

The Atlanta Jewish Community: Collaboration in the Face of Difference

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In the years before World War II began, antisemitic ideology hung in the air of Europe like a virus. Feeding off the viral tendrils, the Nazi regime went to great lengths to spread the plague of persecution. Across the Atlantic, the Jewish community became aware of the increasingly hostile atmosphere that pervaded the European mindset. Well before the world faced another global war, American Jews began to work in earnest to coordinate relief efforts for those living under the oppression of the Third Reich. The leadership of the American Jewish community did what they could through the restraints of the Great Depression, devoting their lives to saving those abroad from the devastation that would later occur.

Through countless hours of combing through the archived newspapers of the Southern Israelite and digging through the archives of the William Breman Jewish Heritage and Holocaust Museum, the actions of Harold Hirsch, David Marx, Harry H. Epstein, and Tobias Geffen showed how men of differing ideologies could make a stand to save unknown souls in the name of religious tolerance and human decency. Their actions serve as a lesson to current and future generations that hope, dedication, and perseverance can and will prevail. Though the Holocaust continued and the actions of Hirsch, Marx, Epstein, and Geffen may have seemed small and inconsequential in the face of millions of lives lost, their dedication still mattered. To those who lived due to the deeds of the Atlanta few, their actions would mean everything.

In the face of the horrific events that struck the Jewish population of Europe prior to and during World War II, American Jews sought to aid their Judaic brethren both abroad and at home during a time of tremendous economic and political upheaval. The Jews of Atlanta were no different, in fact, they excelled. With the creation of the Jewish Welfare Fund, the Atlanta Jewish community was launched into the spotlight and hailed as a paragon of a united front. Cities like Nashville sought to emulate their success. Following the fruitful fundraising efforts in Atlanta in 1936, Nashville sought the expertise of nationally respected Atlantean, Harold Hirsch, the brain behind the Jewish Welfare Fund. The leadership of the Atlanta Jewish community was respected across the United States. Their collaboration with one another, despite differences, led Atlanta to become one of the most successful fundraising cities in the South for the betterment of Jews worldwide.

The Jewish community had existed in Atlanta since the city's birth in 1845, albeit only constituting roughly one percent of the population, totaling just 25 people.¹ Historian Mark K. Bauman, who wrote on the history of Jewish Atlanta noted that, "the first subcommunity to arrive migrated from north central Europe, particularly the Germanic states and Poland, during the late antebellum period."² Due to increased persecution within Russia in the late nineteenth century, Eastern European Jews began arriving in Atlanta, followed by a smaller contingent of Sephardic Jews from the Ottoman Empire in the first decade of the twentieth century. Despite their

¹ History. Accessed February 15, 2018. <https://www.the-temple.org/history>.

² Mark K. Bauman, "Factionalism and Ethnic Politics in Atlanta: The German Jews from the Civil War Through the Progressive Era," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82 (Fall 1998), 533-558.

commonality in the Jewish faith, the divisions caused by their origins and Jewish observations resulted in a growing rift rather than forming a unifying base.³

By the time the Eastern European and Sephardic Jews began arriving in Atlanta, most German Jews had migrated to Reform Judaism, becoming members of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in 1867.⁴ Reform Judaism, which began in Germany in the early nineteenth century, sought to modernize itself in conjunction with the evolving times. Most Eastern European Jews remained Orthodox and due to discontent with the continued move towards Reform ideology, they broke away from the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in 1887 to form Ahavath Achim, a conservative Orthodox synagogue. However, many within Ahavath Achim felt that their religious observations had strayed from the Orthodox path yet again, thus another break occurred in 1902, resulting in the formation of Shearith Israel, an ultra-Orthodox community.

The division within the Jewish community did not remain limited to forms of worship, it also extended to Jewish social life. Although they aided Eastern European Jews settle into their new surroundings, Central European Jews considered their Eastern European neighbors to be “social inferiors”.⁵ For example, Central European Jews created the Concordia Association, due to most private clubs prohibiting Jews from becoming members. By 1904, the name had changed to the Standard Club and it represented a prestigious private Jewish social community. However, just as most Gentile clubs did not allow Jewish members, the Standard Club was also restricted, denying Eastern European Jews membership. This resulted in the creation of the Progressive Club in 1913.⁶ Within the community, yet choosing to remain outside, were the Sephardim. While they lived among the Central and Eastern European Jews, they kept to their own ways, both in a religious and social context.⁷

In 1906, Jewish pogroms in Russia prompted several American Jewish businessmen to create the American Jewish Committee (AJC), which “aimed ‘to prevent the infringement of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world’ and ‘to render all lawful assistance’ to those Jews whose rights were threatened”.⁸ With the start of World War I in 1914, the AJC then created the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) expanding its role in providing Jewish relief, not yet aware of the depth of need that would assail them in the coming years. The rise of Hitler and the Nazi regime led several Jewish communities throughout the United States to come together to form a plethora of organizations, most falling under the leadership of the JDC.

³ Mark K. Bauman, “Factionalism and Ethnic Politics in Atlanta: The German Jews from the Civil War Through the Progressive Era,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82 (Fall 1998), 533-558.

⁴ History. Accessed February 15, 2018. <https://www.the-temple.org/history>.

⁵ Steven Hertzberg, *Strangers Within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta 1845-1915*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Jewish Publication Society, 1978), 117.

⁶ Mark K. Bauman and Arnold Shankman, “The Rabbi as Ethnic Broker: The Case of David Marx,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 2 (Spring, 1983): 82.

⁷ Arnold Shankman, “Atlanta Jewry 1900-1930,” *American Jewish Archives* 25 (November 1973): 134.

⁸ Staff, MJL. “The American Jewish Committee.” My Jewish Learning. Accessed February 18, 2018. <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-american-jewish-committee/>.

