

LATIN AMERICA'S JEWS:

A Review of Sources

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For the period since independence, Jews do not appear in Latin American history as it is written today. That there are Jews in Latin America we know. But what role have they played in their nations' histories? How have they balanced their inherited tradition with the cultures of the Luso-Hispanic world? What has been the quality of their lives as Jews and as immigrants, nonconformists in societies that exact conformity as the price of acceptance? Most important from the perspective of Latin Americanists, how have Jews been perceived by the majority societies, and what do these perceptions reveal about the nature of these societies?

On all these points, the historical record is almost silent. A few scholars—Gino Germani, Harry Hoetink, José Luis de Imaz—have integrated the Jewish experience into their work; but they are the exceptions. One reason for this tendency is undoubtedly the small size of Latin American Jewish populations, probably fewer than half a million scattered in large or small clusters in the principal cities of the continent—a Jewish archipelago in a Spanish-Portuguese sea. Another reason may be their lack of power. Jews collectively lack access to central decision-making bodies such as the military officer corps, the church hierarchy, labor unions, and exclusive clubs (although some Jews individually have worked their way up through government or radical groups by means of election, appointment, or cooptation, particularly as they have distanced themselves from their community of origin). Jews' lack of political power is the central fact of their existence in countries that have not wholly accommodated to their presence. This political marginality is reflected in their invisibility in scholarship relating to Latin America.

But so long as the status of Jews as individuals and as collectivities is not taken into account, the dynamics of Latin American societies will remain insufficiently understood. Failure to address the Jewish presence in Latin America deprives research of an important means for measuring society's toleration of dissent and nonconformism and reduces the depth of understanding of society as a whole. Researchers

wanting to add a Jewish component to their analyses of Latin America's ethnic and religious character have had few resources at their disposal until recently. Not many scholars had focused on the subject, and little of what they had written could be traced through standard Latin American references. That situation has changed in recent years, as will be shown in this essay.

This research review will include published monographs and articles dealing with the national period of Jewish life in Latin America (the colonial period awaits its bibliographer). Social sciences and some of the humanities are included, but the arts and literature are not. Existing literature in English, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, and Yiddish was surveyed. To facilitate access to Latin American Jewish studies, some basic references in Jewish studies are also mentioned. Because of space limitations, complete references for cognate fields were not attempted.

ARCHIVES

No comprehensive inventory of archives for the study of Latin American Jewry exists, but a start has been made with Thomas Niehaus and María Hernández-Lehman's "United States Archival Resources for the Study of Jews in Latin America," in *Resources for Latin American Jewish Studies*, Latin American Jewish Studies Association Publication Number 1 (Ann Arbor: LAJSA, 1984).¹ The *National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections* can be used to locate some items in the United States. Researchers will find it useful to review two volumes that describe selected Jewish archives. The first of these is that published by the World Council on Jewish Archives, the *Guide to Jewish Archives*, edited by Aryeh Segall (Jerusalem: 1981), which describes archives in Israel, the United States, Canada, Australia, and post-Holocaust Europe. Although Latin American institutions are conspicuously absent, some of the collections named contain materials relevant to Latin American Jewish studies.

The second reference work is Philip P. Mason's *Directory of Jewish Archival Institutions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), which inventories in greater detail the holdings of the principal Jewish archives in the United States: those located at the American Jewish Archives, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Leo Baeck Institute, the Bund Archives of the Jewish Labor Movement, Dropsie College, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Theological Seminary, and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.²

Archival preservation is not in an advanced state in Latin American Jewish communities, although each synagogue and voluntary society may be assumed to have generated its own records. IWO in Bue-

nos Aires (a sister institute to YIVO) houses some archives, but no catalog of them is available. Some archives have been collected by faculty and students of Hebrew University and removed to Jerusalem, where they are stored at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People. Not yet inventoried, these archives contain materials in Spanish, Portuguese, and Yiddish that are partially indexed in the language of the document. The researcher should be aware that the study of a particular Latin American community may need to be supplemented by a trip to Israel to consult its archives.

The Oral History Department of Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry has been collecting and storing oral interviews for twenty years, taking advantage of the great reservoir of history personified by the immigration to Israel of Jews from all parts of the world. An uncounted number of these interviews are relevant for Latin American Jewish studies. Corrected transcripts of interviews (some of them difficult to parse) are available according to catalogs issued by the Oral History Division; these transcripts are also sold on microfilm by the *New York Times* Oral History Program.

The most comprehensive archival resource is Martin H. Sable's *Latin American Jewry: A Research Guide* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1978). This six-hundred-page reference work, which is basic to comprehending the field, identifies primary sources in selected archives, primarily in the United States and Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sable's *Latin American Jewry* also provides a bibliography of published works on the subject up to 1973, arranged alphabetically by topic (from agricultural colonies to Zionism) and subdivided alphabetically by country. Secondary sources in English, Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish, Yiddish, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian are listed. In addition, it presents a directory of periodical titles and a classified list of associations.

