

ADAT BEYT MOSHE - THE COLORED HOUSE OF MOSES:
A STUDY OF A CONTEMPORARY NEGRO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY AND ITS LEADER

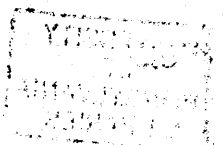
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G. M.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The central purpose of this work is a study of Adat Beyt Moshe, America's "First Colored Jewish Community", in Elwood, New Jersey. They comprise a group of Negroes who believe their ancestry to be remnant Hebrew and are implementing a socio-religious movement to "reclaim others of their kind" and return to Israel.

The data upon which this study is based was gathered over a twenty-two month period from February 1963 to December, 1964. Since residence was not available in the community, it was visited regularly within a range of daily contacts to semi-weekly ones. The study was supported by a National Institute of Mental Health Grant, MH 13,511. The method of inquiry was participant observation, unstructured interviewing and non-directive social conversation. This comprised attending sabbath and other holy day services, observing the activities of the members of the community, participating in the hospitality extended by the members in their homes in their living rooms or at meals. Nearly all contacts were recorded on tape or by note taking, but on some occasions it was necessary to retain the substance of conversations by memory until these observations could be later transcribed. Surrounding municipal authorities and adjacent communities provided sources of data which were not available within the community.

Initial manifestations of suspicion and distrust by some members of Adat Beyt Moshe presented a notable difficulty to the investigator whose academic background and racial stock was significantly alien. A further problem which had to be considered was the potential influence in this small community of the mere presence of the investigator and its

possible disruption of existent social structure and ongoing dynamics.

The data collected is almost entirely qualitative rather than quantitative and because of the community's size and character did not lend itself to extensive manipulation.

Contact was made with nearly all of the population but with significant qualitative differences insofar as intensity and depth was concerned. For the most part female informants seemed more cautious and limited in their responses and evidenced less enthusiasm in conversations with the investigator. Further, members of Adat Beyt Moshe who did not reside in the community were measurably more reluctant to discuss any issues concerning themselves, the community or the movement.

Innumerable socio-religious movements punctuate the historical record. Spurring people on from an unsatisfactory point in their present existence to some promised more fulfilling future, such movements are constantly being born. Their roots in the religious life of their peoples lend special support, validity and legitimacy to them by adding the power of the supernatural.

Many such attempts involve innovations of whole cultural systems or at least substantial portions of them (Wallace, 1956). While various taxonomic models have been employed to classify these phenomena, this effort has met with only limited success (Linton, 1953; Mooney, 1893; Parker, 1913; Schwartz, 1957; Smith, 1954; Wallis, 1918; Williams, 1923). The focus of such classifications depends usually on the particular theoretical orientation of the investigator and the special local characteristics describing the movement.

The problem of classification of the whole broad spectrum of socio-religious movements is not readily solved. A rather loose set of varieties of such movements such as nativistic movements, cargo cults, sects,

revolutions, reform movements, religious revivals, utopian community, charismatic movements, have been listed under the rubric of revitalization movements (Wallace, 1956).

A revitalization movement has been defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Following Wallace, the term "revitalization" implies an organismic analogy using as its corollary the principles of homeostasis. Revitalization movements, a very large class of phenomena, are not only common but may, during particular times, be of profound historical significance. In fact, it has been argued that all organized religions are relics of old revitalization movements, surviving in routinized form in stabilized cultures . . . that religious phenomena per se originated in the revitalization process by individuals under extreme social, ecological and psychological stress.

Revitalization movements are usually headed by individuals to whom are attributed by their followers special extraordinary qualities and whom Weber classifies as charismatic leaders (1946, 1947). Many such prophetic leaders experience a rapid personality transformation which is to be seen in the formulation and pursuit of the new system of life which he presents to his society. Furthermore, his personality change may often be accompanied by a mystical experience involving hallucinations, trance, automatic or convulsive movements, and often follows a period of increasing depression, sluggishness and apparent failure to adapt to situational demands.

Revitalization movements seem to grow from the seeds of personal discontent, cultural distortion and social stress. All of them seem to arise from crisis and dilemmas and they all convey a message of salvation and hope.

A cultural crisis is the direct result of some dysfunction within the structure of a given mode of culture. It marks a radical parting of particular patterns of living. So long as the members of a given society are content with their mode of living even though their actual objective conditions may be far from satisfactory, they do not themselves experience a state of crisis. It is only when they come to feel that their present condition is intolerable, in the sense that it cannot be or ought not to be tolerated, that they begin to face a potential or actual cultural crisis (Bidney, 1953).

Movements motivated by stresses from outside of a society seem to have a different orientation from those arising from within it. The former tend to seek salvation by immediate action through militant struggle, or through direct and determined opposition to the foreign forces which beset them. Movements arising from internal stresses look for salvation through spiritual, cultural or ethical channels. For these, salvation implies a methodical advance toward life in the future where the individual may truly attain liberation. (Lanternari, 1963). Many of these movements, particularly the messianic ones, are impelled by their nature to escape from the existent society in order to establish a society in a world of their own, beyond the necessity of fighting to bring about change and improvement.

Because these movements are spurred by the urgent and vital needs of peoples and societies caught in a dilemma, they look to the future and the regeneration of the world. Religions have traditionally been the way in which men have attempted to mobilize thought, feeling, and action so as to increase the organization of decadent societies and preserve the organization of more mature ones.

American Negro Protest Movements

From the standpoint of deprivation and cultural difficulty the American Negro has had to face a variety of social problems from the moment he set foot as an unwilling immigrant to the present day. The ways in which he has responded to this deprivation have been varied. During the years of American Negro slavery there is a record of over 200 slave plots and revolts (Aptheker, 1943). What is noteworthy is not that rebellions occurred, but that they occurred so seldom. Considering the fact that the American chattel slavery system lasted for more than 200 years, and that it flourished over much of the United States and involved millions of persons, it certainly is not a very high number.

Under American chattel slavery, a slave was absolutely powerless and without any rights. There were no gradations or degrees of servitude. One either was free or slave, a person with rights or a piece of property. As Burns (1963) notes, under conditions of such complete power and such utter domination the slave had little choice but to acquiesce. Those who rebelled against the system were put down without mercy, and their rebellion only brought in its wake harsher regimentation.

Inherent in the institution of slavery was the principle that the slave was inferior as a human being. He was allowed certain indulgences but could claim nothing as a right. His master owned him structurally and functionally and the terms of this possession was absolute, personal and arbitrary. The stamp of social inferiority on the Negro slave became strengthened by an inferior race dogma which functioned opportunistically in the interest of the white majority. This rationalization also isolated the free Negroes and dragged them down into social inferiority (Myrdal, 1944).

Under this system the institution of the family did not function according to the traditional patterns. A slave's natural father was denied his position as head of the household. The only provider whom the slave knew was his master. The master was the source of all privilege and all punishment. Finding himself from birth in such an utterly dependent relationship and faced with grave consequences should he ever try to alter the situation the slave could do very little but accept his status and adjust himself to it. Protest under slavery was also less possible because the slave had no institutional foundation on which to build it. Religion, education, and public assembly were all rigorously controlled by the master. When rebellion did come, it was usually led by someone who had had a greater degree of freedom and wider exposure to the world than an ordinary field hand.

Much Northern Negro protest before the Civil War was voiced through the Convention Movement (Bell, 1960). In 1817 thousands of Negroes met in Philadelphia in a convention to protest at colonization* and represented an early attempt on the part of Negroes to organize among themselves and to petition the larger white community for redress of grievances. Negro abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, Charles Ray, Robert Purvess, Lunsford Lane, and Sojourner Truth argued their cases before large white audiences. Some felt that a call to arms was the solution to the slave problem, and subsequently many Negroes joined in the Civil War.

*The American Colonization Society was organized in 1817 to rid America of the free Negroes who were considered a danger to slavery in the South. Its work proceeded parallel to measures taken to regiment the slaves, to hinder slave and free Negroes from being taught to read, and generally to suppress the free Negro population. There were individual sponsors who had a different view, but in general the Society took a pro-slavery attitude

In the years following the Civil War restoration of white supremacy in the South violently wrests from the Negroes his suffrage and civil rights. 1879 marks the beginning of a large scale exodus of Negroes from the South into the North and West. Migration from a particular oppressive area has since been the way in which the Negro has shown his discontent and sought to better his condition.

The Colored Farmer's National Alliance and Cooperative Union was formed in 1886 and by 1890 claimed a membership of one million. A brief entente of the Negro farmer and the white farmer in the cause of Populism during the early 1890's represents the closest that Southerners have come to unifying in a common cause without regard to race. Gradually, through the erection of an elaborate legal structure the Southern states imposed the system of segregation in certain areas of Southern life. While first concentrated in public transport, it continued with increased impetus and widening scope to waiting rooms, theatres, boarding houses, water fountains, ticket windows, penitentiaries, jails, convict camps, institutions and schools. John Langston, the only Negro elected to Congress from Virginia continually raised his voice in protest throughout this period but to no avail.

In 1905 William DuBois and 28 other Negro intellectuals met in Canada in the hope of forming a national protest organization. They advocated an organized and aggressive defense of Negro civil rights throughout the country. This movement was known as the Niagara Movement. With the advent of the Niagara Movement there is for the first time a genuine Negro intelligentsia organizing on a national scale to draw a protest and to work for a social change.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People grew out of a conference held in 1909, to protest against a race riot in the summer of the previous year. Some members of the Niagara Movement were invited to the conference and plans were made for the establishment of a permanent organization that would work for the abolition of all forced segregation and separate but equal education for Negro and white children, the complete enfranchisement of the Negro, and the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments. Some important legal victories were won in its earliest days, beginning with the Supreme Court's decision that grandfather clauses* were unconstitutional in 1915. By 1921 there were more than 400 branches of the N.A.A.C.P. throughout the country.

The N.A.A.C.P. type of protest was significantly new since it was national in character, had the benefit of Negro intellectuals, and was equipped for a modern legal and public information program.

Following the first World War, black nationalism erupted in the setting up of the Garvey movement. Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican, proposed a program of a type of black Zionism. He wished to build a state in Africa to which all the Negroes of the world could come and live, and was the first leader to teach the masses to be proud that they were black. He presented a new sense of meaning and awareness of self, and a proud identity. His nationalism reveled in racial glorification and racial history. Garvey claimed some two million members in his Universal Negro Improvement Association, but many of his business ventures failed or

*Grandfather Clauses were Southern laws which restricted registration for voting to those persons who had voted prior to 1861 and to their descendants, or to persons who had served in the federal or Confederate armies or state militias and to their descendants.

embroiled him in legal tangles and he was arrested and deported by the Federal Government in 1927. Remnants of his movement, however, continued to function throughout the '30's *. The N.A.A.C.P. throughout these years pushed campaigns for anti-lynching legislation, voting rights, elimination of discrimination from industry and education.

The great depression was particularly a time of great deprivation for the American Negro. Not only did they lose jobs in the cities in greater numbers than did whites, but many of those who retained employment - especially in agriculture - were driven down to starvation wages. Unlike many unemployed whites, Negroes had no savings upon which they could fall back in the crisis.

Frustration often found its outlet and expression in new cults such as the Father Divine Movement, or the Black Muslims. Discontent sometimes erupted more violently in riots in some of the nation's black ghetto's.

The coming of the second World War brought economic change and with it new impetus for the Negro protest. The greatest of these was the March on Washington Movement in 1942, initiated by A. Philip Randolph, the organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This action resulted in a Presidential Order prohibiting discrimination in Industries holding government contracts, and established a Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

In 1955, Rosa Parks, a Negro of Montgomery, Alabama, refused to get up from forward seats in a bus and move to the back to accommodate white passengers getting, and precipitated the formation of the

* Garvey's influence was rather profound in the post war nationalistic expression of former African colonies. It is no accident that Ghana's first shipping line is known as the Black Star Line.

Montgomery Improvement Association, with the Rev. Martin Luther King, as its president. King believed in the non-violent, direct action approach of Ghandi and made it the basis for the Montgomery bus strike. In 1956 the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of a lower Federal Court and declared Alabama's State and Local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional.

1960 is credited as the start of the sit-in movements. While this technique was by no means original it spread rapidly using the non-violent technique and resulted in the desegregation of many lunch counters.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference under the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. formed in 1957 aided in this new phase of direct action non-violence and with the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, two other organizations of at least equal importance, added strength to an ongoing non-violent revolution.

American Negro Utopian Communities

The reaction to slavery in the United States brought with it various proposed ethical and social solutions; abolition on the one hand, recolonization on another. But from moderates and Negroes came a different venture: organized Negro communities. Although such communities had similar aims and purposes, they varied widely in size, were diverse in their methods of operation, and exhibited a variety of organizational bases. The earliest of these communities were simple efforts of white philanthropy. Some were little more than establishments of slaves who were set free and colonized directly or indirectly by their masters.* In no

* Edward Coles, former secretary to James Madison and native Virginian was repelled by slavery and freed seventeen slaves which he had inherited in 1819, giving them land near Edwardsville, Illinois, employed some of them, encouraged them to be frugal and industrious, hoping they

case were they eminently successful as colonizing ventures, and in many they were never more than a projection of an idea. A few early settlements were more ambitious and added to the general notion of philanthropy special projects in formal, academic and vocational training, consciously directing all their efforts in making the Negro self sufficient. The most important of these communities were quite complex. Four communities, all in Canada, went beyond other settlements in their concern for providing land, economic independence, basic education, and community self sufficiency. A fifth settlement, at Port Royal, on the South Carolina Sea Islands was a direct consequence of military invasion and occupation. Focusing on equality for Negroes, organized communities offered a concrete plan for them, and hopefully, an example for reluctant whites and colonizationists that Negroes could be integrated into equalitarianism.

There were organized Negro communities both in the North and in Canada. Those in the Northern states were located almost entirely in such states as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. Those in Canada were concentrated in the southwestern part of the present province of Ontario. The better known communities were located in Brown and Mercer Counties in Ohio, and near the present towns of Dresden, Lucan, Chatham, Windsor in Ontario. One community was located on Vancouver Island on Canada's Pacific Coast, a refuge for California Negroes after 1850.

Although these communities differed widely in size, structure and degree of success, common to virtually all was the fact that they were

*continued: all would settle on their own farms as free and independent citizens. With a minimum of planning, with no community structure, Coles' venture was the simplest form of paternalism (Washburn, 1920).

planned and laid out in advance of their actual formation by their white patrons. By planning, by common effort, by a recognized goal, the founders of the various communities and the persons who became their inhabitants indicated their awareness that in union there is strength. Furthermore, they saw in community organization the possibility of presenting a common front to a hostile environment, and in common effort they recognized the virtue of mutual Negro aid and assistance and the pooling of resources until such time as the individual Negro settler could manage on his own.

As the type of leadership and the reasons for settlement varied, so did the precise nature of the internal community structure and organization vary. But the similarities were sufficient to permit generalizations. In all cases the settlements were self contained, self governing units. Whether their government was by committee, council or paternal edict it was usually strict. In all of the communities may be found detailed rules regulating the daily lives of the individual inhabitants and the overall life of the community.

The Negro communities succeeded in varying degrees in inculcating the middle class values of self reliance and independence of action and spirit. Yet, by their substantial dependence upon charity from friends and well-wishers, they compromised, in large measure, the aims which they sought. Although the community Negroes themselves seemed to be independent and responsible, paternalism and white leadership spelled, all too often, a kind of white man's burden (Pease, 1963).

One of the most interesting facets of the organized communities was its intensive program of education. Frequently the ultimate success or failure of a community could, with the benefit of hindsight, be projected on the basis of its educational structure.

Among the earliest and most primitive of the organized Negro communities were those established during the early part of the 19th century. Usually these were endowed by philanthropic white persons, sometimes slave owners, intimately connected with slavery and morally repulsed by it. Nashoba, Frances Wright's colony in West Tennessee was such a community. Miss Wright was concerned with destroying slavery, but she wished also to lead the Negroes to a new kind of life. Nashoba exhibited both the physical isolation, in part, the communitarianism which were principle Utopian hallmarks. It presented from the start a curious mixture of ideals and aims. At Nashoba the members were supposed to be prepared to deal with the society of fellow Negroes, and was patterned on a Utopian cooperative community. Yet it was, in no sense, anti-capitalistic or anti-individualistic. Each member was responsible for earning enough money to pay his own way, to purchase his own freedom, and to pay the cost for his eventual colonization. Since the community was to be self sustaining, each member was to repay all that he received from the community. Suffering from unstable management and the strong needs for funds, Nashoba soon ran into difficulty and began to encourage both whites and free Negroes to become members, an ambitious undertaking which failed. Despite Miss Wright's valiant efforts, within a few years the community failed and in 1830 she collected her slaves and sent them to Haiti (Waterman, 1924; Emerson, 1924).

Nashoba was one of the earliest of the organized Negro communities. During the 1830's, 1840's and 1850's other communities reached the height of their development and success. As they became widespread and significant they exhibited three basic differences from their earlier and more primitive counterparts: specific vocational

training for the Negro, formal education for him, and conscious settlement in a rural environment. Only in those Negro settlements which emphasized the rural environment for its own values, stressed formal education as the great uplifter, and concentrated on training the Negro for his future role in the predominantly white society, does one find the organized Negro community in a sense meaningful and significant. Carthagera in Western Ohio was such a settlement. It was predominantly agricultural, there was extensive cattle raising and experiments for mulberry growing for silk culture. The settlement was similar to an ordinary frontier community where individual aims were achieved through cooperative efforts. Within six years of its founding, Carthagera had proved a great success, but its success was short lived. In 1846, following the arrival of a large number of freed slaves, white neighboring opinion turned quickly against the entire Negro population of that area and Carthagera gradually faded out of existence.

Much of the most complex experimentation in organized Negro communities took place in Canada. Such settlements as Wilberforce, Dawn, Elgin, and Port Royal are testimony to this effort. Each began with great promise and ultimately ended in oblivion for a variety of reasons. But it was the end of the Civil War, or more precisely the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment which marked the ending of the experiments in organized Negro communities designed to prove that the Negro was fit to be a free man in America.

The organized Negro communities projected a better world for the colored man; a haven for the persecuted; education both academic and vocational; economic adjustment according to Jeffersonian agrarianism or later urban industrial entrepreneurship; practical training in

politics, leadership, and the general responsibilities of active citizenship - indoctrination in the essentials of a middle class American culture. What is most significant of this experience in human salvation and massive uplift is the fact that the results were so inconsequential. The organized communities suffered shortcomings which nearly always vitiated their efforts. Poor leadership, incompetence, overambition, a lack of organizational clarity, and overlapping of jurisdiction were rampant. Very often the settlements appeared more like isolated reservations than cooperative community enterprises, and at the end of the Civil War the organized Negro communities had run their course. Their settlers, their leaders and their supporters had fought well, but their vision was unrealistic and their practice unfruitful. Urban Negro organized communities may be exemplified by the Father Divine Movement of recent vintage. Here Father Divine provides in one of his "kingdoms" shelter, food, clothes and medical care. In return for the benefits they receive, supposedly everything the children have is Father Divine's: "their money, their services, their thought, their love. Those who come to live in one of the numerous kingdoms give Father their property, their insurance, their extra clothes, their savings - everything. Most of those who live outside the kingdoms give him something after providing minimum needs for themselves." (Cantril, 1963).

The Colored House of Israel

At the turn of the century a number of colored evangelists were travelling through the South preaching the doctrine that the "so-called" Negroes were really remnants of the house of Israel. (Frazier, 1949). Such reflections seem to have begun even earlier, in fact during slavery

itself. Since the type of fundamentalistic Protestantism which was transmitted to Negroes contained as its essence a return to the literal word of God, the Old Testament regained a great deal of the importance which it had lost during the Christian efflorescence. Orthodoxy tends to deal with beginnings and since the Old Testament acts as the basic foundation of the New, it was understandable that it became held in honor equal to that of the New. In fact, it became more venerated and even overshadowed the New Testament where they came into conflict.

The disposition of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel have always provoked a great deal of speculation. They have been traced to every corner of the globe as descendants of that historical migration. The American Indian, the Englishman, the Irish, and even the Ainus are examples of the speculative descendants of these "lost peoples" (Roth, 1937; Savrat, 1929).

The primary vehicle of the view that the Negroes are really the Hebrews of the Bible lay in their own Protestant religious tradition and was precipitated by the recrudescence of popularized racism among Southern extremists at the end of the 19th century. This racism supplied the grounds of the counter-racism expressed in the view that the so-called negroes are not only not inferiors, but the "Chosen People".

Booker T. Washington advised that the Negroes would do well to model themselves upon Jews in a number of respects, but particularly with regard to the inward pride possessed by them throughout history (Washington, 1902). "Black Jews" appear about 1915 in Washington, New York, and other cities in the east. Bishop H.Z. Plummer claimed to be the "impersonation" of grandfather Abraham in a sect in Washington called the Church of God and Saints of Christ. In this sect the members

commemorated the Passover and had Sabbath services on Saturday, but that remained the limit to which their Judaism included. In Philadelphia, under the leadership of a Prophet Cherry and a cult known as the Church of God, we note the doctrine that the so-called Negro is misnamed and that the true Jews are black. There is a rejection of the appellation Negro or any other term with low social connotation as a misappellation by whites (Fauset, 1944).

But while Prophet Cherry studied from both Yiddish and Hebrew Prayer Books, he never had a service in Hebrew. It was only in New York by virtue of working for and with Orthodox Jews, that Negro leaders come in close contact with Judaism based not only upon the letter of the Bible but also upon the oral law and commentary of the Talmudic tradition. It was through such contact that these leaders acquired a model for their tradition.

During the period of time from 1919 to 1931 there were noted at least eight "Black Jewish" cults originated in Harlem. The leaders were all acquainted and in several cases associated with each other from time to time as congregations would arise, split, collapse and reorganize. Several of the "Rabbis" took Jewish names and differentiated themselves from each other in their interpretation or simple knowledge of orthodox Jewish law and customs. A few permitted the eating of pork, while most made its prohibition a central commandment. Some acknowledged Jesus as a "Black Jew who was lynched by the gentiles". Some used their new identity as a basis of getting handouts from white Jews, and a few were engaged in outright criminal activities.

