

How Southern is Southern Jewish History?

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Southern Jews have historically spoken of themselves as a distinctive community, with customs, social patterns and sensibilities that are markedly different from those of their northern cousins. Yet many of the features that distinguish the history of Jews in Birmingham and Atlanta from Jews in New York and Boston—non-Jewish recognition of Jews as “pioneers” or “founders,” a greater concentration of immigrant Jews in business than in factory work, a quicker path to upward mobility, more significant integration into the non-Jewish community—have also been typical of Jews in San Francisco, Cincinnati and Santa Fe. Have southern Jews really crafted a unique regional Jewish culture or have they simply followed the well-worn patterns of Jews living far from the largest American Jewish centers?

During the last decade, the issue of “southern Jewish distinctiveness” has become a matter of intense debate among those interested in the history of Jews in the American South. Beginning with an influential pamphlet by Mark K. Bauman, *The Southerner As American: Jewish Style*, published in 1996, a few scholars have increasingly questioned the tendency of the first southern Jewish historians to paint southern Jews as a group profoundly shaped by the southern environment.¹ Challenging the widely accepted views of writers like Eli Evans and Louis Schmier, Bauman argued that “Jews in the South were influenced by the regional subculture in a relatively marginal fashion” and that “their experiences were far more similar to those of Jews in similar environments elsewhere in America than they were to those of white Protestants in the South.”² More recently, Bauman’s views have been echoed in the findings of scholars such as Marc Lee Raphael, who addressed the theme in a 2004 keynote address to the Southern Jewish Historical Society and Lee Shai Weissbach, who touched on it in his recent book on Jews in small-town America.³ This paper will provide a means of moving beyond the current debate by arguing that both sides have been too monolithic in either asserting or rejecting the notion of a “distinctive” Jewish South.

When Bauman published his pamphlet in 1996, the field of southern Jewish history was just two decades old. While individual authors had written about Jewish experiences in the South since the nineteenth century, it was not until the mid-1970s that a self-conscious group of scholars and amateur writers began to build a corpus of historical literature on the Jewish South. In 1976, a Southern Jewish Historical Society was founded (it had existed earlier for a brief time and then folded), serving as a meeting point and clearing house for those interested in the new field. Predictably, much of the literature produced by this group stressed the distinctiveness—even exceptionalism—of the southern Jewish experience.⁴ After all, the major reason for focusing on Jews in the South and for founding the Society was to correct the notion that American Jewish history was the history of Jews in New York and in the other major urban centers of the Northeast, a task these writers felt could best be accomplished by celebrating the perceived difference and distinctiveness of their region. Most of all, they celebrated the fact that southern Jews had been, in the words of Melvin Urofsky, “the most assimilated part of American Jewry,” a phrase which held a positive valence for them because it spoke to the extent to which they had successfully become a part of the culture around them, without—Urofsky went on to explain—losing their Jewishness.⁵ The impulse to stress southern Jewish distinctiveness, even among laypeople who formed the readership for these early works on southern Jewish history, was brought home to me fourteen years ago when I inherited a copy of Irving Howe’s *The World of My Fathers* from my grandfather, who was raised Louisiana. Inside the cover, my grandfather had written in large letters: “For the southern experience, see Eli Evans, *The Provincials*.”

Satisfying its stated purpose as a “provocative essay,” Bauman’s pamphlet did much to challenge many stereotypes and ingrained approaches that had developed over the initial years of southern Jewish historical writing. He argued, for example, that the assimilationist tendencies of southern Jews had been exaggerated—that the accommodationist stance of the German Jewish element, which tended to be Reform and anti-Zionist, had been allowed to overshadow the experiences of the numerically dominant Eastern European Jewish group, which had brought religious traditionalism, a strong support of Zionism and even a devotion to Yiddish culture to the South.⁶ He argued that southern Jewish historians needed to think about how the South itself was

made up of a number of diverse sub-regions that may have influenced Jewish life in ways other than a classical “regional” pattern, and he also urged them to compare the South with other parts of the country—particularly the West and Midwest—as a means to learn more about whether region played a significant role in Jewish experience.⁷ Most significantly, he warned indirectly that the byproduct of an overemphasis on regional distinctiveness was the exoticization of southern Jews. A scholarship preoccupied by southern distinctiveness, Bauman seemed to suggest, would cast southern Jews as so different and exceptional that they would not be seen as a significant factor in the larger history of American Jews.⁸