Bibliography has been updated to 1980 by my *Jews of the Latin American Republics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), from which I omitted those sources that have been superseded by more recent scholarship. My pamphlet entitled *Latin American Jewish Studies* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1980) surveys published monographs and articles for the national period that are available in U.S. libraries from the perspective of college faculty wishing to add a Jewish component to a course in Latin American studies or a Latin American component to a course in Jewish studies. Now out of print, this pamphlet also inventories research needs and presents a directory of scholars engaged in Latin American Jewish studies.³

A substantial library of bibliographies of Judaica can assist the Latin Americanist. One useful guide is Arnona Rudavsky's "Using Jewish Reference Sources for the Study of Latin American Jewry: A Bibliography," in *Resources for Latin American Jewish Studies*. Shimeon Brisman's *A History and Guide to Judaic Bibliography* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1977) provides a splendid introduction to Jewish bibliography in general and describes relevant collections at the British Museum, the New York Public Library, Harvard University, and the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College.

A few Latin American citations can be retrieved through Shlomo Shunami's *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies*, second edition (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Hebrew University, 1965; supplement, 1975). The Israeli national bibliographic center, Kiryat Sefer, has been cataloging monographs on Jews published abroad and accessioned by the Jewish National Library for fifty-seven years. Dual editing in Hebrew and English renders its *Bibliographic Quarterly* (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library) accessible to readers of either language. A companion series, *Reshimaat Maamarim (Index to Articles)*, is also published annually by Kiryat Sefer and lists articles on Jewish studies appearing in Hebrew periodicals and collections that year or in periodicals and collections in other languages that year or previously.

Three bibliographies relevant to a study of Brazilian Jews should be mentioned. Bruno Basseches's *Bibliografia das Fontes de História dos Judeus no Brasil, Incluindo Obras sobre Judaísmo Publicadas no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: n.p., 1961) contains more references to works about Judaism in Brazil than to sources for writing the history of Brazilian Jewry. The same is true of Marcos Margulies's *Judaica Brasiliensis: Repertório Bibliográfico Comentado* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Documentário, 1974). Robert M. Levine includes a brief section on Brazilian Jewry in *Brazil since 1930: An Annotated Bibliography for Social Historians* (New York: Garland Press, 1980).

LARR readers will be more familiar with Latin American bibliographic sources.⁴ Some entries for Jews are to be found in *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies: Social Sciences and Humanities*, edited by Daniel Raposo Cordeiro (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1979). Lambros Comitas's *The Complete Caribbeana, 1900–1975*, 4 volumes (Milwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1977) yields a number of entries for Jews in the English and Dutch dependencies. Richard D. Woods, the author of *Reference Materials on Latin America in English: The Humanities* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980), was more resourceful in locating references of value for the study of Jewish populations, calling attention to the possibilities contained in such standard works as *Subject Collections: A Guide to Special Book Collections and Subject Emphases as Reported by University, College, Public, and Special Libraries and Museums in the United*

States and Canada, fifth edition, compiled by Lee Ash (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1978). Woods also captured such ephemera as Warren Freedman's *The Selective Guide for the Jewish Traveler: A World Guide to Restaurants, Hotels, Communal Organizations, Landmarks and Scenes, Synagogues, and More* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

Both the social sciences and humanities volumes of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press) repay annual perusal. Particularly under the editorship of Dolores Martin, the *Handbook* has noted references on Jewry published by presses not regularly associated with Latin American studies, which formerly might have passed unnoticed.

CURRENT RESEARCH

There is no reliable guide to current research in Jewish studies comparable to *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Dissertation Bibliography*, which is issued from time to time by University Microfilms International. The World Union of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem lists doctoral theses in Jewish studies in its *Newsletter*. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research has issued several editions of its *American Doctoral Dissertations and Masters' Theses on Jewish Subjects*. The American Section of the World Jewish Congress published several editions of a *Survey of Current Jewish Research* between 1974 and 1980, but this series has been discontinued. In an attempt to fill this gap, the *Latin American Jewish Studies Newsletter*, which I edit, is reporting semiannually on current research.

REFERENCE WORKS

Latin American reference works generally overlook the Jewish presence, but Volume 2 of the *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record*, edited by Jack Hopkins (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984) contains a chapter on this subject. Reference works that take the entire Jewish people as their subject matter usually include at least a section on Latin America and often separate articles by country. Such is the case with the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, sixteen volumes plus supplements (New York: Macmillan, 1971–72; and Jerusalem: Keter, 1971–72), whose country articles summarize the state of knowledge as of 1970, providing one mode of entry into the field. *Enciclopedia judaica castellana*, ten volumes (Mexico City: Editorial Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana, 1948–51), is a valuable resource, as is the Yiddish-language *Algemeine Encyclopedia*, volume 5 (New York: Dubnow Fund and Encyclopedia Committee, 1957). For general background that does not focus on Latin America, one can refer to *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, three volumes, fourth edition, edited by Louis Finkelstein (New York:

Schocken, 1971); for ethnic divisions among Jews, including origins and customs of Sephardim (Spanish-speaking Jews), there is Raphael Patai's *Tents of Jacob* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

Several global surveys of Jewish communities include essays on Latin America. The best of these is Haim Avni's "Jewish Communities in Latin America," in *World Politics and the Jewish Condition*, edited by Louis Henkin (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972). The *American Jewish Yearbook (AJYB)* (New York: American Jewish Committee), the standard reference work on Jewish life in the United States and around the world, surveys Latin communities from time to time. The *AJYB* has published two major essays on Latin American Jewry: Harry O. Sandberg's "The Jews of Latin America," *AJYB* 19 (1917-18):35-105; and Louis H. Sobel's "Jewish Community Life in Latin America," *AJYB* 47 (1945-46):119-40; a third such essay will appear in the 1985 edition.

The only serial reference work that focused on Latin American Jewry exclusively was *Comunidades Judías de Latinoamérica (CJL)*, which was issued by the Comité Judío Latinoamericano in 1966, 1968, 1970, 1971-72, and 1973-75. The *CJL* published a chronology of events, historical vignettes, as well as biography and analytical essays. Commissioned and edited by the Argentine staff of the American Jewish Committee, its articles were written by local experts who exercised considerable sophistication in the selection and presentation of information. An earlier volume of the same series should also be mentioned. Edited by Jacob Shatzky in 1952, this volume was published in both Spanish and Yiddish (*Yiddishe Yishuvim fun Lateyn-Amerika*). Relevant essays can also be found in *Primer coloquio latinoamericano sobre pluralismo cultural*, published by the Congreso Judío Latinoamericano (Buenos Aires: 1978) and in its companion volume, *Segundo coloquio* (1980).

Jewish marginality in Latin America expresses itself in a reluctance to submit to scholarly inquiry for fear that the results of any study will be misinterpreted and turned against Jews collectively. Until recently, most information concerning individual communities originated from within them and presumably was handled with concern for preserving what was deemed to be a desirable image. Now doctoral dissertations and original studies have been written by scholars knowledgeable in both Latin American and Jewish studies and possessing the requisite linguistic skills to handle materials from each. These studies have made the subject accessible to Latin Americanists as well as to scholars of Jewish history.

Reference Works on Latin American Jewry Continentwide

My previously cited work, *Jews of the Latin American Republics*, offers a comprehensive history of the national period, with an introductory chapter on Jews, *conversos*, and *crístãos-novos* of the colonial period. Immigration, occupations, community life, demography, education, and contemporary socioeconomic status are described and a comparison made between Jewish life in North and South America. Information on all the communities is included here, set within the context of Latin American history and politics. This work is updated by my essay, "The Jewish Communities of Latin America," in the 1985 edition of the *American Jewish Yearbook*.

A considerable body of literature has been generated by scholarly observers of the Latin American scene in an attempt to interpret the Jewish experience there. Among the best of these studies is David Schers and Hadassa Singer's "The Jewish Communities of Latin America: External and Internal Factors in Their Development," *Jewish Social Studies* (Summer 1977):241-58. Leonardo Senkman's "Between Revolution and Reaction," *Jewish Frontier* (March 1981):10-13, offers fresh insights and takes issue with established views concerning the middle-class orientation of Latin American Jews. The *Proceedings of the Experts' Conference on Latin America and the Future of its Jewish Communities*, which took place in New York in 1972 (London: Institute for Jewish Affairs, 1973), contain several provocative articles. A similar and equally provocative symposium product is available in Hebrew only: Haim Avni, Asher Dov Glick, Natanel Lorch, and Moshe Lazar's *Yahadut America ha-Latinit be-idan shel temurot* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1972). Seymour Liebman's "Understanding Latin American Jewry," *Reconstructionist* 3 (March 1967) still makes interesting reading, as does his "Latin American Jews: Ethnicity and Nationalism," *Jewish Frontier* 40 (July-August 1973):8-13. On the subject of ethnicity is Irving Louis Horowitz's perceptive article, "Jewish Ethnicity and Latin American Nationalism," in *Ethnicity in an International Context: The Politics of Disassociation*, edited by Abdul A. Said and Luis R. Simmons (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1976); also, Ann Twinam's debunking of the myth of Jewish ancestry in "From Jew to Basque: Ethnic Myths and Antioqueño Entrepreneurship," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 22, number 1 (February 1980):81-107. Jacob Beller's *Jews in Latin America* (New York: Jonathan David, 1969) is of only superficial interest. Moshe Davis began the comparative study of Jewish communities with his essay, "Mercazei yehudim bayevashot America" in *Am Yisroel B'doreynu*, edited by Shaul Esh (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1964). In this connection, it is worth drawing attention to Seymour Martin Lipset's essay, "The Study of Jewish Com-

munities in a Comparative Context," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 5 (1963):156–60.

