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Settlement And Sediment / Segregation And Solidarity

Maxxe R. Albert-Deitch
William & Mary - Arts & Sciences, maxxe.ad@gmail.com

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Maxxe R. Albert-Deitch

Roswell, GA

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Maxxe Riann Albert-Deitch

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Committee Chair or Co-Chair
Kathrin Levitan, Associate Professor, History
College of William and Mary

Co-Chair
Andrew Fisher, Associate Professor, History
College of William and Mary

Hannah Rosen, Associate Professor, History and American Studies
College of William and Mary

ABSTRACT

Settlement and Sediment: Engaging Politicized Archaeology in the Israel/Palestine Conflict

This paper explores the ways in which cultural interest groups have used and manipulated folklore and archaeology to assert ownership over border-defining sites in modern-day Israel. The research draws on iterations of folklore over time, archaeological surveys, discrepancies between maps, and engages the work of other scholars whose work addresses the archaeological sites in question. This paper begins with the popular mythology behind the Masada fortress site, just south of the Judean desert, then builds the history of Masada's archaeology into a larger conversation about the impact of Christian Zionist aims and actions. Furthermore, the paper is a call to action—an acknowledgement that archaeologists and historians have allowed ideology to overpower scholarship in this region, and an open discussion of how to potentially address this subject through the lens of conflict resolution.

Segregation and Solidarity: Antisemitism, Private Schools, and the Conditionality of Jewish Whiteness in Atlanta

The second paper in this portfolio addresses the history of Black-Jewish allyship in Atlanta, particularly in the wake of the 1958 Temple bombing. Using a combination of memoirs, newspapers, and biographies about the major players in Atlanta's Civil Rights Movement, the paper examines the conditionalities of Jewish privilege (and lack thereof) and the solidarity that developed between Atlanta's Black and Jewish communities. One relationship emerges as a focus: that between the King family and the Rothschild family. The relationship between Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and Rabbi Jacob Rothschild serves as a micro-example of the conversations and conflicts developing across the American South. The Temple bombing forced an awareness of simultaneous Jewish vulnerability and privilege and helped create a path towards Black and Jewish advocates and allies to work together against a broken system of school segregation.

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And finally: I don't have enough thanks in the world for my friends and family who routinely remind me that I love what I do, and that yes, it is in fact worth the headaches from reading tiny fonts in other languages, the dark circles from studying for a language exam at 2am, and the amount of money that we've all spent on caffeine. I love you all.

Intellectual Biography

I've been asking questions about the role of interfaith interactions within Jewish history and culture my whole life, dissatisfied that research on the subject was inconclusive or nonexistent. Oral history and cultural mythos continually suggest that peaceful interfaith interactions may have been factors in cultural survivance and peacefully shared geographical space throughout Jewish history, across several continents. The more I dug into the interplay between interfaith history, Judaism, and modern cultural narratives, the more I understood that some pieces of archaeological and historical work conducted at places like Masada sites skip over these stories entirely. The existing record tells specific stories with clear political and nationalistic aims—which by itself would not be an issue, except that the resulting narrative leaves large gaps about Jewish history, Muslim Palestinian indigeneity, and interfaith history in the context of the Middle East as a whole. My work—and this portfolio—began as a plan to work to fill those gaps through a study of history, archaeology, and a history *of* archaeology at some of these sites.

I got into this line of research because --particularly in today's volatile social and political climates-- I believe that this work is more relevant and topical than ever. Although the first essay in this portfolio is rooted in ancient history and religion, the issues it addresses are contemporary. Interfaith history, particularly in the Middle East, is of critical importance because if historical anthropology points to a history of interfaith agreement or relative peace in the ancient past, the implication is clear: it can be possible again. Over the course of my work on this topic, I have explored Israeli history and archaeology, with a focus on displaced people and cultural histories. I have

analyzed how language employed in the story of Israel's founding narratives has shifted over time, how Israeli treatment of archaeology and history plays into a sense of nationalism, and how that nationalism relates to the concept of what constitutes a religious homeland.

That project became my undergraduate senior honors thesis, but I had a feeling that there was more to the story—I knew a lot about the flaws in previous archeological work in Israel, but I had not yet thought to examine how archaeology can help people work together to appreciate and understand the implications of that shared past. My previous work was concerned with historical accuracy, archaeological ethics, and their mutual impact on cultural belief. My graduate work is more engaged with ideas of how to use that information to bring people together—how archaeology may be used not just to tell people what happened in a given place, but to examine the ways in which different groups can build solidarity based on commonalities between their cultures and histories.

In the process of researching histories of interfaith history and Judaism, I also found myself looking closer to home at what religion, nationalism, and displacement really *mean.* I found myself grappling with topics like race, ethnoreligion, and indigeneity, and started looking at questions about what Diaspora Judaism looks like, the overlaps between racism and Antisemitism, and the question of how discrimination, conflict, solidarity, and allyship are entangled with one another. And I started to wonder. I had a good handle on what Judaism and nationalism looked like in the Middle East through the 1950s-60s. But what was going on in my hometown, where similar topics were concerned?

I was already somewhat primed to engage with this topic. I grew up just outside of Atlanta, which is a somewhat oddly situated city with regard to conflict, Civil Rights, and Judaism. I spent the first eighteen years of my life ensconced in a Jewish community that is vibrant, relatively large, and fiercely proud of its history. Members of older synagogues in the area regularly discuss their histories of interfaith discussions and events, some referencing the days when Martin Luther King Jr. would come to speak, or the Jewish congregants who joined Civil Rights marches through the South. More than anything, though, my community remembers two specific events: the bungling of Atlanta's implementation of school desegregation, and the Temple bombing.

These events—and the latter, in particular—are not common knowledge outside of my hometown. This was especially odd, from my point of view, because at the time, the Temple Bombing made national headlines. The FBI was involved. It was the subject of correspondences between the White House Press Secretary and local news agencies. And then there were the connections between the Temple's rabbi, private school desegregation, and Martin Luther King Jr. I wasn't sure what to make of any of it. So, I kept researching and arrived at the second paper in this document.

In some ways, I never left my initial research questions. I've always been interested in race, ethnoreligion, and interfaith history, especially in periods of time (like the 1950s-60s) when policy had plasticity and was still being molded into the laws and standards we recognize today. Both essays this portfolio match that description. I always thought that graduate school was the only place where this research would have relevance—that I would publish one or two papers on the subject, maybe write a dissertation or a book, and be done. Instead, the five years that I've spent up to my ears

in this research have fostered a deep-rooted commitment to justice and activism. Through my work, I've learned about the ways that legal policies and cultural histories interact. I have gotten to know compassionate researchers, community organizers, and historians. Their work—bringing communities together through shared histories, actively fighting to make the world a better place, and using history to do it—has been thoroughly inspiring. In the future, I hope my own research takes a similar form. After all, using the past to make the future a more peaceful, compassionate place feels like the right lesson to have learned.

Settlement and Sediment: Engaging Politicized Archaeology in the Israel/Palestine Conflict

Introduction

Though the Israel/Palestine issue appears to be a binary one of Jewish settlement in an Arab, mostly Muslim region, the reality is far more complex. Several different cultural, economic, and religious interest groups have been fighting over this one strip of Middle Eastern land for well over a century. Each of these interest groups has used archaeology to justify its claim to the land, and in some cases to undermine other groups' claims in turn. The Masada fortress site, located at the south end of the Judean desert, and Khirbet Qumran, just to the side of the Dead Sea, serve as prime examples of how cultural interest groups have used folklore and archaeology to assert ownership over border-defining sites in modern-day Israel, frequently to the detriment of other cultures with equal claims to the same land.

I have been researching and writing about archaeological history and responsibility in the modern-day state of Israel since 2018, with my most recent publication in May of 2021. My paper "War, Ruin and Suicide: The Agendas Behind the Modern Masada Legacy" deals with biased research informed by nationalist mythologies at Masada. That paper focused primarily on archaeological methodology and how mythology and folklore informed researchers' decisions at one site. While this paper draws on my previous work and engages some of those same topics, its scope is wider. Instead of focusing purely on the flawed methodology at these sites, I seek now to understand this topic in a broader context, to explore the impact of Christian Zionist aims and actions, and to examine this subject through the lens of conflict resolution.

Though the fraught contemporary discussion of Israeli statehood and of settler colonialism is part of the conversation, the purpose of this paper is neither to side with Israeli nationalist ideals nor with Palestinian claims of colonialism. Rather, the goal is to demonstrate ways in which the field of archaeology has failed people on all sides of the modern land conflict in Israel. Where researchers could have pursued and clearly shown a narrative of peace, inclusion, and shared history, they instead chose to stir the pot and further divide groups already at odds with one another. Archaeology could have been a tool for resolution; instead, misguided intentions made existing tensions far worse, and now force a new generation to pick up the pieces of an inherited conflict.

The Origins of Biblical Archaeology in Palestine

Archaeology in Israel goes back to well before the establishment of the Israeli state. In 1913, during the British occupation of Palestine, a group of British explorers and local governors established the Society for the Reclamation of Antiquities.[1] By 1920, the organization had formally changed its name to the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.[2,3] The Society sought out archaeological sites and sent out British archaeologists to excavate them, often with the help of a Palestinian guide. Though the sites were typically Biblical in nature—connected to stories from the Old Testament, or located near Bethlehem and the Sea of Galilee—the archaeology conducted there had less to do with religious ties or ethnic claims to the land and more to do with the prestige of digging up and displaying "exotic Middle Eastern artifacts."[4] The British School of

[1] Katharina Galor. "Section 2. Institutionalization" In *Finding Jerusalem: Archaeology between Science and Ideology*, 28-42. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017.
[2] Galor, "Institutionalization,"33.
[3] Later, this became the Israel Exploration Society.
[4] Doron Bar. "Frontier and Periphery in Late Antique Palestine." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 44, no. 1 (March 20, 2004): 69–92.

Archaeology in Jerusalem began operating in 1921, after members of the Society and of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a similar organization, appealed to the British government for funds and support. R.A. Steward Macalister and Duncan Mackenzie, whose names appear on the formal appeal, expressed concern for the archaeological sites because of "pitched battles" being "waged across these desert lands."[5] Mackenzie also noted his worry regarding thefts and raids on the sites where work had already begun. Only a few short years later, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and its Institute of Archaeology were founded in 1926. By 1934, the Institute had become formally known as the Department of Archaeology, which still names itself the "birthplace of Israeli archaeology."[6] During the two decades between the Society and the University, archaeological research in Palestine took on a distinctly more Biblical perspective—most notably in the Old City (the 'City of David') in Jerusalem, at Tel Megiddo, and at a few smaller sites in Bethlehem.[7]

It is worth noting that many of these excavations began took place not as part of a push for Jewish cultural cohesion but rather as the result not just of exotic prestige-gathering on the part of British colonists but also of European Christian Zionism.[8] Proving a history of Jewish habitation in the area through biblical evidence was key to proving the reality of *Jesus,* which would be a strong foundation for Christian stewardship of the land (as the British Mandate billed itself) and potentially for British sovereignty (inherently Christian, in other words) over Palestine as well. That said,

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[5] Page A. Thomas , "The Success and Failure of Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister*", Biblical Archaeologist,* Vol 47: (1984). 33–35
[6] Ibid.
[7] Samuel R. Wolff, "Archaeology in Israel," *American Journal of Archaeology, American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 98, No. 3 (Jul. 1994), pp. 481-519.
[8] Ibid.

