population grew as the city boomed under Reconstruction, and by 1900 there were about 2,500 Jews in Houston, constituting nearly four percent of the total population.¹⁸ Congregation Beth Israel, which had been chartered in 1859 as the state's first synagogue, was joined by several other congregations following various degrees of traditionalism.¹⁹ Beth Israel itself began Orthodox but adopted a Reform service after the Civil War. Over the next twenty years, as Houston's general population swelled to 187,000, the number of Jews in the city more than doubled to between 5,000 and 7,000.²⁰

Many of Houston's new Jewish residents moved inland from Galveston after the 1900 hurricane that devastated the island and

its economy. Of the rest, about four hundred were direct immigrants from eastern Europe who arrived in the city through the auspices of the Galveston Movement (1907–1914), a program sponsored by Jacob Schiff, New York’s premier Jewish financier and philanthropist. The movement sought to redirect the flow of Jewish immigration from its center in New York to Galveston, from whence the immigrants could be distributed to towns and cities throughout the West, including Texas, where designated jobs were waiting for them. Houston received more of these immigrants than any other Texas city.²¹ Still others came from across the country seeking business opportunities related to the 1901 discovery of oil in Beaumont and the completion of the Houston Ship Channel in 1914, both of which promised to make Houston one of the nation’s busiest ports.

Edgar Goldberg arrived in Houston with his young family in 1907, confident that the city, with its climate of expansion and commercial opportunity, could support a Jewish newspaper of its own. While not a native Texan, Goldberg was a southerner with a southern sensibility that may have been behind his effort to distinguish Texas Jews from their Yankee brethren. The future editor was born in Delta, Louisiana, a village suburb of Vicksburg, in 1876, the year that Democrats “redeemed” Mississippi from the Republican political dominance of Reconstruction. When Edgar was two, his mother died in a yellow fever epidemic, followed by his father five years later. The boy went to live briefly with his only remaining family, his father’s sister and her husband, a native Arkansan and Confederate veteran who had been wounded at the Battle of Fort Donelson in 1862.²² Unable to support an additional child, they sent him to live at the Jewish Children’s Home in New Orleans, where he stayed until he was nearly fifteen. The Jewish Children’s Home, originally the Association for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, took in needy Jewish children from many southern states, and its blend of civic and ethical education, general studies, and liberal Judaism had much to do with shaping several generations of southern Jewish children. Goldberg remained deeply grateful throughout his life for the opportunities that the home had given him, and he regularly used the pages of

the *Herald* to encourage his readers to support it financially. On one occasion he described it as “that dearly beloved institution over in New Orleans that cares for the Jewish orphans of our fair Southland.”²³ In the *Herald*’s first year, he committed the front page of six consecutive issues to an institutional history of the Jewish Children’s Home in celebration of its fifty-fifth anniversary.²⁴

After leaving New Orleans and reuniting with his family, Goldberg worked briefly as a jeweler’s apprentice in Jackson, Mississippi, learning the engraving techniques he would later apply to printer’s type.²⁵ The family moved to Memphis, where Edgar took a job at the *Spectator*, a local Jewish newspaper, laying out type on the printing press. In 1899, at twenty-three years of age, Goldberg left his family and traveled to St. Louis to work for the Sanders Engraving Company, where he remained for over five years, “locking up forms” and dreaming of opening his own print shop.²⁶ In St. Louis, he met Esther Ruppin, daughter of a successful cigar merchant and first cousin of European Zionist leader Arthur Ruppin. The couple married in 1900. The first of their three daughters was born the next year, and soon the family relocated to Texas, the southern state with the largest Jewish population.²⁷ After a few years as a reporter in the East Texas town of Lufkin, where they were frustrated by the lack of Jewish community, the couple moved to nearby Houston in 1907. With Esther’s help in the office, Edgar opened the Herald Printing Company to publish the new paper and to operate a contract printing business as a hedge against insolvency, and began soliciting advertisers and subscribers. A one-page trial issue in 1908 found a wide audience, and Goldberg prepared the first weekly issue of the *Jewish Herald* for introduction on the coming Rosh Hashanah. Still in operation today as the *Jewish Herald-Voice*, the *Herald* is the oldest Jewish publication in either the South or the West.²⁸

The Southern Jewish Press

The *Herald* was not the first Jewish paper published in the South, nor was it the first to address consciously its readers’ sense of themselves as southerners. The region’s first Jewish paper, the

Sinai, appeared in Baltimore in 1856, followed in the same city by the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1873, the *Jewish Comment* from 1895 to 1918, and the *Jewish Times*, established in 1919 and still in operation today. Precursors to the *Herald* include the *Jewish Spectator* of Memphis, published from 1888 to 1903, the *Jewish South*, published in Richmond, Virginia, from 1893 to 1899, the *Magnet* in Atlanta in 1894, the *Sabbath School Companion* in Charleston in 1895, the *Jewish Chronicle* in Mobile in 1899, and the New Orleans *Jewish Ledger*, which ran from 1895 to 1963.²⁹

A paper titled the *Jewish South*, however, a weekly edited first in Atlanta and later in New Orleans by Rabbi E. B. M. Browne, (and not to be confused with the Richmond paper of the same name), provides the most useful comparison to the *Jewish Herald's* regional approach. Browne billed his paper as "the only Jewish journal this side of 'Mason and Dixon's line'" and proclaimed in his first issue, in October 1877, that the paper would be "a Southern Jewish periodical preeminently." Browne observed that journals based on the east and west coasts had limited circulation, while the only Jewish paper in the middle part of the country, the *American Israelite*, had "too large a territory to oversee, and affairs nearer home will naturally obtain preference over items from the far South."³⁰ Browne considered Texas a southern state, and Texas readers responded enthusiastically. Correspondents in Corpus Christi, Denison, Dallas, Calvert, and other Texas cities wrote frequently to the *Jewish South*, and Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger of Houston contributed "Lone Star Flashes," a regular report of Jewish activities in Texas. In 1878, the leading Jews of more than twenty-five Texas cities welcomed the paper's associate editor, Charles Wessolowsky, as he toured the state drumming up new subscriptions, and from 1881 to 1883, Rabbi Voorsanger took the helm of the *Jewish South* and published it in Houston, making it Texas's first Jewish newspaper.³¹

When the *Jewish South* ceased publication in 1883, Texas was without a local or regional Jewish journal until 1901, when the *Southwestern Jewish Sentiment* went into publication for a single year in Dallas.³² During this time, although circulation data has proven impossible to find, it is safe to assume that many Texas

Jews subscribed to the *American Israelite*, which continued its tradition of reporting news and printing correspondence from Jews in every state. As an alternative, Goldberg envisioned the *Jewish Herald* as a regular "Anglo Jewish weekly which would chronicle the news affecting the Jews of Texas."³³ Eight pages long and four columns wide, Goldberg's first issue contained an introductory message in which he offered the paper "to the people of Houston" and asked the secretaries of local Jewish societies to pass on news of their activities for him to report. "The columns of the Herald will be open at all times," he promised, "to those who have anything to say that will be of benefit to our co-religionists or community."³⁴ Although, as Goldberg later noted, "we have not waxed rich" in the publication of the *Herald*, "and at times I wonder if the effort is really worth while," he succeeded in attracting a large enough readership to remain in operation through the difficult startup years and the subsequent three decades until his death in 1937.³⁵ In 1911, the *Herald* had an estimated 1,150 subscribers, which grew to 3,500 by 1920 and to a high of 6,600 in 1933. Circulation fell significantly during the Great Depression, forcing Goldberg to curtail the length of the paper, but it survived that and many other crises.³⁶

From his first issue, Goldberg offered a somewhat idealized picture of a Jewish community that was dynamic, prosperous, and harmonious. The first lead story was a detailed account of the consecration of a new synagogue for Adath Yeshurun, the city's largest Orthodox congregation, including a description of the dedication ceremony and speeches, a photograph of the congregation's rabbi, and a sketch of the new building.³⁷ A smaller article in the same issue described the construction of Reform Congregation Beth Israel's new temple. Two years later, he reiterated his commitment to making the *Herald* "a paper devoted to Jewish interests wherever found in general and to matters of interest to Jews in Texas in particular." It was not to be "the organ of any party within the creed and hence will give publicity to all matters of news appertaining to Orthodoxy, Reform, Zionism and Anti-Zionism, one as well as the other, regardless of whom it may suit or may not suit."³⁸ As one of the nation's few non-rabbinical

Jewish newspaper editors, Goldberg had no ideological axe to grind and could cover the “Jewish news” without partisanship.³⁹ “We have been accused of being anti-Zionistic—of being Zionist—of being too much in favor of reform—and of giving only Orthodox news,” he noted in 1910. “Well, at any rate, we have not been accused of being un-Jewish.”⁴⁰ When divisions in the community occurred, Goldberg was often a voice for reconciliation. In 1911, when Adath Yeshurun split into factions over a dispute regarding the confirmation ceremony, for instance, the *Herald* covered the conflict as it progressed through a failed arbitration proceeding and into the courts, and Goldberg urged the parties to avoid a trial because of the negative attention it could attract in the national Jewish press.⁴¹ This moderate, inclusive approach put Goldberg in a position to comment on all Jewish matters in the community, and not incidentally helped to guarantee the largest possible readership.

