

Synagogue and Jewish Church: A Congregational History of North Carolina

by

Leonard Rogoff

When a Jew in a small North Carolina town was asked if her synagogue was Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox, she responded, "Why yes." Whoever led prayers chose the service, she recalled, and the congregation owned prayer books that covered several bases.¹ Too small to factionalize, most North Carolina Jewish congregations accommodated a diversity that challenged denominational labels. To be sure, North Carolina's congregational histories reflect the modernizing trends that were transforming traditional Judaism, especially as the immigrants acculturated to America. The family and commercial links that connected the state's Jewish peddlers and merchants to urban centers kept these distant, isolated communities attuned to transatlantic developments in the Jewish world. Highly mobile, the immigrants brought their Jewish practices and ideologies with them. A small Jewish community likely contained Jews of motley ethnic and religious backgrounds. As they mediated their internal Jewish conflicts, they also adapted to their local situations as well as to a South given to fundamentalism, romantic religiosity, and high rates of church affiliation. The congregation was the agency of Jewish solidarity and survival, but it also functioned as a Jewish church which integrated Jews into southern society as citizens and neighbors.

Throughout its history North Carolina has been largely a Jewish terra incognita. Although a Jew appeared in the colony in 1585 and Jewish traders plied the coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jews were sojourners and only rarely

settlers. While Georgia, Virginia, and South Carolina had Jewish communities with congregations by the late eighteenth century, North Carolina lacked a port or urban center sufficiently large to draw Jews in significant numbers. Swamp, farm, and forest offered few opportunities for an urban, mercantile people. In the mid nineteenth century a commercial economy began to develop. Small numbers of immigrant German Jews—most of whom had first settled in Baltimore, Charleston, Richmond, or Philadelphia—began peddling and opening stores in market towns that sprouted along newly built rail lines. Jewish population growth correlates with the rise of the New South as the textile and tobacco industries urbanized the state. The East European migration intensified these trends. Between 1878 and 1927 North Carolina's Jewish population grew from 820 to 8,252, and the number of congregations increased from one to 22.²

Emigrating from the self-governing Jewish communities of their European homelands, the immigrants made a first break with a traditional society. When they debarked in Richmond, Baltimore, and Charleston, they found Jewish communities with viable congregations. Moving into the agrarian hinterland, they made a second break from communal constraints and rabbinic authority. The "country Jew," Rabbi Edward Calisch of Richmond wrote in 1900, "is in measure cut off from the house of his brethren. . . like the limb of a tree that no longer draws nourishment from a life-giving trunk."³ Kosher food and a minyan were available in Baltimore or Richmond, but not reliably in New Bern or Rocky Mount. Jewish religious life in North Carolina organized slowly, as was the case generally in the South. In 1861 there were only 21 congregations in the region, and only Baltimore had a rabbi with verifiable credentials.⁴ Before the Civil War not one congregation existed in North Carolina.

Migrations constantly reshaped North Carolina Jewry. The second wave migration from 1820 to 1880 is commonly described as "German," but such a characterization conceals the considerable complexities of European Jewry. "Until the middle of the century, a fairly unified Jewish culture existed throughout much of Europe," Hasia Diner observes. In the nineteenth century

European Jews had been migratory with Poles and Russians flowing into Germany. The division of Poland by Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary obfuscated national identities. Lewis Lichtenstein of Tarboro declared that he was born in Poland when he naturalized in 1854, but his tombstone lists his birthplace as Prussia.⁵

Over the course of the nineteenth century forces of *haskalah*, German acculturation, and religious reform gradually and unevenly worked their way eastward through Jewish communities across Europe. Jews in Bavaria and southwestern Germany felt the emancipating influences of the Enlightenment and Napoleonic conquest. German culture served as a vehicle bringing Jews and Judaism into “modern spirituality.”⁶ By mid-century “Reform-style congregations” could be found in Odessa, Warsaw, Lemberg, Riga, and Vilna. Polish rabbinical students wishing state certification flocked to German universities where they were exposed to Reform currents.⁷

The two most distinguished rabbis at predominantly German synagogues in North Carolina, Samuel Mendelsohn of Wilmington and Julius Mayerberg of Statesville and Goldsboro, were both born in East Europe. They had come under the influence of the “historical school” in their university studies, and they presided over congregations evolving toward Reform. Mendelsohn, a native of Kovno, had rabbinical training in both Vilna and Berlin before attending Maimonides College in Philadelphia. Through his teachers, the immigrant spiritual leaders Isaac Leeser, Marcus Jastrow, and Sabato Morais, Mendelsohn came to North Carolina familiar with the transatlantic polemics that were challenging traditional Judaism.⁸

Jews who emigrated to America tended to be poorer, more religiously devout village Jews less affected by urban, liberalizing currents. When Herman Cone, the founder of a prominent Greensboro family, emigrated to America from Altendstadt, Bavaria, in 1846, he carried a letter from his brother-in-law reminding him to pray “every evening and every morning,” to “remember particularly the Sabbath day, to keep it holy,” and “to learn your religion thoroughly.”⁹ Prussian Jews in areas ceded from Poland

in 1795 remained loyal to their rabbinic roots in East European Orthodoxy. They maintained regimens of daily prayer, Sabbath observance, and kosher laws. The migration of Prussian Jews became more significant after the Civil War.

Whatever the immigrants' European level of acculturation, the open, democratic society of America encouraged an egalitarian, less traditional Judaism that minimized their religious differences with their largely Protestant neighbors. Former North Carolina Governor Zebulon Vance in his famous Chataqua-circuit speech of 1874, "The Scattered Nation," distinguished between modern and "Oriental" Jews. Vance, a philo-Semite who had Jewish in-laws, noted that Central and West European Jews in America "have become simply Unitarians or Deists." Vance ranked these "most intelligent and civilized" Jews as superior to the less acculturated "Talmudical" East Europeans.¹⁰

The South's first-tier cities followed the typical American Jewish pattern of development as Jews factionalized into ethnic congregations according to country of origin. Richmond, the first American home for many early North Carolina Jews, offered a paradigm of Jewish congregational growth: The Sephardic-rite Beth Shalome was founded in 1789 followed by the Bavarians' Beth Ahabah in 1841, the Prussians' Polish-rite Keneseth Israel in 1856, and the Russians' Sir Moses Montefiore in 1880. All began as Orthodox although in nineteenth-century America that term encompassed a variety of worship practices. The Sephardic-rite Beth Shalome in Richmond contained a predominantly Ashkenazic membership that appreciated its refined, decorous ritual. Over time Reform-minded Prussians migrated from Keneseth Israel to the more liberal Beth Ahabah while some German traditionalists moved in the opposite direction.¹¹

Small-town Jewry lacked the numbers and resources to so divide. Of the three hundred North Carolina Jews identified in the 1870 census, 210 were born in Germany, Bavaria or Prussia. Only twenty-six were American-born, and only four were native North Carolinians. Eighteen listed Polish birth. A North Carolina town typically included Bavarians, Prussians, East Europeans and perhaps a few native-born descendants of colonial Ashkenazic and

Sephardic settlers. Among Tarboro's twenty-four Jews in 1877 were natives of Prussia, Poland, Bavaria, Alsace, Germany, and England.¹² In Durham the first Jewish family, who arrived in 1874, was Polish-born Orthodox. Other early settlers were of Prussian and Bavarian origin. The cemetery society president was a German-born, Orthodox Jew married to an American-born, Reform Jew of Bavarian descent. The society's secretary was Dutch. Starting in the 1880s, this small colony was overwhelmed by the arrival of several hundred new immigrants mostly from Ukraine, Latvia, and Lithuania, but also from Galicia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary.¹³

Constant migrations and few numbers rendered small-town Jewish communal life unstable. Southern Jews were highly mobile as local economies waxed and waned. Failure pushed and ambition pulled Jews to new territories. The Tarboro congregation had twenty-four members in 1877 and in 1884, but there had been nine departures and nine arrivals. Of the thirty-five Jews listed in an 1887 business directory in Durham only five remained by 1902, and by 1938 only three of the fifty Jewish families could trace local roots before 1900. Statesville was home to some twenty families in 1883 but only six in 1923.¹⁴

Prior to local institutional developments, small-town Jews maintained links to the synagogues of their places of origin. Jacob Mordecai, who settled in Warrenton in 1792, was a congregant of Richmond's Beth Shalome, which he served as president. Jews who settled in coastal Wilmington maintained membership in the Charleston synagogue. Early Durham Jews had family histories in Richmond's Beth Ahabah and Keneseth Israel. North Carolina Jews shipped their dead to consecrated burial grounds in Charleston, Norfolk, Petersburg, and Richmond.¹⁵

When North Carolina's Jewish communities organized, they tended to follow the talmudic injunction: first the cemetery, then the city. A burial or benevolent society formed, then a congregation was established, and finally a synagogue was built. The chevra kadisha was a traditional cemetery society transplanted from Europe. Its members ensured that the dead were buried in a ritually prescribed manner—the body washed, attended, and

shrouded—and assumed the expenses of those too poor to pay. These societies also took responsibility for religious services and social welfare. Fixing a congregation's actual date of formation is tendentious. Tarboro's B'nai Israel called itself a chevra for five years before it began using the title congregation. A state charter was a statement to the civic community, often motivated by a desire to purchase land for a synagogue, but in all towns worship services were organized before congregations developed. Charlotte's German Jews founded a cemetery society in 1867, a state-chartered Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1870, and a Ladies Benevolent Society in 1874. Although they held services in homes and rented halls, this group did not evolve into a congregation. In 1901 Jews in Monroe and Windsor held High Holiday services, but these towns never supported congregations.¹⁶

Wilmington, the state's oldest and largest Jewish community, illustrates the typical pattern of Jewish institutional development. Jews founded a burial society in 1852 and advertised in New York for a hazan, schochet, and mohel in 1860. In 1867 a congregation organized and nine years later Wilmington's Jews erected Temple of Israel, the state's first synagogue.¹⁷ Starting in the 1870s other North Carolina communities showed stirrings of organized Jewish life. In 1870 a cemetery society formed in Raleigh. Four years later Bavarian-born Michael Grausman, a tailor who had some rabbinic training, converted a room in his home for religious use. In 1885 Raleigh's Jews organized a congregation.¹⁸ Other societies or congregations formed in Tarboro (c.1872), Goldsboro (1880), New Bern (1881), Statesville (1883), Durham (1884), Winston-Salem (1888), Asheville (1891), and Charlotte (1893).