Christian Zionist aims in the 1920s-1940s had much in common with what Jewish Israeli nationalists would look for later: signs of biblical confluence and physical evidence of biblical stories. Even the reasoning behind these excavations (and museum-like displays) has quite a bit in common with the way that post-1948 sites were treated-- the sites were chosen not strictly because initial surveys suggested there might be interesting finds or remnants of long-dead civilizations, but rather because tales passed down from one generation to the next among locals indicated similarities with the terrain and with biblical stories.[9] Archaeologists worked to contextualize physical clues within biblical narratives, pushing stories and artifacts together like puzzle pieces, but forcing them together or trimming edges that fit imperfectly.[10] In the end, the archaeological work functions as a façade for an argument rooted in identity politics and delineations drawn between cultures long before modern archaeology entered the picture.

Other groups in this area of the Levant could also sway the archaeological or political narratives, including the Druze, Arab Christians, Bedouin, Bahai and, of course, religiously unaffiliated people who claim secularity but have lived in the area for several generations and fall into the general category of Arab citizens of the area.[11] Though some of the archaeological narrative might address these groups, they do not make up a statistically significant percentage of the population of modern-day Israel to effectively claim a place in the bigger- picture movements that surround these topics. As for how these different biases have affected the archaeology and history itself, one may look to

[9] Yael Zerubavel. "The Multivocality of a National Myth: Memory and Counter-memories of Masada." *Israel Affairs* 1, no. 3 (March 1, 1995): 110–28.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Phillip L. Hammack. *Narrative and the Politics of Identity: The Cultural Psychology of Israeli and Palestinian Youth*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.

lead archaeologist Yigael Yadin's influence on the popular and widely accepted archaeological narrative in Israel. In some cases, Yadin appears to have chosen to ignore evidence that would have been helpful in an archaeological context in favor of actively pursuing evidence to support a specific story—that is to say, he started with specific biases in mind and then went out with the intent to prove his own preconceptions, rather than looking for any kind of objective historical truth.[12]

Israel's population is made up of people who have lived most of their lives surrounded by constant conflict, as well as immediate descendants of Holocaust survivors, now coming of age in very different circumstances from those that their grandparents or parents might have known. Israel still struggles to maintain its own foothold on existence in the modern geopolitical sphere. The idea of a "national mythology," or an origin story, would have been extremely attractive to the Israeli population by the 1960s, when Yadin's popularity as a scholar emerged—even more so considering that the discipline of archaeology provides some form of legitimacy to the ownership claimed by the Old Testament or the Torah, creating an extra layer outside of those strictly religious texts.[13] Reviving legends through history and archaeology was a surefire way of keeping the story alive and maintaining a sense of nationalism in a country under constant threat, where outside forces insist that the people living there had no right to nationhood.[14]

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[12] Leuenberger and Schnell. 831.
[13] Neil Asher Silberman. "From Masada to the Little Bighorn: The Role of Archaeological Site Interpretation in the Shaping of National Myths." *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 3, no. 1–2 (January 1, 1999): 9–15.
[14] Philip L. Kohl, Mara Kozelsky, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda. *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts*. University of Chicago Press, 2008. 180-182.

Following the establishment of the modern state of Israel in 1948, U.S/European support for the new state led to an expansion of any already extant archaeological expeditions through the 1950s and 60s, as well as an influx of even more excavations. Biblical archaeological work was already in progress at the time, but each discovery created a mass fervor for more— larger sites, larger crews, more areas to explore, more artifacts to dig up— and of course, more stories to "prove" true. One of the most popular sites that stemmed from this fervor was the Masada fortress, near the edge of the Judean desert and the Dead Sea.

Controversy at the Masada Fortress

Masada's cultural legacy goes back to well before the mid-60s excavation. Titus Josephus Flavius (born Yosef ben Matiyahu), called Josephus, wrote the first history of the siege on the fortress. His version, written circa 66-70CE, details the story of Jewish zealot fighters (*sicarii*) who waged, and ultimately lost, the last battles against Roman forces for the freedom of the ancient kingdom of Judea.[15] Josephus' story is a tragic tale of sacrifice, in which the men of the Masada fortress drew lots—their names, etched into stones and drawn out of a bowl—to decide who would become the "death givers" of the zealot community. The ten men chosen would go on to kill their own families, burn the storerooms, and destroy much of their own synagogue before eventually killing one another, before the Roman legion camped below could get the chance to do so. The sicarii on the mountain knew that any survivors would be sold into slavery or killed, and any undamaged remnants of the Jewish way of life would be desecrated.[16]

[15] Shaye J. D. Cohen. *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development As a Historian*. Brill, Leiden, 2002.
[16] Reuven Firestone. *Holy War in Judaism: The Fall and Rise of a Controversial Idea*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

In Josephus' version of the story, two women and five children (of which he claims to be one) escaped the siege, only to be captured by the Romans as slaves. Josephus converted and was eventually adopted into the Flavius lineage, intentionally abandoning his Jewish heritage. He published the story of the siege as a part of his "life history," an autobiography that makes a point of highlighting the "generosity" of the Roman legion.[17] Biases aside, Josephus's narrative became the story that defined the Masada siege, creating a legend that lasted through the centuries, told in whispered tones among Diaspora Jews over the centuries.[18]

Through various iterations of the story, the temple-desecrators and death-givers became heroes who would rather die than give up their home and their religion.[19] The story particularly appealed to exiled Jews in times of trouble with the narrative most frequently re-told and re-popularized in times of trouble and heightened antisemitism.[20] Unsurprisingly, the story was re-popularized once more during Hitler's rise to power in Germany and was passed around through Resistance movements in Europe up until the end of the Second World War. Notably, the story made its way back to the Judean desert early in the 1920s, when the lines that created the borders for Palestine under the Balfour declaration and British Mandate were drawn.[21]

Yigael Yadin's Work at Masada

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[17] Kenneth Atkinson, "Noble Deaths at Gamla and Masada? A Critical Assessment of Josephus' accounts of Jewish Resistance in Light of Archaeological Discoveries," *Making History*, January 1, 2007, 347–71.
[18] Jodi Magness. "A Reconsideration of Josephus' Testimony about Masada." *The Jewish Revolt against Rome*, January 1, 2011, 343–59.
[19] Arnold H. Green. "History and Fable, Heroism and Fanaticism: Nachman Ben-Yehuda's 'The Masada Myth.'" *Brigham Young University Studies* 36, no. 3 (1996): 403–24.
[20] Zvi Kolitz. "Masada — Suicide or Murder?" *Tradition: A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought* 12, no. 1 (1971): 5–26.
[21] Ibid.

Much of the modern Masada mythos comes from the archaeology notes of one Israeli (Mizrahi Jewish) archaeologist—Yigael Yadin. Yadin based much of his work on an archaeological survey conducted in the 1950s, almost a full decade before archaeologists put shovels into the ground at the site.[22] The researchers behind the survey were meticulous in their documentation, working to examine the historical underpinnings of the Masada legend, but also to uncover as much as possible about the site itself. The survey reveals the outline of a synagogue, a large block of barracks, and an area that is the right distance from the barracks and synagogue to the be the food storage areas that are mentioned in Josephus's history. However, it also makes note of water cisterns that connect to an elaborate Roman hydraulic system, a section of dwelling-spaces that were almost certainly slave quarters, and a large section that the surveyors guessed were likely women's quarters where textile work, cooking, and artistry would have taken place.[23] Any of these sections of the survey would have been worthy of close examination and detailed excavation reports. Yadin, however, did not bother to examine any of them except for the synagogue, the barracks, the food storage areas, and at one point, the Roman encampment site below the fortress.[24] As he stated in his notes, the stories that Yadin cared about were those that referenced "men of fighting age," and for the most part, he stopped there.[25]

[22] M. Avi-Yonah, N. Avigad, Y. Aharoni, I. Dunayevsky, And S. Gutman. "The Archaeological Survey of Masada, 1955-1956." *Israel Exploration Journal* 7, no. 1 (1957): 1–60.
[23] Joseph Patrich. "The Buildings of Masada - E. Netzer, Masada III. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965 Final Reports: The Buildings, Stratigraphy, and Architecture (Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem1991). Xxviii + 655 Pp., 79 Plans, 945 Ill. NIS 240.00." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (ed 1993): 473–75.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

Yadin's assumption that the only story at Masada worth focusing on was that of religious warfare and the death-givers shaped the treatment of the site in some extraordinarily controversial ways. He found evidence of Jewish inhabitants going back thousands of years—to at least the first century, matching Josephus's story, but at least a hundred years before that, too. He found "proof," or at least "strongly suggestive" evidence that the storerooms were intentionally ruined. He found broken pieces of a large bowl, and over a dozen stones with Biblical-era-style Hebrew letters etched into them.[26] He took these items as proof of the lot-drawing and spent pages of his report speculating on possible methods of desecration in the context of the synagogue and the storerooms.[27] He spent months trying, and eventually proving the "truth" of the Masada story—and in the process, strengthening the Israeli claim to the site through heritage/cultural links to ancient Judea.[28]

Though his major findings should not be disregarded, Yadin's research was riddled with issues—not so much with the stories that found, but with the ones he never bothered to look for. As I noted in my own paper, there are some discrepancies between Yadin's summary of the site and other excavations and histories associated with the area around it. The biggest issues had to do with non-Jewish communities near the outpost at Masada who would have interacted with the *sicarii* and their families, and

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[26] John J. Collins. Review of *Review of Masada: The Excavations 1963-1965, , , ; Masada I: The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions, Yigael Yadin, ; The Coins of Masada, ; Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents, , , ; The Documents from the Bar-Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri, ; Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions, Yigael Yadin*, by Joseph Aviram, Gideon Foerster, Ehud Netzer, Yigael Yadin, Joseph Naveh, Yaacov Meshorer, Hannah M. Cotton, et al. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110, no. 2 (1991): 340–43.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Yigael Yadin. "Masada and the Limes." *Israel Exploration Journal* 17, no. 1 (1967): 43–45.

with site access.[29] Yadin guarded his work at Masada jealously, carefully vetting anyone who worked on the site and refusing access to anyone who was not part of his hand-picked team.[30] As I.A. Richmond writes,

> A British excavation team working on the Roman encampment about halfway down the mountain from Masada found evidence of nomads in the desert as well as Jewish settlements concurrent with the years that the zealots would have been defending Masada as the last outpost of Judea.[31]

Such a finding would indicate that some Jews were peacefully coexisting with the Romans, which did not fit Yadin's narrative. Yadin's reports never acknowledge those findings, although the sites are close enough together that there almost certainly should have been some crossover between the two in the archaeological record. The nomads might not have made their way up the mountain or into the fortress, but, as I noted in "War, Ruin, and Suicide,"