Community Leadership

Working on an individual basis, or in conjunction with the multitude of relief programs, Atlanta Jewish community leaders sought to aid their Jewish brethren in Germany and Russia, most notably, Coca-Cola attorney Harold Hirsch, Rabbi David Marx, Rabbi Harry H. Epstein, and Rabbi Tobias Geffen. These men used their elevated positions and esteemed persona within the Atlanta Jewish community to gain the attention of the both Jews and Gentiles alike to the crisis occurring in Europe. The degree of influence and interaction with relief efforts varied among the leaders. Both Hirsch and Marx gained visibility on a national level, working with men such as the prominent and well-known Rabbi Jonah B. Wise in New York. As such, their names appeared with a greater degree of frequency than that of Epstein and Geffen.

In 1881, German immigrant Henry Hirsch and Virginia native Lola Hutzler gave birth to their son, Harold Hirsch, who rose to prominence within both the Atlanta Jewish community and among the Gentiles as both a renowned lawyer as well as an advocate for European Jewish relief.⁹ He graduated from the University of Georgia in 1901, and earned a Columbia University law degree in 1904. Upon his return to Atlanta, Hirsch worked for a law firm for a few years before establishing his own practice. Due to the insistent and dedicated nature of Hirsch, Coca-Cola sought his firm's services to protect their future interests, leading to Hirsch gaining notoriety for his work with trademarking. Hirsch also worked on a wide number of corporation committees throughout Atlanta further cementing his place among respectable leaders outside of the Jewish community.

In addition to his corporate and legal work, Hirsch maintained active involvement with his alma mater, University of Georgia, dedicating numerous resources for the benefit of future students. Due to his philanthropic work, "University of Georgia awarded him a Doctor of Laws degree honoris cause in 1927."¹⁰ In 1933, the city of Atlanta gave further praise to Hirsch through the dedication of a law building at University of Georgia in his honor, aptly named Harold Hirsch Hall.¹¹ *The Southern Israelite* quoted Marion Smith, president of the Georgia Bar Association, who declared, "whenever men speak of the service that the alumni of this university have rendered it, by common consent the name of Harold Hirsch leads all the rest."¹² Hirsch had become one of the most prominent and successful Jews with the ability to cross the Jewish-Gentile divide. As the Jewish Telegraphic Agency noted, "the honor which Mr. Hirsch received when this building was

⁹ David Marx, "Harold Hirsch," *American Jewish Yearbook*. 5701 ed. Vol. 42. 1940-1941 (Philadelphia: American Jewish Committee, 1940): 165-166.

¹⁰ Mark K. Bauman, "Role Theory and History: The Illustration of Ethnic Brokerage in the Atlanta Jewish Community in the Era of Transition and Conflict." *American Jewish History* 73 (September 1983): 79.

¹¹ "Victory for Religious Tolerance in Georgia." Jewish Telegraphic Agency. January 08, 1933. Accessed July 10, 2017. <http://www.jta.org/1933/01/08/archive/victory-for-religious-tolerance-in-georgia>.

¹² T.J. Tobias, Jr. "Harold Hirsch: 'Georgia's Most Glorious Alumnus,'" *Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), April 1933. Accessed July 8, 2017. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1933/asi1933-0041.mets.xml#page/1/mode/1up>.

given his name is indicative that a new era is dawning in Georgia, both from an educational viewpoint and from the standpoint of racial and religious tolerance.”¹³

Hirsch’s involvement with the vast array of Jewish organizations in America began well before the Nazi regime came to power. The earliest correspondence between Hirsch and the JDC dated from January 1919, in which the secretary of the JDC had apologized that though Hirsch had shown his dedication through his work for the organization, they could not legally send monetary relief to his relatives in Germany due to restricting war time conditions.¹⁴ Near the end of the 1920s, Hirsch began to take a much more active role in Jewish relief agencies. Hirsch served as chairman for the Atlanta chapter of the United Jewish Campaign, which began in 1925 to assist European Jews suffering under persecution.

Created in 1930, the Allied Jewish Campaign worked to consolidate the fundraising efforts of the JDC and the United Palestine Appeal, the latter of which had been formed to build up Palestine as a nation for the Jewish people. Whereas the United Jewish Campaign looked to aid those in Eastern Europe, the Allied Jewish Campaign had closer ties to Palestine, a factor that hindered its fundraising efforts. David M. Bressler, who served as national chairmen, explained that “the Allied Jewish Campaign aims, in the last analysis, to weld the Jews of America, Orthodox, Reform, Socialist, Capitalist, Zionists, Anti-Zionists, whatever they may be in a common bond of service.”¹⁵ The consolidation helped in forming a single monetary fund pool rather than having a multitude of organizations asking for assistance with relief efforts. Hirsch worked with the campaign as one of several honorary vice-chairmen, being the primary point of contact between Atlanta and the Allied Jewish Campaign headquarters in New York City.

In the wake of the Great Depression and the dawn of the rise of the Nazis in Germany, Hirsch worked even more assiduously to assist in any fashion possible his Jewish brethren. Among notable Jews in America during the 1930s, Hirsch became the epitome of a dedicated Jewish man, gaining recognition on a national level for his service in the name of Judaism. Smith remarked on Hirsch’s devotion to the Jewish faith, declaring that it had become such a fundamental part of Hirsch’s life that he derived happiness from providing help to those who so desperately needed it.¹⁶ Despite the internal divisions among Atlanta Jews, Hirsch believed in the Jewish faith to such an extent that he considered all Jews brothers and sisters, regardless of their sect. Hirsch spent the remainder of his life putting the plight of others before himself and worked diligently to save his Jewish brethren from anti-Semitic persecution.

¹³ "Victory for Religious Tolerance in Georgia." Jewish Telegraphic Agency. January 08, 1933. Accessed March 1, 2017. <http://www.jta.org/1933/01/08/archive/victory-for-religious-tolerance-in-georgia>.

¹⁴ Secretary of the JDC to Harold Hirsch. January 14, 1919. Atlanta, Georgia.

¹⁵ "Bressler Outlines Plans of Allied Jewish Campaign, in Broadcast over Weaf." Jewish Telegraphic Agency. March 03, 1930. Accessed March 02, 2018. <https://www.jta.org/1930/03/03/archive/bressler-outlines-plans-of-allied-jewish-campaign-in-broadcast-over-weaf>.