At first Goldberg struggled to find enough news of local interest to fill his pages. When short, he reprinted material from other Jewish newspapers, including features like “Jewish Women in New York,” “In Memory of Heine,” a sermon by a Baltimore rabbi, a feature story on the Baroness de Hirsch, and page after page of jokes and witty sayings. To honor his commitment to cover “matters of interest to Jews in Texas in particular,” however, the editor introduced a regular feature titled “Local Notes” in which Houston’s Jewish citizens shared important events in their lives, from marriages and births to changes of address and family vacations.⁴² Although columnists of national reputation were available for reprinting, Goldberg recruited local writers to contribute guest opinions. These included H. B. Lieberman, the cantor at Adath Yeshurun, who wrote many early opinions on matters of Jewish practice and identity, and Lena Lurie, a participant in Houston’s Jewish charities, who commented on social issues including intermarriage, parochial schools, and “Jewish ostentation,” as well as offering readers samples of her own short stories and poetry.⁴³ In later years, rabbis Samuel Rosinger of Beaumont and David Goldberg of Wichita Falls each wrote for the *Herald* on topics ranging from Jewish religious practice to

international politics. Rosinger, for example, appealed on behalf of Leo Frank, the Atlanta merchant who had been falsely accused of murdering a young girl in 1913, applauded Woodrow Wilson's appointment of Louis Brandeis to the United States Supreme Court, and mourned the displacement of European Jews during World War I; while Rabbi Goldberg wrote often about the lasting effects of World War I on world Jewry, particularly the possibility of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.⁴⁴ Although these leaders rarely commented on local events (a notable exception was Rabbi Goldberg's passionate warnings about the resurgent Texas Klan in the 1920s), their participation demonstrated to the *Herald's* readers that Jewish thought and advocacy were alive and well in their state and that Jewish issues of global importance had repercussions at home in Texas.⁴⁵

Goldberg gave a great deal of attention to chronicling the growth of Texas Jewry's increasingly complex institutional structure. Rabbis came and went, Houston and other Texas cities formed new congregations and built synagogues, and a variety of clubs and communal organizations were established. The *Herald* promoted involvement in local charities like the Jewish Free Loan Society and the Jewish Women's Benevolent Society Charity Home, and Goldberg reported on local cultural organizations like the Jewish Literary Society.⁴⁶ By reprinting items from other papers, Goldberg provided news from Reform and Orthodox rabbinical conferences, from meetings of Zionists and B'nai B'rith, and from gatherings of the American Jewish Committee and the National Council of Jewish Women. But, while covering these organizations' national and international activities, Goldberg emphasized local and regional events: meetings of the Texas Federation of Zionists and the Texas Zionist Organization, the Houston Council of Jewish Women, and District 7 of B'nai B'rith, the regional body that included Texas and in which Goldberg personally participated as a member and an officer.

Goldberg's extensive coverage of the Galveston Movement further reveals his effort to find and emphasize the local interest in matters of national significance. Recognizing the economic benefit for Galveston and its inland sister city, Goldberg promoted the

project enthusiastically, reprinting positive articles from Jewish and non-Jewish newspapers and giving space to Galveston's rabbi, Henry Cohen, to report on his own activities in support of the program.⁴⁷ In January 1910, Oscar Leonard, identified as the superintendent of the Jewish Educational and Charitable Association in St. Louis, underscored the importance of diverting Jewish immigration from the big eastern cities, and he encouraged settling more of them in Texas. "It is well known," he remarked, "that Jews give an impetus to commerce and industry and for this reason they would be welcomed in many communities in this large state which waits for willing hands and alert minds to help it develop." He chastised Yiddish papers in New York that discouraged immigration to the interior on the grounds that "there were no synagogues there and [immigrants] would become estranged from the faith of their fathers." That, Leonard argued, "was an absurd thing to say and was dictated by selfishness and self interest." Leonard urged the *Herald's* readers to tell their fellow Jews about Texas and to encourage them to migrate there. "If we relieved the congregation in the large cities," he concluded, "we shall surely have no 'Jewish problem' in America."⁴⁸

Edgar Goldberg's comments on the movement were often touched with a note of skepticism about the New York sponsors. He believed firmly in the project's goals in theory, but, as actual immigrants began to arrive in Texas, he questioned whether the movement's implementation would really benefit his city and state. Goldberg chided Jacob Schiff, for example, for pretending to act entirely out of selflessness. "Jacob Schiff made two speeches in New York in the past week encouraging immigrants to come South," Goldberg wrote. "If the people he is urging to come South had any money we'd be tempted to ask what land company he had stock in." In a similar editorial in 1910, Goldberg reprimanded the movement's leaders for sending immigrants into the South who were unskilled or unprepared to work. "There is more room for the Jew in Texas than any other state in the Union," he pointed out. "But the immigrant can't live on room. There is absolutely no difficulty to find

work for those having occupations."⁴⁹ Despite these qualifications, Goldberg's support for the movement was steadfast, and throughout its duration, especially as it faced bureaucratic tangles and charges of inefficiency, Goldberg regularly came to its defense.

While his primary focus was always on Houston, even within his first year Goldberg set his sights on a larger, statewide readership. In December 1908, he ran an advertisement calling for representatives in other Texas cities to "take subscriptions and correspond for the *Jewish Herald*," and the following summer he introduced a "Texas News" page dedicated to items of Jewish interest from cities and towns around the state. By 1910, Goldberg could brag that the *Herald* had a statewide readership and "special correspondents at not less than fifteen [of the] most important points in the State."⁵⁰ Four years later, to reinforce his statewide appeal, he changed the paper's name from the *Jewish Herald* to the *Texas Jewish Herald*: "From the local publication which it was at its inception," he wrote, "[the *Herald*] has become the organ of all Jewry in Texas." He explained that he made the change on the advice of readers who had pointed out that the *Herald* was "as closely identified with Jewish interests in Dallas, Fort Worth, Waco, Austin, San Antonio, Galveston, El Paso, Beaumont, Corsicana, Tyler, Palestine and nearly all of the smaller towns in Texas as with Houston."⁵¹ The idea that Jews in Galveston and El Paso (which is geographically closer to Los Angeles than to many Texas cities) had anything in common was, at best, a questionable assumption, but for Goldberg it was a fundamental matter of marketing. The Jews of Texas were, as he had stated earlier, "a unit" and constituted a single readership best addressed by a Texas-based paper. The long list of towns reflects Goldberg's hope to appeal to a Texas Jewish community that filled the state's expansive boundaries.

The presence in New Orleans of the long-standing *Jewish Ledger* may explain why Goldberg did not seek to expand his readership into other parts of the Old South, even though his strong support of Louisiana institutions like the Jewish Children's Home and B'nai B'rith District 7 underscores his personal

identification with the area. Rather he promoted circulation in Texas communities that were not already served by a southern Jewish paper, choosing to compete with the *Israelite* and the national New York journals rather than with colleagues in the South. This strategy, however, did not prevent other editors from competing with him. It is likely, in fact, that the *Herald's* name change and Goldberg's urge to clarify his paper's statewide appeal were responses to the impending establishment of the *Jewish Monitor* in Fort Worth in 1915. The *Monitor's* founding editor, Rabbi G. George Fox, claimed later to have started the paper in an effort to "spread information about matters of Jewish interest and to bring about closer cooperation among Texas Jews," though presumably not between himself and Goldberg.⁵² Like the *Herald*, the *Monitor* was an English-language weekly that covered national and international Jewish news while emphasizing local issues with an almost personal specificity. Like Goldberg, Fox recruited Texas rabbis to provide guest editorials, promoted assimilation and economic achievement, and spoke to readers as fully acculturated Americans.⁵³ Whereas Goldberg saw the whole of Texas as his field, Fox seemed less concerned with drawing borderlines, covering news and encouraging circulation in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana as well as in North Texas.