Despite its clear contributions, however, Bauman’s pamphlet took such a hard line against what he saw as the misguided focus on regional distinctiveness that he left almost no room for scholars to speak about the Jewish South as a place that had differed from other Jewish settings. Although he prefaced his work by saying that it was only “exploratory” and admitted that the question was ultimately a matter of “emphasis,” he gave little if any ground to those who would argue that Jews had been significantly shaped by the southern environment.⁹ Working his way down a long list of ways in which southern Jews were thought to be distinctive, he dismissed each by arguing 1) that these patterns were not really southern, but were shared by Jews living in other regions far from the largest areas of Jewish settlement; or 2) that these differences (like food traditions or other cultural traits labeled as “folkways”) were so insignificant as to render them meaningless. “Where regional contrasts appear,” Bauman argued, “they tend to be superficial.”¹⁰ This approach was so extreme that it left many scholars interested in the history of southern Jews scratching their heads, wondering how it was possible to discount the role of region so totally. Moreover, if Bauman truly believed that southern Jews had not been shaped by the South in any meaningful way, many puzzled, why had he had spent most of career writing about Jews in South, and why did he go on to become the founding editor of a scholarly journal called *Southern Jewish History*?

Unfortunately, the rather rigid way in which Bauman approached his topic has led those on the two sides of the “southern Jewish distinctiveness” debate to simply become entrenched, rather than to move together toward a new paradigm for the study of southern Jewish history.¹¹ A first step toward breaking that deadlock, however, might be to

examine the debates about regional distinctiveness that have taken place among scholars of southern history more broadly over the last half-century. In crafting the title for his pamphlet, Bauman had drawn on the title of an influential anthology published in 1960, *The Southerner as American*. In that volume, Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., John Hope Franklin, and a number of other young southern historians argued that the history of the South had been distorted by those who saw the region as one whose distinctive traditions and values had continually been in conflict with and threatened by those of the rest of the country. The urgency of undermining such a vision of the South was particularly important given mounting tension over the Civil Rights movement, which these scholars felt was ripe to be mythologized by white southerners as yet another outside attempt to suppress their unique heritage. Instead, southerners needed to be reminded that southern identity had been more expansive, and more intimately woven into the heritage of the nation. “The most important fact about the southerner,” wrote Sellers in the introduction, “is that he has been throughout his history an American.” Only this realization would allow southerners to avoid “once again defining their Southernism in desperate, unreasoning revolt against the larger society of which they have always been a part, [and] against social values they have always shared.”¹²

While Bauman followed the lead of Sellers and his group in playing down the importance of regional distinctiveness, however, he actually went much further than they did. The collective authors of *Southerner as American* were concerned with affirming the values and culture southerners shared with other Americans, but not with obscuring what they called the “many valuable elements of [their] distinctive regional identity.” It was important for the South, wrote Sellers, to “understand both its Southernism and its Americanism.”¹³ Franklin echoed this statement by describing the aim of his cohort to reveal the South as “a section that has been continuously both southern and American.”¹⁴ In the last few years, a new group of young southern historians including Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, have also been arguing that the South—especially in the post World War II period—needs to be seen not only as part of the nation but as central to American social and political developments. They, too, however, do not discount the fact that the South has had a distinctive history rooted in economic, political and racial

factors, even though they see the region's distinctiveness as having faded over the second half of the twentieth century.¹⁵

The subtlety of these southern revisionist historians, who are able to weave both distinctive regional patterns and ties to the larger, national scene into a complex and coherent history of the American South, provides an excellent model for the future of southern Jewish historical writing. In the remaining part of my paper, I would like to draw on this model to paint a portrait of southern Jewish life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one that highlights both regional distinctiveness and the connections between regions—in this case, between North and South. My focus is on the way in which the rise of the Jim Crow system of racial segregation in the 1890s created new challenges and pressures for southern Jews as they continued their longstanding drive for social acceptance. As an increasing obsession with the color line became a national cause during the early twentieth century and many southern ideas and practices concerning race became prevalent in other sections of the country, Jews in the North began to feel some of the same pressures as their southern counterparts. But despite the significant overlap in the Jewish approach to race in North and South, I argue, the experience of southern Jews retained important elements of distinctiveness due to the particular social, legal and cultural framework operating in the South.¹⁶