¹⁶ T.J. Tobias, Jr. "Harold Hirsch: 'Georgia's Most Glorious Alumnus,'" *Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), April 1933. Accessed July 8, 2017. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1933/asi1933-0041.mets.xml#page/1/mode/1up>.

Hirsch's dedication to the relief of the European Jews did not go unnoticed among the national Jewish agencies. On February 13, 1933, chairman Paul Baerwald of the JDC sent a letter to Hirsch informing him that "The Committee on Nominations has unanimously submitted your name for membership. . .we do feel that the interest and continued close association of men like yourself will help the Joint Distribution Committee in its general program as well as in its fund-raising effort."¹⁷ In 1935, Hirsch received a letter from Joseph C. Hyman, honorary secretary with the UJA, informing Hirsch that he had been nominated as an honorary vice-chairman, a position they granted based off his dedication to the cause.¹⁸ Similarly, he kept his position on the executive committee with the American Jewish Committee with his reelection.

In addition to his vast contributions to Jewish relief, Hirsch took an active role in Reform Judaism, serving as president at The Temple under the rabbinic leadership of Marx as well chairman for the Southern Conference of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.¹⁹ Hirsch's relationship with Marx spanned over the course of many years and crossed the boundaries of several Jewish organizations. Just as Hirsch would work to unite the Jewish community, so would Marx dedicate his skills to bridging the gap between the Atlanta Jews and Gentiles.

Born in the year of 1872 in New Orleans from German parents, David Marx took up the pulpit in Atlanta as lead Rabbi for The Temple at the young age of twenty-three, serving for a span of fifty years.²⁰ Most notably, his work to create a bond between Jews and Gentiles led to his gaining the respect of non-Jews and Jews alike during a period embroiled in chaos. Historians Bauman and Arnold Shankman explained that "Rabbi David Marx (1872-1962) assumed the multifaceted role of ethnic broker for Atlanta's Jews," where an "ethnic broker is a communicator who is respected by his group and acts as a spokesman in intergroup relations."²¹ With the differing cultures within the Atlanta Jewish community, Marx sought to find a common ground in order to bring the assemblies together as well as building a bridge between Jews and Gentiles, which remained paramount and constituted a large portion of his outreach.

Although not fully accepted or integrated within Atlanta, the Jewish community had become well established. However, the murder of a young girl stripped away all that had been accomplished. Not only did the case bring nationwide attention and reinvigorate dormant antisemitic rhetoric, but due to her white skin color it also fostered racial concerns. Primarily on the testimony of Jim Conley, an African American, Jewish businessman Leo M. Frank was convicted of the slaying of thirteen-year-old Mary Phagan in 1915. According to historian Jeffrey Melnick, the public desired a suitable assailant, "one who would be a more satisfying target than

¹⁷ "The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee." Paul Baerwald to Harold Hirsch. February 13, 1933. New York, New York.

¹⁸ "United Jewish Appeal." Joseph C. Hyman to Harold Hirsch. March 7, 1934. Atlanta, Georgia.

¹⁹ "Victory for Religious Tolerance in Georgia." Jewish Telegraphic Agency. January 08, 1933. Accessed March 1, 2018. <http://www.jta.org/1933/01/08/archive/victory-for-religious-tolerance-in-georgia>.

²⁰ The Temple. Rabbi David Marx. Accessed July 01, 2017.

<http://thetemple.org/AboutUs/History/RabbiDavidMarx.aspx>. Southern Jewish History, page 36.

²¹⁻²⁷ Bauman and Arnold Shankman, "The Rabbi as Ethnic Broker," 52. Bauman, "Role Theory and History: The Illustration of Ethnic Brokerage in the Atlanta Jewish Community in the Era of Transition and Conflict," 78, 57.

an African American with limited social power.”²² This act of accusation was intended to put the eye of the public directly on a prominent white Jewish figure as the guilty party of a murder. As such, a reinvigoration of skepticism towards the Jewish population occurred, grouping the Jewish community with the African Americans as inferior to white Southerners. Antisemitic and racial smear campaigns arose on all sides. Despite this, Eugene Levy explained that Jewish articles tried to refrain from using derogatory name-calling against African Americans, only quoting what other sources had said. He further explained that anti-Semitism among blacks had been relatively low and that several prominent African Americans even looked to the Jews in Atlanta as a model to where they could be. The lack of outright hostility between the Jewish and black communities would form another link in the chain that bonded them. Further aggravating the race issue, Atlanta Jews had been among the first to offer African Americans jobs as well as allow integration.²³ As Bauman explains, “In this case it is highly probable that Jewish interaction with African Americans contributed to anti-Semitism.”²⁴

The case of Leo Frank caused a setback in Marx’s attempt to pave a relationship between Atlanta Jews and Gentiles. Bauman and Shankman reported that though many claimed Marx had been troubled by the case, little evidence showed how he reacted. However, Marx took pen to paper to argue on behalf of Frank. In a letter to John M. Slaton, Marx referred to Franks overall good character and his innocence, while also noting that the absence of Frank’s wife did not constitute a belief in guilt.²⁵ A month later, Judge Slaton would commute Franks sentence from death to a life term, though his decision did not show any indication of Rabbi Marx’s letter having played a role. Franks life sentence ended abruptly in the late summer of 1913. Believing that justice was denied, the Knights of Mary Phagan kidnapped Frank from his prison cell and hung him from an oak tree. Using the circumstances of the case as justification, William J. Simmons and the Knights of Mary Phagan combined efforts to revive the Ku Klux Klan.²⁶

With the Frank case reinvigorating antisemitism in America, the need for an organization to counter such negative ideology became paramount. Created by Illinois lawyer Sigmund Livingston in 1913, the Anti-Defamation League sought to counter anti-Semitism throughout the United States. They argued against plays and writings that showed the Jewish people in a derogatory fashion, in some cases successfully banning such programs from being broadcast. The Anti-Defamation League later worked against organized antisemitics, most notably the Silver Shirts of America under William Dudley Pelley and the German-American Bund. Groups such as these spread highly anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi propaganda during the 1930’s, although the government shut down both associations when the United States declared war on Germany in 1941.