Fox was conscious that the *Monitor* was a southern periodical and even once described it as "a real force in the South," but he did not emphasize a regional approach to the same degree that Goldberg did.⁵⁴ If anything, Fox's outreach to communities outside Texas, particularly those in Oklahoma where an appeal to Dixie sensibility was largely irrelevant, indicates that Fox, stepping into an already occupied market, was more concerned with finding readers wherever he could than with abiding by traditional regional boundaries. Neither Fox nor Goldberg took as strongly regional a stance as Browne had done in the *Jewish South*, but Fox's decision to turn northward for readers indicates that the *Herald* was already dominant through much of the state and that Goldberg's effort to appeal to his readers as Texans and as southerners may have been effective.

The Jewish Civil War

As E. B. M. Browne had placed the *Jewish South* in opposition to the national leadership of Isaac Mayer Wise, Goldberg looked primarily to New York, emerging as the undisputed center of American Jewish life, as a foil. In one extended episode in particular, Goldberg relied heavily on regional rhetoric to assert that Jews in Texas and throughout the South stood outside the national structures that bound the American Jewish community together. As Browne had done before, Goldberg challenged the authority of national Jewish leaders and asserted his readers' right to speak on their own behalf and to pursue their own solutions to national Jewish problems. In the place of self-designated leaders in New York, Goldberg promoted his friend and editorialist, Houston lawyer Henry J. Dannenbaum, as a more suitable leader for American Jewry, publicity which Dannenbaum was more than happy to accept. The episode deserves to be described at length, if not for its own inherent importance then for the clarity in which it casts Goldberg's manipulation of minor events in order to promote to his readers a particular way of seeing themselves and their place within the larger context of American Jewry, and, thus, to affirm the need for a Texas Jewish newspaper to reflect Texas Jewish concerns.

The incident began in 1908 when the New York police commissioner, Theodore Bingham, published a report in the *North American Review* in which he associated criminality with foreignness. In New York neighborhoods where fewer native-born residents lived, he claimed, crime was more widespread. Russian Jews, for example, who dominated the city's Lower East Side, represented one-quarter of the city's population, according to Bingham, but accounted for "perhaps half of the criminals."⁵⁵ The following year, *McClure's Magazine* presented a typically lurid account of the growing problem of "white slavery" in which George K. Turner described how a system of corrupt procurers, mostly Jews, seduced young immigrant women, also mostly Jews, and sold them into a life of degradation.⁵⁶ The association both writers made between Jewish immigration and urban vice, while wildly

exaggerated, caught the attention of community leaders in New York and elsewhere who feared the damage it could do to the public perception of the nation's Jews.⁵⁷

While prominent Jewish New Yorkers like Louis Marshall and Jacob Schiff recognized a need to respond to such charges, the generally fractious state of New York Jewry prevented unified action. In particular, a deep rift existed between the Russian immigrant community and the "uptown" Jews of German background, including Marshall and Schiff, who had preceded them to the city and become prosperous and acculturated. The Yiddish press, speaking on behalf of the immigrant community, condemned the city's German Jews for their failure to address the white slavery charges and berated their approach as "assimilationist, timid, and disdainful of the immigrant Jews," even as they acknowledged their dependence upon these "men of influence" in the direction of the city's Jewish affairs. In response to such criticism, uptowners advanced a plan to organize the New York Kehillah as a collective voice for all the city's Jews. The idea of *Kehillah* derived from the shtetl tradition of representative community leadership. Its purpose, according to Schiff, was to "further the cause of Judaism . . . and to represent the Jews of this city," while president Judah Magnes claimed that the Kehillah's regular meetings would help to forge a "Jewish public opinion."⁵⁸ Over the years, the Kehillah was active in reforming Jewish education, arbitrating labor disputes, and bridging the denominational gap between the city's Reform and Orthodox Jews.

While the Kehillah represented a broad cross section of the city's Jewish factions and institutions, it was dominated by Reform German Jews of a particular social status. Wealthy, genteel, and acculturated, they were respected members of both Jewish and gentile society. Rabbis and community activists joined with the majority of lawyers and businessmen. When Bingham and Turner published their charges of Jewish involvement in organized prostitution, the Kehillah's central figures decided that the best approach was to downplay the problem rather than to attack the charges directly and visibly and to divert public attention to less unseemly areas of urban Jewish life. In a well-publicized

Esther (Ruppin) Goldberg, in Houston, circa 1940
(Photo courtesy of Edward and Barbara Stone)

Esther Ruppin married Edgar Goldberg in St. Louis in 1900. She traveled with him to Houston, where she raised their three daughters while managing the offices of the Herald Printing Company and the Texas Jewish Herald. Her father, an early financial backer of the Herald, moved with his wife and younger children to Houston in 1910 to join Goldberg in the operation of the paper.

address, Magnes denied that the problem even existed, and the Kehillah, in the estimation of historian Arthur Goren, “[broke] no new ground nor commanded wide public attention as communal spokesmen” on the white slavery issue. Forcing the matter underground “ended public embarrassment and permitted normal institutional work to continue undistracted.”⁵⁹ This approach was also favored by representatives of the immigrant community, who preferred that the whole matter disappear from public view as quickly as possible.

Far from the city where most of the alleged offenses were occurring, Henry J. Dannenbaum, an ambitious Jewish lawyer in Houston, saw an opportunity for self-promotion. An energetic and successful prosecutor, Dannenbaum had been active in gaining support in Texas for the Mann Act, which attacked white slavery by prohibiting the transport of women across state lines for “immoral purposes.” He had earned the respect of Jews and gentiles alike as a crusading crime fighter, and, in 1915, Governor Jim Ferguson would appoint him judge of the Sixty-first District Court, the first Jew to sit on the state bench in Texas.⁶⁰ A native Texan born to German immigrants, Dannenbaum was simultaneously rough and genteel, educated and mannered but with a frontiersman’s directness. In speech and writing he wrapped bold, often confrontational messages in a deliberately cultivated rhetoric that marked him as a true Houstonian, ambitious and capable but newly, somewhat uncomfortably, cosmopolitan.

In 1910, Dannenbaum wrote a brief letter to the *Jewish Herald* challenging the Kehillah to adopt a different approach to the white slavery problem. “As if Jews have not enough trouble to fight prejudice from without,” he wrote with typical flourish, “now comes a cancer from within to eat upon our morals and taint our good name.” Rather than trying to deny the existence of white slavery, Dannenbaum felt that the Kehillah should attack it directly through a concerted program of prosecution, intervention, and public education, and that the Kehillah only demonstrated its moral weakness by refusing to do so. “There is work to do for every decent man and woman in our ranks,” he wrote. “Only cowards will shrink from the contest.”⁶¹ Dannenbaum had already

inserted himself directly into the fight against white slavery before writing to the *Herald* by initiating a series of meetings with Samuel London, an El Paso lawyer who had represented prostitutes, pimps, and procurers throughout the Southwest. London claimed to know more about white slavery than anyone living and, in a sudden burst of lawyerly conscience, he approached federal investigators and offered to turn over his meticulous business records and make his services available to prosecutors for a substantial fee. Anxious to secure this evidence and to aggrandize himself, Dannenbaum sought a contribution of \$3,700 from B'nai B'rith District 7 to purchase London's records, including the names of at least 1,200 of his contacts, and to provide him a salary while he gathered further intelligence from his former clients.⁶² With London's records in hand, Dannenbaum approached the United States Justice Department and procured a position in New York as Special Assistant to the Attorney General charged with prosecuting violations of the Mann Act.

