

**American Zionism in Light of the “Progressive Movement”  
of the Beginning of the 20th Century:  
The Case of Henrietta Szold and Louis D. Brandeis**

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**Abstract**

During the period from the 1890s through to the 1920s, a social movement evolving from middle-class society emerged in the United States and was named “Progressivism” or the “Progressive movement.” Its main aim was to support the educational and economic advancement of the lower classes, mainly new immigrants. Members of the Jewish community were also influenced by these aims.

Louis D. Brandeis (1856-1941), a lawyer and the first Jewish Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States together with Henrietta Szold (1860-1945), who, in 1912, established the first American Zionist women’s organization called Hadassah, were both influenced by the “Progressive” ideology, and worked together during the First World War in supporting the idea of American Zionism. Their objectives were for Jews to have equal rights in the United States, and to help Jews of lower social class, who were mostly found in Palestine at that time. Their Zionist ideas, evolving from the American context, were, however, different from those of European Zionists at the time.

This paper will present the Zionist ideas of Brandeis and Szold, comparing them with European Zionists, while also pointing out differences between Brandeis and Szold, who came from different American Jewish backgrounds.

**Keywords**

American Zionism, Louis D. Brandeis, Henrietta Szold, Progressivism (The Progressive Movement), *Eretz Israel* (Palestine)

## 1. Introduction

It is generally understood that American Zionism finally started having an impact internationally during the First World War. Specifically, due to the outbreak of war in July 1914, it was not possible for the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization, located in Berlin, to summon members there. Therefore, the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs met in the United States as a temporary replacement of the above Executive Committee in Berlin, on August 30 of the same year. Louis D. Brandeis (1856-1941) was nominated to be Chairman of the Committee. Henrietta Szold (1860-1945), who founded Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, at the Temple Emmanuel Reform synagogue in New York City on February 24, 1912, was one of the members of this temporary Executive Committee. Hadassah possibly became the largest Zionist organization in 1930s in the United States.<sup>1</sup> This women's Zionist organization, however, was never a major focus of studies on American Zionism until the late 1990s (also from a perspective of historiography in Zionist studies).<sup>2</sup> For instance, researchers Yonathan Shapiro (1971) and Ben Halpern (1979) excluded Hadassah from mainstream American Zionism<sup>3</sup>; instead they focused on the topic of political activity, which they described from the "nation-building" point of view, even though Halpern assessed Hadassah as being a major power in American Zionism, and in his book, *A Clash of Heroes* (1987) he described Hadassah as an organization engaged in Zionist activities from a unique perspective (that of women), and as one of the most successful cases in American Zionism.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Halpern also states in a different part of the same book that the success of Hadassah was due to support from Brandeis.<sup>5</sup> Brandeis, who had already joined the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ) in 1912, was nominated Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs in 1914, and he asked Szold to be a member of this Committee.<sup>6</sup>

The analysis of historians such as Allon Gal and Erica B. Simmons shows that Brandeis and Szold were leading figures in American Zionist activities under the banner of the Progressive Era.<sup>7</sup> At the end of the First World War, under Brandeis' initiative in the FAZ, Hadassah, as the American Zionist Medical Unit (AZMU), accepted his request to send a forty-four member<sup>8</sup> medical unit to *Eretz Israel* (Palestine) and to establish clinics and hospitals throughout Palestine,<sup>9</sup> and the AZMU arrived in *Eretz Israel* (Palestine) in the summer 1918. The budget for transportation and some maintenance for one year was partly covered by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, in the amount of \$250,000. The model for this project was the system of visiting nurses, which was set up by Lillian Wald (1867-1940)<sup>10</sup> at Henry Street House. Their activities were

uniquely positioned within American Zionism. This can be also paraphrased as follows: American Zionism started having an international influence during the First World War, when it began to help residents of *Eretz Israel* (Palestine), especially Jews.

The aim of this paper is to show the diversity of American Zionism during the 1910s and 1920s. For this purpose, I focus on Louis D. Brandeis and Henrietta Szold, who were two of the Zionist leaders in establishing American Zionism as an active movement, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. Previous research has interpreted their Zionist activities as being influenced by Progressivism. In particular, Melvin I. Urofsky wrote on Brandeis’ Zionism in his book of *Louis D. Brandeis and the Progressive Tradition*, which was based on Brandeis’ broad Progressive philosophy.<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, they worked together during the First World War and had similar Zionist aspirations which were influenced by Progressivism, as will be shown; however, Brandeis and Szold did not share the same concept of American Zionism. In this paper, I wish to present a different view based on their diary entries and speeches. This paper re-examines their position and interpretation in previous research, by investigating Brandeis’ and Szold’s views of *Eretz Israel* (Palestine).

