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THE EMERGENCE OF PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM IN SOUTH AMERICA

Clifford Marion Kulwin

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion

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REFEREE: Prof. Michael A. Meyer

DIGEST

Only in the last few years has scholarly interest on any scale been directed towards the history of the Jews in South America. Though broad works have appeared, and numerous special interest monographs published, no work has considered the general topic this thesis examines: the religious history of South America's Jews. Its specific subject is an evaluation of Progressive Judaism in South America. First brought to South American shores by Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi maelstrom, the Progressive movement has been a constant part of the religious expression of the continent's Jewry for half a century.

The thesis begins with an introductory chapter that provides a background against which to understand the movement's start in South America, then proceeds to sketch histories of individual Progressive congregations in Argentina and Brazil, the only countries where Progressive Judaism has been a significant presence. Chapters follow on movement liturgy in South America and the involvement there of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the movement's international umbrella organization. The conclusion examines a variety of factors which have influenced the movement's development in South America, explains the concept

of South American Progressive Judaism's emergence, and speculates on its prospects.

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PREFACE

Latin American Jewish Studies

That contemporary Jewry desires to understand its own history is evident. New volumes of Jewish history constantly appear in catalogues and on bookstore shelves. A few become classics, but most eventually retire to obscurity, brought out only to provide a specific reference. In all, these treatises cover virtually every imaginable aspect of Jewish history. Hardly a country, an era, or a movement in which Jews have participated has gone unstudied.

Occasionally, however, the student of Jewish history encounters a vacuum, a substantial area of Jewish history that remains largely unexamined. The history of the Jews in South America is such an area. This lack of study is surprising, since the Jewish community in South America, numbering several hundred thousand, ranks as one of the largest Jewish communities in the world and carries with it a rich, diverse heritage dating from the sixteenth century. So large a community with such a long and colorful history would certainly seem to be a fertile ground for scholarly inquiries. It has only been recently, however, that the first broad, book-length academic treatment of the subject,

Judith Laikin Elkin's Jews of the Latin American Republics, has appeared.[1] Although a number of monographs have been published on South American Jewish topics, they represent only a first step in meeting the many research needs of the subject. Elkin specifies several such needs, including in-depth studies of individual communities and an examination of the effect of the Catholic church on the continent's Jewry.[2]

The Purpose Of This Thesis

One almost wholly unexplored area within the South American Jewish experience is its religious history. No scholarly writing has specifically examined the history of the South American practice of Judaism. Broad works like Elkin's, and others more focused, like Robert Weisbrot's The Jews of Argentina from the Inquisition to Peron,[3] discuss religious practice but treat it briefly and incompletely. No shorter work has yet addressed the topic.

This thesis is thus the first detailed examination of religious Judaism in South America. The specific subject investigated is Progressive Judaism, the liberal branch of Judaism known in North America as Reform Judaism and in Europe, Australia, and New Zealand mainly as Liberal Judaism. Refugees from Nazi Germany brought Progressive Judaism to South America just before World War II, and while the movement has only touched a scant few thousand, it has been a constant presence for half a century.

The thesis traces the movement's history and analyzes

its evolution. It examines individuals, institutions, and events that have affected the movement. Its ultimate goal is to explain why Progressive Judaism, despite repeated efforts, never became a major force in the South American Jewish community, and to determine if a specific entity exists that should justifiably be called "South American Progressive Judaism."

Presentation Format

To provide the reader with a context in which to understand Progressive Judaism's history in South America, the thesis begins with a chapter tracing Jewish life on that continent from its first appearance in the sixteenth century through the era of the second World War. Because the history of the movement there is an institutional history, and only through its institutions- the synagogues that its proponents established or joined- has the movement existed in South America, the second and third chapters examine the movement institutionally. The congregations are discussed individually, within national groups. Each institution's history is noted, and the decisive factors affecting its evolution discussed.

The fourth chapter describes the liturgy of the Progressive movement in South America and explains who shaped it and what motivated them. It also remarks upon the liturgy's unique characteristics. The fifth chapter deals with the World Union for Progressive Judaism, which helped initiate Progressive Jewish activity in South America and provided

economic and political support for movement activities there. The chapter falls into two sections, roughly corresponding to the periods before and after a World Union office for Latin America formally opened in Buenos Aires in 1963.

The conclusion considers the current status of Progressive Judaism in South America, determines if there is a consistent entity that should justifiably be called "South American Progressive Judaism," and speculates on the movement's prospects there.

Resource Material

To compose a review of literature on this topic would be inappropriate since, as indicated earlier, so little writing on the subject has appeared. Furthermore, the research upon which this thesis is based was conducted almost entirely from primary sources. Consequently, the following discussion examines these sources and comments upon their use. The resource material falls into three categories: archival material, periodical literature, and interviews.

Archival Material

Three components make up the bulk of the archival material examined. The first component is the collected papers of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. This collection contains correspondence, minutes, and reports covering all phases of World Union activity from 1926 through the present. Of special note for the topic at hand are reports and correspondence from World Union representa-

tives in South America. This latter material, in particular, vividly chronicles the movement's South American activities.

The second component of archival material is the collected correspondence of organizations either formally a part of the Progressive movement or having tangential relations with it. Particularly noteworthy within this material is the complete correspondence of Rabbi Leon Klenicki during his tenure as both rabbi of Congregación Emanu-El in Buenos Aires and director of the Latin American office of the World Union for Progressive Judaism.[4]

The remainder of the archival material utilized in this study comes mainly from miscellaneous collections of the American Jewish Archives. It includes special worship services conducted in South America, addresses delivered by movement rabbis and World Union officials, and other similar items.

Periodical Literature

In the course of researching this thesis, long runs of numerous periodicals were examined. Several of the periodicals proved to be fruitful sources of information. For example, La Luz, a bi-weekly Jewish newsmagazine from Buenos Aires, proved especially helpful in determining the attitudes of South American Jewry towards the Progressive movement. Though published in Argentina, La Luz serves as a major forum for the Jewish community of the entire continent.

The annual volumes of the American Jewish Yearbook

(AJYB) were invaluable sources for learning the major forces affecting each country's Jewish community and for identifying Jewish leaders. The demographic information provided by the AJYB helped clarify the environmental factors with which Progressive Judaism was grappling. Similar information was provided by Comunidades Judías de Latinoamerica, a South American version of the AJYB which the American Jewish Committee published in Buenos Aires. Four volumes of the work appeared between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. (A fifth is scheduled for publication in mid-1983.)

After each quadrennial convention of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the convention's proceedings (WUPJP) were published in book form. The WUPJP provided an opportunity to study the dynamics of the World Union's involvement in South America. It was advantageous to study documents appearing only once in four years because long range trends, which might have been obscured by the minutiae of daily correspondence, became obvious. In addition, the WUPJP clearly differentiated between what was official World Union policy and what was merely personal opinion. This was a difference not always clear in other World Union materials.

Other publications of the movement were useful as well. Ammi, the magazine of the World Union, and Reform Judaism, the periodical of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), both served as valuable indicators of different ways the movement viewed its South American involvement. The Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR)

provided unique intramovement perspectives on South American Progressive Judaism as well. Many South American Progressive rabbis have been CCAR members and the Yearbook, through alphabetical and geographical membership rosters, made it possible to trace their careers. Furthermore, reports by these rabbis to the CCAR tell firsthand the story of their experiences in South America.

Finally there are the institutional publications of South American Progressive Judaism: the bulletins, newsletters, and regular mailings of the movement synagogues. These materials presented an unparalleled opportunity to study the inner workings of the movement synagogues over a period of years. These publications offered information on synagogue programming, leadership, worship; in short, on virtually every phase of synagogue life.

Interviews

A series of interviews was recorded in the spring and summer of 1982. The interviewees included present and former rabbis and leaders of South American Progressive congregations and former officials of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. The interviews were conducted in Cincinnati, Ohio; Washington, D. C.; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; São Paulo, Brazil; Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Santiago, Chile.

In order not to hold interviewees responsible for what they might later consider an ill-advised, hasty comment, and in order not to suggest that the conclusions drawn are from anyone but the author, the thesis does not directly cite

from these interviews. The need for sensitivity and discretion is heightened by the contemporary nature of the thesis subject. Tapes of all interviews can be found in the American Jewish Archives and are available to researchers on a restricted basis.

Special Considerations

Like the subject of any scholarly inquiry, South American Progressive Judaism presents researchers with certain methodological difficulties. Three of these deserve special consideration.

"Progressive" Judaism

When research on this thesis first began, one of the earliest questions arising was how to label the particular type of Judaism under study. If the South American movement had had a consistent name for itself this would not have been a problem. But movement and nonmovement literature alike, from both South America and elsewhere, variously refers to the movement as Reforma, Reformista, Reformismo, Liberal, Progresiva, and Progresivista. This lack of uniformity, likely due in part to political connotations specific words may have had in particular countries, made picking a term on the basis of vernacular usage impossible.

"Reform" Judaism was improper, because although the institutions studied are the ideological brethren of their counterparts elsewhere, "Reform" is today essentially a North American term. To call South American practice "Reform" would have unfairly colored the perception of movement activi-

ties in South America. Realizing that no one term clearly presented itself and that specific terms might carry unwanted bias, the decision was made to select a term as generic as possible.

Accordingly, the term "Progressive" was chosen for three reasons. First, it has no regional connotations that would connect its usage with another specific part of the world, the way "Reform" would have denoted North America. Second, it is used in many different places, including South America, as a thoroughly acceptable, often desirable term for the movement. Third, the term is used in the title of the movement's international organization, the World Union for Progressive Judaism, and was specifically chosen in 1926 as the term which would best convey the idea of a movement not limited to any specific area.[5]

"South America" and "Latin America"

Incongruities exist regarding the precise definitions of the phrases "South America" and "Latin America." This thesis investigates Progressive Judaism in "South America." That geographic area is defined here, and generally, as the continental land mass south of Panama. Periodically, however, the phrase "Latin America" is used. "Latin America" usually refers to the entire Western Hemisphere south of the United States.[6] The term is more appropriate than "South America" when discussing matters of ethos, because "Latin America" is a complete unit in terms of cultural attributes, parochiocentrism, and linguistic tendencies.

"South America" is merely a geographic section of that whole.

Constituent Elements of South American Progressive Judaism

The biggest dilemma in constructing the framework for this thesis lay in determining which activities and institutions should be studied. No continent-wide organization of Progressive synagogues, rabbis, or laypeople ever existed in South America. The components of such an organization would have presented logical subjects for examination.

In addition, the widespread activity of the Conservative movement in South America has occasionally overlapped with that of the Progressive movement. Graduates of the Conservative Seminario in Buenos Aires have occupied Progressive pulpits, while ordinees of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, the Reform seminary of North America, have served South American congregations affiliated with the Conservative movement. Such situations muddle the picture of nontraditional Judaism in South America, and make clear differentiation between Progressive and Conservative institutions difficult.

Occasionally, congregations have not been members of the World Union for Progressive Judaism for political reasons, but in practice and spirit have been fully in accord with the World Union's goals. This not uncommon occurrence further complicated the choice of which institutions to study.

Clearly, a specific set of criteria was necessary for deciding which South American institutions would be studied.

That determination of these criteria would, in part, be an arbitrary process was unavoidable.

The following four criteria were established; synagogues meeting any two of the four were taken up in the thesis:

1) Rabbis of the synagogue were generally CCAR mem-gers.

2) For at least several years, the synagogue was a member of the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

3) While not a World Union member, the synagogue was mostly in accord with the movement's philosophy and did not participate in a competing movement.

4) While not a World Union member, the synagogue nevertheless had considerable dealings with the World Union.

It was felt that institutions meeting these criteria suitably constituted the thesis' intended topic.

Limitations

As discussed earlier, this thesis is a first step in the exploration of Jewish religious practice in South America. As with any sort of scholarly "first step," the limits of what can be accomplished are apparent. It seem appropriate at this juncture to mention a few of these limitations.

Most obvious among them is limitation of the particular area studied. Perhaps it will be thought to be excessively narrow to have studied Progressive activity in South America separately from the Conservative movement. However, what is presented here is only a beginning. It is to be

hoped that other writers will explore the remaining elements of South American Judaism, so that a broader synthesis might eventually be achieved.

The thesis was also limited to the information- the primary source material- that was available. More exhaustive interviewing could perhaps have enhanced the thesis' precision in describing just what transpired during the Progressive movement's early period. In addition, there is little doubt that as the nascent interest in Latin American Jewish Studies grows, more archival materials, more correspondence, diaries, and the like, will see the light of day and become available to researchers.

A third major limitation of this work is that it was done in the context of a rabbinic thesis. Only a limited amount of time was available to organize, research, and write. This time constraint could not help but ultimately affect the length and depth of the resultant product.

Finally, the most severe limitation with which this thesis had to contend was that it was composed in vacuo. No other works on this or similar topics have appeared, and there was no recourse to the thoughts and ideas of other writers, no previous insights to build on or challenge.

It is the author's hope that future works will far supersede the present offering and that the topic will in time be given the attention it deserves. If this thesis can at all help to attain these ends, the author will feel amply rewarded.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION; THE SETTING

The Colonial Period

Long before Jews arrived in Latin America, the continent had been the site of vast civilizations. The first were the civilizations of the Pre-Columbian Indians, the Inca and Mapuche of South America, and their neighbors in Central America, the Maya and the Aztec. These civilizations stretched from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego, covering the entirety of Latin America.

The era of Indian civilizations gave way to the Colonial period, which in Latin America extended from the arrival of Columbus in 1492 to the early nineteenth century, when the various Latin American republics began declaring their independence from Spain and Portugal. The Colonial period was characterized by peace, subjugation of Indians, importation of blacks as slaves, and, above all, by an intense search for gold and silver. Fertile mines flourished in present-day Bolivia and Mexico.

The indivivual colonies' move towards independence was put in motion by Napoleon's installation of his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne in 1808. This act inspired the free Spanish government, centered in Cadiz, to convoke a constituent assembly, which it did in 1812 in the name

of the Spanish monarch, Ferdinand VII. When Ferdinand reassumed the throne after the defeat of Napoleon, he punished the members of the assembly, probably because he thought that their liberal tendencies constituted a threat to his authority. The American colonists, who had sent representatives to the assembly, were outraged by Ferdinand's actions, especially his attempt to restore absolute rule in the New World.

Consequently, a period of revolutionary activity ensured. This period, which made the names of Simón Bolivar and other revolutionary folk heroes famous, resulted in a Latin America comprised of eighteen republics. Most of the present day South American republics are geographic heirs of specific administrative territories the Spanish designated. In the future, of course, other states were to be founded, reducing the size of many of those already in existence. But by the third decade of the nineteenth century, most of the present-day Latin American republics were defined, the foundations of modern Latin America were set, and it was in the Latin America of this period that its modern Jewish community began.

In reality, there had already existed (and virtually disappeared) by this time what might be termed a pre-modern Jewish community in South America, a community which was to leave later South American Jews a legacy of antisemitic feeling with which to contend. This pre-modern community's members were Conversos who fled the Iberian Peninsula after

the expulsions of the last decade of the fifteenth century. They came to the New World with other colonists, spread out into various sections of the continents, and made their living in a variety of ways.

The Inquisition crossed the Atlantic in 1570, and it is from its records that we derive most of our information about this early community. Persons of Jewish ancestry were forbidden to come to the New World, but the Inquisition found hundreds of alleged Judaizers who had immigrated illegally. Furthermore, it seems likely that a substantial population lacking limpieza de sangre (purity of blood, i.e. no Jewish ancestry) existed during this time and escaped the Inquisition's embrace, especially in Brazil.

Communities of practicing Jews first appeared in South America in Brazil during the mid-1600s while Brazil was under Dutch rule. The Jews there may, at one time, have numbered in the thousands, but they left Brazil when Portugal recaptured the colony. Some stayed in that part of the world, founding the still extant Sephardic community of the Caribbean.

By the end of the Colonial period then, virtually no Jews, Marranos, or New Christians (i.e. Conversos) could be found in South America. The practicing Jews had left and the converted or secret Jews had perished in the autos-da-fe or had completely assimilated. The rigid Catholicism at the heart of Latin American society had established an environment that could not abide a Jewish presence. What is

noteworthy, however, is that what might be termed a consciousness of the Jews remained. Though the Inquisition had been officially terminated within the various republics by the end of the eighteenth century, its heritage lingered. That heritage was a social consciousness which attached negative connotations to anything Jewish.

In the Spanish language, as Elkin demonstrates, we can see obvious examples of these connotations. Many of the words that denote Jews and Judaism carry with them additional meanings like "miser," "usurer," and "conspiracy."[1] These accessory meanings still persist. They were born in medieval Europe and carried over into a Latin America rooted in the pre-Enlightenment past. These meanings, and the feelings about Jews they signify, endured in no small part because of the intensity of the anti-Jewish activities of the Colonial period. There were virtually no Jews on the continent when the Jewish immigrants who made up the beginnings of the modern Jewish community there arrived. Nevertheless, the new arrivals had a negative image to contend with, an image that stigmatized them as evil, heretical money grubbers in league with the devil. Only through time, the advent of a pluralistic society, and a lessening of church influence, could the image be overcome.

The Modern Community

The origins of the modern Jewish community in South America are rooted in three of the same emigrations that spawned contemporary North American Jewry. Three waves of immigrants came to both continents: the Central European

Jews of the mid-nineteenth century, the mass immigration of Eastern European Jews at the beginning of this century, and the refugees from Nazi Germany around World War II.[2]

The First Wave

The ability of the fledgling South American republics to absorb Jewish immigrants lay in the change these societies were undergoing. As they struggled through the beginnings of independence, a realization arose that absorption of immigrants who possessed appropriate skills and were willing to perform labor was essential if the young nations were to progress. Acceptance of this idea was steady, but slow. While the economic benefits substantial immigration could stimulate were greatly desired, that desire existed in tandem with a fear, the fear that large numbers of immigrants could essentially alter the rigid, structured, Catholic society.[3] From the colonial period through the present, a central component of Latin American consciousness has been that Catholicism is "an essential part of the national culture and not to be Catholic is a form of treason."[4] It was this type of treason that frightened the early leaders of the republics.

Their fear was overcome largely through the popularity achieved in all of Latin America, and especially in Brazil, by the philosophical doctrine of Positivism. Positivism, developed by the French philosopher August Comte (1798-1857), put forth the view that "human knowledge is limited to knowledge of phenomena and their observable relations, and

is essentially relative to the knower's ability and development."[5] For the Latin American, this doctrine, with its this-worldly orientation, meant that not all energies had to be directed towards fulfilling the desire of the Church, and that effort could guiltlessly be channeled towards material progress for mankind, that is, towards enriching both the intellectual and physical worlds of the citizens. Catholic theology and Catholic metaphysics remained of great importance; merely not of total importance.[6]

Positivism became popular because it provided an ideological rationale for Latin American leaders to carry out the policies economic circumstances demanded, policies, whose execution the rigid, Colonial, Catholic hiearchy might have seriously impeded. These policies included creating incentive for the migration from Europe of labor, investment capital, and entrepeneurial skills.[7] A sign of Positivism's widespread acceptance in Brazil was the erection of a "Positivist Temple" which still stands in Rio de Janeiro, the old capital, and the maintenance of Comte's home in Paris as a museum, through the philanthropy of Brazilian donors.[8]

The period of the first wave of immigrants extended from the 1830s to the 1880s. Roughly a quarter of a million Jews migrated from Europe during this period, but only a few thousand of them, virtually all Ashkenazim from France and Germany, came to South America.[9] Nonetheless, these early South American immigrants were important. They were the ones

who "tested the possibility for Jewish life on the continent."[10]

Many of these immigrants arrived in South America as agents for European business concerns. Their destinations were determined mainly by where they wanted to go and where they could afford to go, as well as by where a company across the Atlantic sent them. Immigration laws did not become a restrictive factor until the early twentieth century, so the immigrants were essentially free to settle wherever they could arrange travel.[11] That such an overwhelming percentage of the immigrants to the Western Hemisphere elected to go to the United States is hardly surprising given its reputation for religious freedom and economic prosperity. Indeed, within South America too, the cities that eventually became the sites of substantial Jewish communities were those places where Jews could find a happy balance between "religious toleration and economic incentive."[12]

For the most part, the religious practice of these early Jewish communities was nominal. Aside from the occasional establishment of a house of worship, the early South American Jews did little to maintain their religious practice. Kashrut and Sabbath observance were mostly forgotten and attempts at religious education were insignificant.[13] Three major reasons for this lack of perpetuation of the faith in South America were the dilution of the Enlightenment-influenced immigrant's awe and respect for religion, the lack

of rabbis, and the pervasive presence of the Catholic Church, which despite the influence of Positivism, still made the practice of any non-Catholic religion, especially a non-Christian one, seem alien and hence undesirable. In addition to these reasons, it is commonly assumed that immigrants generally tend to be less religiously observant than those who remain at home.

As a result of this lack of interest in religion, the synagogues that were established (grouped along ethnic lines in a pattern still evident) were used mainly for life cycle events.[14] Acquiring legal status for such events (e.g. the legal right of a 'rabbi' to perform a wedding) proved to be a major problem for South American Jews. This problem, attacked differently in different countries, eventually resulted in religious rights for Jews throughout the continent, but these rights did not come quickly or easily. In Peru, non-Catholic religious marriage ceremonies still have no legal status, and civil marriages have only been allowed since 1897.[15] In Argentina, the first Jewish weddings were authorized in 1860, but then only after an intense and dramatic courtroom scene.[16]

The Second Wave

The mass emigration of Eastern European Jews at the turn of the century brought perhaps 130,000 Jewish immigrants to South America during the years 1881-1914.[17] Financial hardship, political oppression, and religious persecution all combined to drive large numbers of Eastern

European Jews westward. These immigrants too sought the economic prosperity and religious toleration that motivated the migration of their Central European counterparts of the preceding wave. Sephardic Jews from north Africa and the Balkan Peninsula as well immigrated during this period. Their numbers during this time were higher than in the previous period, but still remained at a relatively insignificant level.

The Eastern European Jews settled throughout the continent. For the most part, they were well accepted and, in certain countries, even desired. The Argentine government, on the lookout for immigrants to increase the population and swell the workers' ranks, dispatched an agent to czarist Russia to induce Jews there to immigrate.[18] Though this was a unique occurrence, it nonetheless demonstrates the change in how South Americans perceived Jews from a century earlier.

The great majority of these immigrants would likely have preferred to have gone to the United States. South America had much to offer new arrivals in terms of security, tolerance, and commercial potential, but it was still not the United States with its "streets paved with gold." The heavy weight of the oppression the immigrants fled, however, forced them to accept whatever destination presented itself.

Virtually all the Jewish immigrants to South America during this period settled in Argentina and Brazil. A substantial number came to Argentina under the auspices of the

Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), founded through the benefactions of Baron Maurice de Hirsch. The JCA established its first farming colonies in the early 1890s as a means by which Jewish immigrants could make the transition towards becoming full fledged members of Argentine society. The colonies were supposed to be locales where immigrants could develop usable skills, learn to speak Spanish, and become more comfortable and self supporting in their new country while not taxing its charity.

Though the colonies were continually beset by various political and economic problems, the JCA was nonetheless responsible for the initial Argentine experience of many thousands of Jewish immigrants. Just prior to World War I, 25,000 Jews, roughly one-quarter of the Argentine Jewish population at that time, lived in the colonies.[19] The colonies remained vibrant centers of Jewish activity through he 1940s, but eventually went into the decline characteristic of rural Jewish settlements in the contemporary Western Hemisphere. Today, the Jewish population of the colonies numbers only in the hundreds and is mostly elderly.[20]

The immigrants of this period who did not become members of the JCA's agricultural colonies settled mainly in Buenos Aires. Few were professionals; most were skilled or unskilled workers.[21] In many ways, their experiences paralleled those of Jewish immigrants concurrently settling in the United States. Jews in both places were active in forming labor unions, in politics (especially in workers'

movements), and were inclined towards education as the key to improving one's lot.

