SPECIAL ARTICLES
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE JEWISH CRISIS

1933–1945

By Edward N. Saveth*

The Roosevelt Administration coincided with the most critical period in the long history of the Jewish people, induced by the evil spell which Hitlerism cast over the entire world. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the healthy spirit of progressive democracy had made its influence universally felt. But in the third decade of the twentieth century, this lusty child who had caused monarchs to tremble on their thrones, had the gauntlet thrown down to it by the antithetical philosophy of Nazism.

The blunt challenge to democracy, its contempt for human rights, and cynical hatred of people other than members of the "master race" found a worthy antagonist in Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Guardian of the democratic tradition, Roosevelt was heir to the mantle of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson. In addition, Roosevelt was himself a convinced democrat. Scion of an aristocratic New York family, Roosevelt bore no caste mark setting him apart from the bulk of his fellow citizens. He counted among his friends those who stemmed from Pilgrim ancestors and those whose forbears saluted the Statue of Liberty aboard crowded immigrant ships. To him they were one people.

Roosevelt, especially when provoked by the Nazis, was proud, even boastful, of our national heterogeneity. "As to the humorous theory that we are hybrid and undynamic, mongrel and corrupt, and that therefore we can have no common tradition, let them look at most gatherings of

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Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town, at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors, or mine workers, at any cheering section of any football game. Let them look with a special attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place November 5. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races, dedicated to common ideals, which creates and recreates our vitality."

Ever since the nation's beginnings, Roosevelt said on the occasion of the second anniversary of the University in Exile on January 14, 1936, "we have welcomed many men and women of ability and character from other countries, who had found their usefulness cut off by conditions which are alien to the American system. Some of our most famous patriots, scholars and scientists came to this country in 1848. The whole nation has been enriched, morally and materially through the ability which they have placed at our service." Continuing benefit, the President felt, would derive from this latest group of immigrants who came to the United States after 1933.

Precisely because we were a nation of many nationalities and religions united in determination to live under conditions of freedom and equality, Roosevelt was quick to recognize the threat to national well-being by those who were bent upon arousing group antagonisms. He cautioned against "doctrines that set group against group, faith against faith, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred."

His warning was simple and direct.

"Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities.

"Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races.

"Whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religion."

Roosevelt was a firm believer in the religious foundation of democracy. "Our democratic way of life," he once said, "has its deepest roots in our great common religious tradition, which for ages past has taught to civilized mankind the
dignity of the human being, his equality before God, and his responsibility in the making of a better and fairer world.” The President formulated no narrow construction of democracy’s religious wellspring. “After all,” he argued, “the majority of Americans whether they adhere to the ancient teaching of Israel or accept the tenets of the Christian religion, have a common source of inspiration in the Old Testament. In the spirit of brotherhood we should, therefore, seek to emphasize all those many essential things in which we find unity in our common biblical heritage.”

Roosevelt had occasion to stress this common inheritance in letters addressed on December 23, 1939 to Pope Pius XII; the President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Dr. George A. Buttrick; and the President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Dr. Cyrus Adler. In that hour of world conflict, the President wrote of the “spiritual kinship of all who believe in a common God” and of the necessity of parallel endeavors among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews for the alleviation of suffering. So that he might benefit from religious counsel, Roosevelt named Myron C. Taylor his personal representative at the Vatican and invited Dr. Buttrick and Dr. Adler “to discuss the problems which all of us have on our minds.”

Mindful of the key significance of religious freedom to the democratic way of life, Roosevelt was particularly insistent that it be preserved. “Embodied in the Federal Constitution and ingrained in our hearts and souls is the national conviction that every man has an inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.” Implementing this ideology, Roosevelt, at the very outset of negotiations for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, was insistent that American citizens resident in Russia should have the right of religious expression. In 1928, while campaigning for Alfred E. Smith, then a candidate for the presidency, Roosevelt lashed out against injection of the issue of Smith’s Catholicism into the election campaign. According to George N. Shuster, writing in the magazine Commonweal, Roosevelt “was unfailingly tactful in his relations with Catholics, and considerate of their legitimate interests, for quite other than political reasons.”
II

No less sympathetic was the President's attitude toward the Jewish people, suffering from persecution inflicted upon them by the Nazis. As a humanitarian, the President could not be unmoved by what had occurred; as an American, he could not be other than concerned by the challenge to the democratic way of life that emanated from Berlin. Religious freedom was not alone at stake; democracy was itself on trial, accused of being "decadent," "corrupt," and the product of peoples inferior to the "master race." The fate of the nation was inextricably tied to the clash of the democratic and Nazi ideologies and as the Nazi war machine was girded and then launched upon a career of world conquest, no American mindful of his true heritage could remain silent.

In the ensuing titanic struggle that began in 1933 with the inauguration of Roosevelt and the advent of Hitler to power in Germany, the Jewish issue played an important, though by no means exclusive part. True, Jewish suffering at the hands of the Nazis was great and that is why, if Roosevelt seemed to defend the Jews with primacy, it was because they had been persecuted with flagrant primacy. The Nazis had made Jews an initial target in their crusade against the democratic way of life and the peoples and nations of the world. Roosevelt, determined to defend democracy, in so doing came to the defense of Jews against their oppressors.

In the history of American diplomacy, there are precedents for intercessions on behalf of persecuted minorities. But these moves involved the less enlightened states of Persia, Syria, Morocco, Rumania and, in the early twentieth century, Tsarist Russia. Stunned surprise that Germany, a civilized nation of the western world, should exceed these backward areas in excesses perpetrated upon the Jewish population, combining with early uncertainty concerning the consistency of Nazi policies, served to commit the Administration to a policy of watchful waiting. Nevertheless, the Government, under Roosevelt's leadership, lost no occasion to make known to the Hitler régime the sentiments of the American people with regard to the Nazi outrages.
On April 28, 1933, a State Department announcement expressed Secretary Cordell Hull's willingness "to do everything within diplomatic usage to be of assistance" to the Jews of Germany. On June 28, Under Secretary of State William Phillips gave assurances that "every reasonable effort is being made to insure sympathetic and considerate treatment of aliens applying for visas in Germany."

That month, in his oral instructions to William E. Dodd, recently appointed Ambassador to Germany, the President, although strongly disapproving of Nazi treatment of the Jews, indicated to what extent the United States was limited by diplomatic precedent in its protests. The President said: "The German authorities are treating the Jews shamefully.... But this is... not a governmental affair. We can do nothing except for American citizens who happen to be made victims. We must protect them, and whatever we can do to moderate the general persecution by unofficial and personal influence ought to be done."

As it became evident that anti-Semitism in Germany was increasing rather than diminishing, American public opinion was loud in its demand for official condemnation by the Administration. The President at this time made no public protest, but Administration spokesmen in both houses of Congress reflected the White House attitude toward what was happening in Germany. Senator Joseph T. Robinson, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, on June 10, 1934, uttered a protest and a warning to the German régime; Senator Millard Tydings urged the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany; Senators Royal S. Copeland, David I. Walsh, Robert F. Wagner, Henry D. Hatfield, and J. Hamilton Lewis were among those who at that time assailed the Nazis. In both the Senate and the House of Representatives, resolutions were introduced requesting the President to make representations to the Reich relative to the treatment of its Jewish citizens.

Then the executive branch of the Government acted. Through the Immigration and Naturalization Service the admission of refugees was facilitated. Economic negotiations under way with Germany were shown, in a letter of June 28, 1934, which Secretary Hull sent to Rudolf Leitner, German Chargé d'Affaires, to have been affected by Germany's inter-
nal policies. Representative Emanuel Celler stated after an interview with President Roosevelt on July 30, 1935, that the latter had protested both to the head of the German Reichsbank and to the German Ambassador.

On September 15, 1935, the Nuremberg Laws were promulgated, culminating a whole program of discrimination by which the German National Socialist Government had set "non-Aryans" apart as individuals of "foreign stock." The swastika was proudly proclaimed the emblem of Aryanism and pure-blooded Germanism.

As if in reply, Roosevelt on October 2 affirmed: "In the United States we regard as axiomatic that every person shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience. Our flag for a century and a half has been the symbol of the principles of liberty of conscience, of religious freedom, and equality before the law, and these concepts are deeply ingrained in our national character.

"It is true that other nations may, as they do, enforce contrary rules of conscience and conduct. It is true that policies that may be pursued under flags other than our own are beyond our jurisdiction. Yet in our inner individual lives we can never be indifferent, and we assert for ourselves complete freedom to embrace, to profess and observe the principles for which our flag has so long been the lofty symbol."

The determination of the American Government to keep clear of foreign wars and entanglements could not, in the President's opinion, prevent Americans "from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged."

In his Congressional message of January 3, 1936, Roosevelt went further in criticizing those "nations which are dominated by the twin spirits of autocracy and aggression," and declared that "we have sought by every legitimate means to exert our moral influence against repression, against intolerance and against autocracy and in favor of freedom of expression, equality before the law, religious tolerance and popular rule."

These general criticisms of the Nazi régime were amplified on May 24, at a dinner of the United Palestine Appeal, when Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes conveyed
a message from the President. "The President expresses through me to you," Mr. Ickes said, "the representatives of a great virile race, the hope that calmer and more dispassionate judgment will prevail and asserts the belief that the Government of the United States, in carrying out the will of the people, will ever give watchful care to the minorities within its borders, and will maintain inviolate those vital rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution even to the most humble of our citizens."

Meanwhile, there had been several brushes between the German Government and the American State Department. The first of these was over an attempt by demonstrators in New York City to remove the swastika flag which the German steamer *Bremen* was flying. In acquitting those involved in the incident, Magistrate Louis B. Brodsky asserted that there were many, the defendants among them, who looked upon the swastika flag as "the black flag of piracy," and who regarded it "as a defiant challenge to society." In reply to the protest of the German Foreign Office, Secretary Hull expressed his regret that the magistrate should "indulge in expressions offensive to another government with which we have official relations." At the same time, he took occasion to point out that "the right of freedom of speech is well recognized by our fundamental law." A similar reply was made by the State Department when Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Mayor of New York City, urged in a public address that Hitler be placed in a chamber of horrors. There were additional incidents of this sort involving exchange of communications between the State Department and the German Foreign Office, in all of which the Department managed to suggest that under a democracy the right of freedom of speech entailed certain privileges unknown in a fascist country.

When in November 1938, the Nazis unleashed a mass pogrom against the German Jews by burning synagogues, plundering Jewish shops and homes, beating and killing, Roosevelt himself denounced the outbreak in the sharpest terms: "The news of the past few days from Germany has deeply shocked public opinion in the United States. Such news from any part of the world would inevitably produce a similar reaction among the American people in every part
of the nation. I myself could scarcely believe that such things could occur in a twentieth-century civilization."

Coupled with the foregoing statement was the blunt announcement that in order to get a first-hand picture of the current situation, the President had asked the Secretary of State to recall Ambassador Hugh R. Wilson from Berlin for consultation.

The President also stated at this time that although he did not propose a lowering of immigration barriers to permit admission of refugees, he was in favor of granting refugees who were in this country on visitors' permits extensions of stay permitted by law. "I cannot, in any decent humanity, throw them out," Roosevelt said. He hoped, moreover, that the Congress "will not compel us to send these... people back to Germany, any more than the Congress compelled us to send a large number of refugees back to Russia after Russia was taken over." The President knew that if he were to compel these people—"who are not all Jews by any means, since other religions are included in very large numbers among them—" to return to Germany, they faced the concentration camp or worse.

That Thanksgiving Day, the President, amid a chorus of appeals urging assistance for the Jewish and other refugees from Germany, asked the nation's prayers for the "unfortunate people in other lands who are in dire distress." The President asked that we "remember them in our families and in our churches when, on the day appointed, we offer our thanks to Almighty God."

III

The seizure of Austria by Germany on March 12, 1938 extended the Nazi anti-Jewish program to that country and made more pressing the problem of refugee relief. On March 24, the State Department dispatched notes to thirty-three foreign countries proposing creation of an international committee to investigate the possibility of resettlement. This project originated with President Roosevelt who was convinced that the task of aiding refugees was of such magnitude that only cooperative governmental action could cope with it. The Presidential proposal was father to the
Evian intergovernmental conference which assembled on July 6, 1938, as a step preliminary to the setting up, at the London meeting of August 3, of machinery for aid to refugees.

Motivated by the outbreak of the European conflict, a special meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, formed to continue and develop the work of the Evian Conference, was called at the White House on October 17, 1939. In addressing the delegates, the President reminded them that something had to be done for several hundreds of thousands of persons driven from their homes as a consequence of the war. "This problem," he asserted, "involves no one race group—no one religious faith. It is the problem of all groups and all faiths. It is not enough to indulge in horrified humanitarianism, empty resolutions, golden rhetoric, and pious words. We must face it actively if the democratic principle based on respect and human dignity is to survive—if world order, which rests on security of the individual, is to be restored.

"Remembering the words written on the Statue of Liberty, let us lift a lamp beside new golden doors and build new refuges for 'the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free'."

Subsequent efforts by the Administration to aid those in flight from Nazi oppression included creation of the President’s Advisory Committee on Political Refugees; public endorsement by the President of the Dominican resettlement project; the Anglo-American Bermuda Conference, April 19 to 30, 1943; organization on January 22, 1944 of the War Refugee Board; acceptance of the "free port" idea and creation of the first "free port" at Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York.

Moreover, it was the President’s concern for the millions of displaced persons, including Jews, in Europe which hastened the establishment, in November 1943, of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), an international agency initiated by the United States. If these and other measures were not as effective as some had hoped in alleviating the plight of those whom the Nazis sought to destroy it was not because the Administration was wanting, but because of the savage and inhuman character of the adversary.
The nature of the enemy was further manifest when reports of atrocities perpetrated upon the peoples of Europe by the Nazi conquerors reached the United States. In a message to a mass meeting held July 17, 1942, protesting Nazi crimes against European Jews, the President voiced the determination of the American people to "hold the perpetrators of these crimes to strict accountability in the day of reckoning which will surely come." A month later, he warned the German invaders that "the time will come when they shall have to stand in courts of law in the very countries which they are now oppressing and answer for their acts." By October, the President sought to have the United States cooperate with the Allied governments in establishing a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes. For the crimes committed by a few, the President wanted no wholesale vengeance wreaked upon the German nation. "It is not the intention of this government or of the governments associated with us to resort to mass reprisals. It is our intention that just and sure punishment shall be meted out to the ringleaders responsible for the organized murder of thousands of innocent persons and the commission of atrocities which have violated every tenet of the Christian faith."

When it became apparent that the atrocities were part of a definite plan by which the Nazis intended to exterminate the Jewish population of occupied Europe, the United States on December 17, 1942 joined the Governments of Great Britain, Soviet Russia, the Fighting French, and eight other Allied nations in parallel declarations reaffirming the "solemn resolution" of the United Nations "to insure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end." Three months later, both the Senate and House of Representatives added their resolve to that of the Chief Executive concerning the punishment of war criminals when they adopted a resolution condemning the "atrocities inflicted upon the civilian population in the Nazi-occupied countries, and especially the mass-murder of Jewish men, women and children."

In October 1943, the Moscow Declaration signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin expressed determination of the leaders of the three
Allied powers to punish those Germans guilty of atrocities. The Declaration read in part: "... Those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein. ... German criminals, whose offenses have no particular geographical localization ... will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies."

Again at the Teheran Conference in December 1943 and at the Crimea Conference in February 1945, the three United Nations leaders vowed punishment of war criminals and dedicated themselves "to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." And in the New World, the Inter-American Conference at Mexico City early in 1945 resolved that the Governments of the American Republics "shall upon the demand of any of the United Nations ... surrender individuals charged with war crimes."

Events underscored the President's resolve. When in March, 1944, the Nazis invaded and proceeded to occupy Hungary, it was apparent that Hungarian Jews were immediately menaced. A week later, in a strong statement, the President asserted that "as a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews who, while living under persecution, have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon those lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes would be a major tragedy."

Roosevelt earnestly appealed to "every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his action that in his heart he does not share these insane criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them to get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch, and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty."
He again voiced the determination “that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.”

The President's vigorous lead was followed by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which added its voice in protest, as did the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Moreover, Secretary Hull on July 14, 1944 also warned the perpetrators of war crimes in Hungary.

IV

As the war unfolded and the Allied armies began their advance through North Africa, Sicily, and Italy; as other armies invaded Normandy and penetrated into France and Germany; and the armies of the U.S.S.R. slugged at Germany's eastern frontier until it buckled and crumbled, the liberation of Jews and other enslaved peoples followed in their wake.

While France was under Nazi and Vichy rule, the State Department announced in August 1942 that “the most vigorous representations possible” had been made to the Vichy authorities concerning treatment of Jews. However, it was only after the liberation of French territory had begun that the Administration could act on behalf of the oppressed. President Roosevelt on November 17, 1942 told a press conference that he had “requested the liberation of all persons in North Africa who had been imprisoned because they opposed the efforts of the Nazis to dominate the world and I have asked for the abrogation of all laws and decrees inspired by the Nazi government and Nazi ideologists.” This was to be the pattern of liberation—American style, inspired by the President of the United States.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower's invasion message to the people of Sicily, made public on July 20, 1943, not only dissolved the fascist organization on that island but declared that immediate steps would be taken to abolish all laws “which discriminate on the basis of race, color or creed.” An initial act of the Allied Military Government following liberation of Rome, was the rescinding of anti-Jewish legis-
lation and the restoration to Jews of property which had been confiscated. The terms of the surrender agreement imposed upon Hungary and Rumania made specific provision for the liberation and rehabilitation of Jews.

President Roosevelt likewise defended the cause of the Jews in the Americas. No sooner had the shadows begun to lift in Europe when, in the New World, the fascist Government of Argentina, by its decree of October 14, 1943, suspended publication of Yiddish newspapers. This and other anti-Jewish acts committed or tolerated by the régime constituted patent violations of resolutions endorsed by Argentina at the Lima Conference in 1938, which condemned "any persecution on account of racial or religious motives." Since the United States was a signatory of the Lima proposals, Roosevelt protested the arbitrary suppression of the Yiddish press as "of a character closely identified with the most repugnant features of Nazi doctrine."

Because of the President's stand, Yiddish newspapers were permitted to resume publication although they were now compelled to reproduce concurrent Spanish translations of their editorials. The régime, however, continued its antidemocratic and anti-Jewish practices and on June 27, 1944, Norman Armour, United States Ambassador to Argentina, was recalled.

The pro-democratic influence of the Roosevelt Administration was again manifest in Latin American affairs early in 1945 at the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace held in Mexico City. Urged by the American delegation, the Conference resolved that the States represented should eliminate from their educational system everything "which sustains directly or indirectly racial or totalitarian theories." They also resolved to surrender war criminals; condemned Hitlerite persecution of Jews; reaffirmed equality of rights and opportunities regardless of race and religion; and recommended "to the Governments of the American Republics that, without prejudicing the freedom of the spoken or written word, they make in their respective countries every effort to prevent all acts which tend to provoke discrimination between individuals by reason of their race or religion."

Relatively early in his political career, Roosevelt was aware of the problem of Palestine. While Governor of New
York State, he manifested considerable sympathy for Jewish aims in Palestine, and as President, the pressing refugee problem heightened his interest in that country as a possible haven. Following promulgation of the British White Paper of May 17, 1939, Roosevelt promised to do "all in his power" to prevent curtailment of Jewish immigration into Palestine. In messages to Zionist organizations on various occasions, Roosevelt hailed Palestinian accomplishment and endorsed unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth. To the 1944 convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Roosevelt pledged his aid in initiating "appropriate ways and means of effectuating . . . the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

More than any other statesman of his time, President Roosevelt comprehended the true meaning of the forces at play in the era which he dominated. He was alert to the menace of Nazism long before it became apparent to the majority that the peace of a world part slave and part free could not long endure. In the forward surge of free peoples fighting for things held dear, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was unquestionably the leader. Jews, too, were inspired by his courageous stand as were all other peoples of the world in their striving to throw off the oppressor's yoke. The Four Freedoms that he promulgated were world-wide in application and were unqualified by race, color, or creed.

Shortly before his death, President Roosevelt received with "profound interest" a proposal by representatives of the American Jewish Committee for the formulation of an International Bill of Rights, marking the extension outward to the peoples of all nations of the world of the immortal American principles of 1776. Roosevelt did not live to witness its incorporation, in principle, into the San Francisco United Nations Charter. But one can well imagine his smile of satisfaction upon seeing Jeffersonian principles brought within the ken of the common people of the entire world and the ring of his voice in pronouncing a hearty affirmation.
HENRIETTA SZOLD

December 21, 1860–February 13, 1945

By Lotta Levensohn*

I

Had Henrietta Szold died at the age of forty, her passing would hardly have been noted far beyond the confines of her native city of Baltimore. Within her own community she would have been mourned as a highly intellectual, public-spirited woman who had made her mark as an educator and literary worker. Her counsels would have been missed in communal undertakings. The local Hebraists and Zionists would have lost a staunch ally in her. But it would not have been known that the Jewish people had lost a potentially great leader and nation-builder, because her gifts in those directions were to be revealed only later. Fortunately, she was granted a life-span of over eighty-four years. Fortunately, too, the latter half of her life coincided with the development of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, where she made magnificent pioneer contributions in the fields of health, education, and social service.

Only in the fifth decade of her life did Miss Szold begin to reveal her essential greatness. In her sixth decade she became an acknowledged leader in American Zionism, and her seventh found her in the front rank of the nation-builders in Palestine. In her seventies she attained to international fame as the head of a movement for transplanting Jewish children from Germany and other lands of Nazi oppression to Palestine, where she integrated them into the pioneer life of the country. When she died in Jerusalem last winter, her passing evoked affectionate and reverent tributes.

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throughout the Jewish world and far beyond. She had long been a legend; her last breath enshrined her in history.

But for a curious twist of destiny, Henrietta Szold would have been born in Goethe's Germany and not in the America of Lincoln. Her father, Rabbi Benjamin Szold, though of Hungarian birth, was so deeply steeped in the German culture of his day (he was born in 1829, while Goethe was still alive) that he had no dearer wish than to settle in Germany with his young bride, Sophia Schaar, who was also Hungarian-born and shared his enthusiasm for things German. A call from a German congregation made him completely happy. Then fate stepped in. An older colleague of Rabbi Szold had just then been invited to occupy the pulpit of the Oheb Shalom Congregation in Baltimore, but hesitated to uproot himself and his growing family from the German soil to which they were attached heart and soul. Would not young Szold, he ventured to ask, consent to exchange pulpits? There was little in the Jewish life of America in the middle of the nineteenth century to attract a highly cultivated man like Rabbi Szold, who combined wide Jewish learning with a profound knowledge of ancient and modern classics. But, with a self-abnegation that was also to characterize his eldest daughter, he sacrificed his own wishes to his friend's. That was in 1859.

Late in December 1860, the first of the Szolds' eight daughters was born in Baltimore. Her father named her Henrietta, after the brilliant and charming Henrietta Herz, whose salon in Berlin had been a center for the leading intellects of Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

It would be idle to seek to determine whether heredity or early environment contributed more toward shaping the lofty personality of Henrietta Szold. The fact is that she was very fortunate in both. From her scholarly father she inherited a noble spirit and a rich intellectual endowment, from her practical mother a strong sense of duty and remarkable executive ability. Both parents realized that she was unusually gifted and did all that lay in their power to bring out her capacities to the full.

Benjamin Szold was a passionate believer in democracy and human rights. At the age of nineteen he had fought
behind barricades in Vienna during the Revolution of 1848, and as a young newcomer to Baltimore had been one of Lincoln's few supporters in that Southern city. His political doctrines were based on the universalist teachings of the Hebrew prophets. His daughter Henrietta eagerly embraced those doctrines and integrated them, as he did, into her philosophy of Jewish life.

All her life, Henrietta Szold lived by the light of her father's dictum that "Judaism is not only a faith or a creed, but a way of life." "You cannot have Judaism in full flower," he explained, "unless you have a normal human life in which you illustrate your Jewish principles." Under the impact of the Jewish problem, Miss Szold held that "Judaism in full flower" was possible only in a national home in the Land of Israel.

With her graduation at the age of sixteen from a girls' high school in Baltimore, Henrietta's formal education came to an end. Vassar was something hardly to be dreamed of by a girl who had to begin to earn her own living as soon as possible. But she found the best of teachers in her father, who gave her a thorough grounding in Hebrew, the Bible, and Jewish history. At the same time he instructed her in the German classics and assigned her intensive reading in general history and philosophy. In her girlhood she served as her father's secretary, and in his study acquired the capacity for clear and logical exposition that was to stand her in very good stead throughout her career. From her father, too, she learned to give a warm personal touch even to formal correspondence.

Her wise mother saw to it that the girl's academic education was balanced by training for practical life. Under her expert tuition she learned to cook and bake, sew, knit, and embroider. She became her mother's deputy in the large and busy rabbinical household, and practically brought up her younger sisters.

In the Szold home, plain living and high thinking fused into a joyous whole, and to the end of her life Henrietta was to revel in memories of a happy, affectionate, and cultured family circle.

Miss Szold's professional life began soon after leaving high school. For the next fifteen years she taught English,
French, German, algebra, botany, and other subjects in a private school for girls run by impoverished Southern gentlewomen. On Saturday and Sunday mornings, she taught classes in her father's congregational school. On Saturday afternoons, she led a Bible class for adults, and on one of the other afternoons of the week a Jewish history class for adults.

While she was still under twenty, she became the Baltimore correspondent of the New York *Jewish Messenger*, in which she discussed the contemporary Jewish scene with vigor and an occasional touch of acerbity. Her rare leisure hours were given over to her one hobby, botany. This accomplished scholar was an enthusiastic lover of nature, as befitted one whose ancestors had cultivated their Hungarian vineyards with their own hands.

II

The Jewish tragedy was brought home to Miss Szold when, as a young girl, she accompanied her father to the port of Baltimore to welcome refugees from the Russian pogroms of the early 1880's. Then and there the lines of her destiny were laid down. Some of the young refugees won her for Zionism. (Those were the days when Leo Pinsker, an Odessa physician, published his pamphlet, "Auto-Emancipation" as a solution for the Jewish problem; and Russian and Rumanian pioneers were founding settlements among the swamps and sand dunes of Palestine.) She helped a group of the Russian refugees to organize the first Zionist society in Baltimore in 1893, three years before Theodor Herzl, the Viennese littérature, published his "Jewish State" and became the founder of the modern political Zionist movement.

If Henrietta Szold took a long-range view of the solution of the Jewish problem, that did not prevent her from trying to deal with aspects of it nearer home. With a heavy heart she watched the struggles of the Russian refugees, and then, as was her way, worked out a method of helping them in a practical way. She conceived the idea of evening classes, where immigrants would be taught English, American history, bookkeeping, dressmaking, and other subjects so as to enable them to adjust themselves better to the cultural and economic life of America. She enlisted the aid of a
Hebrew literary society formed by some of the younger refugees, which she herself joined as an active member. Soon others came forward to help carry the maintenance costs, which were beyond the capacity of the students themselves, though all paid a fee. This evening school, which was one of the first opened for immigrants in the United States, was later taken over by the City of Baltimore.

Miss Szold's formal teaching career came to an end in 1893, when she resigned from her post in the girls' school. Though she had never had any pedagogical training, she was so inspiring a teacher that her lessons were joyfully recalled by her pupils when they themselves were grey-haired. She was, in fact, a born educator, and thought her way through to a theory of education of her own. At the age of twenty-seven, we find her formulating her educational creed at a Maryland State conference of teachers, and adding a touch of prophecy besides. “Do we always bear in mind,” she asked, “that conveying information is only a subordinate part of the teacher's work? Do we always labor with the sole end in view of training the minds entrusted to our care?... The true utilitarian will confine his attention to those elements that educate the man.” From this principle she proceeded to its application in the coming age. “Everywhere,” she added, “we discern the fact that life in the twentieth century (she was speaking in 1887!) will not be easy to live, that it will require high courage to face the truth, steadfastness and unflinching purpose... The work we have to do is to prepare them for a struggle from which they will not be spared.” Here she is already manifesting essential qualities of leadership: vision and foresight.

When she gave up teaching, Miss Szold did so only to enter a wider educational field. In 1893, she accepted the post of editor in the Jewish Publication Society of America, having already served on the Society's editorial board for five years. Her duties comprised criticizing and editing manuscripts, translating, compiling, indexing, proof-reading, seeing books through the press, and carrying on a ramified correspondence with authors. She defined the purpose of the Society as a “re-interpretation, in modern forms and English garb, of the Judaisms of all the centuries and all lands, and the demonstration of their essential unity.”
To her exacting literary tasks Miss Szold brought not only a superior intellect, but an almost perfect memory; wide-ranging Jewish and general knowledge; an admirable English style; an excellent command of Hebrew, German, and French, and a working knowledge of Yiddish. She was thorough and conscientious to a fault; her habit of industry was amazing.

Although she held her post in the Publication Society for nearly a quarter of a century, Miss Szold never wrote a book of her own. The nearest she came to it was a monograph entitled "Recent Jewish Progress in Palestine," which was published in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1915-16. Apart from occasional articles in the Anglo-Jewish and Zionist press, she lavished her considerable literary gifts on the work of others. She edited a condensed translation of Graetz's standard "History of the Jews," and compiled an index volume for that work. Her numerous translations (many of which she left unsigned) include "Ethics of Judaism," by the philosopher-psychologist Moritz Lazarus, the first four volumes of "Legends of the Jews," by the Talmudic scholar, Professor Louis Ginzberg, and "The Renascence of Hebrew Literature," by Dr. Nahum Slousch, an authority on the subject. She compiled several issues of the *American Jewish Year Book* and collaborated in the preparation of many others. The public knew very little about her devoted labors until the Publication Society celebrated its semi-jubilee in 1913. After referring to the "Society's good fortune in finding a translator in the person of Miss Henrietta Szold, the Secretary to the Publication Committee," the tribute proceeded: "To speak of the literary output of the last twenty-five years is impossible without remembering some of her services as translator, as reader, as annotator, as bringing to bear, upon the preparation of manuscripts for the printer, her many-sided culture and her great Jewish enthusiasm."

When her father died in 1902, Miss Szold constituted herself his literary executor. He had published a Hebrew commentary on the Book of Job which was highly esteemed by scholars. Now she wished to prepare his unfinished manuscripts for publication. Feeling the need of further study, she enrolled as a student in the Jewish Theological
Seminary in New York, where she took courses in Hebrew, Talmud, and other subjects. (Her studies she carried on in addition to, and not in place of, her heavy daily stint of professional work.) Soon the little walkup flat she shared with her mother on West 123rd Street, opposite the old Seminary building, became a kind of salon where professors, students, and other intellectuals gathered around her—drawn by the charm of her personality, the breadth of her scholarship, and her illuminating conversation.