## **2. American Zionism in the Progressive Era (1910s-1920s)**

### **2-1. What is Progressivism?**

From the 1890s through the 1920s there was a social reform movement in the United States called “Progressivism” or the “Progressive movement,” and it was a kind of social justice reform movement. Maureen A. Flanagan described it by saying “All individuals must assume responsibility for the structure of society and for the welfare of all people, especially those they did not know or understand. Americans, according to [Jane] Addams [she was a leading figure in the Progressive Era], had to realize that they had social, as well as political and individual, obligations.”<sup>12</sup> The movement brought the idea of equal rights under the law for all people, as well as giving suffrage to, helping and developing social welfare for lower social classes of American society.<sup>13</sup> The following sections will examine how Brandeis and Szold combined Zionism with Progressivism.<sup>14</sup>

### **2-2. The Features of American Zionism**

The early American Zionist movement until 1914 was a minority group.<sup>15</sup> For certain reasons, it was difficult for American Jews to adopt European Zionist ideas.

Firstly, American Jews hoped to assimilate themselves into American Society, i.e., they wanted to be U.S. citizens. Until the emergence of Brandeis, to “convert” to Zionism meant having “dual loyalty.”<sup>16</sup> Secondly, many Orthodox and Reform Rabbis rejected Zionism’s secular roots.<sup>17</sup> Thirdly, it was not attractive for many American Jews to emigrate to Palestine, which was not a developed country.

Regarding Zionism in the diaspora, Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952) argues that American Jews made significant financial contributions to the Zionist movement.<sup>18</sup> Other researchers share his impression of American Zionism. American Zionism was referred to as charity activity, but despite this, its greatest interest was in realizing American democracy. In the words of Zohar Segev, “reinforcing the American version of Zionism preserved Jewish unity and democracy, which they found lacking in the theory and practice of the philanthropic organizations of the German Jewish elite.”<sup>19</sup>

In the second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, German Jews emigrated to the United States to escape from discrimination and for economic reasons. By the time of the Civil War, there were about 150,000 Jews in the United States.<sup>20</sup> While German Jews gradually adapted to American society, in the 1880s Eastern European Jews escaped from the wave of pogroms in Russia to the United States. Between 1881 and 1929, over 2,300,000 Jews from Eastern European countries arrived at American ports. There were huge gaps between German Jews and Eastern European Jews in terms of financial circumstances, customs, religion and social status.<sup>21</sup> Jonathan D. Sarna described the gap between them. He mentioned that Temple Emanu-El synagogue was a place where German Jews encountered Eastern European Jews, even though they were from different social classes.<sup>22</sup> Temple Emanu-El synagogue was a center for settlement activities in 1903. Szold summoned Jewish women there in 1912 to establish Hadassah.<sup>23</sup> The following section explains how Brandeis became a Zionist.

### **2-3. Louis D. Brandeis: Becoming a Zionist Leader**

Louis D. Brandeis was born in Lewisville, Kentucky in 1856. His father had escaped from the disorder during the Revolutions in the German States in 1848, and his mother came to the United States from Prague. Brandeis spent most of his life as a lawyer and a judge, and had not been raised in an environment in which Jewish religious education was provided.<sup>24</sup> He was a secular Jew, and it can be considered that by spending time in Boston as lawyer he absorbed Puritan ideas.<sup>25</sup> Before Brandeis became a Zionist, he was mostly interested in social issues. Brandeis was motivated by the idea of Progressivism and he worked hard as a lawyer in resolving workers’ employment

issues, which arose accompanying the industrialization at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As Kiminobu Hashimoto states, “Brandeis was a typical and ideal American lawyer.”<sup>26</sup> Why did such a person take part in Zionist activities, which represented the distinctiveness of Jews?

The direct factors which drove Brandeis to the Zionist movement can be summarized in the following three points: 1. Meeting Jacob de Haas,<sup>27</sup> 2. Support for the Palestine Jews, and 3. Anti-Semitism.<sup>28</sup> He joined the FAZ, the forerunner to the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), in 1912. In the following year, on August 30, 1914, at a meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs held in the United States, Brandeis was nominated Chairman of the Committee. He quickly became an efficient leader of American Zionism. Under the slogan of “Increase membership, raise money and create an organization,” Brandeis made full use of his political skills. For Brandeis, Zionism was for realizing Americanism:

My approach to Zionism was through Americanism. [...] Gradually it became clear to me that to be good Americans, we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists.<sup>29</sup>

In short, it was important for Brandeis to live in the United States as a Jew. Brandeis only visited Palestine once, in 1919. It can be seen that American Zionism did not have the aim of migration to Palestine. For Brandeis, the purpose of Zionism was to protect Jews in the United States as a minority. In the next section, we will see how Henrietta Szold became a Zionist Activist.