At the present day, Wentworth A. Matthew is the most vocal leader of Harlem's black Jewish congregation. This is the Commandment

Keeper's Congregation of the Living God, or as they often refer to themselves from the name of their lodge, The Royal Order of Ethiopian Hebrews, the Sons and Daughters of Culture, Inc. The nucleus of this group has been West Indians. The Commandment Keepers have been in existence since 1930 and had the usual difficulties of making ends meet during the depression. Since then it was located in a building on 128th Street and Lennox Avenue until 1962 when it moved to 1 W. 123rd Street. There is now a branch in Brooklyn led by a colleague and disciple and there are several schismatic offshoots further down on Lennox Avenue (Brotz, 1963).

CHAPTER II

Adat Beyt Moshe; Community and Its Social Structure

Location

Adat Beyt Moshe is a colored Hebrew community located on Moss Hill Road (Route 561) in Elwood, New Jersey, just east of Hammonton, approximately 37 miles from Philadelphia and 22 miles from Atlantic City. Elwood is a municipality of the Township of Mullica in Atlantic County, New Jersey.

Population

Adat Beyt Moshe is a small settlement of five houses which contain nine families and a total population of 37 of which there are included 8 adult males, 11 adult females and 18 juveniles. A supplementary membership which supports this community financially and religiously reside in Philadelphia and its environs and numbers a total of 52. Of the 52 outside residents, 13 are adult males and 16 adult females, and 23 are juveniles. Commitment as a Jew varies from person to person and only those outside residents are counted as members who claim total commitment to the aims, aspirations, ideals and purposes of this cult.

Setting

To understand the setting of this community it is necessary to describe its Township. Mullica is a comparatively large area, 54.72 square miles, and is sandwiched between Hammonton to the northwest and Egg Harbor City to the southwest. Although it is not barren and although its forests are not mainly pine trees, it lies in a woodland area often referred to as the "Pine Barrens". Of 568 municipalities in New Jersey, Mullica's rank is 525 in population density and 363rd in population

POPULATION

20

GREEN HOUSE

WM BROOKS = EVA BROOKS
53 46
laborer domestic

OLIVER BALLARD = ELIZABETH
71 69
Retired
RAYMOND TREHERNE
17

YELLOW HOUSE

JOSHUA CATO = ANNE — ALICE MATHIS = JAMES
52 34 23 29
DncLaycr Factory worker TYPIST TECHNICIAN
JONATHAN TIA
6 4

BLUE HOUSE

THOMAS ROSS = DAISY
43 43
driver domestic

DORIS ALPHEUS = DAYID
36 36
factory (separated)
BARBARA
19
clock

PINK HOUSE

WM LASHURE = ODESSA — REGINA WORTHINGTON
36 36
laborer Factory Worker
DANIEL — ALFRED NATHAN
17 15 2

WHITE HOUSE

ABEL RESPES = VIOLA
44 43
Rabbi

NITA 23 domestic	DIANE 21 Clock	ELLENDA 20 Typist	GABRIEL 18 Typist	ABEL 15	JUDITH 13	LEAH 11	JCEL 10	ELXAYA 8	MOHEL 7	GAMAIEL 5	MANUEL 4
										MICHAEL 12	ELIYHU 5mos

With a density of 53.8 persons per square mile it ranks low in the most urbanized state in the nation. New Jersey has a density of 800 persons per square mile.

Racial Distribution

Mullica has about 1/2 the percentage of non-whites (8.5% of its population is non-white) as compared to its entire county, Atlantic County (17.7%). But Mullica's racial composition approximates the statewide pattern in that 8.7% of New Jersey's population is non-white. Of 922 households in the township 71 (7.7%) were non-white in 1963. The median age of non-white's is considerably lower than for whites in Mullica. The median age for white males is 32.4 years and 33.4 years for white females. But it is 23.8 for non-white males and 25.9 for non-white females. And it can be noted that a significant portion of these non-white persons are in the younger age range of 5 to 20 years.

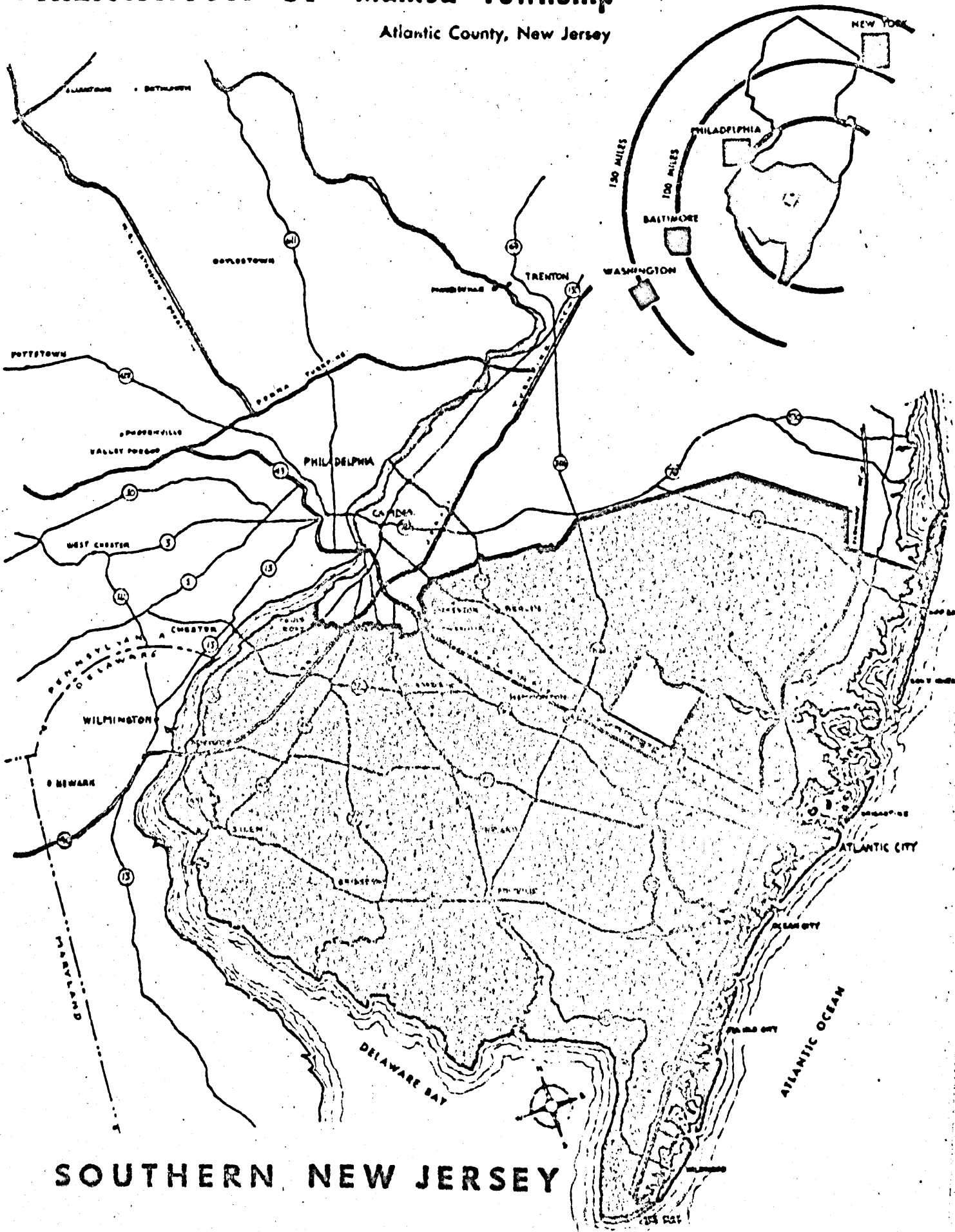
Topography

Most of the township is relatively flat. Although elevations of 100 feet and above exist in the southwestern portion of Mullica and although there is some land of a rolling hilly nature, to a large extent the land is flat. The movement of water over the ground and in the ground is a matter of concern in the outercoast plain in which Mullica lies. Although data pertaining to monthly precipitation may be somewhat defective, long term records do show a rather uniform 3 to 5 inches of precipitation each month. Swamps and swamplike conditions with poor drainage do exist in the township. Throughout most of the township the nature of the soil is cohansey sand. One of the significant aspects of sandy soil of this type is that it can be a crust over immense underground systems of streams and pockets (Sussna, 1962).

ORIENTATION OF Mullica Township

22

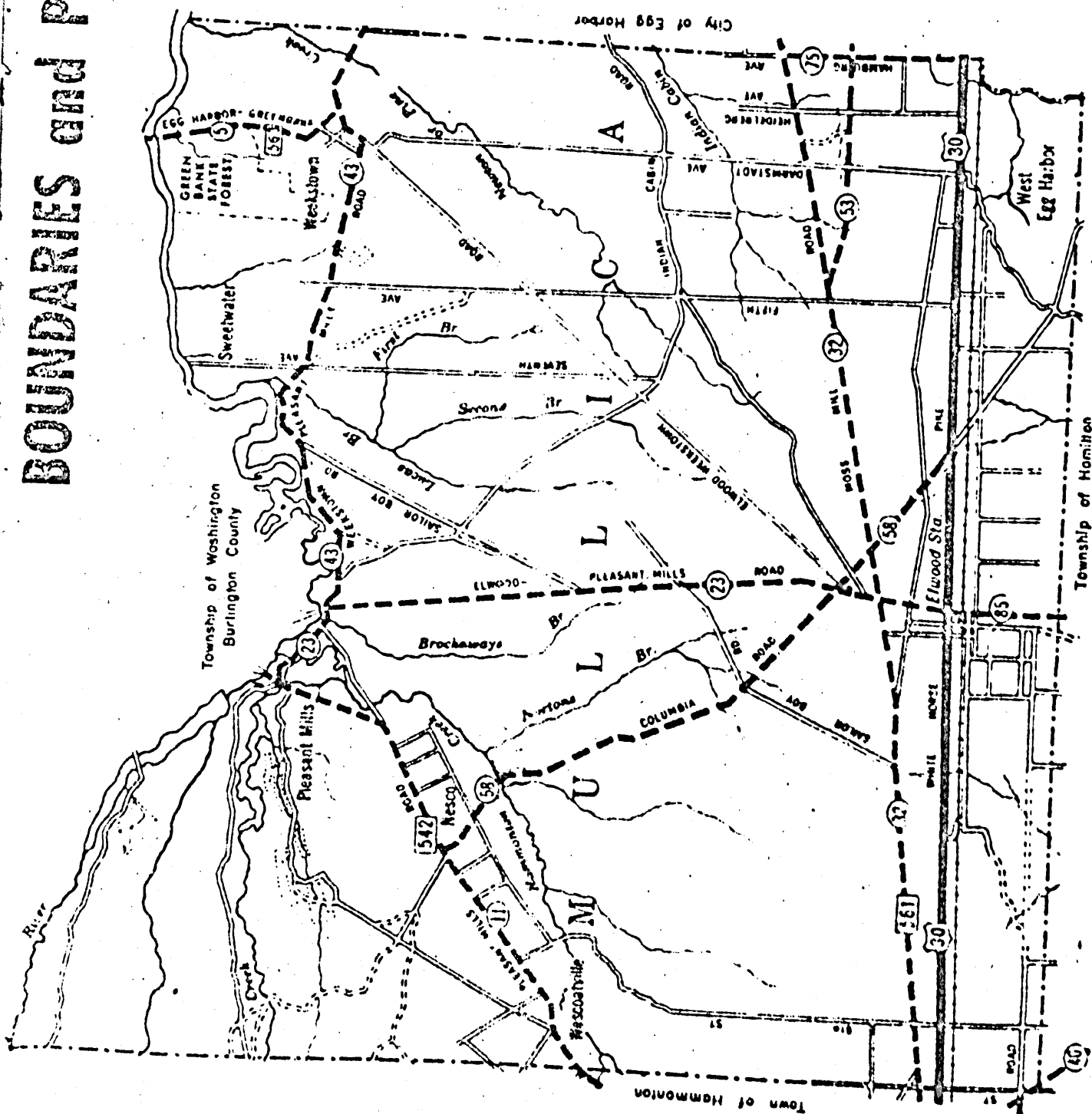
Atlantic County, New Jersey



SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY

BOUNDARIES and PRINCIPAL ROADS

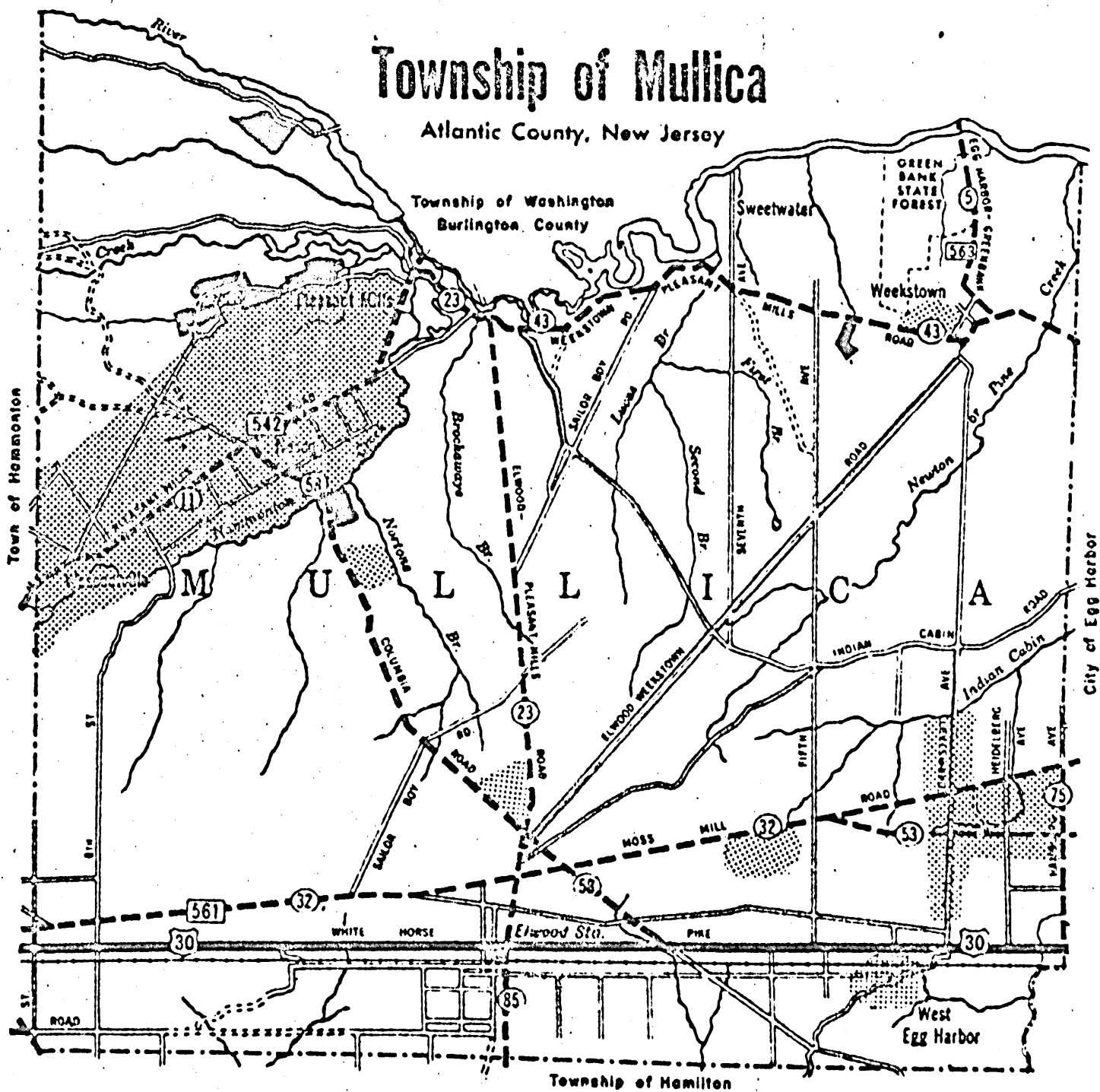
Township of Mullica
Atlantic County, New Jersey






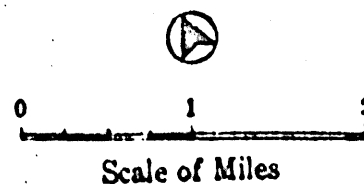
GENERALIZED AGRICULTURAL USE

Township of Mullica

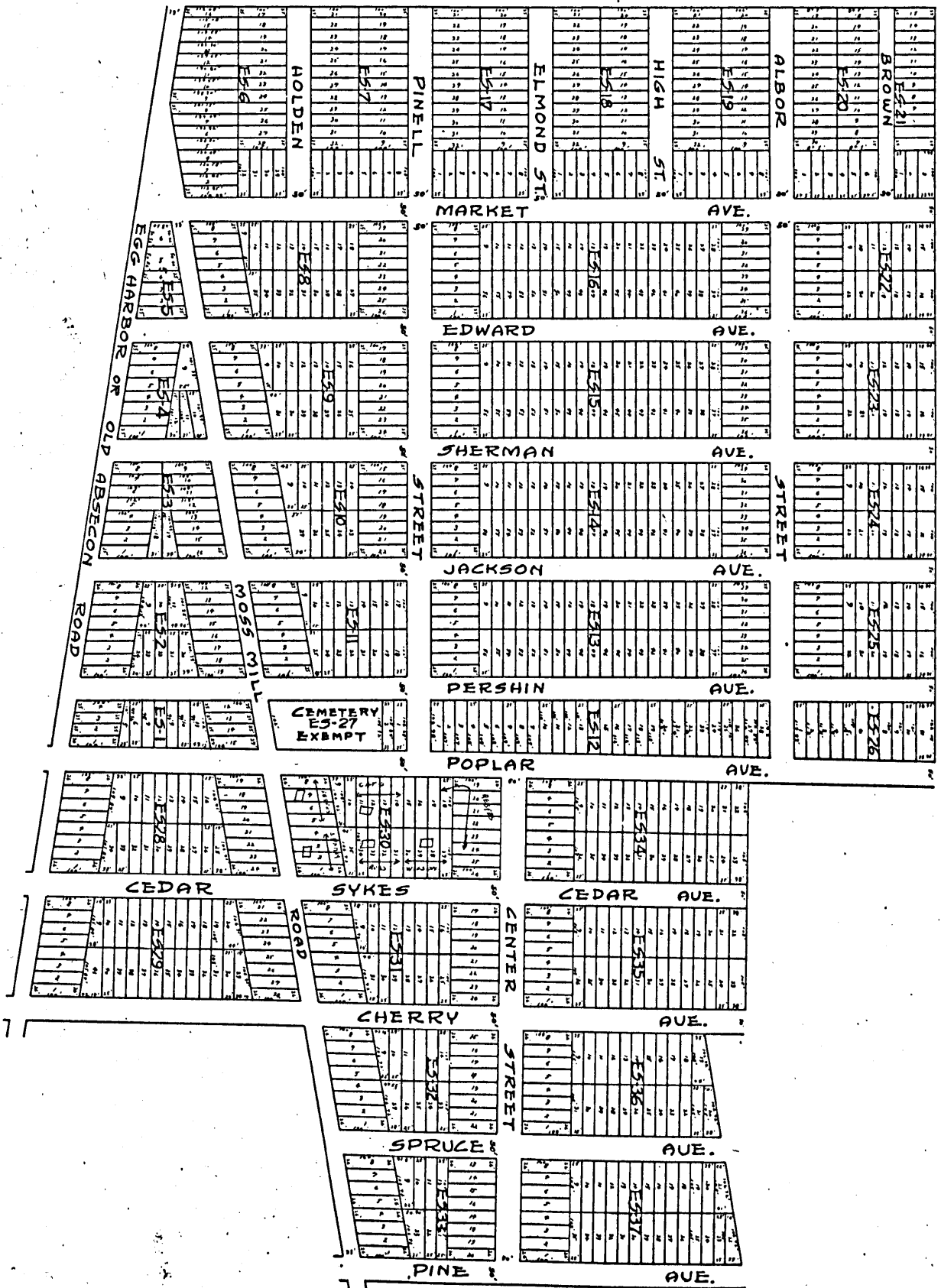
Atlantic County, New Jersey



-  AGRICULTURE LAND
-  CRANBERRY BOGS
-  FOREST and OTHER DEVELOPMENT

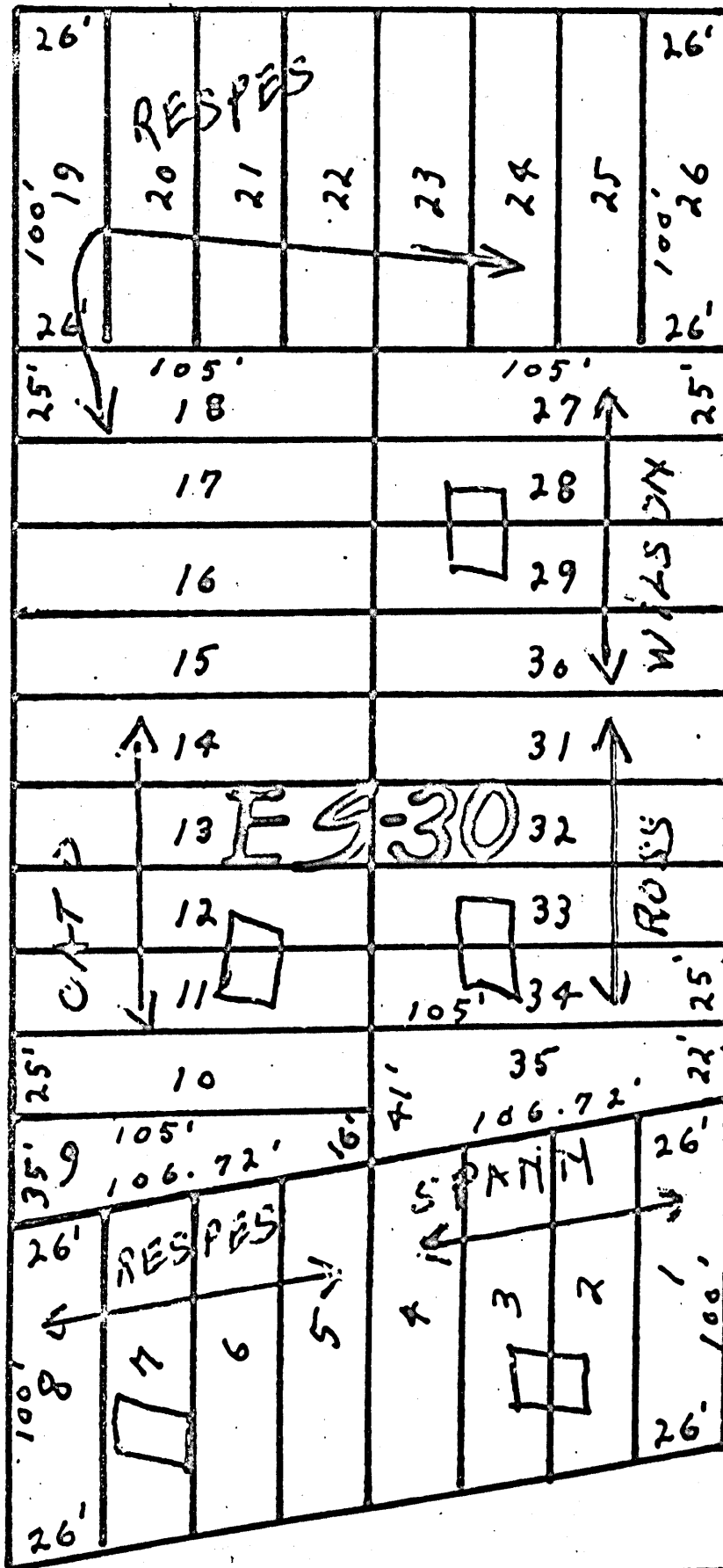


ELWOOD SQUARE



POPL

50'



SYKES

About 25,000 acres or 71% of the townships 35,000 acres are underdeveloped according to data furnished by the Township Assessor. Therefore, Mullica is essentially a rural undeveloped township.