Rabbi Szold's unfinished manuscripts never were published. The time had come for his daughter to step out from the seclusion of her study. In New York she met Zionist leaders and came under the spell of the vibrant Zionism of the Jewish masses. Zionism was stirring the active side of her character, which had for many years been subordinated to her scholarly interests, and impelling her to undertake some specific responsibility in the movement. A simple incident pointed the way for her. One day in 1907, she was approached by Dr. J. L. Magnes, then honorary secretary of the Federation of American Zionists, on behalf of a group of girls who wished Miss Szold to join their new Zionist study circle, but were too shy to ask her themselves. True to her axiom that in Zionism "honors mean work," Miss Szold rejected the idea of honorary membership in the circle, but offered to come in as a working member. For the next two years or so, the girls studied, under her informal guidance, the works of Moses Hess, Leo Pinski, Ahad Ha'am, and Theodor Herzl, and at the same time gained an insight into Jewish affairs in general through discussions of current events.

III

Then, in 1909, Miss Szold took a long-overdue vacation, which she spent in Europe and Palestine. Some of her friends had hinted that her first contact with Palestine might cause her to give up her Zionism. What happened was the very reverse. In summing up her attitude, she explained: "The result is that I am still a Zionist, that I think Zionism a more difficult aim to realize than I ever did before, and finally that, I am more than ever convinced that
if not Zionism, then nothing — then extinction for the Jew!" It should be borne in mind that these words were written over two decades before Hitler. Before leaving Palestine Miss Szold wrote: "If I were twenty years younger, I would feel that my field is here." Thinking herself too old for Palestine at fifty, she was nevertheless to find her field there at sixty. The next ten years of Zionist work in America were inevitably to lead her to Palestine.

Returning to America, Miss Szold at once plunged into practical Zionist work. In February 1910, she became the honorary secretary of a committee to sponsor an agricultural experiment station in Palestine to be directed by Aaron Aaronsohn, a son of an early pioneer in Samaria and Palestine's first agricultural scientist. Several years previously, Aaronsohn had astonished the scientific world by discovering the long-sought original wild wheat in a Galilean vineyard and on the slopes of Mount Hermon, — a discovery which opened up possibilities for the growing of wheat by dry-farming methods in arid regions.

Later in the year 1910, Miss Szold was persuaded to accept the honorary secretariship of the Federation of American Zionists, where she undertook to clear up an administrative muddle that taxed even her skill and patience to the utmost. But clear it up she did, though she was not at all well at the time, and soon after came down with a serious illness.

In the meantime, Miss Szold had reported some of the things she had seen in Palestine to her Zionist study circle. She told the girls about Jewish women who had to be delivered in their miserable hovels or else go to mission hospitals where their infants were certain to be baptized, and about thousands of Jewish children who were being blinded by trachoma for lack of prophylactic measures. "Let us stop talking," she urged, "and do something!"

After months of discussion and planning, a meeting was called on February 24, 1912, in the vestry rooms of the old Temple Emanu-El in New York, where a society was formed with a two-fold program: to establish and maintain a system of district visiting nursing in Palestine and to foster Zionist education in America. Miss Szold was elected president as a matter of course. The name "Hadassah" was chosen mainly because the meeting was held at Purim
HENRIETTA SZOLD, 1860–1945

(Queen Esther’s Hebrew name was Hadassah), but also because, for some unremembered reason, Hadassah had been the name of the study circle, which formed the core of the new society. The latter started with less than forty members.

In founding and developing Hadassah, Miss Szold displayed a multiplicity of talents, a resourcefulness, and a capacity for getting others to work that may have been a revelation even to herself. She was equal to any and every demand made upon her as leader of the growing organization; in fact, she often created those demands herself. “We can do anything,” she once said in the early days. In her own person she combined the functions of organizer, writer, and public speaker; executive and parliamentarian; mentor, educator, and leader. An educator she had always been, but here she was faced with a very difficult task: to train mature women, to transform housewives, teachers, secretaries, and librarians into capable voluntary workers able to turn their hands to any task Hadassah might require of them. Even more, she taught them to work together as a self-disciplined army in which it became second nature to subordinate personal convenience to Zionist duty. If, as she was glowingly to describe it many years later, Hadassah is a “marvellous, flexible, well-oiled machine,” it is because she herself built it up with unprecedented precision and skill.

In the year 1945, Hadassah’s membership is nearing the 200,000 mark. Its chapters are to be found in almost every State of the Union. It maintains the largest Jewish health service in Palestine, culminating in the Hadassah University Medical Center on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem. At the present writing, Hadassah and the American Friends of the Hebrew University are jointly raising a fund of several million dollars for an undergraduate medical school, which will be the first in Palestine. Hadassah’s responsibilities in Palestine also include Youth Aliyah, of which it is the largest sponsor; a network of educational and child welfare services; and the acquisition of land, through the Jewish National Fund, for pioneer settlement. This close association with the new Jewish life in Palestine is reflected in scores of thousands of homes of Hadassah members in America in the form of
intensified traditional observance and the fostering of Hebrew culture.

When Miss Szold founded Hadassah, she combined the presidency of the organization with her professional duties, a feat accomplished only by her will power and unusual physical stamina. But the more she revealed her capacity for leadership, the greater seemed the pity that she did not devote herself to it altogether. It was questioned, too, whether she could go on indefinitely as she was doing. A group of her friends felt this so keenly that in 1916 they relieved her of the necessity for earning her own living. She resigned from the Jewish Publication Society after twenty-three years of service, and used her new freedom to work harder than ever. She was then fifty-five years of age. Happily, she had almost thirty years of life before her, during which she continually revealed fresh creative powers that seemed to be drawn from some hidden perennial spring.

In 1916, the World Zionist Organization appealed to the Zionists of America to send medical help to Palestine, where the war had left few doctors and no drugs to cope with the epidemics that were rife throughout the country. With the backing of the Zionist Organization of America and the Joint Distribution Committee, Hadassah undertook to organize an American Zionist Medical Unit for Palestine. The task of organization fell to Miss Szold and her efficient lieutenants.

Next Miss Szold worked out a more suitable plan for the organization of the Zionists of the United States, which was based on geographical units instead of on sporadic societies. When the plan was adopted, she took a very active share in the complicated task of reorganization. And once that was accomplished, she organized and headed an educational department in the newly constituted Zionist Organization of America.

As might have been foreseen, Miss Szold eventually had to follow the American Zionist Medical Unit to Palestine. Administrative and public relations problems of great complexity arose when the Unit tried to carry out its functions in Palestine, and a year and half after its arrival in 1918, its director appealed for help from America. Miss Szold arrived early in 1920, and at once plunged into the maze
of problems. She traveled up and down the country, observing the activities of the Unit at first hand and acquainting herself with the health situation in general. In particular, she studied the health needs of the pioneer immigrants, who fell an easy prey to the prevalent malaria. Not content to limit herself to the task in hand, though it teemed with perplexities, she turned her attention to the political situation of pre-mandated Palestine, which was very unsettled; to the harassing Arab problem; and to the unclear economic prospects. All the while she was making the acquaintance, at first hand, of the heterogeneous communities that make up the Yishuv.

When the director of the Unit had to go abroad on business, Miss Szold several times took entire charge of the work as his deputy. On one such occasion, she wryly asked her family: "Isn’t it ridiculous that I should be directing hospitals, nurses’ training schools, laboratories, clinics, school hygiene, and most medical service?" It was not, in sober fact, ridiculous at all. She was an able and thoroughly informed executive, and technical medical knowledge was not necessary for her purpose. All in all, she found that the Unit was doing an excellent job. Although she knew its faults as well as anyone and was a severe critic besides, she could bring herself to question whether "any such big piece of constructive work had ever before been done in a ‘colony’ even by the greatest imperialistic powers.” The tiny seed she had planted in America was bearing sound fruit in Palestine. It was during this period that the temporary Medical Unit was converted into the permanent Hadassah Medical Organization of today.

The two years for which Miss Szold had consented to go to Palestine lengthened into three, but still she was held fast by the Medical Unit’s incessant demands on her time and energy. Then came an overriding summons from America: one of her sisters was stricken with a mortal disease.

IV

When Miss Szold returned to America in 1923, she found Hadassah a thriving, expanding organization with a strong sense of responsibility for its Palestinian “child.” She was
immediately drawn back into the leadership, and served as president for several years. It seemed then that, except for the occasional trips she took to Palestine on Hadassah business, she would spend the rest of her life in America.

But the Zionist Congress of 1927 disposed otherwise by electing her to the Palestine Zionist Executive, a non-party triumvirate, whose other members were the late Col. F. H. Kisch and Mr. Harry Sacher. To Miss Szold, the first woman elected to the Zionist Executive, fell the portfolios of Health and Education. She assumed office under most inauspicious circumstances. Palestine was in the throes of a severe economic depression, following a "boom"; the scanty Zionist resources were being drained to the utmost by a dole paid to thousands of unemployed laborers; the director of the Hebrew school system had resigned in protest against a severe cut in his budget. Upon Miss Szold devolved the trying task of balancing the educational budget without inflicting a vital injury upon the school system. The situation was still further exacerbated by the conflicting claims of the Zionist parties in the educational field. Miss Szold's talents as an educator and organizer stood her in good stead in those days; so did her skill and patience in negotiation. Her greatest asset was that all concerned had complete trust in her integrity and impartiality. Single handed she saved the kindergartens by personally raising their budget.

To her Health Department Miss Szold brought a large fund of experience acquired during her Medical Unit-Hadassah days. The scope of the Department included malaria, typhoid, and dysentery control; sanitary inspection of rural settlements; care of chronic invalids; building of new hospitals; hospitalization of mental and tubercular patients; control of immigrants at embarkation ports so as to exclude chronic cases. In her negotiations with the Government of Palestine, Miss Szold stressed the inadequacy of the health legislation and urged the enactment of a compulsory health insurance law. Simultaneously she helped the Jewish health agencies to coordinate their activities, and urged the local community to make larger contributions toward the maintenance of the health services.

Either of the two Departments of the Palestine Zionist Executive would have been enough to tax the powers of
one half her age. Nevertheless, Miss Szold often carried all
the major responsibilities of the Executive, including polit-
ical negotiations, during the frequent absences of her col-
leagues. (She always insisted that they must go when their
presence was required abroad, though she knew very well
what was in store for her.) How did she stand up to the
excessive strain? One of her colleagues furnished the answer:
“Her selflessness goes so far that even bodily fatigue dis-
appears under the control of her will power, which is relent-
less when applied to her own person.”

In 1929, Miss Szold was elected to the Executive of the
newly formed Jewish Agency for Palestine, in which Zionists
and non-Zionists are represented in equal numbers, but
resigned some months later and returned to America. Nearing
seventy now, she was very, very tired; and it seemed as if,
at long last, she would allow herself the quiet and serene old
age she had always thought she wanted. In 1931, however,
she was back in Palestine in response to a call from Keneseth
Israel, the new Jewish Community Organization of Palestine,
which had been founded under the authority of the Mand-
datory Government. She was asked to serve on the executive
committee of Keneseth Israel as the member responsible
for the transfer of the Health and Education services from
the Jewish Agency to Keneseth Israel. This opportunity of
doing a “definite piece of organization work,” of which she
thoroughly approved as the foundation for communal life in
Palestine, appealed to her irresistibly. So, said she, “I go
back!”

She went back, but not only to arrange for the transfer
of the services.

When she had spoken of Palestine as her “field” in 1909,
she was probably thinking in terms of social service. On
her return in 1920, she had encouraged a group of women to
organize a social service association that is doing excellent
work to this day. Small wonder, therefore, to find her
reporting in 1931 that “with temerity unprecedented, I am
charging myself with the task of organizing the central
bureau for the social work being done in the whole of Pales-
tine. This bureau is the undertaking of the Vaad Leumi
[executive body] of Keneseth Israel.” Her “temerity,” as
she called it, may have been due to her lack of professional
training in the social service field; but she consoled herself with the thought that "ordinary common sense with even a few grains of general experience with men and their affairs will go a long way toward clearness and organized relations before the fine points of social science or art can be usefully applied." For all that, she set about at once to consult all the professional and voluntary workers who had anything of value to impart on the "fine points."

Apart from placing the multifarious social welfare agencies under centralized control, Miss Szold also had to convert the community to the idea that modern social service is no less essential, no less constructive, in the nation-building enterprise, than settlement on the land, the promotion of industry, and the like. Many otherwise progressive people then disdained social service as "unproductive" or "philanthropic" or ignored it altogether. Miss Szold then launched a countrywide campaign to convince them to the contrary, pointing out wherever she went that modern social service was a remedy for social maladjustment, that it transformed the backward and underprivileged into useful citizens. Often to her own surprise, she found eager and intelligent volunteers to work with her once they were convinced of the rightness of her plans. These lieutenants she called her "intermediate public," that is to say, those who assisted both the beneficiaries of the social service and the professional social workers. With their help she built up urban and rural social service bureaus and corrective institutions like G'vot, which were attached to the local community organizations or municipalities, and through them affiliated with her central bureau.

Family case work, in which the unit to be aided is the family and not the individual, forms the central activity of the Social Service Bureau, and is directed in particular to children and maladjusted immigrants. (Before the introduction of family case work, the numerous agencies dealt only with individual problems, never with those of the family as a whole.) The problem of Jewish juvenile delinquents,
which no one in the community had ventured to tackle before, was brought by Miss Szold into her social service scheme under the authority of the Government's chief probation officer.

Upon her initiative, a training school for social workers, the first in Palestine, was opened in Jerusalem. She arranged conferences of professional and voluntary social workers that proved increasingly successful from year to year, and did much to win public support for modern methods of social service. All these activities meant frequent and long trips out of Jerusalem because Miss Szold firmly believed in personal contacts and discussions. Indefatigably, disregarding her "tired heart," she made the rounds despite the hot desert winds of midsummer and the heavy, cold rains of midwinter. She was not deterred from her routine even when the disturbances of 1936-1939 made the roads of Palestine highly unsafe for travel. At first she agreed to travel in the convoys; then, finding that convoys were time-consuming, she often went in unescorted vehicles, explaining that at her age she had no time to waste.

In 1939, Miss Szold retired as head of the Central Social Service Bureau, but retained to the last the chairmanship of the local Jerusalem bureau, which had the most difficult conditions in all Palestine to cope with. While she was still working hard to organize the social service for Keneseth Israel, her final and greatest opportunity for service came to her in the form of Youth Aliyah (Migration).

V

The year 1933 brought throngs of refugees from Germany to Palestine, many of whom were all but destitute. Those came naturally within the scope of the Central Social Service Bureau and its local affiliates. But there were as yet no funds. Miss Szold headed a drive for the needy refugees, the first of its kind in Palestine, and obtained what she considered fairly satisfactory results. In any event, she was
able to do much to help refugees make their initial adjustments.

In October 1933, Miss Szold represented Palestinian Jewry at a general conference held in London to consider ways and means of meeting the German situation. From London she went to Hitler's Berlin, "entirely," as she put it, "in the interest of the children," and took the initiative in shaping the incipient plans of the German Jews for transferring adolescents to Palestine. Two months later she was writing from Jerusalem: "My new job, the organization of the transfer of children from Germany to Palestine, is growing under my hands from day to day. It deals with children — it is not child's play. The responsibility is great." The opportunity, also, was great, and she rose to it superbly. But not at the expense of leaving her social service plans in the lurch. "The children's undertaking," she reported, "is, of course, added to my social organization work." She was then in her seventy-fourth year, and her heart was definitely rebelling against the strains imposed upon it.

The purpose of the Youth Aliyah was defined as the rescue of the bodies and the redemption of the souls of the German-Jewish youth. A Youth Aliyah Bureau, headed by Miss Szold, was set up in Jerusalem under the new German Department of the Jewish Agency. Once more she was having to blaze trails of her own in virgin fields. The whole experiment of transplanting children was unparalleled in human history. Miss Szold was faced on one hand with complicated political and administrative problems, on the other with an educational undertaking lacking all precedents. She pointed out that "a new language was to be taught, one which was built up on linguistic principles utterly removed from the ken of the German-speaking youth... Nor was Hebrew the only province to be conquered; the average young Jew from Germany was a stranger in the whole of the Jewish spiritual domain." Besides, there were "the psychic conflicts attached to adolescence, and no less attached to a transfer from parental care to a degree of
HENRIETTA SZOLD, 1860–1945

self-dependence upon communal authority.” The adolescents (they were fifteen to seventeen years old) also had to be adjusted to “the peculiar conditions of life in Palestine” and to undergo the “change from an individualistic form of life in the family to the collective form” of the communal settlements in which the great majority of the Youth Aliyah wards are trained.

The educational program elaborated by Miss Szold for the first Youth Aliyah group in 1934 is still followed in all its essential parts. It provides for a two-years’ apprenticeship in agricultural settlements, where the day is divided between work and study. The practical training includes all work done on the farms, mechanical as well as agricultural, while the plan of study comprises Hebrew, Jewish history, Jewish literature, and the geography of Palestine as a cultural background. Physics, botany, and chemistry are studied as a theoretical background for the agricultural activities.

By far the greater number of Youth Aliyah wards have chosen the agricultural-pioneering life, either joining existing settlements or founding new ones of their own. Of the 13,000 adolescents transferred to Palestine up to 1945, 10,000 are already “graduated” from Youth Aliyah; and of the 10,000 “graduates,” 7,000 are engaged in agriculture, fishery, industry, and crafts on the land. Others are teachers, musicians, and research workers. Fifteen hundred enlisted in the armed forces to fight their worst enemy. Not all are of German origin. As conditions progressively worsened in Europe, Youth Aliyah groups were transferred from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Greece, and Turkey. Some were even brought from Iraq and the Yemen. And several groups of underprivileged Palestinian children have been successfully integrated into the Youth Aliyah scheme of agricultural training.

Miss Szold must have known personally thousands of her Youth Aliyah wards. Officially, she knew the case of each and every one. Most she had welcomed on their arrival at
the port of Haifa, and from there accompanied them to their host-settlements in order to see that they were properly installed. She discussed their problems with them on her frequent visits to the settlements, and in special cases invited them to come to Jerusalem for a talk with her.

Miss Szold was concerned as much with the Palestinian child as with the child immigrant. For a quarter of a century she pondered the plight of the child in Palestine, which was due chiefly to the lack of a compulsory education law and to defective child labor legislation. Finally, she worked out a plan based on the famous Swiss "Pro Juventute," and established a Palestinian counterpart to the extent that local conditions would permit. On December 21, 1941, her eighty-first birthday, she formally set up a Children's Foundation (Lemaan Hayeled ve-Hanoar) under the aegis of Keneseth Israel, and turned over to it sums of money she had received as birthday gifts at various times from Hadassah and the Palestinian community as the beginnings of a trust fund. In this way she set up a system of communal guardianship for the community's children. Soon after her passing the Foundation was named for her, and it is the hope of the trustees soon to be able to bring up the trust fund to at least £P 100,000, so as to yield an income sufficient for its numerous research and coordinating activities. In Miss Szold's view the Children's Fund was of equal importance in the national scheme with Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, the two major financial instruments of the Zionist movement in Palestine.

VI

The sum of Henrietta Szold's achievements does not by any means add up to the total of her personality. She was greater than all her deeds taken together. Much as in her modesty she would have deprecated such a statement, she was in the true line of the prophetic tradition as a moral force. Like the prophets, she believed that the golden age
lay in the future, which is another way of saying that she believed in the perfectibility of mankind. That was the motive power that animated all her efforts as educator and organizer, for she aimed at perfection in whatever field she took as her own. In her absolute concentration on duty, she sternly denied herself what in her extreme old age she wanted most: to return to her dearly loved family in America, which she cherished as the land of her birth even as she revered Palestine as the land of her people. “One has a conscience,” she said when discussing the matter; and so made her decision.

To those not privileged to know her, Miss Szold might have seemed remote and unapproachable. She was, in fact, anything but that. She was accessible to all who sought her out, and never failed to hearten even those whom it was not in her power to help. Multitudes of friends flocked to her simple lodgings in Jerusalem, drawn as much by her great womanly charm, her wise conversation, and her flashing humor as by respect for her vast achievements. Rarely did anyone leave her presence without feeling somehow uplifted, better and wiser than when he came.

Miss Szold’s seventieth, seventy-fifth, and eightieth birthdays were widely celebrated both in America and in Palestine. Honors were lavished upon her, and the love and esteem in which she was universally held were manifested on all sides. Her eightieth birthday was a public holiday in Palestine, particularly for the children. The peak of the celebrations was reached in an assembly of hundreds of Youth Aliyah wards and graduates at the Ben Shemen Children’s Village. With it all, she was truly averse to receiving personal tributes; in fact, they were a sore trial to her modesty. When the national Jewish institutions in Jerusalem insisted on commemorating her eightieth birthday at a public reception, she consented only on condition that there be no more than three speakers, and that those three confine themselves to reviewing the developments of the previous eighty years in Jewish life as reflected in Zionism, America, and Palestine.
In her reply to the eulogies she could not entirely evade, she declared that, for her own part, she was much more aware of the things she had failed to do than of those she had done.

Henrietta Szold has passed out of our sight, but she lives on in our midst. Her inspiring words are treasured, her great works surround us on every side. Blessed be her name and her memory.
FRENCH JEWRY UNDER THE OCCUPATION*

By Jacob Kaplan

Acting Grand Rabbi of France

I

BEFORE THE DEFEAT OF 1940

During the years before World War II, French Jewry was in a favorable position. In France, land of the Rights of Man, Jews enjoyed equal rights and a good many individual Jews held eminent positions. A Jew, Léon Blum, head of the French Socialist Party, had served as Prime Minister, while other Jews had occupied cabinet posts. Yet the Jewish population of Metropolitan France was not high: about 350,000, some 200,000 of whom were not of French nationality.

Most of the Jews lived in Paris; in Alsace-Lorraine; in Eastern France: Nancy, Epinal, Dijon, and Besançon; or in the North: Lille, Rouen, Valenciennes, Lens, and Reims.

On the other hand, there were only six communities in Central and Southern France with a rabbi at their head: Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lyons, Nice, Bayonne and Toulouse. Others, of less importance, did not have a rabbi: Tours, Nantes, Nîmes, Avignon, Saint-Etienne, and Grenoble.

All these communities, except those in Alsace-Lorraine which was still governed by the provisions of the Concordat, were affiliated with a central organization, usually called by its traditional name: the Central Consistory of the Jews of France (Consistoire Central des Israélites de France), a name given it in 1808 by Napoleon, when he issued decrees

*Translated by Joseph M. Bernstein, editorial associate.
regulating the Jewish faith. But after the Law of the Separation of Church and State in 1905, the Central Consistory became the Union of Jewish Religious Associations in France and Algeria.

Jews maintained excellent relations with their non-Jewish countrymen. In the course of World War I, during which Frenchmen of all faiths fought side by side and poured out their blood in common for the defense of the Fatherland, the bonds of fellowship were strengthened and led to improved interfaith relations and heightened mutual understanding. It is not out of place to point out that in 1914, of a total Jewish population of less than 200,000—over 130,000 in Metropolitan France and over 60,000 in Algeria—about 32,000 Jews were mobilized. Of this number, 6,500 were killed, including 7 of the 31 rabbis who had been mobilized. Among the Jews not of French nationality, 12,000 volunteered and more than 2,000 fell on the battlefield. After the war, the war veterans organizations, which included ex-servicemen of all faiths, greatly contributed to strengthening the ties formed between Jews and non-Jews during the conflict.

But with the advent of Hitlerism, anti-Semitism, which after 1918 had hardly dared to raise its voice in France, began its campaign against the Jews. French anti-Semitism was the tool of Nazism, which used a strategy of disruption and division to make France ripe for conquest. Thus, after every aggressive coup the Nazis staged: the re-occupation of the Rhineland, the Anschluss with Austria, the Sudetenland campaign, there was always a number of French newspapers which opposed any forceful action against Germany and implied that any such act would be, not in the interests of France, but solely in the interests of the Jews. Many of these papers carried banner headlines with the words: “KICK OUT THE JEWS!”

As for the Government, on numerous occasions it paid tribute publicly to the patriotism of the Jews. In June 1935, during the World Congress of Jewish Ex-Servicemen which was held in Paris, several cabinet ministers, including the War Minister, paid eloquent homage to the patriotic attitude of the Jews in France. In June 1938, at Douaumont near Verdun, at the inauguration of a monument raised in mem-
ory of the Jews who had died for France, a cabinet minister spoke in fervent terms of the part played by the Jews in World War I.

When in September 1939 war again broke out, the French Jews responded eagerly to the call to arms. They were especially numerous in the most exposed units: the free corps, in which there was a higher proportion of Jews than of Frenchmen of other faiths. There were Jewish officers of all ranks, including eight generals. Jews not of French nationality hastened to enlist. Certain regiments in which they were particularly numerous were collectively cited. And the number of French and foreign Jews decorated in the war years 1939-1940 was relatively high.

II

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION

First Effects on French Jewry

The military defeat in June 1940 was an unexpected and terrible catastrophe for the country. But the Jews suffered the tragic consequences of the disaster more than any other group. Overnight, the situation of the French Jews was fundamentally transformed. Fleeing the invading armies, many Jews headed south. Of those who remained in their homes, many were expelled by the occupying authorities because they were in a zone forbidden to Jews. Such was the case, among others, of our co-religionists in Alsace-Lorraine. Their expulsion began with the start of the occupation. Then in November 1940, all those still left received a peremptory order to quit their homes and were given the right to take with them nothing but a suitcase and a small sum of money. They were piled into trucks which took them to the unoccupied zone, where they were dumped out at night on a deserted country road. The property of the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine was confiscated.

As a result of these population shifts, the geographical distribution of French Jewry was considerably modified. At
the very outbreak of the war, certain communities in Alsace-Lorraine situated on the firing line were officially evacuated to the rear, together with their religious and philanthropic institutions. This was true of the Jews of Strasbourg and surrounding towns, who found refuge in the Dordogne and Haute-Vienne where they formed the communities of Périgueux and Limoges; while our co-religionists of Sarreguemines and Forbach were installed in the Charente and Charente-Maritime. Some of the Jews of Metz found refuge in Poitiers (Vienne).

The influx of Jews into the southern zone, to which must be added tens of thousands of fleeing Belgian and Dutch Jews, was directed in part toward existing communities which now took on added importance, and in part toward cities where there was no existing Jewish community. It became necessary to provide for the religious organization of these new population-clusters of Jews.

That was the first task of the Grand Rabbi of France, Isaiah Schwartz, who had taken up his residence in Vichy. In accordance with a decision of the Central Consistory, he had followed the Government in order to make contact with the communities in the country and to be in a position to fulfill his duties. At the General Assembly of the Rabbinate, which took place at the beginning of September 1940, rabbis were named to look after the Jews who had been evacuated to regions where there was no organized religious life, and to constitute them into communities. Most of the available rabbis were military chaplains who had retreated with the armies and who were thus in Unoccupied France. New rabbinical districts were created, some immediately, others as the need became apparent. They included the following: Agen, Annecy, Béziers, Brive, Cannes, Chateauroux, Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble, La Châtre, Le Puy; Montauban, Montpellier, Pau, Perpignan.

As for Occupied France, the only communities left were those of Paris, Nancy, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and the new communities formed at the outset of the war by the Jews of Lorraine evacuated to the Charente, Charente-Inférieure, and Vienne. There were about 120,000 Jews in Paris and its suburbs. The official census of 1940 gave 105,000 Jews, but this figure must be increased by more than ten percent,
to include those who had not been accounted for in the census. The Jewish population in Occupied France progressively diminished, because of both deportations and secret departures for Unoccupied France. In 1944, there were no more than 30,000 professing Jews in Greater Paris, but it is estimated that about the same number lived in hiding and no longer revealed themselves as Jews.

Jewry in Metropolitan France was cut in two. There were no means of official communication between the two zones. After August 20, 1940, Jews were forbidden to cross the line of demarcation. On that date, a poster was hung up in all railway stations on the demarcation line, stating that Jews and Negroes were forbidden to go into the Occupied zone.

French Jewry now faced new social as well as religious problems. To take all the necessary steps toward solving them, a Central Commission of Jewish Welfare Work was formed at Vichy, attached to the office of the Grand Rabbi of France.

The Central Consistory, evacuated to Unoccupied France, also underwent reorganization. Since its President, Baron Edouard de Rothschild, had left France for the United States, M. Jacques Helbronner, former high official of the Conseil d'Etat and vice-president of the Central Consistory, assumed the presidency. The Consistory set up its headquarters at Lyons. Baron Robert de Rothschild, President of the Paris Consistory, also left for the United States.

Anti-Jewish Measures

Right after the Armistice, an anti-Semitic campaign was launched throughout the country in the press and on the radio. Jews were accused of having been responsible for the disastrous war which had led France to ruin. All these incitements indicated that measures against our co-religionists were imminent; and in fact, these soon went into effect.

Some of these measures emanated from the occupying authorities, others from the Vichy Government. Those of the German authorities applied only to Jews in Occupied France; those of the Vichy Government concerned Jews
indiscriminately in both zones. Thus the juridical status of the Jews was not the same throughout Metropolitan France. In the occupied zone, two kinds of laws co-existed; on the one hand, German decrees issued by the head of the German Military Administration in France; and on the other hand, the decrees of Vichy. Since both types of decrees had the force of law, the Vichy statutes were only applied insofar as they were not contrary to the German ordinances.

There were, moreover, measures peculiar to the Occupied zone which were never in force in Unoccupied France, even after the total occupation of the country by the Germans in November 1942. These included: forbidding Jews to have radio sets; forbidding them to change their residence and to be out-of-doors from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.; forcing them to carry a yellow star with the word “Jew” in black letters, placed on the left side just above the heart and visible in public at all times, and which all Jews above the age of six were forced to wear. This ordinance was dated May 29, 1942, but at the beginning of July 1940, the Germans had already forced the Jews of Commercy (Meuse) to carry a square of yellow cloth sewed on their backs. Other decrees forbade Jews to visit theaters, enter restaurants, public gardens, cafés, museums, etc., and to buy in stores except at certain specified hours: in food stores from 11 to 12 a.m., in all other stores from 3 to 4 p.m.

The first anti-Jewish measure was taken by the Germans in the occupied zone. This was the ordinance of September 27, 1940, the anniversary of the day in 1791 on which the Constituent Assembly of the French Revolution had proclaimed the Emancipation of the Jews. This ordinance defined the status of Jews, forbidding our co-religionists who had fled Occupied France, to return there. It ordered a census of the Jews taken before October 20, 1940, and forced all Jewish businesses to hang a special sign on their windows.

Other measures soon followed, some taken by the German authorities, some by the Vichy Government. In general, apart from the nuisance measures mentioned above and which only applied to the occupied zone, they corresponded. And on certain points, the anti-Jewish legislation of Vichy was more severe than that of the occupying authorities.
The principal anti-Jewish legislative measures applied to all France were the following:

1. The law of October 3, 1940, modified by the law of June 2, 1941, which was a Statute of the Jews. This law, after defining the status of Jews, forbade those recognized as such to assume or exercise public functions or offices from the head of state down to all positions filled by the government in enterprises of a general interest, including the judiciary, the teaching profession, and the military. Certain public functions were available to them only if they were ex-servicemen or decorated for heroism in battle, or if they were descendants, widows or orphans of soldiers who had died for France. In the liberal professions, a *numerus clausus* was announced, and ultimately set at two percent. Jews were entirely banned from such other professions as banking, real estate, press, theater, and radio. Jews who had rendered exceptional services to the French State or whose family had been established in France for at least five generations and had rendered exceptional services to the State, could be exempted from this ban—but exceptions were very rare, amounting only to about a dozen.