Dannenbaum's rapid ascent to national office enhanced his reputation among his fellow Jewish Texans and southerners. As a measure of their respect, the members of B'nai B'rith District 7 elected Dannenbaum district president in 1911, a post he ceremoniously accepted and then immediately resigned because of his commitments in New York. Edgar Goldberg praised Dannenbaum lavishly in the *Herald* as "a man whose ability is unquestioned, whose loyalty and faith in the future of our people is inspiring . . . [a] man without a blemish who is loved, honored and respected by all." In particular, the editor thrilled at the prospect of a local Jew, an officer in the regional B'nai B'rith, attaining national prominence. Dannenbaum's "acknowledged leadership of the district comprising the Southern States," the editor wrote, "is but the stepping stone to the leadership of American Jewry."⁶³ Implicit in the exaggerated praise is Goldberg's belief that the South could produce spokesmen capable of standing on a national platform, that Jews living far from power centers like New York were not bound to let northern administrators speak for them.⁶⁴

Hoping to encourage the Kehillah to greater assertiveness, Dannenbaum corresponded frequently with several of its

members while he was with the Justice Department in New York, but Judah Magnes explained to him that the Kehillah's members were "hard-headed men" who would not easily be moved to act.⁶⁵ Magnes declined to support Dannenbaum's idea to establish an office on the Lower East Side to serve as a center for prosecution and public education, and he refused Dannenbaum's offer of information and financial support should the Kehillah ever establish a committee to combat white slavery. Dannenbaum returned to Texas late in 1911, disappointed with Magnes's response but bearing a letter from the United States Attorney General stating that his official efforts had been responsible for at least a dozen convictions.⁶⁶

Soon after returning home, Dannenbaum spoke at a District 7 meeting in New Orleans. In a wide-ranging and provocative address, Dannenbaum challenged United States diplomatic policy, asserting that the government should preserve a Russian trade treaty despite the czar's crackdown on Jewish socialists. National Jewish leaders, including members of the Kehillah, had heartily advocated abrogation of the treaty as a protest against Russian antisemitism, and Dannenbaum's condemnation of the move, his apparent support of the czar's antisemitic behavior, outraged many of his listeners and others who later read the address. On the subject of white slavery, Dannenbaum insisted that the problem was only getting worse: "The business has spread like a prairie fire until this night," he explained with typical western imagery, "when in the woman's night court of New York City and on gilded Broadway the majority of streetwalkers bear Jewish names." America's Jews, he continued, especially their self-proclaimed national leaders, were most responsible for the crisis. The southerners of District 7 had distinguished themselves, he said, by their "brave and chivalrous and unselfish" purchase of Samuel London's business records, but their New York brethren had deserted them. "[P]leading, argument and threats," he said, "have all fallen impotent at the feet of our leaders in the North."⁶⁷

Goldberg immediately took Dannenbaum's side. Even as the *Herald* disagreed with Dannenbaum on the abrogation issue, the editor declared that "we do admire the courage and manliness of

Henry J. Dannenbaum

(Photo courtesy of Glen A. Rosenbaum)

This portrait now hangs in the 61st District Courtroom, Harris County Courthouse, Houston, Texas, where Dannenbaum served as state district court judge beginning in 1915. His portrait was the only one excluded in the 1938 judicial portrait project that so honored all the judges who had ever served the people of Harris County. His exclusion may have been because the chairman of the portrait committee was the former Imperial Dragon of the Houston Chapter of the KKK. This oversight was corrected on April 4, 1997, when Dannenbaum's portrait was unveiled in the courtroom in a ceremony presided over by 11th District Court Judge Mark Davidson, who had discovered the exclusion and ordered that it be remedied.

Mr. Dannenbaum in differing with what is supposed to be the great majority." Goldberg also reasserted the importance of southern Jewish leadership. "We admire him for upholding Southern Jewry and telling those of the East that we must be considered; that they cannot decide all questions and expect us to follow without regard to whether it is right or wrong." Dannenbaum was proof that the South, too, was capable of producing leaders of national quality. "Men of the type of Henry J. Dannenbaum are not only qualified to act and represent Southern Jewry," the *Herald* claimed, "but better qualified to act as leaders of all our people in the consideration of grave questions which confront us today."⁶⁸

Needless to say, northern Jewish leaders reacted differently to Dannenbaum's address, dismissing the parvenu out of hand. According to the *Herald*, B'nai B'rith international president Adolf Kraus referred to Dannenbaum in conversation as "a dangerous fool," and the Chicago headquarters issued a disclaimer stating that he held no official position in the order and did not speak on its behalf.⁶⁹ An article in the *American Hebrew*, a weekly journal published in New York by Kehillah member Cyrus Sulzberger, detailed Dannenbaum's futile attempt to raise money among New York leaders and ridiculed his association with Samuel London, a lawyer "who has so little sense of honor as to take such clients in the first place and then sell them out." Titled, with apparent irony, "A Gentleman from Texas," the statement expressed particular disdain for Dannenbaum's stated wish in his New Orleans address "to speak [his] own mind without regard to New York or Chicago." Translated, the *American Hebrew* explained, this statement "evidently means without regard to the American Jewish Committee or the B'nai B'rith." The writer worried about the consequences of the divisive speech, claiming that "if the Russian Government had secured the services of the gentleman from Texas, he would have earned his pay" and that B'nai B'rith District 7 should reconsider "whether it desires to retain a man of this kind in an official position in the Order."⁷⁰

The *American Hebrew* article played right into Goldberg's hands, and he reprinted large extracts from it without comment.

On the editorial page his rhetoric against the Kehillah became strident.⁷¹ "Our own beloved Henry J. Dannenbaum," one editorial proclaimed, "has caused the displeasure of the syndicate who for years has been in absolute control of the Jewish voice and without whose authority no man dare move." While previously Goldberg had simply defended Dannenbaum as a local hero, he now blasted New York leaders who "dare strike at [him] because he honors truth and detests hypocrisy." Because Dannenbaum had "put aside fear and told the truth," the *Herald* claimed, "he is made the victim of an assault by the American Hebrew which is not alone false but maliciously written for the sole purpose of destroying his value to American Jewry and preserving the syndicate that they might continue to rule." Finally, regarding the suggestion to strip Dannenbaum of his standing in B'nai B'rith, the *Herald* advised the *American Hebrew* that "District 7 will not need the advice or assistance of the syndicate in determining who shall lead in this district." The *Herald* emphasized that Dannenbaum was a native Texan, "and District 7 is proud of its leader."⁷²

The *Herald* covered this minor issue and peripheral conflict as if it were a national dispute of epic proportions. For four consecutive weeks Goldberg dedicated the newspaper's front page to reprinting the correspondence between Dannenbaum and Kehillah president Judah Magnes, advising his readers to preserve these pages "as an historical record of a phase of American Jewish history." Underscoring the regional animosities at play, Goldberg termed the crisis a "Jewish civil war between the South and the North" and urged that it be "averted before the hostilities assume serious proportions."⁷³ The *Herald's* attack on the Kehillah, however, was really a one-sided assault, with Goldberg and Dannenbaum flinging rhetorical grenades at an enemy that was scarcely aware it was at war. It is telling that the Galveston Movement, under the direction of Kehillah member Jacob Schiff, continued unabated throughout this "Jewish civil war."

In July 1912, the issue of Jewish crime resurfaced when, only a few months after the *Herald's* barrage against the Kehillah, a police officer killed a Jewish gangster named Herman Rosenthal

on a New York street in broad daylight, and the national mainstream press re-opened the issue of Jewish vice with renewed intensity. Faced with a massive public relations disaster, the Kehillah finally formed a committee to address the problem, and the coincidental timing gave the *Jewish Herald* a chance to gloat. Goldberg ran the story of the creation of the Kehillah's new Vigilance Committee on the front page, preceding it with extracts from Dannenbaum's New Orleans address and his correspondence with Magnes, implying that Dannenbaum had been right all along. In another front-page article, Dannenbaum took a final shot at the Kehillah's tardiness and claimed the high ground for himself and for the newspaper that had supported him. "In no spirit of censure or 'I told you so,' does the Jewish Herald now publish these words," he wrote. "The New York Kehillah, under the splendid leadership of Dr. J. L. Magnes, has been awakened and is on the right track. . . . May they win the fight."⁷⁴

What is most revealing in this story is the insistence of Goldberg and Dannenbaum that regional Jewish identity should matter even where it clearly did not. Dannenbaum's condemnation of "our leaders in the North" and Goldberg's invocation of "the Jewish civil war" inserted regionalism into an issue where it would not otherwise have been a factor. And there is an important underlying reality in this case which both men left unmentioned: regardless of their claim of a regional divide among American Jews, Goldberg and Dannenbaum were fully absorbed in national American Jewish life and were seeking solutions for distinctively Jewish, not distinctively southern, problems. Significantly, Dannenbaum targeted Jewish vice, turned for support to a Jewish fraternal organization, sought an audience in New York with Jewish leaders, and used a Jewish newspaper as his platform. Regional animosity, the legacy of the Civil War, only entered the picture when Dannenbaum played on it to secure the support of District 7 and when Goldberg employed it as a dramatic device on his front page. To be sure, their use of regional Jewish identity as a marketing tool does not preclude its existence, but does suggest that it was becoming more a matter of taste and style, a flavor of

American Jewish identification, than a profound and continuing reality.