²² Jeffrey Melnick. “‘The Night Witch Did It’: Villainy and Narrative in the Leo Frank Case,” *American Literature History* 12 (Spring-Summer, 2000): 114.

²³ “Encyclopedia Judaica: Atlanta, Georgia.” Atlanta. Accessed February 17, 2018. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/atlanta>.

²⁴ Bauman, “Factionalism and Ethnic Politics in Atlanta,” 555.

²⁵ David Marx to John M.Slaton. May 27, 1915. Atlanta, Georgia

²⁶ Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case*, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 141-150.

Despite the rise in anti-Semitism brought on by the Frank case, Marx did not deter in his mission to forge positive interfaith relationships. Involvement in clubs and organizations outside of the Jewish community provided Marx with the chance to show the Gentiles the worthiness of Atlanta Jews and to curb anti-Semitic ideology. Marx took an active role in the Red Cross, Georgia Peace Society, the Boy's Club, as well as using his oratory skills in numerous speaking opportunities in non-Jewish churches throughout the city.²⁷ His outreach would lead to him becoming "Atlanta's best known and most respected Jew, and as such effectively represented his people before the gentile community."²⁸ The Lions Club in Atlanta recognized both Hirsch and Marx in 1934 for their continued dedication to the people of the city as a whole.²⁹

Like Hirsch, Marx became involved in several Jewish relief organizations in Atlanta from the onset of his time as rabbi. He played a crucial role in the opening of the Atlanta chapter of the Council of Jewish Women, which had started in the late nineteenth century in Chicago. He also worked with the Hebrew Orphan's Home, which looked after children who could not be properly cared for in their home. The number of agencies with Atlanta vying for funds began to cause issues due to donation requests becoming too frequent. As such, Marx played an integral part in the formation of the Atlanta Federation of Jewish Charities in 1906, which acted as a parent agency to several of the organizations that Marx volunteered with. Both Epstein and Hirsch later served on the board of directors with Marx for the Atlanta Federation of Jewish Charities.

Though Marx had become an esteemed citizen of Atlanta, he could not escape moments of controversy. According to Epstein, Marx "had set up a barrier between East European Jews and West European Jews. He did not like East European Jews."³⁰ Bauman traced this line of thought to comments made by Marx in 1914 in the wake of the Frank case. He explained that during this speech, Marx made remarks that hinted at the Eastern European Jews being the root of the rise of anti-Semitic feeling in the South.³¹ The problem did not end there, however. Leon Eplan, of Eastern European descent, made rebuttal remarks in kind and received punishment whereas Marx went away unscathed.³² The divide between the two communities remained a thorn in the side to the path to a sense of unity during troubled times.

Marx's opposing stance on Zionism also proved to be a sensitive subject between the Reform rabbi and his Orthodox counterparts who fully supported Zionism and Jewish statehood. The Zionist movement began in 1896 with the publication of *The Jewish State* by Theodor Herzl.³³

²⁷ Bauman and Arnold Shankman, "The Rabbi as Ethnic Broker," 54.

²⁸ Hertzberg, *Strangers Within the City*, 71.

²⁹ "Coca-Cola Executive Praised at Lions Club." Jewish Telegraphic Agency. January 01, 1934. Accessed March 02, 2018. <https://www.jta.org/1934/01/01/archive/coca-cola-executive-praised-at-lions-club>.

³⁰ Harry H. Epstein Interview by Mark K. Bauman. Accessed February 15, 2018.

<https://www.thebreman.org/Research/Cuba-Family-Archives/Oral-Histories/ID/794/Epstein-Rabbi-Harry-H>.

³¹ Bauman, "Role Theory and History," 91-2.

³³ Aaron Berman, *Nazism The Jews and American Zionism*, (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1990) 15.

In short, Herzl believed that neither “assimilation or emigration’ would rid the world of anti-Semitism and that the only logical conclusion would be to create a “Jewish statehood.” However, Marx adamantly disagreed. He believed that “American Jews were American by nationality and Jewish in terms of religion. They would support Jews in time of need, but not in nationhood.”³⁴ In the years before the war, many of Marx’s congregants stood against Zionism, such as Armand May, who worked predominantly with the Hebrew Orphan’s Home. Hirsch, who had invited May to a luncheon for the Allied Jewish Campaign, received a reply in which May explained that he would not be inclined to lend a hand due to his “strictly anti-Zionist” disposition, and closed by stating that, “I do not anticipate taking any interest in the forthcoming campaign.”³⁵ As a result of Marx’s opposition to Zionism, he aided in the formation of the American Council for Judaism, which took place in 1942 after World War II had started. Though the relationship between Marx and Epstein did not evolve into one of unwavering friendship, they still maintained civility and cooperation, putting aside their differences for the common good of Jews in America and Europe.

Harry Epstein, born in 1903 in the small village of Plunge, Lithuania to Hannah Israelovitch and Rabbi Ephraim Epstein, came into the world with rabbinic calling in his blood.³⁶ Epstein came to the United States while still a toddler, relocating with his family in Chicago. His father, also a rabbi, took part in the founding of the Hebrew Theological College in 1922, where Epstein would later attend.³⁷ In 1928, Epstein accepted the position of Rabbi at Ahavath Achim, where he would remain for the next fifty years.

A mere twenty-five years old when he assumed the role of rabbi, Epstein brought a more modern view of Orthodox Judaism, though not so radical as that of the Reform congregation under Marx. While he had been raised in an Orthodox setting, he believed in the need to modernize, to an extent, to appeal to the younger generation. In conjunction with his rabbinical duties, Epstein worked on his own graduating in 1932 with dual degrees in philosophy and theology from Emory.³⁸ Three years later, he gained recognition for authoring his first book, *Judaism and Progress*, which included a number of his own sermons, received praise from Orthodox rabbis throughout the nation.³⁹ Epstein maintained a very active presence within organizations in the synagogue as well. To his credit, the United Hebrew School, a bible school founded by members of Ahavath Achim before his arrival, flourished under his guidance. Similarly, Epstein would frequently support the women of Ahavath Achim, who created a Sisterhood in 1920. Epstein did

³⁴ Bauman and Arnold Shankman, “The Rabbi as Ethnic Broker,” 57-8.