2. The law of June 21, 1941, fixing at three percent of the non-Jewish students the number of Jewish students allowed to enroll in all schools and institutions of higher learning.

3. The law of March 20, 1941, modified by the law of May 19, 1941, concerning the creation of a General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which had the task of proposing to the government all legislative rules and decrees as well as all other measures necessary to implement the decisions made by the government with respect to the status of the Jews, their civil and political capacity, or their juridical right to exercise functions or professions. The Commissariat was further charged with supervising the liquidation of Jewish property in cases where this was prescribed by law while taking account of the needs of the nation's economy, and was further charged with taking all police measures with regard to the Jews dictated by public interest.

4. The law of July 22, 1941 declared that with a view to eliminating all Jewish influence from the nation's economy,
the General Commissar for Jewish Affairs could name a temporary manager over every industrial, commercial, real estate, or handicrafts enterprise, said administrator to have property rights and the right to lease all property and the right to sell all goods contained on the property. Exceptions were made in the case of houses or apartments serving as the personal domicile of the parties in question, as well as of the furnishings contained on said property or apartment.

The amount of money realized from the various sales made by the temporary administrator was to be deposited in a special fund. After deducting expenses, ten percent of these sums were placed at the disposal of the General Commissariat, which withdrew the amounts necessary to pay the costs of temporary administration, to wind up the affairs of businesses with a deficit or those which did not make enough profit to allow for such payment. The surplus constituted a fund to be used for helping needy Jews.

5. The law of June 2, 1941, concerning a census of the Jews and indicating the amount of their property.

6. The law of November 29, 1941, setting up a General Union of the Jews of France (U.G.I.F.), said Union to assure representation of the Jews with the public authorities, particularly in questions of relief and social welfare. All Jews domiciled in France were forced to join this Union. All existing Jewish societies were dissolved and their property turned over to the Union. An exception was made for religious associations that had been legally set up. Money for the Union was assured: 1. by the sums which the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs would withdraw for the Union from the Jewish Solidarity Fund created by the law of July 22, 1941; 2. by resources coming from the property of the dissolved Jewish societies; 3. by dues paid by the Jews. The General Union of the Jews of France was to be administered by a board of 18 members chosen from Jews of French nationality—nine in each zone—and placed under the control of the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs.

7. A decree of August 28, 1942 declared that provisionally and until the dues system was definitively set up, the General Union of the Jews of France was called upon to raise, as its share of expenses, beginning with September 1942, a monthly
sum of six million francs, by taxing the financial resources of Jewish families both in the occupied and unoccupied zones. This monthly sum was to be raised either by voluntary contributions or, in case voluntary contributions proved insufficient, by individual taxation.

At the same time, police measures were taken against the Jews.

After October 4, 1940, the Vichy Government decreed that Jews not of French nationality could be interned in special camps by a decision of the district authorities where they lived, and they could have a forced residence assigned to them by the prefect in the district in which they lived.

On November 9, 1942, just as German troops were preparing to cross the demarcation line and occupy all France, a law was issued that as a measure of internal security, all Jews of foreign nationality were forced to reside in the town or city in which they habitually resided and could not leave without obtaining a safe-conduct pass.

On December 11, 1942, another law forced all Jews, French and non-French, to have the word "Jew" written on their identification cards and food cards.

These last two laws really involved only the Jews in the unoccupied zone. Those in the occupied zone, whether French or non-French, no longer had the right to change their residence and were already forced to have the word "Jew" written on all their identification cards.

Despite its racial policies, the French State did not dare to forego sending a representative to the funeral ceremonies on January 4, 1941, of the noted Jewish philosopher, Henri Bergson. The man sent was Ambassador Fernand de Brinon. A tribute was paid to Henri Bergson by the French Academy of which he had been a member. Lectures on his life and work were given at Vichy, but the speakers failed to mention or made only passing reference to the fact that he was a Jew. Some of the lecturers even hinted that he had converted to Catholicism. This is not so. The same thing was said of Spinoza. Bergson, like Spinoza, was never baptized and for the same reason as his famous predecessor. Despite the deep interest he had in the Christian religion, he could not subscribe to the dogmas of Christianity.
Arrests, Deportations, Massacres

It was not long before police measures were applied in both zones. The first Jews interned were foreigners: Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, German, Czech, and stateless Jews.

In order better to follow the course of events, we will consider each zone separately, at least until November 11, 1942, when the Germans occupied all France.

Occupied France

In May 1941, 3,200 interned Jews in the occupied zone were placed in two camps: 1,700 at Pithiviers (Loiret) and 1,500 at Beaune-la-Rolande (Loiret). All had been volunteers in the armed forces and their names had been taken from lists in the recruiting offices.

Suddenly, however, the situation grew much worse. On October 20 and 21, 1941, a large-scale raid was made at Paris. Cordons of police surrounded the 11th district. All Jews were arrested, both those whose names were on the lists and those who simply happened to be there. At the same time, 47 lawyers of the Paris bar were seized at their homes. About 4,300 Jews, 1,300 of them French Jews, were arrested on this occasion. They were taken to Drancy near Paris without being allowed to take with them either a change of clothing, linen, or food. They arrived at Drancy just as they were at the moment of their arrest, in summer clothing or work clothes. They were placed eighty in a room. Nothing had been done to prepare for their coming; there were no beds, no mattresses, not even straw. Until the end of October, they slept on boards or on the cement floor. For three days they were left without food. They were forbidden to receive food or clothing packages. When, in the first week of September, clothing packages were allowed, the latter were carefully searched when they arrived, and all foodstuffs and cigarettes found in them were confiscated by the gendarmes. They were obviously undernourished. Not until two months later were food packages allowed, by which time most of the internees had lost from thirty to
forty pounds in weight. An epidemic of dysentery broke out, to which many succumbed. A German medical commission then decided to liberate the most gravely ill, and so at the beginning of November some 1,200 were set free. But several of them died in their homes. The German authorities proceeded at the same time to liberate young people less than 18 and old people over 60—about 150 in all. However, on November 13, the German officer in charge of the camp ordered that no more internees were to be set free.

After the camp of Drancy was set up, another one was opened at Compiègne (Oise). On December 12, 1941, 750 French Jews, most of them ex-servicemen chosen from among lawyers, doctors, dentists, and manufacturers were arrested in Paris at their homes and sent to Compiègne; at the same time, 300 Jews from Drancy chosen from among those who had done non-manual labor, joined them. They did not have the right to receive packages and suffered a starvation diet. Inside the camp a loaf of bread was sold at from 900 to 1,000 francs. The infirmary had no medicines. When the camp personnel demanded some, the German officer assigned to provide them replied cynically “It’s useless to send medicines; enlarge the cemetery!”

Nevertheless on March 29, 1942, 250 internees were freed. They were old people over 70 and citizens of countries that were neutral or not at war with Germany. On March 25, 178 others were transferred to Drancy with a view to being deported. They were all aged and sick people; before their departure, the French police in accordance with orders they had received, placed handcuffs on them. Handcuffed and scarcely able to carry their suitcases, they marched through Compiègne. Inhabitants of that town showed their profound sympathy by offering them bread without ration stamps. Among the Jews marched off like criminals were Judge Laemmle, Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Masse, and Senator Pierre Masse. The latter said to a lad of 12 who looked at him with an air of astonishment: “Remember, my boy, these are French officers being treated this way.”

Soon the deportations to the East began. The first took place on March 22, 1942 and consisted of 1,000 Jews from Drancy and Compiègne. The deportees were searched from
head to foot and stripped of their money, their jewelry, and their gold dentures. Officially, the amount raised by these objects was to be paid into the National Fund! After they were searched, the unfortunates were given prison haircuts, then placed between barbed wire before being shut up 40-60 in sealed cattle cars, for a journey scheduled to last four days and four nights. Each car contained one bucket of water, another for offal, and a little food.

The next deportation was from the camp at Pithiviers and took place in May 1942. It was in this camp that during another deportation, on September 19, 1943, the police inspectors dealing with Jewish affairs carried out a most degrading search with the assistance of an S.S. detachment. They forced men and women to undress and to remain out-of-doors in the nude from noon to 5 p.m.

At the outset, crippled war veterans, prisoners' wives, old people above 60, pregnant women, mothers of tiny infants, and those married to "Aryans" were not deported. But later only those married to "Aryans" were excepted; and they were sent to labor camps in Paris or to camps of the Todt organization, to build the Atlantic Wall.

One of the most dramatic raids was that of July 16-17, 1942 at Paris. Measures had been taken to arrest 25,000 foreign Jews, men, women, children, and old people. It was the first time that in the course of a large-scale raid, women and children had been seized. Thanks to advance information, a good many of those who were on the lists were able to hide. Nevertheless, the police made 15,000 arrests. On Thursday July 16, at 4 o'clock in the morning, 5,000 gardes-mobiles were sent with lists of names to various sections of Paris, especially those where foreign Jews lived. They appeared in pairs at apartments, accompanied by a person in civilian clothes, probably a Gestapo agent. The cries of women and children resounded in the streets. People gathered from all sides as the unfortunates were taken away. The arrested Jews were led to trucks that were waiting at street corners. Passersby offered to take some of the children to their own homes. Not having received any explicit orders, the policemen did not dare allow them to do so. In general, the police behaved with a good deal of human feeling and some of them even wept.
The arrests continued the next day. Persons without any family were immediately sent to Drancy. The others—about 9,000, 4,000 of them children—were sent to the Vélodrome d’Hiver while waiting to be transferred to the camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande.

But at the Vélodrome d’Hiver no preparations had been made to house so many people. The newcomers sat down on the stone steps and were forbidden to leave their seats. They were not allowed on the lawn or racetrack where they might have stretched out to sleep, these two places having been reserved for sick people on stretchers.

Most of the internees had brought no food with them. The National Aid (Secours National) offered to distribute some but was only given the right to do so after the second day. The Red Cross was authorized to organize medical aid. But sick people could only be evacuated by the doctor of the Prefecture who was not on the spot and who had to be consulted in each individual case by telephone. He was told about one child who had caught scarlet fever and two others with measles. On the pretext that the symptoms of the disease were not clear enough, he refused to evacuate them. The result was a triple epidemic of diphtheria, scarlet fever and measles which broke out a little later in the camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande, involving 300 children, several of whom died. Hygienic conditions at the Beaune-la-Rolande Camp were shocking. There was neither drinking water nor water for toilet purposes. The firemen had to install a pipe which, connected with a hydrant on the outside, crossed the entire enclosure and emptied out in a small court. A single outlet of water for 9,000 internees! Because of the lack of toilets, children and sick people could not wait to satisfy their needs. Small children could neither be washed nor changed. Medical visits took place in public, even examinations by gynecologists. To prevent curious bystanders and children from approaching, the doctor placed a human wall of gendarmes, nurses and assistants around the person he was examining. The internees remained in that state for from 5 to 8 days, according to their condition.

They were then transferred, some to the camp at Pithiviers, others to the camp at Beaune-la-Rolande. There, parents were separated from children less than 12 years of
age. Mothers were brutally beaten because they refused to part with their little ones. Parents and grown children were deported. The youngsters from 2 to 12 remained in the camp, facing a precarious future.

Numerous Jews and non-Jews offered to take them in. The General Union of the Jews of France attempted to obtain permission to place them either in orphanages or with families. These attempts were unsuccessful. Children were sent to Drancy and from there, deported in groups of 500. As in the case of the adults, they were transported in sealed cattle cars. To watch over them, there was one woman for every ten children, and some of the children even traveled in the cattle cars without anyone to take care of them. When they left, they received a piece of bread and a can of condensed milk. It is difficult to visualize in what condition they arrived at their destination after several days' journey, if in fact they arrived alive. And as if that were not horrible enough, many of the youngsters from 2 to 5 were deported without anyone knowing their names, since they could not be identified at Drancy.

Unoccupied France

When France fell, Jews who were not French, stateless, or citizens of countries at war with France were in various camps in the central and southern part of the country. Toward the end of 1940, they were sent to Gurs (Basses-Pyrénées). In October, the Nazis drove 7,500 Jews from the German provinces of Baden and the Palatinate. Complete German Jewish communities arrived with their religious and social leaders in France, where they were interned at Gurs under the most appalling conditions. Jews lived in crowded barracks sleeping on the ground, devoured by vermin, suffering from hunger and cold in a damp and muddy region. During the one winter of 1940–1941, they suffered 800 deaths. In January 1941, families with children were sent to Rivesaltes (Pyrénées Orientales), where the situation was just
about as bad. Over this stony and desert-like earth, the wind from the north, the *Tramontane*, blew in gales. Sick people from Gurs were sent to the camp of Noé (Haute-Garonne). The other principal camps were those of Récébedou (Haute Garonne), Le Vernet (Ariège) and Les Milles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Other measures were taken with regard to foreign Jews. On December 10, 1941, an announcement was made in the press that all Jews residing in France who had entered the country since January 1, 1936 would be grouped either into companies of foreign workers or in special centers. The only ones excepted from this measure were those who enjoyed effective protection from their country of birth or of any other country whose nationality they had acquired, and those who could point to certain marks of distinction, particularly those of a military nature. Foreign Jews from 18 to 55 possessing no means of existence or aided by charitable organizations, were organized into work battalions. Those who had financial resources were forced to reside in special centers, called centers of assigned residence.

The situations in the labor battalions differed widely according to the men who commanded them. Many Jews were made to do work for which they were neither physically nor intellectually fit. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, and merchants had to dig canals, chop down trees from a steep mountain slope, or break rocks on the road. At Montlouis (Pyrénées Orientales), they had to work as ditchdiggers. If they did not furnish the requisite amount of work, not only were they not paid but they had to pay in a certain sum to the boss of the job.

The unoccupied zone also had to furnish its quota of deportees. In August 1942, about 15,000 foreign Jews were handed over to the Germans by the Vichy Government, most of them taken from internees in the various camps. Other deportees had been arrested in the course of raids and came from diverse regions, especially around Nice. These convoys did not pass Drancy but went instead directly to Eastern Europe.
In the Two Zones

After November 11, 1942, when the Germans occupied all of Metropolitan France as a result of the landing of American troops in North Africa, large-scale arrests took place in Southern France. At Marseilles, on January 22 and 23, 1943, police raids took place day and night in every section of the city. Individuals arrested were taken to headquarters of the Sûreté Nationale for verification of their identity, and all those whose identification cards bore the word "Jew" were not released. On January 24, a train bearing 1,500 people was sent to Compiègne, including a good many Jews. For some time, as a result of efforts exerted at Marseilles as well as in Vichy, there was some hope that the French Jews arrested at Marseilles would be freed; but such was not the case.

Fleeing the German zone, many of our co-religionists went to Southeastern France, which the Italians had just occupied. There they were in safety. The Italian authorities did not disturb them and often took them under their protection. But the situation of the Jews in this region suddenly became tragic right after the armistice with Italy. In September 1943, the Germans made sweeping raids at Nice, Grenoble, Chambéry, and Aix-les Bains—taking vengeance on the Jews for the kindness shown them by the Italian authorities. The Gestapo was especially active at Nice; arrests occurred in hotels, on the street, in railway stations, trains, and private houses. In the case of men, the police no longer relied on identification cards, making them undress to see if they were circumcised. Gestapo agents and their French collaborators, militiamen and followers of Doriot, followed the same shameful practice in other cities every time they doubted the real identity of the man under arrest. For the five months during which the hunt for Jews continued at Nice, more than 5,000 Jews were deported. To escape the German police, those who could not leave the district in time hid in cellars, attics, and in barns or took refuge in the caves of nearby mountains.

Many labor battalions made up of foreign workmen were dissolved and the members were deported. In many reception centers the Jewish population was deported.
In the entire formerly free zone, even where there were no large-scale raids, Jews were seized daily for the most varied and contradictory reasons. Some were arrested for having broken the law ordering them to write "Jew" on their identification cards, others because they had that word marked on their papers. The Gestapo deported Jews because they needed their apartments. Fake policemen visited Jews and seized everything they could lay their hands on. When the victims complained, they were handed over to the Germans shortly thereafter.

In the formerly occupied zone arrests took place for the most trivial reasons: for having badly sewed on the Jewish star, for having made purchases outside the fixed hours, for having been out-of-doors during an air-raid alarm. The situation at Drancy, to which the arrested Jews were sent, became unbearable with the arrival in June 1943 of Hauptsturmführer Bruner. To get rid of embarrassing witnesses, Bruner dismissed representatives of the French police and replaced them with S.S. men. The internees had to suffer all sorts of brutality. One S.S. man took pleasure in beating with a club all those he met on his path. Among the punishments enforced was that of the knife planted in the earth. Having dug a knife into the ground, an S.S. man ordered an internee to walk all around it and each time the unfortunate passed in front of him he lashed out with his club. This depraved game ended only when the Jew fainted away from exhaustion. Bruner often forced internees to hit others, while carrying out orders for corporal punishment that he had given. He also created a special police force to visit families who had one member at Drancy and to invite them, on the threat of shooting the internee, to re-enter the camp "voluntarily." In this way, he obtained a certain number of "voluntary" internees.

In addition to the deportations, the many executions created a reign of terror over the unfortunate Jewish population. Whenever the occupying authorities executed hostages as a result of a patriotic attack, they never failed to choose some of the Jews interned in the camps or held in prison. Yet these executions proved unable to prevent such attacks or to check the mounting activities of the patriots.

From the beginning of 1944 on, the Germans were forced
to resort to large scale expeditions against the various maquis forces. The Hitlerites, growing desperate in the villages and countryside, singled out the Jews for their assaults. Beginning in March 1944, the Dordogne was the scene of German atrocities. More than a thousand Jews were arrested and deported, about 150 were executed. Many Jewish families lived for a time hidden in the woods to escape these massacres and deportations.

After the liberation of France many mass graves, in which almost all the corpses were Jews, were revealed to the world!

At the airport of Bron, near Lyons, 109 corpses of men and women were found in five vaults. They had been hastily buried on the very spot where they had fallen. Up to now, 73 Jews have been identified, among them young people from 14 to 17. That massacre took place on August 17 and 18. The victims were taken in trucks to the airfield and forced to dig up unexploded bombs dropped by the RAF. When their work was done, they were executed.

At Saint-Amand-Montrond (Cher), on the night of July 22-23, 36 Jews were arrested and taken to the prison of Bourges. There, a light truck came for them and for a long time their fate remained unknown. But one of them succeeded in escaping the militiamen who were escorting them. Thanks to his information, a search was made after the Liberation in the vicinity of the place to which the Jews had been transported. Finally, three pits were uncovered on the property of Guéry, at Savigny-en-Septaine (Cher). Under enormous boulders, some of them weighing more than 100 pounds each, 35 horribly mutilated corpses were found. An inquest revealed that these unfortunates had been tossed alive into the pits and crushed by heavy rocks.

Official Protests

French Jewry, as long as it was able to, protested vehemently and energetically against the anti-Jewish measures, arrests, and massacres.

In October 1940, even before the Jewish Statute was promulgated, and when a communiqué issued by the Council of
Ministers indicated that such a Statute was being prepared, Isaiah Schwartz, the Grand Rabbi of France, demanded an audience with Marshal Pétain. General Brécart, secretary-general, received the Grand Rabbi in the name of the Marshal. The spiritual leader of French Jewry discussed with him the question of the Statute and the abrogation of the Crémieux Decree, handing him a memorandum in which, in the name of the Jews, he protested against any discrimination among citizens because of their religion or race. When the Statute in question was published, a “Declaration of the Grand Rabbi of France in the name of the French Jews” was addressed on October 22 to the Chief of State and all his ministers. This Declaration stated in part:

“By imposing on the Jews this dishonorable Statute, the new legislation only increases their sorrows... The law promulgated against the Jews, containing an arbitrary definition of the Jewish race, thus most seriously violates their freedom of conscience. Nonetheless, the Jews declare that they are neither a racial minority nor a political minority but only a religious community. The Jews protest against the infamous accusations of internationalism and anarchism which have been levelled against them and proudly affirm their love of their fatherland; those Jews who have fallen by the side of their comrades-in-arms have, moreover, given striking proof of that fact.”

On two occasions, in March 1941 and February 1943, the Grand Rabbi of France was received by Marshal Pétain, to whom he renewed orally his protests against the anti-Jewish measures of the Government.

The Grand Rabbi of Paris, Julien Weill, and the Paris community also sent a letter to Marshal Pétain. The communication, dated October 23, 1940, contained the following:

“The French law does not in appearance violate freedom of religion, since it proceeds from the ethnic point of view. But the studies of anthropology have proved beyond a doubt that there is no such thing as a ‘Jewish race.’ The execution of this law, therefore, is only possible on a religious basis,
as is the case of the German ordinance, and thus gravely violates the traditional liberty of France."

Other protests followed as the anti-Jewish policies of the Vichy Government became clearer. A good many of them came from Jacques Helbronner, president of the Central Consistory of the Jews of France. His protest of July 1, 1941, sent to Marshal Pétain, dealing with the law modifying the Statute of the Jews, declared:

"Nonetheless French Jews will not attempt to repress their natural sentiments of hatred and contempt toward their persecutors and will preserve their faith in the destiny of eternal France, in order to obtain their just revenge for the law which has today been violated."

When the Government announced the plan to create a General Union of the Jews of France, the Central Consistory on October 26, 1941 addressed a solemn protest in the form of a motion to Marshal Pétain, to the Keeper of the Seal, and to the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs. This motion declared:

"The Central Consistory again solemnly protests against this measure which tends to deprive French citizens and foreigners of the Jewish faith, their religious communities as well as their charitable institutions, of the protection of the law, and constitutes one step more toward the re-establishment of a real Ghetto.

"In the religious and cultural field, the Consistory refuses to take into consideration a text which is so contrary to the fundamental tenets of French public order: freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, freedom of association, and equality of all French citizens before the law.

"Nevertheless, the Consistory considers that it is its duty, in the social and philanthropic field, urgently to call the attention of the authorities to the grave dangers which such a dissolution of the already coordinated private institutions of Jewish welfare, would entail, without having first considered the serious consequences for the thousands of unfortunate human beings for whom they are providing . . . ""
On June 22, 1942, the Central Consistory took its stand against the law forcing Jews in the occupied zone to wear a Jewish star. In its statement it declared:

"The Central Consistory of the Jews of France declares that the law forcing Jews remaining in the Occupied zone to wear a special mark goes beyond the stipulations of the Armistice as well as the International Conventions governing occupation.

"It feels that by no longer opposing this law, at least passively, the authorities have added to all the exceptional measures already applied an act of incomparable gravity, both because of the demoralization its provokes among Frenchmen henceforth, as in the Middle Ages, openly branded with shame and, despite their undeniable sense of civic duty, exposed to further persecutions, as well as because of the material consequences it entails, threatening by isolating them, to make their lives in the capital and larger cities very difficult if not impossible."

Among the protests expressed in various Jewish circles against these acts of persecution, we must quote that of the ex-servicemen. A delegation led by General André Boris, former Inspector General of the Artillery and member of the Central Consistory, was received on August 11, 1941 by Xavier Vallat, General Commissaire for Jewish Affairs. This delegation consisted of 18 ex-servicemen, including four of the members of the Central Consistory and one Rabbi, all veterans of either World War I or World War II or both, possessing 56 citations, 2 military medals, and 18 Legions of Honor for military exploits. Their protest ran as follows:

"Contrary to what you may believe, Monsieur le Commissaire Général, we do not come to ask favors or exceptions of you. Nor even the slightest relaxation of a rigorous Statute which, in our eyes, is valid only insofar as we are legally forced to comply with it and does not signify any agreement on our part."

The protest closed with the following words:

"Would the General Commissar for Jewish Affairs consider subversive a statement drawn up by Jewish ex-service-
men, war wounded, widows, orphans and descendants of such men, and written in the following terms:

"We solemnly declare that we renounce any exceptional benefits we may derive from our status as ex-servicemen. The French Jews who died for France, whom we represent, and those who have fought for her do not wish to beg in humiliating fashion for exceptions to a law which, as you yourself have declared, does not except any Jews anywhere—and by the same token, his family—from all of the consequences resulting from his juridical status as a Jew.

"Among the French Jews, those who have given their lives, the wounded who have given their blood, the living who wear its decorations did not think that they had given their lives or received their honors for a country which would reject them.

"Through our voice, the fathers and descendants of our dead, our surviving wounded and crippled declare that, far from denying France despite all that they have suffered, they mean to add their silent sacrifice of today to their sacrifices of former years.

"So, in a juster and freer future, they hope to deserve doubly the name of Frenchmen which they will never relinquish in their hearts even if it is taken away from them by force."

But all these protests were in vain. Moreover, the Government denied that it was pursuing an anti-Semitic policy; and it invoked reasons of state to justify its move. That is what the chef de cabinet of Xavier Vallat, General Commissar for Jewish Affairs, wrote on July 5, 1941 to Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, in reply to a protest which the latter had sent him when the law on a census for Jews was promulgated: "There is no anti-Semitism in the Government’s attitude, simply the application of reasons of state.” (See Supplementary Document No. 2).

There even came a time when these protests were dangerous. One of them, addressed on August 2, 1943 to Pierre Laval, head of the Government, and signed by the president of the Central Consistory and the Grand Rabbi of France, caused the arrest and deportation of Jacques Helbronner
and his wife. The signatories had protested the arrest, on July 22, of André Baur, vice-president of the board of the General Union of the Jews of France, and of his family on the pretext that two internees had escaped from the camp of Drancy, and against the vile treatment accorded our co-religionists in that camp. The Gestapo of Marseilles had found a copy of that letter in the office of Raymond-Raoul Lambert, director of the General Union of the Jews of France, who was himself arrested on August 21 and deported together with his entire family.

The president of the Central Consistory was arrested on October 23, 1943. The vice-president, Léon Meiss, former Councilor at the Court of Nancy, succeeded him as head of the Central Consistory.

The turn of the Grand Rabbi of France came next. Gestapo agents came to the offices of the Central Consistory at Lyons in November 1943, thinking that they would find him there. He happened to be out of the office. Arrested six weeks later, in January 1944, he succeeded fortunately in escaping from the militiamen instructed to take him into custody.

The Central Consistory named Auxiliary Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan temporary Grand Rabbi of France.

III

MORAL AND MATERIAL AID

Charity in the Camps

Unmoved by protests, the Vichy Government implemented its program of anti-Jewish persecution. The first urgent task facing the leaders of French Jewry was to procure for the Jews who had lost any chance to earn a living and were without resources, the means of continuing to keep alive. Later there arose the necessity of providing, insofar as possible, for feeding internees in the
occupied and unoccupied zones, for taking care of children deprived of their parents, and for teaching new trades to those who could no longer exercise their former occupations. This task was accomplished thanks to intensified efforts by the already existing welfare organizations: the Federation of Jewish Societies of France, the Community for Aid to Refugees (CAR), OSE, ORT, HICEM, the Jewish Boy Scouts of France, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the Center of Professional Reclassification, and thanks also to the creation of new welfare organizations such as the Society for Aiding the Evacuated Populations of Alsace-Lorraine, and the Mutual Aid Society of French Jewry. All the Jewish welfare organizations had united in a Central Committee set up first at Vichy and later at Marseilles.

The unhappy plight of foreign Jews, those in the camps as well as those in the labor battalions and reception centers, was also of grave concern to the leaders of French Jewry. The rabbis were the first to give to the internees the spiritual and material assistance they needed. For a time, in fact, they were the only ones authorized to visit the camps. The central committee of the Jewish Society for Mutual Aid created a camp committee, which aimed at centralizing the aid given the internees by the leading Jewish organizations, and maintained intimate contact with the Coordinating Committee for Aid in the Camps founded in December 1940. It included French and foreign welfare organizations, among which were the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the YMCA, the International Migration Service, the Quakers, etc. The Jews were not the only ones in the camp and labor battalions, which included thousands of “Aryans,” especially Spaniards.

Following the example set by other religious faiths, the Jews created a chaplains service in April 1942. It was composed of a head chaplain, René Hirschler, Grand Rabbi of Strasbourg, regional chaplains, and auxiliary chaplains. It maintained contact with the Department of Social Service for Foreigners at Vichy. On a visit to this department, the head chaplain and Léon Meiss learned that a large-scale roundup of foreign Jews was being prepared for August 26, 1942. They immediately notified all communities in the unoccupied zone. Thousands of Jews hid and were thus
able to escape arrest. In some places, the police found only 12 percent of the Jews they had been instructed to apprehend.

The duties of the chaplains were both spiritual and social. They organized religious services in the camps, taught Judaism to the children, and distributed food and clothing. They also made numerous requests to the proper authorities with a view to liberating certain internees, and obtained noteworthy results. The Jewish chaplains service and camp committees extended their field of action to include young French Jews subject to the forced labor law. The law of February 16, 1943 provided that all or a part of this term of forced labor be spent in Germany. The Germans, however, opposed the sending of Jews as laborers to Germany. They also refused to accept Jews in the Todt organization in France and in French factories managed by Germans. In accordance with instructions of the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, young Jews simply by presenting their identification cards marked “Jew,” were selected for French factories situated in France.

Nevertheless after August 1943, French Jews called up for forced labor were sent to enterprises controlled by the Todt organization, under the command and administration of Frenchmen. In certain of these camps, such as Malaval (Bouches-du-Rhône), Miramas (B.-du-Rhône) et Noé (Haute-Garonne), they were treated with extreme harshness, living like convicts. When notified of this, the French authorities declared that they were powerless to improve conditions of the Jews in the camps.

An organization was set up with a view to sending packages to internees, foreign workers, and those doing forced labor. In November 1943, about a thousand individuals began monthly to send packages representing a total value of more than a hundred and fifty thousand francs. Mme. René Hirschler, wife of the head chaplain, became president of this society which rendered enormous services to our fellow Jews. On December 22, 1942, the head chaplain and his wife were deported. Rabbi Henri Schilli, a regional chaplain, became head chaplain.

The law of November 29, 1941, creating the General Union of the Jews of France had, it may be recalled, ordered the
dissolution of all welfare organizations. The latter were therefore dissolved. But although officially merged in the General Union of the Jews of France, they succeeded in retaining their personnel and continued their work as in the past. It then became necessary for them to obtain the necessary financial resources in order to avoid having recourse to the measures provided by the law in question, which set up a special tax to be paid by the Jews and which had envisaged making use of the solidarity fund created by the law of July 22, 1941—which would have constituted a new stage in the spoliation of Jewish wealth.

It was decided to launch an intensive fund-raising campaign throughout the country. It took the name of the Fund of the Grand Rabbi of France; and André Weill, a member of the Central Consistory, became the guiding spirit of the campaign. It was launched among the Jews of France, especially those who had been evacuated to the unoccupied zone. Those in the occupied zone had had a fine of a billion francs inflicted on them in December 1941; and in order to raise this sum, they had been forbidden to dispose of any wealth they still possessed. The efforts of French Jewry were augmented thanks to the generous and untiring cooperation of the J. D. C., which pledged to double the amount collected.