The Jews organized religious institutions about the time when Christian revivalism was sweeping the South. In the 1880s and 1890s as villages grew into towns, the South experienced a frenzy of church building. In organizing synagogues Jews were responding to their local environments. Southern Christians spoke respectfully of the synagogue as the "Jewish church." In erecting their edifices Jews and Christians alike were not just gathering to worship their God, but to stake out civic space. A synagogue de-

clared that Jews as a wandering people were neither aliens nor economic parasites but neighbors who were at home.

Religious affiliation was especially important in a region given to church going and theological orthodoxy. North Carolina towns with the critical mass to support a congregation reported high rates of affiliation. As sociologist John Shelton Reed observes, "By being more Southern—that is, by participating in organized religious activities—Southern Jews are at the same time more Jewish."¹⁹ In 1883 a Statesville Jew reported that "every Jewish citizen in town" enrolled in Temple Emanuel. In 1900 in Durham thirty-one of the city's thirty-seven families were members. By contrast national estimates indicate that in 1900 only a minority of American Jews were synagogue members.²⁰

The synagogue was not merely an institution of ethnic solidarity and religious traditionalism, but also an agency of Americanization. When first naming their worship gatherings, immigrants in Gastonia, Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem affixed their city's name to the dignified "Hebrew Congregation," asserting their civic loyalty. Similarly, Jewish women's organizations adopted the churchly name of Ladies Aid Society. In raising funds for distressed Jews in Russia and Palestine, the women were functioning much in the spirit of a Christian missionary agency.

Synagogue architecture attested to prosperity and respectability. The state's first synagogue, Temple Israel in Wilmington (1876), followed the Moorish style popularized by Cincinnati's Plum Street synagogue, a romantic evocation of Jewish Orientalism, but Goldsboro's Oheb Sholom (1886) and Statesville's Temple Emanuel (1892) were Romanesque Revival structures that borrowed from church aesthetics. Raleigh, Gastonia and Greensboro temples were neo-classical structures. In Asheville, Durham and Winston-Salem the first synagogues were converted churches.²¹

Just as Jews contributed to Christian churches, both black and white, so, too, did Christians donate to synagogue building. At the 1876 dedication of the Wilmington synagogue, Rabbi Mendelsohn spoke "feelingly of the Christians who had assisted his people in building their temple." In Statesville in 1895 local Prot-

estants attended “a musical and dramatic entertainment” hosted by the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society to raise funds to build a synagogue. Governor Max Gardner and Episcopal Bishop Joseph Cheshire contributed to the building of Raleigh’s Temple Beth Or while tobacco magnates Benjamin Duke and Julian Shakespeare Carr each donated \$500 to help erect Durham’s Beth El. At synagogue dedications the town’s civic and ministerial leaders typically made benedictions that extolled the Jews historically as a biblical people and locally as upstanding citizens.²²

Church going was a southern social duty, and Jews might also attend church services not from religious conviction, but to enjoy the preaching or simply to be sociable. In the early 1800s some Wilmington Jews subscribed to pews in the local St. James Episcopal Church while retaining membership in Charleston’s Beth Elohim synagogue. When a Methodist bishop spoke at a Goldsboro church, Henry Weil, a synagogue founder, went in anticipation of hearing “eloquent or flowing” preaching. Abe Oettinger, a Bavarian-born Jew who lived in Kinston, left a diary from 1886 to 1900 that records his occasional attendance at Methodist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian churches. He sang in the Episcopal church choir. When the church burned in 1900, he was the first to contribute to its rebuilding although he was not a member. After attending a local Jewish wedding, Oettinger enjoyed taking his family to the Methodist church to hear Rev. Calisch, rabbi of Richmond’s Beth Ahabah, lecture on “The Wandering Jew.”²³ The ethos of a southern town embraced a hospitality that encouraged religious tolerance, and attending church, Jewish or Christian, was a sign of respectability.

Certainly in a town with few families and lacking a congregation Jewish life suffered attrition, even where there was not conversion. Rabbi Calisch expressed concern that “the country Jew [is] a religious derelict, rolling aimlessly on the sea of religious life.” Although Oettinger’s family, social and business circle consisted of German Jews like himself across eastern North Carolina, he writes little of religious observance. Shabbat, Passover, or Hanukkah receive no mention in his diary, but on the High Holidays he closed his store, kept his children home from school,

and retired to his home. The holidays were observed by parlor Bible readings or country rides. On Yom Kippur he fasted, as did his wife, who was an American-born, midwestern Jew of Alsatian descent. Only one of their four children to survive into adulthood married a Jew.²⁴

Oettinger apparently did not travel to the nearby Goldsboro synagogue where other Kinston Jews worshipped. A small-town congregation also served as a planet to satellite communities with few Jews. Rocky Mount was an offshoot of the Tarboro congregation, although in the twentieth century that relationship reversed itself. A similar dependency existed between Salisbury and Statesville. Although Charlotte's German Jews failed to organize a synagogue, in 1903 eight held "non-resident" membership in the Statesville congregation.²⁵ Durham's Beth El included Jews from a thirty mile radius including Graham, Chapel Hill, Oxford, and Henderson.

With the movement of Jews up and down the rail lines, the currents transforming American Jewry flowed across the state. The port city of Wilmington, the site of North Carolina's earliest and largest Jewish community, was a battleground between Reverend Isaac Leeser, the tireless advocate of traditional Judaism, and Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, the organizing mentor of American Jewry, who favored moderate Reform. In 1855 Leeser, the former hazan of Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, traveled to Wilmington to dedicate a cemetery, and he returned repeatedly into the next decade. In 1860 he chastised Wilmington's Jews in his newspaper *The Occident* for their failure to form a congregation and secure "a pious minister." In 1867, after yet another Leeser visit, a traditional congregation formed, but it failed after a year.²⁶

In 1873 Wise sought to unify a factionalized Jewry by convening a Union of American Hebrew Congregations [UAHC] in Cincinnati. Nearly half the delegates were southern, and representatives of Reform congregations dominated. The UAHC, although lacking an ideology at its founding, evolved into the governing body of the Reform movement. The decade after the mid 1870s witnessed an "irreversible tide" of Reform nationally as synagogues institutionalized change retaining, in varying degrees,

"vestiges of traditional practices." In his *American Israelite* of November 8, 1872, Wise reported with "particular interest" that a "MINHAG AMERICA congregation" was established in Wilmington. It joined the UAHC in 1878. In 1885 some Reform Jewish leaders promulgated the Pittsburgh Platform that called for a rational, American Judaism. Jews constituted a religious community, the platform stated, not a nation; it rejected Zionist longings and messianic expectation. Dismissing Orthodoxy as "primitive," the Reformers advocated an ethical, universalistic civil religion that befitted the Progressive Era.²⁷

North Carolina's early congregations were attuned to the larger forces reshaping nineteenth-century Jewry. Typically these communities were colonial outposts of Richmond, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, or Philadelphia, and religious ties intertwined with the family, landsleit, and commercial networks that linked city and country. Rural Jews, migrants from their cities of entry, maintained their urban links. Rev. Philip Hirshberg, the president of Richmond's Keneseth Israel, traveled North Carolina both to conduct business and to perform weddings and circumcisions. In 1883 when Goldsboro's Jews began a synagogue building fund, "every member going north to buy his spring stock was requested to obtain a letter with the congregational seal from the president to solicit subscriptions."²⁸ In describing Baltimore's Oheb Shalom as their "mother synagogue," Goldsboro's Jews defined the congregational relationship between urban centers and small towns. The town's most prominent Jews, the Weil brothers, had family and business ties to Baltimore and had been married in Oheb Shalom. In 1883 Rev. Alois Kaiser, cantor of the Baltimore synagogue, was summoned to Goldsboro to organize the local congregation. Goldsboro's Jews adopted the name and constitution of Oheb Shalom.²⁹ At its founding in the 1870s Tarboro's B'nai Israel was a "colony" of Richmond's Keneseth Israel and patterned its services on that congregation's Polish Orthodox ritual. The founding president of B'nai Israel, Henry Morris, had been a member of Keneseth Israel as were his father and father-in-law.³⁰ "There were continuous links in the lifeline between Charleston and Wilmington," a historian of the Temple of Israel observed. Wilmington's

first spiritual leader, the Rev. E. M. Myers, was the brother of the "Charleston minister." In 1872 Wilmington Jews turned to Rabbi Marcus Jastrow of Rodeph Sholom in Philadelphia to advise them on the "gradual modification of the old Orthodox ritual." The congregants took Rabbi Jastrow's advice to hire Rabbi Charles Mendelsohn, who was currently serving in Norfolk. Jastrow's student and collaborator, Mendelsohn later became his nephew through marriage,³¹ which again demonstrated the typical linkage of family and business. In 1895 when East European Jews founded an Orthodox congregation in Charlotte, they imported a Torah and cantor from Richmond.³² Despite their distance and isolation, small-town Jews remained networked to the city where—in addition to wholesale merchandise—they found spouses, rabbis, and prayer books.