#### **2-4. Henrietta Szold: The turning point for becoming engaged in Zionist Activism**

Henrietta Szold was born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1860. Both her parents came from Hungary, and her father was a Reform rabbi. Since his religious position was that of a pioneer in the conservative group when described in today’s terms, Szold was raised in an environment where she was provided with an education on the Torah and Jewish Texts as well as general subjects, despite the fact that she was a woman.<sup>30</sup>

Szold’s Zionist activities before she moved to Palestine were solely holding study groups to remind participants of their Jewish identity, and delivering speeches at ceremonies such as those by Zionist groups in the United States. However, when Szold actually traveled to Palestine in 1909 and visited to a local girls’ school, she was shocked

by the extreme lack of hygiene there. These events impelled her to become an American Zionist activist for improving public hygiene in Palestine, and this change led her to found Hadassah. At the end of the First World War, doctors, nurses, and necessary resources were sent to Palestine through the Hadassah enterprise, and Szold moved there in 1920 as a senior supervisor.

Researchers such as Gal and Simmons understand Szold's activities in Hadassah as having a foundation influenced by Progressivism as defined by the idea of Jane Addams (1860-1935) and by the home nursing services of Lillian D. Wald (1867-1940).<sup>31</sup> Simmons' interpretation of the paper written by Szold in 1903<sup>32</sup> indicates that Szold noticed a social transformation occurring because of activists such as Addams in Chicago and Wald in New York, who performed welfare activities that formed the first operating model for Hadassah, which would be started in Palestine over 10 years later. The operating model of Hadassah is reminiscent of the activities carried out by Henry Street House, led by Wald, which provided medical consultation free of charge or for a relatively low cost, and which also provided home nursing services in response to requests from neighbors, regardless of their religion and ethnicity.

Similarly Hadassah did not limit their medical activities in Palestine only to Jews, but also provided them to Arabs, having a spirit of not discriminating between religions and ethnicities.<sup>33</sup> As indicated by Simmons, activities carried out by Hadassah in its initial stages after its foundation may have had a philosophy similar to that of Addams and Wald.

The above is an overview of the background to Brandeis and Szold becoming Zionists. Aspects common to them were that both were born in the United States, they were both from non-Eastern European Jewish backgrounds, and belonged to the middle class, which had already become part of American society. Although Brandeis and Szold had different direct motivations in becoming Zionists, both did not want to make *Aliyah* (emigrate to Palestine), but their aspiration in their Zionism was for Jewish immigrants to the United States to be accepted in American society as Jews, and to help Jews in *Eretz Israel* (Palestine), such as in alleviating suffering from malaria and poverty. In short, it is obvious that the aim of American Zionism was to introduce knowledge and technologies from the United States to Palestine. The following section explores what was the foundation of the Zionist views of Brandeis and Szold by comparing their perspectives of *Eretz Israel* (Palestine).

### **3. Comparison of views towards *Eretz Israel* (Palestine)**

#### **3-1. The Case of Brandeis**

As summarized by Melvin I. Urofsky and Hidesaburo Kusama,<sup>34</sup> Brandeis recognized *Eretz Israel* (Palestine) of that time as an appropriate place for realizing an American democratic ideal. In other words, Brandeis considered a small society to be ideal for realizing social justice (i.e., American democracy). For Brandeis, building a nation by Jews in *Eretz Israel* (Palestine) was equivalent to realizing his belief of practicing American ideals and establishing equal rights.<sup>35</sup> In his speech in July 1915, Brandeis said that his American ideals were “the development of the individual through liberty, and the attainment of the common good through democracy and social justice,”<sup>36</sup> and in a speech, entitled “American Aid” at the Convention of the FAZ held in Boston and Chelsea in June 1915, he was successful in combining American ideals with Zionism:

The path of the Zionist in America, during this year of trial, has been relatively clear solely because the Zionist ideals, the highest Jewish ideals, are essentially the American ideals. Democracy is also a Zionist concept. Social justice is also a Zionist aim. Full and complete liberty is an essential of triumphant Zionism as it is the American ideal of the twentieth century.<sup>37</sup>