³⁵ “American Mills Company.” Armand May to Harold Hirsch. March 22, 1930. Atlanta Mills Company, Atlanta, Georgia.

³⁶ Harry H. Epstein Interview by Mark K. Bauman. Accessed February 15, 2018.

<https://www.thebreman.org/Research/Cuba-Family-Archives/Oral-Histories/ID/794/Epstein-Rabbi-Harry-H>.

³⁷ Orin Borsten. “Modernizing Traditional Judaism.” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), September 1936, 17-18. Accessed March 01, 2018. Borsten, Orin. “Modernizing Traditional Judaism.” *The Southern Israelite*. Accessed March 02, 2018. [http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1936/asi1936-0369.mets.xml;query=Modernizing Traditional Judaism;brand=israelite-brand#page/n0/mode/1up](http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1936/asi1936-0369.mets.xml;query=Modernizing+Traditional+Judaism;brand=israelite-brand#page/n0/mode/1up).

³⁸ Willie Goldwasser. “Harry Epstein’s Obituary on Atlanta Journal-Constitution.” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Accessed March 7, 2018. <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/atlanta/obituary.aspx?n=harry-epstein&pid=983502>.

³⁹ Harry Epstein, *Judaism and Progress*, (New York, New York: Bloch Publishing, 1935).

not restrict his support to Jewish activities however. In 1936, following the destruction in Gainesville, Georgia by a tornado, Epstein approached his congregation to provide assistance, collecting over \$200 for those affected.⁴⁰ He committed time and resources to a number of local charities and organizations in times of need such as the Atlanta Federation of Jewish Charities alongside Marx and the Atlanta Community Chest.

A fierce supporter of Zionism, Epstein participated in several organizations with the objective to create a homeland for Jews in Palestine. With growing anti-Semitism at home and abroad, Zionist organizations began to see an influx of members. Among those stood the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), created in 1897 by Rabbi Abba Silver. Epstein worked with the Atlanta chapter that had been established in the 1930s. In 1935 and 1938, Epstein represented Georgia in conventions for ZOA as a delegate.⁴¹ Additionally, he spoke on numerous occasions at meetings for the Young Judaea, a youth Zionist organization, in Atlanta. In recognition of his efforts on the behalf of Zionism, the Atlanta Zionist District inscribed the name of Epstein and his wife in the Roosevelt Golden Book.⁴² While Epstein and Marx would take opposing stances in Zionism, Epstein would find a likeminded position in Geffen.

Born in Kovno, Lithuania in 1870, Tobias Geffen had a keen intellect. He, along with his wife and children, immigrated to the United States in 1903 as a result of the Kishinev pogrom and the increasing levels of anti-Semitism.⁴³ For the next seven years, Geffen worked in a variety of positions in conjunction with his rabbinical duties in both New York and Ohio. In 1910, he accepted an offer to become the rabbi of Shearith Israel, an ultra-Orthodox synagogue in Atlanta, where he remained for the next 60 years.

Geffen set straight away to make improvements throughout the community, as it pertained to the observance of Orthodox Judaism. Finding the availability of kosher foods inadequate within Atlanta, Geffen strove to rectify the situation. His largest contribution to kosher related food and drinks came from his work with Coca-Cola. Combining his efforts with Harold Hirsch, Geffen recommended changes to the ingredients that would make it kosher without altering the flavor. Like Marx, he also worked with the Hebrew Orphans Home before its closure. For the most part, Geffen spent a majority of his effort within his own congregation, though according to academic Nathan M. Kaganoff, he diverted from typical Orthodoxy in his relationship with Marx and The

⁴⁰ "Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, Edwar Kaufman to Open Welfare Fund Drive Here." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), April 10, 1936. Accessed February 18, 2018.

<http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1936/asi1936-0097.mets.xml;query=&brand=israelite-brand#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁴¹ "Delegates to Convention Elected by Local Zionists." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), June 28, 1935. Accessed March 01, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1935/asi1935-0246.mets.xml#page/n0/mode/1up>. <http://newspapers-pdf.galileo.usg.edu/asi/asi1938/asi1938-0240.pdf>. "Zionists Here Name Delegates." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), June 10, 1938. Accessed March 01, 2018. <http://newspapers-pdf.galileo.usg.edu/asi/asi1938/asi1938-0240.pdf>.

⁴² "Atlantans Will Attend Three National Conventions." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), January 13, 1939. Accessed February 28, 2018. "Zionists Here Name Delegates." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), June 10, 1938. Accessed March 01, 2018. <http://newspapers-pdf.galileo.usg.edu/asi/asi1938/asi1938-0240.pdf>.

⁴³ Nathan M. Kaganoff, "An Orthodox Rabbinate in the South: Tobias Geffen, 1870-1970," *American Jewish History* 73 (September 1983): 58-68.

Temple. In 1937, representing Orthodox rabbis of the Southeast, he attended the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America.⁴⁴

Geffen, like Epstein, promoted Zionism and the making of a Palestinian nationhood for Jews. Throughout his career he served with Zionist organizations such as the Atlanta Zionist Organization, Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund with Epstein, and as president of Mizrachi for three years.⁴⁵ Like Epstein, Geffen also spoke on numerous occasions for Young Judaea. Praising the Zionist efforts of Atlanta, Geffen's devotion to the cause became obvious when he exclaimed that "I feel that every Jew should deem it a privilege to do his share towards the rebuilding of a homeland in Palestine, the eternal home of our nation."⁴⁶