If Richmond or Baltimore were models of Reform for small towns in North Carolina, they offered examples that were inconsistent and schismatic. Although the South is often stereotyped as a bastion of Reform Judaism, its evolution from Orthodoxy, like that of Jewry generally, was slow and uneven. Incorporated in 1854, Baltimore's Oheb Shalom sought a middle road between Reform and Orthodoxy. Under the leadership of Rabbi Benjamin Szold, it had an organ and mixed-gender choir, omitted head coverings, and deleted rites pertaining to sacrifice, but it also resisted radical Reform innovations. Szold was outspoken against the Pittsburgh Platform. Edited with English emendations by Marcus Jastrow, Szold's prayer book offered a prototype of a conservative Judaism. But it, too, embraced an Americanizing, "denationalized Judaism" that eliminated calls for Zion's restoration and expressed a universal ethic that called upon Israel to be a light unto the nations.³³ By 1856 Jews at Richmond's Beth Ahabah worshipped with a mixed-gender choir, and eleven years later added an organ and family pews. They also abandoned such customs as the kissing of tzitzit and chanting of the Haftarah. In 1866 thirty-two dissidents, favoring Wise's *Minhag America*, broke away to form Congregation Beth Israel only to reunite with Beth Ahabah five years later. Beth Ahabah was still using the moderate Jastrow prayer book when Rabbi Calisch arrived in 1891. An ardent advo-

cate of the Pittsburgh Platform, he instituted still more reforms including the Classical Reform *Union Prayer Book*, which was first published in 1895. Richmond's Keneseth Israel retained gender segregation, a traditional ritual, and sabbath observance into the twentieth century, but new immigrants sustained its Orthodoxy as its original Prussian membership turned toward Reform and joined Beth Ahabah.³⁴

The process of Reform in North Carolina, too, worked unevenly within and across communities, and evidence suggests conflict and internal diversity. In 1877 a Jewish newspaper reported that in Wilmington "dissensions" were "disturbing seriously the attendance at services." In the Goldsboro synagogue Sol Weil sat defiantly hatless while his fellow worshippers covered their heads. In the long term the trend worked toward liberalization, but this process included substantial wavering and backsliding. An Ashevillean referred to Beth Ha-Tephila's "see-saw history. . . Our membership is an amalgamation. . . in one generation a 'Reform' group dominated; in another an 'Orthodox.'" ³⁵

Relative to urban congregations, North Carolina congregations tended to adopt reforms cautiously. The constitution of Goldsboro's Oheb Sholom stated that religious practice was to be guided by "Biblical injunction, rather than by expediency." It called for Sabbath observance, but it also reduced the shiva from seven to three days. In 1883 Goldsboro used the conservative Szold-Jastrow prayer book. Built in 1886, the synagogue included an organ and family pews, but the congregants also rejected the use of English and insisted on Hebrew-language prayer services. A mixed-gender choir performed during services. Head coverings were still required although Baltimore's Oheb Shalom had abolished the practice in 1869. In 1890 Goldsboro joined the UAHC. Although the Baltimore "mother synagogue" adopted the *Union Prayer Book* in 1906, its Goldsboro namesake rejected it in 1904 and 1906. In 1913 as a compromise, the congregation bought six copies each of the Jastrow and Union prayer books. Not until 1920 was the *Union Prayer Book* adopted for the High Holidays, and not until 1924 did the revised *Union Prayer Book* become the ritual standard. The board then also requested that the rabbi introduce

more English into the service, particularly that he read the Haftorah in both Hebrew and English.³⁶

Although German persisted as the synagogue language in many urban, American Reform congregations into the late nineteenth century, North Carolina's Jews were committed to Americanizing. The state's German-Jewish settlement was too small, late and scattered to sustain its separate ethnicity. Moreover, the Jewish communities tended not to be ethnically cohesive. Services were conducted in English and Hebrew. Yet some effort was made to ensure the survival of German culture. The Goldsboro congregational school committee did make its reports in a "very handsomely written German," and in 1892 the thirty boys and girls in the religious school were instructed in Hebrew and German alternately six days a week. Tombstones also had German inscriptions.³⁷

In small towns "Jewish" was a sufficient qualification, and synagogue histories suggest little ideological coherence. The by-laws of Statesville's Temple Emanuel, founded in 1883, concerned business and governance only and made no reference to worship practice other than to require "perfect silence" when the "minister or choir" performed. The congregants wanted Protestant decorum that suggests Radical Reform. The by-laws did not require Sabbath observance although members were obliged to attend the "minyon" when the president summoned them. Seating was in family pews. The congregation hired a Reform rabbi and the town's most prominent Jewish family, the Wallaces, owned the radical Reform Einhorn prayer book. Yet, when Statesville's temple was dedicated in 1892, the rabbi invited to officiate was Benjamin Szold, the conservative critic of Radical Reform. In 1900 motions to remove hats and adopt the *Union Prayer Book* were defeated. Not until 1908 did the Trustees adopt the *Union Prayer Book* and allow members "who desire to remove their hats."³⁸

Tarboro's congregational history also suggests ideological wavering, if not confusion, although its overall course was toward Reform. Founded in the 1870s Chevra B'nai Israel initially adhered to the Polish-Orthodox minhag. In 1882 a committee of three was appointed to "see what can be done to adopt a reform

service,” and two years later the congregation appointed a Committee on Revising Services. In 1884 they called upon Rev. Abram Harris of Richmond’s Beth Ahabah, which was embarked on Reform, to consecrate their synagogue. The board also voted to write Isaac Mayer Wise at Hebrew Union College “with the view of sending a student. . .to lecture for us during the ensuing holidays.” However, its constitution (c.1884) stated that “the form of worship shall be according to the Prayer Book of Dr. Szold.” In 1897 Rabbi Calisch, who was an ardent advocate of the Pittsburgh Platform, dedicated their synagogue.³⁹

The conflicts over liturgy and ideology were aggravated by the perennial problem of finding competent rabbinic leadership. As early as 1878 Goldsboro published a warning about Benjamin Miller, an itinerant Hebrew teacher in Durham, whom they claimed was a fraud. The minutes of Statesville’s congregation record debates on whether the congregation could afford a rabbi and futile attempts to find rabbis in Chicago, Atlanta, Baltimore, New York, and New Jersey. In Durham, Tarboro, and Rocky Mount, the prayer leaders were traditionalists who were the most Jewishly literate and observant members of their communities. Anyone who was “well versed” in Judaism was pressed into service, which might mean a storekeeper, a peddler, a rabbinical student or occasionally a visiting rabbi.⁴⁰

Rabbis in metropolitan areas expressed concern for the religious well being of rural Jews, and circuit riding rabbis from Baltimore and Richmond traveled the state leading services, starting religious schools, and performing marriages. “The country Jew,” Rabbi Calisch wrote in 1900, “has been much discussed. . .and has loomed large. . .for his urban brother in faith.” Calisch was the country’s most ardent advocate of circuit riding. He served as founding secretary and later chairman of the Circuit Preaching Committee of the UAHC. Instituted in 1895 in New Orleans, the committee resolved to contact every rabbi in America “for the purpose of endeavoring to supply the opportunities for religious instruction to the Jewish families of smaller towns . . .whose numbers preclude the maintenance of communal institutions.” With an annual budget of only fifty dollars the

committee had large ambitions to connect each small town "to the nearest large city in which a Rabbi was permanently located." In 1896 fifty-three towns in nineteen states had received visits.⁴¹

Throughout the 1890s, Rabbi Calisch traveled to North Carolina. In March, 1896, he visited Tarboro, Rocky Mount, Raleigh, and Henderson.⁴² He conducted weddings and funerals in Charlotte, Durham, and Statesville. Indeed, whatever success Reform Judaism enjoyed institutionally in the South can be explained in some measure by UAHC's missionary work as "the only organized body that has attempted systematically to solve" the problem of the small-town Jew. In 1896 the committee passed a resolution to the HUC trustees and faculty to "encourage graduates" to participate in circuit riding and two years later recommended that HUC "add one year of compulsory circuit work to its curriculum."⁴³ At a time when Orthodoxy was still factionalized and unorganized, and Conservatism was just coalescing into a movement, Reform Judaism had developed a national infrastructure. In 1908 alone Statesville and Asheville joined the UAHC, and a Reform congregation organized in Greensboro. HUC rabbinical students served Asheville, Statesville, and New Bern.

