

I

First Encounters, New Beginnings

From Colonial Times to the Civil War

“Although religion-based explanations for economic achievement have been largely discredited by recent scholarship, most historians agree that a shared religion, especially in a diaspora group, helps to provide a basis for the formation of values, coherence, [and] social organization [...] among the members of the community.”¹

Introduction: The European Background, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century

Most Jews in America today are native-born, and most can claim American-born forebears going back two, three, or more generations. The majority, however, can also point to a prior cultural and family heritage that is distinctly European, and others have roots in the Mediterranean region and the Middle East. Regardless of these genealogies, however, the context in which Jewish life developed on the American continent over several centuries was undoubtedly that of the Euro-American social world. Hence, we must begin our survey with a glance at the European dimension and, as we progress, we must continue to bear it in mind.

Through conquest and settlement, Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, and England established extensive Atlantic and Caribbean possessions in the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These gave rise to plantation, smallholder, and merchant colonies consisting of transplanted Europeans, African slaves, and (in some cases) forced native

¹ Jessica Vance Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595–1640* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), pp. 68–9.

labor. Distant as those colonies were from their European sponsors, they were nevertheless vital strategic and economic assets over which the leading European economies of the day competed and fought. Colonies were therefore a matter of high policy whose governance was entrusted to high-ranking figures or to chartered corporations; they, in turn, nurtured these prime assets of empire and looked for ways to maximize their profitability. The colonial experience at its height eventually combined shipping (oceans, rivers, canals) and financial ventures on an unheard of scale, and the transfer of large populations.

The new economic thinking that underwrote colonialist ventures was crucial for the development of the modern European state system – and for the emergence of modern Jewish communities. The same ideology that promoted colonial and commercial expansion embraced the concept that human endeavor was fundamentally expansive: it was not meant to be fixed or limited except by the variety of “native” capacities to be found at random in nature and human society. In the most forward-looking states, the push for recruitment of human resources for economic development began to take priority and it tended to push aside the once crucial matter of religious convictions and national origins. To a greater or lesser degree, tolerance for certain religious differences found its way into statecraft, with the result that foreigners, minorities, and Jews in various parts of the world found easier access to employment and business ventures. Thus, the link between these aspects of modern political economy and Jewish history is not fortuitous.

All this took at least a century to evolve, however, and the pace of social and economic integration varied widely from place to place. The terms of Jewish integration in any given country were framed by certain abiding legal and social inhibitions, and these shifted ground with the changing of rulers and governors. To track the Jews’ encounter with the Atlantic world, therefore, we need to orient ourselves to the peculiar geopolitics of Jewish life at the onset of the classical era of European colonial expansion.

At that time, about half of the world’s Jewish population lived in Europe (approximately half a million souls), but they were not evenly distributed: in most of Western Europe, they were scarcely present at all. The bulk of Europe’s Jews were concentrated in the Habsburg-ruled lands of Central Europe and in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569–1795). A second major body of Jewish population, comprising another half-million people, lived under the scepter of Islam, mostly under the Ottoman Empire, which was the seat of major trading networks.

The relative scarcity of Jewish population across large swaths of Western Europe prior to the mid-seventeenth century was a legacy of the medieval era. Jewish communities of long standing (some with antecedents dating as far back as Roman times) had been expelled from England, France, most of Italy, and many German principalities from the late 1200s to the fifteenth century. Those expulsions would be partially reversed only in the mid-1600s, in the wake of the Thirty Years' War. Restoring population size, urban commerce, and international trade were prioritized after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which constituted a window of opportunity for Jewish resettlement. Gradually, Jews from Habsburg and Polish lands migrated west and established communities in northwestern Europe, where they were joined by Jews of Spanish-Portuguese background who were migrating north.

Spain had been the last country to join the cycle of medieval Jewish expulsions. The “Catholic monarchs” Ferdinand II and Isabella I of Aragon and Castile “cleansed” their realm of infidels in the summer of 1492, after subduing the Moslem emirate in Granada. Considerable numbers of Spanish Jews who wanted to avoid religious persecution during the century preceding the expulsion had sought recourse to conversion, and their ranks were newly augmented after the expulsion decree. In neighboring Portugal, to which some of the refugees initially fled, all Jews were forcibly converted by royal edict in 1497. In 1536 Portugal (like Spain before it) granted wide powers to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the arm of the Church that enforced Catholic theological purity and purged alleged heresies. Part of its task was to discover and to punish secret practitioners of Jewish rites among the *conversos* (“converts”) or New Christians, as former Jews and their descendants were known.