Though Epstein and Geffen worked alongside one another in a variety of common interests, the relationship had initially been one of coolness. Epstein explained that Geffen treated him with veiled contempt in the early years, though later apologizing and a mutual respect came to fruition.⁴⁷ Regardless of the vast differences between Atlanta's Jewish leaders, they worked together in a variety of organizations, providing relief for American and European Jews alike. On numerous occasions, they came together to celebrate events within one another's congregation or mourn mutual associates. One such example occurred with the death of New York philanthropist Nathan Straus, who passed in 1931. Hirsch, Marx, Epstein, and Geffen took part in a commemorative service at Ahavath Achim, honoring Straus's achievements.⁴⁸ In the same year, Hirsch, Marx, and Epstein joined forces with other Jewish Atlanta leaders in celebrating the one-year anniversary of the Atlanta chapter of Aleph Zadik Aleph (AZA). The AZA claimed to "strengthen Jewish affiliations, abate race prejudice, and stimulate interest in humanitarian, educational, and philanthropic endeavors as its sponsoring order, the B'nai B'rith."⁴⁹

Teamwork

Due to the anti-Semitic preaching of Hitler taking hold within Germany in the years before his ascension to the Chancellorship, many organizations began to combine forces to eliminate confusion. In 1932, Epstein took part in the creation of the Atlanta United Jewish Appeal (UJA), with the intent to raise funds for the combined efforts of the JDC, B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish

⁴⁴ "Rabbi Geffen Attends the Convention." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), Mar 14, 1937. Accessed March 9, 2016. [http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1937/asi1937-0185.mets.xml;query=jewish welfare fund;brand=israelite-brand#page/n0/mode/1up](http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1937/asi1937-0185.mets.xml;query=jewish+welfare+fund;brand=israelite-brand#page/n0/mode/1up)

⁴⁵ Kaganoff, "An Orthodox Rabbinate in the South: Tobias Geffen, 1870-1970," 68.

⁴⁶ "Local Leaders Acclaim Zionist District's Efforts." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), September 22, 1939. Accessed March 9, 2018. [http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1939/asi1939-0335.mets.xml;query=geffen zionist;brand=israelite-brand#page/n0/mode/1up](http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1939/asi1939-0335.mets.xml;query=geffen+zionist;brand=israelite-brand#page/n0/mode/1up).

⁴⁷ Harry H. Epstein Interview by Mark K. Bauman. Accessed February 15, 2018. <https://www.thebreman.org/Research/Cuba-Family-Archives/Oral-Histories/ID/794/Epstein-Rabbi-Harry-H.>

⁴⁸ "Southern Notes." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), February 28, 1931. Accessed February 38, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1931/asi1931-0024.mets.xml#page/n0/mode/1up>.

⁴⁹ "A Review of the A.Z.A." *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), September 11, 1931. Accessed February 27, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1931/asi1931-0246.mets.xml#page/n0/mode/1up>.

Agency for Palestine.⁵⁰ Putting differences aside, Hirsch, Marx, and Geffen would serve with Epstein on the committee for the UJA. The three leading rabbis all commended the formation of the organization, despite initial skepticism. Morris Rothenberg, *New Yorker* with the American Palestine Campaign, praised Atlanta for its dedication and noted that “in hundreds of American communities Zionists and non-Zionists alike are rallying to this sacred cause. The United Jewish Appeal of Atlanta dominantly important in the national structure, may well sound the clarion note for 1932, and provide new inspiration for the Southland.” Many Reform Jews, like Armand May, avoided donating to organizations that included Palestine. However, with the onset of World War II and in the years following, Zionism gained support among Reform congregations. Marx, on the other hand, remained steadfast in his opposition.

Due to his involvement with Jewish agencies on a national level, most letters through 1939 had been addressed to Hirsch as the contact in Atlanta for Jewish relief efforts. Throughout 1930, Hirsch received a multitude of correspondence from Bressler, pleading with Atlanta to help raise funds for the worsening crisis in Eastern Europe. However, due to both the Great Depression and the building of a new synagogue, spare funds proved to be difficult to come by. Bressler wrote to Hirsch to express his gratitude for Hirsch’s assistance in getting the Atlanta community together to discuss raising relief funds, stating that Hirsch’s concern “indicates, if indeed any further evidence of it were necessary, that you are heart and soul with us and that your sympathetic interest and cooperation are enlisted in behalf of the great cause we both have the privilege to serve.”⁵¹ Though not immune or insensitive to the plight of their European brethren, Atlanta Jews focused on internal situations, a factor that would change in a few short years.

The situation in Europe took a drastic turn for the worse when Hitler ascended to a position of power in January of 1933. Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, national chairman of the JDC in New York, wrote to Hirsch in February of 1933 explaining the worsening circumstances and informed Hirsch that the theoretical noose around the necks of the Jews in Europe continued to tighten. He explained that “their right to engage in any type of employment is being narrowed constantly with unconcealed discrimination. Thousands of Jewish homes are without food or heat, in an atmosphere haunted by disturbance and riot.”⁵² Whereas relief efforts had initially been raised to benefit the Jews of Europe regardless of their location, the rise of Hitler to Chancellor led to a more focused drive, centering on those in Germany under the Nazi regime.

In response to a request for assistance with relief from Wise, Hirsch expressed his sorrow at the news of the treatment of the Jews in Europe and concluded by informing Wise that he would be “taking steps today to form a committee here in Atlanta in order to give aid to the situation

⁵⁰ “Atlanta’s United Jewish Appeal,” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), February 1931. Accessed February 27, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1932/asi1932-0004.mets.xml#page/n0/mode/1up>. Epstein, Harry H. Interview by Mark K. Bauman. Accessed February 15, 2018. <https://www.thebreman.org/Research/Cuba-Family-Archives/Oral-Histories/ID/794/Epstein-Rabbi-Harry-H>.

⁵¹ “Allied Jewish Campaign,” David M. Bressler to Harold Hirsch. April 15, 1930. New York, New York.

⁵² “The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.” Jonah B. Wise to Harold Hirsch. February 3, 1933. New York, New York.

through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.”⁵³ The men of this meeting, to include Hirsch and Marx, created the Atlanta Committee for German Jewish Relief, adding another organization to an already long list, where a united front had not yet been established.