Brazil's Jewish immigrants, who numbered only about 10,000 between 1881 and 1914, constituted a far more diverse group than those who came to Argentina.[22] In addition to the Eastern European Jews and a few German Jews during this period, substantial numbers of Sephardic Jews arrived in Brazil from all sides of the Mediterranean. These groups, as in all South American countries, organized themselves along ethnic lines. They settled mostly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, typifying the trend towards urban centers found among most Jewish immigrants to the Western Hemisphere. The new Brazilian Jews worked as laborers and craftsmen and many became peddlers.

The stories of Jewish immigrants in other South American countries are similar, but it must be stressed that they made up only a tiny fraction of the continent's Jewish population. Lestchinsky estimated that for the period 1881-1914, Jewish immigrants to Argentina totalled 113,000. For the same period, the number of immigrants to all other South American countries totalled 14,000 at most.[23] Clearly, Argentina, and to a much lesser extent Brazil, were the Jewish centers then, as they are today.

Though toleration of the Jews was certainly improving in South America during this period of the second wave, being Jewish was still a stigma. The Westernized, industrial, intellectual centers where Jews congregated, like

Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Montevideo, tended to have a much more progressive atmosphere than other places. In the more Western cities, the detrimental aspects of being Jewish were less apparent. Other places on the continent had environments that were inhospitable to Jews. Every year in Chile, for example, part of the Holy Week observance entailed strangling an image of Judas Iscariot that looked much like the medieval caricature of a Jew.[24] (Strangulation- or garrotting- was a favorite method of torture and execution during the Inquisition.)

The Eastern European Jewish immigrants, who dominated this period, arrived from a shtetl environment so torn by intellectual and religious controversy that to adopt a secular lifestyle became an unremarkable act.[25] This secularization was a common part of the immigration process, although a not insignificant number of the new settlers maintained orthodox observances.

Jews in communities throughout South America formed Kehillot, community-wide umbrella organizations that took charge of welfare, cultural, and administrative activities necessary for the smooth operation of the Jewish community. Much of these organizations' power derived from the control they had over the Jewish cemeteries.[26] Most Kehillot possessed nominal religious involvement as well, often incorporating the office of the chief rabbi of the particular community into their hierarchy. The Kehilla system, as it evolved in South America, is unique among the Jewish

communities of the world. Nowhere else have such all-powerful, communal organizations developed.

The Third Wave

Between the two World Wars, the South American republics, like the United States, changed their attitudes towards immigrants. From the time of the independence of the various countries through the beginning of the twentieth century, immigrants were increasingly looked upon favorably because of the benefits that skilled, "white" additions to the population could bring. After World War I, however, especially in Argentina, this attitude was reversed. "Native races" were glorified, immigrants denigrated, and the United States' passage of strict immigration laws was greatly admired.[27] This change in attitude was no doubt due to the economic successes immigrants had enjoyed, and to the resultant threat to their own status and power that South American citizens of long standing perceived.

Results of this change in attitude were especially obvious in Argentina, which had accepted much larger numbers of immigrants than the other South American countries. Argentina admitted no substantial numbers of immigrants after 1923, and because of the consequent deflection of prospective immigrants who otherwise would have gone there, Brazil and other countries, notably Uruguay, became more important immigrant destinations than before. In addition, fledgling Jewish communities appeared for the first time in Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia. These countries

had not made the economic progress Argentina had, and were not so virulently anti-immigrant.

Most of the post-World War I immigrants came from Central Europe. Through the 1930s, Central European Jews gradually became aware of a growing threat to their existence. Unfortunately, the rise of fascism was accompanied by the stricter immigration laws mentioned above and the Jewish immigrants were forced to go wherever they could get in. What they often found in South America were anti-immigrant feelings, compounded by xenophobic attitudes towards non-Catholics, especially Jews.

Acts of overt, violent antisemitism in South America were the exception in the 1930s, not the rule. Still, the propaganda coming from Nazi Germany harmonized well with social attitudes already found in South America, and the atmosphere Jewish immigrants discovered in many South American republics was forbidding.

This then, was the situation of South American Jewry when Progressive Judaism appeared just prior to World War II. South American Jewry totalled perhaps 350,000 persons. Argentina was by far the largest community, and while it had accepted a certain number of German immigrants, it was the most indelible stamp on the character of the country's Jewish community. Brazil, on the other hand, had been most affected by the Central European influx of the second wave, and its Jewry mirrored that influence. Other South American Jewish communities, as well, reflected one or the other of these

two groups as their major influence.

In all the republics, Jews were organized along ethnic lines and had established Kehillot as the governing bodies of the communities. Synagogues (essentially only Orthodox) existed wherever there were Jewish settlements, but only a small percentage of the Jewish community participated in public worship or observed Jewish rituals with any regularity.

Finally, while the South American societies viewed the Jews as foreigners, life in the new land was an improvement over what was left behind. The Jews in every South American country were beginning the process of acquiring an education, accumulating capital, and acculturating themselves, as best they could, to their new homeland. They were attempting to provide for themselves a position where they could both prosper and practice their Judaism as they saw fit.

We move on now to examine a particular group of South American Jews, those recently arrived Central European immigrants among whose earliest goals was to establish institutions through which they could fulfill their spiritual needs in the manner to which they were accustomed and which they felt appropriate. The synagogues they founded were Progressive Judaism's first formal incursions into South America.

CHAPTER TWO: PROGRESSIVE CONGREGATIONS IN ARGENTINA

Progressive Judaism's formal beginning in South America was through congregations founded by refugees from Nazi Germany. Two of these congregations were established in Buenos Aires, the only Argentine city with a large enough Jewish population to support a variety of Jewish religious practices. The congregations, the Culto Israelita de Belgrano (CIB) in the Belgrano section, and the Asociación Religiosa Y Cultural Israelita Lamroth HaKol in the northern suburb of Florida, are the only Argentine congregations, of several founded during this period by German Jewish immigrants, to fulfill the criteria set down in the Preface.

The two congregations were founded in the heart of an enormous Jewish community. Although recent work at the Hebrew University has cast doubt upon earlier population estimates, notably those of the half million range found in the American Jewish Yearbook, the 250,000 to 300,000 person estimate currently attributed to Argentina's Jewish population still indicates that the country, and especially its capital where the bulk of Argentine Jews have always lived, is a major Jewish center.[1] At the time of the Progressive congregation's founding, the figure was probably not significantly different.

Argentine Jews are descended from three of the immigrant waves that populated South American Jewry: Central European Jews who arrived between 1860 and 1885, Eastern European Jews who came from 1889 to 1930, and German Jews who immigrated during 1930-1939.[2]

The first wave of Jewish immigrants almost completely assimilated into Argentine society and disappeared. They were peripheral Jews whose feeble commitment to Judaism was purely religious, and who willingly exchanged that religious identity for advancement within Argentine society, convinced, in their particular liberal orientation, that they were making a positive step.[3]

It was the Eastern European Jews of the second wave who, by their sheer numbers and by the communal organizations they established, laid the foundation and set the tone for today's Argentine Jewish community. By one estimate, this community has more organizations and institutions, proportionately, than any other Jewish community in the world.[4] It is also entirely possible that the Argentine Jewish community is the world's most secular. Though synagogues are numerous (one 1969 report list 123 synagogues in "Gran Buenos Aires"[5]), only a handful are and have been more than merely sites for life cycle events and celebrations of major festivals.

With one exception, all those synagogues founded in Argentina before World War II were orthodox. The exception, La Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina of

Buenos Aires, traces its roots back to the first minyan held in Argentina, in 1862.[6] La Congregación Israelita, formally incorporated in 1868, grew to be the largest and most prestigious Jewish house of worship in the nation. However, even La Congregación Israelita suffered from a malady that has always affected South American synagogues, namely enormous difficulty finding rabbis. It was not until 1906, when Samuel Halphon was named "Gran Rabino," that the congregation had its first spiritual leader with "legitimate rabbinical credentials."[7] During Halphon's tenure, innovations introduced into the synagogue service represent the first clear signs of an effect the progressive movement in Judaism had on Jewish religious practice in South America. An organ was installed, a mixed choir and a choir master were charged with their duties, sermons were delivered regularly in Spanish, and certain prayers were probably recited in Spanish as well.[8]

La Congregación Israelita eventually became one of the centers of Conservative Judaism in Argentina, and although its rite demonstrated a few typically progressive characteristics, it never formally participated in the Progressive movement, either by joining the World Union for Progressive Judaism or by declaring adherence to its principles. Nonetheless, its practice calls attention to two ideas that must have affected the yet unfounded Progressive synagogues' development. First, La Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina, as its full name implies, was dedicated to being a synagogue for Argentines, and for

perpetuating what its leaders perceived as Argentine Judaism- not a particular immigrant form of worship. Thus at least some of the factors conducive to change which led to Progressive Judaism's birth in Europe must also have been present then in South America.

Second, La Congregación Israelita, as previously mentioned, was the most esteemed synagogue in the land. Surely the prestige of this slightly progressive synagogue must in some way have made a little easier the struggle against authority in which the progressive synagogues were later to engage.

The Culto Israelita de Belgrano

The story of the first specifically Progressive synagogue in Argentina, the Culto Israelita de Belgrano, begins at a meeting held October 9, 1939, in the Belgrano home of a Dr. Caro.[9] The people gathered there were immigrants from Germany, Jews who had escaped the oppression of the Nazi regime and had come to South America to begin life anew. Most of them had arrived in Argentina in the few years before the start of World War II, though the CIB's first (and longtime) president, Emil Sadler, and his wife Ilse, for many years CIB secretary, had arrived in the 1920s and were already well established.

That first meeting's participants keenly felt the absence, in that part of Buenos Aires, of a synagogue that would satisfy their spiritual needs. (Had they lived closer to the center of town, they might have been comfortable

praying in La Congregación Israelita.) They wanted to re-create the spiritual life they had left behind in Germany, and indeed it was this idea, rather than simple ideological committment, that inspired the founding of several of the progressive synagogues on the continent. The admitted goal of the CIB founders was to carry on their Jewish life as they were used to it, as it had been handed them from their parents.[10]

The synagogue service established by Rabbi Fritz Steinthal, the CIB's spiritual leaders almost from the start, was a "moderate" German Liberal one.[11] Steinthal, a Berlin Hochschule graduate who had served as Rabbi in Münster before emigrating, instituted in South America essentially the rite he had been conducting in Germany. For many years, no standard prayerbook was used in his synagogue, and different Liberal prayerbooks published in various European cities were all used in public worship.[12] Attempts were made periodically throughout the 1950s to buy Liberal Einheitsgebetbücher from the Liberal Jewish community in Berlin,[13] but it was probably not until the congregation adopted the Conservative Spanish/Hebrew prayerbook assembled under the supervision of Marshall T. Meyer shortly after its appearance in the mid-1960s that uniformity in liturgy was achieved.

Over the first few decades of the CIB's existence few substantial changes in the ritual occurred. The Torah reading was eventually spread out over two years, though no

rigid rules directed how the portions were to be divided.[14] Though a mixed choir enhanced the service (for the unmixed congregation) almost from the beginning, for many years it sang a cappella.[15] Eventually, an organ was installed amidst much controversy.

B'not Mitzvah ceremonies, of any type, never took place within the CIB. This stands in sharp contrast to synagogues elsewhere in Argentina and all South America, that while not considering themselves nearly as liberal as the CIB, nonetheless held and encouraged this rite. The issue of B'not Mitzvah illustrates the tensions to which the synagogue ritual was vulnerable. On the one hand, this century has seen the Bat Mitzvah ceremony become an established part of religious practice within Progressive, Conservative, and even, to a small extent, within traditional Jewish circles in different parts of the world.[16] On the other hand, however, it conflicted with a deeply felt desire of CIB members to keep intact, as long as possible, the duplication of Liberal synagogue services from Germany. B'not Mitzvah ceremonies were not held in Germany. One can therefore imagine the line of reasoning running: so there is no reason they should be held here! It is probable that no other aspect of German Jewish culture survived the trans-Atlantic trek as accurately as the synagogue service, and for that reason, too, the attempt to preserve its integrity must have seemed of paramount importance.

The congregation grew rapidly. By 1941, Steinthal

reported 206 member families; by 1946, 525 families; and by 1956, 650 families.[17] For at least the first thirty years of the CIB's existence, the vast majority of the membership was German or of German background.[18] The congregation revolved around the German language, and even as late as the mid-1960s, the majority of its bulletin was written in German, not Spanish.

Most of the early CIB members were businessmen. Many of them may have been professionals in Germany, but their professional qualifications were invalid in Argentina. Consequently, they entered the world of "negocios," business, that being the only way they could earn a living above the subsistence level. Originally, the CIB was financed by a few members of means, but as the membership as a whole prospered, the financial burden was more equitably shared. However, the congregation did not have as many wealthy members as other congregations, like La Congregación Israelita and Lamroth HaKol, and it was never able to fully overcome its financial hardships.

CIB members were able to attend services morning and evening, as well as on Sabbaths and holidays. Such a complete program of worship was rare among Argentine synagogues, as by this time many of the Orthodox ones founded during the Eastern European and Sephardic immigrations had lost their vitality. One innovation Steinthal introduced was beginning services on Sabbaths and holidays at the same time, 7:00 PM, all year round. He said this was in order to

allow those not self-employed to finish their work day and still be able to attend the complete service.[19] This certainly would have been a difficult if not impossible change to effect were it not for the liberal ideology of the congregation.

That liberal ideology was an integral part of the CIB from the start. The congregation affiliated with the World Union shortly after its founding, and Steinthal's name first appeared in a list of the members of the World Union's Governing Body found in the Proceedings to the 1946 conference, the first such conference held after the CIB's founding.[20]

The congregation's commitment to Progressive Judaism is perhaps best indicated by the naming of its building, on Calle Vidal, as the "Leo Baeck Synagogue." In dedication ceremonies in 1944, Steinthal named Baeck and his colleague Ismar Elbogen as "co-founders" of the synagogue, an honor both men accepted.[21] At ceremonies in 1949 celebrating the tenth anniversary of the congregation, Steinthal again honored them, and read a note of congratulations from Baeck.[22]

Although Steinthal conceived of himself as a Progressive rabbi in the Baeck tradition, his personal observances were quite traditional. He maintained the laws of kashrut and attempted, as best one could in the secular Jewish community of Buenos Aires, to be shomer shabbat. His synagogue reflected his views. While the religious lifestyles

of the members ran the gamut from thoroughly unobservant (reflecting the progressive value of individual choice) to quite traditional, the synagogue services consistently maintained the substantial ritualism found in the German Liberal rite. Men never prayer bareheaded, and tallitot were de rigeur at all morning services. The sexes sat on opposite sides of the sanctuary, continuing the German custom, while the hazan intoned traditional German melodies.

This concern with the specific ritual and the desire for its transmission to the next generation may account, in part, for the strong emphasis Steinthal and the congregation placed on educating the youth. Indeed, this emphasis is found explicitly stated in numerous public pronouncements by leaders of Progressive synagogues in which they elucidate the motivation behind the synagogue's founding and continuance.

A concern for education is, of course, a central component of almost any organized Jewish community, but the massive emphasis put on education by the founders of the Progressive synagogues seems to indicate a special sense of its importance; while some refugees took their experiences in the Nazi era as justification for abandoning their religious identities, those who founded synagogues as part of their rebirth in a new land had had their faith shored up, and found it especially important to pass that legacy on to their children.

Education and other youth activities figure promi-

nently in correspondence between Steinthal and the WUPJ. Beginning in the early 1940s, the CIB sponsored youth services on alternate Saturday afternoons. Shortly after they were begun, attendance averaged in the 40s.[23] Steinthal supervised the religious school, which was held in conjunction with an Orthodox congregation. By 1953, there were 160 pupils covering a broad age spectrum learning Hebrew and a variety of other Jewish subjects.[24] The education program seems to have been so proficient and popular, and Steinthal himself so popular, that it attracted many students whose families were not CIB members, and induced other families to join.[25] Although the religious school was held under the auspices of a Progressive synagogue, it is doubtful the education the pupils received was particularly "Progressive," except perhaps for the tefilah the children learned, which was probably the one that the congregation used.

In addition to youth programs, the CIB sponsored a variety of non-religious activities. Assorted cultural events- films from Israel, concerts, lectures- were all to be found in the CIB synagogue on Vidal Street. Since the congregation moved out of a rented building and into the building on Vidal Street in 1944, it has been the congregation's only home.[26]

By the mid-1950s, the congregation reached stasis. The size, approximately 650 families, seemed to contemporaries unlikely to increase substantially.[27] The German

Liberal rite, in conjunction with a progressive ideology, aroused no vehement opposition from the membership, and the time when a demographic change in the membership would require a re-evaluation was still distant. The auxiliary synagogue functions- the religious school, the youth groups, and the cultural activities- were all functioning smoothly.

Yet there was turbulence during this period, and it stemmed mainly from one issue: the quest for a successor to Rabbi Steinthal. In 1954, Steinthal raised the issue with Bruno Woyda, WUPJ Secretary-Treasurer.[28] He felt that he would like to retire in not too many years and he wanted to find a suitable successor whom he could begin to train. Steinthal thought the candidate would have to be a German speaker, since the sermons were still in German and most instruction was still given in that language. Spanish would be necessary too, of course, but that could be learned while in Argentina. The need for it in the synagogue was not so great (limited at that time mainly to wedding and Bar Mitzvah talks), and time could be afforded the new rabbi to learn it.

Steinthal's other worry about a successor was that he be able to adapt comfortably to the synagogue's rite. He wanted someone from within the movement, but he did not see an American institution as capable of providing him with a suitable candidate. The WUPJ was sympathetic to Steinthal, and suggested a Rabbi Tennen, a Rumanian, who lived in Israel. After over a year's correspondence during

1954 and 1955, Steinthal eventually rejected Tennen as a candidate, without having interviewed him. Tennen initially came to the attention of the WUPJ when he applied for (and did not receive) a job as assistant rabbi to the famous Rabbi Sulzberger in Great Britain. Steinthal may well have concluded that if Sulzburger found Tennen unsuitable, there was no reason to think he would feel differently. That Steinthal seems to have been empowered to search for another rabbi and decide if he would be hired, says something for his stature within the congregation.

Desire for another rabbi continued unabated, and in 1957, the CIB hired Rabbi Meir M. Rosenberg as Steinthal's successor.[29] Rosenberg was German, a Hochschule graduate who lived in Israel. He had married the daughter of his teacher, Ismar Elbogen, and felt it necessary to leave Israel when they divorced. He came to Argentine with the strong, personal recommendation of the Hon. Lily H. Montagu, WUPJ president.[30]

Rosenberg assumed the position of rabbi, and Steinthal became the emeritus. Although this created the situation that both Steinthal and the congregation had desired for several years, problems quickly arose. Animosity developed between the rabbis, and a deep rift appeared in the congregation as members took sides.[31] Despite intensive efforts by President Wolf A. Wolf to mediate the dispute between the two rabbis, no solution could be found, and a congregational referendum supported a motion to fire Rosenberg.

Although three outside rabbis, who were invited to sit in judgment, agreed with Rosenberg's claim that a rabbi cannot be fired, the congregation fired him anyway. He and some 200 families who supported him started another congregation and by October, 1960, the splinter group had grown to 300 families.[32] Within a few years, however, Rosenberg returned to the state of Israel, and Beth Israel, the congregation he had founded, dissolved, and many of its members joined or rejoined the CIB several years later.

Steinthal reassumed his former position, but relinquished it again in the early 1960s to Rabbi Nathan Blum, a Hungarian rabbi who had been rav hacalol in Chile.[33] Blum was Orthodox, but tried to adjust to "the new 'liberal' rite of the congregation."[34] Even so, the synagogue leadership realized that if the CIB were to continue to lean in a progressive direction, it would not be under Blum's guidance. The Board of Directors therefore decided to investigate the possibility of bringing in a more liberal rabbi to direct the youth activities, and, it was hoped, provide the young people with a liberal orientation from which they could lead the congregation in the future. The subject was discussed with WUPJ Executive Director, Rabbi William A. Rosenthall, on his visit to Argentina in the fall of 1962, and as a result, Rabbi Haim Asa came to the CIB in 1963 following his ordination at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. Asa was to be the CIB's first youth rabbi, as well as the first Latin

American Director of the WUPJ.[35]

Asa, Bulgarian born and already speaking Spanish, had some success with youth programs at the CIB. In January, 1964, he directed a two session summer camp, "Hatikvah," for youth ages nine through eighteen. Unfortunately, his success within the synagogue itself was less remarkable. Asa and Blum developed irreconciliable personality differences in a manner one might have begun to think was symptomatic of CIB rabbis. His dissatisfaction at the CIB was one of the factors which led to his suggesting to the WUPJ that a new Reform synagogue be founded in Buenos Aires. Asa left the CIB in 1964 and established Congregacion Emanu-El.

Blum remained a while longer, and moved on. Steinthal, again became rabbi. In 1969, he died immediately following a synagogue service marking the 30th anniversary of the CIB's founding. His career in Germany as World War I chaplain and rabbi in Münster was remembered, and he was eulogized as a religious progressive "with a strong feeling for tradition." His funeral on October 13 attracted many notables, including the Israel Consul and Argentine Chief Rabbi David Kahane.[36]

With Steinthal's death coming at a time when many of the progressive spirits in the congregation, notably Wolf Wolf, had left Argentina, an era ended for the CIB. The impetus for progressive ideology was lost, the congregation merged with a Sephardic synagogue, and together they became the traditional B'nei Tikvah of today. While the building was once proudly called the "Leo Baeck Synagogue," those

words today appear only on a plaque, found in its foyer, which commemorates the building's erection.

Lamroth HaKol

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, while the CIB had established itself and begun to prosper, a substantial Jewish community appeared in the affluent northern suburbs of Buenos Aires. It consisted both of newly arrived immigrants with substantial means and of those who had successfully scaled the economic ladder and wanted to live in more opulent surroundings. Several families moving out of the center of the city were members of the Nueva Comunidad Israelita (NCI), a German Liberal synagogue in a different part of Belgrano than the CIB, and as their numbers increased, they began holding services in their homes rather than travel into the city to attend the synagogue.

By the mid-1940s, enough NCI members and other interested families were living in the northern zone to make establishing a new synagogue there a realistic possibility. As a result, on April 11, 1944, the NCI sent out invitations to a meeting, "whose purpose would be to determine if the possibility existed of creating, in the northern suburbs of Buenos Aires, 'una Asociación Religiosa y Cultural,'"[37] NCI President Dr. Hardi Swarsensky, Secretary Arturo Lang, and two other members signed the invitations, indicating that the possible expansion was proposed with the mother institution's blessing.

The proposal was greeted enthusiastically, and Pablo J.