> *A place as isolated as Masada, with none of its own farmlands, would have needed to trade with nearby communities for food and material goods, none of which show up in the archaeological record. Archaeologists from around the world clamored for more detailed work pertaining to the cisterns and the hydraulics of the fortress, as the pipes of the Herodian bathhouse spaces were extraordinarily well-preserved due to the dry desert climate. Such preservation would have allowed excavators to examine key elements of Herodian*

[29] Green, 405.
[30] Alvin Dueck. *Between Jerusalem and Athens: Ethical Perspectives on Culture, Religion, and Psychotherapy*. Wipf and Stock Publishers, Eugene, OR. 2013.
[31] I.A. Richmond. "The Roman Siege-Works of Masàda, Israel." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 52, no. 1–2 (November 1962): 142–55.

engineering and design in extraordinary detail, and any well-trained archaeologist (which Yadin certainly was) would have—and arguably should have—taken note of these aspects of the dig site. But Yadin never released his notes on the subject.[32]

Another issue arises almost immediately with Yadin's work at Masada: the Judean desert was not simply uninhabited for the hundreds of years between the fall of the ancient kingdom and the 1948 formation of the modern Israeli state. Druze, Bedouin, and Muslim communities have lived there throughout that time.[33] Later excavations recovered pottery consistent with Bedouin goods.[34] Bits of clay tablets from nearby were covered in faded, scattered letters, not just in Hebrew but in other languages as well. Palestinian and Jordanian history refers to mountain communities near a Herodian fortress on the southeast side of what now makes up Israel, not far from the Dead Sea—a description that matches Masada almost exactly.[35] Yet Yadin's work, the official documents, and the museum atop Masada devoted to its history reference none of these aspects—they all tell the story of the death-givers, the *sicarii*, and the Romans, and few go any further. Masada has become a touchstone of modern Diaspora Zionism as well as Israeli nationalism. Yadin's work served as a masterfully crafted launchpad for an undeniably successful academic and political career. The chosen cultural narrative seemed sufficient to outweigh actual events.

[32] Maxxe Albert-Deitch, "War, Ruin, and Suicide: The Agendas Behind the Modern Masada Legacy *The Drew Review,* Vol. 14 (May 2021). 111-112.
[33] Robert Paine. "Masada: A History of a Memory." *History and Anthropology* 6, no. 4 (January 1, 1994): 371–409.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Paine, 409.

The story of the Masada siege, after all, goes back to the Romano-Judean wars, and while the story is a religious one, it is not strictly biblical.[36] This key distinction meant that Jews could claim cultural ownership of the Masada legend, regardless of their level religious observance. Jews who grew up in Palestine, before the Israeli declaration of statehood, could make an ancestral claim to Masada. People whose families consisted of Holocaust survivors could honor the warriors who chose religion over slavery or death, who had the courage to commit suicide rather than be slain.[37] The Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F) already had a tradition of hiking Masada before dawn, just as Shimon Peres did back in 1944 and just as visitors to the site do today.[38] Reviving the legend through its history and archaeology was an easy way of keeping the story alive and maintaining a sense of nationalism in a country where outside forces insisted that the people living there had no right to nationhood.[39] The Masada story was a near-perfect way to combat pressure to surrender the border, and people both inside and outside of Israel latched onto it and held on tight.

Like many Israeli citizens, Yadin spent significant time in the I.D.F. (at that point, the Haganah) early in his adult life, having left service for university only to be called back before he graduated. By the time Yadin arrived at the site, he had already begun to make the political connections that would launch his future career as a politician and perhaps some of those connections led him to make some of his archaeological decisions. Yadin's work on the Masada site placed him in the limelight as the face of the region's most

[36] Gwyn Davies. “Under Siege: The Roman Field Works at Masada.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 362 (May 1, 2011): 65–83.
[37] Ruth Amossy. “From National Consensus to Political Dissent: The Rhetorical Uses of the Masada Myth in Israel.” *Rivista Italiana di Filosofia del Linguaggio* 6, no. 3 (2012): 1-15–15.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda. 220

popular archaeological project. He was the man who uncovered the most culturally significant geographic location in Israel outside of Jerusalem. He was the man who had affirmed the story of ancient Judea's last stand. On top of that, he had connections. His time in the military had led to friendships or at least alliances on both sides of the political aisle. He held the respect of Peres and of David Ben-Gurion (though the latter relationship disintegrated after a few years). Yadin's military rank of *Rav Aluf,* the highest rank one can hold in the Israeli army, made his appointment to the Chief of Staff (and later, Deputy Prime Minister) position an easy one.[40]

By the time Yadin's work on the Masada site was wrapping up, he had already been the star archaeologist for work with the Dead Sea Scrolls, with the Qumran Caves, with Tel Meggiddo, and with Hazor. Every site he investigated became another entry in the list of culturally significant sites with a historical and religious reason why the land should belong to *Israel,* the Jewish state.[41] Between Yadin's military relationships and his subsequent work developing a cultural narrative for Israel, it naturally follows that he would have been crafting that narrative of cultural ownership during his work on Masada. Yadin's work cemented his legacy as a political figure as well as a military and academic one. Even the fact that Yadin published his writings in English-speaking journals makes sense in terms of his political trajectory. A large number of British individuals (most of them Christian Zionists, backed by religious groups, aristocrats, and a few staunchly conservative politicians) remained in Jerusalem for nearly four decades after Israel was

[40] Shane Miller. *Desert Fighter: The Story of General Yigael Yadin and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Hawthorn Books, 1967.
[41] Yael Zerubavel. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. University of Chicago Press, 1995.

fully legally established as its own country.[42] For nearly fifty years, unofficial political meetings were held in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem—meetings that Yadin attended.[43] Yadin garnered support through his archaeological work, using his research to build the podium and platform that would allow him to hold office.[44] Masada was an enormous part of that process. To some extent, it seems clear that Yadin exploited the contacts he had already made to further the political career he had not yet announced.

A Blind Eye from the Institution

It is interesting that Yadin's work took as long as it did garner controversy—it is as though much of established Western scholarship simply turned a blind eye to the issues with his work. Criticisms of Yadin sparked a persistent but very quiet debate in the global archaeological community. Through the 1960s, archaeologists from around the world gained access to Yadin's published works, and as Israel gradually opened its archaeological sites for increased global access, many of these professionals began to push back against Yadin's declarations. Bastiaan Jongeling, a Dutch scholar who conducted archaeological and historical research in the Negev between 1958 and 1969, wrote about interactions between small societal groupings in the desert in this period (first century C.E.) — the same nomadic groups and small settlements that British surveys had uncovered, and which Yadin's work largely ignored. Jongeling expressed concern that Yadin's excavation did not make any reference to other dig sites in the area, or to other scholars' work—Jongeling's own included.[45] Scholars in the United

[42] Bar, 62.
[43] Miller, 128.
[44] Miller, 137.
[45] Edwin M.Yamauchi, "A Decade and a Half of Archaeology in Israel and in Jordan." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 42, no. 4 (1974): 710–26.

States and Britain echoed that concern, particularly those writing for archaeological journals. Solomon Zeitlin, an archaeologist who worked and researched on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania in the 1960s, was vocal in his statement that Yadin "pushed aside" suggestions from outside consults and "pursued a variation of truth" instead of pushing for solid archaeological evidence.[46] H. Darrell Lance, whose research (concurrent with Yadin's) was published in the *Cambridge Review,* expressed concern at Yadin's refusal to allow outside researchers onto the Masada site.[47]

The Excavation at Khirbet Qumran (the Dead Sea Scrolls)

Yadin's work on the excavation of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Khirbet Qumran also has garnered significant controversy surrounding methodology, interpretation, and public reception. Thousands of fragments were recovered from more than eleven separate cave sites at Qumran, as well as shards of jars that at one point contained the scrolls—scrolls which, if put together and verified as the Dead Sea Scrolls of myth, would be the oldest surviving Hebrew manuscripts found at a dig to date.[48] The archaeological team working on the dig also uncovered an unbroken storage jar, containing a mostly undamaged scroll. Just past the storage jar, beyond the entrance of the cave, the archaeologists discovered an area behind the caved-in section of the tunnel which contained several more jars, lids, bits of cloth wrappings, and tools that matched

[46] Solomon Zeitlin. "The Sicarii and Masada." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 57, no. 4 (1967): 251–70.
[47]Darrell H. Lance, "The Royal Stamps and the Kingdom of Josiah." *Harvard Theological Review* 64, no. 2–3 (July 1971): 315–32.
[48] Joan E. Taylor "Khirbet Qumran in Period III." *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, 2006, 133-46. doi:10.1163/9789047407973_007. 133-135.

markings on the jars.[49] The researchers also found rusty pickaxe heads, suggesting that at some point between the discovery of the site and the official start of the excavations, looters ransacked the cave, potentially taking the Dead Sea Scrolls or other culturally or historically significant artifacts between the site's initial discovery in the 1950s and Yadin's work through the 1980s.[50]

Like Masada, Khirbet Qumran is located on contested ground area near Jordan—in this case, the West Bank. Because the land that houses the dig site (and its artifacts) has changed hands so many times, the Palestinian National Authority and the Jordanian government have contested Israel's claim to ownership of the scrolls.[51] However, no one actually denied Jordanian or Palestinian scholars' access to the Scrolls or to Qumran. In fact, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan sent R.W. Dajjani to help the Israeli Antiquities Authority (I.A.A.) finish the restoration work on the Qumran caves in 1967, nearly twenty years before Yigael Yadin and Joseph Patrick would begin their excavation.[52] Notably, the first excavations at Qumran were done by neither Israeli nor Jordanian scholars but Roland de Vaux, a French Dominican priest who was the director of a French Catholic theological school in East Jerusalem.[53] He reported directly to Ibrahim El-Assouli, the caretaker of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the

[49] Millar Burrows. *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls; New Scrolls and New Interpretations, with Translations of Important Recent Discoveries.* New York: Viking. 1958. 210.
[50]Edward M. Cook. (1994). *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Light on the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan. 1994. 103.
[51] Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg. *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, 17–19 November 2002*, Edited by Florentino García Martínez, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57. Leiden: Brill, 2006. 100-104.
[52] Philip R. Davies, George J. Brooke, and Phillip R. Callaway (2002). *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London: Thames & Hudson. 121-134.
[53] Galor, Humbert, and Zangenberg, 18.

Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem).[54] De Vaux worked on Khirbet Qumran from 1951 to 1956—a full decade before Dajjani ever had access to the site.