A number of such conversos resettled in New Spain (Mexico) during the reign of Philip II (1556–98). As many as 300 New Christians were living there by the first half of the seventeenth century, but the Inquisition, transplanted to the New World, gradually put an end to their existence. Capture by the Inquisition and prosecution for secret Judaizing led to punishment ranging in severity from imprisonment, flogging, and expropriation of property, to eternal banishment from New Spain, and in some cases capital punishment. By 1640, New Christians were nearly eradicated from Mexico but instances of alleged crypto-Jews burned at the stake at the Inquisition's behest in Spanish America continued to the end of the century.²

² Martin A. Cohen, “The Religion of Luis Rodriguez Carvajal: Glimpses into the Passion of a Mexican Judaizer,” in *Critical Studies in American Jewish History*, ed. Jacob Rader

In the wake of the Iberian persecutions, large colonies of former Iberian Jews were established in North Africa, in Ottoman Turkish realms in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, in southern France (Provence and Bordeaux), in northern Italy (chiefly the trading superpowers, Livorno and Venice), in northern Germany (chiefly around Hamburg), and the Netherlands. In the mid-seventeenth century, a handful of Jewish *conversos* lived in London, their Jewish identities being a discreet matter that was not openly acknowledged. Once their status as residents and merchants was regularized in the 1650s, others joined them and the community grew to several hundred. At about the same time (1645), as many as a thousand Jews settled in Dutch colonial settlements in northeastern Brazil, among an estimated 3,400 other colonists, and it was there that Jews were first able to engage freely in public religious worship in the New World.

Jews' encounters with the Atlantic world of trade and European expansion began slowly, therefore, and (apart from the ill-fated episode of New Spain) were closely associated with England and the Low Countries. By 1795, the fast-growing Dutch Jewish population reached about 40,000, making it an especially important center of Jewish cultural and economic

Marcus (New York and Cincinnati, OH: Ktav/American Jewish Archives, 1971), vol. II, pp. 1–26; and *The Martyr: The Story of a Secret Jew and the Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973); Pinhas Bibelnik, “Bein iberiyut leyahadut: ‘al zehutam shel ‘notzrim hadashim’ bisefarad hahadashah bameah ha-17” (Between Iberian and Jewish Identities: On the Jewish Identity of New Christians in New Spain in the 17th Century), in *Be’ikvot kolumbus: amerikah 1492–1992 (In the Wake of Columbus, 1492–1992)*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon (Jerusalem: Mercaz Zalman Shazar, 1996), p. 465; Jonathan Israel, “Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Atlantic World Systems, 1500–1800,” in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800*, ed. Richard L. Kagan and Philip Morgan (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 17; Eva Echmany, “The Participation of New Christians and Crypto-Jews in the Conquest, Colonization, and Trade of Spanish America, 1521–1660,” in *Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800*, ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), pp. 186–202; Robert Rowland, “New Christian, Marrano, Jew,” in Bernardini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe*, pp. 125–48; Nathan Wachtel, “Marrano Religiosity in Hispanic America in the Sixteenth Century,” in *ibid.*, pp. 149–71; Solange Alberro, “Crypto-Jews and the Mexican Holy Office in the Seventeenth Century,” in *ibid.*, pp. 172–85; Yosef Kaplan, *Minotzrim hadashim leyeHUDim hadashim (From New Christians to New Jews)* (Jerusalem: Mercaz Zalman Shazar, 2003); Renée Levine Melammed, *A Question of Identity: Iberian Conversos in Historical Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Alicia Gojman de Backal, “Crypto-Judaism in Mexico: Past and Present,” in *Identities in an Era of Globalization and Multiculturalism: Latin America in the Jewish World*, ed. Judit Bokser Liwerant et al. (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 223–30.

life. The organized life of the community was dominated by well-to-do Iberian (in Hebrew, Sephardi) families. Fanning out wherever commerce was developing, members of such families established trading networks that spanned international borders and sea-going trade routes. From the 1630s to early 1650s, representatives of these mercantile families had settled in Dutch colonies along the northeastern coast of South America and in French, British, and Dutch possessions in the Caribbean and the coastal waters of North America. Settling individually or in small family clusters, they formed a natural extension of a wider network of Atlantic traders. Merchants like Mordecai Enriques, David Robbles, and Joseph Bueno were active in commerce linking New Netherland, Curaçao, and Surinam. They were but a small part of the colonial population, but the paper trails they left in the archives exemplify the functions of coastal Atlantic cities as commercial outposts of the European mercantile world.³