Neumeyer and Julio Eichberg, who had both signed the initial invitation to the meeting, and two others, were directed to form a Board of Directors ("Consejo Directivo") to take charge of establishing the new institution.[38] The name "Lamroth HaKol" ("despite everything") was chosen as an "aggressive message of hope," in a world which to them seemed to express almost total contempt for the Jews.[39]

Lamroth HaKol began life as a German Liberal synagogue, much like the NCI, the Culto Israelita de Belgrano, and other Argentine synagogues of German origin. At least one external factor influenced its development uniquely, however; the diversity of background among its early members. Because it was the only synagogue in the northern suburbs, the synagogue leadership felt an obligation to serve the needs of all the Jews of the area, not just those of Central European extraction. The German rite remained central to the synagogue's development, but other customs influenced its practice too.[40]

In May, 1944, Lamroth HaKol officials signed a two year lease (with a four year option) on a building at Calle Vergara 1610 in the area called Florida. When the building was dedicated during Sukkot the following September, the congregation had its first real home.[41] The institution residing in that building was not, however, completely independent. A three point "Gentlemen Agreement" (sic) worked out by Neumeyer, Swarsensky, and NCI treasurer Martin Bar stipulated complete autonomy for Lamroth HaKol concerning

questions of "religión y cultura," limited autonomy regarding financial matters, and fixed an annual contribution from Lamroth HaKol to the NCI's general fund.[42] This relationship remained intact for twelve years.

The young congregation grew quickly. By 1949, more than 100 students were enrolled in the various classes of the congregation's education program.[43] Spiritual leadership was provided by Rabbi Hans Harf of the NCI and Sr. Herman Fein, a graduate of the Bavarian Würzburg teacher's seminary. Fein served as cantor and head teacher, and actively recruited new members for Lamroth HaKol, an activity in which he was evidently quite successful.[44]

The rapid growth of the synagogue caused a problem in space; there wasn't enough. The youth and education programs needed more rooms, and when important services were held in the synagogue, everybody could take part only if seats were set up on the patio and the windows leading outside were open and their curtains drawn apart to allow the people there to hear. Consequently, 1950 saw the synagogue acquire land at Calle Caseros 1450 and work begin immediately on a new building. The almost-finished building was dedicated a year later, during the High Holidays, and it has been Lamroth HaKol's home since that time.[45]

Rabbi Guenter Friedlander, who lived nearby, placed himself at the congregation's disposal and became the first official rabbi in the new building.[46] He remained in that position no longer than three years, however, for in 1954, Paul Hirsch, who was to be the synagogue's central figure

through the 1950s and 1960s, was appointed rabbi.

Hirsch had entered the Breslau rabbinical seminary as a scholarship student in 1935 after completing high school at the Orthodox Jawne-Schule in Cologne.[47] He had already begun "practical" work in small towns and assisting in large synagogues, but had not yet been ordained when the Nazis closed the Breslau seminary in November, 1938. Within the next three months, a number of "upper class" students were surreptitiously given smicha, but Hirsch was not among them.[48] He had obtained passage to La Paz, Bolivia where he served a newly established congregation and directed a Jewish elementary school. Eighteen months later he moved to Oruro, a smaller community in the same part of Bolivia, where he assumed similar duties. In 1950, he returned to La Paz, again leading the congregation and directing the school, to which he added a secondary department.[49] Four years later he was called to Buenos Aires to serve Lamroth HaKol as its rabbi.

Although Hirsch never formally received smicha, he was still regarded as a rabbi, with all the rights and privileges accompanying that title, during his entire South American career. In 1970 he received an honorary rabbinical degree from the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, after several years of correspondence and discussion among College-Institute and WUPJ officials.[50]

The first congregational milestone after Hirsch arrived

was the legal separation of Lamroth HaKol from the NCI. This occurred in 1956 when, especially after Hirsch had begun to give Lamroth HaKol an independent character, it was widely recognized, in both Florida and Belgrano, that dissolution of the contract binding the two synagogues was an idea whose time had come. The split was amicable, apparently without any of the animosity which accompanies the stereotypical image of a contemporary synagogue split.[51]

The lay people elected to lead the newly independent congregation were the same ones who had guided it since its birth as an offshoot twelve years earlier. Notable among them were Eichberg and Neumeyer, who served as president and vice-president respectively. Curt May was elected treasurer, an office he held till he succeeded Eichberg as president in 1967. May remains president today, though his tenure since 1967 has not been continuous.

Lamroth HaKol leadership, and indeed the entire membership, has remained mostly (but not, as mentioned earlier, entirely) German in background. Most of the members are upper-middle class, reflecting the neighborhood in which the synagogue is located. Most are in business, though many were professionals who found their professional credentials invalid upon immigrating to Argentina. Membership reached approximately 450 families around 1970 and has remained at that level ever since.

The ritual of the synagogue was originally modeled after the German liberal service. Certain key changes were

made, however, all probably at Hirsch's instigation. Principal among them were introduction of mixed seating, B'not Mitzvah where the girls actually read from the Torah, and a mixed choir with organ accompaniment. These changes were not lauded by everyone, and in at least one case, a family quit their membership and moved to Belgrano in order to be near a more traditional synagogue.

Mostly, however, the members accepted the changes, even enthusiastically, and the increasing divergence from the German Liberal style could not help but intensify the congregation's perception of itself as an Argentine synagogue, not a transplanted German one. The trend towards using Spanish in community life was more pronounced at Lamroth HaKol than at other synagogues, including the Culto Israelita de Belgrano. The 25th anniversary issue of Lamroth HaKol's bulletin contained numerous articles in Spanish that were not also printed in German, but carried only one short German article that did not appear in Spanish. Bulletins during the same period from the CIB presented the opposite tendency; much German material not translated into Spanish, and virtually nothing in Spanish that did not also appear in German.

Until Marshall Meyer's Spanish/Hebrew prayerbook appeared in 1965 and was adopted for use, Lamroth HaKol members used assorted German prayerbooks, particularly those published in Rödelheim. Sheets of prayers, produced by the congregation itself, supplemented the prayerbooks. These

sheets contained Spanish translations of some prayers and alternatives for certain traditional prayers antithetical to the normative ideological orientation of the congregation.

That ideological orientation was, however, and still is, fairly traditional. Certain progressive features of synagogue life at Lamroth HaKol mentioned previously did evolve, but their appearances can generally be explained not in terms of ideological commitment, but in that they were championed by the popular Rabbi Hirsch, would attract youth and new members, and in any case would not greatly affect synagogue ethos.

As an example of this, it is true that Lamroth HaKol was probably the first synagogue in South America where B'not Mitzvah read from the Torah scroll. On the other hand, the initiation of such a ceremony could be viewed as merely an attempt to placate the youth (or the parents), or perhaps entice them to become more involved in synagogue life. Considering that her Bat Mitzvah would be the only time in her life a female member of Lamroth HaKol would ascend the bema, institution of the ceremony could hardly be viewed as a radical reform.

Paul Hirsch considered himself a "Reform" rabbi (though never a CCAR member), and several reports of his activities with Lamroth HaKol place him at odds with the congregation over matters of significant reform in practice and observance.[52] It also seems he was shunned by many

of his professional peers in Buenos Aires, not so much because he had never received formal ordination, but because of his liberal views.[53] And this was so, even though his congregation was, in reality, not that different from several others in Buenos Aires. Hirsch was popular with his congregation, however, and many who were never members of Lamroth HaKol remember him also as a warm, dynamic person.

A conundrum exists in determining where one should place Lamroth HaKol on the spectrum of religious identification. Confusion abounds, for example, over the nature of Lamroth HaKol's relationship with the World Union for Progressive Judaism. Long-time synagogue members maintain that its WUPJ membership began around the time Paul Hirsch came to Buenos Aires. This is further attested in the congregational history.[54] However, no mention of Lamroth HaKol appears in a cursory examination of WUPJ documents for the period, and certainly no mention of it is made in any WUPJ conference Proceedings published during the 1960s. Both the Spicehandler (1960) and Rosenthall (1962) reports mention Hirsch and Lamroth HaKol as if it were the first time either had been heard of, and in a report on his trip to South America in 1955, and his contacts with movement sympathizers, Rabbi Herman Schaalman made no mention whatsoever of Hirsch or his synagogue.[55]

A great many of the innovations introduced into Lamroth HaKol's synagogue life were undertaken simply for

pragmatic reasons, especially to attract new members and youth. Bat Mitzvah ceremonies (which by the way they are practiced, if they are practiced, serve as a useful indicator of a congregation's over-all ritual orientation) where the honoree read from the Torah must have been an attraction for many people. Mixed seating and musical enhancement of the services too must have found favor in the eyes of many congregants and potential congregants. Furthermore, the congregation, in addition to such typical synagogal activities as concerts, lectures, and the like, bought a rural estate for vacation use by congregants and blatantly used it as lodestone to draw in new congregants.[56] The estate was also used for outings by the congregation's youth groups.

Perhaps the weightiest piece of evidence for the argument that progressive innovations at Lamroth HaKol were not ideologically motivated lies in the plainly stated goal of the synagogue's founders "to create the opportunities, for themselves and their children, of continuing and reactivating their tradition."[57] Throughout the first twenty-five years, synagogue leaders continually reiterated that message, that their primary goal was to provide an attractive, desirable means for Jewish spiritual expression by the next generation. "To assure the future of and for our youth," they wrote, we must "convert our community into a Jewish-Argentine institution, an integral part of the Argentine Yishuv."[58]

In the Culto Israelita de Belgrano, progressive ideology for its own sake was probably more the rule than it was at Lamroth HaKol. This may have been due to the CIB's having been founded directly by immigrants, while most of Lamroth HaKol's early members were people who had been in Argentina for some time and had belonged to another synagogue. In addition, it is perhaps symbolic of the two synagogues' orientations that while Lamroth HaKol leaders would quote Leo Baeck to support what they wanted to promote or pass on to their young people, it was the CIB, in 1944, which actually named its synagogue for Leo Baeck.[59] And when Congregación Emanu-El entered the scene in the mid-1960s, despite the liberal averments of Lamroth HaKol, ties between those two synagogues never really developed.

Lamroth HaKol, as merger attemptes with the Congregación Emanu-El in the 1970s would show, was simply too ingrained with tradition to align itself with a Reform synagogue. Through Hirsch's death in the mid-1970s and even until today, having no rabbinic leadership, Lamroth HaKol has persisted to be what it has really always been: a German Liberal synagogue that despite diverse membership, despite unique innovations in its service, essentially remained as such.

Congregación Emanu-El

When Rabbi William A. Rosenthall, WUPJ Executive Director, spent two months in South America in the fall of 1962, his most important aim "was to investigate the possibility of an expanded World Union program" there.[60] He

concluded that the movement's South American potential was great, and though Reform was then suspiciously viewed by Jews throughout the continent, he felt that an ambitious program of specifically training rabbis for work in South America, together with an active effort to strengthen the ties between South America and the WUPJ affiliates elsewhere, would eventually result in a large, thriving, South American progressive community. The core of such a program would be in Buenos Aires, and Rosenthall argued for establishment there of a WUPJ office.[61]

Haim Asa was obliged to spend three years serving outside the United States after his ordination to fulfill his end of the agreement under which the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (NFTS) financed his seminary education. Since he spoke Spanish, Buenos Aires was a logical assignment for him. His primary duties as the first WUPJ representative there were to promulgate the principles and ideas of Progressive Judaism, determine the possibilities for establishing a Reform (in the North American sense) synagogue, and, as noted before, aid in the spiritual leadership of the Culto Israelita de Belgrano (then the strongest WUPJ affiliate in Buenos Aires), in which his office was located, especially in working with its youth.[62]

As previously described, the arrangement between Asa and the CIB did not work, mainly because of the personality clash between Asa and Blum. Partly as a consequence of that, during the course of his first year in Buenos Aires,

Asa decided that the time was appropriate to begin a new, specifically Reform (in the North American sense), synagogue, and in 1964 a group began to meet regularly in his home to worship and celebrate the festivals together. This core of perhaps thirty families, who were the founders of Emanu-El, represented divergent segments of Argentine Jewry. Several CIB members were among them, but so were members of other synagogues, as well as many who had never before belonged to any religious institution. (A consistent characteristic of Emanu-El's composition is the presence of many who say that if it were not for Emanu-El, there is no synagogue in Buenos Aires to which they would belong.) The founding members included both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, as well as people of great Jewish learning and typical Argentine Jews with little knowledge of their faith.[63]

At a meeting in December, 1964, the early leaders of Emanu-El articulated several goals for the congregation. They were:

1. To promote the improvement of the status of the Jewish faith in the Republic of Argentina.

2. To establish and form a Reform congregation in the city of Buenos Aires, in which rites and interpretations of Judaism shall be realized in the liberal manner.

3. To make known the philosophy and interpretation of the Jewish faith.

4. To orient the Jewish youth in the principles of

our religion.

5. To develop religious, educational, and social activities, as integral elements of the formation of character and faith of the members.[64]

Chosen to lead a provisional directorial commission was Juan Itzcovich Schuster, who would become Emanu-El's first president. Martin H. Bruetman was named the commission's secretary.

During the first half of 1965 the congregation solidified, a building was rented at Calle Ciudad de la Paz, 547, and membership grew to one hundred fifty families. The ceremony dedicating the sede (site) of the new synagogue took place on July 27, 1965. Dignitaries from the world progressive community, Jewish leaders from elsewhere in South America, and most of the important figures of Argentine Jewry were among the 500 people present.

Speeches that day well articulated two ideas fundamental to those who shared in the start of Emanu-El. President Schuster reiterated the congregation's liberal ideo-theological stance, stating that "the essential principles of the Jewish faith are always alive, and in spite of all controversy, the external forms and manifestations of the religious group adapt themselves to the proper circumstances of our era." Keynote speaker Rabbi Frederic Doppelt of Fort Wayne, Indiana appealed to the nativistic desires of the members, when he asserted that Emanu-El would indeed be a South American synagogue, and that the

Judaism practiced therein would not be a "transplant" from another part of the world.[65]

Asa remained in Buenos Aires only through 1966, when his three year obligation ended, but even during his brief tenure with Emanu-El several important "firsts" took place. Notable among them were the synagogue's (and, indeed, the continent's) first confirmation service, where fifteen young people made what Rabbi Asa described as an "individual act where the person indicates his voluntary adherence to the precepts of the congregation."[66] That same summer, Emanu-El's summer camp, Camp Hatikvah, was sponsored in conjunction with the CIB. It ran for two overlapping one-month sessions and involved the campers in Jewish cultural and educational programs, as well as recreational activities. Camp Hatikvah had first been held the previous summer, under the joint auspices of the CIB and the Latin American office of the WUPJ.[67] Asa was responsible for its planning and implementation. A movement publication credited him with involving the youth with Judaism without their being "subject to the traditionalism of their fathers or the secularism of the general Jewish as well as non-Jewish environment of Argentina."[68] The affiliation of Emanu-El's sisterhood as a constituent member of the NFTS further attested to the new synagogue's orientation as a Reform institution.[69]

Asa's successor was Rabbi Rifat Sonsino, also an HUC Cincinnati alumnus who owed the NFTS three years of service

for scholarship aid. Sonsino, a native of Turkey, spoke Ladino and thus had little difficulty working within a Spanish speaking milieu. He arrived in Buenos Aires in the summer of 1966, shortly after his ordination.

Sonsino had little to work with in order to continue building up a congregation, because many of the members resigned when Asa returned to the United States. Their resignations had little to do with feelings against Sonsino; rather, the members, in typical Latin fashion, felt loyalties not so much to an institution as to a leader. Consequently, when Asa left, their prime motivation for membership departed as well. (A sharp drop and subsequent rise in membership was to occur every time Emanu-El changed rabbis.) Nonetheless, over the three years of Sonsino's leadership the congregation grew to one hundred ten families, a sisterhood and brotherhood flourished, and the institution became an established feature of Argentine Jewry's organizational composition.[70] It was in the late 1960s that a need for a permanent home for the congregation was raised, and the negotiations for a building loan of $35,000 from Temple Emanu-El of New York were begun.[71]

As had been his intention since his arrival, Sonsino (and his new Argentine bride) returned to the United States to pursue graduate work when his three year obligation ended. His successor was Rabbi Leon Klenicki, who had returned to his native Buenos Aires two years earlier following his ordination at HUC in Cincinnati, in order to be

the first full-time director of the WUPJ's Latin American office.[72] Klenicki's installation took place on July 27, 1969 at the synagogue. Leaders from the world Progressive community and from major Argentine Jewish institutions sent congratulatory messages. Among those present were Curt May, president of Lamroth HaKol; those taking part in the ceremony included Rabbis Paul Hirsch of Lamroth HaKol and Hans Harf of the Nueva Comunidad Israelita.[73]

The three years Klenicki spent in Emanu-El's pulpit were turbulent, due not to anything pertaining to the congregation itself, but rather the tumult of Argentine politics of that era and to the uproar and confusion of an attempted merger with Lamroth HaKol. Some time close to the beginning of the year 1971, members of Emanu-El's board approached the leadership of Lamroth HaKol in order to see if the older congregation's board would be interested in working out a merger. Both congregations had financial hardships (Emanu-El was still heavily subsidized by the WUPJ) and Lamroth HaKol was concerned with the problem of a successor to Rabbi Hirsch. It was hoped that a merger would "lay a stable base for securing for the Argentine Ishuv and the cause of Reform Judaism the invaluable services of... Rabbi Leon Klenicki."[74] Emanu-El's leaders indeed believed that the only hope for their continued success as a congregation lay in the union, and they were willing to sacrifice some of their independence to assure their survival.[75]

Negotiations ensued, and were initially successful. In the spring of 1971 Emanu-El moved into Lamroth HaKol's building. The two institutions retained a certain degree of autonomy; separate services were held, and while the youth departments acted as one, the religious schools were distinct. Klenicki was optimistic about an eventual total consolidation, however, and in a letter to Rabbi Rosenthall of the WUPJ, he noted that only one person, a member of Lamroth HaKol, resigned because of the merger.[76]

The merger's success, however, was short-lived, as a number of Lamroth HaKol's youth leaders succeeded in stirring up a controversy (initially over what they saw as the secularity of Reform, though the conflict soon became personal) so strong as to eventually force the two synagogues to sign a formal dissolution agreement. The animosity and hard feelings that had been aroused were so intense that the union could not survive. The agreement was signed on October 24, 1971, less than seven months after a ceremony signifying the beginning of the new union.[77] Emanu-El moved into donated quarters for two years, while a new building was built (with the help of the loan from Temple Emanu-El of New York) on a parcel of land that had been donated by Emanu-El member Ezra Teubal in 1970.[78] The site of the synagogue's new home, where it is still located, is at Calle Tronador, 1455, in the heart of Belgrano. The decade of the seventies was to see the building completed as Klenicki left to assume a position with the Anti-Defamation League in New York. Roberto Graetz left Rio de Janeiro

after serving two years as Henrique Lemle's assistant at the Asociação Religiosa Israelita (ARI) to become Emanu-El's spiritual leader from 1974 to 1979, whereupon he returned to Rio to assume the pulpit of the ARI after Lemle's death. Today, Emanu-El has well over two hundred families and is led by Rabbi Reuben Nisenbom, a graduate of the Conservative Seminario Rabínico of Buenos Aires. Despite Nisenbom's Conservative background, no shift to being more traditional has taken place within the synagogue.

Emanu-El has been unique among Argentine congregations with regard to the liberality of its synagogue service. Its sanctuaries have housed organs, and seating has always been mixed. The rights of ritual participation have been extended equally to men and women and men have never been compelled to wear kipot, though many do. The major weekly service has always been on Friday night, when the Torah is read and a sermon delivered. Saturday morning services have generally taken place only for a Bar or Bat Mitzvah (which both involve the child reading from the Torah), and daily services have never been a regular part of the synagogue calendar.

The congregation's first liturgy was a series of mimeographed booklets put together by Haim Asa, prepared to provide worshippers with prayer material for both Sabbaths and holidays. Subsequent rabbis introduced other material, some of it Spanish translations of North American prayerbooks, while other items were original works. With

the help of then rabbinical student Roberto Graetz, who spent a summer assisting him, Klenicki produced machzorim for the High Holidays, soft cover editions of which were published in 1970. In 1973, his Libro de Oraciones, a prayerbook for Sabbaths and festivals, was published in hard cover.[79] All of the liturgy used at Emanu-El has departed substantially from the traditional texts, but those departures have taken the form of omissions and (often free) translations into Spanish, rather than specific alterations of the prayers themselves.

Emanu-El's religious education program was for many years directed by Sra. Ruth Hecht, who had previously taught at Lamroth HaKol. Hecht, who authored several religious school textbooks, was the first person outside the United States to receive a "Certificate of Education" from the UAHC. It was presented to her at a special Sabbath Eve service on August 7, 1970.[80] In a 1970 letter to a Chicago rabbi, she described a Saturday religious school of thirty-five to forty students divided into four age groups.[81] The children studied Jewish History, Hebrew, Prayers, Holidays, and Bible. Extracurricular activities such as movies, Israeli dancing, and music often punctuated the two and one-half hour session. This educational format is likely typical for Emanu-El's first ten years or so, though later the school "day" became late Friday afternoon, in the hope that as parents picked up their children from religious school, the entire family would stay for services, then go

home together to enjoy a Sabbath dinner. The youth programs too have been heavily incorporated into congregational life, and of late have become a particularly attractive feature to potential members.

Emanu-El has been a target of derision by the Orthodox community since its founding. Some of the specifics of the congregation's situation were discussed in a New York Times article in 1967.[82] Calling Emanu-El the object of "suspicion and opposition," the Times described an attack by the Orthodox newspaper Mundo Israelita in which Emanu-El was said to be "dividing the community and attempting to lead Argentine Jews toward a kind of Protestantism and assimilation." Although the attacks by the Orthodox continued ceaselessly during Emanu-El's first decade, Sonsino pointed out in the Times article that though most Argentine Jews reject religion, all the attention given to Israel and Zionism, especially among the young, indicated a strong interest in Judaism. It was this interest, he implied, that would ensure Emanu-El's future.

Today under Nisenbom's leadership, Emanu-El is a congregation of members deeply involved in day-to-day synagogue affairs: services, youth activities, study groups. As it nears the end of its second decade, it appears to be a fixed part of communal Jewish life in Buenos Aires, with the only real threat to its existence the financial woes that currently plague the entire nation.

In Argentina, then, the Progressive synagogues founded

by those who fled Nazism endured as Progressive synagogues only for some thirty years. Many forces contributed to the decline of the Culto Israelita de Belgrano and Lamroth HaKol as liberal institutions, notably a lack of rabbinical and lay leadership, an absence of Progressively aware membership, and an immigrant orientation that became less tenable as German Jews comprised an increasingly smaller percentage of the population. Indeed, Congregación Emanu-El thrives today in part because it has no such ethnic identification. It represents what Progressive Judaism must do if it is to survive in Argentina: appeal to Jews of Argentina, not Jews of any particular immigrant roots.

We turn now to Brazil, where we shall see that in contrast to Argentina, the large congregations founded by refugees from Nazism still flourish, and that a recent addition, Congregação Shalom in São Paulo, does not replace any other institution on the Progressive Jewish "scene" there, but rather enhances and augments them.