Jordan's major claim to ownership of the Scrolls is mainly reliant on their previous custodianship—between 1948 and 1967, the Antiquities Authority of Jordan worked with de Vaux to decipher, maintain, and translate the scrolls.[55] However, even this claim is tenuous, as de Vaux refused access to researchers outside of the Jordanian antiquities authorities, attempted to block publication of some of the texts, and failed to responsibly conserve and maintain the parchment on which they were written. Some fragments of the scrolls were held together with adhesive tape and exposed to hot lights through glass, causing irreversible staining and damage.[56]

The more plausible claim of injustice is probably the lack of Jordanian and Palestinian credit where publication and display were concerned. Once Yadin began publishing, he and Patrich claimed the credit for most of the excavation work done over the previous twenty years, despite only having handled the site for four. Additionally, Dajjani was given minimal credit for his work in the eventual exhibitions that were set up and displayed in the Israel Museum, as well as for those that the I.A.A. sent on a 'world tour.'[57]

Continued Criticisms of the I.A.A.'s Approach

In 1954, Israel signed a U.N. convention forbidding the removal of "cultural artifacts" by foreign occupiers—an interesting choice, considering that the U.N. considers

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Burrows, 71.
[56] Raphael Israeli, *Piracy in Qumran: The Battle over the Scrolls of the Pre-Christ Era]*, Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers: 2008.
[57] "The Qumran Community - Scrolls from the Dead Sea | Exhibitions - Library of Congress." Web page, April 29, 1993. https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/scrolls/late.html.

the West Bank occupied territory.[58] Israel, in the meantime, has placed the artifacts pulled from Qumran in a museum in Jerusalem.[59] These facts lend an air of distrust to the circumstances of the excavation. However, the most ardent supporters of protecting the dig's contents' place in Jerusalem have been Israeli nationalists like Yadin and those who trained under him (including Israel Hasson, the current chairman of the Israel Antiquities Authority), and notably, Christian Zionist groups— some of which have been providing funds for archaeological digs since the days of the British Mandate.[60]

Qumran is a situation of contested ground. Israeli nationalists would want to provide tangible support for their cultural claim to the land— proving a cultural connection, or even just a rallying point for the primarily Jewish citizens of Israel would help to create a stronger justification to hold onto that section of the West Bank. However, Christian Zionist groups have pushed just as hard for the continued examination of the site— not to prove Jewish connections, as at Masada, but rather to prove a *Christian* history within Israel. Doing so would cement both a Jewish *and* Christian claim to the land (though of course, proving a Jewish connection inherently creates a connection for Christianity as well, as is the nature of root religions and offshoots).

[58] UNESCO, "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention." Accessed November 12, 2021. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php- URL_ID=13637

[59] Yizhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten years of Excavations and Research, 1993–2004," in The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), Brill, 2006 (pp. 55–116).

[60] Israel Finkelstein. "Bible Archaeology or Archaeology of Palestine in the Iron Age? A Rejoinder." *Levant* 30, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 167–74.

Just as with Masada, questions have been raised from many groups and parties over the years regarding the treatment of the site— particularly discrepancies between initial survey reports, artifacts, and the narrative crafted by putting the artifacts pulled from the ground into museums. How much of the site was passed over to prove that the scrolls in question really were the Dead Sea Scrolls? This question is particularly pertinent given that the Scrolls themselves may have been looted. The site was left open without protection from *anyone* for years between its discovery and excavation.[61]

While some groups raised objections to the treatment of the site at first, those objections faded into the background as an official narrative began to take shape.[62] By the 1980s, pushback against the treatment of the site (and the narrative that it helped to solidify) had all but disappeared, at least in terms of publications.[63] The lack of documented pushback is especially notable because Yadin's (and the I.A.A.'s) methodology was not particularly sound—the reinforcement and continued publicization of their work relied on the institution of Western archaeology turning a blind eye to his biases and errors. The narrative informed the excavation, so the excavation in turn only strengthened the narrative, which happened to mesh strongly with Christian religious claims and Israeli cultural cohesion narratives/national myths. This process is a key example of how narrative arguably informed archaeology far more than archaeological convention did, which in turn informed the way that border establishment and state formation played out in the area.

[61] Lankester G. Harding. "Khirbet Qumran and Wady Muraba'At." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, July 19, 2013.
[62] Magen and Peleg, 59.
[63] Magen and Peleg, 112.

Neil Silberman has leveled perhaps the sharpest criticisms of Yadin and his works, pointing out that the "origin myth of the Israelites" only became a significant aspect of archaeology in the Middle East when Zionist statehood in the area became an option.[64] He also pointed out that the dominant narrative in Israel is now the claim that Judaism and the Israelite people originated in the Levant, continued to live there through several Roman invasions (including the one that led to the great tragedy at Masada), and therefore modern descendants hold the oldest and therefore most legitimate claims to the space that we now call Israel. Silberman notes that when confronted with the actual evidence of the archaeological record, this claim is tenuous at best.[65] There are long gaps between clear instances of the presence of Jews in the area throughout history, suggesting long periods of other cultures having the predominant hold on the land. Modern historians have no way of being certain that those long-dead populations practiced a form of the religion that matches with modern Judaism. There is no clear way to indicate that the Israeli Jews alive today originated from those ancient populations at all—or whether those lines of biological descent even matter within the context of religious observance and ideology.[66] The use of archaeology to support a heritage-claim to land is hardly a novel strategy, nor is it inherently a problematic one.[67] In the case of Israel, the ethical fuzziness only really comes into play when one

[64] Neil Asher Silberman. "If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem: Archaeology, Religious Commemoration and Nationalism in a Disputed City, 1801–2001." *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no. 4 (2001): 487–504.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Neil Asher Silberman. *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*. 1. Anchor books ed. Anchor Books. Doubleday, 1990. 183.
[67] This strategy is, as one of my professors has pointed out, a Western tool bound up with the history of Euro-American imperialism around the world, even as it is helpful to the field of ethnohistory.

considers that the claims Yadin and his contemporaries (namely, Shimon Peres and David Ben-Gurion) sought to reestablish a Mizrahi Jewish claim to the land *at the expense* of other cultural groups in the area. The Jewish claim to the land is a legitimate one— even Silberman concedes that "Jews have always been in the Levant."[68]

Underlying agendas have always been a part of anthropology and archaeology. Like any other humanities discipline, researchers in these fields carry biases which may color their work. However, simple bias alone cannot account for the misuse of archaeology and the questionable tactics employed by antiquities departments to create the exclusionary narratives that have formed the backbone of modern statehood in Israel. Founding myths and national myths absolutely entitle cultural groups to the right to defend individual religious spaces or pilgrimage points like what much of Jerusalem has become. But using archaeology to change the historical narrative for the purpose of strengthening a national mythology is a different game altogether.

Can Today's Scholars Improve on the Work of Our Predecessors?

Perhaps, in Palestine, archaeology can serve as a peacemaker, not a divider. The Ein Dor Museum (part of the Ein Dor Kibbutz in the Lower Galilee) is surrounded by Arab and Muslim communities, as well as multiple Bedouin villages. Ein Dor has served a positive, educational role in maintaining peace between multiethnic, multi-faith communities through their display of archaeology.[69] Carmela Arnon, the museum's director, has spoken at length about the importance of archaeology as an educational tool "to connect people… cementing and improving relationships between the

[68] Silberman, *Between Past and Present.* 183.
[69] "Ein Dor Museum | Museums in Israel - Archaeology." Accessed December 14, 2021. https://museums.gov.il/en/museums/pages/ein-dor.aspx

peoples."[70] Partially funded by the Israel Ministry of Education, most of Ein Dor's work circulates around children's education programming, unifying young kids around their common heritage and history. Their most popular program received the Knesset Speaker's Prize for Quality of Life, which is awarded to educational programs that "promote the values of joint citizenship and multiculturalism" to "create a respectful and tolerant society in education."[71] Ein Dor's program surrounds the use of a fully operational olive press, designed from parts of a 6th century press found in an excavation on the property. Arab, Jewish, and Bedouin children come from northern Israel to gather and press the olives—working together, learning words in multiple languages, and cooking and making soap with the pressed oil.[72]

Larger groups, including a small variety of NGOs and nonprofits, claim to do similar work to what occurs at Ein Dor. However, many of these groups share the same issue that has plagued Israeli archaeology for so long— as Yadin did at Masada, they choose the history of one demographic over another. This issue has been to the detriment of these groups—take, for example, Emek Shaveh, a group that claims to "view heritage sites as resources for building bridges and strengthening bonds between different peoples and cultures… reinforcing archaeology as important factor impacting the dynamics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." Their mission statement even says that "archaeological findings should not function as a means to prove ownership by one people or one religion over a given tract of land… The development of an

[70] Carmela Arnon. "Building Bridges: Chapter 3 - The Experiential Approach." *Ein Dor.* 2018. 3-8.
[71] "Knesset Speaker's 2007 Quality of Life Award Presented to Ein Dor." Knesset Press Archive. Accessed December 13, 2021.
[72] Arnon. 6.

archaeological site located within a built-up area cannot be justified if it ignores the local community."[73]

Despite claims of equal access and serving all communities, Emek Shaveh's research and publications tend to be quite one-sided. Their reports often seek to eliminate a Jewish claim to the land, even as I.A.A-approved archaeology diminishes an Arab-Muslim claim in kind. Emek Shaveh's report from one of their East Jerusalem projects in 2017 notes that Israel archaeology projects are "intended to prove and to strengthen the historical, religious and cultural affinity of the Jewish people and the State of Israel to the West Bank in an attempt to appropriate history and efface the heritage and historical narratives of other peoples and cultures."[74] This claim might not have been inflammatory by itself, but multiple Emek Shaveh board members have called Israeli archaeology projects "Zionist attacks… on par with Hamas terror tunnels, authorized by the Supreme Court of Israel."[75] It comes as no surprise, then, that Emek Shaveh's biggest most frequent source of criticism is EU decision makers and Israeli parliament members accusing the organization of Antisemitism.[76]

Too many organizations fall into the trap of manipulating archaeology to elevate one cultural history over another. Perhaps funding and publicity are easier to attain when one stands at an extreme— levying an "us" against a "them" in the name of

[73] Emek Shaveh. "About Us." Accessed December 13, 2021. https://emekshaveh.org/en/about-us/.
[74] Emek Shaveh. "Appropriating the Past: Israel's Archaeological Practices in the West Bank," December 26, 2017.
[75] Orly Noy, +972 Magazine. "Israel's Very Own Tunnels of Dread in Jerusalem," September 6, 2014.
[76] N.G.O Monitor, U.N. "Amnesty International's Antisemitic Campaign against Jewish Tourism." NGOMonitor. https://www.ngo-monitor.org/reports/amnesty-internationals-antisemitic-campaign-against-jewish-tourism/.

preserving a cultural history that audiences may perceive as being under attack. But organizations and researchers dedicated to conflict resolution and transformation through the combination of archaeology and education exist. In Israel, Ein Dor remains open, with a staff and volunteers dedicated to its cause. Elsewhere, researchers pursue similar attempts at bringing people together through their common history and culture, focusing on historical similarities rather than present differences.

Audrey Horning's research in Ireland, at Ulster, particularly stands out because of its nuance and lack of trepidation in facing contested-ground work head-on. Dr. Horning deals explicitly with conflict transformation, calling for archaeologists to "adopt the mantle of the public intellectual and bring archaeology to bear on contemporary issues within divided societies," and arguing that "archaeologists have a responsibility to provide leadership and commentary regarding the fraught relationship between past and present."[77] Horning's contention meshes well with the work that Carmela Arnon does at Ein Dor, and sums up what I hope to offer with my own research. There is common ground to be found between the layers of sediment and sentiment in shared cultural histories, if only we (researchers, members of cultures, the interested public) are willing to look for it.