In April of 1933, the Nazi regime attempted to enforce a boycott of Jewish owned businesses to kick start their era of prejudice. Professor Doris L. Bergen explained that using political policy and mass propaganda, the Nazi regime had the ability to instill a sense of hate among non-Jews, generating an atmosphere of anger and chaos.⁵⁴ The efforts of the Jewish communities within the United States attempted to bring the news of this travesty to the American people. Angered over the boycotts in Germany, prominent Atlanta philanthropist Victor Kriegshaber, sent a memo to Hirsch asking that he attend a meeting in New York with the intent to confirm Atlanta’s agreement to boycott German owned businesses within the United States.⁵⁵ However, reception and action to this news fell on nearly deaf ears and had a limited effect. In *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939*, Saul Friedlander explained that, “most of the Jewish organizations in the United States were opposed to mass demonstrations and economic action, mainly for fear of embarrassing President Roosevelt and the State Department.”⁵⁶ While a good number of people did regard the idea as unethical, as well as exacerbating an already sensitive situation, many agreed that they had no other recourse.

Hitler’s rise to power also caused the focus of most relief agencies in a direction towards the suffering of Jews within Germany. Those with concerns on other fronts soon found that donations slowed, yet they persisted in their requests. In the years leading up to World War II and the Holocaust, most Reform Jews stood against Zionism. In response, Louis Lipsky of the American Palestine Campaign sent out correspondence to the leaders of Atlanta questioning their decision. Lipsky expressed his irritation with Atlanta for their lack of contribution and exclaimed that, “I cannot believe that the Jews of Atlanta are so unmoved by the present situation in Europe that they will refuse to make an effort to participate in a solution of their problem.”⁵⁷ In light of this, prominent Atlanta philanthropist Victor Kriegshaber sent a missive to Hirsch in June of 1933 noting that he did not believe funds should be allocated to anything but German Jewish relief, yet he wanted to verify if that stance should be taken, to which Hirsch wholeheartedly agreed.⁵⁸ However, the pleas from Lipsky continued to arrive seeking funds to go towards the resettlement of Jews in Palestine. Attempts at combining relief effort forces were surrounded with inner conflict, with differing groups arguing the importance over another for the cause they supported,

⁵³ Harold Hirsch to Jonah B. Wise. May 20, 1933. Atlanta, Georgia.

⁵⁴ Doris L. Bergen, *War & Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 76.

⁵⁵ “Atlanta Committee for German-Jewish Relief.” Victor Kriegshaber to Harold Hirsch. August 21, 1933. Atlanta, Georgia.

⁵⁶ Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution and the Years of Extermination, 1933-1945*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 9.

⁵⁷ “American Palestine Campaign of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.” Louis Lipsky to Harold Hirsch. April 26, 1933. New York, New York.

⁵⁸ Victor Kriegshaber to Harold Hirsch. June 7, 1933. Atlanta, Georgia. Harold Hirsch to Victor Kriegshaber. June 7, 1933. Atlanta, Georgia.

an issue that persisted for several years. However, Atlanta humanitarian efforts limited their scope from the global scale to a centralized point of getting as many Jews out of Germany as possible.

Despite worldwide attention now focused on Germany and the Hitler regime, raising funds remained a major hurdle for Atlanta to overcome. Kriegshaber sent correspondence to Hirsch in June of 1933 to bring forth ideas to garner additional attention to the problems overseas. Kriegshaber recommended that they take their plight public to bring more focus to the problems at hand, and though they would refrain from asking for assistance outside of the Jewish community, active and public appeal could stir the movement of more Atlanta Jews.⁵⁹ Kriegshaber went to immediate work to get more publicity for their campaign to raise money for the German Jews. Toward the end of June of 1933, he sent a letter to William Cole James of the *Atlanta Journal*. Kriegshaber expressed his concerns over what Jews of Germany had to face and that though the American Jews had been doing what they could to assist, publication of the persecution might aid in garnering assistance from outside the Jewish community.⁶⁰ However, the problem of anti-Semitism and support for Hitler within the United States made this debate hard to answer. Despite this, assistance from outside of the Jewish community did seek out Hirsch in the summer of 1934. Robert A. Ashworth, who presided as secretary for The American Committee for German Refugees sent Hirsch a letter asking what they could do to assist while also being apologetic to the lack of aid from Christians across the nation.⁶¹

Continued persecution of German Jews, which showed no indication of lessening, made the idea of a haven for the Jewish people more paramount among Zionists. In 1935, Atlanta participated in the Jewish National Fund (JNF) that had been created in 1901 to procure land within Palestine. Both Epstein and Geffen worked on the committee to ensure the program's success. Though not involved with JNF in its first days in Atlanta, Hirsch eventually began to attend meetings and events. Marx, as well as The Temple, remained unaffiliated with the campaign drive, which spanned over the course of a few months.

The formation of the Jewish Welfare Fund (JWF) in 1936 would be one of the most monumental contributions during the life of Hirsch. In an interview with Bauman, Epstein praised Hirsch for both his personality and his contribution to the JWF, remarking that "Harold Hirsch was a person that you couldn't help but respect... If it weren't for Harold Hirsch, we wouldn't have the Jewish Welfare Federation [Jewish Welfare fund] that we have now."⁶² In a case of exceptionalism, the JWF under the leadership of Hirsch became a model for the nation, with states following in its footsteps to form similar organizations. Following the success of Atlanta's drive, Hirsch stepped in to assist Nashville, cementing his place as true leader. For his assistance,

⁵⁹ "Atlanta Committee for German-Jewish Relief." Victor Kriegshaber to Harold Hirsch. June 20, 1933. Atlanta, Georgia.

⁶⁰ Victor Kriegshaber to William Cole Jones. June 20, 1933. Atlanta, Georgia.

⁶¹ "The American Christian Committee for German Refugees." Robert A. Ashworth to Harold Hirsch. June 8, 1934. Atlanta, Georgia.

⁶² Epstein, Harry H. Interview by Mark K. Bauman. Accessed February 15, 2018.