CHAPTER THREE: PROGRESSIVE CONGREGATIONS IN BRAZIL

The institutional birth of Brazilian Progressive Judaism occurred with the founding by Nazi refugees of two synagogues, the Asociação Religiosa Israelita (ARI) in Rio de Janeiro, then Brazil's capital, and the Congregação Israelita Paulista (CIP), in São Paulo. Both congregations began as what could be termed "transplanted" Einheitsgemeinden ("unified communities"), Jewish centers filling not just the religious needs of their members (namely the community of German Jewish refugees), but their social, cultural, and ethnic needs as well. The concept and structure of these synagogue/communities were modelled after similar German institutions which unified the foci of both internal (e.g. operating the hevra kadisha) and external (e.g. acting as the Jewish comunity's voice to municipal authorities) aspects of Jewish life.[1] In Argentina, where Jewish communal life had been well established and organized prior to World War II, and where the refugees from Nazism made up a much smaller percentage of the entire Jewish community than in Brazil, the Ashkenazic Kehilla, in addition to certain religious functions like operating the cemeteries, performed many of the non-religious functions which the Brazilian Einheitsgemeinde assumed.[2]

The Central European Jews who arrived in Brazil prior

to 1934 found a Jewish community "neither organized nor unified."[3] A few sparsely attended synagogues existed to satisfy the needs of the occasional observant Jew, but the socio-economic level of much of Brazil's Jewry was too low to generate cultural institutions, and the attitude of the federal government was too benign to inspire the creation of self-protection associations.[4] In general, the some 42,000 Jews in Brazil in 1934 socialized within their ethnic groups (German, Sephardic, and Eastern European) and maintained secular lifestyles.

São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's largest and most important cities, each with post-World War II Jewish populations of roughly 50,000, have become home for perhaps ninety per cent of Brazil's Jews. Other cities, notably Recife, played important roles earlier, but almost all of Brazil's recent Jewish activity has taken place in the two principal cities.[5] The development of the Einheitsgemeinde in each city was remarkably parallel. Factors influencing this phenomenon certainly included the demographic similarities of each community and the uniform treatment of Jews throughout Brazil, as well as the presence in each community of founding rabbis of similar background and character who guided each congregation for the bulk of their careers. As Henrique (Heinrich) Lemle, founding rabbi of the ARI, wrote regarding the history of the communities' founding, "What is true of Rio will in the main be the same in São Paulo. The names are different, but the principal

features and problems are the same."[6]

The Congregação Israelita Paulista

The Congregação Israelita Paulista in São Paulo essentially grew out of the ideas of one man, Dr. Luiz Lorch, a German physician who immigrated to Brazil in 1928. Lorch, who married into the Klabin family who were and are among Brazil's wealthiest and most prominent Jews, was committed to Jewish communal life. One of his first acts was to found a B'nai Brith chapter in his home, in 1931.[7] For many years, he was the leading voice of communal activity in São Paulo, playing a prominent role in both the CIP and the local dealings of the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). He also bore primary responsibility for bringing Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss to São Paulo.

The CIP did not appear as an autonomous organization until 1936, when it emerged from a coalescence of various previously existent groups. Among them were the CARIA (Comissão de Assestencia aos Refugiados Israelitas de Alemanha), founded by German Jewish immigrants in 1933 to help refugees from Nazism, and the SIP (Sociedade Israelita Paulista), begun by forty-two young people helped by the CARIA, whose goal was to foster "pride" in one's Jewishness among the Jewish youth.[8]

On October 4, 1936, just three years before a similar meeting in Buenos Aires would lead to the establishment of the Culto Israelita de Belgrano, a group, under the "impact" of High Holiday services led by the newly arrived Rabbi

Pinkuss, met in Lorch's home to discuss the formal organization of a synagogue. For them, a congregation represented the center of Judaism, and while the philanthropic organizations had done substantial good work (CARIA by this time had helped several hundred families), it was felt that a synagogue should be the center of all such activity.[9] Consequently, a list of "Declared Objectives" for a new synagogue emerged from that meeting, a list which covered virtually every phase of Jewish life. Among the desires expressed were that the congregation hold religious services, maintain a religious education program, promote Jewish culture through lectures, adult courses, and a library, organize a hevra kadisha, establish a social assistance program, be the focal point for its members' social lives, and teach physical education.[10] The CIP's origin as an Einheitsgemeinde was thus neither accidental nor spontaneous; it was carefully and deliberately planned as the best way, the founders felt, to serve the community.[11] Seven people signed the declaration, including Lorch, Pinkuss, and Guilherme Krausz, who was to become a leader in the yet unfounded Congregação Shalom.[12] All seven were active in various Jewish organizations then in Sao Paulo.[13]

The CIP was governed by a twenty-five member Assembléia de Representantes and a smaller Diretoria, but despite the institutional sophistication this elaborat structure implies, it was to be several years before the congregation had a home of its own. Various rented rooms hosted CIP functions; a location on Rua Brigadero Galvao housed the main, Liberal

services, while an orthodox minyan of CIP members met on Rua Consolação.[14] This was an active time for the CIP; conferences, lectures, concerts- many types of programs- went on there besides religious services. It served as the social hub for the refugees and aided their transition to Brazilian life. One could study Portuguese at the CIP, and one could get JDC financial assistance through the CIP in order to start a business; virtually anything that could enhance one's socialization into Brazilian society could be found there.

The CIP grew very large very quickly. Already in the late 1930s over 1000 people attented the various High Holiday services, and by 1946, ten years after its founding, CIP membership numbered over 2000 families, a size which has remained fairly constant.[15] The early families were almost all German speakers, although efforts were made early on to speak as much Portuguese in the service as possible.[16] After World War II, a substantial Italian population joined the synagogue, and from then on, the CIP membership became more heterogeneous.

It was in the early 1950s that the German ambience began to depart significantly from the CIP. Two factors that sparked the change, in addition to the influx of non-German members, were the decreased need among the German Jews for the CIP as a socialization agent, and the success of Rabbi Pinkuss and the lay leadership in making the CIP more Brazilian. By this time, the immigrants had become

sufficiently well versed in Portuguese and comfortable enough in Brazilian society so that they had less need of a solid German orientation in their religious and cultural lives. Further, it was clear that the future lay in Brazil, and that to bring up their children in a culture alien from the land they lived in would handicap them. The time had come for the CIP to become a Brazilian synagogue, eagerly accepting members from all of Brazilian Jewry. As Alfred Hirschberg, renowned former editor of the Central-Verein-Zeitung in Germany explained, the CIP was open to all "Israelites," whatever their background, and whatever their personal concepts of religion and Judaism.[17] This idea, in principle present from the first, now became overt.

The CIP's development is evident through the changes in its synagogue service. Certain characteristics of the German Liberal rite persist today: an organ accompanies a mixed choir, men and women sit separately, tallitot and kipot are required when appropriate, and women virtually never ascend the bema. In other ways, however, what goes on inside the synagogue has changed drastically. Originally, Rabbi Pinkuss' sermons were given only in German, then in both German and Portuguese, and finally, by the 1950s, only in Portuguese. (The same stages are seen in the CIP's bulletin). Ashkenazic pronunciation of Hebrew lasted until some time after the establishment of the state of Israel, when a large, vocal Zionist-oriented group of Italian Jews joined the congregation, whereupon the Sephardic pronunciation prevailed. Liturgically, too, changes

occurred. Originally, German prayerbooks, especially the Einheitsgebetbuch, were used. But almost from their arrival in Brazil, Lemle and Pinkuss, separately and together, had begun working on a Portuguese/Hebrew prayerbook they could use in their congregations, and after several years' work (in which one would prepare a section and send it to the other for critique) 1949 saw the publication of their Machzor for the High Holidays, and in 1953 their Siddur for the daily, Sabbath, and Festival services appeared.[18] The new prayerbooks did little to alter the liturgy, but the Portuguese translation and explanatory notes opened the prayerbook to many for whom it would otherwise have remained a mystery.

The CIP's rapid growth became a problem in the 1950s. A new synagogue (the CIP's first building for itself alone) was planned and built on Rua Antonio Carlos, but a notable lack of qualified staff limited the number and variety of activities the congregation could sponsor. Specific areas of need were an assistant rabbi, teachers, group workers, and attendants in the Children's Home the congregation maintained.[19] Slowly these problems were resolved, but only as the congregation moved into its new building and as the general economic level of the congregants rose so that their contributions to the synagogue could increase accordingly.

Throughout the CIP's existence, Rabbi Pinkuss has been its leader. No one, layman or assistant rabbi, with the exception of Lorch during the congregation's first decade, has approached his influence within the synagogue. A 1930

Hochschule ordinee who also studied at the Breslau Seminary, Pinkuss earned a doctorate at the University of Würzburg and served for six years as district rabbi in Heidelberg. In 1936, after correspondence with Dr. Lorch, he emigrated to Brazil and he has been rabbi of the CIP since its founding. He has written prolifically in Portuguese, including works on Jewish history, thought, and Hebrew language. He has also published numerous magazine articles.[20] Among his other accomplishments of note are his election as one of the "city rabbis" (which could only have happened with the support of many orthodox Jews[21]), his holding a university chair, and his interfaith involvement.[22]

Youth activities, too, have always been an aspect of synagogue life stressed by Pinkuss and the congregation as a whole. Within a decade of the synagogue's founding, youth programs included special services, second night seders, study programs on Sukkot and Shavuot, conclaves with other youth groups, periodicals, and more.[23] At that time, some two hundred pupils were registered in the religious school.

Youth programming of all sorts continued to grow and diversify. In the late 1960s, the youth department of the CIP had almost 1500 members, making it the largest single Jewish youth organization in the nation.[24] Different youth movements affiliated with the CIP's youth department. Notable among them were Hazit HaNoar, the youth arm of Centra (Asociación de Comunidades y Organizaciones Israelitas en

Latinoamérica (the confederation of Latin American German-Jewish communities) and the Brazilian scouting movement. That both of these organizations affiliated with the CIP's youth department points to the congregation's continuing desire to be a community; not to declare firm allegiance to one principle of Judaism or Jewish practice, but to provide, within normatively agreed upon limits, for all its members.

This continued emphasis on independence is a CIP hallmark. No doubt to avoid alienating various sections of its diverse membership, but also, no doubt, due to the perceived prestige garnered through an almost arrogant insistence upon autonomy the CIP and Rabbi Pinkuss have quite consistently fought off alignment with an ideological movement. The words "liberal" and "progressive," seen so often in documents from the early years of the Argentine synagogues examined, do not appear in this context. A passage from a 1946 letter from Pinkuss to Lady Lily H. Montagu of the World Union for Progressive Judaism well displays the tensions that would be created if the CIP were to declare an ideological loyalty:

> My Congregation is no member of the Liberal World Union and can not do so, as it is a unity-congregation, with orthodox, conservative and liberal sectors. The liberal sector asked me to express to you and the meeting their sincere feelings of solidarity as well as the wishes that the meeting may be of full success.

Pinkuss did speak of himself as a "Liberal" and an open friend of Reform Judaism,[26] but he would consent to being known only as a "correspondent" member of the CCAR.[27] His relationship with the Conservative movement was friendly

too, and his assistants have included graduates not only of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, but also of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Conservative Seminario Rabínico in Buenos Aires.

Although the CIP never belonged to the WUPJ, Pinkuss himself did, insofar as an individual could. His name appears on the list of "Members of the Governing Body" from 1946 at least through the early 1960s, and he even attended one conference, in 1961, where he was accorded much honor and respect.[28] In correspondence and conversation he had with various WUPJ officials he repeatedly spoke of the need for educating the young people in the ways of Progressive Judaism, although no real change in the day to day orientation or activity of the CIP yet bespoke such teachings having an effect.

Through the decade of the seventies, the CIP synagogue rite remained basically unchanged. As long-time leaders relinquish their positions, however, and as young people, influenced by the teachings of Pinkuss, (who still leads the congregation), other rabbis, and their own inclinations, replace them, a reevaluation of the CIP will no doubt occur, and substantial changes (towards the left) in the synagogue rite and ideological orientation are certainly possible.

The Associação Religiosa Israelita

In the early 1930s, as the Nazi cancer began its fateful metastasis, a substantial community of emigre German Jews began to form in tropical Rio de Janeiro, just as similar communities were forming in Rio's southern neighbors,

São Paulo and Buenos Aires. The new Cariocas (residents of Rio) discovered a Jewish community mostly of Sephardic and Eastern European Jews, some traditional, but most secular. Some Jewish residents of Rio at the time sought to educate their children with the aid of materials from the WUPJ and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, but that seems to have been an isolated instance, not an organized action by the members of some progressively oriented group.[30]

As the number of German Jews in Rio grew and they developed an autonomous sense of community, they began to create their own communal organizations. First came the "União" Associação Beneficente Israelita, a benevolent society founded on the 24th of February, 1937. The "União's" initial purpose was to facilitate the arrival and socialization of new immigrants, but other functions evolved over its first few years as the number of immigrants decreased; a geriatric center was founded in 1939, and annual children's holidays were sponsored.[31]

The same group that established the "União" had been holding their own High Holiday services since 1936. For Sabbaths and lesser festivals they attended one of the traditional synagogues in Rio, but twice a year they felt compelled to pray the High Holiday liturgy in their accustomed manner. Through the late 1930s, as they saw their own numbers grow and their sister community in São Paulo establish a congregation and acquire a full time rabbi, the

leaders of this group decided the time had come for them to inaugurate their own religious institution. So with the help of Dr. Lorch and Rabbi Pinkuss in São Paulo, and Lady Montagu of the WUPJ in London, Wolf Klabin,[32] his brother-in-law George Haas, and other "União" leaders and sympathizers, they were able to bring Rabbi Henrique Lemle to Rio in December, 1940.[33]

In 1938, Henrique (then Heinrich) Lemle had been a youth rabbi in Frankfurt for five years. The author of a book on Jewish youth, Jüdische Jugend im Aufbruch, published in Frankfurt in 1935, Lemle, like Pinkuss, studied in Breslau but was ordained in Berlin.[34] After his ordination in 1933, he spent a year in Mannheim before moving to Frankfurt. Lady Montagu, in her capacity as a WUPJ leader, was trying to find a rabbi for the group in Rio and corresponded with Lemle about the possibility of his going there. Before a decision could be reached, however, Kristallnacht occurred, on November 9-10, 1938, and Lemle, like hundreds of others, was arrested and taken to Buchenwald. Freed only through the direct intervention of Lady Montagu, he, his wife, and their young son went to England where he ultimately spent a year serving the Liberal congregation of Brighton-Hove. Although the option was open to stay in England, and he could also have gone to Uruguay, Lemle chose Rio, and after a brief internment on the Isle of Man until the Brazilian consulate agreed to issue him a visa, the Lemles set sail for Rio.[35]

When Lemle, with three months salary courtesy of the WUPJ in his pocket, arrived in Rio, he faced two sets of Central European Jews with whom it was necessary to deal. The first was younger, comprised of emigrés of the previous few years. They were essentially the group who had founded the "União," and who had been conducting their own High Holiday services. They wanted Lemle to help form a Liberal congregation of the sort they had left behind in Germany, and soon after Lemle's arrival, a council was formed to formally seek permission from the Brazilian government for the new religious community to meet and organize. By law this council had to be composed of Brazilian citizens, so it included members of the second group of Central European emigrés, Jews who had been in Brazil for several years, and whose major condition for a synagogue was that it accept Brazilian Jews of all ethnic backgrounds and theological orientations. To satisfactorily accomplish the goals of both the newer and older groups would be one of Lemle's most noteworthy successes.[36] Three months after the Council was formed, the Brazilian government sanctioned the establishment of the congregation, and in March posters (in German) advertised regular Friday night services led by "Rabbiner Dr. Lemle," in the "Grossen Jüdischen Tempel" (the major synagogue building in Rio). The first such service was to be at 8:30 PM on April 4, 1941.[37]

Five hundred people attended that inaugural service, a much larger number than Lemle expected. Subsequent ser-

sequent services, all held in the same place, continued to attract two to three hundred people, despite the synagogue's location in the city center, far from most Jews' homes. That the services were held in the major synagogue had advantages too, primarily the free use of a large attractive sanctuary. Somewhat more subtly, no doubt the fact that the services were being held at a site which made those worshipping there seem to be not a band of refugees, but simply Brazilian Jews at prayer. Lemle hoped this image would attract Brazilian Jews of all types, and would enable a congregation to be founded from members of the main synagogue itself.[38] Though in fact this amalgamation never occurred, and the ARI was for many years thought of as a Schicksalsgemeinschaft (a community of fate), the public image of the new religious group certainly gained stature from association with such a well-known, established sanctuary.

Once regular services were set in motion, the formal incorporation of the congregation soon followed. On January 13, 1942, the Ata (literally "minutes") of the Associação Religiosa Israelita was signed by three officers: Eduardo Levy, President; George Haas, Vice-President; and Alexander Spielmann, Treasurer. The following day the document was submitted to the Registry of Titles and Documents, and the ARI became official in Brazil.[39] The new congregation began with four hundred families and grew to 650 by the following September.[40] Since the 1950s, its membership has

remained at approximately 1000 families.

Through the 1940s and 1950s the synagogue grew, took shape, and expanded its programs and activities in different directions. Soon after his arrival, Lemle began training boys to become B'nai Mitzvah, and by the end of 1941, approximately 25 students were enrolled in religious classes. Some of the pupils were from refugee families, but the parents of many had been in Brazil significantly longer. A major handicap was the absence of Portuguese textbooks with which to teach the children, and an early subject of discussion was undertaking their publication.[41]

The religious school and youth activities, in addition of course to the worship services, attracted much attention in Rio essentially because they were unique. They were the only opportunity for a non-ultratraditional religious experience or education in the city.[42] Seventy children enrolled in the religious school the second year, and the numbers continued to increase as parents and paid teachers, in addition to Rabbi Lemle, took on instructional duties. For many years, the classes met in members' homes according to the area of the city (e.g. Copacabana, LeBlanc, Botafogo) in which Jews lived. The classes, in which the students studied Hebrew, customs, history, and other subjects, met during the week, and at week's end all would gather at the ARI for services. Lemle always administered the education program himself, but after about twenty years, the program became increasingly less significant because a high percentage of the members' children began to attend Jewish day

schools.

On November 12, 1944, the ARI dedicated its first home of its own, on Rua Martins Ferreira 42. Through its residence there, the congregation, feeling itself a community of fate, had a sense of "family."[43] Study groups with Rabbi Lemle, known as the Bet Midrash, flourished. The congregation sponsored a kindergarten, and its strong support of the geriatric center, started by the "Uniao," continued. As the ARI continued to grow, even the building on Rua Martins Ferreira became inadequate, and upon donation of land in Botafogo by Dr. and Mrs. Fritz Feigel, plans were made to construct a new building for the ARI.[44] The first services were held in the not quite finished structure on Rosh Hashanah 1961, and on September 28, 1962, one day before the next Rosh Hashanah, the ARI's current home at Rua General Severiano 170 was consecrated.[45] (By this time the ARI's religious education program had become so insignificant, due to the increasing popularity of Jewish day schools,[46] that virtually no facilities for it were incorporated into the new building's design.)

The minhag hamakom [local practice] of the ARI has always been very similar to that of the CIP. The Einheitsgebetbuch was used until the Pinkuss/Lemle prayerbook appeared.[47] An organ, a choir, and all the other accoutrements of German Liberal practice found at the CIP were also present in the ARI. Daily minyanim have been a consistent fixture at both synagogues, and neither congregation, as a

congregation, has been much involved in interfaith activities.

The similarity in background between Pinkuss and Lemle certainly contributed to the similar development of the two congregations, but the two men did have substantial personal and professional differences. Lemle was a particularly warm, endearing individual, while Pinkuss' congregants are more likely to have been in awe of him. Lemle considered himself a reformer; he did not "keep" the Sabbath in the traditional fashion or follow the dietary laws. Nor did he urge their observance. For the first several years of his tenure, he agitated for mixed seating, giving up only when he decided it was a hopeless cause to persuade the ritual committee. Pinkuss took a more conservative stance in all such matters. Lemle was a joiner, belonging to the CCAR, the Rabbinic Assembly, and for many years championing his congregation's membership in the WUPJ. (For an undetermined period of time, the ARI's membership in the WUPJ was withdrawn, during the incumbency of a particularly conservative board of directors. Lemle resumed an individual membership in the early 1960s.[48]) He was in favor of any organizational affiliation that might benefit the ARI. Pinkuss, as mentioned before, preferred independence. Both of the rabbis were active in ecumenical affairs, however, and both held university teaching positions and wrote prolifically.

The ARI, like the CIP, stands on the threshhold of change. With the original members comprising less of the

memberships, and with Roberto Graetz, a South American native and former ARI assistant, having replaced Rabbi Lemle, who died in 1978, the complexion of the congregation is changing, and both ritual and ideological transitions would seem inevitable before long.

Congregação Shalom

At both the CIP and the ARI, ideological orientation has always been fluid. Depending upon such factors as the leanings of a particular board of directors, or the opinions of the rabbi, the congregation's stance would periodically move in one direction, then the other. Never, though, did such ideological shifts result in an especially severe controversy. Indeed, the only issue to approach crisis proportion in either synagogue was that of Zionism.

The German Judaism of both congregations' founders was essentially anti-Zionist. A full, honorable, and praiseworthy Jewish life could best be lived in the nation of one's citizenship, they felt, and a return to Zion would be a shameful regression from the new heights twentieth-century Judaism had reached. In Rio, the question of Zionism was the cause of much uproar within the congregation during the late 1940s to mid-1950s, as many members became ardent, vocal Zionists. Their attempts to change the ARI's formal attitude disapproving of Zionism failed against opposition by a much larger majority. Many of the Zionists resigned from the ARI angrily, causing bitter feelings on both sides that still endure.[49]

In São Paulo, the controversy had a much more substantive effect. The pro-Zionism faction was quite powerful, due mainly to the presence of many of the recent Italian-Jewish immigrants. They, along with many Eastern European Jews, and even some German Jews, made up a majority of the CIP's membership. The firm belief they promulgated, that to be an active nationalist was essential to being a good Jew, was anathema to Lorch, Krausz, and some other founding members.[50] Rather than tolerate the incumbency of leaders whom they probably resented as "Johnny come latelies," they resigned active membership in the CIP in 1949 and established their own congregation.[51]

For the next twenty years, this new group (actually more of a havurah than a congregation) generally met in private homes twice a year: for services on the High Holidays and for Passover seders. They led the services themselves, quite informally, using mostly the Portuguese part of the Pinkuss/Lemle prayerbooks. Later they began adding liturgy from other sources, including Portuguese translations of sections of the Union Prayer Book,[52] and created some themselves. There were no school-age children in the group yet, and the issue of religious education was not addressed until the late 1960s.

The WUPJ learned of this group's existence only when Guilherme Krausz, inspired by a Rabbi Blumberg he met in Paris, wrote to Hugo Gryn, WUPJ Executive Director, about it in 1961.[53] Indeed, the Spicehandler report of 1960 makes no

mention of the group, while the Rosenthall report of 1962 maintains they "were not known to me until I arrived."[54] Regular correspondence between Krausz and the WUPJ continued through the 1960s, generally discussing one of three topics: finding the group a rabbi, facilitating an acceptable relationship between the group and the CIP that would enable them to use CIP facilities, and formal incorporation as a congregation and as a member of the WUPJ.

In the mid 1960s thirty-two people regularly attended this "Reform Service in São Paulo." (It was, in fact, probably the first South American group to use the word "Reform" in describing itself.[55]) Another thirty "showed interest."[56] By 1970, the mailing list contained thirty-five family names and was expected to grow. Also in 1970, Wolf Wolf, who had earlier moved to São Paulo from Buenos Aires, took a leadership role within the congregation, and along with Guilherme Krausz, was mainly responsible for the Sociedade Brasileira Religiosa Judaica de Rito Moderno - Congregação Shalom, (which, when adopted in the early 1970s, became its first name) officially affiliating with the WUPJ.[57] Statutes were approved shortly thereafter, which established Shalom as an adherent of a "modern" ritual, whose aim was to make Jewish worship meaningful in a contemporary manner. The anti-Zionist feeling which helped motivate Shalom's founders had pretty much dissolved by this time, especially after the Six Day War.