If there is minimal scholarship to this effect, perhaps the dearth is intentional. Palestinian heritage and advocacy groups have little to gain by acknowledging a Mizrahi claim to the land. The Israeli government, by the same token, would have to revoke seventy years of their own archaeological narrative and fifty more of British involvement

[77] Audrey Horning. "Exerting Influence? Responsibility and the Public Role of Archaeology in Divided Societies." *Archaeological Dialogues* 20, no. 1 (June 2013): 19–29.

to acknowledge a Muslim land claim—and in doing so would likely lose their already tenuous grasp on their current borders. These disparate, conflicting claims do little but push against one another and further escalate conflict, pointing fingers and offering no compromises as solutions. Modern researchers must do better. People like Silberman, and Arnon, have demonstrated the feasibility and advantages of finding common ground in Israel. Doing so is neither easy, nor does it appear to be a popular or well-funded avenue of research. But as conflict in the Middle East continues and escalates, resolution becomes simultaneously more difficult – and more urgent.

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Segregation and Solidarity: Antisemitism, Private Schools, and the Conditionality of Jewish Whiteness in Atlanta

Introduction

In 1958, a bomb went off at the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation Temple in Atlanta, more commonly known as 'the Temple.' Five men were arrested nearly immediately; only two of them faced trial, and neither was convicted. One of the accused insisted to the jury that he must have been innocent because he was not an Antisemite; the trial itself was declared a mistrial because "you can't send a man to the penitentiary for life just because he's a Jew-hater."[78] Antisemitism aside, the FBI, the Anti-Defamation League, and several authors have concluded that the Temple bombing was racially motivated. Not only was the Temple set to host an integrated dinner where Martin Luther King Jr. was an invited speaker, but the Temple's rabbi, Jacob M. Rothschild, was one of the cowriters of the Ministers' Manifesto, which advocated for school integration and religious service integration in Atlanta.[79] Rather than deterring Jewish activism and integrated religious friendships, the Temple bombing became a rallying point for cross-racial solidarity in Atlanta: local Black churches like Ebenezer Baptist (where Martin Luther King Sr. was the pastor for 40 years, and where Raphael Warnock served as a pastor before he became a senator) helped raise much of money to rebuild the Temple.[80] This show of solidarity coincided with Temple members backing

[78] Claude Sitton, special to the *New York Times*, "MISTRIAL CALLED IN BOMBING CASE; Atlanta Court Rules Bright Must Face New Jury -- Grants a Delay," *The New York Times* (December 11, 1958) sec. Archives. https://www.nytimes.com/1958/12/11/archives/mistrial-called-in-bombing-case-atlanta-court-rules-bright-must.html.
[79] Rothschild did not sign the letter, noting that it was too Christian-oriented for him to do so, but he was integral to its composition and overall message.
[80] M. Schneier and M.L. King III, *Shared Dreams: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Jewish Community* (Jewish Lights, 2008). 100-117.

and putting pressure on local businesses to support public and private school integration in Atlanta.[81]

Some histories of the city refer to Atlanta as "too busy to hate," emphasizing Mayor William Hartsfield's push for business over politics and discussions of race during the civil rights movement.[82] But as authors like Janice Rothschild Blumberg and Kenneth Marcus indicate, the Temple bombing tore through the thin veneer of Hartsfield's claims. Court records and newspaper articles argued that the bombing was a targeted attempt to wipe out integrationist voices and Jews all in one—a deliberately antisemitic act that sought to damage the relationships between Atlanta's Black and Jewish communities, theoretically deterring other synagogues from hosting integrated dinners or meeting with Black community leaders. Instead, as Clive Webb and Rothschild Blumberg state, the bombing actively strengthened the bond between these communities. It also forced Jews to reckon with the contingency of their whiteness in Southern society.[83]

Much of the literature surrounding the role of Jewish people in the civil rights movement places a heavy emphasis on religion and religious motivation. Some authors might cite the Ebenezer Baptist Church's involvement in the Temple's rebuilding as religious solidarity, or as one Abrahamic religious organization supporting another, and

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[81] Michelle A Purdy, "Courageous Navigation: African American Students at an Elite Private School in the South, 1967–1972," *The Journal of African American History* 100, no. 4 (October 1, 2015): 610–35.
[82] WSBN41356, WSB-TV newsfilm clip of mayor William Hartsfield speaking about violence against African Americans after the Temple Bombing, Atlanta, Georgia, 1958 October, WSB-TV newsfilm collection, reel 0890, 11:45/12:52, Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia
[83] Clive Webb, *Fight against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (University of Georgia Press, 2001). 290-293.

ignore how the relationship between Jews and African Americans in Atlanta was (and in some ways, still is) an alliance of marginalized groups. Rabbi Rothschild was a parent at a private Atlanta high school and signed a letter urging the school to integrate. Notably, his congregation backed him, putting their money and social connections up to help accomplish this goal.[84] Other histories of the Civil Rights movement acknowledge Jewish participation in civil rights marches but focus on buses of Jewish volunteers who came with Northern desegregation groups. Southern Jewish congregations actively working with Black communities, especially in Atlanta, seem to be missing from the historiography entirely. My intervention is this: Southern Jews understood the conditionality of their access to white privilege, and it was that contingency that created motivation for Southern Jews to choose a side in the civil rights movement accordingly. The 1958 Temple bombing crystallized this realization for members of the Temple's congregation and was a reason (though likely not the only reason) for their support of private school integration in Atlanta. Four years after *Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka,* public schools in Atlanta had (messily) already integrated, but private schools remained a separate battleground.[85] White flight from integrated areas also meant that most of Atlanta's political and economic power players sent their children to private schools, not public, making private school integration a substantial fight.[86]

This paper's goal is to provide a framework for understanding some of the intricacies of Black-Jewish allyship in Atlanta in the context of the Temple bombing.

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[84] Laurence Thomas, *Blacks and Jews: Alliances and Arguments*, edited by Paul Berman (Delacorte Press, 1994): 287-303.
[85] Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservativism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007): 111-118.
[86] Ibid.

However, I believe that this framework applies elsewhere on a larger scale and may provide clarity to historical understandings of Jewish activism in other geographical and temporal spaces as well. A key point for this framework is the understanding that Jewish whiteness, and support for American Jews from mainstream sources, are and have always been conditional on Jewish support for mainstream power structures. Historically, white supremacist organizations targeted Jewish people for multiple reasons: first, many Jewish populations have supported non-white groups in their fights against discrimination. Second, many (though not all) Jews have light skin and European ancestry, but have historically been othered along racial lines in Europe and the U.S.[87],[88],[89]

The Temple bombing serves as a case study for this conditionality: the Temple was left untargeted on the condition that its congregation had not yet openly sided with Atlanta's Black community.[90] Once Rothschild, with some documented input from his congregants, helped draft the Manifesto, and the Temple's congregation chose to host King, they had set themselves on the opposite side of the fence from the white-favoring power structure and forfeited any benefit, or ability to pass, that light skin might have afforded them. Part of the hostility that white supremacist groups aim at Jews (Reform Jews in particular) comes down to their ability to pass: unless a Jewish person is wearing traditional religious garb or openly discusses their religion, they blend in with

[87] Albeit along different lines than other racialized groups (e.g. lineage as opposed to skin color).
[88] Lisa Tessman. (2001). Jewish Racializations: Revealing the Contingency of Whiteness. In: L. Tessman & BA Bar On (eds.) *Jewish Locations: Traversing Racialized Landscapes*,(Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield) pp. 131– 145.
[89] Beth S. Wenger, *History Lessons: The Creation of the American Jewish Heritage,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010). 194-201.
[90] Huey L. Perry and Ruth B. White. "The Post Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship Between Blacks and Jews in the United States." *Phylon (1960-2002).* Vol 47, No. 1. 7-19.

white society. This idea of deception and subversion is part of the groundwork for white supremacist hatred of Jewishness, similar to their dislike or mistrust of white-passing people of other ethnicities and/or races.[91] The conditionality of Jewish whiteness is such that Jews may be treated as white within a society, until those Jews do something that marks them as *other,* as *different*—like siding with an African American community against oppressive forces.[92] Indeed, white supremacists at the time stated that the Temple bombing was a declaration that Jews should not be considered white: with a week after the bombing, the *United Press International* received a phone call from a man who identified himself as "General Gordon of the Confederate Underground," and proclaimed that "[The Temple] is the last empty building in Atlanta that we will bomb… Negros and Jews are hereby declared Aliens."[93] The Temple bombing was a violent, horrific act, but many who lived through it referred to the event as "the bomb that healed," or a "turning point" for Atlanta's civil rights movement, because of the solidarity that it created between Atlanta's Black and Jewish communities.[94]

To fully explain the effects that reverberated from the Temple bombing, one must first place Jewish Atlantans in their historical context. I will lay out a summary of the historical 'otherization' within Jewish whiteness, as well as a substantive description of Atlanta's cultural landscape in 1958, the year of the bombing—specifically in the context

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[91] J. Geller,*The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity*,(New York: Fordham University Press,2011). 401-404.
[92] Leonard Dinnerstein, "A Note on Southern Attitudes toward Jews," *Jewish Social Studies* 32, no. 1 (1970): 43–49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4466553.
[93] Arnold Shankman, "American Jewish Archives," in *A Temple Is Bombed- Atlanta, 1958 (*1971), 131-132.
[94]Janice Rothschild Blumberg, "The Bomb That Healed: A Personal Memoir of the Bombing of The Temple in Atlanta, 1958," *American Jewish History* 73, no. 1 (1983): 20–38. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23882575.

of white flight, segregation academies, and private schooling. These descriptors lay the groundwork for explaining the Temple's makeup, population, and importance, as well as the reality and immediate cultural shock of the bomb itself and the events that followed. Including the contingency of Jewish whiteness as a frame for analysis creates a broader understanding of the events of the bombing, as well as the conditions under which private school integration in Atlanta was made possible. All of these factors put together explain some of the foundational aspects of allyship and solidarity that emerged between the Black and Jewish families in Atlanta—perhaps most notably, Rabbi Rothschild's family and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr's.

Contextualizing European Jewish Whiteness as 'Other'

Though the vast majority of East Coast Jews—North or South— came from families that had emigrated from Eastern Europe and had light skin, it is important to understand that the cultural understandings of race, where Jewish people had experienced it, had more to do with family trees than with skin color.[95] In Eastern Europe, particularly through the second half of the nineteenth century when most of America's Jewish population emigrated to the U.S., conceptualizations of Jews as a 'different race' predated the transcontinental slave trade's definitions of race by skin color (note: while dark-skinned Jews do exist and have existed for millennia, they did not make up a statistically significant portion of Atlanta's Jewish population in the 1950s, and so I am focusing this paper on conceptualizations of whiteness as applies to Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern European origin).[96] Though racialized discrimination goes

[95] Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton University Press, 2006). 290-301.
[96] Ibid.

back to the 1200s CE, Russian pogroms that targeted Jewish families on the basis of Jewish blood (with no discrimination on the basis of Jewish practice or observance) would have been the freshest example for the American South's Jewish population in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[97] Of course, by the 1950s, the Holocaust became the primary case of a government targeting Jews based on lineage and descent (the famous 'three generations') rather than religious practice.[98]

Even when refugees fleeing pogroms and the Holocaust reached the U.S., they were not greeted on the same terms as Christian refugees from Western Europe—not only were there limited quotas that limited the number of refugees allowed to enter the country, but these refugees also had to procure proof of future employment in America before stepping onto U.S. soil as well as a relative or friend ready to speak for them—to prove that they could be productive in a 'white' economy.[99] These cases of European categorization of Jews as non-white, alongside American discrimination against immigrant families, were fresh in collective Jewish cultural consciousness in the 1950s, constituting an extreme sense of communal vulnerability.