Argentina

There is no single satisfactory history of the Jews of Argentina. Bernard D. Ansel demarcates the periods of Jewish settlement in his doctoral dissertation, "The Beginnings of the Modern Jewish Community in Argentina, 1852–1891" (University of Kansas, 1969). Victor A. Mirelman covers much the same period in his master's thesis, "The Early History of the Jewish Community of Buenos Aires: 1860–1892" (Columbia University, 1968), but he supplies additional information on the Argentine context. Mirelman's doctoral dissertation, "The Jews in Argentina (1890–1930): Assimilation and Particularism" (Columbia University, 1973), focuses in great detail on the internal politics and structure of the Jewish community, with particular attention to the evolution of communal institutions. Social mobility among Buenos Aires Ashkenazim was analyzed by Eugene Sofer, who used quantitative methodology in his dissertation, "From Pale to Pampa: Eastern Jewish Social Mobility in Gran Buenos Aires, 1890–1945" (University of California at Los Angeles, 1976). The published version, *From Pale to Pampa: The Jewish Immigrant Experience in Buenos Aires* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), eliminates most of the scholarly apparatus and integrates the author's conclusions into the context of contemporary Argentine politics. *Pioneros de la Argentina, los inmigrantes judíos*, edited by Martha Wolff (Buenos Aires: Manrique Zago Ediciones, 1982), presents a splendid picture album with a strong historical sense. Its captions are in both Spanish and English.

Several monographs take Argentine Jewry as a whole for their subject matter. The works of Boleslao Lewin are important, particularly *La colectividad judía en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Alzamor, 1974) and *Cómo fué la inmigración judía a la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1971). Robert Weisbrot makes a jaunty tour of the community in *The Jews of Argentina from the Inquisition to Perón* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), a work that lacks scholarly depth but offers useful insights, particularly on anti-Semitism.

Several articles on Argentine Jewry should be mentioned. Irving Louis Horowitz's "The Jewish Community of Buenos Aires," *Jewish Social Studies* 24 (October 1962):195–222, is probably the most frequently cited reference. Although time has questioned or disproved many of the author's conclusions, the piece remains interesting for its analytic framework and its sociological content. Haim Avni provides a thumb-nail history in a three-part article entitled "Argentine Jewry: Its Socio-

Political Status and Organizational Patterns," *Dispersion and Unity* 12 (1971):128–62; 13/14 (1971–72):161–208; and 15 (1972–73):158–215.

In the field of demography, an early work by Simon Weill, *Población israelita en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: n.p., 1936) was reassessed and substantially revised by Ira Rosenswajke in "The Jewish Population of Argentina," *Jewish Social Studies* 22 (October 1960):195–214. The Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) surveyed the two metropolitan areas of Tucumán and Quilmes in 1963, returning to the former in 1974. These ventures in self-study were ruptured by political conditions during the seventies.

Far and away the best source is U. O. Schmelz and Sergio Della Pergola's *Hademografia shel hayehudim be-Argentina uve-artzot aherot shel America haLatinit* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1974). The authors analyzed a dataset from the 1960 Argentine national census for presumed Jewish responses. Their findings affected Latin American Jewish studies (and the communities) profoundly by revealing a stark decrease in the size of the population due to aging, excess of deaths over births, a rising rate of intermarriage, emigration, and alienation of the younger generation from the old. Although this study centers on Argentina, it includes information on other communities as well. The work is unfortunately available only in Hebrew, but parts of it have been published in successive editions of the *American Jewish Yearbook*.

In a class by itself is Alberto Klein's *Cinco siglos de historia argentina: crónica de la vida judía y su circunstancia* (Buenos Aires: n.p., 1980), a detailed, but not altogether reliable, chronology of the internal affairs of the Jewish community.

The Argentine Jewish agricultural colonies have come in for more than their share of attention. Consecutive issues of *Argentiner IWO Shriftn* contain many articles on various aspects of the colonization movement. A concise history is to be found in Lázaro Schallman's *Los pioneros de la colonización judía en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Congreso Judío Latinoamericano, 1969) and "Historia de los 'Pampistas'" (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Popular Judía, 1971). Schallman contributed a chapter on the same subject entitled "Proceso histórico de la colonización agrícola" to *Inmigración y nacionalidad*, edited by Dardo J. Cuneo, Julio Mafud, Amalia Sánchez Sívori, and Lázaro Schallman (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, n.d.). A detailed study of Jewish agricultural colonies was the subject of Haim Avni's doctoral dissertation, published in Hebrew as *Argentina, Ha-arets Hayavda* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1973). Avni's focus is on the internal politics of this complex international venture in philanthropy. Arie Tartakower's *Hahityashvut hayehudit bagolah* (Tel Aviv: M. Neuman, 1969) describes Jewish agricultural settlement worldwide and includes a chapter on Argentina. Morton Winsberg looked at the colonies from the perspective of economic geography,

publishing his results as *Colonia Baron Hirsch: A Jewish Agricultural Colony in Argentina*, University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences Number 19 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964); and as "Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Entre Rios," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 27 (July 1968):285–95; 27 (October 1968):423–28; and 28 (April 1969):179–91. A historical appraisal of the settlements may be found in my article "Goodnight, Sweet Gaucho: A Revisionist View of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment in Argentina," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 67 (March 1978):208–23.