Through the 1970s, Shalom gathered together for services and life-cycle events, hired teachers for the few

children in the congregation, and in November, 1982, dedidated, in a rented building, its first home.

Brazil presents a Jewish community more favorably disposed towards Progressive Judaism than that of Argentina. A complete explanation of this phenomenon would require a comparative sociological analysis far beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is certain that the strong, long term spiritual leadership both the Congregação Israelita Paulista and the Associação Religiosa Israelita enjoyed, together with the proportionately more significant impact the German Jews had there, were important factors. In addition, the Brazilian congregations demonstrated in a variety of ways a stronger desire to become a part of their new homeland, rather than merely adapt to it only as necessary, preserving for the most part an immigrant flavor. Today prospects for the continued prosperity of the CIP and the ARI seem favorable, and it is likely that as Congregação Shalom moves into its new building and holds regular services, it will attract many new members.

Argentina and Brazil contain the only six congregations in South America to fulfill the criteria of Progressive Jewish congregations set down in the Preface. They are not, however, the only sites of Progressive Jewish activity on the continent. The Círculo Israelita of Santiago, Chile, has long maintained a left-of-traditional outlook, and in fact during the last two years has hired an HUC-JIR trained rabbi, Peter I. Tarlow, and has formally

affiliated with the World Union for Progressive Judaism. These innovations have as yet had little impact, and in any case are too recent and short lived to warrant further mention in the present work. The Nueva Comunidad Israelita of Montevideo, Uruguay, has had a liberal sector which, as the chapter on the WUPJ in South America will point out, tried repeatedly to hire a Progressive rabbi, though never with success. In fact, most of the South American capitals have had synagogues German refugees established which to various extents were influenced by German Liberal practice. Still, none of them came anywhere near meeting the requirements set up for an institution's inclusion in this study. It is the author's contention that only the six congregations of the previous two chapters are or have been Progressive congregations in South America. And it is to an examination of their liturgy that we now proceed.

CHAPTER FOUR: LITURGY OF PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM IN SOUTH AMERICA

The prayerbooks to be discussed here are by no means the only Jewish liturgies written and published specifically for use in South America.[1] As early as the second decade of this century the Jewish Colonization Association in Buenos Aires published a Spanish/Hebrew traditional siddur of the German rite,[2] which was probably intended for use in its colonies. The Buenos Aires publishing house of Simon Sigal published a set of Sephardic prayerbooks during the 1940s,[3] and it is likely that publishers in other major South American cities have been producing various orthodox liturgies at least since the end of the last century.

The German-born rabbis- Pinkuss, Lemle, Steinthal, and Hirsch- who were the principal spiritual leaders of the four studied synagogues that were founded prior to and during World War II, received their rabbinical training in an era when liturgical "unity" had been achieved among the German Liberal congregations.[4] That "unity" took the shape of what was commonly called the Einheitsgebetbuch, the Gebetbuch für das ganze Jahr (Prayerbook for the Whole Year). Liturgical uniformity was not a new idea, but it acquired renewed importance after World War I when "the economic

straits of the post-War period made it impossible for the congregations to reprint their out-of-print prayerbooks."[5] The Einheitsgebetbuch achieved widespread acceptance shortly after its appearance in 1929, and those who studied at the Breslau Seminary and the Berlin Hochschule during this period were no doubt influenced by it. Since they were trained in an era where one prayerbook was commonly used, instead of every synagogue having its own, it surely seemed more natural to them both to let a single prayerbook serve their congregations in a new land, and to let the Einheitsgebetbuch be that book. As a result of this, and also no doubt as a result of a lack of sufficient funds to produce and publish a new prayerbook, liturgy prepared in South America for the South American congregations, as noted in the previous two chapters, generally did not materialize for several years after the congregations' founding.

The first prayerbooks to appear were the Brazilian Machzor and Sidur which Rabbis Pinkuss and Lemle assembled for use by their congregations and published in Sao Paulo in 1949 and 1953 respectively.[6] The newly edited, newly translated hardcover prayerbooks appeared much sooner than any newly produced Argentine progressive liturgies. This can, in part, be attributed to the Brazilian rabbis already being quite established (Pinkuss had been in São Paulo for thirteen years in 1949) and sufficiently acculturated to take on so early the task of producing a new liturgy for use in a new country. In addition, financial assistance

by the Klabin family helped expedite publication.[7] Still, the question of why Progressive liturgy appeared significantly earlier in Brazil than in Argentina is mostly unanswered. Certainly the personalities of the various rabbis and lay people involved, the financial means at their disposal, and the individual congregations' idiosyncracies (e.g., the strength of an individual congregation's desire to remain "German") were all important factors in determining when a prayerbook would be published and what form it would take. But a complete analysis of this process is beyond the scope of the present work.

The five hundred eighty-four page Machzor and the five hundred eight page Sidur were the product of a joint effort by Lemle and Pinkuss in which each would prepare sections individually and then send them to the other for critique.[8] The works were based upon three major sources: the traditional prayerbook, the Einheitsgebetbuch, and the 1872 prayerbooks of Rabbi Manuel Joel of Breslau.[9] What made the Joel prayerbook an especially suitable model for the Brazilian prayerbooks was its design to be used by all whether they preferred traditional or "reformed" liturgy.[10] Joel, Abraham Geiger's successor in the Breslau Liberal pulpit, was assigned by the congregation the task of revising Geiger's 1854 prayerbook "in a more traditionalist direction."[11] His solution generally was to rewrite sections of the traditional liturgy a "reformed" Jew would find offensive, in a manner that maintained the rhythm and

feel of the language but left out the repugnant expression. (Geiger had omitted such sections- for example regarding restoration of the sacrificial rite in the Jerusalem temple- entirely.) In this way worshippers could feel they were praying in a manner close to the traditional, without having to actually utter words found distasteful.

Situated alongside the revised Hebrew text of such passages was the traditional Hebrew text, in smaller print, for those worshippers who preferred the original words. In both the Joel and the Pinkuss/Lemle prayerbooks, only the revised text was translated into the vernacular.[12] In this way, the Joel prayerbook could appeal to a variety of individuals within a congregation in the midst of an ideological shift, namely the Breslau synagogue of the 1870s. The Brazilian Einheitsgemeinde, as noted earlier, attracted members of disparate theological convictions, and wide ranging liturgical preferences. With a somewhat flexible prayerbook, both the ARI and the CIP could hope to satisfy the religious needs of virtually all their members, while maintaining the sense of unity enforced by the use of one prayerbook.

Lemle published two additional prayerbooks. The first, which appeared in 1959, was for children's Sabbath and holiday celebrations in both synagogue and home.[13] It contained a few Hebrew prayers with their Portuguese translations, and also transliterations of the most important passages. The book's noteworthy features include several original

prayers in Portuguese and an appendix of words and music to well known Hebrew songs. The book was probably used regularly in the religious programs of the ARI's youth department and served to introduce the young people to the Sidur.

Lemle's other work was a soft cover "guia" (guide) for Friday evening services.[14] Essentially using the liturgy of the Sidur, albeit in abbreviated rorm, this small book, with its appendix entitled "And Now, Let's Go Home!" and its collections of zemirot, attempted to be a blueprint for an ARI family's Friday evening celebration, from the "Ma Tovu" upon entering the synagogue to the "Shir Hammalot" after dinner. The prayerbook, much of which is transliterated, remains in use today.[15] Currently, a new generation of Brazilian progressive liturgy is appearing, largely based on the Pinkuss/Lemle prayerbooks, but incorporating other influences as well.[16]

The first progressive prayerbooks to be produced in Argentina came out under the auspices of Lamroth HaKol during the 1950s. The first of them, a Friday night service pamphlet especially designed for use at services with many children present, "turned into the most successful Shabat Service in town" until the Conservative Ritual de Oraciones was published in 1965.[17] Entitled Oraciones de Véspera de Shabat, the service was prepared by Rabbi Paul Hirsch and Enrique Kalberman, who for many years directed Lamroth HaKol's religious education program.[18]

The soft cover forty-five page booklet was gaily illustrated with sketches of ritual objects, synagogues, and smiling Jews at prayer.[19] It, like Lemle's Kabalat Shabat, begins with "Ma-tau-wu" and ends with an abbreviated grace after meals. Almost the entire service is translated into Spanish and the opening lines of prayer are transliterated. Noteworthy is that the one section that stands untranslated, the Amidah, contains the one passage in the entire booklet a progressive Jew might find repugnant: the call for a return to the Jerusalem Temple's sacrificial cult, which is found in the seventh benediction.[20]

In 1960 the hard cover machzor, Ritual de Oraciones para Rosch-Haschana was published.[21] The machzor was based upon the Roedelheim prayerbook the congregation had always used. The standard Roedelheim liturgies were traditional,[22] but it was not unusual for Liberal synagogues in pre-War Germany to use the books and simply omit the inappropriate section. Lamroth HaKol just adopted the custom of its German forebears.

The prominent feature of the prayerbook was the fine Spanish translation by Heriberto Haber.[23] The hundred-page book was composed of facing pages (of the same page number) with the Hebrew on the right hand side and the Spanish on the left. It retained all that the "Rabinato y Comisión Directiva" of Lamroth HaKol considered "fundamental" to the service that had become customary in the synagogue,[24] and it is interesting to note that this included certain

ideological inconsistencies. The Birkot HaShachar for example omit the blessing which ends "who did not make me a woman," an omission consonant with a liberal viewpoint, but in several places traditional petitions for a return to the sacrifices, blatant angelology, and anthropomorphism are included.[25]

Lamroth HaKol also sponsored another High Holiday prayerbook, the soft cover Ritual de Oraciones para Yom Kipur.[26] The cut-and-paste assembled book is an abbreviated Spanish version of the Day of Atonement services found in the most recent revision of the Union Prayer Book II.[27] The Ritual deviates from the UPB II towards the traditional in a few instances, notably in the selection of Torah readings, but these variations make up only a small part of the book. That these two High Holiday prayerbooks, so different in orientation, could have been produced under the aegis of one institution, Lamroth HaKol, bespeaks the diversity of ideologies to be found there. (Though it must be noted that the UPB II translation, prepared in the late 1960s or early 1970s by then Student Rabbi Roberto Graetz, who grew up in that congregation, for a youth service, was used only once or twice.)[28] The appearance of substantial amounts of Spanish in all three of the prayerbooks highlights the importance to the adult membership of making the religious services meaningful and comprehensible to its non-German or Hebrew speaking youth.[29]

Shortly after Haim Asa arrived in Buenos Aires in

the summer of 1963, he undertook the task of assembling a High Holiday prayerbook for use in youth services at the Culto Israelita de Belgrano. Because of the limited time available between the start of the project and the New Year (which in 1963 fell in mid-September), by which time the machzor would have to be published and ready for use, "it was impossible to include the prayers in their original Hebrew," Asa wrote. And for the same reason he omitted the Torah and Haftarah readings for both the morning and afternoon services of Yom Kippur. In the introduction, Asa pointed out that the only substantive change he intentionally made was "to eliminate certain repetitions in the order of prayers."[30] Indeed, the Majsor, brief though it be, contains what Hebrew prayers (in transliteration) it contains in the traditional mode. The second blessing of the Amidah, for example, says "mejaye metim,"[31] words one would not expect to have been written by an HUC graduate from the period when Classical Reform was still a significant influence.

The forty-nine page mimeographed booklet for which Asa prepared all original translations is divided into numbered prayers within each service. Each paragraph of the Amidah has a different number, as do the blessings before and after the Shema.[32] In addition to giving the young worshippers a lesson in the composition of a prayer service, this format also facilitates use of prayers from one service to another.[33] Since Asa had only a limited amount of

time, there was no reason to write out an entire prayer a second time when he could simply instruct "Vea numero 15 pag. 5."[34]

At some point in the mid to late 1960s, while Congregacion Emanu-El was located at Cuidad de la Paz 547, it issued a High Holiday prayerbook, entitled Libro de Plegarias para las Altas Fiestas. For what were probably economic reasons, the sixty-page soft cover pamphlet contained no written Hebrew, only Spanish and transliterated Hebrew. Like Asa's Majsor, it greatly abbreviated the service but it did alter some Hebrew prayers it contained. In this prayerbook, published by the first congregation in Argentina to openly proclaim itself "Reform" in the North American sense, the phrase "reviving the dead" was replaced by "sustaining all" ("resguardas a todos").[35] Other changes include the insertion of the story of the Binding of Isaac as the Torah reading for the one day of Rosh Hashanah celebrated,[36] instead of on the second day as is traditional.

The liturgy currently used at Emanu-El took shape when Leon Klenicki arrived in Buenos Aires in 1967 to direct the Latin American office of the WUPJ. The first prayerbook produced under his charge was the soft cover "experimental" Servicio del Viernes a la Noche, which must have come out in either 1968 or 1969.[37] In the introduction, Klenicki wrote that the prayerbook reflects "fervor and Jewish religiosity... in a liberal theological conception."[38] The forty-five page Servicio contained a Friday

night service, mostly in Spanish though with some Hebrew and Hebrew transliterations, and an appendix with the rituals for Torah and Haftarah readings, along with a selection of traditional songs.

In 1970, Klenicki and rabbinical student Roberto Graetz produced two machzorim, one for each of the High Holidays,[39] under the auspices of the WUPJ. The soft cover books contained almost as much Hebrew as Spanish, and the liberalized services they presented did not so much alter the prayers as omit large amounts of the traditional Hebrew, including almost everything of a particularly orthodox nature.[40] The Rosh Hashanah machzor was designed specifically for a one day celebration, and the frequent transliterations should have enabled even those with minimal Hebrew to participate fully. The three important sources for material in the machzorim were original prayers by Klenicki and Graetz, the Libro de Plegarias,[41] and the UPB II.[42]

In 1973, the only hard cover prayerbook to be issued by Emanu-El or the WUPJ, the Libro de Oraciones, appeared.[43] Intended for use as an all purpose family prayerbook, it contained weekday, Sabbath, and festival services, commemorations of the Holocaust and "Iom Haatzmaut," as well as guides to home celebrations, including "Havdala" and "Birkat Hamazon."[44] The Libro's liturgy was taken from a variety of sources, and quotations from contemporary figures like Leo Baeck[45] were integrated into the services as meditative readings, and as supplements to standard prayers. As with

almost all the prayerbooks examined, Hebrew texts used were left intact, and what changes occurred in them were of omission, not commission.

If a consistent thread can be found among these liturgies, it is that the changes taking place sought to make the worship experience more meaningful to each generation. The vernacular changed from German to Portuguese and Spanish, ideas that a more liberal group of worshippers would find objectionable were expunged, or at least disguised, and the services in general were greatly shortened. Still, a respect for the original text has persisted, as the reluctance to alter the Hebrew has shown.

Aside from the language, there is nothing particularly "South American" about the South American Progressive liturgy, aside, perhaps, from an environmentally induced conservation being responsible for a general reluctance to significantly alter traditional prayers. Nothing especially reflects the Catholic nature of the land or the political context in which the liturgy developed. The major influences affecting the final products were the personalities and backgrounds of the editors, and the general ideological stance of the congregation. As the differences among the various prayerbooks show, South American Progressive Judaism presents a far from unified front liturgically.[46]

CHAPTER FIVE: THE WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM IN SOUTH AMERICA

The World Union for Progressive Judaism, conceived of by the Honorable Lily Montagu and endorsed by many notable Jewish leaders, Claud G. Montefiore and Rabbi Leo Baeck among them, first assembled in London during July of 1926.[1] From the beginning, the WUPJ sought to be the sole representative body for all institutions and individuals who considered themselves adherents of a liberal Judaism. Article II of its constitution stated:

> Sec. 1: The objects of the World Union are: To further the development of Progressive Judaism; to encourage the formation of Progressive Jewish Religious Communities or Congregations in the different countries of the World and to promote their cooperation; to stimulate and encourage the study of Judaism and its adaption and application to modern life without changing the fundamental principles of Judaism and to awaken an active interest in Progressive Judaism among those Jews who, for one reason or another, do not participate in Jewish religious life.
>
> Sec. 2: In furtherance of these objects the World Union will as far as possible keep its members informed of the developments of thought, and the progress, in Judaism throughout the world, and in those countries in which there are no Progressive congregations, the World Union may, through such representatives and organizers as the Governing Body may from time to time appoint, cooperate with and assist residents of the said countries in organizing such congregations.[2]

The WUPJ thus saw itself filling both roles: intellectual and secretarial. It would become the center of the non-

traditional Jewish world, as both the sponsor of creative inquiry and the source of advancement in Judaism, and be as well the facilitator of Progressive Judaism's institutional workings.

Although from its beginning the WUPJ envisioned the entire globe as its manifest destiny,[3] it was not until several years after its founding that South America was discussed as an area of the world in which the WUPJ had a mission and a potential constituency. Distant parts of the world like China and Australia were already cited in 1926 as areas for exploration,[4] but not until 1933 is there an extant piece of correspondence related to South America,[5] and only in 1937 was a South American issue first discussed by a WUPJ body.[6]

From the late 1930s through the end of the following decade, the WUPJ concerned itself with situations created by World War II. With regard to South America, this meant that the organization was interested in the religious life of Jewish refugees there: helping them establish congregations, providing them with spiritual leadership, and assuming certain financial responsibilities while they settled in. Through the 1940s and into the 1950s and 1960s, the nature of the WUPJ's commitment to South America remained essentially the same. But while it still involved itself in the day-to-day affairs of its constituents there, it began to emphasize a wider community aspect, and sought to enhance a feeling of community among the institutions.

An examination of documents related to the WUPJ's first forty years, especially the minutes of the Governing Body and the Executive Committee, reveals that in the period prior to Haim Asa's arrival in Buenos Aires, the WUPJ attempted to achieve these broad goals in three ways: It tried to provide concrete services for its constituents and potential constituents, engender a feeling of unity among them, and meet the various needs they encountered.

The most important concrete task the WUPJ saw for itself in South America was to provide congregations there with rabbis. Henrique Lemle was the only one of the four principal rabbis (Lemle, Pinkuss, Steinthal, and Hirsch) in whose immigration the WUPJ played a direct role, but the organization's leaders corresponded frequently with all of them, and attempted several times to place rabbis in other South American cities.

When the great need for rabbis in South America first came to the WUPJ's attention in late 1936 and early 1937, prominent rabbis, among them Caesar Seligmann of Frankfurt and Hermann Vogelstein of Breslau, urged that the WUPJ recruit candidates to settle there. The Governing Body agreed to send a letter to the CCAR to see if American rabbis could be sent to large South American cities "to do some organizing work," and the possibility of recruiting German-trained rabbis was also considered.[7] A negative response from the CCAR influenced the Governing Body to decide to wait until it received a specific request from a South American community before taking action.[8]

That opportunity came in 1938, when the Joint Distribution Committee (JD) awarded the WUPJ a grant of several hundred pounds for use in its work in South America. The same year, two Jewish gentlemen from Rio de Janeiro visited the WUPJ headquarters in London, and largely because of their argument about Rio's "acute" need, it was decided to use the JDC grant to send a rabbi to Rio.[9] At first it was suggested that Lemle, then working in Frankfurt with Seligmann, merely spend six months in Rio organizing the religiously liberal elements of its Jewish community into a progressive congregation.[10] As the situation in Germany worsened, however, it grew clear it would be advisable for Lemle's move to Rio to be permanent, and after the adventures chronicled earlier, he set out for Rio with his passage paid and three hundred pounds- a first year's salary courtesy of the JDC through the WUPJ.[11]

The WUPJ also tried ardently over a period of many years to procure a rabbi for a self-proclaimed Progressive Jewish group in Montevideo. Desire for a rabbi there was known by the WUPJ in January, 1939,[12] and members of the community wrote later that year to remind the WUPJ of that fact, as well as to admit they would need financial help to maintain him.[13] Correspondence with the Uruguayan congregation, the Nueva Comunidad Israelita (NCI), continued and in 1941 WUPJ leaders were corresponding with congregational leader Juan Klein who indicated that the NCI could now afford a rabbi's salary.[14] No suitable candidate was found, however, and in 1945 correspondence resumed, this

time with Sigfrido Schleimer,[15] who himself served a short time on the WUPJ Governing Body.[16] Schleimer wrote that most of the 1400 immigrant families who composed the NCI were adherents of "Progressive Judaism," and they wanted a "Liberal" rabbi to complement their Orthodox rabbi. The Executive Committee promised to search for one, but their attempts proved fruitless.[17]

Schleimer died in 1946, and Mrs. Speyer, his successor as the NCI's correspondent with the WUPJ, wrote in 1947 to inform the organization that an official vote had been taken within the community, and that forty-one percent of those voting favored a Progressive orientation. Again the WUPJ was charged with finding a Progressive rabbi to work with the Orthodox rabbi in this "Einheitsgemeinde."[18] The process went further than ever before, when correspondence and discussions were held with Rabbi Joseph Asher of Australia, who in the summer of 1947 was visiting his parents in Europe. Asher appears to have been quite serious about the position, and went so far as to discuss the matter with an official at the Uruguayan legation in London as well as work out a tentative timetable which would have resulted in his departure from his congregation in Melbourne a year later.[19] A union between Asher and the NCI never materialized, however, and he ultimately chose to pursue further study at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.[20]

The frequency of discussions in Executive Committee and Governing Body minutes that centered on placing rabbis

in South America underscores its especial importance to the WUPJ. In addition to the successful installation of Lemle in the Rio pulpit and the unsuccessful search for a rabbi for Montevideo, as well as the various rabbinical placements performed at the Culto Israelita de Belgrano and Congregación Emanu-El in the 1960s and 1970s, the WUPJ was consulted, if not actively involved, in attempts to fill several other rabbinical openings in South America, including Asunción and Porto Alegre,[21] Chile,[22] and Peru.[23] In addition, CIP leadership confidentially corresponded with the WUPJ in the late 1940s when, for some unexplained reason, it was thought Pinkuss would need a replacement.[24]

Another important aspect of the WUPJ's role in providing South America with rabbis was its function as an expediter between the Hebrew Union College (HUC) and potential rabbinical students. HUC President Julian Morgenstern said in 1947 that the college would assume the cost of training any foreign student who would return to serve in his homeland.[25] Although there were no takers from South America for almost fifteen years, eventually the college did, through grants from the Scheuer Family Foundation and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, train two Argentines, Leon Klenicki and Roberto Graetz, who both returned to serve on their native continent.[26]

The second broad category into which WUPJ activities in South America before the 1960s falls is that of engendering a feeling of unity among both constituents and non-

constituent sympathizers. The most obvious way in which this was done was to periodically collect, reproduce, and distribute status reports on all WUPJ affiliates. It was desirable if, say, in the minutes sent out from Governing Body meetings or in the Bulletin, new information on each outpost could be included. It must have made the rabbi of a WUPJ congregation in some far corner of the world feel as part of the fold if he could read of his work in a movement periodical and know that others the world over were reading it too.

The WUPJ leaders, especially Lady Montagu, made constant efforts to correspond regularly with the South American affiliates. Throughout most of his tenure at the CIB, Steinthal maintained a regular correspondence with WUPJ officials.[27] He described how his synagogue was progressing, what sorts of difficulties they were having (e.g. financial hardships, public debasement by the Orthodox community), and what special programs they sponsored. Lemle too wrote very regularly,[28] due in no small part to his particularly close relationship with Lady Montagu.[29] His letters covered the same subjects as Steinthal's. Pinkuss wrote much less frequently, and generally only in connection with a specific purpose (e.g. a request for financial aid or educational material), but his letters too strengthened the sense of community sought by the WUPJ.[30]

In addition to ongoing correspondence with regular

members of the WUPJ, the organization also communicated frequently with Jews from various places in South America, tried to help them when possible, by providing spiritual leadership or educational materials for example, and always treated them as partners in spirit. Lady Montagu exchanged a number of letters with a Mrs. Halle of Peru who wanted to organize a Progressive community in Lima.[31] Nothing concrete came of the correspondence, but Lady Montague was encouraging, friendly, and seemed to want to do whatever in the WUPJ's power could help Mrs. Halle. It should also be noted that the WUPJ was generous with South America, allotting it whatever funds it could afford, and assessing very moderate dues.[32] The assessments for 1956, for example, were 50 pounds from Argentina (the CIB), 50 pounds from Brazil (presumably 25 pounds each from the CIP and the ARI), and 25 pounds from Uruguay (the NCI).