But from month to month the situation of the French Jews worsened. The Fund of the Grand Rabbi of France was no longer able to furnish the sums needed, and so a tax was levied. It amounted to 120 francs per adult in the occupied zone and 360 francs in the unoccupied region. Nor was it possible to avoid using some of the funds from the sale of Jewish properties: this amounted to 80 million francs spent, in accordance with the law of July 22, 1941, for purposes of temporary administration. The J. D. C., directed in France by Jules Jeffroykin and Maurice Brener, assisted magnificently wherever and whenever French Jews were no longer in a position to raise the necessary money to relieve Jewish distress. The J. D. C. called upon Joseph Fisher, general secretary of the Keren Kayemeth and member of the Central Consistory, and Nahum Herman (deported), secretary of the Keren Hayesod, to devise ways and means of raising the necessary funds in France. After
April 1944, Joseph Fisher assumed the entire burden himself. While aiding all needy Jews, especially foreign Jews who no longer dared to appear at the offices of the General Union of the Jews of France for fear of being arrested by the Germans, as had been the case in several different localities, the Fund of the Grand Rabbi of France and above all the J. D. C. placed considerable sums of money at the disposal of the underground welfare organizations.

Underground Work

It was not long before French Jewry realized that the only way of saving the Jews from deportation was to "Aryanize" them. Efforts were at first concentrated on children whose parents had been deported since, as a result of the shift in families carried out by the Germans, these children likewise ran the risk of being arrested and deported. They received false identification cards, as did later those children whose parents requested it. Some were placed with non-Jewish families, others in schools, and still others in Christian institutions.

Nowhere in France, however, could they enjoy real safety. Outside of France, especially in Switzerland, their safety was assured. Hence, secret convoys of children were organized to that country. Young boys and girls, most of them members of the Jewish Boy Scouts of France, which had created a special department for this work known under the name of "The Sixth," or belonging to the Zionist Youth Movement which had set up a similar movement under the name of "Physical Education," devoted themselves to this work. They procured false identification cards, investigated villages where they might place children, visited those who were already there in families or institutions, set up connections between them and their parents, and organized convoys which brought them secretly over the French-Swiss border.

Several thousand children were thus saved, though not without terrible risks for those who took charge of the work. Of the 88 young men and women who did this underground work, 4 were slain and 26 deported. Among those who fell
were Marc Haguenau, general secretary of the Jewish Boy Scouts of France, who died on February 9, 1944 at the hospital of Grenoble, where the Germans had transported him in a severely wounded condition, claiming that he had fallen out of the window of the house in which they had kept him; David Donoff who died on June 27, 1944 in a hospital in Lyons as result of wounds, at the age of 24; and Marianne Cohn (called Colin), who was arrested at Annemasse with a convoy of children she was accompanying to Switzerland. She could have been freed as an “Aryan,” but insisted on remaining with her children and caring for them. Her body was found after the Liberation in a mass grave. She had been killed on July 8 at the age of 23.

As the situation deteriorated, the Jews had no chance to escape except by changing their identity. Many decided to do so. This method, however, did not always succeed, especially in the case of men, since there was always the risk of medical inspection. This extensive camouflage was possible thanks to the sympathy and understanding of the general population.

Help of the French Population

A large number of Frenchmen: priests, ministers, free-thinkers, intellectuals, manufacturers, workers, and peasants of both sexes, did their utmost to find havens for the hunted Jews, considering it their imperative duty to help them. The persecutions had shocked the innate sentiments of justice and humanity of the French people. To this must be added the profound hatred felt toward the forces of occupation, for all the harm they were doing to the country.

In July 1942, after the tragic scenes in the Vélodrome d’Hiver, the Cardinals and Archbishops of the occupied zone sent a memorandum to Marshal Pétain in which they wrote:

“... We cannot stifle the cry of our country. We raise our voices in the name of humanity and Christian principles to protest in favor of the inalienable rights of the human being.
"This is also a passionate appeal to pity for these terrible sufferings, especially those affecting so many mothers and children."

On August 20, 1942, the Council of the Protestant Federation, under the signature of its president, Pastor Marc Boegner, wrote to Marshal Pétain protesting against the deportation of Jews and the inhuman manner in which orders for these deportations were being carried out:

"... France's stubborn loyalty to her traditions of human generosity and spiritual nobility, even and especially during the tragic days through which she has been living for the past two years, remains one of the basic reasons for the respect which many other nations continue to feel for her. As vice-president of the Oecumenical Council of the Christian Churches, embracing all the important Christian sects, apart from the Roman Catholic Church, I cannot refrain from conveying to you the profound emotion felt by the churches of Switzerland, Sweden, and the United States, at the news of what is going on at this very moment in France and which is known to the entire world.

"I beseech you, Monsieur le Maréchal, to take the requisite measures to prevent France from inflicting upon herself a moral defeat, the consequences of which would be incalculable..."

At Lyons, an organization known as the "Christian Friendship" was formed in 1941 and headed by Catholics and Protestants, in order to help persecuted Jews and place their children in Christian institutions, with a pledge of the ecclesiastical authorities not to convert any of the children. At the time of the deportations of August 1942, families arrested in the unoccupied zone were able either to take their children with them or to give them over to a Jewish or non-Jewish institution. About 100 children were entrusted to the OSE at Lyons. But as a result of a counter-order from Vichy, the police chief of Lyons demanded them on September 1, 1942 and informed the OSE that he would come for them that very afternoon. A freight car was waiting in the station to be attached to a train of deportees which was to bring them to the occupied zone. The "Christian Friendship" took these children under its
wing, so that when the police appeared at the OSE office, the children were no longer there. For this, sanctions were taken against the Rev. Father Chaillet, one of the leaders of “Christian Friendship,” who was kept for a time under house arrest.

In both Catholic and Protestant churches, men of religion publicly expressed the emotion which these tragic events had provoked in the country. Pastoral letters were read to the faithful. (See below Supplementary Document No. 3, the letter of the Bishop of Montauban.)

Much earlier, at the end of 1941, Paul Claudel, the great Catholic writer and Ambassador of France, had written to the Grand Rabbi of France to tell him of “the disgust, horror, and indignation,” which all good Frenchmen felt in the face of the anti-Jewish persecutions. (See Supplementary Document, No. 4.)

Political leaders insisted on expressing to the Grand Rabbi of France and the Central Consistory, either by letter or orally, their profound sympathy before this “flouting of human rights and French traditions.” (See the letter of Jules Jeanneney, president of the Senate, and Edouard Herriot, president of the Chamber of Deputies in Supplementary Document No. 5.)

Jews in the Resistance Movement

Jews did not disguise themselves only to seek safety. They became “Aryans” in order to fight more effectively against the enemy. A great many of them took an active part in the resistance movements. In 1942, at the initiative of the Zionist Youth of Toulouse, a group called “Jewish Armed Forces” was created and placed under the orders of the Zionist Organization of France which, from 1943 on, had sections in the principal cities of France under the name of A.J. (Jewish Army). In the beginning, their task was to send young Jews eager to enlist in the Palestinian armed forces or those of General de Gaulle into Spain. Later the A.J. became a combat unit within France itself, taking the name of O.J.C. (Jewish Organizations of Combat). In Jan-
January 1944, it created a *maquis* group in the mountains of Tarn. This was the Jewish squad of the Free Corps of the Black Mountain. Several German divisions attacked them in July. Lieutenant Raymond Lévy, known as Leblond, leader of this squad, was taken prisoner and executed. But the group re-formed almost immediately afterwards, participating in the battles which occurred after Allied troops landed on the Mediterranean at St.-Pons and Moulène, and taking many prisoners.

The Jewish Boy Scouts of France also participated in the armed struggle, joining the O.J.C. They had their *maquis* in the Tarn mountains at Lamalquière and Sarrié. The group at Sarrié, consisting of very orthodox young people, was a kind of secret Yeshiva, which did not, however, neglect military training. The group at Lamalquière, a splendid fighting force, was led by Lieutenant Roger (Cahen). About 50 non-Jews were members of this force. It became so numerous that it formed a company with three sections, under the command of Captain Robert Gamzon (known as Lagnes), national head of the Jewish Boy Scouts of France. The company took the name of Marc Haguenau, in memory of the general secretary of the Jewish Boy Scouts of France, who had been killed by the Germans in Grenoble. On August 19, 1944, these troops attacked an armored train at Mazamet (Tarn). After a twenty-four hour battle, the Germans were beaten and surrendered. Considerable booty and about fifty prisoners were taken. “You are surrendering to a Jew,” said Lieutenant Roger to the German commander. As a result of this exploit, Mazamet was liberated by the Marc Haguenau Company.

The Jewish Boy Scouts took part in the capture of Castres and paraded with the other troops through the liberated city.

The Marc Haguenau Company joined forces with the First French Army and fought in the Belfort region where it suffered heavy losses.

Young Jewish Communists formed free corps in various cities throughout the country. In Paris, Michel Rayman, member of the F.P.P. (*Francs-Tireurs et Partisans*), took part in August 1943 in the execution of General von Schauem-
burg and in September 1943 in that of Julius Ritter, head of the organization sending forced labor to Germany. Rayman paid with his life for his heroism—on March 21, 1944, he was shot at the age of 19.

Two companies, the Michel Rayman, named after the above, and the Marcel Langer fought actively in the battles for the liberation of Paris.

On August 19, a Jewish combat group proceeded in automobiles to liberate the camp at Drancy. To arrive there it had to pass through a German cordon surrounding the capital. At Drancy, they were pleasantly surprised to find the camp free of Germans and for the past three days under the protection of the Red Cross, as a result of an agreement reached between the Swedish Consul and the German Commander of Greater Paris. The Red Cross was preparing to free the internees but forty of them had been taken away as hostages by the hateful torturer Bruner. The last convoy of deportees to leave Drancy had departed in July 1941 and included 400 children. Another convoy was scheduled for August 13 but did not leave because of what ensued. 1,800 internees thus regained their freedom.

In addition to these young people who considered it a matter of honor to fight as Jews, there were others who entered the Resistance movement and fought under a false name side by side with their comrades of other faiths. Many of them distinguished themselves and died as heroes. The head of liaison for the Southern zone was a Jew, Gilles Lévy de Souza, known as Chambrey. He was arrested and executed by the Germans in 1944, at the age of 22. In September 1944, on his first visit to Lyons, General de Gaulle paid tribute to his memory. It was likewise the Jew, Maurice Loebenberg, known as Cachoud, who in 1944 reorganized the supply of false identification papers for the National Liberation Movement, furnishing tens of thousands of food cards, work cards, demobilization notices, and all the other necessary documents. Arrested on July 17, he underwent terrible torture. He was 28 years old.

It was a young Jewish woman, Paula, who stole the plans for the launching platforms of the V-1 bombs and those of
the underground Gestapo in Paris. The Germans deported her in August 1944 together with the hostages of Drancy.

The Central Consistory under the presidency of Léon Meiss took an increasingly active part in all kinds of underground work: supplying false identification papers, removing children to safety in Switzerland, and maintaining contact with the leaders of the fighting groups of the underground. The latter, a new form of activity, became its principal task in 1944.

But the Gestapo was watching, and the Central Consistory felt itself in danger. Toward the end of May, the head of the Lyons Gestapo, accompanied by three police officers, visited the offices of the Consistory to find out what was going on there.

On June 13, the German police swooped down on the Lyons synagogue on Quai Tilsit, arresting the officiating rabbi, the secretary, the caretaker, and a few members of the congregation who were present.

The Central Consistory then decided to close its offices and enter boldly upon underground work. Two or three days later, militiamen and followers of Doriot occupied its headquarters. The few members of the Consistory who remained at their post held meetings in private houses or cafés.

The formation of the C.R.I.F.—Representative Committee of the Jews of France—dates from these heroic days. The Central Consistory, the French Social Welfare Organizations, the Zionist Organization, the Federation of Jewish Societies, the Bund, the Jewish Communists, the Union of Jews for Resistance and Aid, and the Action Committee of Jewish Youth came together and set up a united front against the enemy, under the chairmanship of Léon Meiss.

Their meetings were not without danger. Leaving one of them, Léon Meiss barely escaped arrest at the hands of men armed with tommy-guns who had come to get him. The meeting had ended a few minutes before.

The temporary Grand Rabbi of France, Jacob Kaplan, was arrested on August 1 in the street by three members of the French Popular Party working for the German police.
They searched his home hoping to find proof of underground work, and questioned him at length. But not having discovered anything after having detained him for several hours, they decided to release him without handing him over to the Germans.

**Religious Life**

Religious life under the occupation deserves a special section. Officially, the Germans did not attack religion, but in practice synagogues were destroyed or damaged by bombs and grenades. Scrolls of the Law were mutilated and trampled underfoot; Jews praying in synagogues were assaulted and many arrested; and numerous rabbis were deported.

At the outset of the occupation, some synagogues were completely razed, especially in Alsace-Lorraine, including the great Strasbourg Synagogue. During 1941, frequent attacks were made against religious institutions. Bombs damaged the Jewish Reformed Temple in Marseilles in May, that of Vichy in August, and that of Paris in October.

In Paris, seven synagogues were despoiled during the night of October 2, 1941. Fortunately, there were no human casualties but considerable material damage was caused in many places.

Throughout 1942, there was a series of assaults on Jews who had gathered in their houses of worship. Thus in June, about thirty young people armed with clubs and iron bars broke into the synagogue on Rue Dubouchage at Nice, beating those they found inside and injuring many, destroying religious objects, and tearing to pieces a Scroll of the Law.

At Paris, on the night of July 20, six members of the French Popular Party broke open the door of the synagogue on Rue de la Victoire and, after beating up the caretaker, defiled the altar, mutilated the Scroll, and trampled on it.

The right of asylum in synagogues was not respected. When in August the French police hunted down foreign Jews to send them into camps, hundreds of individuals sought refuge in houses of worship, especially in Lyons and Toulouse. At Lyons, Jews remained in the synagogue for several weeks,
sleeping on benches and fed by the Jewish community. Thanks to the devotion of the heads of the synagogue and of charitable individuals, many of the women, children, and sick people were placed in individual homes or institutions. To justify this influx of Jews into the synagogue in the eyes of the authorities, a letter of the Grand Rabbi of France ordered public prayers to be held day and night in view of the sorrows visited upon Jewry; and a notice to that effect was posted at the entrance of the synagogue. The police, who were not unaware of what was going on, visited the place to investigate and seemed at first unwilling to take any action. But on the night of October 20, they broke into the building and arrested all foreign Jews found there—about fifty people in all. The next day, Jacques Helbrunner, president of the Central Consistory, protested energetically to the chief of police. As a result, most of the individuals arrested were released.

The next year, on Wednesday, August 25, 1943, some twenty militiamen rushed into the synagogue at Toulouse, forbade anyone present to leave, proceeded to question them, seized them, and announced that in the morning they would be executed in reprisal for an attack on a militiaman. All night the condemned prayed before the open Ark of the Covenant, Rabbi Mosse leading them in services. At daybreak, at the insistence of the rabbi, a priest was permitted to visit them. He intervened in their behalf, but it was not until the beginning of the afternoon that the chief of police came and issued orders to free them.

On October 9, Yom Kippur, the Gestapo appeared at the synagogue of Enghien-les-Bains near Paris during the morning service. All the worshippers, numbering 35, were arrested and taken in cars to the Kommandantur. Several of them were then sent to Drancy.

On December 10, grenades were hurled into the synagogue of Lyons during a Friday evening service, wounding ten worshippers, men and women.

Despite all these attacks, religious services were held regularly in the communities. It was only after the Gestapo began to make arrests within the houses of worship that some of them were closed. In Lyons, services were held
every morning and evening until June 13, 1944, when the officiating rabbi, the secretary, the caretaker, and several members of the congregation were arrested in the synagogue building. The synagogue itself was occupied shortly thereafter by gangs of militiamen and members of the Doriot party. At Paris, services took place almost without interruption, with the Grand Rabbi of Paris, Julien Weill, who remained in the capital during the German occupation, officiating.

Rabbis were naturally in a particularly exposed position since their religious duties kept them in the public eye. As early as 1942, four of them were searched by the police. According to the reply of the Secretary of State for the Interior to the letter of protest of the Grand Rabbi of France, the police were said to have discovered documents proving that members of the rabbinate were in contact with the Independent Order of B’nai B’rith. The Grand Rabbi then declared that the Order of B’nai B’rith was entirely independent of the two rites of world freemasonry. The rabbis involved were no longer molested after that.

But soon arrests of rabbis began in various communities. Eighteen French rabbis were deported: four of them, including Rabbi Wiener, Grand Rabbi of Belgium, were more than 75 years old. One rabbi was shot: Samuel Weiss, chaplain of the Jewish Youth and maquis groups, appointed in January 1944 assistant to the temporary Grand Rabbi of France. He was arrested and executed as he was about to return to his post on the fighting front.

A seminary student aged 26, Aaron Wolf, who was just about to become a rabbi, was shot on May 19, 1944, while he was staying temporarily on a Jewish farm in Saint-Germain (Ain), together with some other young Jews who were there and to whom he was giving courses in religious instruction.

Rabbi Abraham Deutsch, evacuated with his community of Bischeim (Bas-Rhin) to Limoges, was arrested three times. Five other rabbis succeeded in escaping the agents of the Gestapo. Several rabbis, prevented from exercising their religious functions, joined the Maquis as chaplains.
Important work was done in providing education for the youth. Courses in adult education were started and correspondence courses were instituted for young people in regions where there were no teachers. Works on religious instruction were published, such as *Hillel and Judaism* by Aimé Pallière, reading guides, and a Hebrew grammar for beginners by Rabbi Joseph Bloch. A new edition of a prayer-book in French translation was begun but interrupted, due to the shortage of paper. Finally, at the initiative of the education committee created by the executive committee of the Zionist Organization, a Hebrew language manual, *Hayenu*, was published.

To give Jews courage and confidence in the future, the Grand Rabbi of France issued a number of religious messages and statements on the occasion of the high holidays and in other circumstances. But he did not receive permission to publish a religious paper. On several occasions, he renewed his request for such permission to the Vichy authorities. The latter refused on the grounds of a "scarcity of paper."

The Rabbinical School, headed by Grand Rabbi Maurice Liber, continued to train future rabbis. Evacuated to Vichy during the war, it was set up after the defeat at Clermont-Ferrand, and later at Lyons. A school preparing students for the Rabbinical School was opened at Limoges.

But after forced labor was introduced and young people were hunted by the police, many students were forced to interrupt their studies, and many, concealing their identity, joined the maquis.

*Shehitah* was kept up in a great many communities and *Matzoh* was made each year to celebrate the Passover festival. These religious activities were maintained despite all the risks and dangers involved. They were, in a sense, the flag of Judaism unfurled above the battlefield.

For war raged constantly, an inexorable underground war, with sudden blows falling on all Jews, especially those who admitted that they were Jews. They lived dangerously from day to day, by the grace of God. When they left they did not know if they would return to their homes. When they returned, they wondered whether they would find their
families there. When they went to bed, they did not know if they would be arrested during the night. When their doorbell rang unexpectedly, they prepared for the worst. If an automobile stopped in front of their house, their hearts beat faster. If a member of the family was late in coming home, uneasiness quickly became mortal terror.

There came a moment, at the beginning of 1944, when there was no longer any doubt that the Hitlerite program called for the extermination of French Jewry by deportations and massacres. This program was applied with increasing harshness. Gestapo agents and their French henchmen redoubled their efforts. They laid hands now on one community, now on another. Entire Jewish communities, or what was left of them, were arrested. At Nancy and Poitiers, rabbis and their congregations were whisked away together. The hunt was on for the Jews of Bordeaux, Brive, and Vichy. At Paris and Lyons, the German tactics were first to weaken the Jews numerically, and then to deport the survivors at a single stroke.

Arrests and assassinations of Jews went on daily. Victor Basch, honorary professor at the Sorbonne and former president of the League of the Rights of Man, was executed at Lyons in January 1944 by militiamen; his wife suffered the same fate. Georges Mandel, a former cabinet minister, was handed over to the militiamen on July 7 by the prison authorities; the next day he was struck down in the Forest of Fontainebleau. At Lyons, at the end of July, 400 militiamen and Doriot followers working for the German police, launched a manhunt for Jews. The Allied landing on the beaches of Normandy had provoked the Nazis' rage.

Now French Jews were in a most tragic plight. Already 100,000 had been deported and 10,000 slain. If German occupation were to continue for some time to come, how many more tens of thousands of Jewish victims would be added to the ghastly toll?

Then suddenly came the victorious advance of the Allied armies and the liberation of France! French Jewry, rendering thanks to God for the salvation of the country, celebrated at the same time its own liberation. All the Jews left in France were literally men reprieved from death.
THE PRESENT TASKS OF FRENCH JEWRY

After liberation, the Grand Rabbi of France, Isaiah Schwartz; the president of the Central Consistory, Léon Meiss; members of the Central Consistory and the C.R.I.F.; and the heads of the French Jewish welfare organizations returned to Paris.

A member of the Central Consistory, René Mayer, is at present Minister of Public Works and Transport in the Government of General de Gaulle. The president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Professor René Cassin, is vice-president of the Council of State.

An ordinance of August 9, 1944 of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, concerning the re-establishment of republican laws, declared null and void all acte setting up or applying any discrimination whatever in the case of Jews. The General Union of the Jews of France was therefore dissolved. Jewish welfare organizations reformed and resumed work on an autonomous basis.

Liberation set in relief the extent of the tragedy which had befallen French Jewry. A third of the Jewish population had been either deported or murdered. Those who remained had lost their material resources; their property was in the hands of administrators, their commercial holdings in the hands of temporary administrators or of "Aryans" who had purchased them. A good many Frenchmen had not hesitated to participate in unjust measures directed against the Jews and had acquired the latter’s property. Moreover, almost all the Parisian Jews returning from the Southern zone had lost their apartment and house furnishings, the Germans having looted the homes of deportees and those who had gone to Unoccupied France, and their apartments having been rented to "Aryan" tenants. As the result, tens of thousands of Jews found themselves homeless, and about twenty thousand of them were forced to approach the Jewish welfare organizations for assistance.

Twenty synagogues had been destroyed, including the
magnificent structure at Strasbourg. Ten others, occupied by the Germans, the militiamen or Doriot men, had been profaned and looted, including those of Metz, Bordeaux, and Lyons. Still others were partially ruined as a result of attacks.

Several thousand children had been hidden in institutions with Christian families; and it became urgent to bring them back to a Jewish environment, especially since some of them had been converted or had been approached with a view to being converted.

Some adults had likewise been influenced by the religious propaganda of a few Catholic and Protestant clergymen who had taken advantage of the persecution of the Jews to attract desperate souls to their faith.

Despite the lack of rabbis, most of the communities had been reorganized. One of the first tasks of the welfare organization dealing with the youth has been to open childrens' homes. A great majority of the children are at present either with their families or, in the case of deportees, in Jewish institutions. To hasten the return of those who are still in non-Jewish environments, a Committee for Jewish Children had just been formed comprising all the agencies interested in this problem.

The Government has issued various ordinances with respect to the restitution of Jewish property: that of October 16, 1944 concerning real estate in the hands of administrators; that of November 14, 1944 concerning property in the hands of temporary administrators and the return of Jews to apartments from which they had been evicted; and that of April 21, 1945 concerning goods sold by temporary administrators. But the return of Jews to their apartments and the restitution of their businesses have met with resistance on the part of the present occupants and possessors. The latter have formed groups which have staged demonstrations with a view to opposing forcibly the application of these ordinances.

On June 6, 1945, the Minister of the Interior dissolved these organizations and announced that in the future all groups pursuing anti-Semitic activities would be dissolved.

The defeat of Hitlerism has liberated the survivors among
our unfortunate co-religionists who were interned in camps in Germany or in German-occupied countries. In accordance with a government measure, all Jews, French and non-French, who were deported from France will be repatriated. Unfortunately those who return are few in number. Up to now, none of the deported rabbis has come back; some of them are no longer alive and we are without news of the others.

Léon Blum, former Prime Minister and leader of the Socialist Party, a political deportee, recently returned to France.

Despite the diminished resources at its disposal as a result of the disappearance of part of its élite and the general impoverishment of the population, French Jewry has undertaken to accomplish the tremendous task of religious, spiritual, social, and material reconstruction incumbent upon it.

V

NORTH AFRICA

The Jews of Algeria were the first victims of Vichy legislation. A law of October 7, 1940 abrogated the decree of the Government of National Defense known as the Crémieux Decree which, on October 24, 1870, had accorded French citizenship to native Jews of Algeria. The law providing for a Statute of the Jews of October 3, 1940 preceded it, but it appeared in the Official Journal on October 18, several days after the abrogation of the Crémieux Decree.

Those Jews who had received the Legion of Honor for military deeds, the Military Medal, or the Croix de Guerre retained their political status as French citizens. The others were placed on the same footing as native Moslems in the matter of political rights and on the same level as French Jews in the matter of civil rights. Thus they found themselves in a position inferior to that of the native Moslems by virtue of the racial laws, which imposed upon them all sorts of disabilities which the native Moslems did not have to suffer. Measures taken against the Jews in Metropolitan
France were applied to those in Algeria. According to the census of 1941, the Jewish population in Algeria numbered 116,885: including 34,742 in the département of Alger, 15,413 in the département of Oran, 25,614 in the département of Constantine, and 6,115 in the southern territory.

Since the proportion of Jews in the total population of Algeria was much greater than in that of Metropolitan France, the maintenance of the same numerus clausus percentage affected the Algerian Jews even more adversely. Furthermore, since the native Jews had for the most part a higher level of education than did the other natives the number of employees and functionaries dismissed from government service—teachers, policemen, letter-carriers, postal employees, etc., and from public utilities companies such as railroad, streetcar, gas, electricity and water companies, was proportionately higher. In Algeria more than 3,000 Jews lost their positions.

The numerus clausus in the school system which in Metropolitan France was only applied to higher education, was extended in North Africa to the secondary and primary school system. This state of affairs lasted from October 7, 1941 to March 31, 1943.

The American landing in November 1942 did not signify the re-establishment of republican laws. General Giraud, High Commissioner in North Africa, not only did not re-establish the Crémieux Decree; on the contrary, he confirmed its abrogation in his speech of March 14, 1943 when he declared that the Vichy laws denoting racial discrimination had been abrogated. He asserted: “In the same spirit of eliminating racial discrimination, the Crémieux Decree, which in 1870 had set up a difference between native Moslems and Jews, has been abrogated.”

It was not until October 21, 1943 that the French Committee of National Liberation proclaimed that “the Crémieux Decree remains in force.”

After the November 1942 landing, Jews were mobilized. But despite their protests and their oft-repeated desire to serve France with arms in their hands, they were sent to work camps rather than to combat units. It was not until March 1943 that they obtained the right to be treated like
all other mobilized Frenchmen in Algeria. As for those who were in labor battalions, after May 1943 they were sent into the French Expeditionary Corps. Very many Jews volunteered for service in the free corps. A Jew, Lieutenant Pierre Rosenthal, serving in the free corps, died a hero near Mateur in Tunisia while fighting with eighteen men against two enemy companies.

A shock troop secretly formed before the arrival of the Americans occupied the principal public buildings in Algeria at the moment of the landing. It was composed of 600 men, nearly 500 of whom were Jews, as were most of the officers.

As for our fellow-Jews in French Morocco and Tunisia, they are still governed by personal statute; that is to say, they are subjects of the Sultan or of the Bey. According to a declaration of Xavier Vallat, General Commissar for Jewish Affairs, there were 160,000 Jews in Morocco and 50-60,000 in Tunisia at the outbreak of the war. There was no German occupation of Algeria or Morocco; and the Axis occupation of Tunisia lasted six months.

Supplementary Documents

(1) Excerpts from the letter of Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan to Xavier Vallat, General Commissar for Jewish Affairs, dated July 31, 1941.

... Since it is a great honor for me to belong to Judaism, I am pleased to have this opportunity of making an official declaration to that effect. Nevertheless, I am well aware that it is not to honor them that you are forcing Jews, under penalty of very severe punishment, to reply to your questionnaire, but that it is in order to inflict exceptional measures upon them, measures which denote that being a Jew is something disreputable.

For a pagan or an atheist to defame Judaism is not strange. He is certainly wrong but not illogical in acting thus. But on the part of a Christian, does not such an attitude appear spiritually illogical as well as ungrateful?

Need I recall that the Jewish religion is the mother of the Christian religion, and that before Christianity it proclaimed the existence of the true God—one God, Creator of the heaven and the earth and of all mankind; human brotherhood—all men having
descended from their common father, Adam; respect for the human person—God having created man in His image; love of one's neighbor—the Mosaic law ordering men to love their neighbor as themselves; and the Ten Commandments—the moral and religious charter of civilized humanity?

It would be easy for me to continue with this enumeration. Allow me only to assert—and for me it is the most precious of assertions—that most of the great religious and moral ideas of our time have been taught to Jews and non-Jews by the Old Testament, the Book of Israel.

Would I convince you more profoundly of the high value of the Mosaic law and the Jewish religion by citing as witnesses the greatest French writers? For they have paid a magnificent tribute to Judaism.

Pascal said: The Law of Israel is the oldest and most perfect.

Bossuet said: That Law is holy and righteous.

Fénelon said: The Jewish people formed the ideal religious society.

Montesquieu said: The Jewish religion is an old trunk which has produced two branches that have covered the earth.

Rousseau said: The Mosaic Law has withstood the test of time.

Chateaubriand said: The Law of Sinai is the Law of all peoples.

Guizot said: The Ten Commandments bind together religion and morality.

Renan said: Israel was the stalk on which was grafted the faith of the human race.

Will you reply that it is not their religion but their race that you hold against the Jews? Expressly questioning the use of the term "race" as applied to the Jews, may I ask you the following: do you really think, Monsieur le Commissaire, that it is a crime to belong to the "Jewish race," the race of Jesus and the Apostles? Have you forgotten that Jesus was circumcized like every son of Israel and that the date of his circumcision has been kept in the civil calendar, which every year celebrates it as January 1?

Do you not realize that when you attack the "Jewish race," you assail at the same time the founders of Christianity? Listen to what the Catholic writer, Léon Bloy, has to say: "Suppose that people around you constantly talked of your father and mother in terms of the greatest contempt and referred to them only with insults and outrageous jibes—how would you feel? Well, that is what happened to Our Lord Jesus Christ. We forget, or rather do not care to remember, that our God made into man is a Jew, the Jew par excellence, the Lion of Judah; that His Mother is a Jewess, the flower of the Jewish race; that the Apostles were Jews as were
all the Prophets; and finally, that our entire sacred Liturgy has been taken from Jewish books. If that is so, how can one measure the outrageousness and blasphemy involved in slandering the Jewish race?"

The Jewish race, finally, is that of the Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, three great Jews whom our non-Jewish countrymen honor in their cathedrals and churches and of whom they are proud to be the spiritual descendants.

Is therefore a crime to belong to the Jewish race? On the contrary, according to the Christian liturgy itself, it is a badge of glory.

But perhaps I have illusions concerning the excellence of the Jewish "race" because I myself am a Jew? I might think so, if I did not have to support me and assure me that I am not mistaken, such eminent Christians as Ignatius de Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, who wished that he were a Jew in order to resemble Jesus more; and Pope Pius XI who said: "We are spiritually Semites."