Southern Jews had long benefited from the strict divide between blacks and whites in their region, which during antebellum days—according to the memoir of Isidor Straus, among other sources—gave them a status they might otherwise not have enjoyed.¹⁷ Though it was not unusual for Jews to be described and to describe themselves as a distinct “race” during the nineteenth century, during the years of slavery and even in the two decades after its demise, Jews were seen as unquestionably white in the southern context, part of what one southern commentator called the “great Caucasian family.”¹⁸ As white southerners started to worry about the need to reinforce the color line during the 1880s and 1890s, however, Jews faced an urgent problem. The need for exactitude in a society intent on drawing firmer lines between blacks and whites meant that Jews and Jewish difference became suspect in ways they never had before. While no legal restrictions were ever erected against Jews, the uncertainty with which southern society now treated them meant that they were increasingly barred from the inner circles

of southern social and civic life. Against the backdrop of this declining social status, southern Jews perceived a growing need to clarify their place in white society. By the turn of the century, southern Jews expressed their concern that social discrimination against them in clubs and hotels might put them—as one southern Jew expressed it—on a level with “the negro as an undesirable in places offering accommodations to the general public.”¹⁹ Conversely, they hoped that protestations of their whiteness and conforming to accepted racial mores might restore their image and open the doors that had been closed to them. As a result, Jewish newspapers from Richmond to Atlanta to New Orleans to St. Louis not only expressed racial attitudes typical of the South, but consistently decried attempts of public spokesmen to compare Jews with blacks or to lump them into the same category as outsider groups.

A particularly vivid example of this trend is the way these southern Jewish newspapers responded to comparisons between the lynching of blacks and the persecution of Jews in Russia that often appeared in the Jewish press in the North during these years. “Our people, though persecuted and driven from pillar to post, do not possess the criminal instincts of the colored race,” wrote Herbert Ezekiel of the Richmond *Jewish South* in 1898, after the Philadelphia Jewish Exponent had compared attacks on blacks in Wilmington, NC to anti-Jewish riots in Europe. “The comparison of Jews and negroes is, we had always thought, a pastime of our Christian neighbors, and one which we, of all people, should not countenance.”²⁰ When Booker T. Washington compared blacks and Jews, the *New Orleans Jewish Ledger* called him an “impudent nigger” and quoted the southern racist Thomas Dixon in rebutting the claims of the Tuskegee educator.²¹

While almost all southern Jews agreed on the necessity of securing their status as white, there was not always unanimity on how far they needed to go to accomplish this task. A few Jews—like editor of the Atlanta *Jewish Sentiment*, Frank Cohen—actively supported lynching, while a somewhat larger group, consisting mainly of those who sought high political office—like Arkansas Adjutant General Charles Jacobson or Maryland senator Isidor Rayner—took up the cause of black disenfranchisement.²² Most Jews, however, asserted the difference between them and blacks simply by supporting and upholding the basic social and cultural distinctions between blacks and whites that had become enshrined in southern life. The desire to preserve their social status in a

racially charged society is revealed in the support most Jews lent to the system of racial segregation, as well as in the cultural activities of the Jewish community, where homegrown blackface minstrel shows, dialect humor and the enthusiastic endorsement of plays like Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman* were regular features.²³ In Atlanta, the Jewish community put its racial credentials front and center by evolving a local bit of folklore that argued that Caroline Haas, a matron of one the city's oldest Jewish families, had in fact been "the first white female child" born there.²⁴ Memoir literature reveals that among the children of Eastern European immigrants to the South, the use of racial epithets against blacks was one of the rituals that aided their initiation into the local culture.²⁵