Another important method by which the WUPJ produced feelings of unity was the way it would appropriate an activity of a member organization (or an individual) and make it seem directly sponsored by the WUPJ itself. In late 1951, for example, Lemle wrote from Rio to say he was going to the United States for two months in early 1952 on a speaking tour arranged by the Jewish Theological Seminary and wanted to know, as long as he would be there, if there was a way in which he could "serve the cause of the World Union."[33] At a Governing Body meeting in January 1952, it was announced that Lemle would be in the United States "where he will

address meetings on the work of the World Union in his own country." When in regard to another matter someone asked how he could be located, the answer was that he was in the United States "at the present time giving lectures on the work of the World Union."[34] Obviously the WUPJ sought to aggrandize itself by only acknowledging that part of Lemle's trip which affected it (and making that seem the trip's purpose), but its leaders must certainly have desired as well to convince those at the meeting, and those who would read the minutes, that Lemle was in the United States doing "our" work and furthering "our" cause, thus reinforcing the sense of community within the organization.

One further important means by which that reinforcement was sought was the WUPJ's unsuccessful attempts to create a regional union of its South American affiliates. The idea seems to have originated with Lemle, who wrote the WUPJ in 1953 to say he was "organizing a meeting of Progressive communities in South America."[35] Representatives from São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and of course Rio de Janeiro, would be invited.[36] The Executive Committee thought this an excellent idea, but warned Lemle that the meeting could not be held under WUPJ auspices, probably because the regional organizations that were members of the WUPJ, like the South African Union, were autonomous bodies and had to exist as such according to WUPJ rules. The WUPJ did decide, however, to donate 100 pounds to the cause of forming the union, adding that the money

would be used to bring a South American delegate to the next WUPJ Conference should the regional meeting not be held.[37]

The regional body never really came into being. Steinthal of Buenos Aires was unenthusiastic about it, saying that the great distances and high travel costs would make it economically unsound.[38] The lack of congregational leadership (especially in Montevideo) formally and firmly committed to the movement probably made the convocation of an ideological meeting problematic, and the existence of Centra certainly took away from the impetus to found such an organization as well, since Centra satisfied substantial ethnic needs (i.e. German Jewish) of the congregation. The major reason for the idea's ultimate failure, however, is probably that the Latin society, which had certainly strongly influenced the communities' leaders who had lived in it for some twenty years, is by the volatile nature of its politics[39] more inclined to foster competition than co-operation. To be active members of the world body was easier for the South Americans, since participation there consisted essentially of correspondence and little else. Actually working together was another matter.[40]

The engendering of a sense of being part of an international movement arose not only from actions of the WUPJ, but the body often induced them by its mere existence. People in various places seemed to consider the WUPJ the

core of liberal Judaism described in Article II of its constitution, and regularly wrote, asking questions or giving information on different topics, and seeking permission for different projects. In 1938, for example, one Erich Broh wrote from Buenos Aires to say that he wished to start a magazine of "Liberal Judaism."[41] For some reason of his own devising, he felt the need of WUPJ approval before proceeding with the project (further word of which was never heard). A Mrs. Hahn wrote in 1937 to describe conditions in São Paulo and Buenos Aires among Progressive Jews.[42] She was never identified beyond the mention of her name, and the impression is that she independently felt this to be something of which the WUPJ should have been aware.

Two further types of activities the WUPJ engaged in both met concrete needs and helped generate feelings of linkage among its South American affiliates. The first is the occasional role the WUPJ played as purveyor from one institution to another of information which would be found helpful or in some way meaningful. In a Governing Body meeting in 1941, for example, the participants discussed the exceptional advances Lemle had made in developing a congregation during his short time in Brazil. It was decided to send him a "warm letter of encouragement," as well as to inquire by what means he had accomplished this achievement.[43] The intention was clearly to ascertain the techniques he had used in order that leaders of other congregations could also utilize them.

The other WUPJ activity that both met concrete needs and promoted institutional ties was the use of the WUPJ as the central source for answering and commenting upon religious questions. Affiliates, as well as individuals and groups from locales with no WUPJ affiliation, often wrote the WUPJ for answers to such queries. The WUPJ officials answered the questions they felt capable of answering, and referred the others to different rabbis throughout the world whom they would consult on such matters. Because many world-wide movement leaders rarely attended meetings, such issues were occasionally debated in movement publications or distributed minutes. In 1945 Sigfrido Schleimer wrote from Montevideo to ask if Gentile wives could be buried alongside their Jewish husbands. Lady Montague answered that she felt certain it was proper, under the specific circumstances Schleimer detailed, and also solicited an opinion from Ceasar Seligmann,[44] who reinforced her viewpoint. The correspondence was openly reported in the Executive Committee minutes, and if anyone with access to those minutes had wanted to dispute the answer Lady Montagu and Rabbi Seligmann gave, that would certainly have been appropriate. On questions or issues of a more general nature, South American rabbis frequently made their opinions known, as did Lemle when he wrote and called for a need to "safeguard our (i.e. Progressive Jews) interests" when the constitution of Israel was close to being drawn up.[45]

The third category of ways in which the WUPJ attempted

to reach its goals in South America consisted of meeting miscellaneous, one-time needs brought to its attention. One example of this was its serving its affiliates as their spokesman to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. WUPJ Honorary Secretary and Treasurer Bruno Woyda wrote all WUPJ constitutents with sizable numbers of refugees among their membership and arranged to file claims jointly for all groups so desirous. It was felt that the restitution received in this manner would be greater than if all the institutions were to apply to the Conference separately.[46]

Another instance of such WUPJ activity was its (ultimately inconsequential) decision to protect its South American affiliates (and, ipso facto, itself) from the vigorous push by the Conservative movement to gain a strong foothold in the continent. It failed to make the Progressive movement a co-sponsor in the development of the pre-rabbinical school (later to become the Seminario Rabinico) the Conservative movement was planning in Buenos Aires in the only direct instance of confronting the Conservative's expansionism.[47] Movement leaders dixcussed approaching the Conservatives with the idea of making the school a joint venture, but it appears this idea was never followed through, at least with any vigor.

The late 1950s and early 1960s marked a turning point in the WUPJ's attitude toward South America in that it finally gave its work there much greater importance in both

word and deed. Whereas earlier the South American affiliates link to the world body had existed almost wholly through correspondence, concrete actions now became the core of the relationship. WUPJ representatives visited South America frequently to assess the movement's status and gather information to determine policy. One "Reform" congregation was founded (Congregación Emanu-El) and another brought into the WUPJ fold and greatly bolstered (Congregação Shalom). Further, with South American students at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, movement spiritual leaders from South America first mixed on a regular basis with their counterparts from elsewhere.

Several occurrences in the WUPJ during this period bespeak this fresh vigor in the organization's South American efforts. First among them was the 1960 move of its main office from London to the UAHC's "House of Living Judaism" on Fifth Avenue in New York City. Although the WUPJ seat's relocation was probably decided upon without any great thought given to its effect on South American operations, moving the office to the Western Hemisphere must have made the South Americans feel as though they were closer to the center of things, and the new proximity between the WUPJ office and South America certainly decreased travel costs, increasing the potential for movement back and forth. The move did create a certain amount of tension stemming from the European-trained South American rabbis' feelings of estrangement at watching the organization's

office depart the continent they normally associated as the center of their Judaism,[48] but by 1960 the European influence among the Progressive congregations had waned enough so that this was not a major problem.

Another important event at this time was the appointment of Rabbi William A. Rosenthall as the Executive Director of the WUPJ. Rosenthall was the first- and has remained the only- Spanish speaker to hold the top WUPJ post, and this linguistic ability, together with the bluntness necessary to accurately perceive the speciousness of prior WUPJ work in South America likely made him an administrator under whom major expansion there could occur. With candor never before appearing (at least related to South America) in WUPJ minutes or publications, Rosenthall told the Governing Body in 1962 that "in reality our connection with Latin America was a very tenuous one, and that much time had been lost in recent years in making Progressive Judaism viable there."[49] Rosenthall, a 1956 ordinee of the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR) who occupied pulpits in Washington, DC and Wheeling, West Virginia before assuming the WUPJ position, remained in that office from 1962 through the early 1970s.

WUPJ trustees during this period (especially Rabbis Jacob K. Shankman and David H. Wice) also demonstrated a great interest in South America, manifested partly by the appearance of the first active WUPJ Latin American

Committee. The committee took charge of such matters as monitoring and suggesting policy for the new Latin American office, and noting rabbinical openings in South America and finding appropriate candidates to fill them.[50]

Major fact finding and recruiting trips sponsored by HUC-JIR and the WUPJ,[51] mostly funded by the Scheuer family of New York who have been major benefactors of Progressive institutions,[52] served to make the situation of South American Jewry much more tangible to WUPJ leadership. Since the policies drawn up during this time were the products of eye-witness accounts and recommendations, they had greater credibility, and it was also through these trips that the first South American rabbinical students came north to study.

In June and July of 1959, Rabbi Isaac Neuman of Panama spent two months travelling through South America on behalf of HUC-JIR and the WUPJ.[53] He visited most of the major cities on the continent, including Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Montevideo, Bogota, and Santiago, where he led what was publicized as the first "Reform" service to be held in that country. Neuman came back from his trip with a list of eight congregations he felt would be willing to hire HUC-JIR graduates. But although his major purpose was to recruit for the seminary,[55] the only contact he made which was to result in the matriculation and ordination of a student at HUC-JIR was with Leon Klenicki, who at that time was the librarian at the Hebraica sports club in

Buenos Aires. Neuman also made several recommendations regarding publicity for the Progressive movement and opportunities in its South American rabbinate. The ideas entailed sending lecturers to South America, along with HUC-JIR trained rabbis to advise Jewish student groups at South American universities. He also suggested the WUPJ prepare Spanish prayerbooks to be used there, as no non-traditional ones had yet appeared.

Little more than a year after Neuman returned to Panama, Rabbi Ezra Spicehandler, then Associate Professor of Modern Hebrew Literature at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati, undertook a trip to South America "to meet and interview potential candidates for the College, and to study religious conditions within the local Jewish communities in order to ascertain the possibilities for Reform Judaism in that area."[56] Spicehandler was well equipped for the trip being, like Neuman, multi-lingual and also possessing solid contacts with Zionist activists in South America, due to his own long standing Zionist credentials. He made a number of specific suggestions upon his return, notably that the movement continue to search for prospective HUC-JIR students, that it publicize itself via lecturers sent to tour the continent, and that it establish in Buenos Aires a WUPJ office, directed by an HUC-JIR ordinee who would form a Reform congregation and aid other synagogues in youth work and educational programs.[57] Spicehandler also agreed with Neuman's view that there were many possibilities

for the employment of Progressive rabbis throughout South America.[58]

From September 25th to November 25th of 1962, only a few months after he became Executive Director of the WUPJ, Rosenthall toured South America, visiting Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela where in Caracas he led High Holiday services which, like Neuman's service in Chile, were billed as that country's first "Reform" service.[59] Rosenthall, like Neuman and Spicehandler, visited with Jewish leaders, spoke to the press, and tried to inform the communities he visited about Progressive Judaism. His stated purpose was "to investigate the potential of Progressive Judaism and specifically to analyze the possibilities of an expanded World Union program" there.[60] His recommendations were in the same spirit as Neuman's and Spicehandler's, though as WUPJ Executive Director he was in a better position actually to implement them. He suggested more vigorous recruitment of rabbinical students, inducements to attract rabbis to South America, and most important, the "establishment of a general representative office for Latin America in the city of Buenos Aires, where half of the Jewish population (of South America) resides."[61] This office, occupied by a "Spanish speaking or linguistically gifted rabbi," would co-ordinate all movement activities on the continent.[62]

Neuman made another recruiting trip to South America in 1968, and although he returned with the names of four

prospects likely to matriculate, none every registered.[63]

On the basis of Rosenthall's report, Haim Asa, because of his obligation to serve overseas and his knowledge of Spanish, was selected to be the WUPJ's pioneer in South America. During his years there, and indeed, during Emanu-El's first several years of existence, the WUPJ's role vis-a-vis the congregation was twofold: to provide support, both financial and moral, and to provide spiritual leadership, to fill the congregation's pulpit when a vacancy occurred. Asa and Sonsino both took the position as an assignment, and Klenicki was already in Buenos Aires working for the WUPJ when Sonsino left in 1969, making him an obvious choice. Well into the 1970s, the WUPJ provided a substantial percentage of Emanu-El's budget and the moral support it gave took the form of correspondence, visits by movement leaders, and awards, like the UAHC certificate given Ruth Hecht, educator of Congregación Emanu-El for outstanding service.

The only time the WUPJ had an official in Latin America whose full time job was to be the WUPJ representative was during Leon Klenicki's first two years in Buenos Aires. Originally the WUPJ had decided to send Klenicki to Sao Paulo to work with Pinkuss, but when the CIP delayed in confirming Klenicki's new position, the WUPJ changed his assignment.[65] Klenicki was to be the "organizer and publicist for the WUPJ throughout the continent of South America," and he would be expected to "teach, write, translate, edit,

and otherwise foster the growth of Reform Judaism in Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries."[66]

Klenicki's monthly reports to the WUPJ during this time[67] reveal that he followed the WUPJ's mandate. He spoke often, at Emanu-El, in other synagogues, and at ecumenical functions in Buenos Aires and throughout the continent. Through his conversations and meetings with other Jewish leaders and articles in the press, he publicized the message of Progressive Judaism, and under his direction, the WUPJ published a number of Jewish books, some translated and others written specifically for WUPJ publication, notably Sonsino's Introducción al Judaísmo Reformista and Ruth Hecht's De Fiesta/En Fiesta.[68] These activities all tapered off in 1969 when Klenicki succeeded Sonsino in Emanu-El's pulpit and congregational duties occupied him.

The other major South American involvement of the WUPJ during the 1960s was its "discovery" in 1962 of Congregação Shalom (which did not actually adopt that name- or any name- until 1970).[69] In reality, contact between Shalom and the WUPJ had begun in 1969, when Shalom's early leader, Guilherme Krausz, moved and inspired by a service he attended at a WUPJ synagogue in Paris, wrote to inquire whether it would be possible for his group to join the WUPJ.[70] Rabbi Hugo Gryn, Rosenthall's predecessor as Executive Director, wrote back that the WUPJ would be delighted to begin exploring the possibilities of incorporating Krausz's group, but that he would recommend it affiliate with the CIP

as that Einheitsgemeinde's liberal wing, an option Gryn had been assured by Pinkuss was quite possible.[71] It was not, however, until Rosenthall's trip to South America that Shalom corresponded regularly with the WUPJ and was considered part of the greater WUPJ family.

1963 saw the beginning of an extensive correspondence between Rosenthall and Krausz. Many of the letters revolved around how to co-ordinate meetings between movement leaders and members of the Sao Paulo group when a particular individual might be visiting New York or Jerusalem or some other place where a profitable meeting could be held. Issues of substance were discussed, however, notably the WUPJ's attempts to procure an HUC-JIR student to work with the group for the summer of 1964 and remain to conduct High Holiday services. Eventually the plan fell through because the congregation could not afford their share (approximately $2000) of the total cost, no student knew Portuguese, and the group had strong feelings against someone preaching and teaching in Spanish or English. Also some members continued to reject the idea of the group transforming itself into a formal congregation, preferring the relaxed atmosphere of the "havurah" it had been for some fifteen years.[72] Throughout the 1960s, other projects were discussed, including a plan to move the Buenos Aires WUPJ office to São Paulo and the "adoption" of Shalom by a North American congregation (which would provide financial assistance and moral support). Very little was

actually done however in the way of giving Shalom substantive help, though finding it a rabbi and helping it organize were topics much written about in letters.[73]

In 1970, as Wolf Wolf joined Guilherme Krausz as a major leader of the group, it formally incorporated, adopted the name "Shalom," and became an "official" member of the WUPJ.[74] The WUPJ arranged that same year for the newly ordained Henry Sobel to come to São Paulo as Pinkuss' heir apparent at the CIP and also to work with the Reform group. Sobel's responsibilities to the CIP were substantial, however, and as the smaller group chose not to affiliate with the CIP, it spent the 1970s growing in size and maturing as an organization, but without rabbinical leadership.

This brief sketch of the WUPJ's involvement in South America highlights important events and notes trends in the organization's methods and goals, but it also points to several conundrums in trying to understand what the WUPJ actually did in South America and what motivated those actions.

For example, it appears that the CIB, the CIP, and the ARI were all members of the WUPJ for many years. (Their rabbis were all members of the Governing Body and the congregations were assessed dures.) But it is impossible to come up with a definition of "official" membership, thereby to know precisely who belonged when. For example, at one point in 1953 a change in Brazilian law allowed organizations

to belong to international societies, something never before permitted. The ARI filed a formal application for membership, but resigned in 1960 when more traditional leadership took over the Board of Directors.[75] The CIP, according to Governing Body and Executive Committee minutes, never really formally joined, nor is any particular mention ever made of the CIB becoming a formal member. But what really confuses the issue is that whether or not a congregation was formally a member of the WUPJ seems to have had no effect on the closeness of the relationship.

The crux of the matter seems to be that in South America the question of formal WUPJ affiliation was an unimportant one, particularly since only rarely did the WUPJ have a substantial impact, in any way, on a congregation's development. The obvious exception to this, Congregación Emanu-El, was, it must be remembered, born and nurtured as a special WUPJ project.

The NCI of Montevideo certainly occupied a place on the WUPJ agenda. But was it formally a member? It was assessed dues and its representatives were on the Governing Body. But dues were nominal and hardly any South American members of the Governing Body ever attended meetings. The key question appears to be, did the NCI ever participate in the WUPJ? Was it ever an integral part of the WUPJ's operation, as reflected in minutes, in publications, and in interviews with individuals active in South American Progressive Judaism. The answer is "no" for the NCI. But for the congregations in Buenos Aires,

São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro, the answer is "yes," and for the purposes of this thesis that is one of the issues which sets them apart. Lamroth HaKol makes the list largely because of its connection with Emanu-El, but certain other factors linking it to the movement, like HUC-JIR's awarding Paul Hirsch an honorary degree, also bring it closer.

In sum, a forty-five year WUPJ presence in South America has left as a legacy the congregations in whose founding it aided, and the increased awareness of Progressive Judaism that consequently resulted. Given, however, that its actual effect on those congregations generally occurred only during their early years (e.g. Lemle was only provided with one year's salary, Emanu-El has been self supporting for many years now) and generally only indirectly (e.g. the placement of rabbis), it is clear that the WUPJ's total impact on South American Jews and South American Judaism has been definite, but slight.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

If the success of a religious movement is to be measured numerically, the Progressive Jewish movement has failed in South America. On a continent whose Jewish population, by a conservative estimate, today numbers nearly one half million,[1] the movement has involved only a few thousand. While scores of cultural, ethnic, community, educational, social, and religious organizations exist and occasionally flourish within South American Jewry, only a handful of religious institutions ever formally affiliated with Progressive Judaism.

The preceding five chapters have pointed out some of the reasons why this "movemental" insignificance might not have been expected. The tragedy of World War II sent perhaps 70,000 German-Jewish refugees to South America,[2] many of whom had worshipped in Liberal synagogues and had been nurtured on the Judaism of Leo Baeck. The congregations these immigrants founded were either born as, or became a part of, the world Progressive community. The synagogues grew; the fact that they had consistent, legitimate rabbinical leadership made them respectable rarities in a South American Jewry not given to the support of religious institutions. And they became permanent features of the Jewish communities in which they existed. Two Reform-style congre-

gations appeared, in Sao Paulo and in Buenos Aires, which, especially in the last fifteen years, have lent vibrancy to the Progressive Judaism found in South America. The World Union for Progressive Judaism, since 1926 the acknowledged umbrella of Progressive Jewish activity the world over, has for almost fifty years maintained a serious, if somewhat inconsistent, interest in South America. It devoted money, energy, and manpower in amounts not inconsiderable in view of its total resources.

A further reason why success might have been expected lies in the rapid development of Progressive Judaism in the United States and Canada. Since South American Jews share so many characteristics with their coreligionists in North America, it would seem legitimate to assume that movements which were successful in North America (e.g. Progressive Judaism, known in North America as Reform Judaism) would also be successful further south.

The parallels between North and South American Jewry are indeed striking, especially in their shared history and their correlative demographics. The immigrant backgrounds of both communities, for example, are similar, as both consist of influxes of emigrants from the same places of origin at the same time. So marked was this similitude in immigration, that in labelling the immigrants' destinations, the pioneering sociologist of Jewish life Jacob Lestchinsky considered the two American continents together as one unit.[3] As previously mentioned, South America received

along with North America Central European immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century, a mass immigration of Eastern European Jews at the beginning of this century, and refugees from Nazi Germany around World War II.[4] This led to a current South American Jewry not greatly different in heritage from its counterpart to the north.

From a demographic standpoint as well, South American Jewry closely resembles its northern neighbor, as illustrated in the areas of education and occupation, family size and urbanization.[5] With each succeeding generation, South American Jews, like North American Jews, have become better educated and more firmly entrenched in the professional classes. The most desired professions among Jews in South America include medicine, engineering, and in Brazil, law.[5] As Judith Elkin remarks, "The entry of Jews into the free professions in numbers far exceeding their proportions to the population conforms... to the patterns of Jewish history."[7] This includes, of course, the patterns of Jewish history in North America.

Furthermore, we note that the average size of Jewish families in South America is smaller than the average size of surrounding Gentile families. In Buenos Aires in 1960, the average married Jewish woman had 2.2 children, while her Gentile counterpart had 2.7 children.[8] North American Jewish families are similarly smaller. Both Jewish communities have markedly tended towards urbanization, though early Jewish settlement in South America included several agricultural

colonies.[9] From outward appearances, both groups are modern, educated, middle-class communities a generation removed from their shared immigrant roots.

Another reason Progressive Judaism's success might have been expected is its potential to enhance the South American Jewish community's (or any Jewish community's) capacity to harmonize its religious practice with the surrounding culture, or in other words, expedite its members' ability to find a happy balance between being a part of a religious Jewish community and being a citizen of a particular nation, without shirking the responsibilities either identification requires. There is every reason to think that the South American Jewish community would indeed seek such harmonization and balance, as more than a few Jewish leaders have testified that a desire for meaningful religious practice pervades the community.

Regardless, however, of the abundant reasons one can muster to explain why Progressive Judaism should have prospered in South America, the fact remains that it did not. The explanation rests, I think, not just on one cause, but on a number of them. They can be divided into two categories: external factors that were inherent in the environment in which the movement hoped to prosper and internal factors that were a part of the movement's existence on the continent.

To speculate on how the movement's fate in South America might have been different without considering the external

aspect is pointless, for the environment itself in which South American Progressive Judaism emerged was certainly no catalyst to the movement's growth. Four characteristics of the world of South American Jews indicate this clearly: the secular nature of South American Jewry, the dominant effect of Latin American Catholicism in every sphere of South American life, political extremism, and the foundation of South American society in a pre-Enlightenment past.