Or would you prefer that I quote great French writers on this point? Here are a few:

Lacordaire spoke of "the magnificent graces which the Jewish people received in the realm of the spirit."

De Sacy said: "... I think that this little Jewish people... is the greatest of the peoples, the noblest of families in the human family, the race truly chosen by God."

In answering the questionnaire, I have noted my military services... I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of my co-religionists have served the Fatherland with the same love and devotion. Nothing has therefore caused us greater sorrow than to see doubts cast on our patriotism. The participation of the Jews in the War from 1939-1940 cannot yet be accurately ascertained; but when the final story is written, it will reveal that the Jews have done their duty like all other French citizens.

But our participation in World War I is well known. It was officially expressed in the name of the French Government by César Campinchi, Navy Minister, on June 19, 1938, at the inauguration of the Monument to the Jews at Douaumont. M. Campinchi declared: "Of the 190,000 Jews in France and Algeria, 32,000 were mobilized and 6,500 killed; 12,000 foreign Jews volunteered to defend our country which had given them refuge, and more than 2,000 of them were killed fighting in the ranks of the Foreign Legion."

As for the patriotism of the Jews, allow me to cite only two of a long list of tributes by great French writers:
First, this moving confession by Maxime du Camp: “It has been said and I have said myself that the Jews had only an incomplete notion of the Fatherland . . . Forgive me for having said so.”

Then this phrase of Maurice Barrès, on the occasion of the heroic death of Grand Rabbi Abraham Bloch, killed on August 29, 1914 as he was carrying a crucifix to a dying French soldier: “The old rabbi presenting to the dying soldier the immortal sign of Christ on the Cross is an image that will not die.”

Alas! In 1941, the anti-Jewish exceptional laws as well as the anti-Semitic campaign launched against us prove that the image which Barrès thought deathless has quickly been effaced.

Let me finish with a phrase from a French author who is today very popular, and rightly so: Charles Péguy. The “National Revolution” is fond of quoting his writings and of calling them the very voice of France. Péguy wrote: “The anti-Semites do not know the Jews.”

As between the writers mentioned in the course of this letter and who represent the élite of French thought, and the anti-Semites “who do not know the Jews,” can any sincere Frenchman hesitate? I cannot but think that that is likewise your sentiment and that you recognize with me that the day on which reason again comes into her own (and she will come into her own in this land of Descartes and Bergson), anti-Semitism will lose out . . .

(2) Reply of the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs to the letter of Rabbi Kaplan, dated August 5, 1941.

Vichy, August 5, 1941

Rabbi J. Kaplan
2 bis, Rue Carnot
Cusset

Dear Rabbi:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 31 in which you quoted to me a certain number of texts which are of course quite well known. They would never have been refuted in any French legislation if there had not been, during the past few years, an invasion of our territory by a host of Jews having no ties with our civilization.

I do not intend to refute in detail a certain number of your arguments, in particular the statistics you give of the Jews who have entered the armed forces and died for France. That is a matter which deserves too much respect to become the object of a controversy. Let me simply point out that in the Government’s attitude
there is no anti-Semitism, simply the application of reasons of state.

Please be assured, Rabbi, of my genuine regard.

Signed: JARNIEU
For the General Commissaire
By his Chef de Cabinet

(3) Letter of Monsignor the Bishop of Montauban on respect for the human person.

My very dear Brethren:

Painful and at times horrible scenes are occurring in France—though France is not responsible for them.

At Paris tens of thousands of Jews have been treated with the most savage barbarism. And now our provinces have witnessed an even more heart-breaking spectacle: families are broken up, men and women are being treated like cattle and sent to unknown destinations where they face the gravest dangers.

On behalf of my outraged Christian conscience, I raise my voice in protest and I assert that all men, Aryans and non-Aryans, are brothers because they have been created by the same God; that all men, whatever their race or religion, have the right to be respected by individuals and states.

The present anti-Semitic measures flout human dignity and violate the most sacred rights of the human person and family.

May God console and fortify those who are being unjustly persecuted; may He grant to the world a true and lasting peace, based on justice and charity.

Signed: PIERRE MARIE
Bishop of Montauban

To be read without comment at all masses, in all churches and chapels of the diocese on Sunday, August 30, 1942.

(4) Letter of Paul Claudel to Rabbi Kaplan.

Chateau de Brangues
Morestel
December 24, 1941
On Christmas Eve

Sir:

My good friend, Vladimir d'Ormesson, has just given me your address.

I must write you and tell you that all good Frenchmen, especially
the Catholics, feel disgust, horror and indignation at the sight of the injustices, persecutions, and ill-treatment of all kinds now being visited upon our Jewish compatriots. I have had frequent contacts with Jews of all nations, and I have always found in them not only open minds but also generous and kindly hearts. I am proud to have many Jewish friends. A Catholic cannot forget that Israel has always been the oldest Son of promise as today it is the oldest Son of sorrow. But “blessed are those who suffer persecution for Justice.” May God protect and bless Israel on this road to redemption! “I shall not always be angered,” said the Lord through the mouth of his prophet.

Please accept my sincerest regards.

Signed: Paul Claudel
Ambassador of France

(5) Letter of Jules Jeanneney and Edouard Herriot to Rabbi Kaplan

The Senate—Office of the President
Chatel-Guyon
August 30, 1942

Dear Grand Rabbi Kaplan:

For almost two years now, legislative and other measures have been taken in France against the Jews. We have condemned them from the very outset.

We have watched with indignation the iniquities and persecutions that have been committed.

We feel a sense of horror before the measures that have just been inflicted, both in the unoccupied and occupied zone, on Jews driven from their country who had found refuge in our land; and we are horrified by the barbarous treatment meted out to their children.

We feel with you. And we would like to convey to you our profound sympathy along with all those who, shocked by such flouting of human rights and French traditions, must have expressed their sympathy to you.

Please accept, Grand Rabbi Kaplan, this expression of our reverent regard.

Signed: Jeanneney
President of the Senate

Herriot
President of the Chamber of Deputies
The widespread destruction of Jewish life in Europe and the decimation of the Jewish population in that war-torn continent have focused attention on the Jewish communities in other parts of the world. Among the largest of these are the approximately 580,000 Jews in Latin America: the twenty republics — plus the Dutch, British, and United States possessions — in Central and South America and the West Indies.

It has become the custom, and quite properly so, for writers and commentators on life in the countries south of the Rio Grande to emphasize the fact that there are great differences among the various nations and possessions in that part of the world; and that it is a mistake to look upon Latin America as an ethnic, cultural, or demographic unit. While it is true that the various nations have much in common — particularly language, except for Portuguese in Brazil, French in Haiti, and English, Dutch, or French in their respective possessions —, there are significant economic, cultural, and social differences among them, which must be taken into account in any effort to provide a significant sociological picture of the Latin American countries.

This is particularly true in respect of Jewish community life and organization in these countries. It is incorrect to speak of the Jewish community of Latin America, even in the loose sense that reference is generally made to such a community in the United States, Canada, France, Great Britain, or the like. The complete independence of each of the republics, the unique aspects of life within the countries, and national boundaries and restrictions separate the organized Jewish life of one Latin American country from the other as effectively as, for example, the Jewish commu-

*Assistant Secretary, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.
The community of the United States is separated or distinct from that of Canada or Great Britain, despite the same language and other similarities.

There is, however, much that each community in Latin America has in common with the others, beyond their bond of brotherhood in Judaism. They present similar pictures of Jewish immigration both with respect to countries of origin and years of arrival; they have undergone similar problems of economic adjustment; in practically all instances their first efforts at community organization were, as might be expected, largely transplantations of their 'old country' institutional patterns and have resulted in organizational forms very much the same whether in Mexico City, La Paz (Bolivia), or Buenos Aires. Their cultural aspirations and activities, likewise, grew from the same roots and took on similar forms in the new lands. In addition they faced in all countries, in varying degrees, the need for organization against defamation and anti-Semitism; for assistance from and stimulation by the Joint Distribution Committee in the care of the large number of refugees who had fled from Hitler's Europe from 1933-1940 to find havens in the Latin American countries. Moreover, they felt the impact of the organizing efforts of the Keren Hayesod, the Keren Kayemeth, and the WIZO (Womens International Zionist Organization); and the fund-raising activities of the World Jewish Congress, the Hebrew University, and other organizations. Out of these and other activities have come closer contact and communications in many spheres among the various elements within each Jewish community and between the respective countries.

It is in the analysis of these common factors which characterize all of the Jewish communities in Latin America that one can speak or write of "the Jewish community of Latin America" or of Jewish communal life, without attempting a full account of Jewish life country by country.

**Present Jewish Population and Origins**

Jewish life in Latin America antedates that in the United States. There is evidence to indicate the presence of Jews in Colombia, Peru, the West Indies, and other lands at the
very beginning of the 16th century. Certainly there were Jews and organized Jewish life, largely migrants from Holland and some from Portugal and Spain, in Surinam and Curaçao in the early part of the 17th century. Dutch Jews who left Brazil settled in New York City in 1654. Throughout most of Latin America, however, there is little or nothing left of the community life founded by these early settlers. Their descendants, many continuing to bear their Jewish names and acknowledging their Jewish ancestry, are completely absorbed and assimilated in the Christian population of these countries.

For all practical purposes, the total Jewish population in Latin America today can be accounted for as a result of three main waves of immigration:

1. The Sephardim from the Mediterranean and Balkan countries, North Africa, Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Yugoslavia, who began to arrive in substantial numbers some fifty years ago.

2. Jews from Eastern Europe who came in some numbers beginning about 1890, under the stimulation of the ICA program, with a tremendous increase in their rate of immigration in the period from 1920 to 1930 following World War I.

3. The masses of Jews (some 120,000) from Central Europe, largely Germany and Austria, who fled the Hitler terror beginning in 1933 to the onset of World War II, and continuing in smaller numbers even through the war years.

There was a considerable number of German Jews, largely in Argentina, who came there in the 1860's and 1870's. All told, the Jewish population in the Latin American countries today is estimated (there are no reliable census data) as follows, country by country:

- Argentina: 350,000
- Bolivia: 5,150
- Brazil: 110,750
- Chile: 25,000
- Colombia: 5,830
- Costa Rica: 70
Cuba ........................ 10,900
Curacao ........................ 650
Dominican Republic ............. 931
Dutch Guiana .................... 975
Ecuador ......................... 3,200
El Salvador ........................ 160
Guatemala ........................ 895
Haiti ............................. 160
Honduras ........................ 135
Jamaica .......................... 2,200
Mexico ........................... 16,000
Nicaragua ........................ 135
Panama ............................ 750
Paraguay ........................ 3,000
Peru .............................. 2,500
Trinidad ........................ 370
Uruguay .......................... 37,000
Venezuela ....................... 1,600

On the basis of the general area of origin the division is about as follows:

- Sephardic ....................... 85,000 to 90,000
- East European ................... 350,000 to 350,000
- Central European ............... 140,000 to 150,000

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\text{Total: } 575,000 \text{ to } 590,000
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**Economic Status**

There are several factors to be taken into account in evaluating the economic adjustment and status of the Jews in their respective countries in Latin America.

1. The bulk of them came during or just before periods marked by the industrial and commercial expansion of Latin America as a whole; an expansion calling for the various skills which the Jews had to offer in the professions, in science, in commerce, particularly the export and import trades, knowledge of foreign languages, and special skills in merchandising and distribution.
2. Practically all of the countries in Latin America have laws requiring that at least half or more of the employees of any given firm be citizens of the country in which the concern operates. This limited the opportunities for the employment of the newcomers within existing businesses. At the same time, however, it compelled them to enter new fields, establish their own firms and, as a consequence, increased employment opportunities not only for themselves but for the natives and citizens of the land.

3. The immigrants from Central Europe had to undergo a special process of adjustment in the change from the relatively high living standards to which they had been accustomed, to the prevailing standards in the lesser developed countries and communities in Latin America.

4. The whole process of economic stabilization was given a decided impetus after the entry of the United States into World War II, with the resultant intensified call upon the countries south of the Rio Grande for both civilian and war supplies requiring particularly the special skills of the immigrants in modern manufacturing methods and distribution.

An objective indication of the degree of economic adjustment achieved by the Jews of Latin America is available in the number of individuals on the relief rolls of the welfare committees and organizations subsidized by the J.D.C. In this connection, it must be recalled that the bulk of these are refugees (some 120,000), who emigrated to the Latin American countries from 1933 on. By and large this group came to their new homes with little or no resources and had to undergo a considerable process of adaptation to climatic, social, and cultural conditions which differed substantially from those in the countries which they had left. Despite this, there are in all of the countries, as of July 1945, less than 2,000 who require one form of help or another from J.D.C.-subsidized committees or organizations; and the bulk of these (over 1,500) are concentrated in the very difficult country of Bolivia and in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, which present special problems. Further, the number receiving help from welfare organizations supported
completely through local funds is surprisingly low. Although there are no accurate statistics available, the best estimates suggest that it is lower than might be expected of any population of approximately 600,000.

Noteworthy also are the widespread and substantial economic institutions under Jewish auspices, which testify to the healthy process of adjustment in this direction. Credit cooperatives and loan societies (founded with the aid of funds provided by the J.D.C.) are flourishing in Ecuador, Brazil, and several other countries. Buenos Aires, Santiago (Chile), Montevideo (Uruguay), and other communities boast of several healthy banks under Jewish auspices, as well as large scale commercial and even agricultural cooperatives.

In Argentina, and to some extent in Brazil, considerable credit is due the ICA for the developments in this connection. Some 30,000 Jews in Argentina alone are soundly established on the land or associated with enterprises based on agriculture, as a result of the systematically developed colonizing program of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) from 1890 on.

The specific industries in which Jews have made significant contributions are the manufacture of furniture, textiles, clothing, and leather goods; cosmetics and soap, the import of jewelry and the manufacturing skills and machines associated with jewelry; and in general, the introduction of merchandising methods that have increased trade and consumption among the entire population. In some of these fields in several of the countries, the Jews introduced the manufacture of such products.

**Local Community Life and Organization**

The development of organized Jewish community life as represented by appropriate organizations and institutions for religious, educational, cultural, welfare, and other Jewish purposes suffers by comparison with the economic progress of the individual Jews.

Although there has been a considerable amount of stimulation within the past few years, Jewish community life in
Latin America is characterized by dissension, division, and conflict; and, with few exceptions, the neglect of institutions and agencies for local growth as compared with concern for organizations representing overseas causes. There are several reasons which seem to account for this relative lag in community organization:

1. The recent arrival of the great masses of Jews and their understandable concern with the primary task of earning a livelihood and establishing economic roots.
2. The fear of assimilation or absorption in and by the lower cultural milieus which most of the Latin American countries present. The immigrant Jews from Central and Eastern Europe felt that they were in danger of losing their relatively high social and cultural attainments. Whereas the immigrants and newcomers in the United States and countries of the British Commonwealth want to become absorbed as soon as possible, the Jews in the Latin American countries, with the possible exception of Buenos Aires, fear just this process. This is understandable when one sees at first hand the tremendous social and cultural gap between the newcomers and the natives in countries like Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and even Chile, Brazil, Colombia, and Argentina, outside of the larger cities.

On the other hand, both refugees and older settlers feel insecure because of the anti-Semitism inherent in the highly nationalistic influences and tendencies present in practically all of the Latin American countries, even those friendly to the U. S. A. The Jewish newcomers live in constant fear of anti-Semitism in high places and the restrictive measures continually manifested in one form or another. Practically every government in South America has at one time or another in recent years taken anti-Semitic steps and added to this sense of insecurity on the part of the Jewish population; this despite the obvious friendliness and warmth of the peoples of these countries generally.

These two factors, fear of assimilation on the one hand and anti-Semitism on the other, seem to explain the great desire of Latin American Jewry to seek affiliation and ties with the
stronger and better established Jewish communities in other countries, and particularly their interest in Palestine. It also tends to explain, paradoxical as it may seem, their relative lack of attention to their own community life.

Furthermore, the steady stream of representatives and delegates of organizations concerned primarily with Jewish causes outside Latin America have continued to focus the attention of the Jewish community leaders on conditions and problems outside their own community life and adjustment.

The above is not to say, however, that there have been no significant developments in organized Jewish communal processes in Latin America. Community growth in the Latin American countries faced the usual growing pains of a first generation effort in that direction: the transplantation of old-world patterns; the problems of individual adjustment to the new scene; intra-group dichotomies because of differences in languages, customs, and institutions among the Sephardic, East European, and Central European Jewish groups; and the intensification of the divisive tendencies which flowed from their first organizational efforts, based as they were on national origin groupings.

Despite these difficulties, there has been some real progress in recent years in each of the major areas of Jewish organization — religious, educational, welfare and refugee services, civic-protective activities, cultural life, fund-raising for overseas causes, and in the general area of community organization.

Religious Life

With respect to religious expression and its institutions, there has been a considerable increase in activity in recent years among all Jewish groups in almost all of the countries. Until recently, there seemed to be a lag in this direction, probably traceable to the all-absorbing concern of the newcomers with the immediate problems of cultural, psychological, and economic adjustment. But the past two years, especially, have brought a renewal of organizing efforts in behalf of synagogues, the placement of properly qualified rabbis, and generally, programs designed to revive interest
in synagogue affiliation and activities. Typical of the smaller communities was the successful effort of the Sephardic community in Barranquilla, Colombia, composed of some 450 Jews, who in 1943 raised nearly $40,000 for the construction of a synagogue center. In Buenos Aires, the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina, the mother institution of Jewish organizations in that country, celebrated its 75th anniversary in July 1943. This synagogue, currently under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi Guillermo Schlessinger, is actively engaged on a program to expand its influence and increase the scope of its activities. In May 1944, the Congregación announced the establishment under its auspices of the first rabbinical seminary in Latin America. It will also include a training program for Jewish teachers and will consist of an eight-year course of study in appropriate subjects. In the summer of 1943, the Zionist Federation of Argentina announced that it was ready to provide scholarships for interested and qualified Jewish youth in that and neighboring countries to prepare for the rabbinate in the seminaries of the U. S. A. Other communities, such as Quito, Ecuador; Cali, Colombia; and Lima, Peru have requested the help of the J.D.C. and the rabbinical seminaries in the U. S. A. in bringing rabbis and teachers, cantors, shohetim, and other religious functionaries to their congregations and communities.

In many of the communities — especially the smaller ones — where the refugee Jewish populations outnumber the earlier Jewish community, the newcomers have introduced the first full-fledged synagogues replacing the informal, occasional, and often casual religious practices of the earlier groups. They have developed orderly, dignified services even where conducted without the benefit of fully qualified religious leaders. Typical of these are the synagogues in Cochabamba and La Paz, Bolivia; Quito, Ecuador; Bogotá, Colombia; and even Santiago, Chile. In some communities, notably São Paulo, Brazil, there has been an effort to develop a religious gemeinde type of organization (Kultusgemeinde), with the congregation assuming responsibility for a variety of community functions. The Congregação Israelita Paulista of São Paulo and Bnei Israel of Santiago are typical of such developments.
In this connection, it is to be noted that the synagogues of the Jewish communities in Latin America have continued to be, with few exceptions, primarily orthodox in character and practice, though only a very small percentage of the population actually observes in private life the basic tenets of orthodox Judaism.

Jewish Education

It was during recent years, also, that Jewish education took forward strides and began to emerge from the anarchic, unrelated, and often competitive efforts of particular groups, in the direction of coordinated programs under community-wide boards of Jewish education. Such developments were projected in many communities, notably in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago.

In Argentina a considerable amount of stimulation toward and guidance in progressive methods of Jewish education was contributed by ICA through its director of education, Jedidio Efron. While originally devoted to the problems of the colonists, the teaching and leadership of Mr. Efron have borne fruit in all the Jewish communities of Argentina. The first steps taken toward more comprehensive and effective Jewish educational programs may be attributed in a large measure to the uninterrupted constructive activities and sound teachings of Mr. Efron over the many years that he has been associated with ICA.

Noteworthy also is the development of informal education in Jewish affairs, which is now provided through the rapidly growing organizations of youth groups — Maccabi, Zionist, and others. Their programs include considerable cultural content.

The predominant directions of Jewish education in the Latin American community are either primarily religious in character and under the aegis of the synagogues and gemeindes, or Yiddishist under the relatively strong influence of those groups seeking to retain and develop Yiddish as the cultural tie with Judaism or Jewish life. This is particularly true in the large cities: Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Santiago. Although the Jews of Latin America are interested
in and strongly attached to Zionism, Jewish education is largely Yiddishist and nationalist in character and content. It is not Hebraic in content or focused on Palestine to the extent that obtains in the U. S. A.

Social Welfare Services

Until very recently Jewish community welfare and health services and institutions were completely lacking in most of the countries; or where available, as in the case of the larger cities such as Buenos Aires, completely and admittedly inadequate in program, administration, and direction. In the past few years, however, the improved economic condition of the countries in general and that of the Jews in particular encouraged some of the organizations to conduct drives for new and more adequate physical facilities, expand their programs, and increase or improve their services in the community generally. These developments took place, however, only after considerable community conflict, clashes in leadership, and in some instances, further division.

In Buenos Aires, the last years witnessed a veritable deluge of drives, cornerstone layings, and official openings. The Chevra Kadishe, which owns and conducts the three cemeteries for the Jewish community, and is the largest and most influential organization in Buenos Aires with some 28,000 members, embarked upon the construction of a new building to house not only its own offices, but those of other institutions, such as the I. V. O. (Yiddish Scientific Institute). The Jewish Hospital (Sociedad de Beneficencia Ezrah Hospital Israelita) inaugurated a campaign for $500,000 to build a new wing and modernize its facilities. The structure is near completion. The Bikur Cholim (for aid to the needy-sick) opened an unusually well-equipped, out-patient clinic. The Asociacion Filantropica Israelita (a multiple service functional welfare federation of the German-speaking Jews), the Liga Israelita Argentina Contra la Tuberculosis, and the Children's Home and the Home for the Aged (one organization), also began campaigns for considerable sums to build new institutions and facilities. The last-mentioned is in the process of raising about $600,000 to construct a modern cottage-plan institution for dependent children following
the pattern of the better agencies of this type in the U. S. A., and a modern building as a home for the aged to replace the present badly overcrowded and unsanitary structure. Both units will be located in the country, some 25 miles from Buenos Aires on a site given to the organization by a non-Jew.

The Latin American ORT-OSE Federation, with headquarters in Buenos Aires, has opened new trade schools in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Santiago. In order to promote health activities in those Jewish communities in which large numbers of refugees had settled, the J.D.C. made a special grant to the OSE section of that organization. Especially noteworthy also are the splendid welfare and health activities under the auspices of Ofidas, a women's group in São Paulo, and also the Home for the Aged in that community.

The larger part of this development in Jewish welfare activities other than in Buenos Aires, can be traced to the influence of efforts to help in the adjustment of the 120,000 Jewish refugees, largely from Central Europe, who found havens in Latin America in the past 10 years. The earlier groups did not, for the most part, have the opportunity to build up the kind of welfare institutions and services which Jews in the U. S. A. had developed over the years, and which were available to meet the needs of the newcomers here. Further, the relatively large number of refugees who came to the Latin American countries, found it difficult to adjust to a new climate (largely tropical or sub-tropical) and social, political, and economic patterns quite different from those to which they had been accustomed. There were other handicaps, especially in the communities outside of Argentina and Brazil, where the new arrivals equaled or even exceeded the older Jewish population in numbers. Prior to 1935, for example, there were 1,000 Jews in Ecuador, and only 150 to 200 in Bolivia. In 1944, the Jewish population in Ecuador was estimated at 3,300 and in Bolivia at 5,000. Influxes of such proportions were bound to bring with them a host of complex problems, particularly since the immigrants consisted largely of people who had been driven from pillar to post and who came to their new homes with practically no resources.
For all of these reasons, responsible leaders in the Latin American Jewish communities sought ways and means to speed the social and cultural, as well as economic, adjustment process of the refugees. Unfortunately, the local resources available for this work were very limited and support from the U. S. A. was essential. They therefore called upon the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to supplement their work and make possible the adequate care of the newcomers. Since 1936, the J.D.C. has spent over $3,000,000 for refugee aid and rehabilitation in these countries.

Illustrative of the social welfare facilities established or expanded in the various Latin American countries, with J.D.C. assistance and stimulation, are the following: a model children's home in La Paz; a home for the aged in Cochabamba; a credit cooperative in Quito; a polyclinic in Rio de Janeiro; a vocational retraining program in Havana; a workshop manufacturing hemp and leather articles for export, in the Dominican Republic; Maccabi youth organizations in Ecuador and Bolivia; synagogues in Cali (Colombia), Rio de Janeiro, and La Paz; a community kitchen (necessitated by the fuel shortage and high-living costs) in Montevideo, and similar institutions.

These individual instances do not exhaust the refugee-aid program of the J.D.C. in Latin America. In all of the communities mentioned and others not specified here, the subventions of the J.D.C. covered the whole gamut of welfare activity. In effect, aid from American Jews, via the J.D.C. made possible the creation of a system of local refugee adjustment services.

An unusually fine description and report of this whole development is available in a comprehensive report entitled "Ten Years of Constructive Work in South America," published in 1943 by the Asociación Filantropica Israelita of Buenos Aires, covering in detail the programs of adjustment for the refugees as carried out by all of the committees throughout the countries in South America cooperating with the J.D.C. in relief and rehabilitation, and with HICEM in emigration and immigration.

Though these services were focused primarily on the needs of refugees, their projection was tantamount to the develop-
ment of community-wide programs, especially in those countries where the newcomers constituted a large proportion of the total Jewish population, and as the institutions and agencies founded originally for the benefit of the refugees opened their doors and facilities to the needy among the longer established populations. This process also helped to bring together the various elements in the community, serving jointly on boards of directors and meeting common problems. This tendency, however, is only in its nascent stage.

Jewish Community Centers

Jewish community and synagogue centers dot the Latin American countries wherever there are even a few hundred Jews. Even in the smaller cities, with a population of no more than 3,000 Jews, and in some cases as little as 1,000, notably Barranquilla and Cali in Colombia; Lima, Peru; Quito, Ecuador; Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, there are two or even three community buildings conducted separately by the Sephardic, Central European, or East European Jews for their respective constituents. Many of these are quite adequate, even by North American standards, and have facilities for religious activities, social programs, educational work, and athletics.

The peak of this development was reached in Buenos Aires in October 1943, with the opening of a new building by the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, a completely modern community center with splendid facilities for athletics, and cultural, educational, and social programs comparable to the best in the larger cities of the U. S. A. The Hebraica is an organization with 5,000 members, and includes some of the outstanding Jewish leaders in the capital city of Argentina. Over and above the provisions for the leisure-time activities of its membership, the institution has set as one of its fundamental objectives the stimulation and promotion of an indigenous Argentine Jewish culture.

Though lacking the professional direction of trained group workers, the Jewish community center movement in Latin
America has a vitality which augurs well for its role in the
growth of Jewish community life.

It is to be noted that the three distinct groups which make
up practically every Jewish community in Latin America
(Sephardic, Central European, and East European Jews)
have set up their own institutions — by and for the use of
their respective constituencies and patterned after similar
institutions in their countries of origin. Though these
separate agencies serve their specific purposes, they also
increase the social distances and misunderstandings among
the various groups. It may be assumed, however, that the
development of a common language and the general impact
of common environment — especially as the young grow
up together — will tend to level these barriers and make for
a more cohesive community.

Cultural Activities

Cultural developments and activities in the Jewish com-
munities present two discernible trends: a deliberate effort
to retain the cultural values brought from their Euro-
pean centers, and a movement to find a proper blending of
Hispano-American and Jewish culture comparable to the
effort towards a comparable synthesis in the U. S. A. The pro-
ductive center for both of these movements is Buenos Aires,
with its Yiddish newspapers, Spanish journals of Jewish
content, and Jewish publishing houses printing in both
Spanish and Yiddish. Especially notable in this connection
are the publications of the Zionist Federation of Argentina,
the books published by Editorial Israel, supported by
Dr. José Mirelman and constituting practically a one-man
Jewish publication society, and the work of the I. V. O.
Significant in this effort to stimulate an Argentine Jewish
cultural life is the activity of B’nai B’rith in Buenos Aires,
which has attracted some of the most effective Jewish leader-
ship in the community. In new quarters of their own,
opened in September 1943, they are encouraging Jewish
art and artists through excellent exhibits and studying local
Jewish problems through various other methods. The B’nai
B’rith movement generally seems to be gaining ground in
Latin-American countries. New lodges are being created and older units are growing in membership.

These efforts in Buenos Aires constitute the fountainhead of Jewish cultural life in Latin America. In every larger Jewish community, however, there are today newspapers in Spanish (Portuguese in Brazil) or Yiddish or both; organized lecture and study groups, and other media for the transmission and dissemination of these activities. Within the past two years, several newspapers and journals were founded: a Yiddish weekly in Chile heretofore served only by the Spanish Mundo Judio; a Spanish weekly in Caracas, Venezuela; a monthly journal in Dutch by the Jewish community in Paramaribo; and a Portuguese weekly in Rio de Janeiro to replace the Yiddish newspaper which fell under the ban against all foreign-language publications in Brazil some three years ago.

Particularly helpful in this direction has been the growth of youth organizations in many of the countries and communities. The young people have been able to cut across country-of-origin lines, and their organizations include Sephardic, Central European, and East European Jews. Especially noteworthy has been the progress of the Maccabi in Quito, Ecuador; La Paz, Bolivia; and Buenos Aires. The first-mentioned have a special center for their program. They also have a large tract of land given to them by the government for development as an athletic field. With the aid of a special grant by the J.D.C., the Maccabi of La Paz were able to expand their program considerably. In Buenos Aires, a similar group embarked upon a special campaign for a new structure to house their program. Though primarily interested in athletics and physical education, their activities in all these countries also include dramatics, music, and other arts; discussion and study groups; the publication of periodicals; and other methods of stimulating and maintaining the interest of the young people in Jewish life.

Of particular value in this connection, moreover, will be the final report, scheduled for completion very shortly, of a group of refugee scholars and students in Havana, who, under a special grant by the J.D.C., have been working intensively for the past two years on a history of the Jews in Cuba.
Philanthropic Efforts

The improved economic condition of the Jews in Latin America, even among those who came more recently, made it possible for them to respond with some generosity to the many appeals in behalf of the Jewish causes which sought their help. In this connection, however, there has been little or no progress in the direction of united or central fund-raising. Quite the contrary, the major institutions and agencies with systematic money-raising programs have resisted the efforts at unification. Even the several Zionist organizations so widely supported ideologically conduct separate campaigns. In addition, considerable sums are raised for the program of the World Jewish Congress; for the creation and expansion of ORT trade schools; for cooperation with the J.D.C. in providing local refugee care and services; and for overseas relief via the J.D.C. The Jews are also called upon to participate actively in the general war relief drives through special Jewish committees of the Russian War Relief and the relief organizations of other United Nations.