As can be seen from these quotations, it seems that Brandeis overcame the dilemma of dual loyalty in both being an American and a Jew. He did not see any contradiction between participating in Zionist activities and living as an American. Rather, he developed a theory that in order to achieve American ideals, it is necessary to have a relationship with Palestine as a Jew.<sup>38</sup>

As pointed out by Yukako Ikeda in her 2007 paper,<sup>39</sup> Brandeis concluded that achieving the Americanization of Zionism required Jews in the United States to build a Jewish nation in order to be accepted as an ethnic group. This idea of creating a Jewish nation held by Brandeis is reflected in the action plan given at the ZOA annual conference held in Chicago on September 14, 1919. In this action plan, the following five items were proposed: 1. a campaign for exterminating malaria, 2. purchasing large tracts of land, 3. planting trees, 4. strong financial support for the establishment of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and 5. the implementation of research and supplementary study necessary for making progress in the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce.<sup>40</sup>

Brandeis was aiming to increase the number of Jewish people in Palestine, and was trying to make the situation in Palestine favorable for Jewish people. He proposed the theory that there would be a delay in introducing democracy until more Jews arrive.<sup>41</sup> However, the conflict between Arabs and Jews became yet more volatile due to the Western Wall incident in Jerusalem in August 1929. Brandeis insisted on making a slight modification to his theory, which made a great contribution to improving the Palestinian economy. He stated the following at “an Emergency Palestine Economic Conference” in Washington D.C. on November 24, 1929:

No one who has been in Palestine can doubt that the Arabs of Palestine, the Christian Arabs, of whom there are relatively few, and the Moslems who live there have been greatly benefited by what the Jews have done there.<sup>42</sup>

Based on the above statement, it can be assumed that while Brandeis was aware of the existence of Arabs in Palestine, he did not deny the superiority of Jews there. Although Brandeis was trying to introduce American-style democracy to Palestine, he gave priority to Jews over other residents in Palestine and applied two contradictory ideas, i.e. despite working as a lawyer for people’s rights in the United States, he was promoting the maintenance of American Zionist power in Palestine. However, this contradiction might be interpreted as Brandeis being influenced by other aspects of Progressivism. In short, Progressivism also included the “view of America as the dominant force for justice in the world community.”<sup>43</sup> From the mid-1930s, Brandeis consistently maintained his attitude towards establishing a Jewish homeland. He formed a political alliance with the Labor Zionist leaders in Palestine, who were led by David Ben-Gurion.

Szold did not agree with Brandeis’ attitude of insisting on the superiority of Jews in Palestine. The following section will investigate Szold’s views towards *Eretz Israel* (Palestine).

### **3-2. The Case of Szold**

Szold’s speech gives a good indication of her views towards *Eretz Israel* (Palestine). It was delivered at the Baltimore branch of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) on January 26, 1896. This speech is considered Szold’s first public support of Zionism. The main subject of the speech was on the historical role of the Hebrew language. The speech included the following part, which give a good indication of how

Szold understood *Eretz Israel* (Palestine).

[...] I do not say to return to, but to establish themselves in Palestine. Its promoters advocate self-emancipation along with self-respect and self-knowledge. It is their belief that the Jew can be a dignified member of human society only if he has a stable center towards which the scattered of his nation shall gravitate in perilous times.<sup>44</sup>

As can be seen from her speech, she did not support a form of Zionism which encourages leaving the United States and returning to Palestine. In this point, her idea of Zionism is similar to that of Brandeis. Her understanding was simply that Palestine is the most suitable place for a center for the Jewish diaspora due to its being the ancient *Promised Land* for Jews. The reason why Szold traveled to Palestine in 1920 was not because she wanted to return to the land, but because she was fulfilling her duties as a senior supervisor of the American Zionist Medical Unit- the Hadassah Medical Organization (AZMU-HMO).<sup>45</sup> As indicated by Simmons, Hadassah’s activities of dispatching nurses throughout the 1910s and 1920s were inspired by the home nursing services provided by Jane Addams and Lillian Wald. However, even if this system may have been referred to, it cannot be overlooked that Szold herself at least did not intend to develop Hadassah solely based on philanthropic interests in the era of progressivism. This can be seen from the following anecdote.