From a national perspective Rabbi Calisch repeatedly expressed disappointment with the interest of small-town Jews in his circuit riding projects. "There are complaints of the indifference of the country Jews, and lack of interest, and of the coldness of the receptions that are accorded to the Rabbis' overtures," but he added, "it may be interesting to note that the Jewish communities of the South took "more kindly to the movement than those of the North, for the reason doubtless that there is among them a greater percentage of native born Americans."⁴⁴

The East European migration changed the character of the state's Jewry as the North Carolina Jewish population grew tenfold in the forty years following 1878. These Jews were immersed in the Yiddishkeit of their native lands. They must have been well aware of the difficulties of sustaining Jewish religious life when they abandoned the ghettos of Baltimore, New York, or Philadelphia for the rural South. The immigrants' break with rabbinical Orthodox authority preceded their arrival in North

Carolina. Bernhard Goldgar, an immigrant from Kodna, Poland, who settled in Durham in the early 1880s, left a memoir that traced his religious genesis. He recalled the rabbis of his shtetl to be tyrants who deadened mind, body, and spirit. He became an "enlightened" Jew. Unable to afford a university education, he emigrated to New York, declaring his intention to be not just a "son of Israel," but a "citizen of the world." Yet, he brought to America his phylacteries and went hungry rather than eat non-kosher meat. He came to Durham as a committed socialist. Another North Carolinian described his Lithuanian-born father as a "Jew by nature" whose "religiosity fell off" and who merely went "through the motions" of prayer. Yet this "freethinker" attended services regularly and served seven terms as a synagogue president. Russian-born peddler Morris Witcowsky of Yanceyville recalled, "Quite frankly I was not very religious," but he observed the Sabbath and High Holidays and ate only eggs, fruits and vegetables on his travels. The Industrial Removal Office, which resettled East European immigrant Jews from 1901 to 1914, screened applicants as to their willingness to work on the Sabbath and to eat non-kosher food before sending them to areas of low Jewish population density.⁴⁵

What transpired religiously when greenhorn East European Jews arrived in small towns where second-generation, American Jews of German origin had established themselves? The attitude of acculturated southern Jews toward the newly arrived immigrants was complex and varied by community. A UAHC report in 1896 noted "the heterogeneity of the elements which make up even the smallest of Jewish communities. Where there are mayhap [sic] only a dozen or fifteen families the social barriers are strongly drawn, and national differences, accentuated by close contact, serve to prevent a union for religious purposes."⁴⁶ While some American Jews voiced complaints about Poles and Roumanians, others rhapsodized on the spiritual unity of Israel and expressed pride in the East Europeans' rapid advance. In 1882 Tarboro's Jews sent twenty dollars in congregational funds to Baltimore and Cincinnati "for the benefit of russian [sic] refugees." In 1900, in response to a B'nai B'rith plea to "get positions

for Roumainian Jews that are in New York," the Statesville synagogue board voted in business-like fashion to "place an order for three (3) of these men." When informed of pogroms against Russian Jews in 1905, the financially strapped congregation sent fifty dollars to Jacob Schiff in New York for a relief fund.⁴⁷

Whatever solidarity Americanized Germans felt toward their immigrant East European coreligionists abstractly, some wished to remain socially distant. Miriam Weil of Goldsboro wrote a letter to her niece that warned her against dating a Trinity College (now Duke University) student because "all of the Jewish people in Durham that I have ever heard of are of a very ordinary sort."⁴⁸ In Durham Russian Jews were well aware of the social divide between themselves and the "Deitchen," but, typical of a small town, they described local relations as cordial. Southern codes of hospitality reinforced the religious commandments obligating Jews to care for each other. As non-Jewish southerners tended to see all Jews—regardless of national origin—as belonging to one race, it was in the German Jews' self interest to acculturate the new immigrants and hasten their civic integration. Rabbi Calisch, for example, was dedicated to Americanizing the East Europeans, and his congregation maintained a relief committee.

In towns with existing congregations, the East Europeans confronted the choice of joining the Germans or forming their own congregations. In Wilmington, the state's largest city, East Europeans remained apart from the Reform Temple of Israel and organized the Orthodox B'nai Israel in 1906. But in most towns small numbers and resources forced union. In Raleigh, Asheville, and Greensboro, Germans and East Europeans, Reform and Orthodox at first "worshipped upon the same roof," as a Greensboro Jew put it.⁴⁹ These heterogeneous congregations existed for a decade or more before population and resources were sufficiently large for them to divide. In some cases these congregations survived through a syncretic Americanized Judaism as liberals and traditionalists tolerated or harmonized differences to maintain communal unity. In other cases the synagogue might house a bicameral congregation with the Reform and Orthodox holding separate services. These arrangements were dynamic, and bal-

ances shifted with changing demography. Lacking numbers to reinforce their divisions, small-town Jews more easily breached the ethnic and religious lines that divided urban communities.

Where numbers remained small Judaism was by necessity inclusive. The precarious financial status of small-town congregations doubtlessly was a factor. When Goldsboro's Oheb Sholom board observed in 1895 that "certain Israelites were holding services outside the Temple," they welcomed them to join. To appease traditionalists Statesville's temple board in the early 1900s repeatedly voted down or tabled motions to permit the removal of hats during worship. North Carolina's small-town congregations lagged behind their urban counterparts in adopting Reform, and their conservatism may be traced to their need to accommodate more traditional Jews.⁵⁰

In Durham and Charlotte East Europeans arrived in large enough numbers to meet in a synagogue while Reform Jews held services in their homes. The religious meeting ground for Reform and Orthodox Jews in Durham, Raleigh, and Charlotte was the Sunday School which, with its mixed-gender, English-language classes, tended to be more progressive. In Durham Lily Kronheimer, matron of the town's most prominent German-Reform family, served as a much beloved Sunday School teacher and principal at Beth El Synagogue, which was otherwise East European Orthodox. In the late 1920s Reform Rabbi F. I. Rypins of Greensboro established religious schools in East European communities in Henderson, Albermarle, Tarboro, and High Point.⁵¹ In several towns, acculturated German families, some of whom were intermarried, made token contributions to build local Orthodox synagogues although they were never members.

Syncretic congregations had difficulty sustaining unity, especially as numbers grew sufficient to divide. At its founding in 1891 by a mix of German, English and East European Jews, Asheville's Beth Ha-Tephila sought compromise. Initially it called itself "conservative"; among the congregation's first acts was to raise funds for both an organ and a cap and robe for the Torah reader. East European families arriving in the later 1890s "found the congregation insufficiently orthodox," and the synagogue leadership was

committed to Reform. In 1897 Orthodox members broke away to form Bikur Cholim. Seven years later Dr. Solomon Schechter, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, presided over a joint meeting of Bikur Cholim and Beth Ha-Tephila in an attempt to merge them into a single, Conservative congregation. His effort failed. In 1908 Beth Ha-Tephila joined the UAHC, adopted the *Union Prayer Book* and revised its by-laws to commit itself as a "Reformed Congregation." Yet, as late as 1918, its board debated and then rejected an amendment to become Conservative.⁵² Asheville Jews commonly maintained membership in both synagogues.

From 1885 to 1912 the Raleigh Hebrew Congregation, too, included both second-generation Reform Jews of German origin and first-generation East European Orthodox Jews. "Much of the early business was directed toward reconciling their religious viewpoints in an effort to remain a single congregation," a community historian noted. The split into the Reform Beth Or and the Orthodox Beth Jacob (now Beth Meyer) congregations came in 1912 after Orthodox parents insisted their children be taught in "the traditional fashion."⁵³ When given the choice, many East European Jews chose Reform.

Greensboro was both syncretic and bicameral. The Greensboro Reform Congregation, founded in 1908, changed its name a year later to the Greensboro Hebrew Congregation to welcome the Orthodox. A. Rossman, a congregational historian, explained, "Its platform rests not upon any one brand of Judaism but upon Judaism and membership in the household of Israel." Both Reform and Orthodox Jews worshipped together on the Sabbath and participated in a joint religious school but separated on High Holidays when the smaller number of Orthodox members hired an out-of-town cantor to perform the services. The congregational history boasted, "The community has ever escaped the pitfalls of sectarian strife and petty bickerings that unfortunately have not been avoided in other sections of the country." Congregant Leah Tannenbaum, from an old German family, recalled, "We got along so well." The compromises were largely on Reform terms. In 1923 the congregation voted in support of a "committee of ladies" to give women a "footing of equality with men." Two years later,

Rabbi David Marx of Atlanta, a Classical Reform advocate, dedicated the new synagogue. Rossman noted, "the community has always cherished a warm affection and high regard" for Rabbi Marx. When Conservative Jews left to form their own congregation, Tannenbaum noted that the spirit of cooperation transcended the schism, and "many people retained dual membership for many years."⁵⁴