In the last year or two, however, there has been some progress towards central fund-raising. The Jewish community of Mexico has inaugurated a combined appeal for all causes, other than Zionism, for which funds are raised separately. Cuba, also, has made an effort along these lines, though the united effort there was in behalf of only three causes. Peru too has taken some steps in this direction. By and large, however, the Welfare Fund concept is still only in the idea stage. Its translation into effective practice will take some years.

Jewish Community Organization

In the field of Jewish community organization, as such, the most effective developments are in the area of civic-protective activities and in connection with properly authorized approaches by the Jewish communities to their respective governments with regard to the special problems faced by the Jews. In view of the great difference of language, social customs, and organizing methods among the three
major groups constituting Latin American Jewry, it is surprising to find such effective cooperation, even on the minimum program of defense against anti-Semitism.

The major Jewish community instrument for this coordination in most of the Latin American countries is the typical "Dach" or over-all organization, made up of representatives of all Jewish organizations, national, local, religious, cultural, welfare, and economic, large and small, as in the case of the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA) in Argentina; or of representatives of major organizations of national groupings, such as the Yiddish-speaking, German-speaking, or Sephardic, as in the case of the Comité Central Israelita in Uruguay. Similar organizations exist in Chile (Comité Representivo de la Colectividad Israelita de Chile), Peru (Asociación de Sociedades Israelitas del Peru), Colombia (Central Comité Hebreo), Mexico (Comité Central Israelita de Mexico), Cuba (Comité Central de Sociedades Hebreos).

These are in effect, the local equivalents of Jewish community councils in the U. S. A. However, in most of the countries they represent all the Jews, and not merely those of one city. These vary from country to country in organizational form, constituency, and function. By and large, however, they are vested with more authority and more nearly represent the total Jewish community than the comparable organizations in the U. S. A., at least in the area of civic-protective activities. The process of working together in the effort to combat anti-Semitism has also served to create better understanding among the different Jewish segments, at least among the lay leaders comprising the delegate bodies. Most of these central committees are affiliated with the World Jewish Congress.

With respect to local welfare, religious, cultural, and educational activities, however, there is practically no coordination or cooperation, either in fund-raising or function. The Federation or "Council of Social Agencies" plan, even where obviously necessary, as in the case of Buenos Aires, is practically unknown. Each agency is completely on its own, responsible only to its own membership or board for planning, programming, and financing. As a consequence, and from the point of view of community organization, local
activities are frequently characterized by overlapping, duplication, and competition.

To a large extent this condition can be traced to the fact that these organizations are conducted separately and exclusively by and for the Sephardic, East European, or Central European Jews as such. Despite several efforts to bring these groups together for related local community-wide services, the differences in standards and methods have been too wide to bridge. It is to be assumed, however, that this is a normal first-generation immigrant phenomenon, which will be reduced or eliminated with time and with the need for adjusting to a common environment and to common problems.

Civic-Protective Activities

This whole structure is illustrated by the following picture of the Jewish community of Lima, Peru. The present Jewish population in that city is estimated at 2,600, grouped roughly as follows: 1,800 Eastern Europeans who arrived between 1919 and 1933; some 450 German Jews, about 95% of whom have arrived in Lima since 1933; and some 350 Sephardim, who settled originally in Peru about 40 to 50 years ago. Each of these groups has a central Gemeinde organization. The Eastern Europeans are organized in the Sociedad Unión Israelita del Peru with about 500 members; the Sephardim have the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita Sephardi with some 70 members; and the Germans, the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita with 200 members.

The Sociedad Unión and the Sociedad Sephardí have very adequate buildings of their own, which house their synagogues, offices, meeting rooms, etc. The Central European Jews have no “home” of their own, but maintain an office for their philanthropic and communal work. While these buildings and offices provide good community facilities, they also serve to keep the communities apart. Each of these central organizations has several sub-groups or informally affiliated societies, as for example, the Unión which has cultural, religious, and Zionist Departamentos. In addition, some of the organizations have a Ladies Auxiliary, a “bank” (Cooperativa Israelita de Credito), a Bikur Cholim, etc. The
Sephardim support a youth group and a two- to three-day a week Hebrew school. The Germans have a women’s group, manage a cemetery, and operate a Comité de Protección a los Inmigrantes Israelitas, which is subsidized by the HIAS-ICA Emigration Association (HICEM) and formerly by the J.D.C.

The three central groups are informally united through a top organization, known as the Asociación de Sociedades Israelitas del Peru, consisting of four periodically elected representatives of each group. The presidency of the Directorio is rotated every four months among the presidents of the three Gemeinde.

Post-War Immigration Possibilities

For all practical purposes the doors of Latin American countries are at the present time closed to mass immigration of Jewish war refugees. This does not seem to be attributable to the objective factors governing (or which should govern) immigration into a given country at a given time: its economic absorptive capacity and potentialities; the ability to assimilate, or need for, new and different social, cultural, or racial strains; the particular vocational skills which may be required, professional, scientific, manufacturing, agricultural, or commercial; previous experience with other immigrants of the same ethnic origins; and similar scientific criteria. Quite the contrary, disinterested observers seem to agree that most of the countries in Latin America would today throw their doors wide open to large-scale selected immigration (in the case of a few countries even mass unselected immigration) if the tests indicated above were applied.

The available objective reports covering the tremendous and virtually untapped economic potentialities of all the Latin American countries, point to the need for additional manpower in every economic and vocational category. It is estimated that there are about 125,000,000 people in all Latin America. It has been stated frequently in authoritative circles that Argentina alone, with a present population of 13½ million, can support (and needs for maximum development) 90 to 100 million. Brazil too, with a territory
as large as the U. S. A. and a population of about 42 million, needs and can support many times that number. The same can be said and has been said of practically all the other countries.

Furthermore, journalists coming out of Latin America comment favorably on the constructive contributions made by all immigrants in the various countries. This is especially true with respect to the Jews. In this connection, it is interesting to note the statement by S. E. Duran Ballen, Ecuadorian consul-general in New York, at the Atlantic City conference of UNRRA in November 1943. Mr. Ballen told of the satisfaction in his country with the refugees who have settled there. He suggested that after the war a commission should go to Europe to arrange for emigration to Latin America. He expressed the hope that Ecuador would receive free immigration from Europe.

Further, in an article in the Inter-American (April 1944), on post-war Colombia, written by Baldomero Sanin Cano, a noted Colombian journalist, the following statement was made:

"Moreover, the war has brought to Colombia European scientists, technicians, and specialists in many branches of industry whose knowledge and energy will be extremely valuable in the post-war period. This is one of the few real benefits that the country owes to the sorry conflagration into which the world has been plunged."

The above refers only, of course, to the economic contribution of the immigrants. They have also contributed cultural values in music, art, literature, education, and other fields.

This evidence can be multiplied. But it all adds up to the conclusion that the restrictions placed on immigration of refugees into these countries have no basis in logic or the economic realities. They have been inspired by the whole atmosphere of suspicion, hatred, and restriction fostered by the Nazis and accepted by government officials under fascist influence during the whole period from 1933 to 1941, when Germany worked unhampered in most of the Latin American countries — making many friends and influencing important people with its own philosophy and program of hate. Even anti-Nazi, but nationalistic and politically ambitious leaders and lesser officials in these countries, fell into line. The
restrictions were usually accompanied by such arguments as: “Our country needs agricultural workers, and Jews do not qualify for this purpose.” Undoubtedly, these countries did need farmers and people who would work the soil during this period; and they need them now. But they were also in great need of the very skills, technical and professional, commercial and manufacturing, which the refugees offered and brought for the benefit of the country.

In the post-war period the Latin American countries will probably provide immigration possibilities to a considerable number of Jews, primarily for the relatives of the 600,000 already established there. The question of mass immigration, if sought by Jews in Europe, will be determined by the broad political and economic directions taken by the newly created international organizations.

All in all, Jewish life in Latin America has moved forward during the past years. Although there have been internal difficulties in terms of organization, and external problems in the form of anti-Semitism, there has been real progress in the direction of organizing all the activities vital to a healthy Jewish community life. Latin American Jewry today can be counted among those upon whom it will be necessary to call for assistance in rebuilding Jewish life in the war-torn areas of the world.
THE B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATIONS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

By ABRAHAM L. SACHAR*

JEWISH students in the American Universities comprise a most important and strategically placed constituency. Before World War II their number had grown to more than 115,000, representing a little over 10% of the total enrollment in the colleges of the country. This represented a most unusual increase. After the first World War, only a little over 12,000 Jewish students were on the college rolls. The tides of immigration from abroad were too recent for parents to have won sufficient economic security to be able to send their children to the universities. But in the generation that followed, as the economic strength of the American Jewish community grew, it became quite common for the average family to send its more gifted young people to the universities. Indeed, so many sought college opportunities that there were soon alarmed discussions among some boards of trustees over quotas and restrictions. With the return of peace we can expect an even more phenomenal increase. The universities are gearing their machinery for an expected 40% expansion in registration. The Federal government is to spend more than a billion dollars annually in subsidies for returning servicemen who wish to continue with their education. Labor unions are applying pressure to keep young people in college and out of the labor pool for as long as possible. Besides, most young people have learned how much farther they can go, in an age of science, if they have specialized training. We may expect that this new influx into the universities will include about the same 10% proportion of Jewish young people as have come in the past. In other words, in the post-war period there may be as many as 150,000 to 160,000 Jewish young people registered in the

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universities. Here is a superb quarry of specially trained young people from which to draw the leadership of the post-war Jewish communities.

Curiously enough, until recently, very few organized efforts were made to reach this important bailiwick with any sustained Jewish service. Young people left their homes and their associations and, in the most plastic period of their development, when their ideas were beginning to jell, they had almost no contact with the survival values of their heritage. Jewish community leaders who would not think of permitting large Jewish groups in the cities of the country to remain unorganized, to live without synagogues or temples, or educational institutions, or social service agencies, paid little attention to the college campus. Thousands of the potentially most valuable segment of the Jewish community were left to their own resources or to the ministrations of an occasional faculty man who may have had enough interest voluntarily to provide guidance for the Jewish student groups. In the result, some of the finest spirits were lost for the purposes of the Jewish community. They were trained as doctors, lawyers, engineers, chemists, businessmen; they built distinguished records in these areas. They often became outstanding citizens. But since they were given no understanding of basic Jewish values, they drifted out of the orbit of Jewish life, or, if they remained within the family, they gave neither energy nor resources nor dedication to Jewish causes. The neglect of the Jewish college product brought on a hemorrhage of Jewish talent, the ill effects of which are still being felt.

The first organized effort to reach at least the most vigorous Jewish student group was made by the Menorah societies under the challenging and gifted leadership of Henry Hurwitz. Mr. Hurwitz organized the first Menorah unit at Harvard University in 1906. He brought together a little group of students and faculty people who dedicated themselves to an earnest study of Jewish cultural values. The Menorah movement grew, and, during the next two decades, spread to many universities through the country. There were a number of other organized efforts to reach at least the most vigorous Jewish student group. But they depended upon voluntary leadership. They thrived when
there were gifted students on the campus, and they lan-
guished when such students were not present to take the
initiative.

It was quite plain that if there was to be vigor and con-
tinuity in student service, it would require more than vol-
unteer leadership. Stimulating the student interest in Jewish
life was just as much a specialized area as stimulating his
interest in general university values. It could not be left
to the odds and ends of the energy of a volunteer faculty
man. It could not be left to the ephemeral leadership that
might be provided through some exceptional student. It
required trained professional direction, organized program-
ing, adequate and regular community support.

These sinews were finally supplied through the B'nai
B'rith Hillel Foundations, whose outstanding contribution
to student life in America has been the recognition that
student service must be in the hands of men who are specially
prepared for the purpose, who live on the campus all year
'round, and who devote their careers to the students. Once
this principle was recognized and Jewish community support
was won for it, a new era began for the Jewish college student
on American campuses.

The first Hillel unit was established at the University of
Illinois. It came into being almost fortuitously. A Christian
professor of Biblical Literature at the University, Dr. Edward
Chauncey Baldwin, became increasingly concerned because
his Jewish students seemed to be so ignorant about the Bible
which their own people had created. He was a devoted
Christian, high in the councils of the Congregational group,
but he had a genuine love for Hebraic culture and for its
contribution to Western civilization. He had written exten-
sively in the field, and it pained him that the children of the
Book knew so little of its beauty. He utilized every oppor-
tunity that presented itself to awaken the rabbinical and
lay leaders of Illinois to the importance of bringing more
adequate guidance for the Jewish students at the University.
Those with whom he conferred usually agreed with him in
principle, but there the matter rested.

In 1921, Benjamin Frankel, a senior student in the Hebrew
Union College, was assigned the Champaign-Urbana Sinai
Temple as his bi-weekly pulpit. Young Frankel saw at first
hand the aimlessness and the lack of leadership of the growing Jewish student body. Upon his ordination as Rabbi in 1923, he determined to accept the little student community as his rabbinical charge, even though there were no finances in sight to carry the program. He received encouragement from Isaac Kuhn, Champaign's leading citizen, whose concern for the Jewish students even antedated the appointment of Dr. Baldwin to the Illinois faculty. The first year of the experimental Hillel Foundation was a harried one. Funds for salaries, rent, administration, maintenance, and program had to be won by convincing individuals that the project was not a stunt, that it had community value. Dr. Louis L. Mann of Sinai Temple in Chicago, and the distinguished philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald, were among the earliest benefactors who helped to tide the Hillel Foundation through the hazards of precarious pioneering. But after the first year at Illinois, with a successful record of achievement to his credit, Rabbi Frankel succeeded in winning the sponsorship of B'nai B'rith. America's oldest service organization was then widening its scope to take in many new projects and the Hillel program greatly interested its leadership. From then on, with finances on a comparatively secure and responsible basis, the expansion of the Hillel Foundations was assured.

Those who launched the Foundation program at Illinois realized the enormous importance of linking it with a name that would symbolize the best traditions in Jewish life. They concluded that no name would carry greater significance than that of Hillel, the gentle sage of the first century B.C.E., who was one of the outstanding scholars and teachers in Jewish history. His patience and modesty, his devotion to Jewish tradition, above all, his passionate love of Jewish learning, marked him indisputably as the ideal symbol of the Jewish spirit. The name of Hillel is now part of the American university tradition, and on 120 campuses, in association with the names of Wesley and Newman, it helps to integrate the spiritual values of the historic religious groups with the life of the university.

The Hillel technique called for a number of new principles. Aware of the weaknesses of previous efforts conducted on a voluntary basis, Hillel established professional direction for
each of its units. The directors and counselors were usually young rabbis who were chosen from among all Jewish denominational groups, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. Those who were not rabbis were well qualified laymen who had specialized in the field of Judaica. These men, chosen for dynamic personality as well as for a rich Jewish background, devoted their full time to their campus bailiwick. In a very real sense, they were the heads of a Kehillah. They understood that they were to be hospitable to every wholesome expression of Jewish life, that they were not to be missionaries for any individual point of view. In their private lives they followed their own religious predilections. But as Hillel representatives, they were stationed on the campus to serve the needs and the interests of every student group. More than one hundred rabbis and scholars now make up the Hillel family. Since they are stationed on a university campus, most of them continue with their research, contribute to Jewish writing and, entirely apart from their service to students, form a reservoir of scholarship which will play an important part in the future.

The second principle in the Hillel Foundation technique is to stimulate organizational democracy. The students elect their own council which is responsible for the implementation of the Hillel program. The director is the guide, the counselor, the teacher. But the program itself is self-motivated. For example, on virtually every Hillel campus the students organize their own welfare fund. They campaign among their comrades and among the faculty in their annual drives. Their own committees then study the needs of the many causes that call for Jewish support, and on the basis of their own judgment, they make their allocations. In each of the past few years, more than fifty thousand dollars has been raised on Hillel campuses. These substantial funds have given concrete support to worthwhile causes, but even more important has been the training of future community leaders in institutional responsibility and in intelligent and well-informed philanthropy.

The synthesis of professional direction and the democratic student organization has been responsible, during the past twenty years, for the sustained program of Jewish life on the campuses of the country. It has made possible the well-
diversified program which has appealed to every element in a heterogeneous student body by opening to each group its own area of interest.

Primary emphasis of course has been on the cultural and religious program. There are regular religious services on every Hillel campus. Student participation, group singing, aesthetic symbolism, and a host of other supplementary features, have been added to the traditional patterns to enrich the service. Every Foundation sponsors a Seder, with artistic exposition of the symbolism for those students who are unable to return to their homes. Special meals are usually served all through the week in the Foundation premises for students who wish to maintain the strict Passover diet. In several instances refugee couples have been employed to take charge of the meals. Purim usually brings carnivals with the Purim motivation worked into the entertainment. Student committees have been thrilled with the opportunity to express artistic originality in the erection of Hillel Sukkahs.

Several Hillel units have introduced highly specialized honors courses for unusually gifted young people who are apparently destined for leadership. The Director chooses a small group of students for intimate personal association. He guides their reading in the Jewish field and they report back to him at regular intervals in personal conferences. This is an adaptation of the famous Cambridge and Oxford tutorial system. It cannot be employed on any mass scale. But as the training is applied to specially chosen young people of superior intelligence and personality, it is likely to have an enduring effect upon them and upon their communities. The honors course corral for Jewish interest the best brains among the Jewish students. It salvages a good part of their energy for Jewish life. Too many, unguided, give themselves to every cause, except that of their own people. The personal association enables the director to open his own intellectual and spiritual resources to the student and usually evokes from the student the best of his own talents. Most of the students ultimately go into careers in the law, engineering, commerce, or chemistry, but the precious hours of personal association with the director make them very valuable Jewish laymen.

One of the most gratifying features of the Hillel cultural
program has come through the courses in religious education which are offered on many campuses for full university credit. At Illinois, for example, three courses are given in each semester in Jewish History, the Religions of Mankind, and Classics of the Spirit, all of them for undergraduate credit in the university. At the University of Iowa, the School of Religion is as integral a part of the University as the School of Commerce or the School of Journalism. The Hillel director serves as the Jewish Professor, and all of his courses are part of the University curriculum. Credit courses are offered at Alabama, Connecticut, Northwestern, Purdue, Texas, and, in varied ways, in many other parts of the country. Registration varies from several hundred in the Illinois credit courses, to between twenty and twenty-five at Alabama. But, apart from numbers, it is difficult to overemphasize the value of having young people study traditional Jewish values on the plane of academic dignity and with all the disciplines of a university credit course.

Not the least beneficial result of sending a Jewish representative to a college campus is the opportunity that it creates for developing better interfaith relations. The director or counselor becomes a kind of ambassador who does more than merely protect the interests of the Jewish students. By constant contact with faculty people, by addresses that he delivers under university auspices and at service clubs and, above all, by the projects in which he cooperates, he is able to bring a much clearer perception of Jewish values to the non-Jewish constituency. On most campuses there is an interfaith student council with representatives of each of the religions, and also a Religious Workers Association where the directors meet to confer on problems of mutual interest. In many instances the Hillel director has served as president of the Religious Workers Association and the Hillel student leaders have served in the highest offices of the Interfaith Council.

Perhaps the most extensive development of the good will program has taken place at Hunter College in New York. Through the initiative of B'nai B'rith leaders, arrangements were made for the purchase of the New York home of the late President Roosevelt. It was planned to place the home at the disposal of the students of nearby Hunter College to
serve as an interfaith center where Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish students would meet together. The directors of the various Foundations all have their offices in the house. The Hillel headquarters include President Roosevelt’s bedroom where he recovered from infantile paralysis, and the study where he wrote many of his historic papers. The President gave his permission to name the House for his mother: the Sara Delano Roosevelt Memorial House. He also contributed to its furnishings, sent several hundred volumes to the library from his own White House shelves, and in many other ways expressed his gratification that his mother has been commemorated in this creative way. In his letter of greeting to the Hillel representative, at the dedication of the House, the President expressed the hope that the students would always be guided by the principle: In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity.

Several years ago the system was inaugurated of establishing interfaith fellowship awards in memory of outstanding personalities whose lives have been an inspiration to men of all races and creeds. At the University of Illinois such a fellowship honors the memory of Edward Chauncey Baldwin, one of the founders of the Hillel Foundation. At the University of Alabama, there is a Grover Cleveland Hall Award in memory of the editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser*, whose crusading zeal helped to smash the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama. At the University of Kansas, the award is in memory of William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, and one of the most forthright liberals in contemporary American life. At the University of Maryland, the fellowship is in memory of Rabbi Edward Israel, one of the most esteemed members of the National Hillel Commission, and a leader through his lifetime in movements for attenuating group friction. Awards have been established at the University of Wisconsin in honor of King Christian X of Denmark, and at the University of Minnesota in honor of King Gustav V of Sweden. The Fellowships were intended as a tribute to the courage and humaneness of the two Scandinavian sovereigns who, in the teeth of Nazi opposition, had provided havens for refugees from Germany. The awards were gratefully acknowledged by the ministers to the United States of both of these countries. The most recent Fellow-
ships were established at Indiana University in memory of Wendell L. Willkie, and at the University of Cincinnati in honor of Alfred M. Cohen, former President of B'nai B'rith and one of the most distinguished Jewish citizens of the country. The awards are assigned by faculty committees to the students who have done most, during their college careers, to promote interfaith amity on the campus.

The efficacy of a Hillel unit is usually measured publicly by its organized activities. Yet the quiet personal influence of the director or counselor may be fully as substantial. The Hillel representative is the friend of the Jewish students. Many of them come to him with the problems that are common during the transition period of college days. His personal case file is filled with human interest material, for the problems that he handles run the gamut from adolescent love affairs to the deep religious perplexities of young people in a world of turmoil. The director must be rabbi, social worker, parent, and vocational counselor. Hillel, in this respect, is truly "the home away from home."

During the past three years the Hillel Foundation program has been amplified so as to develop resource material for the college level. A Hillel Library Series has been established and special editions of authoritative volumes, written with verve, and designed to interest young people, have been widely distributed. During the war period, a good portion of each edition has been assigned as gifts for Hillel students who have gone into the armed forces. Five volumes have already appeared in the Library Series and many more are in preparation. The distribution of tens of thousands of skillfully edited volumes plays no small part in the growth of Jewish interest on the college campus.

The most recent development in the program has been the campaign to acquire adequate and dignified Hillel Foundation buildings. For the first years of Hillel service, the basic need was to win support for the program itself. Now that contributions to the Hillel Foundation come from virtually every welfare fund in the country, as well as from B'nai B'rith, the sponsoring organization, it has been possible to turn to public-spirited individuals for help to provide physical facilities. As a result of the campaigns of the past two years, nearly two and a half million dollars have been
raised for capital structures. After the war, adequate Hillel homes, symbolic of the finest values in Jewish life, will be erected on the main campuses of the country. For example, the Northwestern Foundation home has been made possible by a princely gift of $150,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Baumgarten of Hillsdale, Michigan. The Hillel House at the University of Chicago is the gift of the family of Max Karasak, whose son, Raymond, was killed in the line of duty, as part of the Air Force.

In the three years which followed Pearl Harbor, a considerable part of the Hillel program was devoted to the service of trainees who were stationed on many American campuses. The Army and Navy officials were glad to turn over to the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish Foundations the responsibility for the religious and social needs of the young people in the armed forces. In cooperation with the Jewish Welfare Board, the universities of the country were drawn very fully into a carefully developed program. At its peak, in the fall and winter of 1943–44, Hillel reached 11,900 trainees on 144 campuses. The military authorities usually cooperated heartily and made every concession consistent with good discipline and military needs. On many campuses the Foundation quarters were declared within bounds, and the directors were given free range in the barracks. The trainees took fullest advantage of Foundation facilities. They were given continuous contact with Jewish life—religious, cultural, and social.

By the middle of 1944, the military program had tapered off considerably because of radically changed military needs. Most of the trainees were siphoned out for more immediate combat service. Hillel was still left with approximately 3,000 trainees, but these could very easily be absorbed into the general civilian fabric and they no longer required special military programs. As the new school year of 1944–45 began, ever larger contingents of returning servicemen were assigned to the colleges, subsidized by the Federal Government in its vast reorientation plan which calls for the expenditure of over a billion dollars annually. Colleges are adapting their schedules and their curricula to cope with these new problems, and all agencies that function within the college framework must follow suit.
It is too early to judge the effectiveness of the newer Hillel units in relation to the graduates who have returned to their communities. For, inevitably, several years must pass before the young people win economic security and can participate actively in Jewish community life. But the older units have been able to make their appraisals. In the Middle West the main Jewish institutions—temples, synagogues, B'nai B'rith lodges, women's auxiliaries, Hadassah groups, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, Jewish philanthropic institutions, and community centers—have now been greatly strengthened by the adherence of Hillel graduates. Illinois has the oldest unit, and a whole generation has grown up in the Illinois area which has been vitally influenced by the Foundation. There is scarcely a Jewish institution within the radius that is served by the Foundation which has not been able to draw upon Hillel products. As the years pass, and thousands of graduates go from their Hillel experience into their home communities, this influence will broaden and deepen. In this way a generation of intelligent Jewish laymen is prepared to meet the heavy responsibilities which fall upon the new world center of Jewish life.

Meantime, there has been an interesting and significant effect of the program upon non-Jewish students. Several hundred Christians are registered each year in the courses which are offered by Hillel Foundations. As these young people go back to their communities after having been under the influence of a Hillel director, they are really ambassadors of good will and understanding. Many of them invariably join the faculty of the Christian Sunday Schools in their home community. There need be little concern as to how they will present to their young charges the story of the Crucifixion, or the appraisal of the Pharisees, or any point of view about Jews and Judaism. In 1942, the National Hillel Director was awarded an honorary degree by the Illinois Wesleyan University, a Methodist institution, because of his impact upon the religious life of generations of Christian college students.

The university campus is changing rapidly. The large number of returned soldiers, subsidized by the Federal Government, will become a substantial portion of the student body. Their maturity, their experience, their seriousness,
will transform academic standards and the social patterns of college life. It will be increasingly important in the future to serve this vital college area. For, unless proper leadership is developed today to understand the basic needs of Jewish life, there will be no leadership tomorrow to give continuity and support to all Jewish institutions. American Jewish life is on its own. The historic centers in European countries have been destroyed. In the past it was not fatal to neglect the educational needs of young people in this country because America could always count on blood plasma from abroad through the transfusions of immigration. There is no more blood plasma. Whatever leadership America is to have, must be native leadership. In this native leadership there will be an important place for well-trained, well-informed, well-disciplined students who are proud to be the heirs of a great tradition.
THE evidence of history demonstrates that since the dispersion of the Jewish people, Jews in the various countries have fulfilled their obligations as citizens in war as in peace. There would certainly therefore be no need for writing a separate record of Jewish achievement in any of the wars of the United States, except for the following reasons:

(a) The Jews of the United States, for past generations, have been interested in recording the story of their contribution to the building and the protection of this democracy and to the enrichment of its culture. During World War I, over a hundred and forty thousand American Jews fought in the armed forces. In the present, the greatest of all our wars, we are under the obligation to continue writing that story.

(b) Subversive elements are at work sowing seeds of suspicion and distrust regarding the activities or the lack of patriotism of various racial, religious, national, ethnic, social, and economic groups. Jews are not immune to such attacks. We must be prepared with the facts and we must publicize the truth. It is that ounce of prevention which will immunize many innocent minds against the poisons and infections of anti-Semitic propaganda.

(c) Hundreds of thousands of Jewish men and women who have been in the service of their country, will at one time or another be discharged. Their social and economic absorption, and, in many cases, rehabilitation, will constitute a gigantic task for governmental and private welfare organizations. This program cannot be improvised, but must be planned long ahead. Local Jewish organizations interested in family welfare, in mental hygiene, in medical care, in

*Director, Bureau of War Records, National Jewish Welfare Board.
vocational guidance and training, and in job placement will be required to meet these needs. To carry out these community responsibilities, the possession of complete and detailed records of all local Jewish servicemen and women is a primary requisite.

(d) City, county, and state War Records Committees, or Commissions, are pleading for the full cooperation of all groups to assist in compiling the complete story of war service for that locality. The organized Jewish communities are expected to contribute their share.

Recognizing these needs, the National Jewish Welfare Board, some four years ago, initiated conferences with a number of the most important national Jewish organizations in order to create some machinery for compiling the information regarding American Jews in the armed forces of World War II. So on October 9, 1941, twenty-one national organizations (now increased to thirty-seven) affiliated with the National Jewish Welfare Board met and resolved that the JWB take the leadership, assume the responsibility, and finance a Bureau of War Records. Because the JWB had, since its creation during World War I, become the recognized servicing agency for Jewish men and women in our armed forces by the Government of the United States, by all of the national agencies interested in the personnel of our military establishments and in veterans, and by all the national Jewish organizations, it was quite logical that it should undertake the establishment and administration of this important program.

It was recognized from the first that this effort must not only satisfy the needs indicated above, but that the findings or the compilations must meet the tests of the closest scientific scrutiny and must be free of any unsound techniques that might invalidate any conclusions to be drawn from the facts.

An Advisory Committee was appointed, headed by Dr. Louis I. Dublin, Second Vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, whose international reputation as a statistician was a guarantee that in the development of the Bureau's program, in the crystallization of its procedures and techniques, and in the publication of its findings, it
would have the benefit of expert guidance of the highest order.

The Advisory Committee that was appointed consisted of representatives from all the national affiliated organizations of the Board, and some members-at-large. The aim was to continue the already existing interest and involvement of these national Jewish agencies, and to utilize their contacts with their local branches, lodges, sections, chapters, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, posts, etc., to draw into this cooperative endeavor all of the Jewish communities throughout the United States.

In addition, a small group of statisticians and others with extensive experience in social research were called in to supervise the studies and the operations of the Bureau. This Technical Committee has devoted considerable time to many of the unique technical problems facing the Bureau of War Records and has taken every precaution that all reports and publications shall be scientifically sound.

The first year and a quarter was devoted to preliminary explorations during which the writer was requested, in the summer of 1942, to review the experience of the Bureau and to undertake a war records study of a nearby Jewish community in order to test the procedures and techniques to be pursued. Trenton, N. J., was selected for this purpose. The Jewish community leaders there were most cooperative and the experience gained provided the basis for the development of the later program involving the setting-up of local war record committees, planning local population studies, and tying up the local activities, with a state-wide, coordinated war records plan.

By the end of 1942, the general policies of the Bureau had been formulated. The actual effort to implement this plan began the following year.

Methods of Work

The writer assumed the directorship of the Bureau on January 1, 1943. It was clear from the beginning that the only way the Bureau could succeed in its undertaking was to operate the war records program on a decentralized basis. It was quite obvious that we must not repeat the
plan pursued in gathering the records of World War I, namely
the setting up of one, over-all central bureau of statistics
which would gather from all possible sources all of the
essential data regarding all men and women in our armed
forces. The technical committee recognized that this plan
called for an amount of office equipment, statistical machin-
ery and paraphernalia, field investigators, clerical and super-
visory staff, so large and extensive as to make the cost
prohibitive.