An Atlantan History of Antisemitism (Leo Frank)

Kept out of political and social governing bodies, the Jewish population turned to commercial trade and factory work.[100] The early twentieth century brought an influx of Russian- and Yiddish-speaking immigrants fleeing persecution in the Russian empire.[101]

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[97] Cynthia Levine-Rasky, "White privilege: Jewish women's writing and the instability of categories," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 7, no. 1 (2008): 51-66.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Rita James Simon, *In the Golden Land: A Century of Russian and Soviet Jewish immigration in America* (VNR AG, Germany. 1997. 18-21.
[100] Hertzberg, "The Jewish Community of Atlanta," 284.
[101]Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events, 1880s-1930s* (University of Georgia Press, 1969). 111.

The extant Jewish population— largely made up of relatively wealthy Jews who emigrated from Germany in the 1850s and 60s, who had already either formed their own insular communities or created social structures that paralleled those of Atlanta's white-privileged elite—did not immediately accept the incoming Jewish immigrants.

It was against this backdrop of half-acceptance that the trauma and panic surrounding the Leo Frank case unfolded, marking the first significant point in Atlantan history where Jewish access to white privilege was shaken or denied. In 1913, Frank was accused of the murder of Mary Phagan, a thirteen-year-old girl who worked at the factory where Frank was the superintendent.[102] Though suspicion at first was aimed at Newt Lee, the (African American) night watchman who discovered Phagan's body, and later at Jim Conley, a sweeper at the factory, Frank was arrested for rape and murder, and indicted by a grand jury.[103] Much of the evidence in the case, including confessions and accusations, was later revised or redacted in the later sections of the trial.[104] However, Frank was sentenced to "be hanged by the neck until he shall be dead."[105] There was little doubt that if Frank's guilt was in doubt, his Judaism and his Northern-ness were not, and both of those points made him more of a target than his potential actions might have. One juror was quoted as saying, "I'm glad they indicted the goddamn Jew. They ought to take him out and lynch him, and if I get on that jury I'll hang that Jew for sure."[106] The judge who tried Frank's case noted that he was "not

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[102] Steve Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank*, (United States: Vintage Books, 2004). 101.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Robert Seitz Frey, and Nancy Thompson-Frey, *The Silent and the Damned: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002) 43-48.
[106] Clement Charlton Moseley, "The Case of Leo M. Frank, 1913-1915," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1967): 42–62. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40578874.

certain of this man's guilt...But I do not have to be convinced. The jury was convinced."[107] With few exceptions, modern scholarship sustains claims of Frank's innocence—in 1982, *The Tennessean* published a full account in which a key witness in the Frank case confessed to providing false testimony.[108]

Before Frank's sentencing, multiple accusers retracted their initial statements, which led to newspapers like the *Atlanta Journal* and even the *New York Times* crusading on behalf of a retrial for Frank. When Georgia governor John Slaton commuted Frank's sentence to life in prison rather than hanging, mass protests showed up outside of the governor's house and across Mary Phagan's hometown of Marietta, throwing bottles and stones, and carrying signs that included such invectives as "John M. Slaton, King of the Jews and Georgia's Traitor Forever."[109] Less than two months later, a mob of twenty-five men abducted Frank from his prison, took him to an oak tree, and lynched him.[110] *The Jeffersonian,* a popular paper in the South, published a piece that stated, "In putting the Sodomite murderer to death, the Vigilance Committee has done what the Sheriff would have done if Slaton had not been of the same mold as Benedict Arnold. LET JEW LIBERTINES TAKE NOTICE! Georgia is not for sale to rich criminals."[111]

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[107] Ibid.
[108] Wendell Rawls Jr., Special to the New York Times, "After 69 Years of Silence, Lynching Victim Is Cleared, *The New York Times,* March 8, 1982. (accessed April 25, 2022).
I wanted access to the Tennessean but didn't want to pay $8 for a subscription to cite it—the *Times* republished *The Tennessean*'s story, so I've put that here instead.
[109] Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case* (University of Georgia Press, 2008). 108.
[110] Ibid, 109-111.
[111] Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case.* 46.

Within a year of Frank's lynching, thirty-three men formed a group called the Knights of Mary Phagan—a group that became the Ku Klux Klan of Georgia.[112] In response, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was formed, as an organization dedicated to combating both Antisemitism and racism in the U.S.[113] The Leo Frank trial, lynching, and subsequent formation of the Georgia KKK left Jews across the U.S. fully aware of their own vulnerability, and their difference from their fellow white members of society. Light skin and European ancestry did not provide enough privilege to prevent the explicit Antisemitism that made its mark clearly in 1913. White supremacist groups and mainstream news organizations alike participated in racializing Jews in the wake of the Leo Frank case.[114] This racialization and open discrimination left Atlantan Jews insecure in the privilege that they had managed to attain and forced them to reckon with how easily that privilege could dissipate when their differences were delineated.

Jewish Atlanta After Leo Frank

Following the Leo Frank trial and lynching, Atlanta's Jewish community faced a choice: close ranks or fully assimilate. In some ways, they did both: Jewish families who could afford exorbitant entrance fees paid for their children to attend Christian private schools.[115] At the same time, that same subset joined organizations like the Standard Club, which was a Jewish answer to Atlanta's Christian-exclusive, 'whites-only' country

[112] Raymond Arsenault, "The Silent and the Damned: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank by Robert Seitz Frey and Nancy Thompson-Frey (Book Review)," *American Jewish History* 79, no. 4 (1990): 538.
[113] Benjamin R. Epstein, "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith," *Race* 10, no. 3 (1969): 368-372.
[114] Arsenault, "The Silent and the Damned," 539.
[115] M. K. Bauman, M. K. Victor H. Kriegshaber, "Community Builder," *American Jewish History*, *79*(1), 1989. 94-110.

clubs—clubs that explicitly did not allow Jews.[116] In this way, Atlanta's (less Orthodox) Jewish community achieved a double standard: on the one hand, schools were business networks in addition to being educational spaces, and private school education and networking certainly did not hurt Jewish kids' chances of getting into exclusive universities alongside their Christian peers.[117] Socially, attending these schools meant that Jewish children picked up social cues from their peer groups and friends while quietly avoiding participation in overtly religious elements of school life. Op-eds in student newspapers from Washington Seminary, an Atlanta private school, discuss "students whose mouths stay shut as the congregation prays," but who "routinely receive high marks in Bible and theology classes."[118] These same students who did not pray during school assemblies—Jewish students, for the most part—effectively maintained two identities: non-Jewish enough for a Christian school and also separate enough from their Jewish communities that they could attend those schools at all. Full cultural and social assimilation required divorcing Jewish social organizations and customs from Jewish worship. [119]That dichotomy of social and cultural customs and active religious worship reveals a peculiarity of Judaism, which many scholars consider an ethnoreligion: one can be culturally and socially Jewish and not religious.[120]

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[116] *The Missemma,* November 1941. Box 78 (1941-1942). Washington Seminary Records (currently in the possession of The Westminster Schools). Atlanta, GA.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Mark Bauman, "Role Theory and History: The Illustration of Ethnic Brokerage in the Atlanta Jewish Community in an Era of Transition and Conflict," *American Jewish History* 73, no. 1 (1983): 71-95.
[119] Martha Himmelfarb, Review of *Judaism in Antiquity: Ethno-Religion or National Identity*, by Shaye J. D. Cohen and David Goodblatt, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 1 (2009): 65–73. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40586704.
[120] Ibid.

As scholar Cynthia Levine-Rasky notes, “Jews may be positioned unambiguously with respect to economic claims of white privilege but because of historical purges and current resentment against them (partly due to fantasies of their links to Israel), the claim of unequivocal white privilege becomes difficult to make.”[121] Levine-Rasky goes on to point out that a Jewish person who has relinquished the cultural markers of their Judaism—who has assimilated into white society- has in part sacrificed identity for safety in a way that still might not be effective. She explains that “passing confers integration but deprives Jews of visibility—even authenticity—within the bounds of their membership in the white majority. If Jewishness is ultimately ambiguous, its recognition implies a risk in the form of a relinquishment of pride and of taking personal and collective responsibility for success.”[122] Levine-Rasky’s point engages an important argument: a Jewish person who can—and does—pass for non-Jewish is still a Jew, and still might ultimately face discrimination for it, regardless of whether or not that person practices Judaism. The issue, for both Levine-Rasky and Tessman, is that Jewishness and Judaism are not synonymous, and to assume that the racialization of Jewishness stopped in 1948 is to risk ignoring that “Passing confers integration but deprives Jews of visibility—even authenticity—within the bounds of their membership in the white majority.”[123]

By the 1950s, when the Temple bombing occurred, Atlanta’s Jewish population also included Holocaust survivors from primarily German and Polish backgrounds—a notably different economic class of German Jews than the early immigrants from the

[121] Cynthia Levine-Rasky. “White Privilege: Jewish Women’s Writing and the instability of categories.” Journal of Modern Jewish Studies 7, no. 1 (2008): 62.
[122] Ibid. 64
[123] Ibid. 61.

nineteenth century. Though the Holocaust effectively shocked most of the Western world into keeping its Antisemitism quiet, or at least behind locked doors, McCarthyist accusations of socialism ran rampant—and were frequently aimed at Jews.[124] A large portion of detainments and interrogations regarding communism occurred in media production and factory union spaces—industries where American Jews had been heavily involved for decades, and where new Jewish immigrants were actively looking for jobs.[125] Additionally, while most of the anti-immigrant fervor was pointed at Japanese populations (including second or third-generation American families), its rhetoric targeted people who might betray 'American' values through their allegiance to another country.[126] While European Jewish immigrants post-Holocaust really didn't have a home to go back to, they faced these accusations from a different point of view: the 1948 establishment of Israel.[127] Though many American Jews opposed the foundation of the state of Israel (on a religious basis), the new country became home to hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees within a few years of its founding, which led to accusations of split patriotic loyalty among Jews elsewhere in the world, too.[128] Although the U.S. welcomed Jewish refugees directly after the Holocaust, employment, community, and safe lodgings were difficult enough to find. Assimilation, even into the

[124] Leonard Dinnerstein, *Uneasy at Home: Antisemitism and the American Jewish experience* (Columbia University Press, 1987). 71-74.
[125] Ibid, 73-74.
[126] Edward S. Shapiro, "World War II and American Jewish Identity," *Modern Judaism* (1990): 65-84.
[127] Andrew S. Winston, "" The defects of his race": EG Boring and antisemitism in American psychology, 1923–1953," *History of Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1998): 27.
[128] Ibid.

wealthier extant Jewish communities, was even more difficult for new Jewish immigrants to the U.S.[129]

Jewish practice has always been as much about cultural heritage as it has been about religious custom, but even the religious custom looked different in 1955 than it had two or three decades earlier.[130] The horrors of pogroms and the Holocaust taught Jews to hide the external signs of their religion—to be openly Jewish had, for so long, been too dangerous.[131] Some Jews intentionally stopped wearing earlocks or visible *tzitzit* or *tallit* outside of religious gatherings. Reform and Conservative congregations sprang up across the country—both are denominations that allow for more freedom regarding the rules that dictate Jewish modesty, food consumption, and physical elements/markers of Jewish culture like hairstyles or head coverings.[132] Jews might not have become whiter in this period, but rather less visibly different in this period. Assimilation was easier, and arguably to some members of this community, desirable.[133] My point here is not to reify the concept of race nor the effects of racialization on a community but rather to point out that whiteness exists as a constantly shifting, generally unstable representation of people that arises out of social relationships and material conditions.