Beyond Regionalism

With the outbreak of World War I, the political ground shifted radically beneath Goldberg's feet. The Great War ravaged sections of Europe where large numbers of Jews lived and displaced hundreds of thousands of them. Refugees fled westward into Germany and Austria, crowding into dismal shantytowns where they died in large numbers from starvation and disease. American Jews recognized a responsibility and organized charities to collect money for the relief of Jewish war victims. Many of these charities, representing a broad range of American Jewish ideologies and the national backgrounds of immigrants, merged into the American Joint Distribution Committee, or "the Joint," and, as stories of Jewish suffering proliferated, local agencies throughout the United States sprang up to gather donations for the cause. In many communities, this groundswell overwhelmed even the most rancorous differences that existed among American Jews before the war, and Zionist and anti-Zionist, Reform and Orthodox, German and Russian Jews eagerly joined the campaign. Their underlying differences, of course, remained intact, and factional squabbles continued to erupt in American Jewish institutions, but the war provided a common outlet for common energies. In the midst of such an international crisis, there was little enthusiasm for fabricated debates between southern and northern Jews, and Goldberg was now obliged to join a philanthropic effort of national scope.

At the same time, the resurgence of Zionism, especially following the 1917 Balfour Declaration in which Britain promised its support for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, contributed to a gradual transformation of the relationship between local and global Jewish identity. Zionism had never been popular in Texas, and Goldberg himself was avowedly opposed to it even as he gave it full coverage in the *Herald*. Nonetheless, its effects were felt, especially after his death. With the Holocaust, the establishment of Israel, and the arrival of refugees from Europe and

Jews from northern cities, Texas Zionist groups grew in membership, and Zionist beliefs took hold in every Jewish community and in congregations of every denomination.⁷⁵ Ultimately, as Zionism gained acceptance in Reform circles in Texas, its message of Jewish nationalism and universalism mitigated feelings of local distinctiveness.

Events originating closer to home had a similar effect. The brief rise to power in the 1920s of the Ku Klux Klan, whose Texas membership was among the most influential in the nation, served as a wake-up call to Texas Jews who had advocated full acculturation, a reminder that their identity as Jews was ultimately more important and more lasting than their status as Texans.⁷⁶ It became apparent that, as long as groups like the Klan remained active, there was no reason to think that the state's white Christian population would ever fully accept Jews as equal fellow citizens. With the rise of the Nazis in Germany, a sequence of events which Edgar Goldberg found deeply alarming and covered extensively, it became still clearer that divisions among Jews were superficial and meaningless in the face of genuine threats from outside.

Goldberg covered all of these issues as they developed through the 1920s and 1930s, acting as the *Herald's* editor until his death in 1937. His emphasis on Texas Jewry remained central, but in these later decades the *Herald* took a decidedly more universalist perspective. By the time of the transformative world crises of the 1940s, a new generation had taken the reins and the *Herald* became a different kind of newspaper. David White, who had worked briefly under Goldberg as an assistant editor but had left to start a competing paper, bought the *Herald* from Goldberg's widow, Esther, and combined it with his own, establishing the *Jewish Herald-Voice*. The new paper, which White billed as "The Jewish Herald's 31 Years Experience PLUS The Jewish Voice, The Vigor of Youth," was livelier, more modern, more politically liberal, and aimed at a younger readership than the gray lady that Goldberg's effort had become.⁷⁷ Like his predecessor, White aged in his stewardship of the paper, managing it for thirty years until his death in 1971. The *Jewish Herald-Voice* is published and edited today by Joe and Jeanne Samuels, who took it over from White,

and, at nearly one hundred years old, is one of the longest-running Jewish newspapers in the country.

Goldberg's success in establishing the *Herald*, and his reliance on regional language to make it a success, suggest the truth of a description by the sociologist Fredrik Barth of the ways that groups living in pluralistic societies define themselves in contrast to one another. In Barth's interpretation, intergroup relations force people to define more concretely the cultural boundaries that distinguish them from outsiders. "The critical focus of investigation from this point of view," he writes, "becomes the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses."⁷⁸ Groups define themselves, that is, in contrast to others, across imaginary lines of difference, rather than by positive determination of their own qualities. While Barth's emphasis was on ethnic differences, his observation is also illustrative for understanding perceived differences within groups. Thus, it was never necessary for Edgar Goldberg to demonstrate what Texas Jewry actually was or what made it unique, nor did he have to settle on a given set of criteria for defining southern, western, southwestern, or Texan Jewish identity. What mattered was that he differentiated Texas Jews from all other Jews, and by doing so he defined them as a distinct community. The particular coloration that this difference took depended on the circumstances and on whatever rhetorical approach would most effectively suit his purpose at the time. The southernness of Texas Jews was by no means the only identification available to Goldberg, but it was one with a particularly strong resonance among the Texans he saw as his potential audience, those who were either native to the state or who had accepted Texas history, real and mythical, as their own. Whether or not they really were southerners in any meaningful way could hardly have mattered to Goldberg, as his rapid shift after World War I to a less regional perspective demonstrates, as long as they thought they were southerners and would respond enthusiastically to a regional appeal.

Today, as many Texas Jews, not to mention non-Jewish Texans, continue to emphasize their difference from other (and lesser?) Americans, it is as important as ever to examine why and

how they do so, for, as the journalist John Bainbridge once observed, "Texas is a mirror in which Americans see themselves reflected, not life-sized but, as in a distorting mirror, bigger than life."⁷⁹ Lessons learned from Texas Jews about who and what they are, and, more importantly, who and what they are not, apply to the methods through which Jews in communities across the nation define themselves alongside and in opposition to other Jews and to non-Jews. They suggest that Jewish identity is a mutable and malleable creation of particular social circumstances, and that for all the profound importance of religious faith and historical experience, it is as susceptible to ideology and marketing as more superficial aspects of identity.

NOTES

¹ *Jewish Herald*, March 17, 1910.

² "Dallas Mob Hangs Negro from Pole at Elks' Arch," *Dallas Morning News*, March 4, 1910; Brian Anderson, "1910: Historical eyesore; Lynching turned downtown centerpiece into disgraceful reminder," Hidden History of Dallas (July 3, 2002) <http://www.dallasnews.com/s/dws/spe/2002/hiddenhistory/1901-1925/070002dnhharch.41b518d.html> [accessed March 22, 2004].

³ For a survey of topics covered in the *Herald* during the Goldberg years, see Bryan Edward Stone, "'Texas News for Texas Jews': Edgar Goldberg and the *Texas Jewish Herald*," *The (Houston) Jewish Herald-Voice Rosh Hashanah Edition*, September 1995: 6-23, reprinted as "Edgar Goldberg and Forty Years of the *Texas Jewish Herald*," *Western States Jewish History* 30 (July 1998): 290-314.

⁴ In its own editorial the day after the lynching, the *Dallas Morning News* emphasized that the mob was not moved by "a lust for bloodshed nor by a desire to witness the torture of a fiend," but by "their contempt for the delays, reversals and failures of the courts." This despite the fact that Brooks's trial had only begun that day, just over one week from the date of his arrest. *Dallas Morning News*, March 4, 1910.

⁵ *Jewish Herald*, March 17, 1910.

⁶ Henry Jacob Horowitz, "Just a Reflection," *Western States Jewish History* 30 (July 1998): 316.

⁷ *Jewish Herald*, July 15, 1909; March 17, 1910; February 29, 1912.

⁸ Anna Bashear, "The Southland," *Jewish Herald*, March 5, 1909; "The American Jew as Statesman," *Jewish Herald*, February 17, 1910.

⁹ *Jewish Herald*, February 1, 1912. To be sure, suspicion of New York's dominant role within American Jewry was common in Jewish communities throughout the country, but Goldberg's regional rhetoric was unusual.

¹⁰ "About the Herald," *Jewish Herald*, July 1, 1909.