The only logical and workable alternative was to decen-
tralize the program. Following this principle, the national
office of the Bureau of War Records became, in the first
place, a planning, promotional, and supervisory organiza-
tion. It has formulated procedures for the organization of
local war record committees in every Jewish community
throughout the country; it has outlined the techniques for
gathering the local information, it has formulated and
standardized all of the necessary forms, record cards, sched-
ules, letters of inquiry, and authentications, and it has
described in detail the setting-up and the operation of local
war records files. Secondly, the Bureau devised ways and
means of centralizing in the national office all the authenti-
cations, from all over the United States, of all casualties
(killed, wounded, missing, prisoners) and awards, and on
the basis of a monthly reporting plan, secures statistical
information from the local war records committees of the
status of their files on men and women in the service, the
number of commissioned and enlisted personnel, and the
local count of casualties and awards. Besides providing a
measure of local war records activity, these monthly reports
also provide a basis for the periodic checking of our national
office files on casualties and award counts for each commu-
ity, and for such other data as we may wish to concentrate
on from time to time.

Thirdly, the Bureau has initiated special studies with
reference to special groups in the service, such as physicians,
dentists, refugees, agricultural workers, special groups of
commissioned officers, air-corps men, marines, and other

1 Julian Leavitt: "The Collection of Jewish War Statistics," American Jewish Year
of America.
service branches, utilizing selected representative communities for sampling purposes. It has planned and executed local population studies in order to establish the ratio of Jewish men in the armed forces, since we have no completely accurate figures for the total Jewish population of the United States. We must fall back on such local studies, since whatever national totals we can secure will have no comparative value because of the lack of the denominator to our required fraction. Besides, it is clear that the Bureau at this time cannot make any commitment for a complete name-by-name count of every Jewish man and woman who will have been in the uniform of the United States in World War II. The Bureau, however, has undertaken to secure as complete a name-by-name count of all commissioned officers, in addition to those receiving awards or listed as war casualties.

Finally, the Bureau has undertaken to collect and publish all its findings, based on its studies and on the collection of the data from all the hundreds of functioning war record committees throughout the country.

To help local communities conduct population studies, a special booklet was drafted. It contains complete, detailed instructions on procedures, from the selection and activation of the local survey committee through the compilation of master files, the recruiting and training of volunteers, the geographic distribution of enumerators, schedule preparation, publicity within the Jewish community, checking the returns, and the analysis and interpretation of the findings. In a much larger monograph, this material was given considerably greater detailed treatment, together with samples of the varieties of actual forms, schedules, and the other materials employed. Illustrations drawn from actual survey experience were utilized to underscore some important aspect of the survey process.

Rounding out this sequence of instructional publications was another relating to state and regional organization for
war records work. Thus far these monographs number four and cover the state organizational plans for New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Maine-New Hampshire-Vermont.

In the case of other states that have been organized for state-wide war records activities, one or another of these four booklets was utilized to present the general principles of organization and the specific procedures to be followed. A supplementary memorandum was prepared to assist in making the necessary local adaptations.

Although at the beginning of 1943 there were only a handful of war record committees in operation throughout the United States, by the end of 1943, 378 such committees were in existence. By the middle of 1944, the number increased to about 550, and by the end of 1944 over 750 war record committees were in operation and functioning in close coordination with the National Bureau of War Records. This cooperation was established either directly with the National Office, or through state and regional organizations.

With only two exceptions, viz., New York City and Chicago, every Jewish community throughout the entire United States is attempting to secure as complete a list as possible of every man and woman in the armed forces of the country for World War II. In these two cities the Jewish populations are so large and so scattered geographically, that it was deemed wise to forego a name-by-name enumeration of all men and women in the service. However, in all other respects, the war records program in these two cities corresponds to that in the other Jewish communities. In seventy-two communities authentications on casualties and awards are locally initiated without waiting for lists of names from the National Office. These communities have a total Jewish population approximating 3,650,000, or approximately 80% of the total Jewish population of this country.


5 In the State of Massachusetts, the war records program for the entire state is coordinated through Boston. The State initiates all authentications, has a duplicate of all local files, is in active cooperation with the over-all state program and, generally, supervises the activities of all local war record committees throughout the state.
Weekly releases, from the Office of War Information, on casualties and awards are sent directly to the nine largest Jewish communities, those of New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Boston, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and San Francisco, which together comprise close to 3,000,000 of the estimated 4,550,000 Jews in the United States. The National Office, however, maintains its own control list for these cities to guarantee that no names are missed, and frequent checking is carried on in this connection.

It is noteworthy that in every one of the 208 Jewish communities having a Jewish population of 1,000 or more (representing 96.6% of the total Jewish population of the United States) there is either a local war records committee which is active and in close touch with our National Office, or a reliable correspondent upon whom we can depend for specific information regarding any local person in the armed forces. The larger Jewish communities have come to realize the importance of this program and, having made provision for space, staff, and operational expense, are financing the undertaking locally. Thus, for all Jewish communities having a population of 20,000 or over (a total of 24, representing over 76% of the total Jewish population of the country), 10 have a full-time, paid professional worker on war records, 3 have full-time volunteer workers, 9 have engaged a part-time clerical worker operating under professional supervision, and 2 operate their local war records program with part-time volunteers.

Early in 1943 we recognized the importance and the value of effecting a tie-up between Jewish war record committees, operating singly or through regional or state units, with the total programs for writing the war history of each state. Accordingly, the Bureau of War Records of the National Jewish Welfare Board became a member of the American Association for State and Local History, and has utilized this affiliation to effect a closer integration of our work with that of the various states throughout the entire country.

The separate States are manifesting an equally keen interest in recording the contributions made by their sons.

* The cities include: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Francisco.
and daughters. A number of them have issued booklets, leaflets or monographs outlining in detail the procedures to be followed by local groups toward building up a satisfactory and presentable state record. States in which such a general integration of war records activity has been completed include: New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Ohio, North Carolina, South Carolina, Idaho, Oregon, and the tri-state area including: western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, and northern West Virginia. In process of organization are the states of Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Washington, and California. The anticipated increase in the field staff of the Bureau for the latter part of 1945 and for 1946 will, it is hoped, make possible the addition of other important states such as: Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Rhode Island, Texas, and Wisconsin.

When our state war record programs were launched in Ohio, New York, and Connecticut, the executive officers of each of the State War History Commissions were present at the organization meeting, addressed the representatives, and gave every encouragement to our program. In Ohio, the chairman of our war records activity for the state became, automatically, a member of the Board of the State War History Commission.

The great value in having Jewish war records part of state archives, rather than of our own local private history, which would increasingly become inaccessible to the general public, is self-evident.

Typical of these are:


c. "The Ohio War Commission," Ohio State Museum, Columbus, Ohio. 1944 (7 pp.).

d. "An Outline Guide for Local Historical Committees," prepared by the Advisory Historical Committee of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety, March 22, 1944 (5 pp.).
Results Achieved Thus Far

At this point, it may be appropriate to inquire: What has all of this planfulness actually brought in by way of data and useful statistics? The remainder of this presentation will, therefore, be devoted to some of our findings to date, and to an outline of what we hope to be able to publish finally.

Those familiar with the problem of Jewish identification, whether by name, by affiliations, by religious preference, by parentage, or by any and all other criteria, will realize the complexity of the scientific and statistical problems involved. The sampling techniques followed are those that have already gained acceptance through their adoption by the United States Bureau of the Census and, to an extent, by the more reliable public opinion polls.

In New York City, our estimates are based on sampling studies in all of the five boroughs and on the careful statistical application of our findings in complete counts in other Jewish communities, which are then applied to the latest reliable figures of the New York City Jewish population (New York City's Welfare Council Youth Survey, 1935), and brought up-to-date on the best available information regarding the growth of the Jewish population to 1944 and 1945. The sampling procedure involves the canvass of some fifty statistically valid selected areas and census tracts for a complete house-to-house coverage of Jewish families residing in these sections. These city segments are, by objectively determined processes of selection, representative and typical of the entire Jewish community in all the five boroughs of the metropolis. Every step in these procedures is critically examined by a special subcommittee of our Technical Committee, which is expert in sampling techniques.

The results of our studies thus far may be divided into three divisions:

1. The statistics on the ratio and number of Jewish men and women in our armed forces;
2. The current figures on casualties and awards;
3. The results of our special studies on physicians, dentists, refugees, ratios in the air-corps, the marines, Jewish men in the service from farm families, etc.

It should be emphasized that the Bureau is still gathering its data, and that these findings are but the beginning of a longer story to be completed after the War has been brought to a successful termination.

For the reader's convenience the facts will be arranged in the order outlined above:

1. Ratio and Number in Our Armed Forces

The limitations in securing an accurate and complete count of all Jewish men and women in our armed forces for the entire United States have been pointed out earlier. Attention has also been called to the inadequacies of current Jewish population statistics. Under the circumstances the securing of a ratio based on these unsatisfactory figures would be indefensible. We have, therefore, adopted the alternative of selecting specific communities for study, covering all sections of the country, involving small, intermediate, and large cities, and securing as good a cross-section as possible of the American Jewish population, from the points of view of recent immigration, old and young communities, national origins of the population, economic status, urbanization, degree of industrialization, ratio to the total population, and similar factors. The aim was to secure as complete a count of the Jewish population as possible, and in each instance to determine these facts:

a. The total Jewish population;
b. The number of Jewish males 18 to 44 inclusive;
c. The number of Jewish males in the service;
d. The total population of that city;
e. The number of all males 18 to 44 inclusive;
f. The number of all males in the service.

These data then provide ratios in answer to the questions:

a. What is the ratio of the Jewish to the total population?
b. What is the ratio of Jewish men in the service to all men in the service from that city?
c. What is the proportion of men drawn from the Jewish manpower pool (18-44) in comparison with the ratio from the manpower pool of the city as a whole?

d. Are Jews contributing their share?

The answers for each of the selected cities are provided in the following table for thirteen studies made in 1942, 1943 and 1944:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Study</th>
<th>City — State</th>
<th>Percentage of Jews in the total population</th>
<th>Percentage of Jews in the Service</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1. August '42</td>
<td>Trenton, N. J.</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. July '43</td>
<td>Lynn, Mass.</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. November '43</td>
<td>Portland, Me.</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. November '43</td>
<td>Stamford, Conn.</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. February '44</td>
<td>Wilmington, Del.</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. March '44</td>
<td>Allentown, Pa.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. April '44</td>
<td>Toledo, Ohio</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. May '44</td>
<td>Hammond, Ind.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. June '44</td>
<td>Youngstown, Ohio</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. July '44</td>
<td>Denver, Col.</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. August '44</td>
<td>Madison, Wis.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. September '44</td>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. November '44</td>
<td>New York City, N. Y.</td>
<td>Sampling Study.</td>
<td>See comments following.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These studies are continuing, and when they are completed we may have a total of approximately twenty-five to thirty returns from all sections of the country.

For New York City, it was obvious that because of the large size and dispersion of the Jewish population a sampling procedure would have to be resorted to. This sampling procedure involved visits to 5,867 Jewish families, representing 17,870 persons. On the basis of New York City’s Selective Service figures, 11.0 percent of the city’s population were in the service, at the time of the study, November 1, 1944. For the sampled Jewish families visited, the percentage of Jews in the service was 11.4. This plus difference of 0.4 is not significant, however, when tested statistically. The conclusion that follows is, that, based on this first sampling study, the Jews of New York City are in the armed forces in the same proportion as is indicated for the entire population of the city.

These are the results of the first sampling study. A second supplementing the first, has just been concluded. A third sampling study may be undertaken if found necessary.
It should also be made clear that the Jewish population percentages represent in some instances a complete count of every Jew in that city. In others it represents anywhere from a 60% to a 90% count. The necessity for an extensive rather than an intensive study, the dependence upon volunteers and local professional workers, and the need for a rapid survey, prevented the kind of continuous follow-up and study that would yield returns from the total Jewish population. However, in all instances, 60% or more, a cross-section of the entire Jewish community, was canvassed.

The returns from New York City and from the other twelve cities studied demonstrate that Jews are contributing their proportion of manpower to the armed strength of our country.

In this connection, we might dwell a moment on the question of estimating the total number of Jews in the armed forces of the country. For this purpose, consideration was given first, to the evidence from New York City, and second, to the evidence from our studies in other cities. As has already been stated, the estimate for New York City was based on the total Selective Service figures, the proportion of Jews as revealed in the 1935 Welfare Council Youth Study, and other considerations involving the growth and composition of the city's population during the past ten years. Secondly, for the rest of the country, our community studies revealed that our contribution of man power was being made at the "going rate," for the United States as a whole. Insofar as the total Jewish population of the United States is concerned, the Technical Committee concluded, on the basis of local population studies conducted by the Bureau of War Records and by other agencies, that the total was closer to 4,550,000 than to the higher estimate of the Jewish Statistical Bureau, for 1937. On this basis it concluded that "up to the third anniversary of Pearl Harbor in 1944, the number of men of Jewish faith who answered the call to service in the armed forces was close to a half million, if it did not exceed that figure." This number represented about 11% of the Jewish population of the United States in our armed forces, compared with about 9% of the total population of the country in the armed forces (as of Dec. 7, 1944).
The difference can be accounted for by such factors as the greater urbanization of the Jew as compared with the entire population of the country, and the differences in occupational distribution, economic status, health standards, educational attainments, and other factors which could serve as accelerating forces for enlistment or the draft.

2. The Current Figures on Casualties and Awards

In presenting these data, it should be made clear that there is a distinct lag between the occurrence of an event on the battlefield and its final recording in the files of the Bureau. There are many steps in between that inevitably delay marking an item "authenticated and complete." The following table is, therefore, to be regarded as a preliminary

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**JEWISH WAR RECORDS**

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...
and incomplete report. To make the table more significant we have added a column of "expectancies." The latter figures are based on the assumption that the Jews are about 3.7% of the population of the United States, and that the Jewish casualties have been at the same rate. We have depended very largely on the distinctiveness of Jewish names and other identifying clues for the selection of names from casualty lists for follow-up. In the smaller cities throughout the country, War Record Committees are more familiar with the Jewish families residing in their community. However, it will be necessary to consult government records and to engage in an intensive "drive" in the Jewish communities when the war is concluded, if a satisfactorily complete list of casualties is to be compiled.

3. Special Studies

*Physicians:* In cooperation with the Conference on Jewish Relations, a study was made late in 1943 and early in 1944, covering all of New York State, eastern New Jersey (11 counties), and twenty-two medium sized communities all over the country. It was revealed that about 60% of all Jewish physicians in those areas, under the age of 45, were in our armed forces. While this percentage was slightly above the comparable figure for the physicians group as a whole, 32% of the Jewish physicians of all ages were in uniform against about 27.5% of the total medical practitioners who had already been drawn into the service up to that time.

One of the studies to be completed when the final record of Jewish men and women is compiled, is that of the number and proportion of Jewish dentists in various branches of the service. One aspect of this study was concluded for New York City in the early part of 1945. Excellent cooperation was received from Procurement and Assignment, the N. Y. State Department of Education, the First and Second District Dental Societies, the Alpha Omega and Sigma Epsilon dental fraternities, New York and Columbia Universities, and from a special committee of dentists.

The number of dentists involved came to a total of 8,194. The religious backgrounds of 91% of these were known. For
this group, 29.5% of the Jewish dentists were, or had been, in uniform, against 23.5% for the other groups. What the evidence will be for the entire State of New York and for other sections of the country cannot be predicted. These additional studies are now being made. The evidence from New York City, however, justifies the conclusion that those appeals and needs which operated to draw dentists into the service, applied equally to Jews as to other groups.

Refugees: At the same time that the physicians study was being conducted, a similar inquiry was in progress in cooperation with the National Refugee Service to determine the extent to which refugees recently admitted to this country were in our armed forces.

It should be remembered that for over a year after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, and more emphatically, before that date, the refugees were, with few exceptions, refused admission to our armed forces. On record are numerous instances of keen disappointment and discouragement, the result of rebuffs and rejections which these newcomers suffered.

In the face of that situation, the figures for Jewish refugees in the service should prove most interesting. Frankly, we anticipated a considerably smaller ratio than that for the country as a whole.

On the basis of initial returns from 17 Jewish communities (including such cities as Buffalo, N. Y., San Antonio, Texas, Birmingham, Alabama, Peoria, Ill., Youngstown, Ohio, Allentown, Pa. and Duluth, Minn.), corroborated by later data from New York City and other large centers of Jewish population, it was found that 34% of male refugees in the 18-44 age group, the same proportion as obtained in that age category for the male population of the country as a whole, were in the service.

This was the situation at the beginning of 1944. Now, over a year and a half later, when approximately 50% of all men in this country in the age group 18-44, have been or are still in the service, there is every reason to believe that the same ratio for Jewish refugees has been maintained. It will be interesting to see to what extent subsequent studies, including a statistical recanvass, substantiate this.
Service Branches: (Air Force and Marines).

Not until the war is concluded will we be in possession of complete and final data on the distribution of men in the various branches of the service. However, we do have some preliminary information regarding the distribution of Jewish men in these branches which may be of interest at this time.

It should be noted that as the war proceeds, one or another branch of the service stands out as the one which involves the greatest risks. At first, before the Army and the Navy swung into full action, it was the Air Force, then the Navy C. B.'s, then the Marines and, lately, the Infantry. Actually, no branch of the service is free of great risks to life and limb. Which branch of the service becomes the most hazardous depends on the problem confronting our military strategists at the moment, and the kind of attack that will conserve most lives yet achieve victory. Of course, our enemy also has something to say about this. That activity, or branch of the service, becomes most hazardous which at a given moment is most vulnerable, or which, for the enemy's strategic or tactical purposes, must be attacked. The group involved might be farthest from the front lines and, mistakenly, be regarded as most secure.

Air Force and Other Branches:

Late in 1943, we canvassed communities for information regarding the percentage of Jewish men in various service-segments of the army, with special reference to those in the Air Force. Typical among the returns were the following (close to 4,000 men involved):

At this time, with much of the information regarding the activities of men in the service withheld from the public for reasons of military security, comparisons between the distribution shown by this group of men and that for the country as a whole are not possible. It is significant, however, to note the large proportion in combat units, and the high ratio of men in the air forces. At the time of this study our Army Air Force strength stood at about 2,350,000 officers and men. The strength of the army, as a whole, was in the neighborhood of 8,000,000 men. The percentage of army
# Jews in the Army

## Distribution by Service Sections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Combat</strong></td>
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<td>60.7</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>63.0</td>
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<td>Air Forces</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td>9.6</td>
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<td>Cavalry</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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<td>3.6</td>
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<td>10.2</td>
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<td>7.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Police</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartermaster &amp; Adjutant General</td>
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<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<td><strong>Specialized Training</strong></td>
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<td>5.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>13.2</td>
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<td>Chaplains</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<td>Chemical Warfare</td>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical, dental, etc.</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordnance</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Including Tank Destroyers.  
<sup>2</sup> Including Coast Artillery, Field Artillery & Anti-Aircraft  
<sup>3</sup> Including Ski Troops  
<sup>4</sup> Including Special Services, Transport, Intelligence, Morale, Legal, Librarians, etc.

The strength in the air force was, therefore, approximately 29%. The proportion of Jewish men in this section of the service compares favorably with that for the country as a whole.

## Marines and the Navy

When the war in the Pacific intensified during the latter part of 1943 and in 1944, it became evident that the Marines would displace the Army Air Force in rate of mortality. The
question then arose: What is the percentage of Jews in the Marines? Associated with this question was that of the percentage of Jews in the Navy as a whole.

A rapid, preliminary survey was made in November 1944. At that time the number of men in the Army and the Navy was about 11,670,000. The number of men in the Navy, including the Coast Guard and the Marine Corps, was about 3,541,000. The number of men in Marine Corps alone was 480,000. The relative percentages were then as follows:

Percentage of men in the Navy to all servicemen: 30.3%
Percentage of Marines to all Navy men: 13.6%

Returns from 74 Jewish communities from all over the United States, representing all types and varieties of cities as to size, population composition, economic status, native-foreign born ratios, and other characteristics, and totaling over 47,000 Jewish men (then over 10% of all Jewish men in our armed forces), revealed the following:

Percentage of Jews in the Navy to all Jewish servicemen: 13.7%
Percentage of Jews in the Marine Corps to all Jews in the Navy: 10.4%

The significant point is that against 13.6% of all men in the Navy who were in the Marines, the comparable figure for Jews was 10.4%. It is noteworthy that, although Jews are in the Navy in about half the proportion as compared with the country as a whole, the rate of Jewish “leathernecks” to all Jews in the Navy closely approximates the total proportion of all Navy men in this combat section of the service.

The smaller percentage of Jewish men in the Navy may be explained on the basis of the occupational pattern of Jews during peacetime, the early operation of the draft which drew all men into the Army, and other factors which favored enlistments in the Army rather than the Navy.

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11 Twenty-one cities had Jewish populations of 1,000 or less; thirty-five were between 1,000 and 5,000; thirteen were between 5,000 and 50,000; and five had Jewish populations over 50,000.
Service Men from Farm Families

During the latter part of 1944, the Jewish Agricultural Society and the Bureau of War Records cooperated on a "spot-check" study of men in the service from Jewish farm families in three scattered sections of the country typical of Jewish farm settlements. These included Colchester, Conn.; Benton Harbor and South Haven, Mich.; and Hightstown, N. J.

Against a contribution of 36.4% to the armed forces by the total experienced male labor force in this country, 18-44 years of age, the farmer and farm labor groups contributed only 20.6%.

The total number of Jewish farm families interviewed was close to 300, consisting of approximately 1,100 individuals. The returns indicated that 7.5% of this group were in service representing 30.0% of all Jewish male farmers in the 18-44 age group, compared with 6.2% for farm laborers for the country as a whole, and the 20.6% from the total pool of agricultural workers in the 18-44 age group.

Judging from this sample, it appears that the ratio of Jewish servicemen coming from agricultural pursuits is higher than that for agricultural workers, of the same age group, in general, and approximates more closely the rate of participation from urban sections, and from non-deferrable occupations.

* * *

It should be kept in mind that this report on the results of some of our studies is only preliminary, and represents merely "first diggings." When the work of the Bureau is completed, some of these studies will be better rounded and more complete than they are at present. Other studies now under way or contemplated will be added, and we shall have more lists and findings than are now available. Such additions will include a list of commissioned officers by rank; a complete list of physicians in the service; more adequate figures on the number of Jewish women in uniform, their branches and ranks.

The availability of, and access to, official records in Washington will help materially in rounding out and com-
pleting our different compilations and our special studies and reports. There is every reason to be optimistic on the availability of this material. We are already gratefully appreciative of, and deeply indebted to various War Department and Government Bureaus who have so willingly extended to us all the help, guidance, and advice permissible during the war, when so much information must remain restricted. A special word of commendation is also due our hundreds of local war record committees, and the thousands of conscientious and devoted volunteers, without whose interest and cooperation this work would have been impossible.
JEWISH CHAPLAINS IN WORLD WAR II

By PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN*

THE second world war presented the Jewish religious community with some difficult problems. It was destined to remove over half a million American Jews from their homes and scatter them in military installations throughout the world. To meet their religious needs, hundreds of rabbis would be required as chaplains. But the total rabbinate of America numbers a little over a thousand, and over half were disqualified for the chaplaincy by reason of age, health, or shortcomings in formal, secular, or religious education.

Furthermore, at the outbreak of the war there was not a single rabbi serving as a chaplain in the regular Army or Navy, although 29 were in the Reserve, most of whom quickly responded to war needs. Between World Wars I and II, there had never been sufficient Jews stationed anywhere with the Armed Forces to justify the presence of a Jewish chaplain at any particular point. The JWB had served the religious needs of the Jewish personnel in the regular Army and Navy in camps, naval stations and hospitals in continental United States and in places like Hawaii, Panama, and the Philippines, with civilian rabbis and professional representatives.

When the United States became involved in World War II, the rabbinate immediately recognized the needs and accepted the responsibilities. Within the framework of the JWB, which was authorized by the War and Navy Departments to endorse Jewish chaplains, there was organized the Committee

* Rabbi on leave from Temple B'rit Kodesh, Rochester, N. Y., to serve as Executive Director of the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities of the National Jewish Welfare Board.
on Army and Navy Religious Activities (CANRA). Dr. David de Sola Pool was Chairman, Dr. Barnett R. Brickner (Reform) Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Rabbi Louis M. Levitsky (Conservative) Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein (Orthodox) Vice-Chairman.

In its organization as in all phases of its work, there was representation of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform; and a pattern of working unity was achieved which endured throughout the entire war experience, and may well serve as a model for the American Jewish community after the war. Agreement was reached on liturgical materials, literature, responsa, etc., which enabled the Committee to serve the totality of American Jewish personnel in the Armed Forces.

CANRA, through the rabbinical associations which constitute it, made known the chaplaincy needs to the American rabbinate. Well over half the rabbis of the country responded to the call. By September 2, 1945, the date of Japanese surrender, 309 rabbis had been commissioned in the Armed Forces as compared with a total of 26 in World War I. These constituted probably over two-thirds of the eligible qualified rabbis of the country and, to the best of the writer's knowledge, the highest percentage of any religious group in the land. As of September 2, 1945, allowing for deaths and separations from the service, there were 288 Jewish Chaplains in the active service; 245 in the Army, 42 in the Navy, and 1 in the Maritime Service. Of these Chaplains, 136 were Reform, 93 were Conservative, and 59 were Orthodox.

Many of these rabbis faced difficult problems of religious observance and adjustment to the hardships of military life. With but rare exceptions they adjusted splendidly to these new conditions. The primary reason was that the chaplains, like their endorsing body, gave priority to serving the Jewish men and women in uniform. It was universally accepted that the denominational loyalties and personal religious predilections of the chaplains must be subordinated to the needs of the Jewish G. I. This led to more observance of tradition by the Reform, a liberalization of the Orthodox,
and an expansion of Conservatism, which seemed to characterize the general pattern that evolved under military conditions.

The Jewish chaplains were confronted with peculiar practical problems. They served a small, widely scattered minority group. In a camp containing perhaps 20,000 men and measuring some fifty square miles, there might be 20 Christian chaplains carefully assigned to meet the geographic and institutional needs. But only one Jewish chaplain could justifiably be assigned to serve its thousand or so Jews. He would have to cover all areas and institutions of the camp and in the same morning or evening he might find it necessary to conduct two or three services at points ten or fifteen miles apart. The JWB assisted the chaplains with special arrangements for transportation. However, in the very nature of the situation, it was necessary for the Jewish chaplain to work harder and cover more ground than would be expected of most of the chaplains.

This was doubly true in many overseas assignments. One Jewish chaplain covered by air, a distance of some 10,000 miles in the Atlantic stretching from the Azores to Greenland. Another served the religious needs of all the Jews scattered in the far flung islands of the Aleutian chain. The congregation of still another reached from the African Gold Coast to Karachi in India. For an extended period a single chaplain was responsible for the religious activities of all the Jewish personnel in China. Jewish chaplains penetrated to remote places where no Jewish services had been previously conducted in all recorded history.

In fact, the total picture of the American rabbinate overseas in World War II is one of which the American community can well be proud. 210 Jewish chaplains served overseas as compared with a total of 6 in the first world war. They accompanied American troops to all the battlefields of the global conflict. Jewish chaplains were in the armies that defeated Rommel in North Africa, that conquered the Anzio beachhead, that defeated the Germans in the Battle of the Bulge, that drove the Japanese out of Iwo Jima. The writer in the performance of his duties has visited most of the
war areas and found everywhere a respect and appreciation for the service and the example of the Jewish chaplains. This was confirmed by all other missions sent overseas. It was universally reported that they gave a sense of dignity, of self-respect, and of stature to the Jewish personnel whom they served and represented.

They also served effectively as interpreters of Jews and Judaism to non-Jews. They represented and interpreted Judaism to vast numbers of Christians who previously had no contact with it. In innumerable instances they helped the military to understand the special problems and needs of the Jewish personnel. In even more instances they assisted Jews in their adjustment to military psychology and requirements.

The Jewish chaplains in North Africa and Europe were called upon to enact an historic role in the liberation of Jews from Nazi-Fascist oppression. In most instances they were the first representatives of Jewry to make contact with Jewish communities in those areas which had been cut off from the Jewish world and the free world for many years. Jewish chaplains were hailed as saviors. Their uniforms were bathed in the tears of joy and gratitude of the liberated. In many places they reorganized the broken Jewish communities and secured temporary relief for hungry, destitute Jews.

In Germany, Austria, France, and Belgium, they rendered heroic services. It was Jewish chaplains who first brought hope, freedom, food and outside contacts to the miserable, forlorn, surviving Jewish prisoners in such Nazi concentration camps as Dachau and Buchenwald. With the aid of military authorities and the generosity of Jewish G. I.'s, they sustained the lives of thousands of displaced persons. They re-established community life for the homeless and organized schools for the children who remained alive. They prepared and transmitted to responsible Jewish agencies the first authentic lists of the survivors. They helped refugees to go to neutral countries and to Palestine.

It should be stated in passing that as the stimulation and organization of Jewish community life was a concomitant of the chaplain's role overseas, it similarly accompanied his service in many places in the United States. Scattered Jews
in certain remote sections of Oregon or Texas, for example, who could not worship in Jewish services or educate their children as Jews, found under the impact of the leadership of a Jewish chaplain in a nearby military camp, inspiration and assistance for the establishment of their own community life. Jewish communities were revived and others were brought into existence by the very presence of a rabbi in uniform nearby.

The Jewish chaplains received promotions as follows: In the Army 2 Jewish chaplains achieved the rank of Lt. Col., 20 became Majors, 157 were promoted to the Captaincy. In the Navy 1 is a Commander, 3 were promoted to Lt. Commanders and 27 are full Lieutenants. The one chaplain in the Maritime Service bears the rank equivalent to Lt. (Sr. Gr.).

Jewish chaplains received the following honors and awards:

**Bronze Stars**

Camillus Angel
Herman Dicker
David M. Eichhorn
Norman Feldheym
Harold Goldfarb
Meyer J. Goldman
Samson M. Goldstein
Harry Jolt
Aaron Kahan
Morris N. Kertzer

Sidney M. Lefkowitz
Ernst M. Lorge
Robert Marcus
Jacob M. Ott
Aaron Paperman
W. Gunther Plaut
Melvin S. Sands
Emanuel Schenk
Soseph S. Shubow
Henry Tavel

**Presidential Citation**

Emanuel Schenk
Irving Tepper*

**Naval Citation**

Morton M. Berman (Bronze Star)
Roland B. Gittelsohn (Citation)
Elihu H. Rickel (Bronze Star)

**Posthumous Award**

Alexander D. Goode — Distinguished Service Cross

* Now deceased.
Six Jewish chaplains lost their lives during the course of the war: Rabbis Henry Goody, Samuel D. Horwitz, and Herman L. Rosen in this country. Chaplain Louis Werfel was killed in an airplane crash in North Africa, as he was flying to conduct a service for a small remote group, beyond the line of duty. Chaplain Irving Tepper was killed in action in France by a Nazi fragmentation bomb. He had participated in every major invasion and had refused rotation to the United States to which he was entitled, because he wished to share the final victorious invasion with his own men.

Chaplain Alexander D. Goode was one of four chaplains — two Protestants, one Catholic, and a Rabbi who went to their death in the North Atlantic when the transport Dorchester was torpedoed. The chaplains gave their life-belts to members of the crew and were last seen praying at the rail together when the ship went under. This sacrifice of Rabbi Goode and his three companions in God, has become part of the honored folk-lore of America.