Civic Development and Jewish Settlement in North America

Jewish settlers generally appeared several decades after a mercantile European town was already established. Dutch New Amsterdam, for instance, had been in existence for nearly thirty years when about two dozen Jews arrived in 1654. The majority of these were en route northward from the Caribbean, after having abandoned former Dutch settlements in Brazil, which had recently fallen to Portuguese control. After British rule replaced that of the Dutch in New Amsterdam (1664), the small town that was re-designated New York more than tripled its population (from 1,000 in 1650 to 3,200 in 1680). In this enhanced

³ Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Roitman, *The Same but Different*; Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Malcolm H. Stern, “Portuguese Sephardim in the Americas,” in *Sephardim in the Americas: Studies in Culture and History*, ed. Martin A. Cohen and Abraham J. Peck (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press in cooperation with the American Jewish Archives, 1993), pp. 141–78. See also Wim Klooster, “Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs,” in Kagan and Morgan, *Atlantic Diasporas*, p. 33; Zvi Loker, *Jews in the Caribbean: Evidence on the History of the Jews in the Caribbean Zone in Colonial Times* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1991), pp. 90–7, 186–8; Max J. Kohler, “Phases of Jewish Life in New York Before 1800,” *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society (PAJHS)* 2 (1894): 77; Richard D. Brown, *Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600–1865* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976).

urban setting, a Jewish congregation in New York was functioning by around 1682.⁴

Likewise, Jews also settled in Charles Town (Charleston) in the British colony of Carolina some thirty years after the colony's establishment in 1670. From 1697 to 1750, but mainly after 1720, the number of Jews in Charleston increased along with the growth of the town itself. Philadelphia, to take another example, was founded in 1683, home to English, Welsh, and German settlers. Starting about twenty years later, occasional Jewish sojourners and eventually some permanent Jewish residents appear in local documentation. The seminal period of the Jewish community's formation occurred in subsequent years, however, when Philadelphia, which boasted over 10,000 inhabitants by 1740, established itself as the second-largest city in British America (after Boston). Although bolstered numerically during the years of the American Revolution, when Jews who fled British-held New York relocated temporarily to Philadelphia, leaders of the veteran Sephardi "Mikveh Israel" congregation complained in the early 1790s of drastically dwindling members, insufficient funds to pay for basic religious services, and the shouldering of congregational responsibilities by barely "9 or 10 individuals."⁵

In Newport, Rhode Island (founded 1638), the intermittent presence of several Jewish settlers is documented for the 1650s and 1660s and for the years from 1693 to 1700. After another hiatus, an established Jewish community reappeared later in the 1740s, by which time Newport was a substantial town with over 6,000 inhabitants. New Haven, Connecticut, which likewise was founded in 1638, did not attract Jewish settlers for 120 years, until two brothers – Jacob and Solomon Pinto – arrived in

⁴ Holly Snyder, "English Markets, Jewish Merchants, and Atlantic Endeavors," in Kagan and Morgan, *Atlantic Diasporas*, pp. 57–62; Simon Rosendale, "An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany, New York, by a Jewish Trader," *PAJHS* 3 (1895): 61; Leon Hühner, "Asser Levy, a Noted Jewish Burgher of New Amsterdam," *PAJHS* 8 (1900): 9; Albion Morris Dyer, "Points in the First Chapter of New York Jewish History," *PAJHS* 3 (1895): 41; Howard B. Rock, *Haven of Liberty: New York Jews in the New World, 1654–1865* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012), pp. 10–23.

⁵ Thomas L. Purvis, *Colonial America to 1763. Almanacs of American Life* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2009), pp. 224–6; Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956, 1975), pp. 9–35; "Benjamin Nones to Congregation Beth Elohim, 1792," in *The Jews of the United States, 1790–1840, A Documentary History*, ed. Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron (New York and Philadelphia: Columbia University Press and the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), vol. II, p. 584.