Colored Hebrew Community

Structures

There are five houses built on this particular plot of ground, four of which are similar to each other in size and style, differing primarily in orientation and color. Four homes are of modern bungalow construction, contain six rooms and bath, are totally electric and cost approximately \$11,000. each which includes land and utilities. There are septic tanks for sewage and artesian wells for water. They vary in the color of the siding which is asbestos shingling in pastel blue, pink, yellow and green. Each house is erected on lots 100 x 100 feet and the ground is graded and sown with grass. Walks are cemented and the entire area is landscaped.

The leader of the community, Rabbi Abel Respes, lives in a Cape Cod, New England type house of two stories which consists of a livingroom, diningroom, kitchen, six bedrooms, two baths and a two car garage and utility room that is used as a recreation room and congregational meeting place. This home was built at a cost of \$19,000. including land and utilities.

Recreational Structures

Part of the Northern end of the tract is set aside for playground use, its facilities include a slide, swing, and several accessories for juveniles and an area in which more adult games can be played. Religious and educational facilities take place either in the garage-utility section of the leader's house, or in a utility room of another member of the com-

munity. It is expected that work beginning on the erection of a temple will be the first project of significance in 1966.

Equipment and Maintenance on all Buildings

The entire tract was graded and covered with several inches of topsoil, which was sifted by the residents. After the ground was graded grass seed was sown of a perennial variety which covers the entire community. There are front and back walkways connecting all of the five houses, the pattern of which is noted in the attached map of the tract.

Furnishings

By all measurement the most elaborate, expensive and most complete furnishings may be found in Rabbi Respes', the leader of the community, home. This house boasts of French Provincial furnishings, wall to wall carpeting, drapes, and tastefully appointed accessories. In no house are there to be found any wall decorations since such decorations violate tenets of their religious code. All houses are neat and scrupulously clean, abetted by a prohibition against wearing street shoes in the house itself. All street shoes are exchanged at the door for a type of bedroom slipper, which results in the elimination of street soil from the houses. Heating is electric and of the radiant variety. The houses are well lit and appears to have ample wiring. Housekeeping is non-scheduled but appears to be a strong value in the total operation of the community. Domestic service is unnecessary since work is carried on in a cooperative basis when assistance is required.

Property System

The property system may be looked at from at least two viewpoints. The system as it actually exists from a legal standpoint, i.e., from the point of view of the township, and as it exists from the point of view of

the community. In terms of individual lots of this particular community each lot is set aside in the name of a particular owner, whose name appears on the tax maps attached. But as far as the members of the community are concerned, they are morally bound to a corporate arrangement in which the entire tract belongs to the whole community regardless of their personal equity or their total investment. Mortgage payments are made through a central bookkeeping source created within their community and all taxes and assessments are paid through this source as well.

Acquisition and Relinquishment

Acquisition and relinquishment may be legally, of course, made in traditional ways. However, each member is pledged not to sell his particular holding to anyone whose principles would not conform to what is considered the best interests of the group. In any case, such a matter would be taken under strictest advisement for its disposition. To date, however, there has been, since the inception of the settlement, neither acquisition nor relinquishment of property. And while no relinquishment is anticipated, acquisition is hoped for since there are present adjacent to this particular tract specific lots available for the erection of additional homes. While some "outside" members have expressed interest in joining the community, this does not seem to be in immediate prospect.

Inheritance

It is expected that if an individual dies his property would pass to his legal heirs. But by implicit agreement all new householders must follow Judaism. If this is impossible the community appears willing to purchase as a group any property prior to its being offered on the open market.

Administration

Administration of the property is handled by a Board of Directors

made up of special appointed male members of the community. But, while details are handled by a Secretary, it appears that generally final decisions on property matters or for that matter, matters of any other importance are strongly influenced and directed by the leader.

Finance

Traditional modes of finance and banking, saving, investment and insurance, while not encouraged are not condemned. Of the total membership of this particular group less than 40% of adult males had voluntary savings, insurance or investment programs. A general tithe is levied upon all income producers (the percentage of which was not available) but has been estimated at about 15% of one's earnings. This amount goes into a special fund to serve the best interest of the community, and to provide for the health and welfare of its members. Such expenditures include emergency sickness expenses, maintenance bills and suggested improvements. The Rabbi's income is partially derived from the community tithe, the earnings of his working children, his occasional lecturing fees and, in the past, has been subsidized by irregular carpentry and painting contracting.

Labor

All adult males with the exception of one who is retired, are income producing. All adult females with the exception of three who maintain households, are also in various jobs in neighboring communities and nearby cities. Members of the community vary in their endeavor as laborers, domestics, craftsmen, clerks, typists, and general factory workers. All income producing is produced outside of the village of Elwood, and mainly in Philadelphia. The highest skilled craftsman works in the Philadelphia Navy Yard as a technician. The level of labor could be categorized by an upper lower class grouping.

Adolescent juveniles are available for work during the summers and school holidays, and six have had such experience in the two years that have passed as members of the community. As income producing members they were required during the period of their employment to pay their particular share of tithe in the community at large.

Corporate Organization

As part of the tenets of corporate charter which the settlement follows it is noted that all building, grounds and facilities are held in mutual trust and by corporate agreement. While personal possessions are under ownership and control of their individual holders, all capital furnishings are part of the corporate enterprise. Corporate business is administered by a Board of Directors whose members are elected for specific terms of office by the community as a whole. All meetings are held monthly to determine corporate policy and discuss settlement business such as maintenance problems, fixed and special costs and development plans. Any particular adult member of the community may petition special meetings to be held and immediate hearings to be entertained. Mutual aid is first done on a voluntary basis. However, when it requires the use of corporate facilities, such aid is discussed and voted upon by the Board which is headed by Rabbi Respes. The position of President of the community is a lifetime one and he holds majority vote in case of ties. However, it must be noted that no issue with which the President disagrees has as yet come to the floor of the Board of Directors.

Travel and Transportation

Since members of the community who work do so outside of the settlement, facilities for their transportation must be provided. While nominally titled to the leader of the community, a late model Dodge auto-

mobile and a bus type Chevrolet Stationwagon is available for community transportation. Each week, five times a week, the community stationwagon takes a number of Philadelphia bound workers to their particular jobs, picking them up at night and bringing them back to Elwood at the end of the day. In the case of one family, the husband and wife both work in Jersey City and leave the community Monday morning, travel to Jersey City, stay at a rooming house, and return late Friday afternoon. Their travel is by public transportation. There is another late model automobile owned nominally by one of the male members of the community and considered his personal property. However, it is understood and has been so verified in past experience, that when transportation is required his particular vehicle will be available.

Living Standards and Routines

The standard of living seems to approximate lower middle class values with strong strivings for material accumulation. While each of the houses are furnished according to particular tastes and capacities of their holders, nevertheless there is a common striving toward better furniture, rugs on the floor, lamps and accessories.

Since the daily routine is spent by the adults in work outside with only a few exceptions, much of the activity in the settlement occurs either on weekends or at night. The oldest and retired adult male spends most of the day policing the grounds and generally puttering around the area. Two of the three adult women who are not working regularly outside of the community spend some, or all of their time, caring for the neighbors children. This may be reimbursed with a small fee if volunteered or free if not.

Other leisure activities can be divided into two separate categories:

education and religious obligation and general recreation.

Recreation

Recreational activities include communal conversation, hobbies, games, sports, and gambling for small sums. Conversation tends to center around the business of the community, but shies clear of personal gossip. Most conversation is involved with current events and the problem of Negro-white relationships.

Baseball, basketball, volleyball are played by adults in coordination with juveniles, usually in the early evening. These are unscheduled, seemingly spontaneous events. Few members of the community have personal hobbies, with the exception of one teenager who plays a musical instrument on an irregular basis.

Interpersonal Relations

Household groups seem to have closer ties than individual members of adjoining or adjacent homes. Separate family groups appear free to visit one another without invitation and without formality. Neighbors meeting outside of their homes smile and greet each other with "Shalom" despite the number of repetitious passings that may occur in a particular day. Social etiquette in terms of courteous behavior seem to be scrupulously upheld and ingroup antagonism seem to be either absent or restrained.

Family and Kinship Ties

The community of Adat Beyt Moshe comprises nine family units within five households. Two of the nine families do not contain a male family head. They are each represented by a mother and her sole child. Two households contain families linked through sisters. All other household configurations have no interfamilial kinship ties. One family consists of an elderly married couple and their grandson who lives with them on a

permanent basis. The family of the Rabbi represents the largest single family unit in the community and includes his wife, seven daughters and seven sons.

Kinship terms do not seem to differ from the regular pattern and there appears to be no signs of a fictive kinship. Household sharing of the food budget does not discriminate between kinship and non kin co-groups. Association is not on a kinship level since support comes from the community and not the kin group.

Members of Adat Beyt Moshe who reside outside the community comprise eleven family units, two of which consist of an unmarried adult male living with his sister and her husband, one unmarried adult male living with his mother and eight other nuclear families.

By dictum all families and households within the community must follow Judaic practices. However, this not necessarily to be found among the members residing outside of the community. Of the eleven families outside of the community only six comprise units in which all of the family residential members are committed to Adat Beyt Moshe. Among those families in which there is divided religious loyalty, it is an adult male, usually, who is the Adat Beyt Moshe member.

Education

Adat Beyt Moshe has a Torah school for the very young and one for all older juveniles and adults of the community. Classes of instruction are given on Sundays and occasional Saturday afternoons in religious studies and academic subjects. Under religious studies the following are given: The Aleph Beyt (reading of Hebrew); the Parashah (weekly portion of Torah reading); the study of the weekly section of the Pentateuch in Hebrew; the study of the prophets; and Hebrew grammar. All instructions

is provided by the Rabbi and given at the same level since the adult members are at the same level of achievement as the juveniles in their community. Educational attendance is not required for the adult men and women, but is so for all juveniles. On Sunday, classes last from 10 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock at night, with only a few members leaving for lunch.

All academic subjects are prepared and provided by the rabbi, using his own readings, interpretations and presentation. They cover a wide range of academic subjects from a unique brand of anthropology, history, civics, ethics, current events, and whatever humanity is requested. He accomplishes this by either special research or drawing from his own past knowledge. The Rabbi's personal library boasts of a number of scientific and historical texts and a rather recent set of the Encyclopedia Britannica.

Socialization

Middle class values seem to be dominant in this society. Independence training begins early and is important. However, this is not reflected in a predominant concern on weaning. Weaning is gradual and indulgent. However, cleanliness training seems to hold great importance and is demanded rather early and with some rigidity. Promiscuous sexual expression is limited by warning, fine or expulsion and hostile feelings are not permitted any great expression. All social norms are transmitted first to very young children by their specific families, and later by the common congregation through the medium of their religious and educational experiences.

Adolescence, Adulthood, and Old Age

Adult members of the community at any age may be given traditional

and classic puberty initiation as a responsible member of the Judaic movement in the Bar or Bat Mitzvah. While this is traditionally performed in a white Jew's 13th year, all members of this community who wish to partake of this as a right of passage, are encouraged to do so. Classical Judaism requires that the right of reading the Torah belongs only to a member who has undergone initiation. This right, however, has been modified by the Rabbi to include anyone who wishes to read the Torah and is able to do so with any proficiency. Adolescents are considered as adults and appear to suffer little discrimination or need special control. One enters his majority at the time of the Bar Mitzvah which is, as stated above, given at any age. None of the adult members however, have undergone any formal ceremonies. The aged are treated with respect and consideration, and while somewhat restricted physically by the state of their health appear to show a high degree of motivation and activity.

Marriage

The basis of marriage appears to be the voluntary consent of the couple involved, the pledge to remain in a Judaic life, and a service performed by a Rabbi, preferably Rabbi Respes who has legal authority. Marriage appears to be regulated according to the tenets of the Torah and may be terminated only in such a way. All union in the settlement, and in the outside Philadelphia membership appears to be of legal marriage. Sex is looked upon from a fundamentalistic point of view for the purposes of reproduction and artificial contraception is forbidden. All other sexual expression outside of legitimate marital unions are looked upon with great concern and have not been recorded in the short history of this community.

Justice and the Enforcement of Law

Disputes and civil or criminal suits among members of the community are not permitted to be brought before outside courts but have to be submitted to a tribunal of which the Rabbi is a member. The Tribunal grants hearings and renders decisions which might or might not involve compromise. Each party to a suit has a right to reject a member of the Tribunal as judge without being required to state his reasons for the objection. In such cases the member in the tribunal is replaced by a judge agreeable to the party. The tribunal is authorized, under those circumstances in which either the plaintiff or defendant raises serious objection, to delegate its jurisdiction to other competent judges whose verdicts and compromise decisions have the same force as those pronounced by it. It is within the discretion of the Tribunal to permit the referral of certain suits to the outside courts. Without consent of the Tribunal no one is permitted to testify there against a fellow member either orally or in writing. A member of the Tribunal can declare himself incompetent if he finds his judgment of the case might be influenced by personal antipathy. A member who knew that these conditions applied to one of his colleagues could bring these pertinent facts to the attention of his fellow members whereupon another judge would be substituted for him. The Tribunal exercises jurisdiction over the imposition of penalties. Almost every regulation on record deals with prohibition and penalties. Its means of enforcement is moral pressure, financial penalties, religious sanctions. While minor offenders may be dealt with by a series of graded fines, serious ones may be punished by excommunication. While a few fines have been levied in the history of the community, only one member of the community

was ejected for a crime of rather serious nature, the circumstances of which are obscure due to member reluctance to discuss it. In all judicial decisions as in other areas of the social life of this community, the opinion of the Rabbi weighs heavily in influencing the vote of his members. Although not appearing to use his power in excess, Rabbi Respes wields a very influential and directive hand in all matters of mutual concern.

Social Welfare

While any member of the community can provide financial and other assistance to any other member without prior permission from the Directorship of Rabbi, the Congregation's Welfare Fund is set aside for particular individual needs. Revenues from fines, tithes, and voluntary gifts are the only sources of the Congregation's funds. Collections are organized on special occasions in addition to the regular tithes.

Death

While no deaths have occurred during the history of this community it is expected that when such does occur the funeral will be performed at the settlement, and burial will take place either on the grounds of this settlement, or on a 10 acre plot of ground originally purchased for settlement in Mays Landing, but whose zoning difficulties made it difficult to build upon.

History of the Community

Adat Beyt Moshe became legally incorporated as a Hebrew religious body in 1951 with the center of its activities at 2157 N. 12th Street, Philadelphia.

In 1957 the congregation which then numbered approximately 75 to 100 members raised \$8,000. as a down payment on a three story building costing \$17,000. located at 1700 W. Girard Avenue in Phila-

delphia, which they sold for \$20,000. In 1958 a dispute reduced the membership to 25, and it was with this handful of members that Abel Respes decided to establish a community of Colored Hebrews in a suburban or rural area away from Philadelphia. Respes purchased in 1960 ten acres of woodland in Hamilton Township, near Mays Landing, New Jersey, and workers began cutting the trees and preparing the land in preparation for the proposed development. Two building and construction companies were consulted to erect houses on the sight. The first declined, after reviewing the applications on the grounds that there was not sufficient equity or capital. The second construction company advised that the township would not grant permission to build more than four homes on the sight which was zoned for farmland. Since this necessitated the acquisition of more land in order to build the community, it was decided to abandon the building of homes on that particular site and to seek an appropriate plot of ground elsewhere. In the meantime, these 10 acres have been preserved for possible farmland. The quest for new land brought them into Hammonton, New Jersey, where a deposit was made on a plot of ground on Weymouth Road, in the suburbs of Hammonton. The local building company hired for the project, Custom Building Sales, encountered opposition from particular residents of the area and suggested that it was a better move to erect homes on Moss Mill Road, (Route 561), in Elwood, New Jersey, just outside Hammonton, near the White Horse Pike. This plot of ground is located about 1/4 mile from a new and growing totally white development known as Wharton Park, with approximately 200 homes and a proposed modern shopping center.

It was a rather difficult task to find land to build upon, but the most arduous and almost impossible piece of work was to find mortgage financ-

ing for the proposed housing especially during this period which the banks termed as a restrictive money market. However, mortgage commitments were obtained and mortgage financing for the homes was arranged. In October, 1961, construction began on the first of four ranch type homes to be built in the community. In March, 1962, two of the homes were completed. After the houses were completed by the construction company there remained much landscaping to be done. The land was extremely rugged and low in most places. Most of the members volunteered to level and grade the land themselves which appeared to be a special problem since none had a knowledge of landscaping.

All soil was turned over by spade shovels and forks. Hundreds of pounds of wild roots and crab grass were rooted up, by hand, during the summer of 1962. Some of the land was extremely low and had to be raised by as much as two feet. The community was obliged to purchase 58 truckloads of fill dirt, at a cost of \$238.00. The trucks would dump the dirt and would be hand shoveled in wheel barrows and carted to needed areas for distribution. Every member of the community, with the exception of the very young took part in this work. After the low places were filled in with fill dirt the entire area was covered with several inches of topsoil which was reserved from the several tons of such topsoil which had been pushed back by the bulldozer preparatory to construction of the houses. Since the topsoil contained many weeds, roots, stones, and other wild refuse, it was necessary to sift it. This was done by the use of an improvised sifter which consisted of an old discarded bed, sifted through the wire mesh nailed across it. Topsoil was shoveled onto the old bed, sifted through the wire mesh and the clean topsoil was then shoveled into wheelbarrows and carted for distribution. Since much of

the work had to be done at night, and before electric service was installed in all of the houses, headlights of the automobiles were utilized in a criss-cross manner to provide light. After the ground was properly graded, 1,850 pounds of perennial rye grass seed, at a cost of \$384. for 265 bags and 5 truckloads of gravel and sand were bought at a cost of \$288. These were mixed, poured and finished in front and back walkways connecting all of the five houses by the members of the community.

Ethno History

The term "ethnohistory" is used here in the sense of Adat Beyt Moshe's conception of their origins, migrations and culture history. While the origination of dark skinned people remains clouded in obscurity to Adat Beyt Moshe, it is speculated that it is within the range of probability that since the first man was created out of the brown soil of the earth, he should have been endowed with darker skin than that of the white man who considers himself superior and primary. But such a premise is not necessary to the understanding that the original Hebrews, the Israelites, were dark skinned people. Their dispersion into Africa is explained by the following sequence. When Moses brought the Israelites from their bondage in Egypt he pointed out to them that they had made a Covenant with God as His chosen people. If they were to reap the benefits of the land of milk and honey, that of Israel, the land which was in the hands of their enemies, they must keep their covenant or else suffer dire consequences: dispersion, degradation, slavery, and disorganization. He pointed out to them that they must wrest their land from the sinners who held it, the Canaanites, also a dark skinned group, who exemplified some of the worst moral features of mankind. He further instructed them they were to exterminate these creatures, every man, woman, and child, "even

unto their cattle", for if they did not all manner of calamity would befall them. As history unfolds, the Jews entered the land of Canaan, fought a great battle with the Canaanites, killing many. But unheeding-ly, they intermarried with the Canaanites, absorbing into their blood-lines inherent sins of avarice, lust, disorganization and savagery. Because they had broken their covenant, they could not hold their land as was promised to them by God, and were overthrown by multiple invasions from every direction and were dispersed onto the African continent and indeed into the jungle itself. There they lived, sinner and savage, until many of them, as within the prophecy, came as slaves into the New World. And in that experience, they lost their country, their language, their culture and their God, and were seemingly fit to be only slaves and servants, despised and degraded, without dignity and without esteem.

The presence and the influence of the white Jew is no obstacle in Respes' historical presentation. White European Jews are converts, which is readily apparent from the fact that they speak Yiddish, which is a corruption of German, a European tongue. They were made as converts in several ways. Adjoining the land of Israel from the north, migratory people took to themselves the religion of the true Israelites, the black Jew, and in the Moorish invasion of Europe by North Africans, the Jews played a prominent part in the conversion.

But if this speculative approach is not sufficient, then the Bible itself may be used as documentary for its validity. Jacob is described as having a smooth skin, and smooth seemingly indicates dark skin. Solomon contended, "I am black, but comely." which can be alternatively translated as black and comely. Solomon must be black or at least mulatto from yet another standpoint, for is his father David is not colored, he surely marries a woman who is, Bathsheba, a Hittite of a dark skinned tribe.

The product of their first union dies, for their sin, but their second child is Solomon.

To the question whether all Negroes are Jews, it is pointed out that since Negroes have genetic mixtures, not only of other races but possibly the "sinful blood of the Canaanite", it is difficult to know upon appearance who have those genetic characteristics which set them aside as Jews, and which do not. The test, therefore, must come from within. That is to say that if a Negro acknowledges himself as a Jew, and feels himself as one, following the traditional concepts, it must therefore be that he is a Jew. If he rejects Judaism, it is due to his genetic shortsightedness and limitations, and it must be presumed that he is a Canaanite. The term "nigger" and negroes are European social appellations which have no historical or anthropological meaning.