¹¹ Goldberg, a native southerner, rarely acknowledged the state's western character, though he regularly carried news from Fort Worth, El Paso, and other cities more generally aligned with the state's western than its southern aspect. He was not, however, oblivious to the state's regional complexity. In 1909, he published "The Last Trail of Jesse Bolande," an adventure story with no Jewish significance whatsoever, and, in 1912, he added a permanent heading on the front page identifying the *Herald* as "The Only Jewish Newspaper Published in the Southwest." Years later, as competition developed, he adjusted the heading to read, "The Oldest Jewish Newspaper Published in the Southwest." *Jewish Herald*, January 28, 1909; February 15, 1912; and May 22, 1924.

¹² A similar multiplicity appears in Romeo Alaeff's marvelous documentary film about his Dallas family, *Believe* (1994), when he describes his brother Gabe, the product of a mixed marriage, as "half Jewish, half Christian, and half Texan."

¹³ *Jewish Herald*, July 28, 1910. Goldberg was not the only figure to think of Texas Jewry as a unit. In the first published histories of the state's Jews, Rabbi Henry Cohen approached the subject with a statewide scope. The Texas Zionist Organization was established in 1905 to coordinate the activities of small Zionist groups in several Texas cities and, in 1927 Texas rabbis from across the state formed the Kallah of Texas Rabbis, which met regularly to share and discuss learned papers on Jewish topics. They all might have agreed with John Steinbeck's later observation that "Texas is one thing" and that "[f]or all its enormous range of space, climate, and physical appearance, and for all the internal squabbles, contentions, and strivings, Texas has a tight cohesiveness perhaps stronger than any other section of America." Henry Cohen, "Settlement of the Jews in Texas," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 2 (1894): 139-156; Henry Cohen, "The Jews in Texas," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 4 (1896): 9-19; Louis A. Freed, "Zionism in Texas Thirty-Five Years Ago," Texas Jewish Historical Society Records, box 3A174, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin (hereafter, Center for American History); John Steinbeck, *Travels with Charley* (London, 1962), 203.

¹⁴ For the outlines of this debate, see Mark K. Bauman and Bobbie Malone, "Introduction: Directions in Southern Jewish History," *American Jewish History* 85 (September 1997): 191-193; and Mark K. Bauman, *The Southerner as American: Jewish Style* (Cincinnati, 1996). See also Stephen J. Whitfield, "The Braided Identity of Southern Jewry," *American Jewish History* 77 (March 1988): 363-387.

¹⁵ The earliest crypto-Jewish settlers in northern Mexico and South Texas were members of a settlement established under the direction of Luis de Carvajal, a descendant of Portuguese *conversos*. For the history of the Carvajal family and colony, see Martin A. Cohen, "The Autobiography of Luis De Carvajal, the Younger," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*

55 (March 1966): 277–318; Seymour B. Liebman, *The Enlightened: The Writings Of Luis De Carvajal, El Mozo* (Coral Gables, FL, 1967); Martin A. Cohen, *The Martyr* (Philadelphia, 1973); and Harriet and Fred Rochlin, *Pioneer Jews: A New Life In The Far West* (Boston, 1984). For speculation about the ongoing presence of crypto-Jewish families in South Texas, see Carlos Montalvo Larralde, “Chicano Jews In South Texas” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1978) and Richard G. Santos, “Chicanos of Jewish Descent in Texas,” *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 15 (July 1983): 327–333. For a treatment of similar issues in a neighboring state, see Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1990).

¹⁶ For coverage of Texas Jewry during the earliest years of Anglo settlement, see Henry Cohen’s articles cited above; David Lefkowitz and Ephraim Frisch, *One Hundred Years of Jewry in Texas* (Dallas, 1936); Phil Hewitt, *The Jewish Texans* (San Antonio, 1974); Natalie Ornish, *Pioneer Jewish Texans* (Dallas, 1989); Ruthe Winegarten and Cathy Schechter, *Deep in the Heart: The Lives and Legends of Texas Jews, a Photographic History* (Austin, 1990); and Bryan Edward Stone, “West of Center: Jews on the Real and Imagined Frontiers of Texas” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

¹⁷ Elaine Maas, “Jews,” in *The Ethnic Groups of Houston*, ed. Fred R. von der Mehden (Houston, 1984), 141. See also Helena Frenkil Schlam, “The Early Jews of Houston” (master’s thesis, Ohio State University, 1971), and Elaine Maas, “The Jews of Houston: An Ethnographic Study” (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1973).

¹⁸ U.S. Census as reported in “United States Historical Census Data Browser” <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census> [accessed December 20, 2002]; *American Jewish Yearbook 1914–1915* (Philadelphia, 1915), 376.

¹⁹ There is some dispute about the founding dates of the first Jewish communal organizations in Houston. Rabbi Henry Cohen records that Houston Jews established a cemetery in 1844 and Congregation Beth Israel in 1854. Henry Barnston, Beth Israel’s longtime rabbi, confirms the 1854 establishment of the congregation and records that by 1859 it had 22 members. Anne Nathan Cohen, in the congregation’s official history, cautiously accepts its 1854 origin, but she notes suggestively that “[r]ecords of the first five years [1854–1859] apparently are non-existent,” and she reprints the congregation’s official charter dated 1859. Decades later, Helena Frenkil Schlam concluded that it was more likely the cemetery that was created in 1854 followed by the congregation in 1859. Ruthe Winegarten and Cathy Schechter accept these later dates. Henry Cohen, “Settlement of the Jews in Texas,” 152; Henry Barnston, “The History of the Jews of Houston,” Small Collection 5244, American Jewish Archives; Anne Nathan Cohen, *The Centenary History – Congregation Beth Israel of Houston, Texas, 1854–1954* (Houston, 1954), 1, vii; Maas, “Jews,” 141; Schlam, “Early Jews of Houston,” 38–46; Winegarten and Schechter, *Deep in the Heart*, 21.

Rabbi Cohen and his followers, including Anne Nathan Cohen in the *Centenary History*, were in error in dating the origins of these institutions, and Schlam’s revised dates are correct. In 1852, eight years after Rabbi Cohen’s date for the establishment of Houston’s cemetery, the *Occident* meticulously reported the dedication of a Jewish cemetery in Galveston, which the New Orleans rabbi performing the service praised as “the first public

assemblage" of Jews in the state, where they had met to "lay the foundation-stone . . . of the edifice of Judaism." The *Galveston News* described the service as "the first ever performed publicly by a Hebrew minister in Texas." As participants in this event would surely have been aware of the existence of an eight-year-old Jewish cemetery in nearby Houston, it can safely be assumed that none existed—or at the very least that it had not been consecrated by a rabbi nor had anyone yet been buried in it. Schlam's later dates, moreover—1854 for the cemetery and 1859 for the congregation—correspond to coverage of these events in the national Jewish press. In 1855, the *Occident* reported the creation of the Hebrew Benevolent Association of Houston, the first business of which was to collect "a sufficient amount of money to build a fence around their grave-yard," a fitting activity one year (but surely not eleven years) after its creation. *Die Deborah* recognized the establishment of Congregation Beth Israel in September 1859, two months before the congregation ran an advertisement in the *American Israelite* for a rabbi. The *Occident* also reprinted a letter from Houston in September 1859 describing the creation of the "Pioneer Congregation of Texas," which made no mention of any informal organization or worship services during the previous five years. "Ceremonial at Galveston," *Occident* 10 (August 29, 1852): 379–384; "Hebrew Burial Ground," *Galveston News*, August 31, 1852; "Houston, Texas, Hebrew Benevolent Association," *Occident* 13 (July 1855): 199–200; *Die Deborah* 5 (September 16, 1859); *American Israelite* (November 18, 1859); M. R. to the Editor, *Occident* 17 (September 8, 1859): 144. The reference to *Die Deborah* comes from the American Jewish Archives card file index, in English, of that German-language periodical.

²⁰ Houston figure is for Harris County. U.S. Census as reported in "United States Historical Census Data Browser," <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census> [accessed February 4, 2003]; *American Jewish Yearbook*. The estimate of 7,000 comes from the director of the United Jewish Charities in Houston, reported in the *Jewish Herald*, November 12, 1914, so the actual number was probably higher by 1920.

²¹ "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," Henry Cohen Papers, Manuscript Collection 263, American Jewish Archives. Nationally, only Kansas City, St. Paul, and Omaha received more of the Galveston immigrants than Houston. The point of the program was to disperse the immigrants as broadly as possible, and, accordingly, Schiff initially discouraged immigrant settlement in Texas cities so close to their point of arrival, although he later changed his mind. The large number of immigrants that nevertheless remained in Houston attests to the city's great attractiveness both to the immigrants and to the movement's organizers.