At the time of its foundation in 1913, Hadassah recruited non-Zionist women in order to expand their organization. In other words, they believed that it would be possible to get interest from non-Zionist women if Hadassah would be viewed as a charitable organization, conducting social welfare activities for women and children in Palestine. However, Szold was issuing warnings against recruiting non-Zionist women. The following is her response when she was asked at the Philadelphia branch whether she would admit non-Zionist women as members of Hadassah. Szold issued a warning that it is necessary to be cautious about the Hadassah organization losing its Zionist character:

I ought to warn you against this non-Zionistic trend. It would be a mistake for us Zionists to let our fine idea become colorless [...] Unless we insist upon the Zionist coloring, the result will be degeneration into flabby philanthropism.<sup>46</sup>

Based on the above statement, it can be interpreted that Szold understood the activities of Hadassah as Zionist ones, and viewed such activities as not equivalent to those of philanthropists. Szold always understood that Zionism was based on the intellectuality and discipline of Judaism. In her diary on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 1918:

[...]The real difficulty lies in the fact that Zionism, like Judaism in general, implies or presupposes a high grade of intelligence and mental discipline. Our people, used up by the struggle for existence, do not possess that. And they are disorganized besides.<sup>47</sup>

The above is a quote from her diary written before she went to Palestine as a senior supervisor of the AZMU-HMO. This diary shows Szold's unique attitude to the idea of Zionism. Although Szold initially found the lofty spirit of Judaism in Zionism, she recognized the difficulty of sharing these ideas with her people, who had emigrated to Palestine and were living there. The following section will explore an example in which Szold and Brandeis had different interpretations of Zionist activities.

### **3-3. Promoting Medical Activities or Providing Educational Opportunities in Eretz Israel (Palestine)? (Disagreement in the 1920s)**

The present section explains an episode where Brandeis and Szold actually had different points of view towards Zionist activities in Palestine.

In 1920, when Szold was 60 years old, she herself moved to Palestine as a senior adviser to the AZMU-HMO, and worked there for three years. Thereafter, from 1927 to 1930, she was appointed to be the Minister of the Health Department and Education Department portfolios of the Palestine Executive of the World Zionist Organization, led by Ben-Gurion. Szold believed that what Palestine needed next was the improvement of education, and she also believed that having in these Portfolios in the Palestine Executive of the World Zionist Organization, would be the optimal position to provide improved education in Palestine. A diary entry written by Szold on July 31, 1921 in Jerusalem states that she was expecting medical activities by Hadassah to be managed by the central Zionist political body (in other words, she was expecting that the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labour, would manage them).<sup>48</sup>

However, not only did Hadassah's leaders disagree with her decision to take on these roles, but so did Brandeis. Within one of the plans of action for establishing a Jewish nation, which Brandeis mentioned at the ZOA conference held in September 1919,

he suggested providing strong financial support for the establishment of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem;<sup>49</sup> however, he did not focus on cultural educational activities, particularly for women and children, in Palestine, as Szold did. Szold was not satisfied with the fact that Brandeis did not focus on activities related to culture and education for all people.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4. In Conclusion

Existing studies have a shared understanding that Hadassah, in the context of American Zionism belonged to the Brandeis-Mack wing, led by Brandeis.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, in the mid-1920s, when Lipsky (i.e. the Lipsky-Weizmann wing), who was a rival of Brandeis, won the position of leadership within American Zionism, Hadassah was given an independent position within American Zionism. The present paper explored an overview of American Zionism in the period where progressivism was flourishing, in other words, in the 1910s and 1920s, by focusing on Brandeis, one of the leaders of American Zionism, and Szold, the founder of Hadassah. They were assumed to have shared the same vision within American Zionism.

Szold worked together with Brandeis under his instruction during the First World War and after that they differed in their views about Zionism, particularly about the idea of *Eretz Israel* (Palestine). At a meeting held in London on July 14, 1920, Brandeis stated, “We must be in a position to act in Palestine, and we have to be strong outside of Palestine”<sup>52</sup> to representatives of the United States. Brandeis anticipated that saving Jews in Palestine and increasing the impact of American Jews within and outside it were the aims of Zionist activities. In other words, within Brandeis’ Zionism, there was no contradiction between realizing American ideals in Palestine and retaining certain power in Palestine. In fact, Brandeis, as an American Jew, provided support for public projects in Palestine, while he had little interest in those who were in Palestine at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Therefore, although he offered support for establishing the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he never showed much interest in providing educational opportunities to women and children in Palestine. Several statements quoted from Brandeis in the present paper clearly indicate that his attitude of fighting for the laboring classes while working as a lawyer, affected by the Progressive movement, disappeared during his Zionist activities.