1758. The Reverend Ezra Stiles noted the arrival in 1772 of a Venetian Jewish family who conducted a private Sabbath rite.⁶

A partial exception to this pattern might be Savannah, where the earliest Jewish colonists arrived directly from Britain in 1733, virtually together with the initial group of British settlers. Two groups of Jews were involved: some relatively well-off Portuguese Jews, including one Dr. Nuñez, a native of Lisbon, and a number of Ashkenazic Jews – that is, Jews hailing from Europe north of the Alps and east of the Rhine – in this case apparently from Bavaria, who were dependent on the good graces of the London Jewish community. (The practice of transporting poor Jews from Britain to North America or to West Indian colonies continued in some cases into the early nineteenth century.) True to the pattern in other colonies, however, the original group of Jewish settlers in Savannah was soon depleted, leaving behind only a few individuals. A stable community was established only toward the end of the 1760s and a synagogue was founded still later, after the American Revolution (1791).⁷

The French colony at New Orleans was laid out in 1718 and several thousand colonists soon populated the settlement, including French, Germans, and Swiss, as well as African slaves. By the early 1730s, some thirty years prior to the earliest sojourns there by Jews, the city was an important economic and administrative hub for a very large district. The strictly Catholic French and Spanish administrations in the Louisiana territory were decidedly inhospitable to a Jewish presence, and it was only after the Louisiana Purchase (1803) by the US government that several Jews arrived to take up permanent residence. In any event, it actually took much longer for Jews to create a stable community in New Orleans. The handful of Dutch Jewish merchants who lived in the city mostly married

⁶ William Pencak, *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp. 87–8; Morris Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1936), pp. 46, 53; Holly Snyder, “Rethinking the Definition of ‘Community’ for a Migratory Age,” in *Imagining the American Jewish Community*, ed. Jack Wertheimer (Hanover, NH and London: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, in association with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2007), pp. 7–8; Purvis, *Colonial America to 1763*, pp. 180, 227.

⁷ Eli Faber, *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820. The Jewish People in America*, vol. I (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 41; Charles C. Jones, Jr., “The Settlement of the Jews in Georgia,” *PAJHS* 1 (1892): 5–12; Leon Hühner, “The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times,” *PAJHS* 10 (1902): 65; Saul S. Friedman, *Jews and the American Slave Trade* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1998), p. 168. See the case of Levy Joseph, sent by the London Talmud Torah committee in 1807 to Charleston: cited in Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), p. 231.

French Catholic women, whose children were raised in the Church. Thus, although a Jewish cemetery was started in 1828, a functioning community took shape only in the 1830s, thanks to the activities of German Jewish immigrants. The latter were able to erect a synagogue by 1850.⁸

The predominant pattern of Jews' settling in relatively small numbers in established towns of several decades' standing, forming themselves into communities by a drawn-out series of fits and starts, can be explained in large part by the fluctuations of economic opportunity. Jews, who were neither planter-gentry nor landless farmers, were attracted nearly always to towns where they were likeliest to find mercantile opportunities in trade or craftwork. A town had to have reached a certain level of social coherence and economic viability before it might be attractive to a mercantile element (see Table 1.1).

Furthermore, we should bear in mind that Jews were not recruited as colonists by the founding owners or the development corporations. New England and Virginia, between them, were home to 90,000 European colonists and hundreds of African slaves by the 1660s.⁹ By contrast, the settlement of Jews was neither sought nor organized, neither encouraged nor planned. Rather, Jews were part of an unorganized, sporadic migration, settling down along known routes, seldom if ever venturing beyond an already existing line of major European-settled towns or cities.

Jews in the colonies (like many other settlers) were frequently transient, continuing to move between London, the Caribbean, and the North American colonies. Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita left Dutch Brazil for the Italian port of Livorno, journeyed back to the Caribbean (Jamaica) by 1660, and later moved on to New York. The prominent Gomez family of British New York thrived on spatial mobility: its members had marital connections with other Jewish families in Newport (Rhode Island), Jamaica, Barbados, and Curaçao. Creating multiple home-base sites suited their economic needs admirably. Their commercial connections, about half of which directly involved other Jews, fanned out to New

⁸ Blau and Baron, *The Jews of the United States*, vol. III, pp. 853–54; see also letter of Rebecca Gratz to Joseph Gratz, November 1, 1807, in Bertram W. Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, MA: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969), p. 210: "There are many who call themselves Jews, or at least whose parentage being known are obliged to acknowledge themselves such, but who neglect those duties which would make that title honorable and [...] respected." Robert P. Swierenga, *The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1994), pp. 211–13, 219.

⁹ Michael G. Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1975; Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 38.