It is too early to evaluate the influence of the Jewish chaplains upon the future of Judaism in America. But there is no question that the impact of some 300 Rabbis on half a million Jewish youth will leave a permanent beneficial mark upon the future American Jewish community. Furthermore, the return of these rabbis to civilian communities will be a factor of major importance in their future development. For these rabbis have come close to the heart of American Jewish youth. They know their problems, their needs, their hopes; they have also come to know the non-Jews of America more intimately than ever before. They have learned a good deal about organization. They will be equipped to provide American Jewry with a vital, experienced, courageous leadership of which it stands greatly in need.
Jewish Chaplains in American Armed Forces


ADLER, MORRIS, Lt, Army; b. Russia, Mr. 30, 1906; in U. S. since 1912; married, 1 ch.; B.S.S., C. C. N. Y., '29; rabbi, J. T. S., '35; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Shaarey Zadek, Detroit, Mich.; ind. January, 1944; Pacific (Japan).


APPLEBAUM, KARL, Lt, Army; b. U. S., Feb. 10, 1910; married, 2 ch.; B.S., State Teachers College, Pa., '32; M.S., C. C. N. Y., '35; private ordination; m., R. C. A.; Avenue M Jewish Center, Bklyn; ind. June 1945; U. S.


BARACK, NATHAN A., Lt, Army; b. Russia, Jl. 2, 1913; in U. S. since 1923; married, 1 ch.; B.S., Lewis Inst., '34; H. T. C, '36; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Beth El, Phoenix, Ariz.; ind. June 1944; Europe.

BARASCH, NATHAN E., Major, Army; b. Rumania, May, 1888; married, 2 ch.; rabbi, H. U. C, '18; m., C. C. A. R.; ind. May 1941; active service; before 1930 in Reserve; temporary duty Panama; U. S.


BAUMOL, Irving, Lt., Army; b. Rumania, Mr. 24, 1914; in U. S. since 1923; married; B.A., Brooklyn College, '36; rabbi, J. T. S., '40; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Temple Beth Sholom, N. Y. C.; ind. January 1943; North Africa until December 1943; separated from service December 1943.

BAZELL, Solomon N., Lt, s.g., Navy; b. Russia, Jl. 20, 1901; in U. S. since 1901; married, 2 ch.; B.A., U. of Cin., '18; rabbi, H. U. C., '21; m., C. C. A. R.; Temple Brith Sholom, Louisville, Ky.; ind. Je. 29, 1943; temporary duty Caribbean area; U. S.


BLINDER, Aaron, Capt., Army; b. Russia, Dec. 14, 1912; in U. S. since 1921; single; B.S.S., C. C. N. Y., '34; rabbi, E. T. S., '36; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Adath Zion, Philadelphia, Pa.; ind. Mr. 12, 1943; Europe.


BLUMENTHAL, Ralph H., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 29, 1909; married, 1 ch.; B.A., U. of Cin., '31; rabbi, H. U. C., '34; m., C. C. A. R.; Cg. Beth El, Knoxville, Tenn.; ind. December 1942; India.


BOKSER, Ben Zion, Capt., Army; b. Poland, Jl. 4, 1907; in U. S. since 1920; married, 1 ch.; Ph.D., Columbia, '34; rabbi, J. T. S., '31; m., R. A. A.; Forest Hills Jew. Center, Forest Hills, N. Y.; ind. March 1944; U. S.


Breslau, Isadore, Capt., Army; b. Russia, Jan. 20, 1897; in U. S. since 1906; married, 2 ch.; B.A., N. Y. State Teachers' Col., '22; rabbi, M.H.L., J. I. R., '28; m., C. C. A. R.; ind. Mr. 12, 1943; Europe.

Brill, Mordecai, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 24, 1910; married; Ph.B., U. of Chicago, '32; rabbi, J. T. S., '36; m., R. A. A.; Brith Sholom Com. Center, Bethlehem, Pa.; ind. Je. 14, 1943; U. S.


Cardon, E. Louis, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Sept. 18, 1907; married, 1 ch.; Crane College, '33; rabbi, H. T. C., '33; m., R. C. A.; Cg. B'nai Abraham, Springfield, Ill.; ind. May 18, 1944; Pacific.


Chertoff, Gershon B., Lt, Army; b. U. S., Apr. 12, 1915; single; B.A., Brooklyn Col., '35; rabbi, J. T. S., '41; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Rodeph Sholom, Bridgeport, Conn.; ind. December 1943; Europe until Aug. 1945; U. S.

Chill, Abraham, Lt, Army; b. U. S., Mr. 30, 1912; married, 2 ch.; LL.D., Andrew Jackson University, '40; rabbi, Yeshiva Petach Tikvah, '34; m., R. C. A.; Fifth Ave. Syn., Nashville, Tenn.; ind. August 1942; U. S.; separated from service May 1943.

Chomsky, Samuel W., Major, Army; married; rabbi, H. U. C.; m., C. C. A. R.; ind. 1942; Pacific until July 1945; U. S.


Daina, M. Max Herbert, Lt, Army; b. Russia, Jan. 31, 1907; in U. S. since 1925; married, 2 ch.; privately ordained, '35; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Poiley Zedeck, Syracuse, N. Y.; ind. Sept. 25, 1944; Pacific.


Dicker, Herman, Capt., Army; b. Czecho-Slovakia, Jan. 30, 1914; in U. S. since 1938; married; Ph.D., U. Berlin and Zurich, '37; rabbi, Hildesheimer Sem., Berlin, '36; m., R. C. A.; Cg. in Ulm, Germany; ind. Je. 2, 1943; Europe; Bronze Star.


Engel, Meir, Capt., Army; b. Palestine, Sept. 12, 1914; in U. S. since 1937; married; M. A., Hebrew U., '38; rabbi, J. T. S., '42; m., R. A. A.; Brith
Shalom Community Center, Philadelphia, Pa.; ind. September 1943; Pacific.

Engelberg, Louis, Lt, Army; b. U. S., Je. 28, 1910; married, 1 ch.; B.A., Yeshiva College, '32; rabbi, E. T. S., '37; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Oheb Zedek, Cleveland, O.; ind. May 1943; Europe until April 1945; U. S.

Eskin, Herbert S., Capt., Army; b. Russia; in U.S. since 1923; single; A.B., Detroit Inst. Tech., '32; rabbi, private ordination; m., R. C. A.; Port Huron Community Center, Port Huron, Mich.; ind. May 19, 1943; Europe.

Eson, Morris E.; Lt., Army; b. Canada, Apr. 18, 1921; in U. S. since 1937; married, M. A., University of Chicago, '44; rabbi, private ordination, '43; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Beth Joseph, Chicago, Ill.; ind. July 1945; U. S.


Fedder, Abraham H., Lt, Army; b. Russia, Je. 4, 1900; in U. S. since 1901; married, 2 ch.; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, '24; rabbi, J. T. S., '29; m., R. A. A.; Laurelton Jewish Center, Laurelton, N. Y.; ind. Dec. 7, 1943; Europe.


GARSEK, ISADORE, Capt., Army; b. Russia, Nov. 30, 1913; in U. S. since 1919; married, rabbi, H. T. C., '39; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Shaareth Israel, Lubbock, Tex.; ind. June 1944; U. S.

GEIGER, LEO, Capt., Army; b. Palestine, Apr. 10, 1910; in U. S. since 1937; married; B.S.S., C. C. N. Y., '36, LL.B., Mercer U., '40; rabbi, J. T. S., '43; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Sons of Israel, Cliffside Pk., N. J.; ind. May 1944; U. S.


GINSBURG, LEO, Lt, Army; b. U. S., Mr. 2, 1899; married; B. Litt., U. of Oxford, '36; Pvt. Ordination, '34; m. R. A. A.; West Side Jewish Center, N. Y. C.; ind. September 1943; Europe.

GOLDBERG, ABRAHAM, Lt, Army; b. U. S., Mr. 2, 1899; married; B. Litt., U. of Oxford, '36; Pvt. Ordination, '34; m. R. A. A.; West Side Jewish Center, N. Y. C.; ind. September 1943; Europe.


GLANCZ, EMERY, Capt., Army; b. Hungary, Jl. 2, 1914; in U. S. since 1924; single; B.A., Wayne '36; rabbi, H. T. C., '42; m., R. C. A.; Acting Registrar H. T. C.; ind. Nov. 6, 1943; U. S.

GOLD, MOSHE M., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Feb. 22, 1913; married, 1 ch.; B.S., Ohio State U., '38; rabbi, Hebron Yeshiva, Jerusalem; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Beth Sholom, Lawrence, L. I.; ind. April 1943; Pacific.

GOLDBERG, ABRAHAM, Lt, Army; b. U. S., Jan. 22, 1913; single; B.S.S.,
C. C. N. Y., '37; rabbi, J. T. S., '41; m., R. A. A.; S. Brookline Community Center, Brookline Mass.; ind. September 1942; Pacific until March 1944; U. S.


GOLDFINE, Marvin J., Capt., Army; b. Canada, Mr. 6, 1915; in U. S. since 1939; single; B.A., McGill U., '35; M.A., Columbia, '39; rabbi, J. T. S., '39; m., R. A. A.; Adath Jeshurun Cg., Philadelphia, Pa.; ind. January 1943; Europe until July 1945; U. S.


GOLDMAN, Meyer J., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Jl. 18, 1901; married, 1 ch.; M.S., '35; B.S.S., '30 C. C. N. Y.; rabbi, E. T. S., '29; m., R. C. A.; Temple Israel Emanuel, Union City, N. J.; ind. October 1942; Europe; Bronze Star.


Gordon, Harold H., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Dec. 15, 1907; single; B.A., U. of Minn., '29; rabbi, H. T. S., '34; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Sons of Jacob, Waterloo, Iowa; ind. January 1943; North Atlantic Wing, ATC.


Gorrelick, Benjamin H., Capt., Army; b. Poland, Je. 4, 1906; in U. S. since 1921; married, 1 ch.; B.A., C. C. N. Y., '30; rabbi, J. T. S., '33; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Sons of Israel, Albany, N. Y.; ind. March 1944; Europe.


HONIG, JACOB J., Capt., Army; b. U. S., May 9, 1912; married; B.S., Brooklyn College, '34; rabbi, M.H.L., J. I. R., '39; m., C. C. A. R.; Orthodox Cg. of Allentown, Pa.; ind. December 1940; North Africa, Europe until 1945; U. S.


JOLT, HARRY, Capt., Army; J. T. S., '28 ind. February 1944; Europe; Bronze Star.
KAHAN, Aaron, Capt., Army; b. Rumania, Nov. 18, 1915; in U. S. since 1924; single; Mesifta Theol. Sem., '38; m., R. C. A.; Beth Joseph Center, Rochester, N. Y.; ind. October 1943; Europe; Bronze Star.


KAZIS, Israel J., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 27, 1911; married, A.B., '32, A.M., '33, Ph.D., '39, Harvard; rabbi, J. T. S., '40; m., R. A. A.; Temple Israel, Wilkes Barre, Pa.; ind. December 1942; Europe until April 1945; U. S.


KLEIN, Bert A., Capt., Army; b. Hungary, May 30, 1902; in U. S. since 1924; single; Matura Degree, Collegium Zillan, Hungary, '22; privately ordained; Cg. Sons of Jacob, Marshalltown, Ia.; U. S.


KRAFT, Jacob, Capt., Army; b. Poland, Feb. 12, 1904; in U. S. since 1908; married, 1 ch.; A.B., Harvard, '25; rabbi, J. T. S., '30; m., R. A. A.; Cong. Beth Shalom, Wilmington, Del.; ind. October 1943; Europe.


KRASNOW, Benjamin, Capt., Army; b. Poland, May 15, 1913; in U. S. since 1921; B.S., Brooklyn College, '36; rabbi, E. T. S., '41; m., R. C. A.; Cong. Shaarei Tzedek, Baltimore, Md.; ind. November 1942; Alaska until June 1945; U. S.


Liebert, Julius A., Lt Col., Army; b. Lithuania, Mr. 20, 1888; married, 2 ch.; B.A., U. of Cin., '15; rabbi, H. U. C., '16; m., C. C. A. R.; Cong. Temple Emanuel, Los Angeles, Calif. In reserve since World War I; temporary duty overseas; separated from service August 22, 1945.


LEV, ELIEZER ASHER, Capt., Army; b. Canada, Mr. 11, 1906; in U. S. since 1928; married, 3 ch.; A.B., U. of Toronto and C. C. N. Y., '28; rabbi, J. T. S., '32; m., R. A. A.; Cg. B'nai Israel, Auburn, N. Y.; ind. Aug. 6, 1942; Pacific until April 1944; U. S.


LIEBERMAN, MORRIS, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 9, 1909; single; A.B., U. of Cin., '31; rabbi, H. U. C., '34; m., C. C. A. R.; Baltimore Hebrew Cg., Baltimore, Md.; ind. January 1942; Europe until November 1944; U. S.


LIVAZER, HERSH, Capt., Army; b. Poland, Dec. 15, 1904; in U. S. since 1930; married; rabbi, Yeshiva of Lomza, '27; m., R. C. A., teacher
of religion, Mesifta High School, Bklyn, N. Y.; ind. August 1943; Europe.


MILGROM, Louis, Capt., Army; b. Poland, Dec. 11, 1909; in U. S. since 1921; married; B.S., Lewis Institute, '30; rabbi, H. T. C., '34; m., R. C. A. Joliet Jewish Federation, Joliet, Ill.; ind. March 1943; Europe.


MILLER, JOSEPH, Lt., Army; b. Poland, Apr. 5, 1920; in U. S. since 1928; married; LL.B., De Paul U., '43; private ordination, '43; m., R. C. A.; Austin Jewish Community Center, Chicago, Ill.; ind. June 1945; temporary duty High Holy Days, 1945, Bermuda; U. S.


MILLER, SELIG JOACHIM, Lt s.g., Navy; b. U. S., Je. 21, 1913; single; A.B., U. of Pa., '34; rabbi, M.H.L., J. I. R., '38; m., C. C. A. R.; Astoria Center of Israel, Astoria, N. Y.; ind. January 1943; Alaska, Pacific until September 1945; U. S.

MOSSMAN, SIDNEY K., Capt., Army; b. Canada, Apr. 6, 1913; in U. S. since 1930; married, 1 ch.; LL.B., De Paul Law, '36; rabbi, H. T. C., '38; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Knesseth Israel, Hammond, Ind.; ind. April 1943; Europe.


NELSON, HARRY, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Sept. 21, 1908; married, 2 ch.; Ph.B., U. of Chicago, '30; rabbi, J. T. S., '34; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Rodeph Sholom, Bridgeport, Conn.; ind. July 1942; temporary duty overseas; U. S.

NEWMAN, FRANK, Capt., Army; b. Poland, Dec. 6, 1911; in U. S. since 1920; married; B.S., Columbia, '43; private ordination, '34; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Agudath Achim B'nai Jacob, Bklyn., N. Y.; June 1943; U. S.


OTT, JACOB M., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Jan. 27, 1918; single; B.A., U. of Chicago, '41; rabbi, private ordination, 1940; m., R. C. A.; Albany Pk. Hebrew Cg., Chicago, Ill.; ind. Sept. 10, 1942; Europe; Bronze Star.


PILLS, WENDELL A., Lt s.g., Navy; b. Germany, Sept. 9, 1907; in U. S. since 1917; married, 3 ch.; A.B., U. of Calif., '31; M.H.L., J. I. R., '36; m., C. C. A. R.; Temple Mt. Sinai, El Paso, Tex.; ind. July 1943; U. S.

PILCHIK, ELY EMANUEL, Lt j.g., Navy; b. Poland, Je. 12, 1913; in U. S. since 1920; married; A.B., U. of Cin., '35; M.H.L., H. U. C., '39; m., C. C. A. R.; Temple Israel, Tulsa, Okla.; ind. August 1944; U. S.

POLIAKOFF, MANUEL M., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 18, 1914; single, B.A., Johns Hopkins U., '44; rabbi, Rabbinical Seminary of Telshe, Lithuania, '39; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Oheb Shalom, Gardner, Mass.; ind. May 17, 1943; Europe.

POLISH, JACOB, Lt j.g., Navy; b. U. S., Mr. 31, 1913; single; B.A., U. of Cin., '35; M.H.L., H. U. C., '39; m., C. C. A. R.; Cg. Ohavey Zedakah, Springfield, O.; ind. May 1944; U. S.


RACKOVSKY, ISAIAH, Capt., Army; b. Palestine, Sept. 14, 1906; in U. S. since 1917; married; rabbi, E. T. S., '29; m., R. C. A.; United Orthodox Cg., Omaha, Nebr.; ind. May 14, 1943; Europe.


ROBBINS, Jerome, Lt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 1, 1918; single; B.A., U. of Calif., '40; M.A., U. of Chicago, Loyola U., '43; rabbi, H. T. C., '42; m., R. C. A.; Woodlawn Hebrew Cong., Chicago, Ill.; ind. Nov. 4, 1944; U. S.

ROSEN, Herman L., Lt., Army; married, 2 ch.; rabbi, E. T. S.; m., R. C. A.; Brighton Beach Jewish Center, Bklyn.; ind. early June 1943; died by accidental drowning, Je. 18, 1943.

ROSEN, Nathan N., Lt., Army; b. Russia, Jl. 4, 1906; in U. S. since 1910; married; B.S., Columbia, '37; rabbi, E. T. S., '30; m., R. C. A.; Judea Center, Bklyn.; ind. December 1944; U. S.

ROSEN, Samuel, Major, Army; b. Poland, Feb. 12, 1907; in U. S. since 1920; married, 1 ch.; B.S., C. C. N. Y., '33; rabbi E. T. S., '29; m., R. C. A.; Cong. B'nai Israel, Bklyn, N. Y.; ind. January 1942; Europe.


Rothschild, Jacob M., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Aug. 4, 1911; single; A.B., U. of Cin., '32; rabbi, H. U. C., '36; m., C. C. A. R.; Cg. Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; ind. Mr. 19, 1942; Pacific until December 1943; U. S.

Routtenberg, Max Jonah, Major, Army; b. Canada, Mr. 22, 1909; in U. S. since 1927; married; B.S., McGill U., N. Y. U., '31; rabbi, J. T. S., '32; m., R. A. A.; Kesher Zion Syn., Reading, Pa.; ind. Nov. 5, 1942; Europe until August 1945; U. S.


Rubin, David, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Jl. 6, 1910; single; B.A., C. C. N. Y., '31; M.A., Columbia, '33; rabbi, E. T. S., '31; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Sons of Israel, Woodmere, L. I.; ind. April 1942; Iran, Europe until July 1495; U. S.

Ruderman, Abraham, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 14, 1911; married, 1 ch.; B.S., Boston U., '34; rabbi, M.H.L., J. I. R., '41; m., C. C. A. R.; Cg. B'nai Abraham, Hagerstown, Md.; ind. Aug. 21, 1943; U. S.


Sandhaus, Morris, Major, Army; b. Poland, Feb. 25, 1912; married, 1 ch.; B.S., C. C. N. Y., Columbia, '42; rabbi, Mesifta Talmudic Academy, '35; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Sons of Israel, Yonkers, N. Y.; ind. June 1942; Europe.


Sands, Melvin S., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 18, 1913; married; B.A., U. of Cin., '36; rabbi, M. H. L., H. U. C., '40; m., C. C. A. R.; Temple
Moses Montefiore, Bloomington, Ill.; ind. Oct. 3, 1942; China, Burma, India.


SCHACTER, HERSCHEL, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Oct. 10, 1917; single; B.A., Yeshiva College, '38; rabbi, E. T. S., '41; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Agudath Shalom, Stamford, Conn.; ind. Nov. 9, 1942; Europe until July 1945; U. S.


SEGAL, BERNARD, Major, Army; b. Poland, Nov. 15, 1907; in U. S. since 1922; married, 2 ch.; B.S., Columbia, '31; rabbi, J. T. S., '33; m., R. A. A.; Queens Jewish Center, Queens Village, N. Y.; ind. 1940; Pacific.


SHAPIRO, SOLOMON, Lt, Army; b. Poland, Sept. 8, 1915; single; B.S., Columbia, '44; rabbi, Cleveland Rabbinical Sem., '36; m., R. C. A.; Jewish Center, Bronx, N. Y.; ind. March 1944; Pacific.


SHOOP, SIMON H., Capt., Army; b. U. S., Apr. 17, 1917; married, 1 ch;
B.A., Yeshiva College, '38; rabbi, J. T. S., '42; m., R. A. A.; Temple Beth Israel, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; ind. June 1943; U. S.


SIEGEL, MYER A., Lt, Army; b. U. S., May 16, 1919; single; B.A., Yeshiva College, '40; rabbi, E. T. S., '41; m., R. C. A.; Cg. Sons of Israel, Amsterdam, N. Y.; ind. Oct. 4, 1943; U. S.

SIEGEL, NORMAN, Major, Army; b. Palestine, Je. 10, 1913; in U. S. since 1920; single; B.A., Yeshiva College, '34; rabbi, E. T. S., '38; m., R. C. A.; Jewish Community Center, Monticello, N. Y.; ind. January 1941; Pacific.


SILVERSTEIN, BARUCH, Capt., Army; b. Poland, Je. 15, 1913; in U. S. since 1929; married; B.S., C. C. N. Y., '36; rabbi, J. T. S., '40; m., R. A. A.; Queens Jewish Center, Queens Village, N. Y.; ind. Oct. 29, 1943; U. S.


SISKIN, EDGAR ELIAS, Lt s.g., Navy; b. Edinburgh, Scotland, Sept. 14, 1907; in U. S. since 1920; single; A.B., U. of Cin., '29; Ph.D., Yale, '41; rabbi, H. U. C., '29; m., C. C. A. R.; Cg. Mishkan Israel, New Haven, Conn.; ind. October 1943; Pacific.

SKYDELL, HARRY A., Capt., Army; b. Poland, Dec. 10, 1913; in U. S. since 1920; rabbi, private ordination, 1937; m., R. C. A.; ind. September 1942; Europe.


Spiro, Abraham, Lt, Army; b. Poland, May 28, 1912; in U. S. since 1937; single; B.A., Hebrew U., Jerusalem; rabbi, Yeshiva of Mir, '31; m., R. A. A.; Cg. B’nai Israel, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; ind. June 1944; Europe.


Straus, H. Cerf, Com., Navy; married; m., C. C. A. R.; ind. January 1941; Pacific; U. S.


director, Hapoel Hamizrachi of Chicago; ind. Jan. 13, 1942; North Africa; Europe; Presidential Unit Citation; killed in action in France, Aug. 13, 1944.


**Weisberger, Ralph M.**, Capt., Army; b. U. S., Mr. 28, 1912; single; B.S., C. C. N. Y., '34; rabbi, J. T. S., '40; m., R. A. A.; Cg. Brith Sholom, Philadelphia, Pa.; ind. Sept. 9, 1942; Iran until April 1945.


ALTHOUGH Simon Miller, a modest man, would have rejected any claim even to minor historic importance, to many his passing, on August 12, 1945, symbolized the fading of a warm and gracious era in the Jewish community of Philadelphia.

It was the era of the 80s, the 90s, and the turn of the century, when the community was smaller, more closely knit, more friendly with a small-town friendliness, and more aware of the little human things as well as the bigger things of Jewish culture and social life. It was in this background and as an active and warm-hearted part of it that Simon Miller spent the most abundant years of his life.

A native of Harrisburg, Pa., he lived his entire adult life in Philadelphia. He was graduated, in 1880, from that city's Central High School and, in 1883, from the University of Pennsylvania.

Thereafter he entered the business founded by his father, Jacob Miller's Sons and Company, shirt manufacturers, and later became its president. The firm, one of the oldest in its field in this country, is still in family hands and Mr. Miller was active in its affairs until a few weeks before his death at the age of eighty-three.

During his business career of more than sixty years, his reputation for probity became axiomatic in the trade as did his name as a just and kindly employer in labor circles. His counsel was sought on both levels. On one occasion he was appointed by the late Judge Charles Y. Audenreid to decide a question of fact as a layman for the court in an important business suit. He had the respect and liking of labor leaders.

Beginning in 1892 till his death, for 52 years Mr. Miller was an executive director of the Philadelphia Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance company, the oldest mutual company
in this country. He was the only Jewish member of a board that included some of the most distinguished businessmen in the Philadelphia area.

But the humanity, good will, and ripe wisdom of Simon Miller's nature overflowed from his vocation to his avocation which abided in the concern and pleasure he felt in Jewish cultural, communal, and educational affairs.

The son of pious parents, he was a genuinely religious man though no formalist. He was proud of his Jewish spiritual inheritance and cherished it, but his breadth of tolerance for all races and creeds was his crowning grace. He was Bar Mitzvah at Philadelphia's reform Rodeph Sholom Synagogue of which he remained a member all his life, one of the most widely-known and loved among its congregation.

In 1888, Mr. Miller married Hettie Herzberg, daughter of Herz Herzberg, graduate of Heidelberg University, who afterwards became a merchant in Philadelphia. They had three daughters, in whose education their father took a more than usually wise and tender parental interest, and therefore led Mr. Miller to an even more active interest in communal education and welfare.

After more than a half century of happy and devoted married life, Mrs. Miller died almost exactly one year before her husband, in August of 1944.

Simon Miller's intellectual and cultural interests were almost Franklinesque in their diversity. A man of scholarly bent and keen scientific curiosity, he was an ardent and gifted amateur of science as well as of history and literature, especially Jewish literature, sacred and secular. As a young man he was an absorbed spare-time student of the "electrical phenomenon" then being investigated at Philadelphia's Franklin Institute. He loved nothing better than to putter about with automobile engines in the days when they were far less predictable than they are now. He invented many minor mechanical improvements for use in his business which at one time included weaving as well as shirt making. But his horizons were not limited to mechanics. Like Benjamin Franklin, who was one of his heroes, Simon Miller was by instinct both experimenter and scholar.

And his lifelong love and reverence for Jewish scholarship found its fullest satisfaction in the Jewish Publication Soci-
ety of America. He became a member of that Society's Board of Trustees in 1898, and second vice-president in 1908. In 1913, he became its president and remained in that office for twenty years.

During his administration the Society published some of its most important works, including the great translation of the Bible by a board of eminent scholars who made the first translation from the original Hebrew directly into English.

Mr. J. Solis-Cohen, president of the Society and Mr. Miller's successor, wrote the following tribute which appeared shortly after Mr. Miller's death in the Philadelphia Jewish Exponent:

Simon Miller had a genuine interest in Jewish literature of every type, scholarly and fictional, historical and poetical, juvenile and judicial. His prime communal activity for nearly half a century was The Jewish Publication Society of which he was the president for two decades, from 1913 to 1933.

Originally elected to the Board of Trustees in 1898, he became vice-president ten years later and succeeded Edwin Wolf as head of the Society in 1913. During his administration many important projects were completed. Jewish scholars and authors realized that in Simon Miller they had a real friend who encouraged their research and literary efforts with publication and wide distribution of their books.

Associated with Simon Miller during many of these years in directing literary activities of The Jewish Publication Society were other Philadelphia laymen, — Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Justice Horace Stern, Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen and others. This group had the respect and confidence and support not only of the American Jewish public but of thoughtful Jews all over the world.

During Simon Miller's presidency the new Bible translation was completed and published; Marx and Margolies' comprehensive one volume History of the Jews was issued, which has since been translated into three foreign languages; funds were raised for the establish-
ment of the Press Division of The Society; The Schiff Library of Jewish Classics and the Jewish Community Series were started.

What these books have meant to Jewish scholarship cannot be measured by words. Few laymen in his or any other generation in America had the perception, the understanding, and the driving force to see that these and other volumes were published, with the realization that the written words of great Jewish students, scholars and authors should be preserved for posterity. Written in English, available for all interested in Jewish literature, Simon Miller carefully laid the foundations for "Jewish Books in every Jewish Home."

His interest in The Society continued until his passing. He was a regular and active participant in the proceedings of the Board of Trustees and Publication Committee, encouraging and assisting the present administration in continuing the work of The Publication Society on the high plane he established.

His associations with the scholars and writers whom he met as president of the Publication Society and the many friendships that arose therefrom were always a source of unassuming pride and pleasure to Mr. Miller. Among those friends were, particularly, Dr. Solomon Schechter, Dr. Max L. Margolis, and Mr. Miller's closest lifelong friend, Dr. Cyrus Adler, a fellow-member of the Pennsylvania class of '83.

For many years Mr. Miller was the secretary and one of the leading spirits in the "Pharisees," a unique club in Philadelphia, which counted among its members writers, physicians, lawyers and journalists, leaders in the intellectual and professional life of the community devoted to the discussion and furtherance of Jewish and cognate culture. The club, which included many brilliant minds, had its more relaxed social side, too, and Simon Miller glowed quietly when supper had been disposed of, cigars lighted and the good talk had begun.

A wise, loving, and unselfish personality, Simon Miller had the gift of clairvoyant sympathy for many men at many
levels. He liked people and liked to be with them. And, as usual in such cases, people reciprocated by liking him.

He counted among his friends all orders of men from distinguished scholars and men of affairs to the janitor of his factory. He was accepted as an intellectual equal by the learned and, without patronage or ostentation, he was guide, philosopher, friend, and financial savior to many a humble soul.

Perhaps the blending of the human and the intellectual, the scholarly and the convivial in Simon Miller is indicated by the fact that while serving in his scholarly-executive post as president of the Publication Society he was a member of Philadelphia's most prominent social organization (The Mercantile Club) and a member of its Committee on Admissions and House Committee.

He was also a member of the Mercantile bowling team, finding thereby, in his middle years, some outlet for the perennial interest in athletics which dated from his school and college days when he played football at Central High School and the University of Pennsylvania.

An excellent amateur boxer and a paladin on the football field in his early twenties, his athletic activities probably contributed to the iron constitution that served him sturdily through life. He became in the fullness of time one of the most robust of octogenarians. Until a few days before his final illness, Mr. Miller went to his office daily. His mind remained as vigorous as his body. His interest in his fellow-man, individually and in the mass, stayed with him to the end. His sunset years were happy with his family, which included seven devoted grandchildren and two great-grandchildren; his many friends of all ages, his books, and his scrutiny of the state of the world. His heart was also with the football wars of his Alma Mater. When he was 82, Simon Miller still elbowed the crowds jauntily to attend the University of Pennsylvania's football season where he could be found in the cheering section, head bared, cheering himself hoarse and singing "Hail Pennsylvania."

One of his great prides, too, was the service button he wore for four years with its five blue stars for his five grandsons and grandsons-in-law in the Armed Forces.
Simon Miller's courage matched his kindliness and wisdom. It can be said of him that all his life he was fearless in the right, willing to fight for it and given to see the right more clearly than most men.

When, at the age of eighty-three, he was confronted with the inescapable necessity of a dangerous operation, he faced the ordeal with quiet fortitude. And when, at the harvest of his many years, it was decreed that he was to go, one felt that Simon Miller went out into eternity as he had lived, fearlessly, with love in his heart and without reproach.