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[129] Shapiro, “World War II and American Jewish Identity,” 71.
[130] Dana Evan Kaplan, *Reform Judaism* (Malden: Blackwell, 2000). 96-102.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Solomon B. Freehof, "Reform Judaism in America," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 45, no. 4 (1955): 350-362.
[133] Zeʾev Mosheh Plaut, *The Growth of Reform Judaism: American and European Sources* (Jewish Publication Society. Philadelphia, PA. 2015): 51-58.

Education and Culture: Atlanta's Landscape in 1958

This was the landscape against which the events of the Temple bombing unfolded. Jewish Atlanta was on a slow trajectory towards generally being accepted by the city's wealthier elite. The Civil Rights Movement was on the rise, with Martin Luther King Sr. giving regular sermons at Ebenezer Baptist Church and frequently ceding his podium to his son.[134] The mayor, William B. Hartsfield, billed Atlanta as "The City Too Busy to Hate,"[135] pushing the city's reputation for business and industry to avoid the conversation about race.[136] However, race was very much a topic of conversation, despite Hartsfield's wishes. In 1957, Martin Luther King Jr, Bayard Rustin, and Ella Baker began the process of forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), meeting regularly at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta (later, the Prince Hall Masonic Temple Building, also in Atlanta).[137] The SCLC was an organization dedicated to organizing bus boycotts, nonviolent sit-ins, and communicating concerns with "white Southerners of goodwill" as well as the executive branch of the U.S. government.[138] In addition to these conversations, the SCLC made a point of noting that *Brown V. Board* had not done enough to desegregate education- especially in Atlanta.[139]

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[134] Jamal-Dominique Hopkins, "The Shaping and Influence of King's Political Theology and Worldview," *Telos* 2018, no. 182 (2018): 85-97.

[135] Hartsfield coined the term in 1959 but had been using this strategy starting in 1942 to avoid the conversation about immigration prior to using it to avoid talking about race.

[136] L. Paget-Seekins., 2013. Atlanta: Scarcity and abundance. In *Megacity Mobility Culture* (pp. 149-160). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

[137] Adam Fairclough, "The Preachers and the People: The Origins and Early Years of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1955-1959," *The Journal of Southern History* 52, no. 3 (1986): 403-440.

[138] "A Statement to the South and Nation," Issued by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration" (1957-01-11). Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project. Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University.

[139] Fairclough, "The Preachers and the People," 406-408.

The SCLC's stance regarding public school education in Atlanta was especially valid: for one thing, despite the *Brown V. Board* ruling that declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional, even if the segregated schools are otherwise equal in quality, the Atlanta public school system failed to integrate *any* public schools at all—a failure that would continue until 1961.[140] Atlanta's city surveyors and school boards allowed school and voting district lines to be redrawn dozens of times, ensuring that white students remained districted for historically white schools.[141] Entire neighborhoods of wealthy families uprooted and moved across district lines to ensure that they could send their children to white schools.[142] The Atlanta Board of Education called their process a "Freedom of Choice" program, which stipulated that all schoolchildren were free to attend any public school in the city but must undergo "personality interviews" as well as scholastic aptitude tests to transfer from one school to another.[143] Some schools were nominally integrated in that they employed an African American administrator in a secretarial or janitorial capacity, but even these examples were few and far between.[144]

King and the SCLC, frustrated, turned to private schools in the interim. Black churches in the South were already invested in the civil rights movement, and the SCLC drew heavily on the power and influence of religiously affiliated organizations to make its point. In early conversations regarding education and integration, King gathered several ministers (extending across race lines) and a handful of rabbis for a meeting at

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[140] Alton Hornsby Jr, "Black public education in Atlanta, Georgia, 1954-1973: From Segregation to Segregation," *The Journal of Negro History* 76, no. 1-4 (1991): 21-47.
[141]Barbara L. Jackson, "Desegregation: Atlanta Style," *Theory into Practice* 17, no. 1 (1978): 43-53.
[142]Virginia H. Hein, "The Image of" A City Too Busy to Hate": Atlanta in the 1960's," *Phylon (1960-)* 33, no. 3 (1972): 205-221.
[143] Hornsby, "Black Public Education," 38-40.
[144] Jackson, 45.

Ebenezer Church and called for white southerners to “realize that the treatment of Negroes is a basic spiritual problem.… Far too many have silently stood by.”[145] In moralizing the fight for education and linking it to religious issues, King found a new well of support: privatized religious education.[146]

Many wealthy, privileged Atlantans sent their children to religious schools—Woodward Academy, the Westminster Schools, the Trinity School, and several others had already opened their doors to Jewish students—including the children of rabbis like Jacob Rothschild, who now met regularly with King and had voiced his support for the Civil Rights movement.[147] There was, proverbially, a foot in the door. Furthermore, as King noted in early speeches on the subject, common ground already existed between Black ministers and white religious school chaplains and heads of school—Christianity.[148] If King and the SCLC could frame school integration as a religious and moral issue rather than a political one, then perhaps they could make inroads for Black children attending private Christian schools.[149] Rothschild was particularly vocal about the point of religious solidarity and the importance of education. As his wife later wrote, the reasoning behind his and King’s emphasis on education had less to do with the common myth that well-educated Jews could easily gain entry to privileged spaces, and more because allowing children of different races and religions to interact and engage

[145] MLKP, MBU, Martin Luther King, Jr., Papers, 1954-1968, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
[146] Frederick M. Binder, "The Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights, 1880s to 1990s. Ed. by Mark K. Bauman and Berkley Kalin. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press and Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States. Ed. by Jack Salzman and Cornel West. New York: Oxford University Press" (1999): 312-314.
[147] Purdy, “Courageous Navigation,” 105-112.
[148] Binder, “The Quiet Voices,” 312.
[149] Fairclough, “The Preachers and the People,” 425-431.

with one another as equals at young ages helped to dispel stereotypes and discrimination.[150] Education was important, yes, but so was socialization—a point that Rothschild and King were both keenly aware of.[151]

Rothschild, meanwhile, had received an invitation to meet with eighty white Christian ministers.[152] Together, they drafted the Ministers' Manifesto and proceeded to publish it in *The Atlanta Journal.* They cited the same argument that King had been weighing with the SCLC. As they wrote,

> *"We are of one mind, however, in believing that Christian people have a special responsibility for the solution of our racial problems and that if, as Christians, we sincerely seek to understand and apply the teachings of our Lord and Master we shall assuredly find the answer… We do believe that all Americans, whether black or white, have a right to the full privileges of first-class citizenship. To suggest that a recognition of the rights of Negroes to the full privileges of American citizenship, and to such necessary contacts as might follow would inevitably result in intermarriage is to cast as serious and unjustified an aspersion upon the white race as upon the Negro race.*[153]

Rothschild did not sign the letter, as its strong Christian language prevented him from doing so. He did, however, endorse its overall message to his congregation and admit to having helped write the document, going so far as to cite tolerance and freedom as

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[150] Blumberg, "The Bomb that Healed," 105.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Perhaps there were others at this meeting who were Jewish or Black—Rothschild's wife's notes do not say.
[153] "Ministers' Manifesto," *The Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga,* November 3, 1957. Accessed May 2022 via microfilm, permissions of the Library of Congress.

Jewish values.[154] He also published his endorsement in both the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution.*[155] Race relations were an ongoing theme in Rothschild's sermons, where he regularly called for school integration.[156] Quietly, some members of his congregation began to worry that Rothschild was making them a target for white supremacist blowback, but there is no documented dip in the Temple's service attendance nor in financial support, indicating that those worries remained quiet and that the congregation ultimately supported Rothschild's efforts.[157]

How the Bombing Reinforced Racialized Treatment of Jews

As for the bombing itself, the incident occurred at 3:30 in the morning on October 12, 1958.[158] A United Press International (UPI) staff member had received a call earlier that night warning that a bombing would occur but did not take the call seriously.[159] At about 3:50 AM, shortly after the bombing, UPI staff received a call from "General Gordon of the Confederate Underground" who said "We have just blown up the temple. This is the last empty building I'll blow up in Atlanta."[160] The bomb was placed in the education wing of the temple—some authorities noted at the time that its placement was meant to signal a threat to children who would have planned to attend religious school the following morning.[161] By October 16, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

[154] Webb, *Fight Against Fear,* 169-172.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Michael B. Friedland, *Lift up Your Voice Like a Trumpet: White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, 1954-1973* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 1998). 83-87.
[157] Temple Donors and Attendance Records, 1955-1960. Collection- MSS-059. Box 5, folder 3. Hebrew Benevolent Congregation/Temple Archives. William Breman Jewish Heritage Museum, Atlanta, GA.
[158] Dinnerstein, *The Bomb That Healed,* 41.
[159] Dinnerstein, *The Bomb That Healed,* 53.
[160] Claude Sittons. Special to *The New York Times* :"Atlanta Synagogue Damaged by Blast," *The New York Times*. October 13, 1958.
[161] Ibid.

(ADL) had released a report publicly linking five suspects to the National States Rights Party (a documented antisemitic political party).[162] All five were also members of the Knights of the White Camelia.[163] Police had by then searched nineteen Atlanta-area houses associated with the suspects and had uncovered large caches of anti-Semitic propaganda, some of which was attributed to the Christian Anti-Jewish Party.[164]

The Temple bombing was one of a handful of attacks on Jewish institutions in 1958. Two Jewish Community Centers (one in Nashville, and one in Jacksonville) had been bombed by the segregationist group, the Confederate Union, earlier that year.[165] Both were unoccupied at the time.[166] Each of these attacks was in response to Jewish involvement with the Civil Rights movement in some way. A few aspects of the Temple bombing (and how it was situated in Atlanta at the time) set it apart. Before the bombing, Atlanta had mostly been able to keep race-motivated violence and protests out of local headlines, upholding Hartsfield's idea of "the city too busy to hate." First, the bombing was too big—too physically and metaphorically explosive—to ignore.[167] Because Rothschild had been so vocal and visible in his support for the Civil Rights movement, it was impossible to discuss the Temple without also discussing Rothschild and the content of his sermons. Second, as many reporters at the time noted, Rothschild had just invited Martin Luther King Jr. to come and speak at the Temple, at

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[162] Micahel Newton, *White Robes and Burning Crosses: A History of the Ku Klux Klan from 1866* (McFarland, 2014.) 152-163.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Albert S.Lindemann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915* (Cambridge University Press, 1991) 118-126.
[165] Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (Oxford University Press, 1995): 22-28.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Greene, Melissa Fay, "From The Temple Bombing," *The Georgia Review* 66, no. 3 (2012): 667-671.

an integrated event, to discuss school integration.[168] Whether those meetings or that event were a direct cause of the bombing or not, the correlation is difficult to ignore. Third, the Confederate Underground, the organization that took credit for the bombing in the first place, was made up of the Knights of the Golden Circle and stemmed from the Knights of the White Camelia—all organizations affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan, and all organizations that classed Jews as non-white, and dangerous to white supremacy.[169]

The Temple, by itself, was only an anomaly in that it was bombed, and thus its congregation was forced to reckon with certain realities that perhaps might have otherwise remained theoretical. Jewish Black solidarity was well documented through the Civil Rights Movement—buses of Jewish university and rabbinical students drove across the South to provide aid to Black marches, and Jewish lawyers provided pro-bono legal defense for Black protesters who got arrested.[170] The fight was already happening. Rothschild was already meeting with the SCLC, the NAACP, and various Christian civil rights ministry organizations.[171] There was, of course, debate and contestation over the degree of involvement from within individual congregations, and not all Jewish people were vocal or active in their support for the civil rights movement. However, the bomb catalyzed other Jewish congregations (in Atlanta and elsewhere) to pay more attention to the Civil Rights movement.[172] Looking the other way was no longer an option—the lines of demarcation had been drawn.