Religious Organization

Adat Beyt Moshe is a religious congregation - solely under the priesthood of Rabbi Abel Respes. While there are heirs in training, and in fact an heir-apparent in the form of the rabbi's oldest son, it is his sole decision which evaluates and decrees religious matters, and his validity which justifies the organization. Traditional ceremonies are taken from classical American Jewish texts, and standard Jewish prohibitions of diet and prayer are demanded of the members. The Colored Hebrews assert that they are strictly kosher and use kosher soap and salt. The kosher rules are in the major respect part of a reaffirmation of their Covenant with God, and their precaution against both physical and mental malfunction.

CHAPTER III

Adat Beyt Moshe Ideology

At the root of all ideology is explanation: explanation of the universe, nature and man; explanation which provides structure and meaning to many otherwise incomprehensible phenomena. The ideology of Adat Beyt Moshe represents fundamentally the ruminations of its leader who transmits his views through the media of regular sermons, weekly classes and occasional informal discussions. The ideology is closely tied to religious modes but contains historical and sociological strains. Its repetition fortified with emotional fervor establishes and sustains its importance and contributes to its acceptance. While not every member seems to reflect a broad understanding of the principles all seem willing to accept their validity. The systematic quality of Adat Beyt Moshe ideology is obvious and effectively deals with agonizing and perplexing questions of the group.

The single most important idea dominating Adat Beyt Moshe (the Colored House of Moses) is the postulate that they and at least some other "swarthy" peoples are direct descendents of biblical Hebrew tribes. This concept underscores all other theorizing of their social, secular and religious life. Their justification for this view stems from several sources.

The first level of evidence is derived from the Old Testament which, in a number of passages implies, or states, that the Hebrew actors in the biblical drama are colored, dark or black. The second is the result of their ethnohistorical inference in which aspects of history and biblical account are interwoven to provide a documentary of a great migration and dispersion of colored Hebrews into Africa and their subsequent distribution

to the rest of the world. The third class of supporting evidence stems from their analysis of Deuteronomy which describes the consequences of breaking with God's covenant and disregarding his commandments. Only this prophesied disaster, they claim, accurately describes the plight of the colored world. It is concluded that the Adat Beyt Moshe having broken with Yahveh now suffers the consequences of present and past sins in social degradation and economic deprivation.

Since the Old Testament is an "historical" account, it provides a basis for justification of their beliefs. Specific passages are selected as scriptural proof validating their identity as the Hebrews of the Bible.

Jacob was black because he had a smooth skin, Solomon was black, or at least mulatto because his mother was of a Hittite tribe, a dark skinned group, and the union of King Solomon and Queen of Sheba founded a line of black Hebrews.

The Bible says, "my skin is black from upon thee". In the Song of Solomon in the first chapter, fifth verse, the song written which is attributed to Solomon says, "I am black and comely." In the King James version it says, "I am black but comely," but the Hebraic text says, "I am black and comely." It also says, "look not upon me because I am black." Now here again, the person who is speaking, if it is Solomon, and the writing is attributed to Solomon, then he must certainly have been a very dark skinned person, to have turned black. It is written here that I am black and I am comely, for I am handsome, I am pleasing. I am well favored. Because I am black, do not frown upon me. Now, we find that even among our own people, they say that this shows that the rest of the people were white, because he says I am black, don't look upon me because I am black. Well, within our own racial group we find those who are lighter skinned, those who are brown have a tendency to look down upon those who are darker, to frown upon them. This still could be colored people talking to colored people, or a colored person talking to colored people. In Lamentations, the 4th chapter, 8th verse, it is written concerning the children of Israel, that the state of Jerusalem had been invaded and how the children had been dying from thirst, from hunger and

how the sons of Zion had lost their Judaism and so forth. And then it goes on to say, "Their skin is black" it says, "darker than black". Now here again in the time of Jeremiah, the writings of Jeremiah quote here the Jews were black. He was specifically speaking here of the tribe of Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and he goes on to say in the 5th chapter, the 10th verse, "Our skin was black like an oven." Now there are some who would translate that like our skin was warm. I have read in the Bible Dictionary that the word black is a common Hebrew word which also means warm. Now, there are those who point to the fact that in the teachings of Jeremiah, the 4th chapter, 7th verse, states that, "They who are whiter than snow, they were purer than milk". People would say, now doesn't this seem to indicate the Jews were originally white and they turned black. But they don't complete the text, it says the Nazarites, in the 4th chapter of Lamentations, 7th verse, it says, "The Nazarites were purer than snow, whiter than milk. They were more ruddy in bodies, they were rubies and coral." That's what it says. Now, to be ruddy in body is not white. No one is actually red, they said red, but the people he speaks of as being ruddy in body is somewhat similar to my own color, with perhaps a little more flushness. It is not actually red like the bright color red, coral is more blood red, deep purplish. You'll find Africans this color, dark ruddy, like rubies. I would feel they were mahogany people originally. The color of mahogany is closer to the color of rubies, dark ruddy brown.

It is written in the 7th chapter, the Book of Daniel, 9th verse and 10th verse, Daniel prophecized that when all the nations shall have their time, that he said he saw a throne, and he saw the ancient of days sit on this throne; and he describes this person, and in describing this person he says the hair on his head was like pure wool. Now common sense will tell us that Daniel could not have seen a European person. He could not have seen a Nordic person, he must have certainly have seen one who is either Semitic or Hamitic. And Daniel said this one would judge all the nations of the world. Well, now then, if the judge of the world is going to be a Jew, then we find here that Daniel is saying that they are Jews, the European people. It fits more the people who are looked upon as negroes.

There's a law in the 13th chapter of the Book of Leviticus that says if a person should have one bright spot in the flesh of their skin, the priest should look on that spot and shut the person up for seven days. They should look again in seven days and if the spot is not gone then they should turn again for seven days more. And after that, if the spot is somewhat dark, if the skin was somewhat dark, then it says he was clean. Then he speaks

of yellow hair. He says that the hair after 7 or 8 days which is yellow, turns black again, then he's clean again. He said if a person has one yellow hair in their head they were unclean. In the 12th chapter of the Book of Leviticus, the Lord spoke unto Moses saying, "When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh arising a scab or a bright spot, then he shall be brought unto Aaron, the priest, or one of his sons, the priests, and they are to look on the plague, the skin of the flesh. And when the hair on the plague has turned white, the plague is slightly deeper than the skin of the flesh, it is the plague of leprosy, and the priest shall look on him and pronounce him unclean." Now the blackest person that you can find can have a sore on their body, and when that scab comes off the place where that sore was it will leave a white spot. But after a period of seven days and then a second period of seven days, that white spot will begin to turn dark. I can vouch for this. I have had occasion to have a sore or a scab on my hand. When that scab disappears that part of my body is a different color from the rest of my flesh. It is a spot on my skin, a white spot, a bright spot. I don't care how black a colored person is, when that scab goes off the sore, that skin is just as white as any white man. There is no white man any whiter than that black man is when he has a scab or sore. My point is, that when the Jews have such a law as this, speaking of one bright spot on the body, certainly the Jews could not have been white people, not at that time. How could Moses be a white man and write something like this?

Abel R.

The question of how dark peoples of the United States, or indeed of Africa, lost their Jewish identity is one that is explained by reference to Deuteronomy's account of Mosaic exhortation and threat. Adat Beyt Moshe fell from favor because it disobeyed Yahveh's demands and its persecution and punishment is justified according to prophecy. This ideology represents not only an apologetic for their ethnohistory, but justifies a rejection of white Jews generally as valid Hebrews explaining them away as European converts of the 13th, 14th and 15th century.

Yahveh demanded that the Hebrews take the Holy Land from a

decadent and debauched enemy, the Canaanite, destroy them completely, "even unto their cattle." While Adat Beyt Moshe was victorious in battle, they disobeyed Him by intermarrying and interbreeding with the remaining vanquished infusing the genetic moral defectiveness of the Canaanite into their bloodlines, the effect of which is still in noticeable evidence in some contemporary colored people.

But, not all dark people are necessarily descendents of the Hebrews, only those with a minimum or lack of Canaanite blood. Every individual must be his own judge as to his ancestry. Those who feel themselves to be Jews are Jews, for only a minimum of inherent Canaanite influence would allow such an assertion.

People who claim to be Jews but who are Caucasian are the result of mass conversions made during the Middle Ages when the Arab and Jewish world invaded Southern Europe and proselytized many Europeans. While it is not beyond belief that there may have been some Caucasoid elements in Israel, there is no doubt in Adat Beyt Moshe that the ancient Hebrews were a "swarthy" people!

Now in this writing here, in the 38th chapter, there are certain prophecies and certain writings in Proverbs that to my mind fit the colored people in America more than any other people in the world. When the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt, God gave them a law, made a covenant with them, an agreement. He said, I'll be your God, and you shall be my people providing you walk in obedience to these commandments and laws and statutes that I give you. Now, Moses was their deliverer and brought them up and this is what they wrote in the 28th chapter of Deutoronomy, "It shall come to pass," beginning of the first verse, "if thou shalt harken diligently to the voice of the Lord thy God, shall observe and do all of his commandments which He commands this day, the Lord thy God shall set thee on high above all nations of the earth." and he goes on to say, "And all these blessings shall come on thee and overtake thee, if thou shalt harken unto the voice of the Lord thy God". If we will harken

we will be above all nations and if we obey all the -- commandments. He gives us a list of all the blessings that will come upon us. But, in the beginning of the 15th verse it goes on to say, "God is just and if you do right you will be blessed with what he promises, and if you don't do right, then there are a list of curses that will come upon us. It says, in the 15th verse, "It shall come to pass if thou does not harken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, shall fail to do his commandments and his statutes which I command you this day, then all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee." "Cursed shall thou be in the city, and cursed shall thou be in the field." "Whether you live in the city or in the country, the curse shall be on you. it stated. "Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kind and the multiplication of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou cometh in, and cursed thou shalt be when thou goeth out." Because we would not obey the laws and commandments of the Lord our God, we were all cursed. What does this mean? When we are born into the world, we're born into a curse. As long as we disobeyed these laws, as long as our parents do not teach us this, we will be cursed. There comes a time when we go back to this law of commandments with God and it has like a magical effect. The goodness will come to us automatically and the thing that would aggravate it would be our own conduct. As long as our conduct was not good we should not expect good. It goes on further to say, yes, the 37th verse, "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb and a byword." A byword, that's just a name, a nickname. Now we're known by many bywords, a negro is one of them, the word simply means black. Nigger is akin to negro, another byword is darkie, another is coon, shine, tarbaby, pickininny, ashes, sambo, dust, rusty, these are the bywords.

Then he goes on to say in the 23rd verse, 20th chapter of Deuteronomy, "The stranger of the foreigner that is among thee shall get above thee very high." All other foreigners will get above the Hebrews, he said, the Jews, as long as they disobey God's commandments. He said the foreigner who is within thee shall get above thee very high and thou shall come down very low. That's what he said would happen to the Hebrew. All foreigners would be able to surpass them. This is what the black people are complaining about in America. Anybody from any part of the world can come into this country and they can come in here poor. They can come here under the black man, and in time they can get above the black man. In the 44th verse it says, "He shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him. He shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail." This is a curse. Now there's only one people in the U.S.A. who can say this condition fits, the colored people.

They go further to read, "Moreover, all of these curses shall come upon thee and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, 'til thou be destroyed, because thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which I commanded thee". That's why all this has happened to us; "And they shall be upon thee for a sign, for a wonder, and upon thy seed forever." Because we're going back to living according to the Torah, we really live in a way that the white man's conscience will tell him that we are in fact in some respects, in many respects, a greater people than they are. For we are in servitude. We are in bondage. We have nothing to our advantage, and we do more than many white people who have the opportunity. They have great opportunity. We have very few opportunities. We've taken advantage of these opportunities, done the impossible. We've worked beautifully here in establishing this community. We have proven to the white people that we can live clean, and I know these white people are not as clean as they appear to be on the surface. We've proven to them we are as good as they are, and in some respects we're better than many of them. But, to read a little further in the 27th verse, "Because thou wouldst not serve the Lord thy God with prayerfulness and that is a part of the abundance of all things," Because we were not content when we were in our own country, because we're always complaining when we were in our own country, the Holy Land of Israel, therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies. "Thou shalt serve thine enemies which the Lord thy God shall send against thee, in hunger and in thirst and in nakedness and in want of all things. And they shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until they have destroyed thee."

Abel R.

The belief in themselves as Yahveh's Chosen People does not imply racial superiority, inequality, favoritism or privilege. It does not mean that Adat Beyt Moshe is to dominate the world nor exclusively possesses salvation. It means closer affiliation to the Almighty providing enlightenment, law, knowledge and understanding. It means accepting a great many restrictions and severe judgment and punishment for failure to live up to its holy responsibility. The members claim that unsympathetic negroes look upon their group as crackpots, fanatics, deluded or misguided souls. But such criticism is ample evidence of the

omnipresent Canaanite blood which not only has befouled their blood-lines but has provided inherited behavioral sins which serve only to make colored people despised, deprived and unhappy vassals in a white establishment.

The ultimate goal for Adat Beyt Moshe is to return to their homeland, and the land of their ancestors, Israel. Their present settlement is justified on the basis that it must have been Yahveh's wish that they should learn to govern themselves in a laboratory model community first before allowing them eventual government as a nation.

Yahveh

The notion of Yahveh as a noncorporeal and non-representable God is a basic tenet of Adat Beyt Moshe ideology. Yahveh is total spirituality, essence or psyche and is not limited by tangibility. Yahveh is not anywhere, but everywhere. He is without form and all form. He cannot be seen, nor can he be represented by image. To say that God is above is only metaphorical. His presence may be inferred by tangible products and natural processes, but nothing encompasses Yahveh. He encompasses all things. He is a creator who has brought all things into being and is thereupon the Father of the entire universe. The immateriality of Yahveh carries with it two further correlaries, first, all images of God are declared invalid, false and deceptive, second, the divinity of Jesus must be rejected. No God would provide himself with the mechanism of his own humiliation and destruction through crucifixion. Only an imposter could have promised the world salvation and given mankind disaster.

The incorporeality of God and the prohibition by commandment disallows the hanging of any images on the walls of one's home or any representative ornamentation.

The congregants are admonished by the Rabbi should they try to imagine God.

You would try to picture God, how God would look. You know what you are doing? You were making images, you were creating an image of yourself. See? God doesn't look like you. God doesn't look like any male or female. God is not the sun. He is not the moon nor the stars. He is a spirit. Now, this calls for a lot of thinking. Why are there more members to the Catholic Church than any other religion? Why? Because the Catholic Church has more images than any other. The people have something they can see. That's why. That's what captures the people. They believe because they can see. But really they don't believe, because they only believe in what they can see. Faith is expressed in what you cannot see. God is a spirit, the Greek word for spirit is psyche, which has to do with the mind. Now, what this means is that God exists in the psyche form only. I don't know whether I'm penetrating to you or not, this is very deep, and you want to hold onto your old beliefs, so you can't understand. If you want to find God, it takes a lot of work. It takes a lot of mental effort, a tremendous amount of thought, lots of courage. A lot of Christians, they just don't know any better. They believe this tripe. And they have taught this to you, and you build up this conviction that God is a mortal being, or has a body sitting in the sky. If you believe in God, there are no images, no figurines, no crucifixes or anything that you can say resembles God or is symbolic of God. Look, God is, and you say well how can you tell me God is? Then I say to you, now you watch this tree, and I say to you when the seasons come this tree looks dead. But when the season changes, the dead leaves fall off, and the tree begins to bud, and it blossoms, and the new leaves come out, and I ask what caused that and you'll tell me I don't know. And I'll tell you it was the mind of God. That's why Jesus couldn't be a God. Jesus said, "I'm not doing anything wrong by saying I'm the son of God. It is written in your laws that God said, ye are Gods, and I can show that to you. And they said he's blasphemous because he said he's the son of God. Every Israelite is the son of God. You'll find that in Exodus, the 4th chapter, beginning with the 23rd verse. "And thou shalt say unto Pharoah, thus saith the Lord, Israel, "which means the nation of people", he just finished talking about the people who are in bondage in Egypt, "Israel," the people of Israel, he said, IS MY SON" . Did you hear that? The people of Israel IS

MY SON, even my first born." And I say unto thee, let my son go, that he may serve me. And if thou refuse to let him go, behold I will slay thy son, even thy first born."

Abel R.

Since Yahveh created His universe, it follows that He is concerned about it. The pattern of natural law shows sustenance and renewal of a divine providence. With every disaster heaped upon an "erring flock" He provides mechanisms by which they can return to a natural goodness that may be theirs in the fulfillment of his commandments.

There's God all around us. On earth and the oceans, everywhere. In every tree, in every bush, you see a piece of God. God shows himself to us in this way. In everything that he's placed on earth there is a part of Him. Everything operates according to some kind of rule, and God made up these rules and when we learn these rules we learn what God is all about. God loves us and He tries to help us. Sometimes we don't know which way to go to have God help us in the best way. It's God who gives us our freedom and it's God who lets us choose between right and wrong. Sometimes we make a mistake and do something wrong, but in the end God shows us the right way and he saves us.

Thomas R.

Revelation

Man comes to know Yahveh through the Torah. If there is to be any representation of the mind of God, it must be in His word. Since the Old Testament notes that God spoke to man, before man spoke to God, then God can make himself known.

Revelation may occur directly as experienced by prophets in which the divine mind of God is directly transmitted to the human mind. Communication with God, then, is neither impossible nor necessarily unlikely.

But the aspect which allows man to share a seed of divinity lies within his psychological faculties. God may make himself known through the medium of thought, insight, and contemplation. Truth can be brought about by the efficacy of reason. Rationality is the direct consequence of

the connection of the mind of man with the mind of God.

Man first came to know Yahveh through direct communication. Biblical accounts mention conversations taking place in the Garden of Eden. But he also learns of Yahveh within his own heart. Since the need for God is present, His existence is demonstrated. Yahveh not only provides the need for him, but His presence extends satisfaction of that need. God, therefore, is known intuitively through an extralogical insight in which man not only knows about God, but "knows" God.

To sensitize oneself to hearing God and to understand His word, one must take on the piety of a devoted follower. In so doing Yahveh will make himself known directly or indirectly. The validity of a communication from God is expressed in the conviction that a communication has taken place and each man is his own evaluator of the contact.

Communication with God insures greater subsequent contact. Faith therefore is the way and also the test of the validity of the way. Without faith one can neither expect nor accept the voice of God and with such faith comes the substantiation required.

Faith

All people may not be privileged to enter into the communication with Yahveh since they have neither the inclination or the sensitivity to do so. This need not necessarily be considered a deficiency in an individual providing he fulfills Yahveh's commandments. This is not to say that faith need be meaningless nor nonfulfilling, but that inherent curiosity and adventure may be minimal in some individuals as compared to others. Proving the existence of Yahveh is a meaningless task. Since He is of a higher order than man, man therefore is without need nor instrument to prove His existence. One must accept Him as a matter of faith. The enormity of the universe and the complexity of its design which far ex-

ceeds the understanding of man is evidence of the enormity of God's existence and magnitude of His being. It is only through faith that one can find the evidence of his existence, and then there is no need. God's revelations provide the Torah and the Torah provides evidence of God. Since the Torah exists, God exists; by his works and through His Word.

Faith may require a struggle in convictions. One may wish to believe yet find it difficult to believe. Our perceptions of the present may be distorted by our memories of the past. Without faith, Yahveh and His commandments can have no meaning, and His revelations can give no reward.

When we accept Yahveh, He reaccepts us. He takes us back as a member of his community and gives us back our own history, a history of our ancestry, gives us back our own language, our religion, and our land which belongs to us. By knowing Yahveh, we know ourselves, who we are, what we are. When we worship false gods, gods of others, we can only stay slave and servant, despised and humiliated, deprived and defective. That's the basic difference between a nigger and me. The nigger, sometimes called the negro in more polite society, is one who has broken with his God and because of generations of misconduct and paganism condemned himself to savagry and slavery. His dignity can only come back when he goes back to the Torah.

Abel R.

Faith and rededication therefore become an extremely important stepping stone to the finding of God and of receiving his benefits.

Although Yahveh cannot be portrayed in the image of man, nevertheless he seems to contain characteristics similar to emotional man. Yahveh is a stern God, yet a loving God. He is one who may be pained, and one who can find glory and pleasure. As a stern God he can provide punishment to mankind, and to its ensuing seed. As a loving God he can bestow on man the rewards and privileges of earthly existence.

The Torah

The Torah is given to man and not made by him. It is subject to man's interpretation, but its validity cannot be argued. The truth of the Torah unlike truths which are products of history or human discovery, comes into the world from beyond history through an act of God and only incidentally through the people of Israel who served as the instrument of Yahveh's self disclosure.

The Torah was revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai and is both a gift and a compact. The gift derives from the choice, the promise, and the faithfulness of God. Its bilaterality pertains to its Law and its conditionality. Adat Beyt Moshe is pledged to remain faithful to Yahveh, to observe his commandments, while He engages to protect, guide and reward His people if they are faithful. Through the revelation on Sinai man receives his moral values, admonitions, proscriptions, and prescriptions.

The concept that modern science challenges the validity of Torah is merely an illusion. Science does not present itself as immutable; the essence of science is its modifiability. What appears to be a truth today may change tomorrow. Science is merely approximations of order and if inconsistencies appear between it and biblical doctrine, these may stem from one or two sources. Either the biblical doctrine has been, by human error, improperly interpreted, or the scientific "truth" is only a contemporary instrumentality. The Torah is identified with wisdom and it must be studied faithfully to glean from its words divine revelation, but study is exemplified not by mere theoretical knowledge but by exact performance of its precepts.

The validity of the revelation by Yahveh on Mt. Sinai is justified by a great deal of evidence. If the Torah were false, no one would bother

to follow it because to do so exacts extreme responsibility upon the practitioner and great demands on a particular follower. To follow it is difficult and exacting, demanding and sacrificial. No people would accept such a burden except in the face of the Torah's authenticity.

Many other religions base their concepts and admit the authenticity of the Old Testament, adding the weight of a general consensus of the Torah's validity. Further, no document made by man which is so critical of man himself would have been accepted as valid or authentic because of its unflattering connotations. In addition the Torah contains such an immensity of wisdom that it is unthinkable that mortal beings could have constructed and elucidated so many principles in one particular document.