Meanwhile, unlike Brandeis, Szold believed that the central Zionist political body should be responsible for medical activities in Palestine from the 1920s, and that they

should not be led by Hadassah in relation to the idea that American Jews would build a certain power both within and outside Palestine. Szold had different opinions from Brandeis and other leaders of Hadassah in this aspect; however, the largest reason for this gap may be that Szold found the ideal of Judaism within Zionism. She accommodated the spirit of Reform Judaism in her Zionist activities. Realizing social justice and helping poor people, Szold's concept of Zionism could also include the ideas of Progressivism. In other words, she took advantage of the knowledge of Progressivism and the visiting nurses service system to improve people's lives in Palestine. Her concept of Zionism, however, was not necessarily based only on the ideal of Progressivism. Rather, it can be interpreted that she was more strongly influenced by Reform Judaism than Progressivism.

Since the present paper focused on Brandeis and Szold, it could not look into the relationship with the Lipsky-Weizmann wing from the mid-1920s. This issue will be investigated in future.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Mira Katzburg-Yungman, *Hadassah: American Women Zionists and the Rebirth of Israel* (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012), Appendix A, p. 309; Samuel Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism* (Information Dynamics, 1985 [c. 1961]), p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> In the late 1990s, historians such as Michael Brown and Allon Gal focused on Henrietta Szold from a historical point of view. Michael Brown, "Henrietta Szold's Progressive American Vision of the *Yishuv*," in *Envisioning Israel: The Changing Ideals and Images of North American Jews*, ed. Allon Gal (The Magnes Press; Wayne State University Press, 1996), pp. 60-80; Allon Gal, "The Zionist Vision of Henrietta Szold," in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*, eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Brandeis University Press, 2005), pp. 25-43. The tendency for Hadassah to be uniquely positioned within American Zionism can be seen not only in its categorization by researchers, but also in work describing American Zionism by Louis Lipsky, who was a leader of American Zionism. Louis Lipsky, who was a rival of Brandeis, viewed Hadassah as an "apolitical organization" for the reasons of the uniqueness of Hadassah's activities and that it was an organization of women. Brandeis contributed on a political level to making American Zionism become popular. Louis Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956), pp. 137-143.

<sup>3</sup> Mainstream American Zionism refers to the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ), the first national Zionist organization in the United States. The FAZ was established in New York in 1898. The FAZ was reorganized as the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) in 1917. Yonathan Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization 1897-1930* (University of

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- Illinois Press, 1971); Ben Halpern, “The Americanization of Zionism, 1880-1930,” in *American Jewish History*, Vol. 69, no. 1 (1979), pp. 15-33.
- <sup>4</sup> Ben Halpern, *A Clash of Heroes: Brandeis, Weizmann, and American Zionism* (Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 94.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- <sup>6</sup> The executive committee of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) was in Berlin before the First World War, however, due to outbreak of the First World War, it was too difficult for the WZO to gather Zionists and hold a meeting in Berlin. For that reason, the WZO decided to hold a meeting in the United States. Brandeis was nominated as Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs.
- <sup>7</sup> Allon Gal, *Brandeis of Boston* (Harvard University Press, 1980); 'Alon Gal, “Lu'is Brandais ve-ha-Tsiyonut ha- 'Ameriqanit,” *Ha-Masoret Ha-Mishpa'it yeha-Tsiyonit shel Lu'is D. Brandais: ha-hartsu'ot she-nis'u be-yom 'iyun le-tsiyun* [in Hebrew] (English title: Allon Gal, “Louis Brandeis and American Zionism,” in *The Legal and Zionist Tradition of Louis D. Brandeis: Lectures Delivered at a Conference Commemorating the Sixtieth Anniversary of His Passing*), ed. Allon Gal (The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2005), pp. 57-86; Erica B. Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006).
- <sup>8</sup> According to Simmons' book, the number is forty-five. Simmons, *ibid.*, p. 20.
- <sup>9</sup> Katzburg-Yungman, *Hadassah*, p. 28; Marvin Lowenthal, *Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters* (Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1975 [c. 1942]), p. 94; Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, p. 20.
- <sup>10</sup> Lillian Wald established a visiting nurses service system; i.e. she built the Henry Street Settlement on New York City's Lower East Side. The Settlement provided home health care and hygiene education.
- <sup>11</sup> Melvin I. Urofsky, *Louis D. Brandeis and the Progressive Tradition* (Little, Brown and Company, 1981). This is a valuable book for understanding Brandeis' concept of Zionism. As criticized by Gal in relation to Urofsky's analysis, however, Urofsky depicted Brandeis meta-historically as the “Prophet Isaiah” in the book. See Gal's review. Allon Gal, “Review: Louis D. Brandeis and the Progressive Tradition by Melvin I. Urofsky,” in *The Journal of American History*, vol. 68, No. 3 (Dec., 1981), pp. 708-709.
- <sup>12</sup> Maureen A. Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890s-1920s* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p.33.
- <sup>13</sup> Including the social gospel by the Protestant ministers. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- <sup>14</sup> One aspect of the idea of Progressivism was related to the “Social Gospel” a Christian trend in the United States. Protestant ministers, such as Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong, promoted the idea of reforming and improving society in the beginning of the 1880s. The “Social Gospel” movement opened the door to public activities for women. However, “Jewish and Catholic women did not follow the religious vision of the Protestant social gospel. [...]” (*Ibid.*, p. 35), whereas other groups of progressives expressed themselves in more secular terms, i.e. through democracy.