Communal organization has been examined from a variety of perspectives. Natan Lerner, whose training is in the law, examines the topic in *Jewish Organization in Latin America* (Tel Aviv: David Horowitz Institute, Tel Aviv University, 1974) from a legal perspective. Teresa Kaplanski de Caryevschi analyzes the membership of "The Organized Jewish Community of Buenos Aires—AMIA," *Dispersion and Unity* 11 (1970):147–78. See also Seymour B. Liebman's "Argentine Jews and Their Institutions," *Jewish Social Studies* 43, numbers 3–4 (Summer–Fall 1981):311–28. Victor A. Mirelman's "Early Zionist Activities among Sephardim in Argentina," *American Jewish Archives* 39, number 2 (November 1982):190–205, is one of the few cogent works available on Sephardic life.

Immigration necessarily plays a part in any history of the Argentine Jewish community, and at least some reference to it will be found in all the works cited. Drawn to the topic by the Smithsonian Institution's two-year symposium entitled "The Muses Flee Hitler," Ronald C. Newton wrote two articles that incorporate important new information on Jewish immigration to Argentina: "Indifferent Sanctuary: German-Speaking Refugees and Exiles in Argentina, 1933–45," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 24, number 4 (November 1982):395–420; and "Das Andere Deutschland: The Anti-Fascist Exile Network in Southern South America," in *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, 1930–1945*, edited by Jarrett C. Jackman and Carla M. Borden (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983).

The history of trade unionism in Argentina remains incomplete in its omission of Jewish activism. Material for this important historical period can be found in successive volumes of *Yohrbuch fun der yidisher kehilla in Buenos Aires* (which contains articles in Yiddish and Spanish) and *Pinkus fun der Kehilla* (published in various years by the AMIA). Especially noteworthy is Pinie Wald's "Di Yiddishe Arbeter-bavegung in Argentina" in *Pinkus fun der Kehilla*, 1954–55 (Buenos Aires):109–43. This work, as well as his *In gang fun tzeitn: Yidn in der algemeiner argentinischer socialistischer arbeter-bavegung* (Buenos Aires: Tal Graf. Julio Kaufman, 1955), should be consulted by anyone interested in Argentine trade unionism.

The events of 1919 known as *la semana trágica*, when an industrial strike turned into a pogrom in which as many as eight hundred Jews and Catalans were lynched, have attracted the attention of many Jewish historians and memoirists, but they have remained unintegrated into general Argentine history. Chapters of Boleslao Lewin's already mentioned *La colectividad judía en la Argentina* are relevant, and a concise account is available in Victor A. Mirelman's "The Semana Trágica of 1919 and the Jews of Argentina," *Jewish Social Studies* 37 (January 1975):61–73. *Koshmar* (Buenos Aires: 1929) is the nightmarish memoir of labor leader Pinie Wald, who was arrested that week and charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government (he was later released for lack of evidence). John Raymond Hebert's unpublished dissertation, "The Tragic Week of January, 1919, in Buenos Aires: Background, Events, Aftermath" (Georgetown University, 1972), calls attention to the omission of the pogrom from most historical accounts of the period, but the work suffers from an inadequate knowledge of Jewish politics.

As any visitor to Argentina knows, a large amount of anti-Semitic literature circulates freely, reflecting a high pitch of anti-Jewish feeling among some strata of the population. Analyses of this phenomenon may be found in Natan Lerner's "Anti-Semitism and the Nationalist Ideology in Argentina," *Dispersion and Unity* 17/18 (1973):131–39, and in his "Argentina's First Anti-Semitic Novel," *Patterns of Prejudice* 5 (September–October 1971):25–27. The Argentine experience is extrapolated in David Schers's "Anti-Semitism in Latin America," in *Violence and Defense: The Jewish Experience*, edited by Salo W. Baron and George S. Wise (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1977), pp. 239–53. *La cuestión judía en la Argentina*, edited by Juan José Sebreli (Buenos Aires: Editorial Tiempo Contemporáneo, n.d.), contains a number of essays on anti-Semitism, the most notable of which is Gino Germani's "Antisemitismo ideológico y antisemitismo tradicional," pp. 177–90. Aaron Viñas's "Jews in Argentina," *Forum* (Winter 1979):101–19, is also worth seeing. Finally, no study of Argentine anti-Semitism would be complete without reference to Jacobo Timerman's *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number* (New York: Knopf, 1981) and the massive press coverage that surrounded its publication.