Various data indicate that the majority of Jewish immigrants to South America were less observant than their coreligionists who migrated to North America, and this secular grounding remains at the heart of South American Jewry. A large percentage of South American Jews participates in a wide variety of Jewish activities, but almost all these activities are secularly oriented. Sports clubs, a South American version of the Jewish Community Centers of North America, are very popular. Attendance of 7000 members on a Sunday is not unusual at one popular Argentine sports club.[10] Organizations like the Organización Sionista Feminina Argentina (OSFA), the Argentine branch of WIZO, the Women's International Zionist Organization, enjoy substantial membership as well. In the late 1960s, constituent OSFA chapters numbered well over three hundred, with a combined membership of approximately 35,000.[11]

By contrast, participation in religious activities is minimal all along the denominational spectrum. In 1961 there were only twelve rabbis serving an Argentine Jewish population

in the hundreds of thousands.[12] Such an incredibly high lay-rabbinical ratio has never been unusual anywhere in South America. In additon, reports suggest that no more than ten percent of Argentine Jews attend even one High Holiday service.[13] A study of Jewish university students in Brazil produced similar findings. Less than half the students questioned believe in God, and only a very small percentage attend synagogues at any time but major holidays and life cycle events.[14] Sixty-eight percent of them observe the Passover seder in some form, but only ten percent light Sabbath candles.[15]

A second external factor explaining why Progressive Judaism has not become a major force within South American Jewry has to do with the imperious character of the South American variety of Catholicism.[16] We must remember that although the age of papal control in South America passed centuries ago, the Church remains inextricably at the core of the Latin psyche, even in the most modern and industrial of the Latin American countries (which, incidentally, are the only countries where Progressive Jewish activity has taken place).[17] As part of the developing national spirit within South American countries since World War I, the Catholic heritage of the land left a special "tinge" which persists as part of each country's identity.[18] To be sure, little research has been undertaken on the relationship between the Church and the Jews in South America.[19] The subtleties and intricacies of the effect of a Catholic land

on Jewish life have thus far escaped sophisticated scholarly attention. Nonetheless, we can with assurance posit two propositions on the effect the Catholic Church has likely had on a fledging Progressive Jewish community.

The first effect is Catholicism's influencing any other religion practiced in South America in such a way that the religion would tend to be practiced in ways similar to the practice of Catholicism. Catholicism's practice is an esoteric and mystical aesthetic drama. Normative Progressive Jewish worship does not share these qualities (though both have certain common elements, like the use of mucical instruments and an appreciation for decorum). The drama in a Progressive Jewish worship service derives less from the mystery surrounding a long-performed ritual and the use of ancient ritual articles like tefillin and tallitot, than from the agreeable formality of pleasing music, dress, and liturgy that are in consonance with contemporary tastes. It is the combination of these and other aesthetic factors that lead to the spiritual fulfillment of a worshipper in a Progressive religious service. The Progressive Jewish worship service is not esoteric either. An early and consistent thrust among the leaders of Progressive Judaism has been to make the practice of Judaism less mysterious and more accessible to all. This was achieved in part, by greater usage of vernacular language, elimination of liturgy that contradicts common sense and scientific knowledge, and setting sections of the liturgy to music stylistically typical of the contemporary period.[20]

The effect of a Catholic worship service, and of an Orthodox Jewish worship service as well, arises to no small extent from the drama produced by mystic elements of the service. Among these elements are the use of a language not understood by most of the worshippers (i.e. Latin and Hebrew) and rites that connect with the ancient origins of the religion; Catholics celebrate the mass as an actual recreation of Christ's existence, and Orthodox Jews read from a Torah which they believe to have been divinely handed to Moses. From the point of view of religious practice, then, Orthodox Judaism and Catholicism have more in common and could probably co-exist more easily than could Catholicism and Progressive Judaism.

This idea finds further support in our second proposition, namely, to use Elkin's words, that "the rigidities of Latin American Catholicism are replicated within the Jewish communities of that continent."[21] Reform Judaism has flourished in a North American which hosts literally scores of Christian denominations. Since the complexion of Christian North America itself resembles a patchwork quilt, it would not seem unusual for religious practice among Jews to diverge, even substantially. In South America, however, as Elkin indicates, the over ninety percent Catholic population is a member of one religious body, with one hierarchy, and believing one dogma. Consequently, the "rigidities" permeating the southern continent would work against the evolution of widely divergent types of Jewish

practices. To Latin American Jews and Gentiles alike, denominationalism within the faith would seem both unnatural and contradictory (which helps explain why most of the founders of Progressive congregations were fairly recent immigrants, rather than long time South American residents). In addition, the essential individual freedom central to Progressive Judaism has no counterpart in formal Catholicism, further making Progressive Judaism seem an alien development in South America.

The third reason for expecting an unsuccessful Progressive Jewish movement is that in a land where politics runs to extremes, the modes of religious practice tend to replicate that tendency. While in countries of relative liberty, such as those found in North America and Western Europe, varieties of religious practice have flourished over the past two centuries, in Eastern Europe & Latin America, in countries whose leaderships have been mostly autocracies of the right or left, a significant shift towards religious reform has not occurred; the religious practice, both Christian and Jewish, has generally remained as monolithic as the government.

The last external reason for Progressive Judaism's not faring well in South America deals with the movement's roots as an Enlightenment tradition vis-à-vis a South American continent still in many ways rooted in the pre-Enlightenment era. It can be argued that among the reasons for the success of Reform Judaism in North America is that

the United States, created out of the principle of religious freedom, was perfect potting soil for a religious movement based upon rejection of an orthodoxy. Indeed, the United States can be said as well to have been created out of a desire for greater individual freedom.

In many parts of South America, however, the same pluralism considered such a desirable characteristic of the North American civilization is anathema.[22] The pre-Enlightenment Catholic roots of South American society find the cacophony of mixed beliefs to the north undesirable. The Catholic influence has saturated South America with the notion that a given religion has only one correct form of practice, and that practice would be the one which shares the most characteristics with Catholic practice. While North American Jews might feel that Reform Judaism gives them the opportunity to legitimately alter the practice of their religion to make it more meaningful, the South American Jew would more likely eschew religious Judaism completely, thinking that there can only be one legitimate Judaism, just as there is only one legitimate Catholicism.[23] His religion becomes an all-or-nothing-at-all phenomenon.

The most important internal cause for Progressive Judaism's relative failure in South America has been a lack of leadership. There were never enough rabbis to go around and those rabbis who spent their careers in South

America were generally too busy with pulpit and pastoral duties to devote significant time to proselytizing for Progressive Judaism, spreading its message and explaining its ideas. Furthermore, sympathetic feelings of some of the rabbis towards Conservative Judaism certainly made their committment to the Progressive movement less than complete.

Only relatively recently, since Emanu-El was founded as a WUPJ beacon and Congregação Shalom began a public relations drive of its own, has this been at all different. Even Emanu-El, however, which by the nature of its founding should have been a major disseminator of information on Progressive Judaism, has fulfilled this role substantially less than might have been thought, due largely to the revolving door history of its pulpit (four rabbis in its first ten years), itself a condition aggravated by the congregation's constant financial woes. In truth, most of the congregations often had money problems and that, combined with an absence of South American trained Progressive rabbis and a reluctance of rabbis from elsewhere to settle in an alien land, certainly made the composite picture of South American Progressive Judaism unexceptional indeed: relatively few members and activities, and only a slight effect on South American Jewry over-all.

In addition to the lack-of-money/lack-of-leadership vicious circle, another internal factor which definitely led to Progressive Judaism's South American failure was

the insufficiency of commitment made there by the WUPJ. The purpose here is not to disparage the WUPJ for not emphasizing its work in South America sufficiently, but it is a simple truth that what the WUPJ did do there in the way of prompting movement growth fell far short of what was necessary. If the WUPJ had been able to provide more rabbis for South American congregations, if it could have taken responsibility for producing educational materials in Spanish and Portuguese, made concerted and consistent efforts to publicize movement practice and ideology, and maintained the office in Buenos Aires, amply budgeted with a rabbinical director, movement history in South America might have been different.

Finally, and especially important, is the fact that for much of their existence, several of the Progressive congregations in South America were too closely identified with immigrant origins to attract many members from Jewries of other ethnic backgrounds. The congregations were seen as ethnically homogeneous, not places of worship for Jews of all descents.

The relative weight of the various factors operating for or against Progressive Judaism in South America is a matter of debate. All that can be said with certainty is that the negative factors have been stronger, as the results show. Progressive Judaism in South America, as a viable religious movement, remains insignificant. Yet

it does exist, and that leads us to the final question of this thesis: Is there today a specific entity that should justifiably be called "South American Progressive Judaism?"

The answer, I think, is "yes," but the entity is relatively new. This study was originally entitled "The Evolution of Progressive Judaism in South America," with the word "evolution" connoting a finished process, or at least a relatively mature level of development. Because South American Progressive Judaism is only now appearing, only now beginning an evolution that could lead to the establishment of a mature, unique form, the word "emergence" seems more appropriate.

The congregations this thesis examined practiced up through the 1960s a Progressive Judaism too rooted in a foreign land to be labelled "South American." This thesis did employ the term "South American Progressive Judaism" as a geographically expedient notation, but it was not until roughly the last twenty years that the immigrant mentality started to fade and a Progressive Judaism no longer rooted in foreign influence began to come forth. The exact shape of that Judaism is far from distinct, but at least two reasons justify noting its development:

1. Original liturgy composed in Hebrew and the vernacular language has recently been written specifically for use by Progressive synagogues in South America. The liturgy (e.g. Klenicki's Libro de Oraciones) contains many of the major characteristics of "Reform" liturgy,[24]

such as abbreviation of the traditional service, use of the vernacular, and elimination or revision of prayers antithetical to a scientific understanding of human existence. Just as liturgical reform gave collective expression to religious change within European Jewry, so too it is now doing in South American Jewry.

2. A variety of synagogal components have gradually shifted so as to indicate a new, South American, orientation. Among them:

a) The South American Progressive rabbinate has begun to include South American natives, like Leon Klenicki and Roberto Graetz.

b) Congregational leadership has shifted, in institutions founded by refugees from Nazism, away from German Jewish dominance. The current president of the ARI, for example, Samuel E. A. Benoliel, is a Sephardi.

c) Virtually the only languages used in worship services or publications of any of the congregations are Hebrew and the vernacular language.

Today, Congregação Shalom and Congregación Emanu-El are the only South American institutions in which a native form of Progressive Judaism seems to be developing with earnestness and fervor on the part of its followers. They are the only congregations which have truly "emerged." By not having the mentality of an immigrant origin with which to contend, these two congregations especially are free to experiment with various aspects of the worship service like

liturgy and the reading of the Torah. The CIP and the ARI have not yet departed from their immigrant roots enough for a new indigenously Brazilian identity to have replaced them totally and the Círculo Israelita of Santiago, in its hiring HUC-JIR ordinee Rabbi Peter E. Tarlow, and joining the WUPJ, is only now beginning a transition which could end in it becoming a Progressive congregation in both practice and proclamation. In addition, the WUPJ, under the leadership of President Gerard Daniel, is beginning a resurgence of interest in South America, a resurgence which has the potential to lead to more involvement there than ever before.

The possibility exists for the development of a South American Progressive Judaism with a unique, clearly defined character, which by its integration of South Americal culture, language, and values, would set it apart from Progressive Judaism in other parts of the world. Whether enough resources and leadership can be found for that possibility to be realized, and whether the movement can ever mature and grow strong enough to overcome the environmental factors which will hanper its expansion, remains in doubt.

But given that a strong desire for Progressive Judaism does exist on the part of some South American Jews, that for the most part the congregations there are today adequately, though minimally, staffed with rabbis and other leaders, and that the WUPJ seems to want to make a sincere

effort to help the movement there flourish, it seem reasonable to expect that the movement there could grow, and over a period of years increase its membership and activity.

MAJOR INSTITUTIONS OF SOUTH AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR FOUNDED	CONGREGATIONAL ORIGINS	RABBIS	RABBIS' TRAINING	CCAR MEMBER
Culto Israelita de Belgrano (CIB)	Buenos Aires	1939	Founders German refugees who sought to replicate German Liberal service	Fritz Steinthal (1929-1969)	Hochschule (?)	No
				Meir M. Rosenberg (1957-1960?)	Hochschule (?)	No
				Nathan Blum (1962?-1966?)	?	No
				Haim Asa (1963-1964)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1963)	Yes
Lamroth HaKol	Buenos Aires	1944	Split-off in northern suburbs of Belgrano German synagogue	Günther Friedlander (1951-1954?)	Hochschule (?)	No
				Paul Hirsch (1954-1973?)	Breslau Seminary Never ordained	No
Congregación Emanu-El	Buenos Aires	1965	Founded by Asa, then a WUPJ representative working out of the CIB, as Argentina's first "Reform" congregation	Haim Asa (1964-1966)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1963)	Yes
				Rifat Sonsino (1966-1969)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1966)	Yes
				Leon Klenicki (1969-1973)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1967)	Yes
				Roberto D. Graetz (1974-1979)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1972)	Yes
				Reuben Nisenbom (1979-Present)	Seminario (?)	No

APPENDIX I

MAJOR INSTUTIONS OF SOUTH AMERICAN PREOGRESSIVE JUDAISM - Cont'd

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR FOUNDED	CONGREGATIONAL ORIGINS	RABBIS	RABBIS TRAINING	CCAR MEMBER
Congregação Israelita Paulista (CIP)	São Paulo	1936	Founded by German refugees	Fritz Pinkuss (1936-)	Hochschule (1930)	Yes
				Michael Leipziger (1965- ?)	JTS (1965)	No
				Henry I. Sobel (1970-)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1970)	Yes
Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI)	Rio de Janeiro	1942	Founded by German refugees	Henrique Lemle (1942-1978)	Hochschule (1933)	Yes
				David A. Nelson (1967-1969)	JTS (1967)	No
				Roberto D. Graetz (1972-1974, 1980-)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1972)	Yes
				Robert K. Baruch (1974-1976)	HUC-JIR (Cin) (1971)	Yes
				Daniel Kripper (1976-1980)	Seminario (1976)	No
Congregação Shalom	São Paulo	1970	Began in 1949 as an informal group which having split from the CIP for ideological reasons conducted its own holiday services			

Appendix II: The Conservation Movement in South America

(As mentioned in the Preface, the role Conservative Judaism has played in the religious life of South America's Jews is not a part of this thesis, except for noting particular effects it may have had on Progressive Judaism there. It seems judicious, however, to sketch briefly Conservative Judaism's history in South America and indicate important people and events in it. The information contained here is taken mainly from Marshall T. Meyer's article, "Una Decada de Judaismo Conservador en Latinoamerica," in the 1970 edition of Communidades Judias de Latinoamérica; and S. Rosenberg and D. Rubinstein-Novick's "Instituciones y Tendencias de la Vida Religiosa Judia en la Argentina," in Funks fun der Kehila, published in Buenos Aires in 1969.)

The Conservative movement's history in South America begins in 1858 when la Conferencia Consultiva de Sinagogas Latinoaméricas met and affiliated with the World Council of Synagogues, the international body of the Conservative movement. Twelve rabbis, representing congregations in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Panama, attended the conference in Buenos Aires, at which they discussed ritual observance in Jewish homes, religious education of children and adolescents, and the relevance of the synagogue to the

daily lives of congregants.

The following year, Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, a recent ordinee of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in New York, the Conservative seminary, arrived in Buenos Aires to serve as assistant rabbi to Rabbi Guillermo Schlesinger of la Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina, then the hub of Conservative Judaism in South America.

In 1962, largely through Meyer's efforts, el Seminario Rabínico Latinoamérica was founded under the patronage of the World Council of Synagogues. The Seminario was originally more of a "pre-seminary," with its students receiving the final portion of their rabbinical education at JTS in New York. Today in its newly built five story building, the Seminario offers a full-scale rabbinical education in addition to adult courses and classes for children of all ages. Meyer has remained head of the Seminario and has occupied the pulpit of Congregación Bet-El, which he founded in 1963 after a schism in la Congregación Israelita. Bet-El and the Seminario have become the centers of Conservative Judaism in South America.

The Conservative movement has sponsored numerous publications, both original works and translations. The most noteworthy among them has been the Spanish/Hebrew version of the Silverman prayerbook, discussed in the chapter on liturgy, which appeared in 1965. The movement has attracted affiliates to the World Council of Synagogues from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia- and as of 1970,

Seminario graduates had served in all of those countries except Colombia. The movement has been involved in a variety of youth, educational, and ecumenical programs, as well as in other activities of a public nature, like lectures and concerts.

Finally, it should be noted that only in the last fifteen years or so have many of the differences between Conservative Judaism and Progressive Judaism in South America manifested themselves clearly. The freedom of choice regarding mode of worship found especially in Congregação Shalom and Congregación Emanu-El is incompatible with Conservative ideology. The ritualism so evident (both formerly and today) in the German-Jewish founded congregations was not all that different from what characterized the Conservative congregations, and evidence does suggest some of these congregations had ties with the Conservative movement. But as the native South American Progressive Judaism continues to emerge, as discussed in the Conclusion, the differences between the two movements will become more distinct, and it will provide South American Jews with a clear choice: ideologically, ritualistically, and stylistically.

NOTES TO PREFACE

1. Judith Laikin Elkin, Jews of the Latin American Republics (Chapel Hill, 1980).

2. Elkin, Latin American Jewish Studies (Cincinnati, 1980), 35-38.

3. Robert Weisbrot, The Jews of Argentina from the Inquisition to Peron (Philadelphia, 1979).

4. In the Notes this material is referred to as "Klenicki Unprocessed Material" since at this writing it is yet to be organized and catalogued by the staff of the American Jewish Archives.

5. CCAR Yearbook, 37 (1927): 21.

6. Ronald Hilton, The Latin Americans (Philadelphia, 1973), 6-7.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Judith Laikin Elkin, Jews of the Latin American Republics (Chapel Hill, 1980), 21-22.

2. Ibid., 28, 54. (Cf. Appendix I for statistical immigration information.)

3. Ibid., 25.

4. Ronald Hilton, The Latin Americans (Philadelphia, 1973), 132.

5. Bernard Wuellner, Dictionary of Scholastic Philosophy (Milwaukee, 1956), 93.

6. Hilton, Americans, 143-4.

7. Elkin, Jews, 25.

8. Hilton, Americans, 144.

9. Jacob Lestchinsky, Jewish Migration for the Past Two Hundred Years (New York, 1944), 8.

10. Elkin, Jews, 29.

11. Jacob Lestchinsky, "Jewish Migration, 1840-1956," in Louis Finkelstein, ed., The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion (3rd edn., Philadelphia, 1966), 1556.

12. Elkin, Jews, 53.

13. Robert Weisbrot, The Jews of Argentina from the Inquisition to Peron (Philadelphia, 1979), 37.

14. Elkin, Jews, 50.

15. Ibid., 46.

16. S. Rosenberg and D. Rubinstein-Novick, "Instituciones y Tendencias de la Vida Religiosa Judia en la Argentina," in Isaac Janasovicz, ed., Funks Fun Der Kehila (Buenos Aires, 1969), 113.

17. Lestchinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1956," 1554.

18. Elkin, Jews, 57.

19. Ibid., 58.

20. Weisbrot, Jews, 49-56. For a complete treatment of the JCA's history see Haim Avni, Argentinah, Ha-aretz Ha-Ye'udah (Jerusalem, 1973).

21. Elkin, Jews, 59.

22. Lestchinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1956," 1554.

23. Ibid.

24. Elkin, Jews, 63.

25. Ibid., 165.

26. Ibid., 180.

27. Ibid., 78-81.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. U. O. Schmelz, World Jewish Population, Estimates and Projections, Jewish Population Studies, no. 13 (Jerusalem, 1981), 18-21.

2. Irvin L. Horowitz, "Jewish Community of Buenos Aires," Jewish Social Studies, 24 (1962): 201-2.

3. Ibid., 203.

4. Seymour B. Liebman, "Argentine Jews and Their Institutions," Jewish Social Studies, 43 (1981): 312.

5. S. Rosenberg and D. Rubinstein-Novick, "Instituciones y Tendencies de la Vida Religiosa Judia en la Argenina," in Isaac Janosovicz, ed., Funks Fun der Kehila (Buenos Aires, 1969), 145-50.

6. "La Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina," in Jose Isaacson and Santiago E. Kovadloff, eds., Comunidades Judias de Latinoamérica (Buenos Aires, 1970), 120.

7. Robert Weisbrot, The Jews of Argentina from the Inquisition to Peron (Philadelphia, 1979), 120.

8. "La Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina," 178.

9. Culto Israelita de Belgrano (Buenos Aires, 1949), 2, 13.

10. Ibid., 14.

11. Steinthal to WUPJ, January 29, 1947a, AJA, WUPJ Collection (hereafter WUPJC), 1:3.

12. Sadler to Montagu, September 9, 1955, AJA, WUPJC, 1:3.

13. E.g. Woyda to Lowenthal, January 2, 1953, AJA, WUPJC, 1:3.

14. Steinthal to WUPJ, 1947a.

15. Ibid.

16. "Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah," Encyclopedia Judaica, volume 4 (Jerusalem, 1971), 243-7.

17. Steinthal to Montagu, May 18, 1941; Steinthal to WUPJ, July 4, 1946; Steinthal to Woyda, April 28, 1954, AJA, WUPJC, 1:3.

18. Sadler to Montagu, 1955.

19. Steinthal to WUPJ, 1946.

20. WUPJP, Fifth Conference (London, 1946), 5, 17.

21. Fritz Steinthal, "The Leo Baeck Synagogue of Buenos Aires," WUPJ Bulletin, #16 (1945): 10.

22. Culto Israelita de Belgrano, 13-9.

23. Steinthal to Montagu, 1941.

24. Steinthal to WUPJ, 1946; Steinthal to Montagu, June 23, 1953, AJA, WUPJC, 1:3.

25. Steinthal to Montagu, 1941.

26. Culto Israelita de Belgrano, 3.

27. Sadler to Montagu, 1955.

28. Steinthal to Woyda, 1954.

29. PJ Proceedings, 1957, 33.

30. For more on Rosenberg's difficulties in Israel see WUPJ Executive Committee Minutes, October 3, 1951, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6.

31. The dispute between Steinthal and Rosenberg revolved around charges (on both sides) of dishonesty and intrigue. The details of the charges are irrelevant to this thesis, and because many of the parties involved are still active in the South American Jewish community, they are better left unmentioned. It should be noted, however, that one important source puts the blame for the entire debacle on Rosenberg, though other distribute the blame more evenly. For further comments see William A. Rosenthall, "Latin American Report," AJA, Miscellaneous File, William A. Rosenthall, 11.

32. Eza Spicehandler, "Report on South American Trip," AJA, Miscellaneous File, Ezra Spicehandler, 8; Wolf to Kulwin, October 6, 1982, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Clifford M. Kulwin.

33. Rosenthal, "Report," 11.

34. Ibid.

35. New York Times, August 11, 1963.

36. Allgemeine Jüdische Wochen-Zeitung, 1969.

37. 25 Años Lamroth Hakol (Buenos Aires, 1969), 10.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 3.

41. Ibid., 10. For a matter of weeks Lamroth HaKol was loccated in a building on Calle Liniers until such a times as the other building could be acquired. The building on Calle Caseros, formerly a butcher shop and then a textile mill, needed substantial renovation before becoming a synagogue.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., 11.