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[168] Binder, “The Quiet Voices,” 312-314.
[169] David C. Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle: Secret Empire, Southern Secession, Civil War* (LSU Press, 2013). 31-35.
[170] Norman H. Finkelstein, *Heeding the call: Jewish voices in America's civil rights struggle* (Jewish Publication Society, 1997). 15-18.
[171] Alaina D'anzi, and Sara Maxi Howel, "The Aftermath of The Temple Bombing: A Catalyst for Social Change during the Civil Rights Movement in the Deep South," (2015).
[172] Ibid.

Some scholars frame the Temple bombing as a starting point for Atlanta's Jewish community realizing the conditionality of their whiteness, or for Black- Jewish solidarity in Atlanta, or for Jewish involvement in Atlanta's fight for school integration. I disagree. Between the circumstances of immigration in the nineteenth century and the Leo Frank case in the early twentieth, the pieces had been moving into place for quite some time already. I posit instead that it was a turning point. Prior to the bombing, discussions of private school integration and Jewish involvement in protests and integration efforts were already underway.[173] The bombing put those conversations under a spotlight and forced an awareness of simultaneous Jewish vulnerability and privilege. But the groundwork was already there. The events that followed the bombing simply formed a way for Black and Jewish advocates and allies to build on it. Following the bomb, members of Ebenezer Baptist Church showed up to help with rebuilding efforts and raised money from within their own congregation to help cover the costs of the repairs. In response, many Jewish congregants redoubled their efforts.[174] Those who sent their children to private schools lobbied their administrations to read the Minister's Manifesto and to open their doors to Black students.[175]

The social context before, during, and after the Temple bombing is well-reflected through the interplay of two books. Janice Rothschild Blumberg's *One Voice: Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild and the Troubled South*[176]*,* and *The Temple Bombing,* by Melissa Fay Greene. Rothschild Blumberg's book, one of the first to address the Temple

[173] Mark R. Elliott, "Growing Up in America's Segregated South: Reminiscences and Regrets," *The Asbury Journal* 74, no. 1 (2019): 9.
[174] Blumberg, "The Bomb that Healed," 15.
[175] Ibid. 101.
[176] Blumberg, Janice Rothschild. *One Voice: Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild and the Troubled South*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1985.

bombing's context within the Civil Rights Movement, offers up sections of meeting minutes during the rebuilding efforts, personal stories of interacting with congregants and explores her own relationship with Martin Luther and Coretta Scott King.[177] Greene built her version of the story in *The Temple Bombing* on top of the story that Rothschild Blumberg had already told. Rothschild Blumberg focuses her narrative on the story of her congregation and the intersection of Black and Jewish interests in the fight for civil rights.[178] Greene acknowledges this conversation but devotes much of her book to the interplay between the Leo Frank case and the Temple bombing, constructing a clear connection between the two events. She discusses Southern Jewish vulnerability, as well as the nuances of white privilege in the context of Southern Antisemitism and racism. She describes American Jews in the 1950s as "passing," or "keeping their heads down and avoiding controversy to preserve their progress."[179] Greene does not shy away from the examples of Antisemitism that Rothschild Blumberg only vaguely alludes to. Where Rothschild Blumberg mentions a "hung jury" and "painful insinuations,"[180] Greene supplies court notes from the Temple bombing trials (trials that were eventually thrown out). She references points where Rothschild Blumberg herself was put on the stand because she had received threatening calls from neo-Nazi organizations. According to Greene's narrative, Rothschild Blumberg was treated explicitly as a foreigner—not native to "Southland."[181] A lawyer for the defense implied that as a Jew, Rothschild Blumberg must not have been able to distinguish between

[177] Ibid. 6-10.
[178] Melissa Fay Greene, Melissa *The Temple Bombing*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2006. (the book jacket from the first edition hardcover, specifically).
[179] Ibid, 670.
[180] Blumberg, *One Voice*, 121.
[181] Green, *The Temple Bombing*, 110.

Southern accents, and thus made for an unreliable witness—never mind that her own family had lived in the state of Georgia since before the Civil War.[182]

Though she has occasionally referred to them in interviews, Rothschild Blumberg's book barely touches on the trials that Greene refers to as a “mockery of the legal system.” However, she does include pieces of her conversations with Coretta Scott King in the years following the bombing. She makes the point, almost in passing, that the way she was treated in court made a fundamental difference in understanding the way that “white-favoring courts” could avoid punishing white supremacists who bombed Black churches. Greene follows that point up with a direct comparison: she describes the disappearance of the bombing from the news cycle as “too quick,” and notes that it followed a similar pattern to the lack of reporting on white supremacist violence in primarily Black neighborhoods. Later, Coretta Scott King referenced the Temple bombing trials as one of the key moments that led to the eventual formation of the Atlanta Black-Jewish Coalition.[183]

In a 2020 interview with *The Atlanta Journal Constitution,* Rothschild Blumberg recalled that her friendship with King began with a bit of a wake-up call: she and her husband had planned to host the Kings for dinner but had not realized that they lived in a sundowner part of town.[184] The Kings arrived nearly two hours late, having spent that time pretending to be servers lost on their way to a party the rabbi was hosting. “We certainly didn’t think we had any prejudices at all, but we certainly didn’t understand

[182] Ibid, ix-xii.
[183] Ibid, 211-213.
[184] J.D. Capelouto, “How an Interfaith Friendship Bolstered the Fight for Civil Rights.” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, February 23, 2020.

what they were going through," Blumberg said.[185] She credited that conversation with the Kings as the moment when she realized exactly how much she needed to learn to even begin to aid the civil rights struggle. She also described that dinner as the night she found "a sister" in Coretta.[186] Over the course of the next several years, the women became close friends, bringing one another into each other's communities to further their mutual goals of social progress. In an interview for the same story, Martin and Coretta's youngest daughter, Reverend Bernice King described the resultant "friendship and unity" between her parents and the Rothschilds as "symbolic of the ways in which black and Jewish people can connect in efforts to prevent and end blights against humanity."[187]

Conclusion: After the Bomb

It would be very difficult to prove causality on this topic—it is too much of a stretch to claim that the Temple bombing outright caused private school integration in Atlanta. However, the bombing was certainly a turning point in the concretization of Jewish vulnerability across racial lines, and its aftermath forced the issue of race and integration in Atlanta in ways that might not otherwise have become as visible as quickly, especially given the city's prioritization of business over politics at the time.

Following the Temple bombing, private schools became a central battleground for school integration in Atlanta. Put simply, successful wide-scope public school integration seemed improbable in 1958. Shortly after the Temple bombing, the SCLC and the Legal Fund for the NAACP began arguing the case that would become *Calhoun*

[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.

v. Latimer, arguing that Atlanta's public education system violated the constitutional right to equal, integrated education as decided in *Brown v. Board* four years earlier.[188] *Calhoun v Latimer* went through the district and appellate courts but was stalled at the Supreme Court level for fifteen years, eventually reaching the court in 1964.[189] By December of 1958, Black and Jewish advocates for school integration (King and Rothschild included) understood they had influence and access to private school boards of directors, parent organizations, and academic administrators in ways that they did not in the public school system. Rothschild's children attended the Westminster Schools, and many of his congregants sent their children to schools like Trinity and Woodward, also in Atlanta.[190] Together, the King, the Rothschilds, and their respective congregants made their case to individual private school boards and successfully negotiated scholarships, entrance exams, and admissions processes for African American students.

The Atlanta public school system formally desegregated with nine students attending formerly all-white high schools in 1961, but integration was mostly nominal, and still fell under the "free choice" umbrella—the standards remained unfair and racist. For the most part, there was little change until the 1970s.[191] Even then, the *Freeman v. Pitts* case made it clear that even in 1992, most of Dekalb County was still in violation of

[188] Benjamin E. Mays, "Comment: Atlanta-Living with Brown Twenty Years Later," *Black LJ* 3 (1973): 184.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Marc Dollinger, *Black power, Jewish politics: Reinventing the alliance in the 1960s*. Brandeis University Press, 2018. 116-121.
[191] Charles T. Clotfelter, "School desegregation," tipping," and private school enrollment," *Journal of Human Resources* (1976): 28-50.

the standards imposed post- *Brown v. Board*.[192] By contrast: private school integration was not without its issues,[193] but it happened much more smoothly and with significantly more administrative support.[194] In 1963, King's younger children were enrolled at Trinity, and by 1967, multiple Black students had been enrolled at other Christian private schools across the Atlanta area—all schools that had previously offered entrance to Jewish students and cited Jewish students as a reason why Black students should be welcome as well.[195] Generations later, Ebenezer Baptist pastor Raphael Warnock sees his friendship with Rabbi Peter Berg, one of Rothschild's successors at the Temple, as a natural continuation of the relationships that the Kings and the Rothschilds began building sixty years earlier. The Temple and Ebenezer Baptist Church regularly host joint events dedicated to social issues, with a particular focus on education access, mass incarceration, and criminal justice reform.[196] During his (successful) 2020 Senate campaign, Warnock noted that both the congregation at Ebenezer Baptist and at the Temple "know what it's like to endure oppression and stigma and stereotypes," so a continued relationship between the communities and their leaders "feels quite natural." A large part of that, he continued, "began with the Kings and the Rothschilds, and lives on in Atlanta's community today."[197]

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[192] Bradley W. Joondeph, "Killing Brown Softly: The Subtle Undermining of Effective Desegregation in Freeman v. Pitts," *Stan. L. Rev.* 46 (1993): 147.
[193] Purdy 106-108.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Eliza Paschall to William Pressly (founder of Westminster), December 9, 1963, Eliza Paschall Papers, MARBL; and *Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta*, newsletter, January 1964.
[196] "Special Events." Ebenezer, June 2, 2022. https://www.ebenezeratl.org/special-events/.
[197] Capelouto, ", "How an Interfaith Friendship Bolstered the Fight for Civil Rights."

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