Brazil

Although Brazil is the home of the second-largest number of Latin American Jews, they have not been the object of half as many studies as those in Argentina. Several general histories lay claim to comprehensiveness but are marred by a lack of probative detail. Originally published in German, Kurt Loewenstamm's *Vultos Judaicos no Brasil*, Volume 2: *Império, 1822–1889* (Rio de Janeiro: n.p., 1956), hints at

the wealth of history hidden here. *Breve História dos Judeus no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblos, 1962) is comprised of two essays: Salomão Serebrenick's "Quatro Séculos de Vida Judaica no Brasil, 1500–1900"; and Eliahu Lipiner's "A Nova Imigração Judaica no Brasil," both of which are more suggestive than definitive.

Working with notarial records, Egon and Frieda Wolff have extracted documents relating to Jews and published them in *Os Judeus no Brasil Imperial* (São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, 1975). Their *Sepulturas de Israelitas, S. Francisco Xavier, Rio de Janeiro* reproduces epitaphs of Jewish tombstones. Eva Nicolaiewsky prepared an onomastic atlas of rural Brazilian Jewry for *Israelitas no Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre: Editôra Garatuja, 1975). The history of the German Jewish religious congregation in São Paulo is chronicled by Alice Irene Hirschberg in *Desafio e Resposta: A História da Congregação Israelita Paulista* (São Paulo: n.p., 1976). Frida Alexandr's *Filipson: Memórias da Primeira Colônia Judaica no Rio Grande do Sul* (São Paulo: Editôra Fulgor, 1967) is the only known document of its kind for Brazil.

The most useful work on the Brazilian Jewish community is Henrique Rattner's *Tradição e Mudança: A Comunidade Judaica em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Atica, 1970). This professionally designed and executed survey covers demography, occupational structure, socioeconomic level, Jewish education, organizational life, immigration and acculturation, and problems of identity. Also valuable is Rattner's "Occupational Structure of Jews in Brazil: Trends and Perspectives," a paper delivered at the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies held in Jerusalem in August 1973. A historical overview of the same community was prepared by Anita Novinsky, historian of the colonial period, and appeared as "Os Israelitas em São Paulo," in *São Paulo: Espírito, Povo, Instituições*, edited by J. V. Freitas Marcondas and Osmar Pimentel (São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editôra, 1974), pp. 109–26. A detailed study of the Jewish school system in Rio de Janeiro was carried out by the faculty of the David Horowitz Institute for the Research of Developing Countries and published as *Brazilian Jewry: The Jewish School System in Rio de Janeiro* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980).

Several essays are well worth noting, among them the Yiddish typographer Yitzhak Raisman's "Yidn in Brazil," *Jewish Review* 4 (October 1946):139–53, and his *Idische Sheferishkait in Lender fun Portugalishen Loshen* (Tzfat: Museum Leomanut Hadfus, 1975). Alfred Hirschberg's "The Economic Adjustment of Jewish Refugees in São Paulo," *Jewish Social Studies* 7 (January 1945):31–40, provides a glimpse of wartime adjustment. Several contributions by Nachman Falbel, professor of Jewish studies at the Centro de Estudos Judaicos da Universidade de São Paulo, should be noted, including "Algumas Questões concerniente a

Metodologia na Pesquisa da História Moderna dos Judeus e o Conhecimento de Suas Fontes," in *Memórias da 1 Semana da História* (Franca: Universidade Estadual Paulista, 1979); and "Crónica do Judaísmo Paulista," *Herança Judaica* 44 (December 1980):3–10. "Aspects of Inter-marriage," a sociological study by Rosa Krausz, appeared in *American Jewish Archives* 34, number 2 (November 1983):216–30. Robert M. Levine's "Brazil's Jews under Vargas," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 5 (Summer 1968):45–58, marked that distinguished Brazilianist's entry into the field of Latin American Jewish studies.

Chile

The Jewish community of Chile has not attracted many researchers. Moises Senderey's *Historia de la colectividad israelita de Chile*, also published as *Di Geshikhhte fun dem Yidishn Yishuv in Chile* (Santiago: Editorial "Dos Ydische Wort," 1956), has had no competition since its appearance a generation ago. The article on Chile in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* by Günter Böhm, a historian of the colonial period, is probably the best review of Chilean Jewish history available at this time. Jewish immigration to Chile was studied by Moshe Nes-El in "La inmigración judía a Chile durante 1929–1939," *Coloquio* 7 (1982):73–88.

Costa Rica

The Polish Jews of Costa Rica are the subject of an excellent collection of studies published as *El judío en Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 1979). It contains chapters written by Jacobo Schifter Sikora, Lowell Gudmundson, and Mario Solera Castro. The subjects covered include the political, religious, and economic causes of migration from Poland to Costa Rica; socioeconomic, religious, and cultural history of the immigrants; anti-Semitism; and the Jewish world in Costa Rica, 1900–1960. This work is important not only for its comprehensive description of this tiny community, but because it serves as a model for studies that should be undertaken of other communities.