Lillian D. Wald, who was a German Jew and was a founder of Henry Street House, was one

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- of the people influenced by the social reform idea. In addition, Adolf Berle, the son of a prominent “Social Gospel” minister, resided at Henry Street House for two years as a young attorney (Alonzo L. Hamby, “Progressivism: A Century of Change and Rebirth,” in *Progressivism and the New Democracy*, eds. Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur (The University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), p. 57).
- <sup>15</sup> Horace Meyer Kallen, *Zionism and World Politics: A Study in History and Social Psychology* (Doubleday, Page & Company, 1921), p. 131.
- <sup>16</sup> Zohar Segev, “European Zionism in the United States: the Americanization of Herzl’s doctrine by American Zionist Leaders- Case Studies,” in *Modern Judaism*, vol. 26, No. 3 (October, 2006), p. 278.
- <sup>17</sup> During the Nazi era, the number of supporters of Zionism by Reform Judaism grew. Naomi W. Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said: The Public Discourse of Nineteenth-Century American Rabbis* (New York University Press, 2008), p. 129.
- <sup>18</sup> Michael Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914-1933* (Cambridge University Press, 2002 [c. 1997]), p. 195.
- <sup>19</sup> Segev, “European Zionism in the United States,” p. 280.
- <sup>20</sup> Cecil Roth, “America” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, Vol. 2 (Thomson Gale, Keter Publishing House Ltd., 2007), pp. 41-46.
- <sup>21</sup> Kallen, *Zionism and World Politic*, pp. 126-128.
- <sup>22</sup> Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (Yale University Press, 2004), p. 196.
- <sup>23</sup> The Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, where Szold studied from 1903 to 1907 is known as a stronghold of Conservative Judaism, and was a place for followers of Reform Judaism to gather at that time. The fact that Szold met Solomon Schechter, Israel Friedlander and Judah L. Magnes there led her to become interested in social reform. This will be discussed at another opportunity.
- <sup>24</sup> His uncle had strong ties to the Jewish community. Philippa Strum, *Brandeis: Beyond Progressivism* (University Press of Kansas, 1993), p. 13; Kallen, *Zionism and World Politic*, p. 134; Gal, *Brandeis of Boston*, p. 68.
- <sup>25</sup> In Gal’s other article, Brandeis’ Zionism was related to a Puritan element. Allon Gal, “Brandeis, Judaism, and Zionism,” in Nelson L. Dawson ed., *Brandeis and America* (The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), pp. 71-73.
- <sup>26</sup> 橋本公亘 「ルイス・D・ブランドアイスの思想と行動」『片山金章先生追悼論文集 法と法学の明日を求めて』勁草書房、1989年、8-9頁。(Kiminobu Hashimoto, “The Views and Actions of Louis D. Brandeis,” in *Memorial compilation for Prof. Kinsho Katayama: Looking for Tomorrow’s Law and Jurisprudence* (Keiso Shobo), pp. 8-9.)
- <sup>27</sup> Jacob de Haas was former secretary to Theodor Herzl.
- <sup>28</sup> There was an episode in which Brandeis felt he was an outsider as a Jew in Boston. See, Gal, *Brandeis of Boston*, pp. 41-43.
- <sup>29</sup> Urofsky, *Louis D. Brandeis and the Progressive Tradition*, p. 93; Louis D. Brandeis, *Brandeis on Zionism* (Zionist Organization of America, 1942), pp. 49-50.
- <sup>30</sup> For reasons of space, Henrietta Szold’s understanding of Judaism will be discussed in a

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separate paper. An existing study discussing the background to Szold’s Judaism is given below. As far as the author knows, there are no other studies which discuss Szold’s Judaism in greater detail than that below at present. Barry Kessler (edi. and Curator), *Daughter of Zion: Henrietta Szold and American Jewish Womanhood* (Jewish Historical Society of Meryland, 1995), pp. 21-24.