TABLE 1.1. *Earliest Jewish presence in selected American cities founded 1730s–1790s**

	Founding date	First recorded Jew(s)	Town size (overall population)
Richmond, VA	1737–42	Joseph Myers, 1787; burial plot and first entry of congregational records, 1791	State capital (1780); Richmond county population in 1790: c. 7,000
Pittsburgh, PA	1764	Michael Gratz and others intermittently resided in the 1780s; first permanent resident of Jewish ancestry: Samuel Pettigrew (1814)	c. 8,000 (1815)
St. Louis, MO	1764	Bloch family, 1816; prayer quorum (<i>minyán</i>) in 1837	6,000 (1830)
Louisville, KY	1776	Israelite Benevolent Society, est. 1832	Over 10,000 (1830)
Cincinnati, OH	1780s	Joseph Jonas, from Plymouth, England, 1817; 16 Jews listed in 1820	6,000 (1815), with 7 churches; 9,642 (1820)
Lexington, KY	1782	Benjamin Gratz, 1818	C. 1800 already a large town, known as “the Philadelphia of Kentucky”
Utica, NY	1786–98	Abraham Cohen, from Poland, 1847; <i>minyán</i> formed 1848	17,656 (1850)

* Lewis N. Dembitz, “Jewish Beginnings in Kentucky,” *PAJHS* 1 (1893): 99–101; Jacob Ezekiel, “The Jews of Richmond,” *PAJHS* 4 (1896): 21–7; Nancy Klein, “Cincinnati,” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. IV (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2006), pp. 727–30; David Philipson, “The Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley,” *PAJHS* 8 (1900): 43–57; and, “The Cincinnati Community in 1825,” *PAJHS* 10 (1902): 97–9; S. Joshua Kohn, *The Jewish Community of Utica, New York, 1847–1948* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1959); Richard C. Wade, “Urban Life in Western America, 1790–1830,” in *The Old Northwest. Studies in Regional History, 1787–1910*, ed. Harry N. Scheiber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), pp. 229–48.

Haven, Newport, Raritan (New Jersey), Charleston, and Philadelphia as well as Barbados, Curaçao, Nevis, Amsterdam, London, Dublin, Liverpool, Venice, Madeira, and Brazil.¹⁰

Transiency was also, at times, the effect of larger historical shifts. The earliest arrivals by Jews on the North American mainland had coincided (rather inauspiciously for them) with the end of the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652–4 and the defeat of Dutch imperial and trading interests. The Amsterdam connection, which was the lynchpin in the Atlantic trading networks of the Sephardi merchants and a key to Dutch–Spanish–Portuguese trade, was an initial source of strength that won Jews a precarious foothold in colonial ports, but that strength did not last very long. In terms of North American trade in particular (as compared with Caribbean or Mediterranean commerce), the crucial fact of that era was British commercial and naval ascendancy. Although there was some transfer of Dutch Sephardi traders to London (especially after 1688, when William of Orange gained the English throne), their share in Britain’s overseas trade was peripheral: perhaps only 1 or 2 percent.¹¹

It is noteworthy in this regard that the Torah scroll that the first Jews in Manhattan used for communal prayer until 1663 was borrowed from Amsterdam, and it was then returned to its original home when these early Jewish colonists dispersed. As noted, a small Jewish population conducted regular religious and communal life in New York from the early 1680s, but it still constituted only a tiny fragment of the growing colony. They included Asser Levy, butcher and trader, originally from the Lithuanian part of the Polish kingdom, probably the only Jew in British New York who had maintained his residence there since the Dutch colonial period. In the first two decades of the 1700s, there were perhaps seventeen to twenty Jewish households in New York City. These accounted for about 1 percent of the city’s inhabitants at the time.¹²

¹⁰ Adam Sutcliffe, “Jewish History in an Age of Atlanticism,” in Kagan and Morgan, *Atlantic Diasporas*, p. 26; Klooster, “Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs,” p. 37; Francesca Trivellato, “Sephardic Merchants in the Early Modern Atlantic and Beyond,” in Kagan and Morgan, *Atlantic Diasporas*, pp. 99–120; Bruno Feitler, “Jews and New Christians in Dutch Brazil, 1630–1654,” in Kagan and Morgan, *Atlantic Diasporas*, pp. 123–51; Max J. Kohler, “Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce,” *PAJHS* 10 (1902); Stephen A. Fortune, *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1984), pp. 133–5; see also Faber, *Time for Planting*, pp. 35, 47–8, 86; Roitman, *The Same but Different*, pp. 113–14.

¹¹ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, p. 212.

¹² Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 10; Snyder, “English Markets, Jewish Merchants,” p. 58; Leo Hershkowitz,