44. Ibid., 10.

45. Ibid., 11.

46. Ibid.

47. Curriculum vitae of Paul Hirsch, AJA, Box 2138. Friedlander, who now lives in Miami Beach, was Lamroth HaKol's first, salaried, full time rabbi. Correspondence with him during the preparation of this thesis failed to produce any of the details of his personal history or his employment at Lamroth HaKol.

48. Guido Kisch, ed., Das Breslauer Seminar (Tübingen, 1963), 383.

49. Curriculum vitae of Paul Hirsch.

50. Ibid.

51. 25 Años Lamroth HaKol, 11.

52. E.g. Rosenthall to Glueck, April 7, 1965, AJA, Box 2138.

53. Rosenthal, "Report," 12.

54. 25 Años Lamroth HaKol, 13.

55. Schaalman to Montagu, July 27, 1955, AJA, WUPJC, 12:8. Rosenberg and Rubinstein-Novick, "Instituciones," 149. It should also be mentioned, though its import is questionable, that the Rosenberg/Rubinstein-Novick article

on religious life among South American Jews does not list Lamroth HaKol under the heading "Reformista y Conservadore."

56. 25 Años Lamroth HaKol, 12.

57. Ibid., 3.

58. Ibid., 5.

59. Ibid.

60. Rosenthall, "Report," 1.

61. Ibid., 20.

62. "Minutes of the Governing Body," July 8, 1963, AJA, WUPJC, 7:2.

63. News and Views, February 5, 1965, pp. 1-2.

64. Mundo Israelita, December 19, 1964.

65. Ibid., July 24, 1965.

66. La Luz, December 10, 1965, p. 23.

67. Ibid., January 10, 1964, p. 22.

68. American Judaism, Winter 1966-7, p. 61.

69. Ibid.

70. Rifat Sonsino, "Final Report on Congregación Emanu-El," AJA, Miscellaneous File, Rifat Sonsino, 2.

71. Ibid., May to Rosenthall, October 21, 1971, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

72. Klenicki's activities in this office will be discussed in the chapter on WUPJ activities in South America.

73. Boletin Informativo, August 1969, pp. 3-4.

74. May to Rosenthall, January 26, 1971, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material. A merger with the CIB had been discussed during Sonsino's tenure, but no substantive action towards it was undertaken.

75. Open letter to Emanu-El membership from unnamed leaders, October, 1971, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

76. Klenicki to Rosenthall, April 12, 1971, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

77. Ibid., Statement of dissolution, October 21, 1971, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

78. Klenicki to Teubal, April 9, 1970, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

79. Leon Klenicki, Machzor HaShalem L'Rosh Hashannah and Machzor HaShalem L'Iom Kippur (Buenos Aires, 1970); Libro de Oraciones (Buenos Aires, 1973).

80. La Luz, August 14, 1970, p. 24.

81. Hecht to Oppenheimer, June 17, 1970, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

82. New York Times, March 19, 1967, p. 25.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. "Community," Encyclopedia Judaica, volume 5 (Jerusalem, 1971), 824-5.

2. For comments on both congregations being founded as "Einheitsgemeinden," see: Inge Hartwich, "Die Geschichte der ARI," in Associação Religiosa Israelita (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), 54; Alice Irene Hirschberg, Desafio E Reposta (Sao Paulo, 1976), 42-43.

   As regards the difference between the demographic impact refugees from Nazism had on the Brazilian and Argentine Jewish communities, Lestchinsky notes that Jewish immigrants to Argentina between 1840 and 1942 totalled 223,540, and to Brazil, 71,360. The number arriving in Argentina between 1931 and 1942 was 31,989, or about 18% of the total. The number arriving in Brazil for the same period was 29,675, or roughly 41% of the total. Jacob Lestchinsky, "Jewish Migrations 1840-1956," in Louis Finkelstein, ed., The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion (3rd edn., Philadelphia, 1966), 1554.

3. Robert M. Levine, "Brazil's Jews During the Vargas Era and After," Luso-Brazilian Review, 5 (1968): 47.

4. Ibid., 48-49.

5. For information on Recife's role in Brazilian Jewish history see Chapter VI, "Jewish Communities in Dutch Brazil," in Arnold Wiznitzer, Jews in Colonial Brazil (New York, 1960).

6. Heinrich Lemle, "Pioneering for Progressive Judaism in Brazil," WUPJ Bulletin, 15 (1943): 9.

7. Hirschberg, Desafio, 24.

8. Ibid., 35-37.

9. Ibid., 39-40.

10. Ibid., 43.

11. Pinkuss to Wolf, January 8, 1960, AJA, Biographies File, Fritz Pinkuss.

12. Not only did Pinkuss sign the declaration, but he was for many years on the CIP board of directors. This unusual situation for a rabbi can be explained by his having been involved with the CIP before it actually became a congregation, as opposed to his having been hired as a mere functionary by an already established synagogue.

13. Hirschberg, Desafio, 43.

14. Ibid., 54, 63.

15. Pinkuss to Montagu, May 12, 1946, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

16. The Torah dedication, for example, in July, 1937, was done in Portuguese.

17. Hirschberg, Desafio, 63.

18. Machsor: Livro de Rezas para os Dios Sagrados de Rosh Hashana - Yom Kipur (Sao Paulo - Rio de Janeiro, 1949); Siddur: Livro de Rezas para Todos o Ano Israelita (Sao Paulo - Rio de Janeiro, 1953)

19. Schaalman to Montagu, July 27, 1955, AJA, WUPJC, 12:8.

20. Curriculum Vitae of Fritz Pinkuss, AJA, Biographies File, Fritz Pinkuss.

21. Schaalman to Montagu, 1955.

22. See "Brazil," in AJYB, 1968, 405-17.

23. Pinkuss to Montagu, 1946.

24. AJYB, 1969, 313.

25. Pinkuss to Montagu, 1946.

26. Ezra Spicehandler, "Report on South American Trip," AJA, Miscellaneous File, Ezra Spicehandler, 6.

27. Curriculum Vitae of Fritz Pinkuss. CCAR Yearbooks and membership lists seem to consider him a regular member from 1953 on.

28. Passim, WUPJ, 12, 1961.

29. Ibid., 151-3.

30. Donces to UAHC, January 30, 1933, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

31. Associação Religiosa Israelita (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), 27.

32. For a discussion of the Klabin family and a description of its better known members, see "Klabin," Encyclopedia Judaica, volume 10 (Jerusalem, 1971), 1084-85.

33. ARI 40 (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), 13; WUPJ Bulletin, 11a (1941): 5.

34. Guido Kisch, Das Breslauer Seminar (Tubingen, 1963), 425.

35. CCAR Yearbook, 89 (1979): 203.

36. Lemle to Montagu, January 17, 1941, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

37. ARI 40, 14.

38. Lemle to Montagu, April 16, 1941, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

39. ARI 40, 10-11.

40. WUPJ Bulletin, 13 (1942): 3.

41. Lemle to Montagu, October 16, 1941, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

42. Lemle, "Pioneering," 9-11.

43. ARI 40, 14.

44. ARI Boletim, 199 (1960): 1.

45. ARI 40, 15-18.

46. For a discussion of the Jewish day schools in Rio see David Schlers, Brazilian Jewry: The Jewish School System in Rio de Janeiro (Tel Aviv, 1980), esp. 43-46.

47. At one time, Lemle was in contact with the CCAR regarding a Portuguese translation of the Union Prayer Book which he was interested in writing. It appears that this project was never actually undertaken, at least by him. See CCAR Yearbook, 68 (1958): 21.

48. "Minutes of the Governing Body," January 8, 1964, AJA, WUPJC, 7:2.

49. Over the last 30 years, all the South American congregations have become increasingly Zionistic as have their North American counterparts. The major factor behind this has been the widespread sympathetic and nationalistic feelings inspired by Israel's later wars.

50. Hirschberg, Desafio, 114.

51. Cliffor M. Kulwin, "Report to the WUPJ," AJA, Miscellaneous File, Clifford M. Kulwin, 5.

52. Leon Klenicki, "Report to the WUPJ," AJA, Miscellaneous File, Leon Klenicki, 8.

53. Gryn to Krausz, April 27, 1961, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

54. William A. Rosenthall, "Latin American Report," AJA, Miscellaneous File, William A. Rosenthall, 9.

55. Rosenthall to Krausz, July 1, 1963, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

56. Krausz to Rosenthall, April 4, 1965, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

57. Rosenthall to Wolf, July 15, 1970, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. No claim is made that the works discussed here represent the totality of South American Jewry's progressive liturgy. Rather, these are the only prayerbooks to come in to the author's hands during the preparation of this thesis. It does seem, however, that judicious examination of these works uncovers a number of general and specific trends which the discovery of an unstudied work, or even several of them, would do little to alter. It is known that Congregacao Shalom produced High Holiday and Friday evening prayerbooks, but copies of them were unavailable for examination.

2. Jewish Colonization Association, Ritual de Oraciones Para Todo El Año (Buenos Aires, 191-).

3. E.g., Simon Sigal, Seder Tifila (Buenos Aires, 1944); Tefilat Yisrael (Buenos Aires, 1950).

4. "Prayerbooks," Encyclopaedia Judaica, volume 13 (Jerusalem, 1971), 992.

5. Caeser Seligman et al., "Vorrede," in Seligman et al., eds., Gebetbuch für das ganze Jahr (Frankfurt, 1929), viii. The translation of this preface and the accompanying remarks, found on pages 205-213 of Jakob J. Petuchowski, Prayerbook Reform in Europe (New York, 1968), deftly illustrate the development of this prayerbook and its role in pre-Holocaust Germany.

6. Fritz Pinkuss and Henrique Lemle, Machzor (São Paulo, 1949); Sidur (São Paulo, 1953).

7. Pinkuss and Lemle, Sidur, 4.

8. The process by no means ran smoothly, as the following indicates: "Lemle and I had planned to publish the first liberal prayerbook, but we have not yet come to an accord, as Lemle seems to like to be the sole Editor, so that it may happen that we shall have two publications." Pinkuss to Montagu, May 12, 1946, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

9. Lemle and Pinkuss, Machzor, 5.

10. Petuchowski, Prayerbook, 171.

11. Ibid.

12. To see how the Pinkuss/Lemle prayerbook follows Joel's revisions see p. 82 of the Brazilian Sidur, and p. 52 of Joel's Seder Tefila (Berlin, 1872), to note how the two use the same version of the twelfth benedicion of the Amidah.

13. Henrique Lemle, Shaar Hat'fila, Vamos Rezar (Rio de Janeiro, 1959).

14. Henrique Lemle, Kabalat Shabat a Véspera do Sábado (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), 2.

15. Lemle corresponded with the CCAR regarding Portuguese translations of Union Prayer Book pages he wished to include in a prayerbook he was "preparing." Whether the translations were made, and if so where they were used, is unclear. CCAR Yearbook, 1958, p. 21.

16. Among the new works: O Nosso Shabat (Sao Paulo, 1976) and Walter Rehfeld, A Nossa Semana (Sao Paulo, 1981).

17. Graetz to Kulwin, October 25, 1982, AJA, Clifford M. Kulwin, Miscellaneous File.

18. Paul Hirsch and Enrique Kalbermann, Oraciones de Véspera de Shabat (Buenos Aires, 195-). The assignment of 195- as an estimate for the publication date was made by the prayerbook's original cataloguer at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Regligion Klau Library in Cincinnati. The estimate finds implicit support in 25 Años Lamroth Hakol (Buenos Aires, 1969), 27.

19. An examination of two copies of the service suggests that at least two editions were printed, but according to Dr. Jonathan Rodgers of the Klau library, the evidence is not bibliographically conclusive.

20. Hirsch and Kalbermann, Oraciones, 26.

21. Ritual de Oraciones para Rosch Haschanna (Buenos Aires, 1960). Although no credit is given, it is quite certain that Hirsch supervised production of the prayerbook. See Graetz to Kulwin, October 25, 1982.

22. Petuchowski, Prayerbook, 13.

23. Ritual (1960), 3.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., e.g. pp. 83-7.

26. The book has no publication date nor listing of an author or editor, but it is likely that it was prepared under Hirsch's supervision sometime relatively soon after the New Year prayerbook appeared.

27. CCAR, Union Prayer Book II (New York, 1945).

28. Graetz to Kulwin, December 29, 1982, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Clifford M. Kulwin.

29. 25 Años, 27.

30. Haim A. Asa, Majzor (Buenos Aires, 1963), i.

31. Ibid., 4.

32. Ibid., e.g. pp. 17 and 20.

33. Ibid., 21.

34. Ibid.

35. Libro de Plegarias para las Altas Fiestas (Buenos Aires, 196-), 6.

36. Ibid., 20.

37. Leon Klenicki, Servicio del Viernes de la Noche (Buenos Aires, 196-), i.

38. Ibid.

39. Leon Klenicki and Roberto Graetz, Rosh Hashana (Buenos Aires, 1970) and Servicio de Iom Kippur (Buenos Aires, 1970).

40. One notable exception; the words "who revives the dead" were reinserted in the Hebrew though the Spanish translation is the same as in the earlier Libro de Plegarias.

41. E.g., Klenicki and Graetz, Iom Kippur, 11.

42. E.g., Ibid., 92-4.

43. Leon Klenicki, Libro de Oraciones (Buenos Aires, 1973).

44. The Friday evening service was essentially the same as the one in Servicio del Viernes de la Noche.

45. Klenicki, Libro de Oraciones, 86.

46. Graetz to Kulwin, December 29, 1982, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Clifford M. Kulwin.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. CCAR Yearbook, 37 (1927): 17-26.
2. WUPJ Constitution (London, 1926).
3. CCAR Yearbook, 37 (1926): 18-19.
4. Passim, AJA Microfilm 3063.
5. Donces to UAHC, January 30, 1933, AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.
6. WUPJ Governing Body Minutes (GBM), January 25, 1937, AJA, WUPJC, 6:11.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., July 6, 1937.
9. Ibid., June 13, 1938.
10. WUPJ Executive Committee Minutes (ECM), May 19, 1938, AJA, WUPJC, 5:4.
11. Ibid., July 14, 1938.
12. WUPJ GBM, January 30, 1939, AJA, WUPJC, 6:11.
13. Ibid., July 26, 1939.
14. WUPJ GBM, November 13, 1941, AJA, WUPJC, 6:12.
15. WUPJ ECM, November 17, 1945, AJA, WUPJC, 5:4.
16. E.g. in WUPJ Report, Fifth Conference (London, 1946), 5.
17. WUPJ ECM, November 17, 1945, AJA, WUPJC, 5:4.
18. WUPJ GBM, July 6, 1947, AJA, WUPJC, 6:12.
19. WUPJ ECM, May 28, 1947, AJA, WUPJC, 5:5.
20. Ibid., October 22, 1947.
21. WUPJ GBM, July 26, 1939, AJA, WUPJC, 6:11.
22. Ibid., January 30, 1939.

23. WUPJ ECM, October 7, 1953, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6.

24. WUPJ GBM, December 6, 1947, AJA, WUPJC, 6:12.

25. WUPJ ECM, May 28, 1947, AJA, WUPJC, 5:5.

26. For information of scholarships for overseas rabbinical students see: "More About YES Fund Rabbis and Students," American Judaism 26 (1966-7): 61.

27. Much of which is found in AJA, WUPJC, 1:3.

28. AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

29. In addition to her having been responsible for his being able to leave Germany, he spent several months as her house guest prior to his internment on the Isle of Man.

30. AJA, WUPJC, 2:5.

31. AJA, WUPJC, 10:4.

32. It is, however, unclear if and to what extent dues were paid.

33. WUPJ ECM, December 18, 1951, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6.

34. Ibid.

35. WUPJ GBM, January 31, 1952, AJA, WUPJC, 6:13. It does seem, however, unlikely that the idea would not have come up previously in some other forum.

36. WUPJ ECM, September 2, 1953, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6.

37. WUPJ GBM, February 8, 1955, AJA, WUPJC, 6:14.

38. WUPJ ECM, December 30, 1954, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6.

39. Judith Laikin Elkin, "Thinking Latin," Forum, 42/43 (1981): 33.

40. Note 8 in Chapter Four is typical of many comments the South American rabbis made about each other.

41. WUPJ ECM, July 14, 1938, AJA, WUPJC, 5:4.

42. WUPJ GBM, July 6, 1937, AJA, WUPJC, 6:11.

43. WUPJ GBM, November 13, 1941, AJA, WUPJC, 6:12.

44. WUPJ ECM, November 17, 1945, AJA, WUPJC, 5:4.

45. WUPJ ECM, January 19, 1948, AJA, WUPJC, 5:5.

46. WUPJ ECM, November 19, 1952, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6.

47. WUPJ GBM, January 18, 1962, AJA, WUPJC, 7:2.

48. WUPJ ECM, February 2, 1960, AJA, WUPJC, 5:8.

49. WUPJ GBM, July 15, 1962, AJA, WUPJC, 7:2.

50. Latin American Committee Minutes (LACM), e.g. October 28, 1963 and December 6, 1966, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

51. Though the trips during this period were the first directly sponsored by movement institutions, individuals who happened to be in South America had often made reports to the WUPJ before. See, e.g. Schaalman to Montagu, July 27, 1955, AJA, WUPJC, 12:8.

52. The Scheuer family always maintained a special interest in South American affairs, due in part to their having many relatives there, among them Alberto Klein, author of Cinco Siglos de Historia Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1980), and his son Henrique, longtime board member of Congregación Emanu-El.

53. Information on Neuman's trips to South America comes from material in the personal files of Rabbi Isaac Neuman, Sinai Temple, Champaign, Illinois, 61820.

54. "Copy of the first Reform Service conducted in Santiago, Chile, in June, 1959," by Isaac Neuman. AJA, Miscellaneous File, Chile.

55. The headline over the July 9, 1959 article describing his visit to Montevideo in that city's Folksblat, the self-proclaimed newspaper for Uruguay's Jews, read "Una interesante oportunidad para jóvenes."

56. Ezra Spicehandler, "Report on South American Trip," AJA, Miscellaneous File, Ezra Spicehandler, 1. Spicehandler made no mention of Neuman's trip.

57. Ibid., 11-2.

58. Ibid., passim.

59. William A. Rosenthal, "Latin American Report," AJA, Miscellaneous File, William A. Rosenthall, 6. Rosenthall made no mention of either Spicehandler or Neuman.

60. Ibid., 1.

61. Ibid., 20.

62. Ibid.

63. Gitin to Neuman, September 13, 1968, Neuman Personal Files.

64. La Luz, August 14, 1970, p. 24.

65. LACM, June 16, 1967, AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

66. Ibid.

67. Found in AJA, Klenicki Unprocessed Material.

68. Rifat Sonsino, Introduccion al Judaismo Reformista (Buenos Aires, 1968). Ruth S. De Hecht, En Fiesta/De Fiesta (Buenos Aires, 1969).

69. Rosenthall, "Report," 9. The group will continue to be referred to as "Shalom" for convenience's sake, though the reference is not entirely accurate.

70. Gryn to Krausz, April 27, 1961, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

71. Ibid.

72. Krausz to Rosenthall, April 22, 1964, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

73. E.G. Krausz to Seltzer, February 7, 1965, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

74. Rosenthall to Wolf, July 15, 1970, AJA, Miscellaneous File, Brazil.

75. WUPJ ECM, May 11, 1953, AJA, WUPJC, 5:6; WUPJ ECM, March 10, 1960, AJA, 5:8.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. U. O. Schmelz, World Jewish Population, Estimates and Projections, Jewish Population Studies, no. 13 (Jerusalem, 1981), 18-21.

2. Herbert Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," in Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 26 (1981): 382.

3. Jacob Lestchinsky, Jewish Migration for the Past Two Hundred Years (New York, 1944), 14.

4. Judith Laikin Elkin, Jews of the Latin American Republics (Chapel Hill, 1980), 25, 54.

5. For specific statistics on North America, see Sidney Goldstein's article "American Jewry, 1970: A Demographic Profile," in the AJYB, 1971.

6. Elkin, Jews, 222-3.

7. Ibid.

8. U. O. Schmelz and Sergio della Pergola, Hademografia Shel HaYehudim Be-Argentinah U'v'Aratzot Acherot Shel Amerika HaLatinit (Tel Aviv, 1974), 45.

9. Cf. Haim Avni, Argentinah, HaAretz HaYe'udah (Jerusalem, 1973); and also Elkin, "Goodnight Sweet Gaucho: A Revisionist View of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment in Argentina," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, 67 (1978): 208-23.

10. Elkin, Jews, 189-90.

11. Fay Grove-Pollack, ed., The Saga of a Movement: WIZO--1920-1970 (Tel Aviv, 1970), 133.

12. AJYB, 1962, p. 476.

13. AJYB, 1967, p. 280; 1973, p. 325.

14. Heinrich Rattner and Gabriel Bolaffi, O Estudante Universitario Judeu Perante O Judaismo: Um Estudo Sociologico (Sao Paulo, 1964), 16.

15. Ibid., 18.

16. Elucidation of the ideas presented here, and in the following section on Latin America's pre-Enlightenment rootedness, is found in Elkin, "Thinking Latin," Forum, 42/43 (1981): 37-9.

17. Ibid.

18. Elkin, Jews, 98.

19. Elkin, Latin American Jewish Studies (Cincinnati, 1980), 36.

20. Jakob J. Petuchowski, Guide to the Prayerbook, (Cincinnati, 1968), 58-59.

21. Elkin, Jews, 246.

22. Ibid., 224.

23. Ibid., 213.

24. Petuchowski, Guide, 58-59.

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Rabbi Leon Klenicki; New York, New York

Rabbi Robert K. Baruch; Washington, D.C.

Rabbi Roberto D. Graetz; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Sr. Ernesto Bach; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Sra. Margot Lemle; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Dr. Walter I. Rehfield; São Paulo, Brazil

Sr. Carlos Katzenstein; São Paulo, Brazil

Sr. Wolf A. Wolf; Sao Paulo, Brazil

Sr. Curt May; Buenos Aires, Argentina

Sr. Enrique Klein; Buenos Aires, Argentina

Archival Sources

Mostly because the American Jewish Archives has lacked a staff archivist with linguistic competence to handle documents in Spanish and Portuguese, and because many of these documents are recent acquisitions, the wealth of South American material found there remains largely unprocessed and uncatalogued. For this reason, many of the archival sources used can only be described briefly and under the most general of rubrics. All archival sources used in this thesis come from the American Jewish Archives.

World Union for Progressive Judaism Collection. This is the "official" archival collection of all documents of the WUPJ's first half century. It consists of letters, minutes of various committees and directorial bodies, and assorted publications. Especially important for studying the organization's activities in South America are the minutes of the Executive Committee and the Governing Body, correspondence between Lady Montagu and Rabbis Steinthal and Lemle, and those copies of the sporadically published Bulletin which the Collection contains.

Argentina Nearprint File. This collection contains essentially all the AJA's material on Argentina. It consists of letters, articles clipped from a variety of periodicals, and other items. Of special note for this present subject are movement-oriented articles from La Luz and Mundo Israelita, along with liturgical pieces and an array of miscellaneous bulletins and other mailings from movement synagogues in Buenos Aires.

Brazil Nearprint File. Similar in composition to the Argentina Nearprint File, a special feature of this collection is twenty years of correspondence between leaders of Congregacao Shalom (and the "pre-Shalom" group) and the WUPJ.

Klenicki Unprocessed Material. This extensive collection includes correspondence and related documents of Rabbi Leon Klenicki from his tenue as director of the Latin American office of the WUPJ and rabbi of Congregación Emanu-El.

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