Cuba

The bouyant, but short-lived, Jewish community of Cuba was the subject of a monograph by Boris Sapir, a sociologist who spent the war years on the island. This study is available as *The Jewish Community of Cuba* (New York: Jewish Teachers' Seminary Press, 1948). Related articles by Sapir include "Jews in Cuba," *Jewish Review* 4 (July–September 1946):109–44, and "Jewish Organizations in Cuba," *Jewish Review* 5

(January-March 1947):263–81. The Yiddish-language newspaper *Havaner Lebn* published informative annual *Almanagues*. The paper's editors and staff were also responsible for other publications, such as *Un cuarto siglo de vida habañera, 1932–1957*, edited by Sender M. Kaplan and Alexander J. Dubelman (Havana: Havaner Lebn, 1958); and *Continuidad hebrea en tierra cubana*, edited by Leizer Ran (Havana: Havaner Lebn, 1951). "The Jewish Cuban Community in South Florida" was studied by Seymour Liebman in *AJYB* (1969):238–46. The former Cuban Jewish community is now being studied in three separate projects that have been organized in the greater Miami area: an oral history project under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee, a book focusing on the Cuban Ashkenazic community being edited by Sender Kaplan, and a documentary film focusing on the Cuban Jewish community of Miami as a case study of an immigrant group under stress. Sponsored by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, the film is being produced by a team headed by Robert M. Levine and Mark D. Szuchman. This community is also the subject of a University of Miami master's thesis by Caroline Amram.

Dominican Republic

There are various unpublished sources for Sephardim and Ashkenazim in the Dominican Republic, some of which have found their way into the literature through the work of Harry Hoetink. Sources for the Jewish agricultural settlement at Sosua include *Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1942) and *Sosua, Haven for Refugees in the Dominican Republic* (New York: Dominican Republic Settlement Association, 1941). Also, a paper was written for the Jewish Theological Seminary by Hyman Kisch entitled "The Jewish Settlement from Central Europe in the Dominican Republic." Wartime immigration to the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and other nations is detailed in my study entitled "The Reception of the Muses in the Circum-Caribbean," in *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*, edited by Jarrell C. Jackman and Carla Borden (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983).

Mexico

The Mexican Jewish community, which might appear to be the most accessible to North American scholars, has proved to be the most resistant. No new scholarship on the Mexican Jewish community has appeared in years, nor is there any comprehensive history of this population. There are, however, several doctoral dissertations that should be consulted: Jacob Levitz's "The Jewish Community in Mexico: Its Life

and Education" (Dropsie College, 1954); Corinne Azen Krause's "The Jews in Mexico: A History with Special Emphasis on the Period from 1857 to 1930" (University of Pittsburgh, 1970); and Harriet Sara Lesser's "A History of the Jewish Community of Mexico City, 1912–1970" (Jewish Teachers' Seminary and Columbia University, 1972).

The Mexican communal historian, Tovy Meisel, has published several essays with the same title of "Jews in Mexico." Perhaps the most accessible are to be found in *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 2-3 (1947–48):295–312, and in *Algemeine Enciclopedia* 5 (1957):405–20. The prodigious output of colonial historian Seymour B. Liebman includes one book on the national period, *Los judíos en México y América Central* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1971). Also relevant is Liebman's article, "The Mestizo Jews of Mexico," *American Jewish Archives* 19, number 2 (November 1967):144–74. An intellectual history of Mexican Jewry was the subject of Ana Portnoy Grumberg's thesis, "Cultura e intelectuales judíos en México" (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1977).

Netherlands Antilles

For the history of Sephardim in Latin America, a knowledge of their long sojourn in the Dutch insular possessions is essential. Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel's *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, two volumes (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 1970; and Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1970), is a monumental work that historians will consult for years to come. Frances P. Karner's *The Sephardics of Curaçao: A Study of Sociocultural Patterns in Flux* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969) takes an anthropological approach to this community. The ethnic persistence of Sephardim is studied by Eva Abraham van der Mark in "Marriage and the Family in a White Colonial Elite," *Antropologica*, new series 22, number 1 (1980):119–34.

Paraguay

Recent publication of a history of the Jews of Paraguay is the first word on the subject from that country. The familiarity of the patterns revealed by Alfredo M. Seiferheld in his *Inmigración y presencia judías en el Paraguay*, Volume 1 (Asunción: Revista de la Universidad Católica, 1981), reinforces the image of a Jewish archipelago scattered over a Latin American sea, each island differing somewhat from the others but all bearing a strong familial resemblance stemming from their common origin and their location in similar environments.

Other Countries

At the present time, many communities—Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Uruguay, as well as most of Central America—can be traced only through the *Enciclopedia Judaica* or through *Jews of the Latin American Republics*.

OTHER APPROACHES

Some topics in Latin American Jewish studies are best treated without regard to national boundaries. Only one relevant work on religion may be cited: Clifford M. Kulwin's rabbinic thesis, *The Emergence of Progressive Judaism in South America* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, 1983).