New Bern was also inclusive. German Jews had settled in the town as early as the 1850s, founded a cemetery in 1880, and established Chester B'nai Scholem. By 1907 the congregation reported it no longer held services, but a year later it dedicated a synagogue. The East Europeans had attempted to establish an Orthodox congregation, but it quickly faded and its "members infiltrated into the reform congregation until now they dominate it," student rabbi Larry Josephson reported to Jacob Rader Marcus in 1935. The East Europeans took leadership as many Germans had assimilated or departed, mostly to Baltimore. Although the dozen families were socially aware of the differing origins of Germans and East Europeans, there was no "distinct cleavage" or "any actual friction." The reporter continued, "In religious practice there is little difference between them." The community maintained a *schochet*, but "none seem to keep strictly kosher though some few observe certain dietary laws." Elbert Lipman of New Bern recalled that his Lithuanian-born father, who had settled in town after the turn of the century, "accepted" Reform Judaism "by necessity as much as by choice" since no one was competent locally to conduct Orthodox services. HUC students served as rabbis.⁵⁵

In Durham and Tarboro German congregations became East European, and the established Reform Jews were institutionally disenfranchised. Tarboro's B'nai Israel, which had evolved from Orthodoxy to Reform, reversed its course. The newly arrived Lithuanians, whom one Tarboro resident remembered "as Orthodox as they come," conducted services entirely in Hebrew although they maintained mixed seating. With the arrival of hundreds of East Europeans to Durham and the departure of most German families in the late 1880s and 1890s, the Durham Hebrew Congregation, founded c.1886, evolved into an East European

shul although Myer Summerfield, a German-born Orthodox Jew, served as its first president.⁵⁶

From 1880 to 1922 in towns that previously lacked synagogues East Europeans established 10 congregations. These immigrant shuls arose in the rural eastern North Carolina towns of Weldon, Fayetteville, and Lumberton and the mountain community of Hendersonville as well as in the cities of Durham, Raleigh, Asheville, Charlotte, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem. The cities had the critical mass to sustain Orthodox communal life. Small Jewish neighborhoods, "ghettos without walls," sprouted with a kosher grocer and butcher. The immigrant shul was a land-sleit group that offered an island of Yiddishkeit in a sea of African American and white gentiles. It was a place not merely to meet to pray but also to gossip and to conduct business. Although these congregations held services in Hebrew and Yiddish, they replicated the pattern of the older established German synagogues in also serving as agencies of American acculturation. They, too, often took the title of Hebrew Congregation, and the women's group was a Ladies Aid Society. Usually they began in second-floor, rented rooms over a store. With prosperity the congregants purchased an abandoned church or erected a wooden shul. In smaller communities these wood-framed structures served until the post World War II years. In the 1920s larger, more prosperous communities in Raleigh, Durham, Gastonia, Asheville, High Point, Fayetteville, and Greensboro built downtown, cathedral-style synagogues. Synagogues in Durham and Fayetteville included a mikvah and women's balcony.

East European immigrants in small towns especially showed a willingness to compromise their Orthodoxy. The Lumberton synagogue's mikvah was eventually boarded over, and the seating was mixed gender. Asheville's Bikur Cholim was "never truly Orthodox," congregant Joseph Schandler recalled, noting that they, too, always had mixed seating, and services were conducted in both Hebrew and English. Wilson's Jews were "confused conservative," reflected Dennis Barker, whose grandfather arrived in 1907. Hickory was "Orthodox with reservations," observed Elaine Zerden, whose father-in-law settled there in 1908. Congregant Sol

Schechter thought that Kinston was “conservative” at its founding by Lithuanian immigrants in 1903. Temple Emanuel of Gastonia, organized in 1906, conducted its services in English. Sol Mann, whose family came to Whiteville in 1922, noted that his Lithuanian-born father, who had cantorial training, “thought that Conservative would be better. We couldn’t keep kosher food here. . . You had to go Conservative to exist.” In leading services Mann “used a lot of English. . . to keep people happy.” The need to accommodate, to include everyone, led to compromise. “People were from all over,” recalled Dale Fuerst of Rocky Mount, “Germans, East Europeans, even had some Latin Americans.” Barker observed of Wilson, “In a small community where you have 15 families, you’re going to have a mixture of everything. We did our own services.”⁵⁷

East European congregations had to deal with the endemic disputes of clan, class, and personality typical of immigrant communities. Lithuanians and Ukrainians argued over liturgy and Hebrew pronunciation, while wealthy merchants and poorer storekeepers contended over synagogue honors, governance, and the apportioning of kosher meat. When Charlotte’s Jews wrote the “By Laws of the Hebrew United Brotherhood” in 1915, seven of the nine sections regulating synagogue practice concerned the slaughter and sale of poultry and meat.⁵⁸ Disputes between the rabbi and the *schochet* tore apart congregations in Durham and Raleigh. In 1901, the dissident B’nai Israel split from Durham Hebrew Congregation as a congregant and the president got into an altercation over ownership of both the Torah and the affections of the president’s wife. The case was settled in court. “Every time someone got mad, they started a new synagogue,” recalled one old timer.⁵⁹ Observant Orthodox Jews, who wanted daily prayer services and stronger Jewish communities for their children, especially as they reached marriageable age, did not persist in small towns. The out-migration of small-town Jews from the South after World War I can be explained, in part, by the desire of observant Jews to live and raise their children in urban centers where they could find larger, more resourceful Jewish communi-

ties. Baltimore especially was a magnet for small-town North Carolina Jews.

Small-town East European Jews struggled with the problem of rabbinic authority. When Abe and Fannie Goldstein of Durham sought a divorce in 1906, they traveled to Norfolk to find a Beth Din. In 1896 the UAHC Committee on Circuit Preaching reported that "in many of the smaller towns the dominant element in numbers is of the orthodox type, for whom reform rabbis and their ways have no appeal." The committee had earlier reported that these smaller communities preferred a mohel or a schochet.⁶⁰ In contrast to the ordained, college-educated Reform rabbis, immigrant "reverends" who lacked semicha served the East European shuls. The by-laws of Charlotte's Agudath Achim specified that the congregational leader was to be a "combination Rabbi Schochet and Teacher." As one Durhamite recalled, "He circumcised you, married you, buried you, and killed your chickens." The pay was low and the turnover tended to be high. These unordained "reverends" and "rebbees" supported themselves by operating kosher delicatessens and tutoring boys in preparation for the bar mitzvah. Unless the parents requested, girls received scant Jewish education. The Charlotte congregation stipulated that children should be taught "according to the orthodox way with English explanations if possible."⁶¹

Increasingly, the congregants wanted a rabbi who could speak English to their children and make a modern appearance to the gentile community. Unordained Polish-born reverends yielded to American-born, university-educated professionals, especially after the establishing of Yeshiva College in 1928. The Durham congregation hired as spiritual leader an unordained Lithuanian "reverend" in 1892, a Polish-born rabbi with semicha from a East European yeshiva in 1912, and an American-born graduate of Yeshiva College in 1937. Smaller towns like Whiteville or Salisbury could not afford rabbis, and, when they found prayer leaders, ideology was less significant than availability. Jewish Theological Seminary students led services in Lumberton. "You took what you could get," recalled Herbert Fuerst of Rocky Mount, explaining the community's lack of de-

nominal loyalty. In 1932 some Winston-Salem Jews split from the Orthodox shul intending to organize a Conservative congregation, but instead became Reform when a promising HUC graduate offered his services as rabbi.⁶²

As the immigrants Americanized and a native-born generation arose, prejudices against Reform rabbis abated. At several second-generation, East European weddings in Durham the Goldsboro Reform rabbi officiated jointly with the local Orthodox rabbi. After 1909 Abram Simon, a Reform rabbi from Washington, regularly visited Durham where he served on the board of trustees of the National Training School, the local African American college. Although the congregation retained an East European Orthodox ritual, Simon, ordained at HUC, was an honored congregational speaker and delivered the keynote address at the synagogue dedication in 1921. As a native southerner and political progressive, Rabbi Simon was precisely the kind of modern, American Jew that the immigrants wished to present as a Jewish ambassador to civic Durham. Similarly, another HUC graduate, Rabbi George Solomon of Savannah's Mickve Israel, delivered the dedicatory address at Charlotte's Orthodox Agudath Achim synagogue in 1916.⁶³

North Carolina Jews reflected national trends as changing demography loosened the bonds of Orthodoxy. A host of ethnic and Zionist organizations competed with, and for many replaced synagogue affiliation as a means of Jewish identification. The cathedral-style synagogues of the 1920s were often designed as "community centers." Inspired by innovators like Mordecai Kaplan, these synagogues contained a social hall for Scouts and Hadassah beside a prayer sanctuary. Even with the institution building, religious literacy and practice eroded. In 1921 the founders of the newly formed North Carolina Association of Jewish Women [NCAJW] noted "our parenthood is sadly deficient in the observance and teaching of Jewish home ceremonials and the religion which these embody."⁶⁴ With its men's auxiliary the NCAJW was but one example of efforts to strengthen Jewish ethnic association if not religious practice, and it pointedly sought to

incorporate both Germans and East Europeans in a single communal structure.

The process of religious accommodation reflected generational changes. In 1932 in Winston-Salem Moses Shapiro, whose immigrant father had founded the Orthodox Beth Jacob congregation, led a group of Jews interested in a "more liberal type of Judaism." Beth Jacob at first housed the dissidents who held Friday night services at 8 p.m. while the Orthodox conducted theirs at sundown. The schism did not come until two years later when one Sunday morning the newly arrived Reform rabbi was asked to leave while leading his first confirmation class. The liberals moved to rented rooms and founded Temple Emanuel.⁶⁵ When a Hillel Foundation opened in Chapel Hill in 1936, the college students held Reform as well as Orthodox services.