Despite the pressure southern Jews felt to conform to the racial etiquette of the South and to prove their own status as whites, the tendency of most southern Jews to shy away from the harshest forms of racism reveals how they were constantly pulled by Jewish concerns that prevented them from fully identifying with southern mores. African American-Jewish business contacts, for example, were extensive throughout the South and led to greater intimacy and understanding between blacks and Jews than existed between typical white southerners and blacks.²⁶ While social marginalization of Jews after the 1890s pushed Jews to assert their credentials as whites, it also enhanced their outsider identity, leading many to also identify on some level with the black experience and to see parallels between the two groups. In rare cases, a few southern Jewish men even took black women as life partners and lived in isolation from white society.²⁷ The most significant deviations from southern racial mores, however, were made by southern rabbis. Less bound by social and economic pressure than their congregants and empowered by the notion that clergymen had an obligation to speak out on moral and ethical issues, a small but significant circle of southern rabbis—including men like Pine Bluff's Ephraim Frisch, Montgomery's Bernard Ehrenreich, Mobile's Alfred G. Moses, and New Orleans' Max Heller—supported African American education, opposed lynching, and worked for what they termed interracial "harmony" and cooperation.²⁸

Jews' failure to imbibe southern racial culture wholesale takes us back to an important question raised by Bauman in regard to southern distinctiveness. Bauman characterizes the response of Jews to the plight of African Americans in the South as one of remaining silent out of fear. He is therefore able to argue that Jews in the South were

dissenters from southern norms, just as Jews in the North were, but that conditions in the South prevented them from speaking out. The evidence presented here, however, suggests that in the years of Jim Crow, the response of Jews was far more complex than simply “remaining silent.” Southern Jews often voiced their support of the southern racial system and took pains to emphasize their difference from blacks, even as they sometimes demonstrated their misgivings about racism and their empathy for African Americans. Bauman’s treatment of the Jewish stance on race suggests that he would still see this as evidence of how Jews ultimately stood apart from the southern environment. Likewise, because Jews acted out of insecurity in southern society, he suggests that, whatever their stance on racial issues, it was motivated by their distance from the southern mainstream. “Living in the South had an impact,” he writes, “but hardly one of positive identification or emulation.”²⁹ Yet must Jews have embraced southern culture wholeheartedly in order to have been meaningfully shaped by it? Must the South have fully accepted Jews in order for us to say that Jews of the region were distinctive? No group was more marginal to southern tradition than African Americans, and yet at the same time few groups were shaped and influenced as profoundly as American blacks were by the South.

Bauman is correct that the truest test of distinctiveness is comparison with other regions, something that southern Jewish historians have unfortunately not pursued with sufficient rigor. To conclude my examination of the southern Jewish approach to race during the Progressive Era, therefore, I would like to set it briefly against trends in the North during the same period.

Southern Jews were by no means alone during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in their accommodation to the racial culture of the larger, non-Jewish society in which they lived. Jews in the North, where the categories of black and white were also becoming more central during these years, and where Jewish racial status was also becoming uncertain, similarly found it necessary to assert their whiteness in making the case for their social inclusion. By 1903, Jewish leaders such as Philadelphia physician Solomon Solis-Cohen in some cases began to repeat the arguments of southern Jewish editors that pogroms against Jews in Russia could in no way be compared to the lynching of blacks in the United States.³⁰ Like their counterparts in Atlanta and New Orleans, members of Jewish clubs and societies in New York and Chicago regularly staged

blackface minstrel shows.³¹ On occasion, Jewish immigrant children in Harlem hurled racist epithets at blacks with the same vigor as Jewish youth did in southern neighborhoods.³²

Yet despite the fact that northern and southern Jews sometimes experienced similar pressures regarding their approach to blacks, Jews in the north proved more ambivalent than their southern counterparts about strongly asserting their whiteness. Because northern Jews were more visible as a group than those in the South, they were more sensitive to the ways in which increasing racism against African Americans might also negatively influence the status of other minorities. As a result, they remained more reticent about the advance of racial violence, segregation and legal restrictions against blacks and frequently spoke out against them.³³ In addition, because they were free from the gravity that characterized the race question below the Mason-Dixon line, northern Jews more openly expressed the empathy for African Americans that stemmed from their own experiences of oppression and marginalization.³⁴ Although support of black philanthropies and involvement in civil rights organizations were typical only of an elite group of northern Jews in the years before World War I, Jewish participation in these activities was still significantly greater in the North than in the South.³⁵ It is especially notable that in the South, even the most outspoken supporters of African Americans—like Rabbi Max Heller—continued to uphold the basic social distinction between blacks and whites and to support racial segregation, underscoring the greater care southern Jews had to take in defining their place in the racial order.³⁶

In closing, I would like to summarize some key points that emerge when examining the issue of southern Jewish distinctiveness through the lens of race:

1. Southern Jews faced a particular set of challenges during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because of the pressures placed on them by the emerging system of Jim Crow.
2. While southern Jews did not conform wholesale to the racial mores of southern society, they were decidedly influenced in their social and cultural behavior by the dictates of southern culture.