The Torah is a document of God as revealed to man. It is His written code for man's conduct. Since the Torah is the source for all enlightenment, redemption and salvation, it is the duty of every Jew to give it a central place in his life and study it diligently.

When I made my choice of Judaism, and I made my choice to follow the Torah, the laws of Moses, I didn't make it in darkness and ignorance. I have read excerpts and synopsis of the Koran. I read short excerpts of Buddhism, and all these religions have something good to offer to mankind. To my mind, Judaism has the ultimate, it has everything that man needs. It is the supreme, the highest, it is truly par excellence. There is no religion to compare with it. All religions have something that is similar to certain parts of Judaism, but Judaism covers every aspect of life. It deals with a man's soul, his mind, but it does not restrict itself to the man's soul alone. It deals with the man's body. There are certain rules and regulations of a physical nature. How a man should conduct himself as to physical cleanliness, as to the type of food that he should eat, to enhance his being, his physical being, that he might obtain longevity of life, not eternal, but that he might live a long time on this earth. And it shows him the type of food he should abstain from eating, in order that he might insure himself a long life.

Abel R.

The observance of kashrath is important and meaningful to Adat Beyt Moshe. Non-kosher foods include seafood without fins and scales, shell fish, pork and animals which are not split hoofed. There is a general ban against the eating of carrion, flesh cut from a live creature, the drinking of blood, use of suet (the hard fat formed below the diaphragm), and a compulsion to separate meat and milk products. Observance of the kashrath is not only commanded by religious obligation, but its results have purported hygienic value by keeping one's blood "pure".

I guess one of the toughest things I tried to do was to give up pork. I've been eating and liking pork all my life. Pork, ham and bacon, I guess I've eaten more pork in my life than any other meat. It was a very difficult thing for me to say, well, no more pork for me. God is against pork, therefore I can't eat it. It would have been easier if somehow it hadn't been eaten by me before. But I've been eating it all of my life, my folks and other people I knew have been eating it, more so than chicken or fish, or anything else. I could give up shellfish pretty easy, but pork, that was a real problem. In fact, even today I get a yen for pork once in awhile, and even for ham. But I know this is something I've got to do, and lots of things I've got to do in life and I guess this is one of them. Anyway, it's worth it.

James M.

The Messiah

The Messiah is one whom God gives special spiritual responsibility. He is seen as someone descended from David, containing great wisdom and knowledge ennobling him to the people and leading them back to their promised land. Under his rule freedom, truth and justice will prevail and oppression will be cast away. It is through the Messiah that life on earth holds a great future. This view contrasts somewhat with the notion of individual responsibility leading to one's personal prosperity. The Messiah will not only be the agent of God, but he will rule all Israel as an ideal leader and an ideal man.

Jesus is obviously a false messiah. The situation of man and men grew no better as a result of his existence, even resulting in greater injustice, oppression, humiliation, and suffering.

It's nuts to think that Jesus was the Saviour of the world. He never saved me. All I know is that I had nothing 'til I came to this way of life. I tried believing in the Church, and the white man's religion, but it brought me nothing but misery. If Jesus was a God he would have changed all this. But Jesus wasn't a God, he was just a man, another Jew, maybe a bright Jew. A leader of Jews, but only a man, nothing more.

Joshua C.

Most peoples concept of God is a man and Jesus is that of a white man. You can tell because they have Gods made of wood, Gods made of stone, crucifixes, images of Mary made of plastic and whatnot. And these are painted on pictures and painted on paper. God isn't a man and if he isn't a man, he can't have a son. Now they call Jesus the son of man and the son of God. That's why a woman can give birth to God. People believe this, and they die with this. Solomon said the heaven of heavens can't contain God, and if the heavens can't contain God how could Mary contain God for nine months. God isn't in space, space is in God. God isn't a thing to put here or there, he's not material. He is totally spiritual, he has no physical or material parts whatsoever. God has no beginning, no end, no father, no mother, no son. He's a spirit, he's mine. And if he's mine, that is the piece of God that is in all of us. So Jesus was not a son of God, except to the extent that I am the son of God. Every Israelite is the son of God, as God is their father.

Abel R.

A messiah may be born of humble parents, of poor and obscure origins. Despite his extraordinary qualities he might not, at first, recognize his mission. Indeed, he may be part of the evil and sinfulness that envelopes all of mankind. A messiah might have revealed to him directly, in a flash, or slowly the knowledge of who he is and what he must do.

It will not be necessary for him to proclaim himself a Messiah since his deeds and qualities will so describe him. He will be a man of great understanding and wisdom, have a passion for knowledge and truth, high and lofty spiritual qualities, and strong and resilient moral fiber. He will rule wisely and effectively. He will be a doer, rather than a sayer. He will not promise freedom and bounty in a world to come or in a glorious future. The evidence of his leadership will be represented by a sign in the present. He will be a knowing man from the House of David, who will lead the world to the good life.

The Messiah can be only a mortal man, although endowed with very special psychological properties. He is a messenger of God, but he is only the instrument of God, not a saviour or redeemer. Since he is neither saviour nor God, he will not demand, expect, nor allow worship to him since this would directly violate the first commandment. Further, he would not assume the sins of mankind since this would contradict the concept of individual responsibility for one's acts.

Life and Purpose .

The notion that life is some testing situation for rewarding existence in the world beyond is rejected by the Adat Beyt Moshe. Life, as all things in the natural order, has purpose. It is the potentiality for fulfillment of the Covenant. Adat Beyt Moshe proclaims the Kingdom of God on earth by the service of its members in Yahveh's ways. As man accepts His will the struggle ceases between evil and good. Moral corruption and the worshiping of false gods bring about the fall of nations, states and individuals. Life on earth moves toward the Kingdom of God when one obeys the commandments and lives by the Torah. When this happens all manner of blessings are

bestowed on mankind. Oppression and war will disappear, fear and degradation vanish. Justice will prevail and man will be in harmony with all things in the natural order.

The Soul

The soul is the spiritual quality of man which differentiates him from dead matter. The soul has no material form and no measurable quality so it can be only analogically described. It is the distinguishing agent between the living and the dead.

The human soul sets man apart from other living creatures for it is also psyche. It is that facility which allows him to reason, to understand, to deliberate. It is the quality which lifts him above ordinary things and provides him with the means of knowing Yahveh and righteousness. It is the active spiritual and psychological agent in a human being. The soul comes from God but is not part of God. It differs from the body in that it does not suffer mortality. It is infused in a being as the essence of life itself. The soul as an emanation from God cannot be made impure. Its functional qualities can be limited or impaired, however, by abuse and violation of its corporeal housing. Since souls cannot be made impure, they require neither saving nor purification.

It is unclear what happens to the soul after death. It may either cease to exist as a functioning entity or it may be that some or all of its properties are reinvested in a new human being. The importance of a soul is its function on earth not its destiny in eternity. A soul can be assisted in its expression, but a soul can be itself neither saved nor destroyed.

Inherent Sin

Inherent sin stems from the infusion of Canaanite wickedness into Hebrew bloodlines violating a prohibition of Yahveh. God had forbidden intermarriage or even coexistence. Sin has therefore both a genotypic

and phenotypic quality. Struggle against such inherent sinfulness in the pursuit of the common and individual good may overcome the debilitating features of this impairment. Sin is the result of incorrect choices between good and evil as perverted by Canaanite wickedness, but it can be overcome by individual worthiness. Sin does not represent a falling from a level of grace, but an inability to rise to the level required by Yahveh. Man has not fallen from God, but he has not yet risen high enough to him. It is easier to do good when one knows that this is the path of one's God and that God is on his side.

The moral teaching of Yahveh comprises a precise conception of sin which necessarily holds an important place in it. The will of God and the obligation of man is embodied in the Torah and it is through the Law that one learns sin essentially defined.

Morality holds at its center the idea of responsibility and freedom that each individual is entrusted with the ability to choose and that by making no choice is making a choice. Under all circumstances, despite man's limitations, he can always choose the good through the Torah and his conscience will keep his freedom. The consequences of sin violates the Covenant, profanes God and delays the coming of the Kingdom. Moreover, until it is removed it stays as an accomplished act and the sinner provides grounds for punishment just as following the commandments supplies conditions for reward. The sense of sin and a desire to be free from it hold an important place in Adat Beyt Moshe.

The Afterlife ·

No earthly existence in heaven is envisioned except the peace of sleep, a sleep untroubled and unending until, or unless, Yahveh deems otherwise. The focus of Adat Beyt Moshe is on the present. Notions of reunion, reincarnation, and/or eternal life are considered metaphor-

ical or allegorical. Since Yahveh's promise was made to the living, his rewards will be made to the living. Resurrection appears to be an incongruous concept since resurrection implies a return of a corporal being the state of which would be questionable as to condition and value.

Both heaven and hell are conditions on earth and are the consequence of fulfilling or not fulfilling God's Law. Heaven is experienced in satisfaction and peace. Hell is the degradation and misery one suffers on earth. Heaven and hell are located in the here and the now, not an amorphous future.

Suffering .

Suffering is a direct consequence of sin. Pain is man's reaction and Yahveh's warning to violation of the natural order. The "Colored" have suffered more than any other people because they have grieved Yahveh more deeply than any other group, and justly suffer in greater payment and punishment for their sins. To follow Yahveh's Law leads to prosperity, violations to misery. Canaanite sinful influences and Mosaic repudiation destined Adat Beyt Moshe to suffering.

Pain can provide benefits to mankind. It can test the loyalty, devotion and faith of man in God and His commandments. To understand the depth of his belief and the quality of his faith man may be called upon to endure sacrifice and suffering.

It is the price we must pay in showing the Lord what we will give up, what pleasures we will pass by in His Holy Name. It is through suffering that man can learn about himself and how good he can be.

Regina W.

Pain can act as the motivation to assure increasing development and progress on earth. It can supply the energy needed to change conduct and their world.

Yahveh does not give pain for its own sake. In the natural order all things have meaning. Therefore, pain must have its meaning. It is a sign that something is wrong or must be changed. Since the colored people of the world have suffered the most it follows that they must be the greatest violators of the natural order. As Yahveh's chosen people, in full knowledge of His love, they disregarded His law and acted without responsibility or loyalty. Only the consequences of grievous punishment were divinely just for the favored of God.

Pain cannot always be understood in terms of its direct connection with sin. As with all other natural phenomena it must be investigated and thoroughly searched for its cause and its cure. Such searchings must inevitably stem from the Torah itself, which is the sole embodiment of the wisdom of the Lord and the rules by which one must live. As Yahveh is patient one must be patient with himself although suffering through sin and violation. It is not always possible to understand the reason for suffering until such knowledge is either revealed by divine and human means. Pain must be endured as part of faith and with the understanding that it is specifically related to some issue of one's own responsibility. Since Yahveh only knows all and man only knows little, it is not always possible for him to understand the meaning of his pain or receive an answer from God in the pursuit of its understanding. Some pain will defy understanding or justification and must be accepted with a stoic faith in God's pattern and will.

The view that the wicked prosper is an incorrect one. Things don't have satisfaction or happiness in themselves. The social and psychological problems of the wealthy people show us that they're unhappy despite their money and position. This is not to say that we don't want prosperity for its own sake. That would be ridiculous and stupid.

William B.

It really depends on what you feel. One man can have millions yet feel poor. Another might have only a little and consider it enough. Things don't mean a thing if you can't feel good. The best pleasure you can get is when you're able to give something to somebody else. That shows it's not things, it's feelings.

Thomas R.

Suffering is always personal. No man can see what suffering another man has. This statement that the wicked find pleasure and the good suffer is balony. No one knows what hidden pains another person has.

James W.

The pleasures of material things come and go. They don't mean anything that is really important. Things wear out, we lose interest in them. What we think we want, we don't want when we get them.

Abel R. (Jr.)

Evil .

The wicked are not seduced by the devil. In fact, the devil has no personification at all. As there have been implanted in each man's soul the symbolic seed of the Divine Spirit, the essence of Yahveh, so too, as part of his humanness, there is the potentiality for evil. If one's moral freedom enables choice between right and wrong, then evil must be represented. Each individual is responsible for making his own choices. The strength or attenuation of one's inherent sinfulness allows for good or bad choices. No satanic figure vies for the man's soul. Man is his own custodian. No Satan vies with God in man's struggle with himself.

Evil stems from a lack of faith in God, from the sins of one's parents and the influence of wicked people and from rejection of Torah. The presence of evil, like pain, may motivate and create strivings toward fulfillment of true potentials and improvement of moral fiber. Evil can be understood as a part of the Divine Plan which not only tests man in the ways of righteousness but goads him in appropriate directions.

The 613 commandments in the Torah prescribe recommendations to the good life. They are explicit, direct, and complete. They show how

one may repudiate even inherent sinfulness so that the ability to choose is no longer perverted.

Christianity .

Adat Beyt Moshe maintains that while Judaism may not be the religion for all people, it is the only way for them. Other imposed religions have proven themselves to be false and empty.

We have tried it both ways. It has been along the paths of our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac and Moses, and also according to the Christian doctrines. During Judaic and biblical times our paths were filled with glory and dignity. But during our Christian experience we have suffered degradation and misery. Thus in God's test we have been shown the folly of travelling false roads to a false god. Judaism is the only true way for us. Other religions are O.K. for other people to the extent that they fulfill or follow, or approximate, Judaism. And differences are alright as long as they do not interfere with us finding our way.

Thomas R.

Christianity is a false doctrine. It stems from impossible origins to ungodly developments. Those ideals which are best in Christianity are those which are based on the Old Testament. The New Testament is filled with folklore, lies, myths and absurdities.

Jesus was a Jew who may have had some prophetic qualities. He represents a group which is in the North, or he is born of a group which is in the north of Israel, so I doubt whether he is of swarthy or colored complexion. His forebearers may have been European migrants who travelled south. Jesus never directly stated that he is a representative of God, nor the specific son of God, any more than any other Jew sees Yahveh as his father. The idea that he is of divine origin is false and illogical. Jesus may have been a pious Jew, who was concerned over the sins of his day, who prayed regularly and wanted other people to mend their ways. His mother, Mary, could not have been a virgin since this is contrary to natural law. By definition she could not have contained God within herself since God is of infinite energy and can be contained by nothing. The divinity of Jesus was a promotion made by others in a campaign to elevate him

to high stature. I can respect Jesus as a man, but I won't worship him. He was religious and knew the Torah. But his religion of that day was no different than the practices of Judaism of today. Had his followers practiced his religion as he did Christianity wouldn't be around today.

Abel R.

Christianity grows by its association with European pagans who, with one root in the Old Testament develop a mythology encompassing a human being and endowing him with divine qualities.

Judaism is rooted in Asiatic-African traditions, but Christianity flowers in the soil of Europe: Greece and Rome. Therefore, to Adat Beyt Moshe, Christianity represents the religion of European whites and Judaism, the tradition of the Colored.

There doesn't need to be any antagonism between the teachings and practices of Jews and gentiles. But no colored Jew can sit by while his brother is still slave and servant under the yolk of white European oppression. Respect for our integrity insures our integrity. Colored peoples find themselves in positions of subordination. No hostility need exist between Christians and Jews, between white and colored, because in the Golden Rule we must treat others well, with respect. Many coloreds prefer to remain Christian, but they have been unable to sift from themselves their Canaanite blood. You can see this by their false affiliation, their immoral conduct. They have chosen to follow the ways of the white man in his Christian world, and in his Christian domination their actions justify their oppression.

Colored Jews have the individual responsibility to come forward and express themselves to follow the ways of their forefathers and the Torah, but many need encouragement and support to do so. To follow the Torah is a difficult thing. The many years of Christian domination have not given the colored people of the world a chance to learn Torah and to deal with it. It is therefore necessary to reclaim as many of our people as can be brought back to the ways of their forefathers, despite the fact that the great burden of Canaanite sin will inhibit and impede such efforts. That is why I've come to the conclusion that not all dark skinned people are Jews. Only those able to come forward are accepted as our brothers in the road back.

Until a man knows who he is, he cannot know what to do. If a man won't look into himself and that of his origin, then he has to accept the opinions of others or

be left with nothing, which is precisely the plight of many colored people in the United States.

Abel R.

Belief in Yahveh is absolutely essential to living a productive and effective life. Through His principles and guidance one learns the requirements for the good life. While some humans may be living ethical lives without the Torah, they are considered empty of real meaning and significance.

The Christian order never did answer the needs of the peoples in the world, and gave them bloodshed, hatred, violence and greed.

Oliver B.'

While other religious viewpoints claim to provide ethical standards only through Judaism does one find valid means. Belief in Yahveh therefore is fundamental in providing an individual with consistent ethics and deeply rooted standards. But faith alone, while fundamental and necessary, is not sufficient without action. Unless the Law of Yahveh is maintained and supported no earthly good can come of faith alone. When Yahveh's word is heeded to the exclusion of alien creeds Adat Beyt Moshe will find its fulfillment and achieve its destiny. If one is unsure of Yahveh then one must be unsure of the world and no longer have faith in himself.

Knowing who God is means knowing who we are, and knowing what God can do means knowing what we can do. Many times the rules of man coincide with the commandments of God, and they remain because they are God given and not man given. Other religions make a mockery of goodness and badness, for while they preach the regulations of the Old Testament they still enslave and persecute other men.

Abel R.

Prayer .

Prayer is an obligation for Adat Beyt Moshe both in formal and informal settings. Formal prayers are submitted through congregation-

al services, but informal prayer may be undertaken at the dictate of one's conscience and one's need. Prayer is man's way of making contact with Yahveh. It represents a type of unilateral conversation and reaffirmation through the medium of words that one is willing to do His Holy Service in the strictest sense. Through prayer one gives thanks or makes pleas and shares an earthly existence with a Divine Father. Through prayer one rededicates himself to the principles which must be followed that earthly existence can be made meaningful and bountiful.

Prayers haven't worked in the past, in the European condition, because colored rejected Torah. They were ripped from their lands and indoctrinated with prayers to false gods. God is spirit and psyche and that's the only way answers to prayers have to come, through the psyche. That's how the divine contact is made. Without mind there can't be a communication with God.

Thomas R.

Some prayers seem not to be answered since they either violate the tenets of Judaic principle or their rewards must be comprehended through another perspective. God does not operate directly with the will of man. It is only through enlightenment that one can discover what the real rewards of God are.

Faith is an essential ingredient in the efficacy of prayer. But matters of faith are matters of degree. To the extent that one lacks total faith one cannot receive total enlightenment. It is not, however, hypocritical to pray, when one doubts, since inherent sin plagues us all. The beginning of faith is beginning toward prayer and the first step toward God. Since no individual has perfect faith, prayer by its very nature, must be somewhat denatured and adulturated.

While congregants are encouraged to pray privately, this does not take the place of public worship. An individual can be only partly a good person, if he neglects public worship since it excludes formal association in the extolation of Yahveh in the company of his people. Public prayer links the individual to the concerns and aspirations of the group and detaches him from excessive self-centeredness.

Religious Ritual

Many of the religious rituals of Adat Beyt Moshe appear to mirror traditional white Jewish practices. Circumcision is a mitzvah of a high order. It is through this act that the newborn male child, on the eighth day after his birth, is incorporated into the stock of Abraham, the community of Israel, and participates in the Covenant of Yahveh. Theoretically it is also by circumcision that the adult proselyte enters the community, but in this case circumcision is supplemented (and replaced in the case of a woman) by a ritual bath. But not a single member of Adat Beyt Moshe seems to have undergone any formal ceremony embodying these obligations. All adults claim formal membership by virtue of regular attendance at services, financial support of the congregation and observance of Torah proscriptions.

All newly born males whose parent, or parents, are of this congregation have been given to circumcision, or bris, which is the Hebrew word for Covenant. A bris is performed in a hospital usually by the obstetrician or a general practitioner. It may not be marked with religious ceremonies within the institution. Some of the adult male members of the group are uncircumcised and do not intend to undergo the rite. They admit however that this would be better for them. They appear to be hesitant in the face of surgical procedure and lack sufficient motivation. They believe however that there are advantages from the procedure despite their

personal inhibitions.

Every Jew has to be circumcised so that you can see a man if he's a Jew, even when he's naked. It's an old pledge between Abraham and Yahveh, a sign in the flesh, even modern science has pointed out the advantages of circumcision, after 2,000 years Christians too are being circumcised.

William L.

Judaic membership is completed by a rite of initiation consisting essentially in a first and solemn participation and worship by the public reading of the Torah in the synagogue. At the age of 13 this inaugurates the religious coming of age of the young "white" Jew and makes him an active member of the community, subject to all the commandments of the Torah; a Bar Mitzvah, a "son of the Commandment". This name is given also to the initiation ceremony itself. Both Bar Mitzvah and Bat Mitzvah (Daughter of the Commandment) are recognized by the congregation. There are, however, no such formal ceremonies in this community. A thirteenth birthday merely represents a point in time in which a father formally gives up the burden of his sons' or daughters' religious duties and the adolescents takes it on themselves. Since girls are not excluded in the religious ceremony, nor segregated in any way they, like young men may be called to the Torah to read. A person may read from the Torah when he is able to do so despite his age. This is in marked contrast to traditional white Jewish practices which permit only those older than 13 to participate.

We have a very small population, we can't always observe all of the requirements, we must be flexible and do what we think is right. We encourage the young people to participate in the religious ceremony as soon as they are able. It has to become part of their life, just like walking is part of their life. They have to learn to observe the ceremony. So we do things that other people criticize us for, but we do the things we think are right.

Odessa L.

In connection with the sanctification of the house it may be noted that

Adat Beyt Moshe practices fixing to the doorposts a little tubular case (mezzuzah), containing a parchment with the text of the Shema ("Hear Oh Israel") the proclamation of the unity of God. Its presence in the doorway of the home tells that the dwellers are of the Jewish faith and that the house is dedicated to God's service.

The use of phylacteries while praying is neither encouraged, advised or forbidden. Tefillin are pairs of black boxes which tie with leather thongs on the forehead and left biceps and enclose small parchment scrolls containing the Shema and other biblical verses. These are accessories that are traditionally used by Orthodox white Jews in regular morning prayers. Anyone who wishes to use them at Adat Beyt Moshe can do so. However, the Rabbi is the only member who is familiar with their use and states his feelings thus:

They tell me I should wear tefillin because that is the mark of the Jew. Well, if that is the mark of the Jew, then I must wear them all the time. I must wear them when I go outside, not only when I'm at prayer, because the mark of the Jew must be with me all the time. I don't need the mark on the outside to show me that I'm a Jew. I know I'm a Jew. Being a Jew is on the inside. It's in what you do and what you feel. You don't have to have any special kind of costume to let people know who you are. If you know who you are, then everybody else will too.