Even in those towns that remained East European enclaves, Orthodoxy was often a matter of nostalgia, personal identity, and institutional affiliation rather than of religious practice and behavior. This eroded Orthodoxy was typical of small midwestern and southern communities on the Jewish periphery, and the Orthodox Union enrolled congregations that had mixed seating.⁶⁶ Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz, who came to Beth El in Durham in 1937, observed,

The community was fairly Orthodox, Southern style. There was not really any Sabbath observance. Most Jews drove on the Sabbath, kept their stores open on the Sabbath, but they considered themselves an Orthodox congregation. Kashruth was observed by a large number of the congregants.

Rabbi Mowshowitz's orientation was Modern Orthodox. Six years after his departure, Beth El hired a Conservative rabbi.⁶⁷

Jewish mobility, a constant feature of small-town southern Jewry, changed the character of the communities in the 1940s, especially with the migration of northern Jews who were accustomed to liberal Judaism. In the postwar years "the casual friendly assimilation of the small town disappeared as newcomers introduced 'big city' styles of living," observed NCAJW historian Emma Edwards.⁶⁸ Jewish movement loyalties were renegotiated.

Edwards observed the changes taking place in Reform Judaism: "Old-timers took a back seat, . . . the Reform style of worship, which had not stood the test in Germany, was questioned; all agreed that the resumption of the older forms of worship would give strength to the faith." In 1941 Asheville Rabbi Robert Jacobs wrote that "the Reform group. . . has lost its early rigidity, and the 'Orthodox' group. . . has lost its scrupulous observance of the minutiae of Jewish law. . . . With our Temple, an American type of Judaism is a-borning."⁶⁹

Nationally, Conservatism had been making inroads among second-generation Jews since the 1920s, and the United Synagogue of America grew into Judaism's dominant branch in the postwar years. In North Carolina the real growth in Conservative Judaism occurred in the 1940s. Women, wanting a more egalitarian Judaism, pushed the movement toward Conservatism. In the 1940s they began joining synagogue boards. The Conservative Temple Israel of Salisbury, founded in 1939, evolved from the local chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women.

In several cases the Conservative Judaism emerged from Reform congregations. In 1942, with new migrations, dissident East European members of the Greensboro Reform congregation had the numbers to establish the Greensboro Conservative Hebrew Congregation, soon renamed Beth David Synagogue. Its members wanted "more emphasis on traditional and historical Judaism." Statesville's Emanuel, founded as a Reform congregation in 1883 and closed in the 1920s, reopened in 1954 as Conservative with the arrival of newcomers.

More typically, Conservative congregations evolved from East European Orthodox synagogues. Charlotte's Orthodox synagogue began holding two services on the High Holidays, adding a Conservative minyan, which appealed largely to younger members. In 1946 the congregation changed its name from Hebrew Union Brotherhood to B'nai Israel and joined the United Synagogue.⁷⁰ Formerly Orthodox congregations in Durham, High Point, Hendersonville, Lumberton, Fayetteville, and Asheville joined the United Synagogue in the late 1940s or early 1950s.

North Carolina which had approximately ten Orthodox congregations in 1910 had none in 1960 as all had either closed or turned Conservative. Frequently, this move coincided with the construction of a new, suburban Jewish community center. The postwar religious revival inspired a new wave of congregation forming and synagogue building. These suburban synagogue-centers were erected not just in cities like Durham, Charlotte, and Raleigh, but also in small agrarian towns like Weldon, Lumberton, Hickory, Wilson, Fayetteville, Whiteville, Jacksonville, Rocky Mount, Salisbury, and Kinston. The number of the state's congregations grew from sixteen in 1948 to twenty-seven in 1955. Responding to institutional growth, by the 1950s a North Carolina Association of Rabbis had formed.

The Reform movement was also a beneficiary of population growth and generational change beginning in the 1940s. In Charlotte East Europeans, augmented by remnants of the early German Jewish settlers, organized a Reform congregation in 1942.⁷¹ The Kinston East European congregation, "conservative" at its founding in 1903, turned Reform in 1948. Reform's climb to ascendancy among North Carolina Jews climaxed in the 1960s. When Judea Reform organized in Durham in 1961, the leadership consisted of second-generation East European Jews and émigrés from Nazi Europe. The elderly, highly assimilated remnants of the old German families did not affiliate. Weldon's Conservative congregation had problems satisfying the rabbi's need to obtain kosher food and to avoid driving on the sabbath, so it joined the Reform movement. Hendersonville's Agudas Achim evolved from Orthodoxy to Conservatism to Reform while High Point marched from Orthodoxy to Conservatism to Reconstructionism and then to Reform. Consistent with national trends in the Reform movement, the Classical Reform style evolved in the postwar years to a more traditional service with increasing use of Hebrew.⁷²

Smaller North Carolina congregations contended with denominational flux. When it came to denominations, a Rocky Mount congregant recalled, "people didn't know what they were." The impulse was "to please everyone." Men and women

sat together at prayer services. "We have seven or eight different sects," said Monroe Evans of Fayetteville's Beth Israel, "but everybody stays together. . .everybody has to give a little bit for their belief." Tarboro's services, which had been Orthodox, evolved into something "midway between Reform and Conservative," a congregant recalled. "Not everyone in the congregation could read Hebrew."⁷³ Elaine Zerden of Hickory remembered, "Whoever was at the bimah chose the service." The Hickory, Wilson, and Rocky Mount congregations owned several sets of prayer books to accommodate whatever worship the prayer leader requested. The Rocky Mount congregation purchased an organ, Herbert Fuerst recalled, "but some members screamed it was irreverent so we sold it to the Baptist church."⁷⁴

The century-old problem of serving country Jews persisted, and for isolated, smaller communities availability remained more significant than movement affiliation. In 1954 Charlotte philanthropist I. D. Blumenthal underwrote a Circuit Riding Rabbi Project to serve small towns unable to afford a rabbi. A bus was equipped with an eternal light, an ark and a Judaica library. Rabbi Harold Friedman traveled a semimonthly, fourteen-hundred mile circuit on back roads to nineteen small towns. The "synagogue on wheels" eventually brought religious services and Hebrew school to one thousand Jews in some thirty communities. One stop, Mount Gilead-Albemarle, had only four families. About 1972 Rabbi David Kraus of the Circuit Riding Rabbi Project organized local Jews into the multi-denominational Boone Jewish community.⁷⁵

Following demography, Jewish congregations in agrarian communities have struggled while those in the Sunbelt metropolitan areas have prospered. Places that did not make the transition from mill and market town status into the post-industrial economy saw their Jewish communities wither, especially as the second generation broke from the retail trades of their parents and sought professional opportunities in metropolitan areas. Tarboro Jewry, dating to the 1860s, had all but vanished as the few remaining families joined forces with struggling communities in Rocky Mount and Weldon. Their 1908 synagogue was rented to a Baptist

church before its roof caved in and it fell to a wrecker's ball in the 1970s. In the 1990s the Jacksonville and Lumberton synagogues were sold or rented to churches while the Wilson synagogue closed and was put up for sale. The Goldsboro congregation, with its 1886 Romanesque Revival synagogue, declined to a dozen families. Kinston reported a membership of thirty-two, nearly half of whom were estimated to be elderly widows. Whiteville, where a number of youth untypically remained in family businesses, sustained a congregation of fifteen or twenty highly dedicated members.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, the Sunbelt metropolitan areas of Charlotte and the Research Triangle (Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill) experienced rapid Jewish growth. If Jews had avoided the Benighted South of racism, poverty, and illiteracy, they flocked to a Sunbelt South hailed for its booming economy, temperate climate, and enviable lifestyle. Charlotte's Shalom Park, which opened in 1992, included new Reform and Conservative synagogues with combined memberships of over sixteen hundred households. Synagogues in Raleigh and Durham engaged in expensive capital campaigns as burgeoning memberships overtaxed their facilities. In 1983 a new Reform congregation formed in Cary, once a country town but now a booming high-tech center. Asheville, facing decline, saw its Jewish population grow as the mountain resort town drew families; Beth Israel's membership rose from seventy households in 1985 to over two hundred in 1997. The foothill furniture town of Hickory also saw a rising population of Jewish professionals and manufacturers.⁷⁷

Consistent with Jewish demographic trends, university towns also saw Jewish growth. While neighboring Jewish communities across eastern North Carolina declined and synagogues closed, Greenville's growing numbers of Jews founded Bayt Shalom, a Conservative congregation in 1976. This country town had grown into an academic center with the expansion of East Carolina University and the founding of its medical school. In the college towns of Boone and Chapel Hill Jews organized worship groups outside the framework of a formal congregation. The Jewish Renewal Movement spawned alternative forms of Jewish

association. In Fearington, a model community near Chapel Hill largely inhabited by retirees, a Havurah formed consisting of fifty households. In Durham-Chapel Hill, politically progressive Jews inspired by the Workmen's Circle founded the Triangle Shule, which served as a Hebrew School and informal congregation.