3. When compared with trends among Jews in the North during the same period, the stance southern Jews took toward blacks was not totally unique. As a preoccupation with race spread north, Jews there were influenced by some of the same pressures felt by Jews in the South. Yet ultimately, important differences remained between the Jews of each region, with southern Jews having to observe local racial mores with much more precision in order to protect their social status.

4. Regional distinctions are not total, but they can be helpful tools of analysis. Like the drawing of a line between two historical time periods, the distinctions historians make between the culture and social patterns of various regions to some extent create artificial boundaries that allows for useful generalization, even as we realize that the boundaries remains porous, and that there may also be a larger set of boundaries that bind one region together with another. No one would argue that life in 1929 was utterly different than life in 1930, but at the same time we recognize the usefulness of speaking about historical trends of the 1920s as being different from those of the 1930s. Moreover, we would all accept the notion that both decades were part and parcel of the twentieth century, just as the South and the North have been important components of a larger national whole. While it is important to not lose sight of the fact that the South shared many characteristics with other parts of the nation, it often remains helpful to group the southern states together for the purposes of historical analysis, and the same holds true for Jewish history in the South.

5. Finally, comparison between regions is the best tool for understanding both the distinctiveness of regions and the commonalities shared among them.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Mark K. Bauman, *The Southerner as American: Jewish Style* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1996).
- ² *Ibid.*, 5.
- ³ Marc Lee Raphael, Jerome M. Gumenick Lecture, 29th Annual Conference of the Southern Jewish Historical Society (Charleston, SC), Oct. 30, 2004; Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- ⁴ See, for example, Eli Evans, *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South* (New York: Atheneum, 1973); Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky, eds., *Turn to the South: Essays on Southern Jewry* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979); Samuel Proctor and Louis Schmier, eds., *Jews of the South* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984).
- ⁵ Urofsky, Preface to *Turn to the South*, xii.
- ⁶ Bauman, *Southerner as American: Jewish Style*, 22-3, 26-8.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 19, 29-30.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 19 (see especially the discussion of folkways and food), 30.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.
- ¹¹ The debate has been a major topic of discussion at the last two conferences of the Southern Jewish Historical Society (2004 and 2005), but in neither case did the discussion move the participants to a new understanding of Southern Jewish history.
- ¹² Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Introduction" to Sellers, ed., *The Southerner as American* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1960), v-vi.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, iv.
- ¹⁴ John Hope Franklin, "As for Our History..." in Sellers, ed., *The Southerner as American*, 18.
- ¹⁵ See Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); 15-17; Lassiter in *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 23, 2006; Crespino, *After Jim Crow: Race and Conservatism in the Modern South* (forthcoming, Princeton University Press).
- ¹⁶ The next several paragraphs are drawn from Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006). See chap. 3 for a fuller discussion of these issues and a more detailed comparison with northern patterns.
- ¹⁷ See Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter With Emancipation* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1984), 22.
- ¹⁸ See Josiah Nott (of Mobile, AL), "The Physical History of the Jewish Race," *Southern Quarterly* 1 (July 1850): 428.
- ¹⁹ *Jewish Comment* (Baltimore), May 31, 1907, 122
- ²⁰ *Jewish South*, Nov. 25, 1898, 6-7.
- ²¹ "An Impudent Nigger," *Jewish Ledger* (New Orleans), Sept. 22, 1905, 12.
- ²² *Jewish Sentiment*, Oct. 28, 1898, 1. For similar articles, see Dec. 31, 1897, 1; Mar. 11, 1898, 1; Apr. 22, 1898; June 10, 1898, 1; June 24, 1898, 1, 6; Nov. 4, 1898, 1; Nov. 18, 1898, 1; Nov. 25, 1898, 1; Mar. 19, 1899, 4; Apr. 30, 1899, 3; May 19, 1899, 3-4; Aug. 11, 1899, 3; Aug. 18, 1899, 3; Nov. 10, 1899. On Jacobson, see Raymond Arsenault,

“Charles Jacobson of Arkansas: A Jewish Politician in the Land of the Razorbacks, 1891-1915,” in Kaganoff and Urofsky, *Turn to the South*, 60, 72-3. On Rayner, see *Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 18, 1903, 14; Oct. 22, 1903, 12.