Abel R.

A significant innovation is the community's requirement that street shoes be exchanged for house slippers on entering any home. On the inside of every doorway is a shoe rack containing sufficient slippers for each member of the household, and several additional pairs for any guests or visitors who may enter. All who visit must change their street shoes for house slippers prior to coming into the rest of the house. This particular demand has practical consequences as well as religious significance. Since street shoes are exchanged, the inner sections of each household appears remarkably free from street soil and the floors are especially

clean. Each house is relatively dust free, and remarkably "new looking"! However, this practice, despite its practical consequences, is required as part of "Jewish" life. This custom was introduced by the Rabbi who claims its derivation through his father's experience with Japanese missionaries.

This is an oriental practice which has been done for thousands of years. You know the Japanese and the Chinese do this. These people came from the Middle East from where we came, and they took this practice with them. It is part of our heritage as being an Asiatic people, and while it is not specifically demanded in the Torah we understand that it is a practice which is both necessary and useful.

Abel R.

At weekend services both men and women are "well dressed". Men wear white dress shirts, ties, jackets. The children appear to be "dressed" in "Sunday Church attire". The women wear "dressy" dresses. Their heads are semi-covered with hats or shawls. The men wear a wide black skull cap (yamalka) which covers most of the hair. This is traditional head covering among European Jews, which significantly is not used by white Jews in Oriental and Arabic countries where they wear turbans. In addition to head coverings, males wear a four cornered fringed shawl, called a tallis. These are worn during morning prayers generally, but may be worn during any prayers. Tallis and yamalka supplies are purchased at religious stores in Philadelphia. Each male member of the congregation owns his own personal equipment, but all members have additional tallis and yalmalka supplies for the benefit of visitors, guests who may not have such accessories with them and wish to participate in services. There seems no compunction to lending this material to any individual who needs them.

Prayers and Worship .

The structure of Adat Beyt Moshe Services is composed of reading,

prayers and preaching. Services take place generally in a converted former dual garage of the Rabbi's home. This room is capable of seating the entire population and its usual visitors. The forward part of the worship room contains a podium, a lecturn and a "Holy Ark" containing the scrolls of the Torah. Services are presided over by the Rabbi who also teaches and preaches. The presence of a quorum (minyan) of ten individuals is required to perform any act of public worship. Such a quorum may consist of males and female. This practice differs considerably from white Jews who demand that only post-bar-mitzvah males constitute a legitimate minyan.

The reading of the Torah, the whole Pentateuch, is divided into Sidrot, six lessons for all the Sabbaths of the year, the festivals having their own proper lessons. To the Sidrot of the Torah is added, for every Sabbath or festival, a selected haftorah, a lesson taken from the other books of the Bible, usually from the Prophets. These lessons, especially those of the Torah, are framed in a collection of prayers and blessings, and are mostly designed to magnify the Torah and thank the Lord for the gift of the Torah. The same is true of the prayers and blessings enshrining the solemn liturgical recitation of the Shema, and are traditional ceremonies taken from classical American Jewish Texts.*

Complete services are held on Friday nights and Saturdays. The Friday service begins about 7:30 p.m. and the Saturday service at 10:00 a.m. Each member enters the congregational area in the Rabbi's converted garage and wears yamalkas (skull caps) and talesim (prayer shawls). The Rabbi announces which page of the prayer book the service will begin and reads in the Hebrew up to the time when the scroll is to be removed

*Services are conducted mainly in Hebrew with occasional interruptions in English to instruct the members of page numbers and occasional translations of particular blessings.

from the Ark. The Rabbi removes the scroll from the Ark, takes the covering off, blesses the Torah and the ceremony begins. Both men and women who are willing and qualified, file up one at a time to the alter to recite the blessing of the Torah and read in the Hebrew from the scripture. The Torah reading is interspersed with the singing of hymns in Hebrew and punctuated by short chants from the congregation. At the end of the service the mourner's prayer (kaddish) is recited by the entire congregation. The Saturday afternoon service varies in content and style, dependent upon the wish of the Rabbi to provide a sermon. The ceremony ends approximately 5 o'clock, when the congregants go back to their own home and their evening meal. It appeared to the observer that the services seemed to agree in most particulars to traditional white Jewish practices with the exception of its enormous length without a regular break for lunch or other needs and the fact that so few of the congregation left before 5:00 p.m.

The holy days and festivals, which are celebrated in the community can be divided into three groups. 1. The three ancient festivals of pilgrimage to the Temple of Jerusalem: Passover (Pesach), Pentecost (Shavuoth), and Tabernacles (Succoth), the last being followed by the Festival of the Closing (Shemini Atzeret), and the Festival of the Law (Simchat Torah). 2. The "awe inspiring days" (Yamim Moraim, or Austere Festivals: The New Year (Rosh Hashana) and the Day of Atone-ment (Yom Kippur) also called the day of the Great Pardon, and 3. Two festivals of joyful popular commemoration, Channakah or the Dedication, also called the Feast of Lights, and Purim, the Day of the Lots.

Religious Music .

The Rabbi of Adat Beyt Moshe is also its Cantor and acquired its

religious music from a number of sources in a non-systematic fashion. Much of the text derives from standard Jewish songbooks, but the music is adapted from visited services and some is completely original.

The Sabbath (shabbos) religious music around the reading of the Torah is quite traditional and can be heard at most white Orthodox or Conservative synagogues.

There are several compositions which are concoctions based on Chasidic type music. Chasidic music was composed in the 19th century in Eastern Europe and have a peculiarly Slavic bent to them by their use of the minor key and the augmented second interval.

In one particular case there is little question that some of the sabbath music is Negro spiritual derived. The Negro church in the United States often adapted certain spirituals for church use and many different liturgical texts were used for the same tune.

Another interesting rendition contains a peculiar chanting which is seldom heard in an Orthodox synagogue and is reminiscent in structure to the solemn intonations which exist in the High Episcopal or the Catholic Church. This is similar to what occurs in the Catholic Church when psalm chanting takes place. This is singing on a single tone except for the first and the last note of each phrase. Ordinarily there is a rise in tone from the first to the second note and a descent on the last.

Musical Sources for Sabbath Services

Ma Tovv (How goodly are they tents, O Jacob)

This appears to be a concoction of chasidic tunes, or chasidic type tunes. It is not in standard use, and was picked up from a cantor who probably composed it himself.

The Adon Olom, and the Yigdal Elchim Chai are spoken.

Kaddish (Yisgadal)

The section "Y'hai Shma Raba M'vorach L'olam ulolmey olmayoh" which is usually sung with melody by the choir or congregation is sung by Adat Beyt Moshe on a single tone, except for the cadence (end of the phrase). The effect is similar to the chanting of the psalm in the Catholic or Episcopal service where this chanting note is called the psalm tone. This, and the Amen which concludes this phrase, are not found in customary synagogue use.

Shema Yisroel (Hear, O Israel)

This, the most important single prayer in the service, is sung to music which must be described as newly composed in Negro Church style. This style and that of much sub-Saharan African music is characterized by its common use of the pentatonic scale. It is sung three times, which is not customary, and the following customary phrase "Baruch Shaym K'vod" does not appear.,

Mi Chomocha

This is also unfamiliar music, but it is in the mode connected with music of the High Holy Days, and as such, it is in traditional synagogue style.

Yahveh Yimloch

This follows the trend of the Mi Chomocha (above)

Kodosh

Boruch Kvod

Yimloch

All of this music, which occurs in the portion of the service connected with the reading of the Torah (Scrolls), is taken from the music of Salomon Sulzer, a cantor of Vienna in the latter part of the 19th century. This music is frequently used today in synagogues of all denominations

(reform, conservative, and orthodox). These particular tunes may be found in the Union Hymnal pp.465-466).

Yismach Moshe - V'shomru

This starts off with a Chasidic tune customarily used with the song Am Yisroel Chai (which may be found in Idelsohn, p.423).

Av Harachamim

This is again a chasidic concoction, with the solo part from a chasidic melody usually associated with the Hamavdil. However, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish this type of melody from what Idelsohn refers to as Ashkenazim folk-song.

The Vay'hee Binson Ha'aaron is spoken

Kee Mitzion

Here, they return to music of Salomon Sulzer. This may be found in the Jewish Songbook and is part of the traditional Torah service.

There is some responsive reading here which is chanted on a single tone as described in the Kaddish.

Torah blessing

This is a standard tune used in orthodox and conservative congregations particularly.

Aytz Chaim

This is a traditional synagogue tune which may be found in the Jewish Songbook, p.126.

Eyn Kelohenu

This text is always sung near to the conclusion of the Sabbath service. This music, however, is newly composed in what may most conveniently be called Negro church responsive style, in which the leader and response rhythm, syllabilization and accentuation are the same although the words may be different. However, the reiteration of several phrases and the small

range of these phrases, make this very close in style to Negro work songs, and perhaps to some forms of African chant. A curious fact is that the verses are not in customary order, with the song beginning and ending on "Yahveh Eloheynu" - or Jehovah is our God, rather than "Eyn Kayloheynu" - or, There is none like our God.

Mi Hoo Ha-Elohim

This text seems to be a variation of "Adonai Hoo Ha-Elohim" which occurs at the very end of the Yom Kippus Service (the end of the High Holy Days), and which is customarily repeated seven times. Instead of saying simply, Jehovah is Our Lord, this Rabbi first chants "Who is our Lord", and the congregation responds "Yahveh is Our Lord". The melody is in some kind of Jewish style recalling melodies connected with the text Mi Yivneh Hagalil.

Hallelujah, Elu Hotzionu Mi-Mitzraim

This text seems to combine Hallelujah (which occur in the customary service) with the text usually associated with the Passover holiday. The melody is either a Negro Spiritual, or closely adapted from a Negro spiritual similar to "Walking with Jesus to Jerusalem". This entire melody is repeated three times.

As for the harmony or the manner in which the high and low voices are combined in this congregation, generally speaking (aside from the strictly unison chanting) the harmony is quite primitive, with the melody sung in soprano and bass, with some women's voices singing in parallel thirds with the melody. There is not enough musical sophistication to vary these thirds from major to minor. They are always major, and as such, they frequently clash with the prevailing mode. In the Eyn Kelohenu, as well as in the solo section of Av Herachamim, the congregation sometimes does form a full triad to add sonority to the music. However, real four part harmony - as found in Protestant church hymns, is not to be

TRANSCRIPTION FROM TAPE OF NEGRO-JEWISH SERVICE - A. PARRIS.
 ① MA TOVU - SOURCE CLASSIC COLLECTION

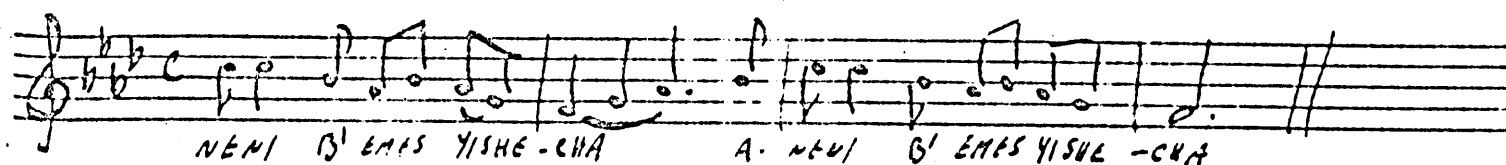
MA TO-VU O-HA LEI EKA YA- KOU MISHKI NO-SECHA YISRO-EL

KUM MISH KA NO SE-CHA VA A-VI ESH-TACHAVIM

E-LO-HIM KODSHECHA A-

2.

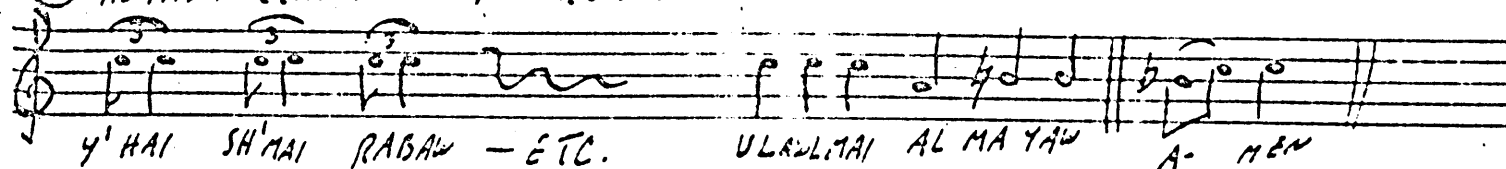
MA TOUV (CONT.)



NENI B' EMES YISHE-CHA

A. NENI B' EMES YISHE-CHA

(2) YISGADAL (KADDISH) - 1ST RESPONSE



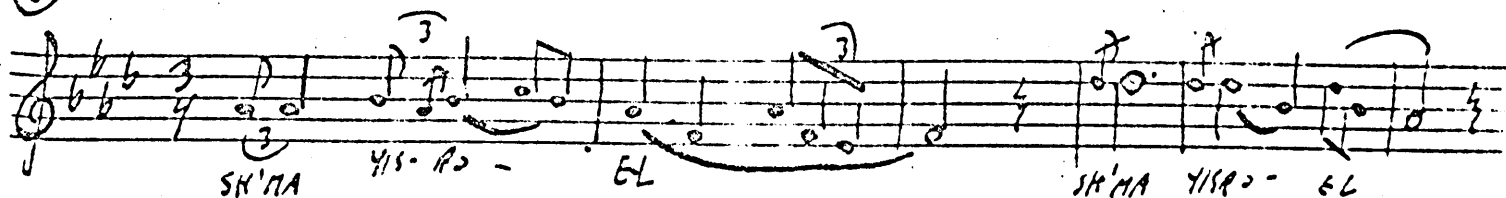
Y'HAI SH'MAI RABAN - ETC.

ULALITAI AL MAYAN

A. MEN

RABBI CHANTS KADDISH ON Bb-C - SOMETIMES ON D-C

(3) SH'MA YISRO-EL

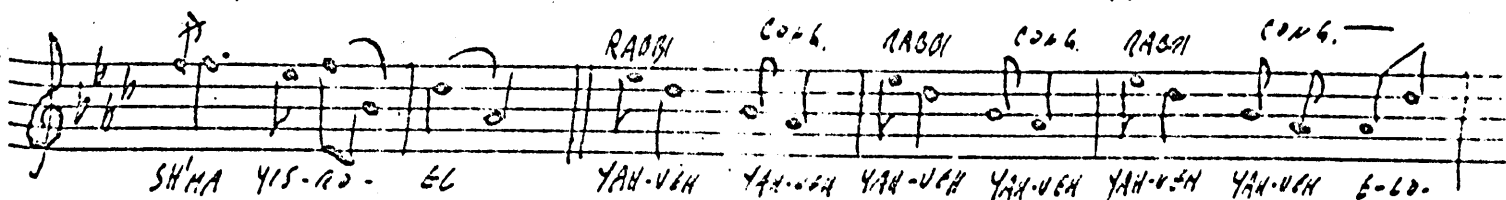


SH'MA

YIS-RO-

EL

SH'MA YISRO-EL



SH'MA YIS-RO-EL

RABBI

CONG.

RABBI

CONG.

RABBI

CONG.

YAH-VEH

YAH-VEH

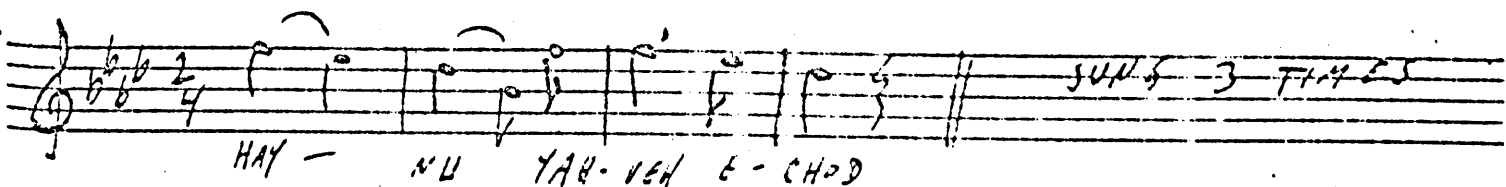
YAH-VEH

YAH-VEH

YAH-VEH

YAH-VEH

E-LO.



HAY -

NU

YAH-VEH

E-CHOD

SUNG 3 TIMES

3.

(4) MEE CHOMOCHO

Handwritten musical score for 'MEE CHOMOCHO'. The score is written on three staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody is written in treble clef. The lyrics are written below the notes.

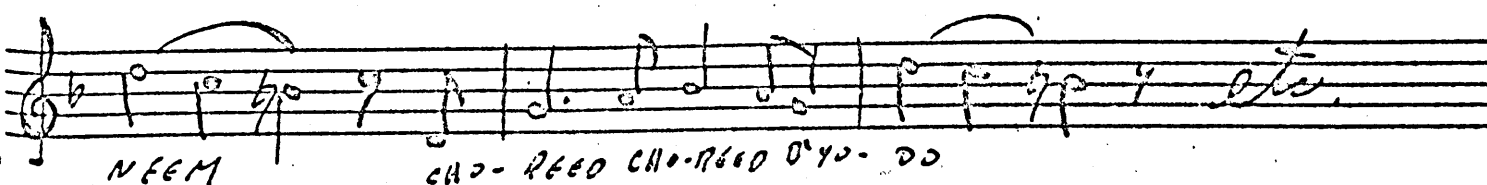
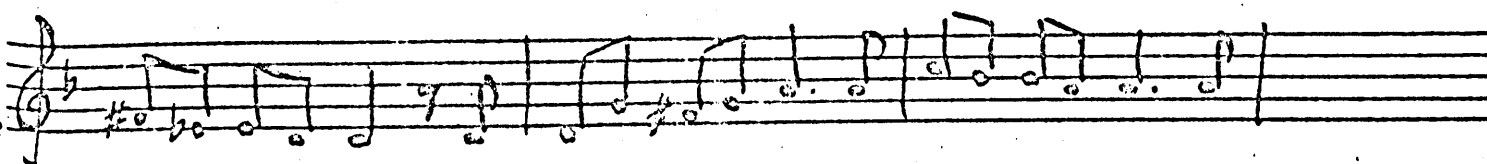
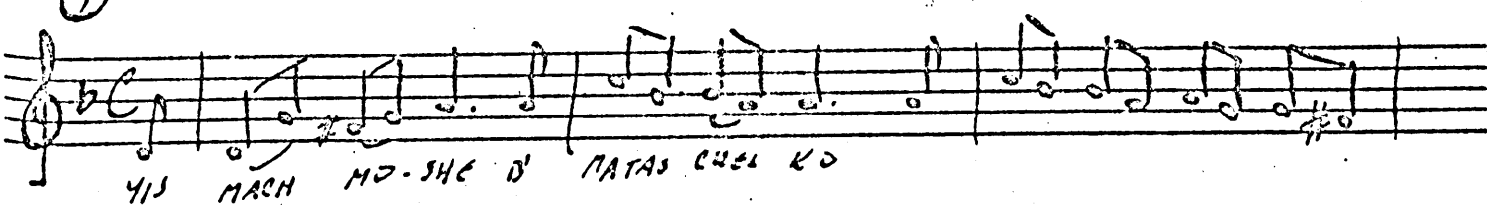
MO-CHO DO AY LIM YAH-VEH MI CHO-MO-CHA NE
 DOR BA KO-DOSH NO RO S' HI-LOS O. SAY
 FE. LAY

(5) YAHUEH YIMLOCH

Handwritten musical score for 'YAHUEH YIMLOCH'. The score is written on one staff in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody is written in treble clef. The lyrics are written below the notes.

YAH-VEH YIM-LOCH L'O LOM VO-ED A-MEN

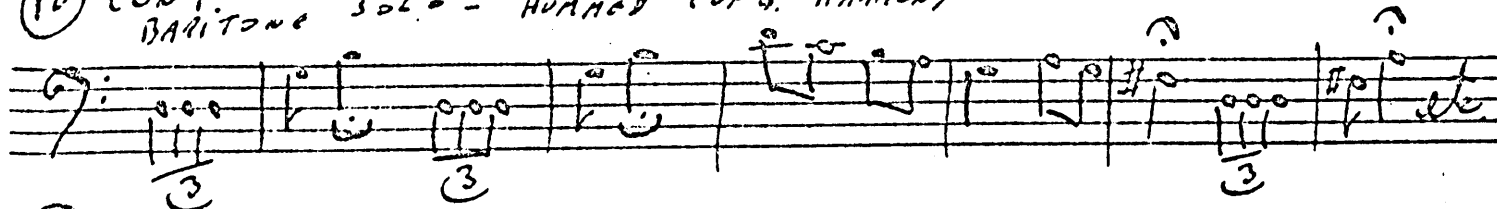
⑨ YISRAEL MOSHE - V'SHO⁴RAI



5.