While a handful of Schiff's immigrants had destinations in southern cities, the Galveston Movement generally discouraged such settlement. According to historian Bernard Marinbach, Israel Zangwill, the movement's European coordinator, recommended settling Jews in southern cities because "he had heard that more whites were needed, to diminish the influence of blacks," but Schiff rejected the idea precisely because "he did not want the Jews to be used as pawns in the poisoned racial politics of the South." Schiff had rejected Charleston, South Carolina, moreover, as a port of entry because it was reported to him to

be inhospitable to Jewish immigrants. Bernard Marinbach, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (Albany, 1983), 11–12. See also Hollace Ava Weiner, “Removal Approval: The Industrial Removal Office Experience in Fort Worth, Texas,” *Southern Jewish History* 4 (2001): 1–44.

²² *Official Reports of Battles Embracing the Defence of Vicksburg* misidentifies Goldberg’s uncle, Isaac Aaron Gleitzman, as Avon Glitzman and lists him as “severely wounded” at Donelson. In *The Provincials*, Eli Evans notes Gleitzman as one of several Jews who fought for the Confederacy. “While the Confederacy awarded him its Cross of Honor for ‘conspicuous gallantry in the field,’” Evans writes, “he was proudest that he had never eaten any *tréfa* during his entire four years of military service. His family retains to this day the two mess kits he carried with him during the war, one for meat and one for milk.” *Official Reports of Battles Embracing the Defence of Vicksburg* (Richmond, 1863), 117; Eli Evans, *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South* (New York, 1980), 63–64.

²³ Edgar Goldberg, “EGO,” *Texas Jewish Herald*, January 6, 1927. “EGO” was a pseudonym Goldberg composed from his initials and under which he wrote a recurring column.

²⁴ *Jewish Herald*, December 10, 1908, through January 14, 1909.

²⁵ Due to a publication error, an earlier article by this author mistakenly described Goldberg as having been “a jailer’s apprentice,” clearly a significant difference. The error was preserved in republication. Bryan Edward Stone, “Texas News for Texas Jews: Edgar Goldberg and the *Texas Jewish Herald*,” *Jewish Herald-Voice*, September 1995, 6–23, reprinted as “Edgar Goldberg and Forty Years of the *Texas Jewish Herald*.” *Western States Jewish History* 30 (July 1998): 290–314.

²⁶ “Goldburgs [sic] Dream,” Typescript on Sanders Engraving Company Letterhead, [c. 1900], author’s collection.

²⁷ According to the *American Jewish Yearbook*, whose population estimates are notoriously inaccurate but nevertheless the best available, Texas had 16,000 Jewish residents in 1907. Louisiana had 12,000 and Virginia 10,000, though Virginia’s 1900 Jewish population was later reported at 15,000. *American Jewish Yearbook 1909–1910* (Philadelphia, 1910); *American Jewish Yearbook 1914–1915* (Philadelphia, 1915).

²⁸ Of southern Jewish papers only the *Baltimore Jewish Times*, founded in 1919, and of western papers only the *Intermountain Jewish News* of Denver (1915) rival the *Herald* in longevity.

²⁹ This list was compiled from *Jewish Newspapers and Periodicals on Microfilm* (Cincinnati, 1984) and “World Jewish Newspapers & Periodicals on Microfilm” <http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/jws/newspapers.html> [accessed April 13, 2004]. Because these directories are based respectively on the holdings of the American Jewish Periodical Center and the Dorot Jewish Division of the New York Public Library rather than on the actual histories of the papers they include, they do not necessarily provide the years of these papers’ complete runs, nor do they include the names of their editors. This data remains to be gathered and verified.

³⁰ “Salutatory,” *Jewish South*, October 14, 1877. For more on Browne, including his editorship of the *Jewish South*, see Janice Rothschild Blumberg, “Rabbi Alphabet Browne: The Atlanta Years,” *Southern Jewish History* 5 (2002): 1–42. For good, though aging, surveys

of the American Jewish press, see Robert Singerman, "The American Jewish Press, 1823–1983: A Bibliographic Survey of Research and Studies," *American Jewish History* 73 (June 1984): 422–444, and Arthur A. Goren, "The Jewish Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York, 1987), 203–228.

³¹ Browne published Wessolowsky's dispatches from cities throughout the South, including those from Texas, and the letters stand as one of the most detailed first-hand accounts of southern Jewry in the years after Reconstruction. They are reprinted in Louis Schmier, ed., *Reflections of Southern Jewry: The Letters of Charles Wessolowsky, 1878–1879* (Macon, 1982); Blumberg, "Rabbi Alphabet Browne," 28.

³² Hollace Ava Weiner also refers to a monthly, the *Texas Israelite*, which was published in Fort Worth from 1908 to 1912. Hollace Ava Weiner, *Jewish Stars in Texas: Rabbis and Their Work* (College Station, TX, 1999), 91n.45.

³³ Quoted in "Editorial Comment," *Jewish Herald-Voice, Passover Eightieth Anniversary Edition*, April 2, 1988, 4.

³⁴ "Salutatory," *Jewish Herald*, September 24, 1908.

³⁵ Edgar Goldberg to Henry Cohen, July 8, 1924, Henry Cohen Papers, box 3M241, Center for American History.

³⁶ *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual*, volumes for 1910 through 1945.

³⁷ "Adath Yeshurun Synagogue Dedicated," *Jewish Herald*, September 24, 1908.

³⁸ *Jewish Herald*, June 9, 1910.

³⁹ Robert Singerman observes that nineteenth-century Jewish papers were generally edited by "feuding rabbis who seldom failed to abuse their theological rivals while preaching the necessity for Jewish unity." Goldberg's approach offers a notable contrast. Singerman, "The American Jewish Press," 423.

⁴⁰ *Jewish Herald*, February 10, 1910.

⁴¹ *Jewish Herald*, July 25, 1912.

⁴² "Local Notes," *Jewish Herald*, August 12, 1909.

⁴³ Mrs. B. Lurie, "Intermarriage," *Jewish Herald*, June 23, 1910; "Parochial Schools," *Jewish Herald*, August 18, 1910; "That Beaumont Ad for a Rabbi," *Jewish Herald*, May 26, 1910, and "Jewish Ostentation," *Jewish Herald*, July 28, 1910.

⁴⁴ Samuel Rosinger, "Do Your Duty By Leo Frank," *Jewish Herald*, December 17, 1914; "Louis D. Brandeis," *Jewish Herald*, February 3, 1916; and "Jews and the War," *Jewish Herald*, September 3, 1914. Also see, for example, David Goldberg, "Pertinent Questions," *Jewish Herald*, September 30, 1920, and "If We Were to Keep to the Point," *Jewish Herald*, July 26, 1923.

⁴⁵ David Goldberg, "Up in the Air," *Jewish Herald*, June 26, 1924, and "Should a Jew Oppose the Klan?" *Jewish Herald*, August 21, 1924. He answered positively to the latter question.

⁴⁶ Although such organizations were generally referred to as "Hebrew Free Loan" societies, the *Herald* nevertheless reported the establishment in Houston of a "Jewish Free Loan Society." *Jewish Herald*, January 14, 1909.

⁴⁷ See, for example, "The Galveston Movement: Movement to Divert Jewish Immigration from New York Is Interesting," *Jewish Herald*, November 12, 1908, original credited to "H. J. Haskell in Kansas City Star"; Henry Cohen, "The Galveston Immigration Movement," *Jewish Herald*, February 5, 1909.

⁴⁸ Oscar Leonard, "Come to Texas," *Jewish Herald*, January 6, 1910. Leonard's affiliation is provided in a later article, "The Settlement and the Immigrant," *Jewish Herald*, January 8, 1914.

⁴⁹ *Jewish Herald*, February 10, 1910.

⁵⁰ *Jewish Herald*, December 31, 1908; August 19, 1909; and July 28, 1910.

⁵¹ *Jewish Herald*, November 26, 1914. Palestine (pronounced PAL-a-steen) is a town in East Texas. Goldberg once joked cryptically that "Possibly the reason for Texas being such a hotbed for Zionists is the fact that Palestine is centrally and conveniently located." *Jewish Herald*, July 28, 1910. Like the rest of the South, Texas Jewry was predominantly Reform, and so Texas was far from a Zionist stronghold. Nonetheless, Goldberg, a staunch non-Zionist, may have exaggerated the opposition's strength, especially if doing so allowed him to make a good joke at their expense.