²³ *Jewish Ledger*, Aug. 10, 1906, 20; Sept. 28, 1906, 16; *Jewish Sentiment*, Mar. 18, 1898, 13.

²⁴ This claim was first made in print by Rabbi David Marx, “History of the Jews of Atlanta,” *Reform Advocate* (Chicago), Nov. 4, 1911. See also Janice O. Rothschild, *As But a Day* (Atlanta: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, 1967), 33. This founding myth was so often repeated among Atlanta Jews in the period before World War II that it was memorialized in Alfred Uhry’s Tony-award-winning play, *The Last Night of Ballyhoo* (New York: Theater Communications Group, 1997), 11.

²⁵ Abraham Bisno, *Abraham Bisno: Union Pioneer* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 47; Charles Rubin quoted in Hertzberg, *Strangers Within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta, 1845-1915* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1978), 191.

²⁶ The literature on this trend is voluminous. See, for example, “Resolution of Sympathy from Colored Citizens,” *Alexandria Town Talk*, Jan. 28, 1910, reprinted in Martin I. Hinchin, *Four Score and Eleven: A History of the Jews of Rapides Parish, 1828-1919* (Alexandria, LA: Privately published, 1984), appendix, 108-9; Louis R. Harlan, “Booker T. Washington’s Discovery of Jews,” in *Region, Race and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 271, 274; Louis Schmier, “‘For Him the ‘Schwartzers’ Couldn’t Do Enough’: A Jewish Peddler and His Black Customers Look at Each Other,” *American Jewish History* 73 (Sept. 1983): 39-55.

²⁷ Julius Lester, *Lovesong: Becoming a Jew* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1988), 8-12; Jack E. Davis, *Race Against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez Since 1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 93-4.

²⁸ Carolyn Gray Le Master, *A Corner of the Tapestry: A History of the Jewish Experience in Arkansas, 1820s-1990s* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1994), 56; Byron L. Scherwin, “Portrait of a Romantic Rebel: Bernard C. Ehrenreich (1876-1955),” in Kaganoff and Urofsky, *Turn to the South*, 8; Harold Wexler, “Rabbi Bernard C. Ehrenreich: A Northern Progressive Goes South,” in Proctor and Schmier, *Jews of the South*, 56-7; Alfred Geiger Moses to Booker T. Washington, October 8, 1901, in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis Harlan (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 6: 236-8; Bobbie Malone, *Rabbi Max Heller: Reformer, Zionist, Southerner, 1860-1929* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

²⁹ Bauman, *Southerner as American: Jewish Style*, 16.

³⁰ *The Public* (Chicago), Aug. 22, 1903, 307-8.

³¹ *The Standard Club’s First Hundred Years* (Chicago: Standard Club of Chicago, 1969), 38-40; YMHA [of New York] *Monthly Bulletin* 3 (Apr. 1902): 8; 5 (Apr. 1904): 3; 6 (Apr. 1905): 3; 12 (Feb. 1911): 26; (Mar. 1911): 14, 20; 13 (Jan. 1912): 9; (Nov. 1912): 18; 14 (Feb. 1913): 17; 15 (Feb. 1914): 39; (Mar. 1914): 10; 17 (Mar.-Apr. 1916): 21; 18 (Feb. 1917): 11; (Mar. 1917): 2

³² See Seth Scheiner, *Negro Mecca: A History of the Negro in New York City, 1865-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), 133.

³³ See, for example, *American Hebrew* (New York), Sept. 11, 1903, 525; *Jewish Criterion* (Pittsburgh), Aug. 20, 1915; and *Jewish Sentinel* (Chicago), Mar. 10, 1916, 8; April 12, 1918.

³⁴ For a fuller comparison between northern and southern Jews' approach to African Americans during this period, see Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), ch. 3.

³⁵ For a survey of this activity, see Hasia R. Diner, *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1933* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1977); Nancy J. Weiss, "Long Distance Runners of the Civil Rights Movement: The Contribution of Jews to the NAACP and the National Urban League in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States*, ed. Jack Salzman and Cornell West (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 123-52.

³⁶ See Goldstein, *Price of Whiteness*, 61-2.