(HAMADIL MELODY - FOLK)

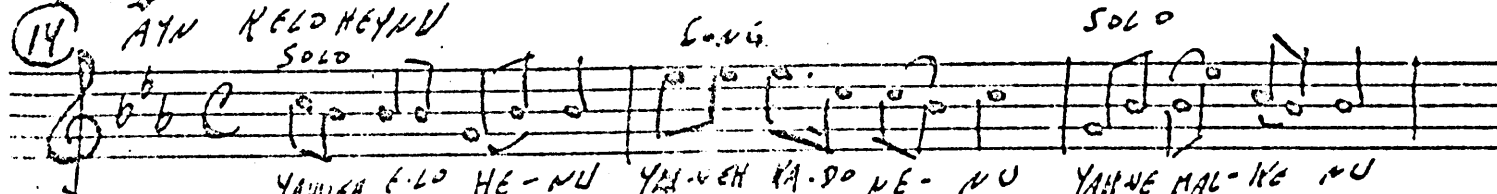
(10) CONT. BARITONE SOLO - HUMMED CONG. HARMONY



(11) TORAH BLESSING



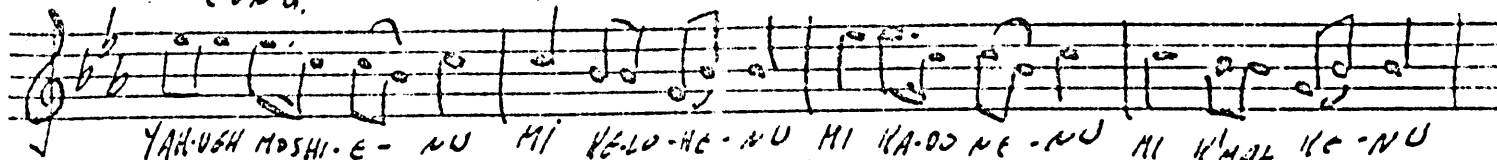
(14) AYN KELD HEYNU



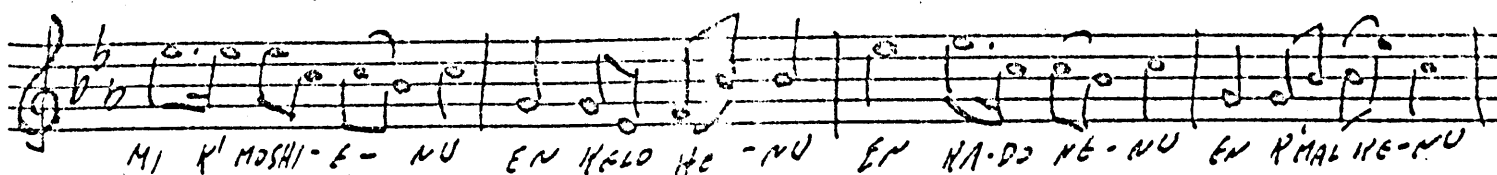
YAHUEH E-LO HE-NU YAHUEH KA-DO NE-NU YAHUEH MAL-KE NU

CONG.

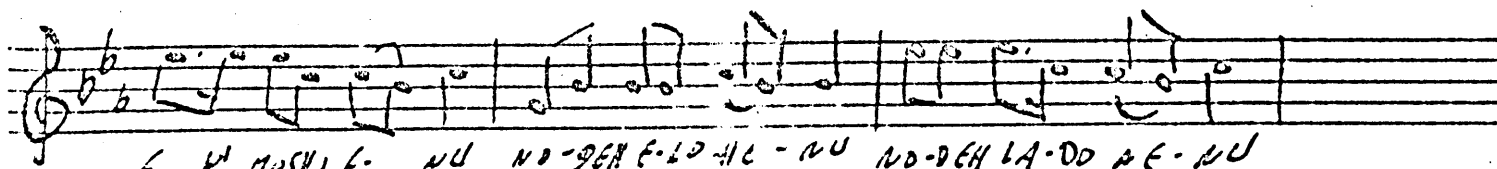
SAME



YAHUEH MOSHI-E-NU MI KELD HE-NU MI KA-DO NE-NU MI KHAL KE-NU



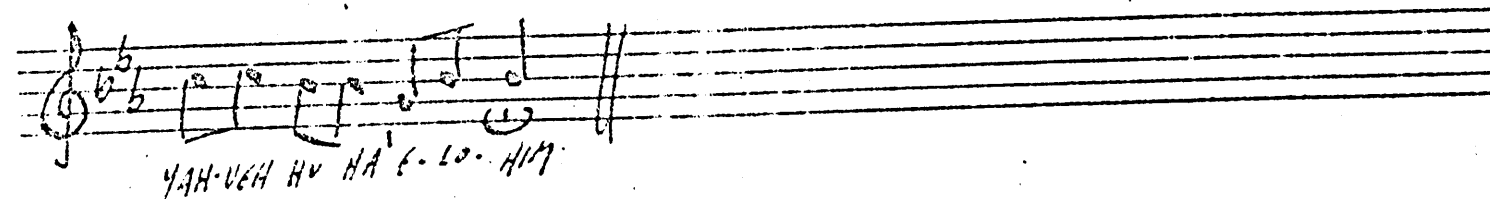
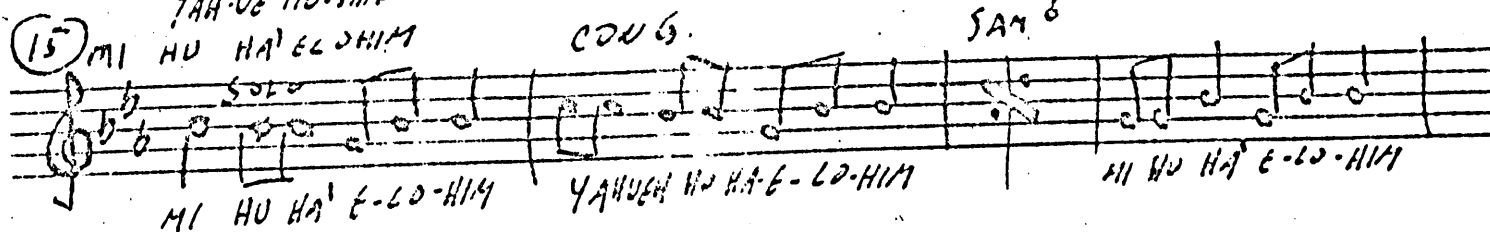
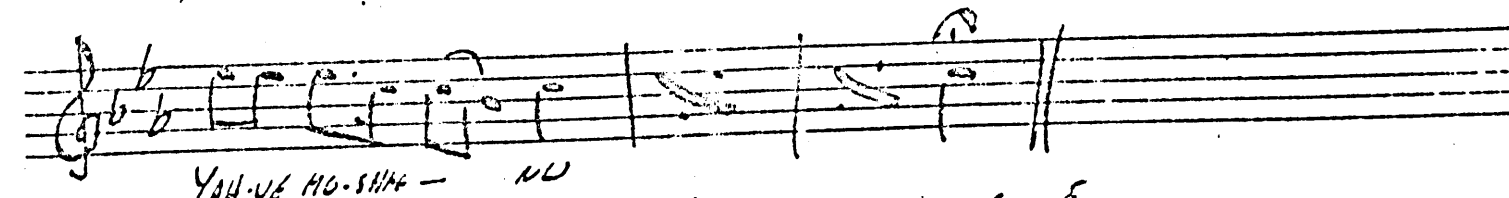
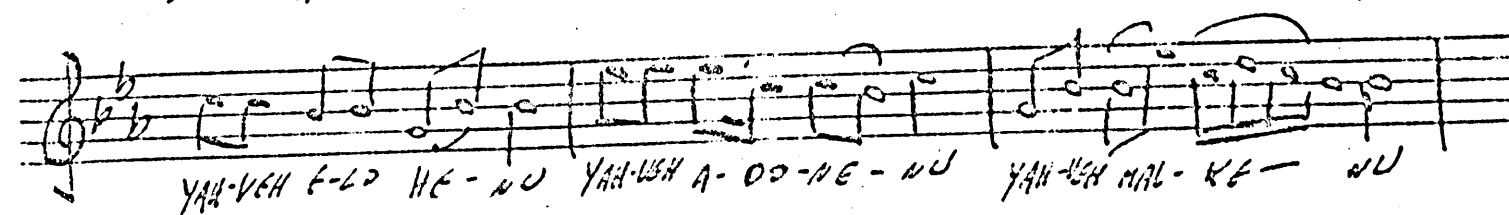
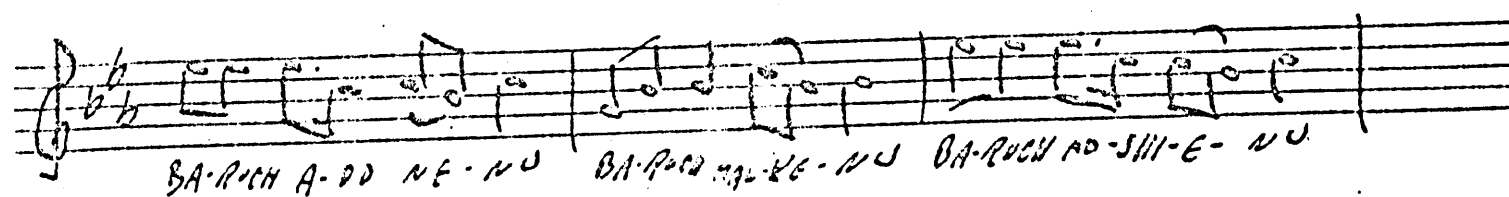
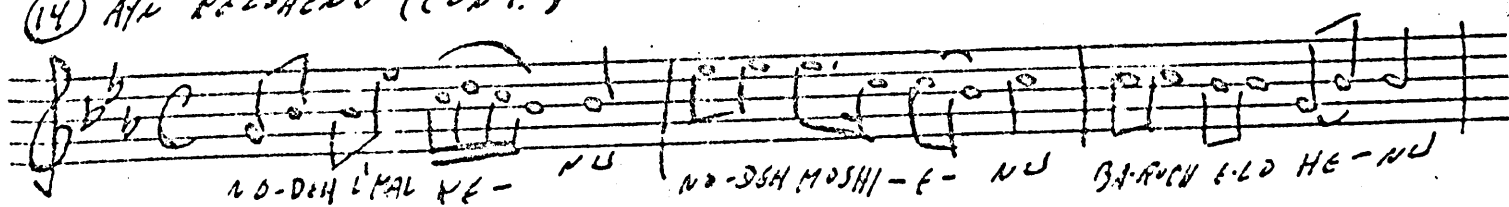
MI K' MOSHI-E-NU EN KELD HE-NU EN KA-DO NE-NU EN KHAL KE-NU



EN K' MOSHI-E-NU NO-DEH E-LO HE-NU NO-DEH LA-DO NE-NU

(14) AIN KALOHENU (CONT.)

6.



(16) HALLELUJAH

7.

HAL-LE LU JAH HALLE - LU - JAH HALLE LU JAH

YAH-VEH HU-EL HU-NA-YE - NU E-LU HOTZI-O-NU MI-MITZRA-IM

CON G. YAH-VEH ETC. NO-TAN LO-NU ET NA TO-RAH

D.C. Entire Hallelujah repeated 3 times
Last measure repeated 3 times at every end.

END

found nor is any type of counterpoint.

Adat Beyt Moshe's particular choices of ritual music are examples of the high degree of selectivity in innovation and syncretization. In the main most of the music is traditional Jewish, but the services' associations with previously learned Christian modes and rhythms are inescapable and point to this group's needs to conserve at least some semblance of their past as they consciously repudiate it.

Ideological and Ritualistic Differences from American Judaic Practices

While Adat Beyt Moshe claims complete acceptance of Judaic principles and practices it is plain that they have been both selective and innovative in this regard. Yet their ideological and ritual differences from their former religious patterns are significantly dramatic.

Those issues which show modification or difference from traditional American white Jewish modes are as follows:

The term Yahveh, the name of God, is and may be used in prayer and conversation in Adat Beyt Moshe without concern. Traditionally, among white Jews, the name of God is substituted by Adonoi (Lord), Elohim (God), Melech (King). Since the proper name revealed to Moses is part of the mystery of the Being who is named, it may not be expressed under dire sanction.

The racial ancestry of the Jews is stated as non-caucasoid: "colored" people. The infusion of white genetic strains are admitted but are discounted in their influence. Contemporary white Jews are believed to be the result of conversions after the North African invasions and occupation of southern Europe during the Middle Ages. This separation from white Jewry justifies the rejection of Yiddish as a significant, useful or valid "Jewish" language since it represents the white European converted Jews and derives from a European tongue.

Consistent with a rejection of European Jewry is the elimination of the Talmud as a text of religious value or validity. The Talmud, they claim, is a text of white European commentaries on religious issues. Without disclaiming its literary worth, its religious significance is no greater than the opinions of any man.

White Jews do not accept the doctrine of original sin, but Adat Beyt Moshe is convinced of inherent sin. Such sin is the result of the violation of the Mosaic Code, and interbreeding with the Canaanite survivors. It is transmitted by reproductive processes and follows the laws of genetics.

In traditional Judaism, the Rabbi is simply a teacher and a preacher, but Respes' extraordinary qualities are, to many of his followers, justification not only of his position of congregational leader but also of his validity as a religious prophet and a representative of God.

Adat Beyt Moshe is mission minded, concerned with active proselytization, urging colored people to give up Christianity. While there are no contemporary constraints against active proselytizing among white Jews and they accept converts, centuries of Christian restraint against such practices have left their mark.

Adat Beyt Moshe claims no affiliation, association or kinship with the Orthodox, Conservative or Reform movements of Judaism. It asserts itself as a separate and separatist doctrine. It considers Judaism as a unitary doctrine and white Jewish movements of cultist variation.

Phylacteries (tefillin) are not worn in prayer or display. They are denied importance or utility. Adat Beyt Moshe objects to their use on the basis that concrete images are not the essence of the Jewish man and that Judaism stems from within the individual and cannot be determined from without.

Women in this congregation may constitute a minyan (religious quorum of ten) without prejudice. While this rule may be disregarded at Conservative and Reform services, it is never disregarded in traditional white Orthodox synagogues.

Pre-puberty members of the community (pre-thirteenth birthday) are permitted and encouraged to read from the Torah, in public worship, whenever they demonstrate an ability to do so. Male or female juveniles take on what would ordinarily be an adult role in the performance of religious services.

The religious sanctity of changing of street shoes to house slippers on entering a home or building appears unprecedented in American Jewry. Adat Beyt Moshe claims an association to Asiatic peoples and their patterns of living and justifies the practice on that basis.

Ideological and Ritual Differences from Traditional American Christian Practices

The personification of God is conceptualized as a unity and in no way as a trinity. The Trinity is rejected as illogical and invalid.

The divinity of Jesus or his special significance to Man's salvation is rejected by Adat Beyt Moshe as a false doctrine and a useless mythology, claiming his failure to save the world and mankind is potent evidence of their point of view.

The graphic representation of God is strictly forbidden to the members and deemed a violation of the first commandment. Beyond the divine prohibition lies the intellectual argument that God, "total spirit", represents an entity impossible to represent.

The fall of Adam is not considered the base or source of Original Sin, although Inherent Sin plays a large part of their ideology. Adat Beyt Moshe

maintains, for the most part, that man has not fallen from grace; he simply has not risen high enough.

The sacraments of Christianity are rejected as necessary to salvation pointing to the saving power of moral laws and the deeds which man produces.

The New Testament is neither divinely inspired nor historically accurate. What is True, is of the Torah which represents a single revelation given to man. The New Testament, as the Talmud has worth only as a philosophical effort.

Adat Beyt Moshe rejects the notion of the postponement of earthly reward in the service of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is their obligation to establish the Kingdom of God on Earth. Since God's promise is made to the living, it follows that His rewards should be made on Earth.

Christianity is portrayed as Caucasoid in origin and in utility. Caucasoid is considered as co-terminous with Europeans.

The rejection of a customary "non-kosher" diet with particular taboos on pork products represents a significant cultural and religious tenet.

CHAPTER IV

Individual and Group Interaction

Cohesiveness

For the purpose of this study cohesiveness of a group may be described as the total sum of those dynamic forces which bind members of a group to a group. It concerns itself with feelings of "we-ness" and the wish of individual members to work together for any common goal or to take responsibility for common efforts. One might view cohesiveness as the willingness to endure pain or frustration for the group, or the intensity of defense which members will produce against external criticism or attack. Cohesiveness signifies, then, those forces which hold a group together in some common pursuit and some common action. It represents a quantum of attraction to a group and may be measured in the amount of force required to tear an individual away from a group, or for him to lose interest in his continuous participation.

Sources of Attraction

The sources of attraction of Adat Beyt Moshe depend upon two sets of conditions; first, its group goals and programs and second, the particular needs of the immediate member which can be satisfied in conjunction with the goals and programs outlined. Cohesion depends, for any given person, on the nature and strength of his needs and on the perceived

suitability of the particular group for satisfying these needs. Any reduction in the ability of the group to meet the need of a member decreases the attractiveness of the group for him. On the other hand, one expects that the attractiveness of a group to be increased by any changes in the group which enhances its ability to meet the needs of its members.

Cohesion can be seen as centripetal forces serving to hold the group together and may be understood as the result of answering the needs of an individual and group basis in terms of rewards and satisfactions.

Cohesion within Adat Beyt Moshe is directly related to attraction to it. To the extent that attraction to it can be maintained, cohesive forces remain strong for particular individuals and for the membership as a whole. The sources of original and present attraction of this particular membership are varied. Some members were impressed by the high purpose of the group. It purported to provide a program for the betterment of a depressed lot and promised, by a yet untried method, a future which was worthwhile considering.

The idea sounded pretty good to me. He was telling me that things could get better in a way that I just hadn't heard before. The Muslim idea never really appealed to me, it sounded kind of strange and I guess a little frightening. But the Rebbe sounded like he knew what he was talking about and I began to think that maybe this was the answer I was looking for.

Doris A.

The extraordinary personal qualities of the leader provided an attractive beckoning force toward association. While his candor was

shocking to some, to others it represented a strong and potent individual who by virtue of study and revelation had found a solution to a common personal and social problem.

When I first heard him on the radio I was very impressed with what I heard. He sounded very educated, not phony, educated. And he seemed to know what he was talking about. He'd done a lot of studying and he knew how to talk. When I saw him in person I was even more impressed. He seemed different from a lot of people I knew, but he was warm and friendly. Here was a guy who really was able to make something of himself, had a fine family, and made something of himself.

Alice M.

Practical interests are persuasive as binding ties for some who point to their reasons for their original association as just being with people they liked and having something to do in their spare time.

My buddy had been pretty hot on Judaism for a long time, and I used to go along to some of his services with him. They were interesting, but I didn't think too much about them. It was something to do and I liked being with him and some of the people I met there. They were very friendly and they accepted me. After awhile it got pretty good listening to them discuss some of the ideas about colored people and I got interested.

William L.

Some members were particularly attracted by the concept rejecting a white superiority position and, at the same time, establishing a colored "favored" position.

All my life, I guess, I knew that what everybody was telling me was wrong, about not being as good, about being inferior. I tried hard to understand it, but I just couldn't. Man, I knew there had to be an answer. And it had to be a different one than the ones I was getting. Well, when I heard about this group, it seemed to make sense to me. It's the first time in my life I felt good about myself, . . . that it was my people they were talking about in the Bible.

James M.

Kinship ties provided bonds through which attraction could express itself. Some members became associated with the group through the medium of a relative and, without opposing motives, in a climate of personal neutrality, they joined their kin. This particular situation, of course, included all juveniles, but, in addition, provided the affiliation of other affinal and consanguineal relatives. For example, one woman became interested in the group because her sister was affiliated with it. She had been living with her sister and had always been in close personal association with her. By virtue of her sister's commitment, she decided to join the congregation.

Original motives for joining the group may no longer be relevant. It is in the present functioning of its program which provides the specific satisfactions to bind them to the membership. The concept of mutual aid has a strong positive value and a highly effective adhesive force tending to maintain the group.

It's nice to know that somebody cares. I've always lived in the city and I've had plenty of neighbors. But nobody ever really gave a damn whether I lived or died. Some people were nice and some weren't, and I could rely on a few to help me out if I needed it. But this

place is different. I know there is somebody around to help me if I need it and the same goes for me. It's not a question of brother or sister or neighbor or what. It's like a big family here, where everybody is interested in your welfare, and everybody is around to help you when you need it. No matter what it is, whether it's sickness or something you need in the house, or no questions asked, and you don't feel like you're taking anything. You don't even have to feel that it's coming to you. It's just there and it's a great feeling to know it, and it's a great feeling to give it.

William B.

Nearly all members of the community consider themselves to be materially improved since their move from the city. They view with pride their clean and "airy" surroundings away from the dirt and bustle of the metropolitan slums from which they came. They see their situation as bettered in a substantial way and their lives healthier and happier than they could have been in their old surroundings.

Everybody I know here is better off than they had been before. I don't know why it is. Maybe we're working a little better, or maybe things on the outside are not as bad as they used to be. But we just seem to have more, or maybe it's just that we need less. But, if we look at our houses and our children we know that things are different. There's almost nothing that any single person really needs so badly that he can't get along. We've got all the food we need, all the things we need, and things look like they are even going to get better.

Oliver B.

Isolation of the community appears to have marked advantages in giving this separatist group a feeling of uniqueness, unity and strength. Although the community is entirely segregated, nevertheless, within a short distance, it meets a totally white community, Wharton Park, with

whom there has been formal but friendly relations. The members feel that the white adjoining community has a profound respect for them and their settlement, increasing their own feelings of pride.

It's different now. I've always worked a lot with white people before, but things are different. I still work with them, but I feel different about how I'm living. I always felt kind of caged, left out of things, that's not the way it is anymore. I feel that I've got things that nobody has anymore, and it makes me feel good. I don't have to apologize to anybody, not even to myself. And they can see it. I feel good about myself now. Maybe that's why I seem to get more respect. I don't have people on my back like I used to.

The kids from Wharton Park come over, and our kids go over there. There's been no trouble at all. Maybe they were a little worried when we first came out here, but after they saw what we did they seemed to be happy with us as their neighbors.

Thomas R.

The feeling of participation seems to satisfy members who might otherwise need to devise ways of filling their spare time, especially on the weekends. Old pursuits of drinking and gambling have been relinquished in the service of nearly totally programmed activities. From sunset on Friday until Sunday afternoon, most of the settlement is engaged in common prayer, dialectic and formal schooling. Things appear to be getting done because they are being done.

Since we've been out here, it's been very busy. There is always something to do. During the week there's not too much time for anything except a little repair or taking care of the grounds. We go to bed early and get up early for the ride into Philly. I like the ride because it gives me a chance to sit back and think. It's really good, especially in the mornings. But the weekends are very busy. There's services and classes that the Rabbi gives. They're very interesting and take a lot of time for studying.

Thomas R.

Sources of Increasing Cohesiveness of the Group

A number of centripetal forces coalesce to structure Adat Beyt Moshe as a tightly knit, highly organized, self-sufficient entity. These stem from the specific organizational qualities of the settlement which allow real property to be accumulated on a regular basis. The measure of tangible achievement is a viable stimulant to the morals of the group as they view with pride increasing equity in land and buildings. Houses and ground are something that can be seen. They can be bought and sold. They can be appraised by outside neutral experts. They are recognized as having real value not only within the world of Adat Beyt Moshe, but in the world of the white establishment.

The community is a representation of member abilities and achievements. Each result of communal effort appears to add to the satisfactions of its occupants and the notion that they are building toward some more bountiful future.