The growing popularity of North Carolina as a retirement center revived several congregations. Northern retirees buoyed the New Bern congregation, which was on the brink of folding in the 1980s. Floridians provided the core membership of Agudas Israel in Hendersonville and the Mountain Synagogue in Franklin, which was founded in 1979. The Mountain Synagogue, which held seasonal services, grew to 109 members with increasing numbers of younger families.⁷⁸

Reflecting global trends, Orthodoxy enjoyed a modest local revival in the 1980s and 1990s. Although a few native, elderly Jews joined these newly formed groups, Sunbelt migrants largely sustained them. Sha'are Israel, organized in Raleigh as Orthodox in 1979, was taken over by the Lubavitch Hasidim. In 1980 the Lubavitchers also founded a congregation in Charlotte, which grew to one hundred members. Durham supported two small Orthodox congregations: a Kehillah affiliated with the Orthodox Union which met at Beth El Synagogue and Ohr Torah, founded in 1995.

The history of North Carolina's congregations suggests that inner diversity, which historian Abraham Karp cites as a feature of the modern synagogue,⁷⁹ has existed for over a century and is thus not just a recent phenomenon. Religious balances evolved with new migrations as changing economies pushed and pulled populations. In smaller communities inner diversity and tolerance of difference were necessary for communal survival. In larger communities where congregations did divide along ethnic and religious lines, conflicts were short lived, and the impulse tended toward communal unity. As they did a century earlier, North Carolina Jews cite a lack of sectarian strife in their communities. Gastonia's Temple Emanuel, affiliated with the UAHC, describes its membership as comprising "a wide range of Jewish and inter-faith backgrounds." To welcome a diverse membership, the

"Mountain Synagogue has chosen to remain unaffiliated with any branch of Judaism." Sheldon Hanft of the Boone Jewish Community writes, "We have all come to learn to accept all of our fellow Jews, regardless of their denominational orientation." Rabbi Yosef Levanon of Fayetteville describes unaffiliated Beth Israel as an "umbrella congregation" that embraces Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox members. Durham's Beth El, led by a Reconstructionist rabbi, houses both a Conservative congregation and an Orthodox kehillah. Reform congregations adopted the *Gates of Prayer*, which offered the rabbi the choice of cobbling a service from liberal and traditional texts. Upon taking the pulpit of Judea Reform Congregation in Durham in 1980, Rabbi John Friedman expressed a common small-town sentiment when he wrote a message in the bulletin of the Conservative congregation: "After all, there are not so many Jews in our community that we can remain strangers for very long. . . The unusually congenial spirit which exists between our two congregations is most refreshing."⁸⁰ This tendency is characteristic of communities on the Jewish periphery regardless of region. In a statement for UAHC's Small Congregations Department, Mary Hofmann of Congregation Etz Chaim in Merced, California, noted "there aren't enough of us" to afford divisions, and that inner tolerance was necessary for survival.⁸¹

North Carolina's Jewish citizenry remains relatively small—the eleventh most populated state, it contained only twenty-five thousand Jews in 1997—but rapid population growth and changing demography have led to new alignments. In 1997 North Carolina contained sixteen congregations affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, five with the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, and seven that were independent. Three cities also contained new Orthodox congregations. In contrast to national numbers—the UAHC claimed 850 member congregations while the USCJ had nearly 800⁸²—North Carolina's congregations were disproportionately Reform. Furthermore the overall movement across the state was toward Reform, and in cities with two congregations the Reform temples were experiencing the greater growth. Small towns, concerned with survival, were especially drawn to a Reform movement which sought outreach

to mixed married couples and was less stringent in its ritual and educational demands. Reform was more amenable to small-town life where a minyan, kosher food, and rabbinic services were not readily available. The UAHC also had an organizational history of serving smaller congregations. In the 1990s Orthodox and Conservative synagogues were an urban phenomenon, and their presence correlates with the growth of the state's Sunbelt centers. In the South generally, Orthodox synagogues persisted in cities like Atlanta, Memphis, and New Orleans, but not in small towns.

Demographic trends suggest rapid Jewish growth in North Carolina as the national Jewish population shifts southward and the state's economy retains its high-tech luster. The South today welcomes the Jewish doctor, engineer, entrepreneur, and research scientist as it did the peddler and storekeeper in the postbellum years. The state's reputation as a retirement center is also encouraging Jewish population growth. Along with new congregational developments, Jewish community centers were built in Asheville, Raleigh, and Charlotte. Day schools arose in Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, and Durham-Chapel Hill. Judaic studies programs flourished at Duke University and at the University of North Carolina campuses at Asheville and Chapel Hill. Over the course of nearly one hundred and fifty years of migration, North Carolina's Jews have created institutions to sustain community and to maintain their institutional links to world Jewry. Once on the Jewish periphery, North Carolina is now finding that the Jewish center is moving toward it.

Appendix

North Carolina Congregations

Name	Movement	Town	Date
Wilmington Congregation	O	Wilmington	1867-68
Temple of Israel (Mishkan Israel)	R	Wilmington	1872-
Congregation B'nai Israel	O/R/O /I	Tarboro	c.1875- c.1970s
Chester B'nai Scholem	R/O/R	New Bern	c.1881 or 1895
Oheb Sholom	R	Goldsboro	1883-
Congregation Emanuel	R/C	Statesville	1883- 1923, 1954-
Raleigh Hebrew Congregation	I	Raleigh	1885-1912
Beth El (Durham Hebrew Cong.)	O/C	Durham	c.1886-
Beth Jacob (W-S Hebrew Cong.)	O/C	Winston-Salem	c.1890- 1997
Temple Beth El	O/C	Lumberton	c. 1890s- 1990s
Beth Ha-Tephila	R	Asheville	1891-
Temple Israel (Agudath Aachim)	O/C	Charlotte	c.1895-
Beth Israel (Bikur Cholim)	O/C	Asheville	1899-
B'nai Israel	O	Durham	1901-1903
Temple Israel	C/R	Kinston	1903-
Temple Emanuel (Heb. Cong. of Gastonia)	R	Gastonia	1906-

Name	Movement	Town	Date
B'nai Israel	O/C/I	Wilmington	1906-
B'nai Israel (H. Pt. Hebrew Cong.)	O/C/ Re/R	High Point	1906-
Temple Beth Israel	O/C/I	Fayetteville	c.1908-
Temple Emanuel (G. Reform Heb. Cong.)	R	Greensboro	1908-
Temple Beth Or	R	Raleigh	1912-
Temple Emanu-El (Heb. Comm. Ctr.)	C/R	Weldon	1912-
Beth Meyer (Beth Jacob)	O/C	Raleigh	1913-
B'nai Jacob	O	Durham	1913-1914
Anshei Hasurun	O?	Asheville	1916-1921
Temple Beth El	C/R	Rocky Mount	1921-
Temple Beth El	C/I	Wilson	1921-1997
Agudas Israel	O/R	Hendersonville	1922
Temple Emanuel	R	Winston-Salem	1932-
Temple Israel	C/I	Salisbury	1939-
Temple Beth El	R	Charlotte	1942-
Beth David Congregation	C	Greensboro	1944-
Beth Shalom (Hickory Jewish Ctr.)	C/I	Hickory	1948-
Jacksonville Hebrew Congregation	C	Jacksonville	c.1950s- c.1992
Beth Israel Jewish Center	C/I	Whiteville	1959-
Judea Reform Congregation	R	Durham	1961-

Name	Movement	Town	Date
Temple Beth Shalom	R	Charlotte	1968-1987**
Boone Jewish Community	I	Boone	c.1972-
Bayt Shalom	C	Greenville	1976-
Sha'are Israel Lubavitch	O	Raleigh	1979-
Mountain Synagogue	I	Franklin	1979-
Lubavitch of Charlotte	O	Charlotte	1980-
Beth Shalom	R	Cary	1983-
Ohr Torah	O	Durham	1995-
Chapel Hill Kehillah	I	Chapel Hill	1996-

Note: Denominational code is O=Orthodox, C=Conservative, R=Reform, Re=Reconstructionist, I=Independent. These indicators do not imply formal membership in the Orthodox Union, United Synagogue, or UAHC. A major theme of this text is the internal diversity and mixed or syncretic character of North Carolina congregations. Such congregations are designated with an I. Also, dates of founding may vary especially as congregations commonly functioned as cemetery and benevolence societies and worship gatherings before incorporation. The original name of a congregation is placed in parenthesis.

*Merged with Beth David Congregation in Greensboro in 1997

**Merged with Beth El to form Beth El v'Shalom in 1987, later renamed Beth El.

NOTES

¹Interview with Dale Fuerst, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, September 9, 1997. I wish to thank Kathy Spray and Jennifer Geth of the American Jewish Archives for their assistance.

²For the history of the first Jew in a New World British colony, see Gary Grassel, "Gans, Joachim," ed. William Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 2 (Chapel Hill, 1986), 272-3; Jacob Rader Marcus, *To Count a People: American Jewish Population Data, 1585-1984* (Lanham, 1988), 165. *Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Cincinnati, 1880), 55; *American Jewish Yearbook*, 31 (Philadelphia, 1921) 302; Leonard Rogoff, *Migrations: A History of the Durham-Chapel Hill Jewish Community* (work in progress).

³Edward Calisch, "The Country Jew, and the Efforts Made to Reach Him," [Baltimore] *Jewish Comment* XI, 22 (September 14, 1900), 1.

⁴Malcolm Stern, "The Role of the Rabbi in the South," in *Turn to the South: Essays on Southern Jewry* ed. Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky (Charlottesville, 1979), 24-25.