- <sup>31</sup> Lillian Wald also initiated a municipal nursing service for public schools in 1902.
- <sup>32</sup> Szold mentioned Jane Addams in her article, but this article focused on the promotion of Jewish Girl’s education, as shown by the title. “Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, thinks Jewish women peculiarly well prepared to fill a place in the larger life. Speaking to the members of the Council of Jewish Women, she maintained that among all the women in the foreign quarters of Chicago none showed the same aptitude as Jewish women for absorbing the civic and social spirit characteristic of modern life.” Henrietta Szold, “The Education of the Jewish Girl,” in *The Maccabaeans* 5, no.1 (1903), p. 9.
- <sup>33</sup> Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, p. 6, 11, 13-14, 16, 25; Brown, “Henrietta Szold’s Progressive American Vision of the *Yishuv*,” p. 72.
- <sup>34</sup> Urofsky, *Louis D. Brandeis and the Progressive Tradition*, pp. 82, 92-95; 草間秀三郎「ブランドイスの影響(2) —シオニズムとの関連—」『ウィルソンの国際社会政策構想』名古屋大学出版会、1990年、46-56頁。(Shuzaburo Kusama “Impacts of Brandeis (2): The relationship with Zionism,” in *Wilson’s Social Policy Concept* (Nagoya University Press, 1990), pp. 46-56.)
- <sup>35</sup> Strum, *Brandeis*, p. 114.
- <sup>36</sup> “True Americanism,” in Brandeis, *Brandeis on Zionism*, p. 5. This speech was delivered at Faneuil Hall of Boston, on July 4, 1915.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- <sup>38</sup> Strum, *Brandeis*, pp. 102-114.
- <sup>39</sup> 池田有日子「ルイス・ブランドイスにみる『国民国家』・『民主主義』, 『パレスチナ問題』」『年報政治学』木鐸社、2007年、191-194頁。(Yukako Ikeda “Louis D. Brandeis’ view of the nation state, democracy, and the Palestinian issue,” in *Annual Political Studies*, (Bokutakusha, 2007), pp. 191-194.)
- <sup>40</sup> Jacob De Haas, “The Rebirth of the Jewish Nation,” in *Louis D. Brandeis: A Biographical Sketch* (Bloch Publishing Company, 1929), p. 122.
- <sup>41</sup> “The highest work that can be done for Palestine is to earn a living in Palestine; to put the Jewish mind and Jewish determination and Zionist idealism and enthusiasm into the problem of earning a living in Palestine; thus setting an example for others to earn a living,” (at the London Conference, July 14, 1920) in Brandeis’ *Brandeis on Zionism*, p. 123.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- <sup>43</sup> Eldon J. Eisenach, “Progressive Internationalism,” in *Progressivism and the New Democracy*, eds. Milkis and Mileur, p. 226.
- <sup>44</sup> Henrietta Szold, “A Century of Jewish Thought,” (paper presented at the Baltimore Section of the National Council of Jewish Women (Jan. 26, 1896), The Zion Association of Baltimore, 1896), p. 13.

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- <sup>45</sup> The AZMU was renamed the HMO in 1921.
- <sup>46</sup> Baila Round Shargel, *Lost Love: The Untold Story of Henrietta Szold* (Jewish Historical Society, 1997), p. 328. *Quoted.*, Szold to Mrs. Brodie, 10 April 1913, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland (Henrietta Papers), Baltimore, MD (JHSM), Box1, f29.
- <sup>47</sup> This diary was written in Texas. Lowenthal, *Henrietta Szold* (The Viking Press, 1942), p. 101.
- <sup>48</sup> From Szold's diary entry for July 31, 1921. Lowenthal, *Henrietta Szold*, p. 186.
- <sup>49</sup> See Section 3, 3-1 in this paper.
- <sup>50</sup> Michael Brown, *The Israeli-American Connection: Its Roots in the Yishuv, 1914-1945* (Wayne State University Press, 1996), p. 156; Gal, "The Zionist Vision of Henrietta Szold," p. 27.
- <sup>51</sup> A letter from Brandeis to Jacob H. Gilbert in January 17, 1927, in *The Family Letters of Louis D. Brandeis*, eds. Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy (University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 443-445.
- <sup>52</sup> Brandeis' speech was delivered on July 14, 1929 to members of the American delegation at the London Conference. Brandeis, *Brandeis on Zionism*, p. 117.