⁵² G. George Fox, "The End of an Era," in ed. Stanley F. Chyet, *Lives and Voices: A Collection of American Jewish Memoirs* (Philadelphia, 1972), 283. Hollace Weiner observes that the two papers "competed for readers, writers, and endorsements" and that they both "touted themselves as the Southwest's largest, oldest Jewish journal." Weiner, *Jewish Stars*, 91. The *Herald* undisputedly preceded the *Monitor*, but Fox nevertheless neglected to mention the older paper in his memoir, implying that his was the state's first Jewish paper.

⁵³ When the *Monitor's* editorial board opted in 1921 to add Yiddish-language material, the staunch acculturationist Fox resigned his position as editor. Weiner, *Jewish Stars*, 95.

⁵⁴ Fox, "The End of an Era," 283.

⁵⁵ Theodore A. Bingham, "Foreign Criminals in New York," *North American Review* 188 (September 1908): 383.

⁵⁶ George Kibbe Turner, "The Daughters of the Poor," *McClure's Magazine* 34 (November 1909): 45-61.

⁵⁷ In fact, there was a substantial amount of Jewish crime in New York and other American cities, and Jews were, indeed, active in organized prostitution at every level though not necessarily out of proportion to their numbers. Estimates were difficult to make and generally undependable, but one of the most reliable surveys, conducted in New York in 1910, showed Jews to represent nineteen percent of women arrested for prostitution, roughly the same proportion as the Jewish population at that time. Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939* (New York, 1983), 162.

⁵⁸ Arthur A. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community: The Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922* (New York, 1970), 28, 51, 58.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 143-144.

⁶⁰ *American Hebrew*, October 15, 1915; *Houston Post*, August 24, 1940.

⁶¹ Henry J. Dannenbaum, "That White Slave Traffic," *Jewish Herald*, May 12, 1910.

⁶² Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 271.

⁶³ "Henry J. Dannenbaum," *Jewish Herald*, May 4, 1911.

⁶⁴ As Goldberg was well aware, the South had already produced a number of Jewish leaders of national reputation, including former international B'nai B'rith president Leo N. Levi, a Victoria, Texas, native.

⁶⁵ J. L. Magnes to Henry J. Dannenbaum, August 25, 1911, printed in *Jewish Herald*, March 21, 1912.

⁶⁶ Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 275.

⁶⁷ "That 'Big Problem': Extracts from New Orleans B'nai B'rith Day Address By Henry J. Dannenbaum," *Jewish Herald*, February 1, 1912.

⁶⁸ "Editorial," *Jewish Herald*, January 18, 1912. Part of Goldberg's point in claiming that Dannenbaum was "better qualified" as a national leader seems to have been that Texas was relatively free of urban vice, as indeed, in contrast to New York, it was relatively free of urban anything. In fact, Goldberg and Dannenbaum studiously ignored the existence of Jewish prostitution in Texas. Dannenbaum relied on lawyer Samuel London's evidence that Jewish prostitutes were being directed toward New York while overlooking the fact that London's legal clients were Texans. Houses of prostitution, many with Jewish residents, operated freely in Galveston, Houston, Fort Worth, El Paso, and probably in other Texas cities as well. Rabbi G. George Fox of Fort Worth noted that in the years of the Galveston Movement, "Galveston . . . became the distributing point for prostitutes from both the Old World and South America." Although inland, Fort Worth "was an important railroad center, so that in a comparatively short time we found a large number of Jewish prostitutes in the city." Their reputation spread, and soon "ranchmen were heard to make remarks in hotels and drugstores about the 'Jew whores.'" Fox, "The End of an Era," 280. See also Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 179, who cites several reports of Texas vice inspectors.

⁶⁹ "We trust that all members of the order among our readers will take notice" of Kraus's observation, the *Herald* responded ironically, "and shape their attitude accordingly." "The B'nai B'rith and Henry J. Dannenbaum," *American Hebrew*, February 9, 1912; *Jewish Herald*, December 5, 1912. While Kraus may have been critical of Dannenbaum on the Russian trade treaty issue, Kraus, like Dannenbaum, was an outspoken activist against Jewish white slavers. As early as 1907 Kraus began a campaign on behalf of B'nai B'rith against Jews engaged in white slavery, working first to have an Illinois statute enacted against white slavery in general and then to have jailed every Jewish prostitute and every Jewish procurer in Chicago, even before their gentile counterparts. See *Adolf Kraus, Reminiscences and Comments* (Chicago, 1925), 177-178.

⁷⁰ "That 'Big Problem,'" *Jewish Herald*, February 1, 1912; "A Gentleman from Texas," *American Hebrew*, January 26, 1912. As the *Herald* later reported, District 7 soon passed a unanimous resolution of support for Dannenbaum. *Jewish Herald*, May 16, 1912.

⁷¹ *Jewish Herald*, February 1, 1912. Goldberg reprinted Sulzberger's editorial with its heading intact, and Dannenbaum seems to have delighted in the title Sulzberger had given him. In a rebuttal in the *Herald*, Dannenbaum referred to himself repeatedly as "A Gentleman from Texas." *Jewish Herald*, February 22, 1912.

⁷² *Jewish Herald*, February 1, 1912. Dannenbaum wrote regularly for the *Herald* during this period, and, judging from the style and tone of this unsigned editorial, it is possible that he wrote it himself.

⁷³ *Jewish Herald*, February 22, 1912; February 8, 1912.⁷⁴ *Jewish Herald*, August 29, 1912; September 11, 1912.

⁷⁵ The most conspicuous example of Zionism and anti-Zionism clashing in a Texas synagogue, as well as a later example of Texas Jews distancing themselves from national Jewish leadership, was the "Houston Controversy" of 1942–1943, during which the anti-Zionist leadership of Congregation Beth Israel, along with more than half of the members, supported a list of "Basic Principles" to which all new congregants were required to agree in order to receive full voting membership. Among these principles was a statement opposing the creation of a Jewish state. After the passage of the Basic Principles, more than 200 members left the temple and established Congregation Emanu-El, inviting Beth Israel's young Zionist assistant rabbi, Robert Kahn, who had resigned in protest of the principles, to serve as their rabbi. The event was widely covered in the national Jewish press, where the general sentiment was strongly against the principles. Rabbi Stephen Wise wrote that "the Jewish Grand Inquisition of Houston" had committed an "evil and self-damning deed" that was an expression of "their unwisdom and bigotry." Stephen Wise, "The Shame of Houston," *Opinion: A Journal of Jewish Life and Letters* (February 1944): 5. For details on the Houston Controversy, see Bryan Edward Stone, "West of Center," 290–312; and Howard R. Greenstein, *Turning Point: Zionism and Reform Judaism* (Chico, CA, 1981).

⁷⁶ Goldberg rarely covered activities of the Texas Klan in the *Herald*, nor did he respond to antisemitic charges in Klan newspapers. His opinion on the matter was ironically similar to the Kehillah's initial response to white slavery: press attention, even in a Jewish newspaper, would only draw further attention to a problem that would disappear on its own if ignored. In a letter to Rabbi Henry Cohen, who had complained of the *Herald's* silence about the Klan, Goldberg explained that "the Klan is a Protestant ailing and should be cured by the Protestant. Preachments in a Jewish Newspaper & Pulpit to Jews would not reach the people affected. Consequently the fight on the Klan should be made by the secular press." Edgar Goldberg to Henry Cohen, July 8, 1924, Henry Cohen Papers, box 3M241, Center for American History. For more on the Texas Klan, see Stone, "West of Center;" Rosalind Benjet, "The Ku Klux Klan and the Jewish Community of Dallas, 1921–1923," *Southern Jewish History* 6 (2003): 133–162.

⁷⁷ *Jewish Herald-Voice*, January 7, 1938.

⁷⁸ Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston, 1969), 15.

⁷⁹ John Bainbridge, *The Super-Americans*, reprint edition (New York, 1972), 6. For discussion of how Texas Jews have accommodated to the "Texas mystique," see Bryan Edward Stone, "'Ride 'Em, Jewboy': Kinky Friedman and the Texas Mystique," *Southern Jewish History* 1 (1998): 23–42.