⁵Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration: 1820-1880* (Baltimore, 1992), 25-26. Herbert Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond, 1917), 95, 301.

⁶Michael Meyer, "German-Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America," ed. Jonathan Sarna, *The American Jewish Experience* (New York, 1986), 47, 48.

⁷Diner, *A Time for Gathering*, 22.

⁸David Goldberg, "Mendelsohn, Samuel" in William Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, IV (Chapel Hill, 1991), 60.

⁹Joseph Rosengart to Herman Cone, 16 April 1846. In possession of Cone Mills, Greensboro, NC.

¹⁰Morris Speizman, *The Jews of Charlotte, North Carolina* (Charlotte, 1978), 11; Maurice Weinstein, ed., *Zebulon B. Vance and "The Scattered Nation,"* (Charlotte, 1995), 80-81.

¹¹See Myron Berman, *Richmond's Jewry: Shabbat in Shockoe, 1769-1976* (Charlottesville, 1979), 41, 139-140, 206-7; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond*, 301.

¹²Harry Golden, "The Jewish People of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* XXXII,2 (April 1955), 211. Information on Tarboro Jewry comes from collating membership lists in Minutes, Congregation B'nai Israel, Tarboro, NC with cemetery lists published in Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *A History of the Jews of Richmond*.

¹³Rogoff, *Migrations*.

¹⁴Minutes, Congregation B'nai Israel, Tarboro, NC, American Jewish Archives; *Congregation Emanuel, 1883-1983* (Statesville, 1983), 7, 21.

¹⁵Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *Jews of Richmond*, 305; Martin Weitz, ed., *Bibliog...Temple of Israel, Wilmington* (Wilmington, 1976), 12; [Durham] *Morning Herald*, June 24, 1906.

¹⁶Golden, "Jewish People," 210-1; Roaslie Citron Ashendorf, "The First 75 Years" in *Temple Israel: 100 Anniversary Journal, 1895-1995* (Charlotte, 1995), n.p. Charlotte's first synagogue was founded by newly arrived East Europeans, not by the earlier German settlers.

¹⁷*The Occident*, XVIII, 50 (March 8, 1860); Weitz, *Bibliog...Temple of Israel, Wilmington*, 12-17.

¹⁸Charlotte Litwack, untitled typescript, August 17, 1987, 2.

¹⁹John Shelton Reed, "Shalom, Y' All," *One South: An Ethnic Approach to Regional Culture* (Baton Rouge, 1982), 111.

²⁰*American Jewish Yearbook, 1900-1901* (Philadelphia, 1900), 400; Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880-1920* (Baltimore, 1992), 175.

²¹*The Heritage of Lenoir County*, (Kinston, 1981), 330.

²²Weitz, *Bibliog... Temple of Israel, Wilmington*, 19; Gary Freeze, "Roots, Barks, Berries, and Jews: The Herb Trade in Gilded-Age North Carolina," in William Childs, ed., *Essays in Economic and Business History* (Columbus, 1995), 121; "History of Temple Beth Or" [Raleigh], n.p., n.d., 11; "Report of the Building Committee of the Beth-El Congregation upon the Completion of the Beth-El Synagogue," (Durham, 1922).

²³David Goldberg, "An Historical Community Study of Wilmington Jewry, 1738-1925," (Seminar of Dr. George Tindall, Spring, 1976, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), 10-12; Moses Rountree, *Strangers in the Land: The Story of Jacob Weil's Tribe* (Philadelphia, 1969), 16; Abraham Oettinger Diary, July 15, 1896. Perkins Library, Duke University.

²⁴Oettinger Diary, September 19, 1886; September 7, 16, 17, 1896; September 16, 25, 26, 1898; September 14, 1899; October 2, 3, 1900. An "A. Oettinger" is later listed as a treasurer of the Goldsboro synagogue.

²⁵Ledger, Temple Emanuel, Statesville NC, 1903, American Jewish Archives.

²⁶Weitz, *Bibliog... Temple of Israel, Wilmington*, 12-17.

²⁷Leon Jick, *The Americanization of the Synagogue, 1820-1870* (Hanover, 1992), 174: "The Pittsburgh Platform" in Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York, 1988), 387-88.

²⁸Digest of the Minutes of Oheb Sholom Congregation 1883-1958, p. 2. American Jewish Archives.

²⁹Rountree, *Strangers in the Land*, 59.

³⁰Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *Jews of Richmond*, 277.

³¹Quoted in Weitz, *Bibliog... Temple of Israel*, 17.

³²Ashendorf, "The First 75 Years," n.p.

³³Jick, *Americanization of the Synagogue*, 186.

³⁴Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *Jews of Richmond*, 277.

³⁵*The Jewish South* [Atlanta], October 14, 1877; Rountree, *Strangers in the Land*, 60; *The Golden Book of Memoirs: Fiftieth Anniversary of Congregation Beth Ha-Tephila* (Asheville, 1941), 7.

³⁶Digest of the Minutes of Oheb Sholom Congregation, 1883-1958, 3, 5, 6, 7. American Jewish Archives.

³⁷Rountree, *Strangers in the Land*, 62; Digest of the Minutes of Oheb Sholom Congregation, 6.

³⁸Minutes, Temple Emanuel, Statesville, NC August 5, 1900; May 6, 1900; May 2, 1902; September 6, 1908, American Jewish Archives.

³⁹[Tarboro] Congregation B'nai Israel Congregational Minutes, September 24, 1882; March 2, 16, 1884; July 6, 1884.

⁴⁰*The Jewish South*, July 12, 1878; Minutes, Temple Emanuel, Statesville NC, June 30, 1901; October 15, 1901; June 22, 1902; August 19, 1906; Dale Fuerst interview.

⁴¹"Twenty-Second Annual Report, Proceedings of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations," (December 1895), 3433; Twenty-Third Annual Report,

Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 5 (December 1896), 3654, 3655.

⁴²*The Jewish South*, March 13, 1896.

⁴³"Report of the Committee on Circuit Preaching," 3957.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 3851, 3656, 3956.

⁴⁵Carolyn LeMaster, *A Corner of the Tapestry: A History of the Jewish Experience in Arkansas 1820s to 1990s* (Fayetteville, 1994), 78; Bernhard Goldgar, "Autobiographical Memoir," (unpublished typescript), 52; quoted in Harry Golden, *Forgotten Pioneer* (New York, 1966), 50. Goldgar later settled in Macon, Georgia, where he served as president of the East European Orthodox synagogue although he was criticized for not keeping kosher.

⁴⁶"Report of the Committee on Circuit Preaching," 3656.

⁴⁷B'nai Israel Minutes, September 10, 1892; Minutes, Temple Emanuel, Statesville, NC, September 8, 1900; August 12, 1905;

⁴⁸Letter from Miriam Weil, February, 1910; Weil Papers, North Carolina State Archives. This "ordinary" fellow, Louis Jaffe, later won a Pulitzer Prize as a journalist.

⁴⁹A. Rossman, "History of the Jewish Community of Greensboro," *American Jewish Times* (Supplement, 1932), 7.

⁵⁰Digest of the Minutes of Oheb Shalom Congregation, Goldsboro, 1883-1958, pp. 5-6; Minutes, Temple Emanuel, Statesville, August 5, 1900; May 2, 1902.

⁵¹North Carolina Association of Jewish Women, Condensed Minutes of the Seventh Annual Conference, Charlotte, March, 18, 19, 1928, n.p.

⁵²*Golden Book of Memoirs*, 21

⁵³"History of Temple Beth Or," (Raleigh, n.d.), 10.

⁵⁴Interview with Leah Tannenbaum, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, n.d.; A. Rossman, "History of the Jewish Community of Greensboro," 7.

⁵⁵*American Jewish Yearbook, 1907-08* (Philadelphia, 1907); Louis Josephson, "Student Survey 1936-1936," Manuscript Collection #5, American Jewish Archives.

⁵⁶Interview with Reba Adler Hurwitz, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, September 9, 1997.

⁵⁷Interview with Joseph Schandler, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, January 7, 1998 ; interview with Dennis Barker, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, September 10, 1997; interview with Sol Mann, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, September 17, 1997; Dale Fuerst, interview.

⁵⁸By-Laws United Brotherhood of Charlotte, N. C. (January 1, 1915)

⁵⁹Interview with Melvin Gladstein, conducted by Lynne Grossman, n.d.

⁶⁰"Report of Committee on Circuit Preaching," UAHC, (December 1896), 3656; Twenty Fifth Annual Report," (December 1898), 3956.

⁶¹[Durham] *Morning Herald*, February, 9, 1917; October, 9, 1906; By-Laws United Brotherhood of Charlotte, N.C., January 15, 1915; interview with Gibby Katz, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, September 23, 1986.

⁶²Interview with Herbert Fuest, conducted by Leonard Rogoff, September 9, 1997; Herbert Brenner, "A Jewish History of Winston-Salem," 12.

⁶³[Durham] *Morning Herald*, September 9, 1908; September 1, October 6, 1909; Ashendorf, "The First 75 Years," n.p.

⁶⁴North Carolina Association of Jewish Women, Condensed Minutes, n.p.

⁶⁵Herbert Brenner, "A Jewish History of Winston-Salem and Temple Emanuel" (typescript, 1972), 1-13; Meeting of the North Carolina Association of Jewish Women, Minutes, 1921, 2.