<https://www.thebreman.org/Research/Cuba-Family-Archives/Oral-Histories/ID/794/Epstein-Rabbi-Harry-H.>

Nashville awarded him the Flowers-to-the-Living award.⁶³ The creation of the JFW allowed citizens to donate to a single entity, omitting the need to shuffle through the increasing number of requests, and uniting the efforts of the Atlanta Jewish Community.

The JFW became one of several organizations that saw cooperation between the Orthodox and Reform congregations, with Rabbis Marx, Epstein, and Geffen working together under the guidance of Hirsh. In his quest to see to the success of the fund, Hirsch appealed to all Jews of Atlanta, regardless of their sect, giving speeches at Ahavath Achim and Shearith Israel. In addressing the congregation of Ahavath Achim, Hirsch exclaimed that “we are calling upon you to enjoy our united heritage... You will respond. You will cooperate with your fellow Jews. You will see to it that our brother will thank God that he is living as the sun rises each morning.”⁶⁴ As the divisions within the Jewish community continued to wage, Hirsch’s success in the drive aided in decreasing the level of tension. In discussing the skill of Hirsch, *The Southern Israelite* noted that “into a community that is divided by shades of difference, he has brought together a sense of order and coordination.”⁶⁵

With the Nazi regime maintaining a solid hold in Germany, the position of those who had stood against Zionism only a few years before began to find their stances changing. Now a year old, the JFW commenced to mingle with Zionism. Hosted at the Standard Club in January of 1937, the JFW listened to a speech given by Zionist Ben Mossinsohn.⁶⁶ Zionism marked a rare case where Marx and Hirsch did not walk down the same path. While Marx never faltered in his admonishment of Zionism, Hirsch took a more moderate view, serving on non-Zionist committees as early as 1931.⁶⁷ By 1937, however, the opinion of Hirsch seemed to have altered to more Zionist approach as he stood alongside Epstein for the United Palestine Appeal, in which both had been named to the board.⁶⁸ Throughout the year, the barriers between the groups began to disintegrate as the Jewish community of Atlanta worked towards union. The success of the Jewish Welfare Fund proved to many that even when divided, the Jews of Atlanta could overcome and achieve a semblance of a unified front.

⁶³ “Repeats Success.” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), June 26, 1936. Accessed March 4, 2018.

<http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1936/asi1936-0205.mets.xml;query=&brand=israelite-brand#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁶⁴ “Nation Watches Progress of Atlanta Welfare Fund.” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), April 17, 1936. Accessed March 5, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1936/asi1936-0109.mets.xml;query=&brand=israelite-brand#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁶⁵ “Divided or United?” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), April 10, 1936. Access March 4, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1936/asi1936-0102.mets.xml#page/n0/mode/1up>.

⁶⁶ “Welfare Fund Hears Noted Zionist.” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), January 29, 1937. Access March 10, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1937/asi1937-0021.mets.xml;query=jewishwelfarefund;brand=israelite-brand#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁶⁷ “Dr. Adler Heads 43 American Non-Zionist Agency Members.” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (New York), July 1, 1931. Accessed March 09, 2018. <https://www.jta.org/1931/07/01/archive/dr-adler-heads-43-american-non-zionist-agency-members>.

⁶⁸ “Georgians on Palestine Board.” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), February 12, 1937. Accessed March 8, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1937/asi1937-0033.mets.xml;query=jewishwelfarefund;brand=israelite-brand#page/1/mode/1up>.

National recognition for Hirsch, Marx, and Epstein came in 1938, with all three being named to the “Who’s Who in American Jewry.”⁶⁹ Geffen, noticeably absent from the list, devoted his time and energy on the local level, rather than the national. Due to the success of the previous three years with the JWF, the 1939 campaign looked to increase its contributions. The creation of the JFW and its subsequent spread across the nation remained a testament to the drive of the Jewish leaders of Atlanta.

Atlanta felt the blow of devastation in the fall of 1939 when Hirsch, who had been battling ill health, succumbed to his afflictions. The loss of Hirsch struck the community profoundly, as he had dedicated his adult life to aiding others, despite his own failing well-being. The *Southern Israelite* eloquently wrote that “his latest and greatest achievements in the field of Jewish cooperation was the organization of the Jewish Welfare Fund...with the directness in approach, energy, and enthusiasm that characterized all his efforts, he plunged into the task of creating order out of chaos in the raising of funds for the Jewish causes.”⁷⁰ Marx, in a moving written eulogy to Hirsch’s life, explained that Hirsch “was ever mindful of his Jewish heritage. He was unflinching in his devotion to his religion and his people. Neither his place in his profession nor his established security in the educational and civic life of his state and community lured him from his attachments to Judaism and its place in the American scene.”⁷¹

The leaders of Atlanta gave the Jewish community the best of themselves. They set the standard of selflessness, dedicating their lives to the betterment of others. Millions of Jews lost their lives during the Holocaust, making those that had been saved by brave individuals that much more important and precious to humanity. Remembering and studying what made such people rise to the occasion should be one of the greatest privileges in which a person can participate. The Jewish Welfare Fund stands today as the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta, serving Jews both at home and abroad. The actions of Hirsch, Marx, Epstein, and Geffen in the years preceding one of the darkest moments in history made a significant difference for those seeking shelter from the vile prejudices of Nazi Germany. In a time of desperate need, the Jewish leaders of Atlanta set aside their differences to form an alliance that not only needed to last through the war, but the following generations to come.

⁶⁹ “Twenty-Eight Atlantans Selected for ‘Who’s Who.’” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), February 4, 1938. Accessed March 5, 2018. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1938/asi1938-0057.mets.xml;query=&brand=israelite-brand#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁷⁰ “Death of Harold Hirsch Closes Brilliant Career.” *The Southern Israelite* (Atlanta), October 6, 1939, 1-2. Accessed July 09, 2017. <http://israelite.galileo.usg.edu/israelite/view?docId=bookreader/asi/asi1939/asi1939-0402.mets.xml#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁷¹ Marx, “Harold Hirsch,” *American Jewish Yearbook*, 171.

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