Biography

Biographical literature has nowhere been collected systematically, and there is no adequate bibliography for this field. A partial listing of memoirs by and about Latin American Jewish personalities will be found in my work, *Latin American Jewish Studies*.

Jewish Education

Because of the underlying tension between conserving the immigrant tradition and assimilating into the national culture, Jewish education has been the subject most frequently written about by Jewish historians and sociologists. The David Horowitz Institute for the Research of Developing Countries at Tel Aviv University carried out studies and issued a series of reports during the years 1973–76 on Jewish education in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Latin America in general. All are in Hebrew and most are out of print. The study on Brazil was published in an English translation. Capsulized information is contained in Harold S. Himmelfarb and Sergio Della Pergola's *Enrollment in Jewish Schools in the Diaspora—Late 1970s* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1982). Jewish education in Latin America in an earlier epoch was analyzed by Zevi Scharfstein in a publication of the Central Yiddish Culture Organization, *The Jewish People: Past and Present* (New York: Marsten Press, 1948) volume 2, pp. 172–78. Various editions of *Comunidades Judías* published articles on this subject, including Tzila Chelminsky's "La educación judía en México," 1970:221–29; Marta de Dajes's "Los estudiantes judíos universitarios de Bogotá," 1971–72:307–22; Simja Sneh's "La red escolar judía en la República Argentina," 1968:129–42; and Olga M. de Winter's "La educación judía en la Argentina," 1966:133–42. A dissertation by

John Kenneth Smith, "Jewish Education in Colombia: Group Survival versus Assimilation" (University of Wisconsin, 1972), describes an interesting variant in the overall pattern caused by Colombia's concordat with the Vatican.

Demography

Jewish demography is a peculiarly intractable subject for reasons set forth by U. O. Schmelz in "Critical Assessment of Jewish Population Estimates for Argentina and Latin America," in *Studies in Jewish Demography: Survey for 1969-71* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1975). The critical evaluation of census figures by Schmelz and Della Pergola, listed above in the section on Argentina, remains the basic document on this subject. Other sources for Jewish population figures are the *American Jewish Yearbook* (to which Schmelz and Della Pergola now contribute annually) and for earlier years, the defunct *Comunidades Judias*. Some of the country studies include exceptionally good statistics: see especially Rattner's *Tradição e Mudança* on Brazil and the chapters by Sikora, Gudmundson, and Castro in *El judío en Costa Rica*. A summary of the most recent population data, together with a discussion of trends, is to be found in my article "A Demographic Profile of Latin American Jewry," *American Jewish Archives* 39, number 2 (November 1982):231-48.

Collections of Essays

In recent years, several journals have devoted entire issues to the Latin American Jewish communities, including *American Jewish Archives* (November 1982), *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* (March 1978), and *Jewish Frontier* (March 1981). In addition, *Michael*, a serial publication of the Diaspora Research Institute of Tel Aviv under the editorship of Daniel Carpi and Shlomo Simonsohn, devoted Volume 8 (1983) to Latin America.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

That increased scholarly attention is being paid to Jewish communities in Latin America is undeniable. Researchers will find help in identifying the collections most likely to be useful to them in Richard D. Woods and Arnona Rudavsky's "United States Library Collections on Latin American Jews" in *Resources for Latin American Jewish Studies*.

But entire areas of research remain untouched. There is a real need for a global inventory of archives relating to Latin American Jewry. Bibliographies for the colonial period, for the arts and literature, and for works in languages omitted from the present review all are

needed. Most of the Jewish communities have not been the subject of studies as detailed as those existing on Costa Rica, the city of São Paulo, or the agricultural colonies. No serious study exists of the religious beliefs and practices of Latin American Jews nor of the role of the religious establishment in communal organizations. Relations between the Catholic Church and the Jews, defined in each republic by the national political context, have not been subjected to analysis.

The participation by Jews as individuals and as interest groups in national politics is scarcely approached in the literature, and in some cases—such as the development of labor unions in Argentina, Cuba, and Uruguay—the omission seriously flaws works written on the subject. At the present time, the increasing importance of the triangular relationship between the State of Israel, Latin America, and the Latin American Jewish communities calls for sophisticated analysis.

The abundance of literature already in existence makes it possible to integrate the Jewish presence into Latin American history. Willingness to expand the known world of Latin American ethnicity will be rewarded by a more complete comprehension of these complex societies.

NOTES

1. LAJSA publications may be obtained from the Latin American Jewish Studies Association, 2104 Georgetown Blvd., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105.
2. YIVO is the Yiddish acronym for Yidisher Visnshaflekher Institute, which functions in New York as the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. A sister institute in Buenos Aires adopted the spelling IWO.
3. The directory of scholars was updated in the summer of 1982 and is available from the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati.
4. These sources are reviewed by Peter Johnson in *LARR* 18, number 1 (1983):254–62.