You just have to look around here to know what we've got. This was a wasteland when we came here, nothing but those trees like you see around us. Rocky ground, and now we have a real community, a place we can be proud of, it's clean, and it's healthful. People pass by in their cars and stop and look at it. Maybe they're wondering how it is that "niggers" can do so much in such a place. Maybe they can't understand that we can live clean and respectable, as good as anybody else, better than anybody else. That's why they do, they stop in their cars and they look in and wonder what it is that we are doing here. Just like they wonder when they look at the sign, and it says Colored Jews. We were able to do it because we worked together. You can do a lot when you feel close to somebody else and you work hard, when it's not everybody for himself. That's how we were able to scratch our community out of this wasteland. That's why we don't have to live in the slums anymore, and our kids can grow up in a decent way.

Abel R.

Sources of Decreasing Cohesiveness in the Group

Centrifugal forces are not described by direct comments of the members of the community. Direct criticism, apparently, carries so much threat to the members and the community and is regarded as of such a destructive nature that it tends not to be expressed. However, several potential problems which may lead to the eventual extinction of the group do appear to be implicit.

The difficulty of adolescents and young unmarried adults to find suitable courtship, dating or marriage partners is immediately apparent. Choices within the community are severely limited because of its small population, kinship ties or personal preference. Several young women of the Rabbi's family have already reached an age in which marriage is of serious consideration. Where they can find mates is a serious problem. Since a mate should be colored and must be Jewish, the difficulty is obvious. When young adults are questioned on this particular problem, they react with some degree of anxiety, withdrawal from the question and little response. They explain that it is difficult to find someone who is suitable to the community and to themselves, but that they are not concerned about it.

A strong binding force lies in the personal characteristics of the Rabbi who, in an authoritarian and patriarchal manner, is able to exert pressure toward conformity, compliance, acceptance and innovation. But an organizational system for the choice of a successor is not highly developed. There is a not too detailed notion that the Rabbi's eldest son,

who at the time of investigation was 15 years old, would take his father's place should he become disabled or die. It is doubtful, however, that this young inexperienced man could successfully incorporate the charisma of his father.

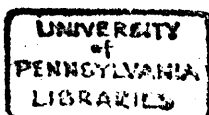
Well, if something happened to the Rabbi, his family, they've been studying very hard with him, would take over. He's been teaching his oldest son things that he knows. He would then lead our group. His family is specially trained.

Daniel L.

Statements of this kind appear as defensive masks for underlying concern. The question, "What would you do if something happens to the Rabbi?", brought immediate reactions of tension and suspicion from the members and the leader, who wondered why the particular question was asked. It, in fact, put the investigator in an awkward position when he was brought under questioning as to why "such a peculiar inquiry was made". Many wondered if the investigator, a mysterious figure in part, "knew" something that the others did not.

External criticism from relatives and former friends serve to chip at the strong enthusiasm that Adat Beyt Moshe presents. Families have been split on theological and economic issues. Members of the community find themselves not only geographically, but socially isolated from their Christian relatives who consider them deluded and exploited.

The evidence of non-growth, as shown by the lack of new members, is a subtle sign of the static conditions of this movement. Since new members are not being incorporated, members who may be lost through philosophical



attrition or mortality cannot and are not being easily replaced. The impotency of persuasion may be a force for diminished conviction.

Fission and Fusion

Forces may be seen at work by an historical survey of the formation and development of Adat Beyt Moshe which was formed, in 1952, by the eruption of a splinter group embodied in factional dissension within the Israelite Bible School, a Judaic-Christian Negro cult, the origins of which remain obscure. It is interesting to note that dissension does not begin at the "grass roots" but at the level of aspiring leadership. Dissension and criticism are expressed in terms of ideological impurity and organizational corruption. Purists, allowed no opportunity toward reform, are forced into a new formation.

And then there was an incident. While this gentleman was sick, some troubles came up where this second man in line, in company of some of the other deacons & in the school, were guilty of embezzling over \$1,000.00, money people had set aside for burial funds. I uncovered this and I became unpopular at that time. At that time, I became the second man, the second teacher, in the school, and I tried to bring them to a more Judaic life, but there were constant conflicts and disagreements. There was another incident with a woman that happened in the school. This woman was guilty of committing an act in the violation of the Judaic principles as well as Christian principles, an immoral sexual act. When I compiled the evidence, they found her guilty. They didn't dismiss the woman from the organization, there was leniency extended to her. She was a member of the choir and she was restricted to a seat in the audience like a visitor. She consulted with the leader, they had a private conference without my knowing it. When I arrived on Sunday afternoon, he said I wouldn't have any more duties as a teacher, any more duties in the school. On his own, he dissolved the council which I established. So I took my family, and a couple of members and we went along.

We sat at one of the houses that evening and we discussed it. A few people went along with me and this man who came along and told me about the pennies, he told me it was good that you were cast out. Now you can do the work for God that you were destined to. Then I began to talk on street corners, and I would assemble at one of these women's houses which was at 2454 N. 20th Street, on my own. That's how I became leader of the people.

Abel R.

The new organization presents a power structure of a pyramidal form. It is highly authoritarian and, as its predecessor, contains a few facilities within which to express opposition or provide catharsis for hostility. Opposition to policy is seen as not only anti-organizational, but anti-religious as well. Since the Charter embodying the organization lies within the Torah, the leader of the group is not only its executive, but its priest. Dissonant elements must be channeled therefore, into some non-destructive area or they will produce increasing deterioration in the group itself. Such energy can be funneled into group metabolic growth. The necessity for increased numbers to this handful of people is obvious in terms of a broader economic base. What is not so obvious is the utility of the process of growth to channel off energy which might be used destructively against the group itself. Growth represents continuous and constant change, requiring substantial investment of energy for consolidation. When energies are expended in active construction, less appears to be available for oppositional purposes.

But prophecies of growth and development must be fulfilled.

While actual growth accomplishment may be delayed temporarily, by

promises, some evidence must be shown of instrumental validity toward ultimate goals to forestall deteriorating elements setting into the structure of Adat Beyt Moshe.

Fundamentalistic appeals seem to be ineffective in persuading new members and influencing old ones and the hope for expansion of the new organization is a disappointing failure.

During that year, I decided to go on the radio and try to increase the membership. There wasn't much success from that venture. It was very hard, Judaism is very difficult. There were things taught that were very difficult to accept. At that time, I felt that we would even wear the native dress, that is as close as possible to our ancestors. I felt at that time that our women should not straighten their hair. They went along, and we were expecting to return to our homeland soon. The hope was not to build anything in America, but to return to our Country, Israel. We had hoped that someday, sooner or later, the idea was catching on. At that time, I was of the opinion that all of the colored people were Jews. This is about the time we were concerned with returning to our homeland, we felt that we would get the people together and I would petition the Government for redress of grievance. Our grievance would be that we were being held as hostages, captives in a land that was not ours, and were not permitted to return to our homeland. This was my plan. It was my intention to approach the Government with the proposition or with an idea and suggesting how to take these colored people and resettle them in the land of Israel. This is the basic teaching of 1952, and the purpose for which I went on the radio. However, I wasn't successful, as I stated. At that time, there came a division between one of our families, and they left.

Abel R.

New members were attracted to Adat Beyt Moshe mainly through the medium of radio broadcasting, carried on from 1953 to 1957. The cost of this program was \$60.00 per week and its funds came from member contributions.

In 1957 I continued with this small group and continued on the radio. I began to be a little more successful with some more people. There seemed to be a rash of new members coming in the early part of 1957.

Personal contact was also instrumental in introducing new people to the group and accepting them to the membership.

I met, at that time, a gentleman, Bishop Murphy. I passed his place. He came out and we talked. He believed in some of the holidays and not eating pork. We had a lot of things in common. He was a Jew, I don't know where he acquired his Yiddish, but he would refer to himself as the schvartzer, a black Jew. He used Yiddish and Hebrew. He invited me to his church, at that time at 11th and Berks Street. I was expecting to go into a synagogue. They would preach a lot of Jesus, a lot of Christianity. You know, Jesus died for our sins. I was trying to get away from this. We were going from this and these people seemed to be retaining it. So I thought, well, these people are confused, mixed up. As a result of this association, some of his members began to associate themselves with me. They came into our group. They felt what I had was more authentic, and this gave a couple more to us. These people were with me. We raised our meeting to about 100 people and attended various groups around Philadelphia and New Jersey. And I lectured to them. Out of that, I met some people in North Jersey, Asbury Park, and there were a few more members who came.

Abel R.

But, growth of membership alone was not sufficient to stay the impatience of the striving, hopeful members. Something dramatic needed to be accomplished!

Some advance in material achievement could be presented as an intermediate success. Purchasing a building for the congregation could establish the organization as a going and growing proposition.

We were saving money to purchase a building whereby we might have services in a larger place. The group decided to purchase a large building and my family would live upstairs. In the fall of 1957, we came across a building on the Southwest corner of 17th and Girard Avenue. We made settlement and purchased it in November, 1957. We occupied this building and I continued to broadcast. The membership at that time was close to 100 people when my dream seemed to be materializing, my hopes and aspirations at last seemed to be bearing fruit.

Abel R.

But the ultimate goal which had to materialize was a return of "the people" to Israel. Promises could be extended, but delivery could not be indefinitely postponed. Some additional effort and bold success along this line had to be shown.

In 1958 I felt that these people seemed to be anxious to return to their homeland. I felt I had to produce, to do something. With these people we had started a cooperative store, as a means of raising funds, we hoped the grocery store in time would grow into a supermarket. That was a way of establishing an economy. We might be independent, we might provide jobs for the unemployed in our midst.

Abel R.

The economic experiment proved to be an abortive one. Without previous knowledge, skill or organizational ability, the inexperienced members found that they could not maintain the venture, and would have to give it up. The very effort which was to delay the acquisition of their promised goal, return to Israel, proved to be ineffective and a total failure. The problem of Israel was a problem which could no longer be postponed; something positive had to be done.

In 1958, I drafted a resolution to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, I had a vision. The establishment of a colony of Jews, our first purpose, in Israel. If it wouldn't be taking a part of the land from the present Government of Israel, maybe in the area of Gaza. I drafted a resolution to the President of the United States, in which I referred to this colony of colored Jews in the Holy Land. I obtained signatures from various members of the congregation, and I sent this draft resolution to Washington, to Dwight D. Eisenhower. This draft resolution was referred to the State Department. At that time, John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State. I received an answer from a lesser officer, an official or employee of the State Department, stating that the letter had been sent to the White House. I received a very nice, well worded letter. I think the then Eisenhower Administration at least showed a willingness to recognize this thing that was happening in the United States. But, that's about as far as it got. Nothing else developed.

Abel R.

Evidence that their organization was on a face-to-face basis with the highest office in the land brought immediate feelings of satisfaction to the membership, relieving and reducing malignant pockets of doubt.

During this time, it was thought to be a very bold venture on my part to approach the United States Government with this resolution. I thoroughly explained it to my people and they were greatly impressed. I had much confidence in this thing that I drafted and sent to Washington. The very fact that the Government did acknowledge receipt of the papers was impressive to me. It was a step forward.

But harmony was only transitory. In the absence of real and continuous accomplishment, old dissatisfactions found fertile fields.

However, some of the people began to criticize .I found that one man who was associated with me, who assisted me and filled the second position in the organization, the next position of authority to that of myself, and had been associated with me since that time I had been cast out of the place in South Philadelphia, circulated this bad information among the people. I learned that he had stated I was interested in myself, I wasn't interested in the colored people. I was seeking to further my own gains, ends, to establish myself and to enrich myself. He had no grounds for making this statement. Now, since my second in command had a knowledge of all this, I cannot understand how he could go among all those people and say I was concerned with developing myself. I denied myself. I denied my family. People didn't know. They believed the man. In 1958 there became a great cleavage in the organization, many people left. People whom you see here now, they are the people who remained. In 1959, I discontinued broadcasting on the radio.

At that time, I wrote to the Speaker of the House, Mr. Sam Rayburn. I also wrote to the present President when he was Majority Leader, at the time of the Eisenhower Administration, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson. I didn't receive an answer from Mr. Johnson, and no answer from Mr. Rayburn. The wording was different but the idea was basically the same. So, with the few people I had, in 1959, we went to Washington to see President Eisenhower, the President of the United States.

This temporary flurry of activity was designed to postpone and mute further dissonance within the organization. It was a sign of doing something meaningful and constructive.

We returned to Philadelphia, but there was no result from that demonstration. I did write President Eisenhower on two or three more occasions, other than sending the draft resolution. I received another letter from the White House, but it said they received my letter and that was all, nothing significant in it.

It was obvious that the goal of Israel had to be shelved. No plan seemed workable for its realization in the immediate present. What, then, could take its place?

In 1959, after the separation from this other group which reduced our numbers, I felt the program then had been wrogn. I had to revise my plan to conform with the smaller number of people. I decided to build, to establish a community in the United States, with the hope that the people would be induced to associate themselves with something in this Country. I felt it was the idea of going to another Country which made the colored people reluctant to associate themselves with us. I felt they were afraid to venture out on their own and attempt anything of the self-government nature, and I felt I would have to revise my plans and establish something in the United States, to construct new homes in a wooded area, either in Pennsylvania or New Jersey, a new community, a new way of life. We might learn how to govern ourselves, and by so doigg, might prepare ourselves for an eventual day when our people would return to their own country.

Such an ambitious undertaking was no easy task. It required effective leadership, good organization and maintenance of substantial discipline. In addition, it would require substantial sacrifice on the part of the members before they could see any tangible result. Convincing the members that a group action was necessary and effective presented numerous difficulties from the beginning.

So we decided to purchase this land. The job was very difficult, with the colored people not having any program of order, not being raised properly, each person doing as he saw fit, there was no practice of imposing self-control to any great extent. Colored people seem to be very selfish, self-willed, it seems to be very difficult for them to restrain and contain themselves. They are people who put forth their views irrespective of how much it might do to themselves or others. They will express them-

selves, anytime. This causes harm to people, we feel that there is a time to speak, also there is a time to refrain from speaking. But the colored people in America, they don't seem to be able to understand this. They will speak out too often out of turn and out of season. They speak things that they should not speak. They will not always speak the truth, and this was what was happening in our group. They were no doubt fascinated by the growth and development of large Christian churches among the colored and I suppose they felt they could establish the same kind of thing using the Old Testament and using Judaism, but this is impossible. There have been no great Negro ministers who have been able to amass great wealth by duping the people with the Old Testament. You can't take the Torah and dupe the people. If you are going to teach the people Torah, if they are interested in Torah and want Torah, they will seem more of the laws and commandments. This is good for the people, this is not harmful. That's why you don't find great churches and great religious institutions established among colored people who use Judaism as a means of amassing wealth, because if you teach Torah, you elevate people, not degrade them. But these fellows feel they could substantiate the fact that the Jews were colored people, and use this teaching to build a great organization to make money for themselves.

However, I haven't seen any of them who have been successful. This is, to my mind, why these individuals start this schism, and came within our group and brought about this division, and reduced our numbers to a small amount. I was aware of the fact that there were some opportunists, I didn't know how long they were going to remain. There were some fields of endeavor that were open to us. There were some opportunities available to us, I felt that instead of complaining about that which we don't have, that we should take advantage of those opportunities that were available to us, utilize them to develop ourselves, to create for ourselves a higher standard of living, and a better and higher social order. This is why we thought of getting this place.

Abel R.

Real estate and financial restrictions frustrated the best efforts of Adat Beyt Moshe to establish a community for itself. While there is no direct evidence of white opposition to the Negroes settling in the area, the fact that they were planning such a venture no doubt increased obstacles to their success.

Our first purchase was land in Hammonton Township, New Jersey, in Atlantic County near Mays Landing. We consulted with a building firm over in Blackwood, New Jersey. At the time we thought of putting each family in a home and desired to have ten homes built. The building firm here told us we wouldn't need a down payment. But we couldn't get mortgages because that area was zoned farm area, or something like that. In other words, they would only allow a house to be built on two acres, there would have to be two acres around each house. That meant we could only build five houses, even if we had ten acres of land. So the question arose of acquiring more land for the purpose of building these ten houses. At that time there were more people interested.

We felt that we needed at least ten houses to start with. We inquired about a lot adjacent to our property. We had to shelve this idea for the time being because of an outrageous sum they were asking.

With the community temporarily shelved, disappointment rampant and dissension growing, the pressured and harrassed leader falls ill, only to experience a remarkable if not "miraculous" recovery. Intercession by providence revitalizes his faith and purpose, giving his followers new strength and resolve.

During this time I was going through a stage of slowly recovering from a previous bout of flu. In 1961 we waited for this building firm to give their answer, and I became ill again in 1961. I didn't know I had pneumonia this time. I noticed at the conclusion of services on Friday night I felt a slight headache and felt unusual and I really couldn't explain it because I knew I was trying to get over my hypertension. This heart condition I hadn't

fully recovered from, the hypertension is still there even now. I attribute it to my psychological aspect, the way I'm forced to think. Many times I'm disappointed. I'm not disturbed, but disappointed and this affects me. However, I'm able to accept things better now than I did two or three years ago. At this particular time, I went to the Mercy Douglas Hospital. They gave me an injection and a doctor told me to go home and get in bed and stay there three days and then return. He gave me some medicine and I took it. All week I was perspiring. Every time I'd change my pajamas, they'd be soaked and I stayed chilly all the time. So I went back to the hospital and they told me I must have had pneumonia. The following weekend I went to sleep that Saturday night. It was very difficult for me to rest. I couldn't breathe. I woke up around three or four o'clock in the morning. It was difficult for me to breathe. I told my wife to call an ambulance that would take me to the hospital.

It's impossible for colored people to get an ambulance and a cabulance is for the wealthy. We couldn't get any ambulance. So I said maybe you could call the City, the City has a Police Emergency driver, because I can't breathe. I had to have oxygen. I don't know what had happened, I thought I was getting better. My respiratory system and my circulatory system seemed to be both having trouble. They were both so tired. So I told her to call, and I thought while she was getting ready, I thought, No. Don't call. Because if they send an emergency wagon here, there'll be a lot of excitement and cause too much attraction. I'm going to believe, trust in God that I'll be all right. I began to think, the ability to breathe became more and more difficult. Around sunrise, I told her to open all the windows, to wrap me up in warm blankets in the house and to put on her coat if she wanted to stay out, if not, to go in, I knew I needed oxygen. This was the only way, it was a really cold morning. I was dying, it seemed to me. I didn't have enough strength to hold my head up. She propped me up in the bed. I told her what to do, put pillows around my head, the only thing I had was the consciousness of my mind. I was conscious of my mind. But I knew that I didn't want to go to sleep because if I went to sleep I knew that I didn't have enough strength in my body to wake up. So I prayed affirmatively in my mind, and slowly I began to recover and, as I began to recover, I breathed very deeply, my ability to breathe was just about gone and after

about two or three hours while I wasn't back to normal, I was breathing well enough to get dressed around the room, to go downstairs, to go to the hospital in my car, and I went down, I stopped and kissed the covenant in front of the door, prayed, and I asked God that I be able to come back to my children, my family, that I might raise them so that something I started would not die. I could teach my children, and after they are old enough to understand themselves, I would be willing to die. This is what I asked. I know it's all psychological to a person who doesn't believe in God. They'll say you are alive because you wanted to live. This power is in his mind, I'm aware of that, but I did believe there is a mind besides man's. There is a power besides the human mind of man which does not always overpower, does not overrule the mind of man, but this mind and this power take over after man is unable to do for himself. Our body heals itself, so to speak. We do not heal our body. I feel that this orderly process of healing that goes about in the body is conducted by a mind, or a force that is present which cannot be seen, but which can be understood. Perhaps to one who cannot understand this, one who believes can sound somewhat unbalanced, somewhat of an eccentric.

To say that God is within me, that God is a mind that controls my physical being, the orderly movement, the beat of my heart, orderly operation of the organs of my body, my circulatory system, my respiratory system, my digestive system, I feel that these are controlled by, not by myself, but a mind of intelligence that is present within me and that brought me into being. This is how I feel, that I willed myself to stay here, because it was disappointment that brought about the hypertension and it was up to me to calm myself and then my blood pressure would be reduced, my heart would slow down. But, if I remained excited, upset, naturally my pressure would stay up and my heart would continue to be irregular. I went to the hospital and a doctor examined me, a doctor from India. He said, "You have an enlarged heart, but it is possible to have this condition corrected." I returned home and was scheduled to go back on Tuesday. After they told me to get dressed, I got dizzy, I couldn't stand up, I had to sit down, I couldn't see anybody or anything, my senses were intact, I could hear, and I knew what was going on, my vision became completely blurred, I couldn't see anything, make out anything, so they put me on a stretcher and took me upstairs. The hospital was crowded at that time, and didn't have a bed for me. The doctor in charge

called to the resident physician, the doctor who examined me requested I be detained in the hospital.

They took my blood count that evening and the next morning. The report showed I was three, maybe four, pints low in blood and that I should have to have an operation. I didn't want the operation, and neither did I want the blood transfusion, because perhaps the person who will donate this blood to the blood bank will be a person who will have eaten these unclean foods and as a result certain elements from swine will be in the blood. I didn't want a blood transfusion. They said, "If you sign yourself out, and if anything happens to you, you are responsible, we are not responsible." All right, I'll take this chance. If I die, I'd rather die with undefiled Hebraic blood, I kept it clean as long as I've been following the customs of my forefathers. So I signed the necessary papers, left the hospital on Friday.

During my stay there, I prayed to God. I said, "You brought forth water out of a rock to our forefathers in the wilderness, you gave me blood, you formed it from the blood of my mother and my father, and now I need blood. If it is your will that I live, give me the necessary blood. I have faith and confidence that you will give me this blood. I won't have a blood transfusion." It rained and thundered, there was an unusual storm that night. I was asleep and it awakened me. When I first came into this religion, it was revealed to me, in my mind, that God would show me a sign in a storm, the rain, the thunder, the lightning, and as I stated earlier, I had been struck by lightning when I was a child, thirteen years old, during a storm, and it was revealed to me then that God would show me a sign in thunder, rain. So when it rained that night, such a severe electrical storm, a most unusual storm, then I felt that this was the answer. I signed myself out that Friday afternoon at the hospital and I came home. They told me to come back next Tuesday for an examination, because when you separate yourself from us, certain examinations have to go on our records. In the meantime, consult your private physician and we would make our records and our findings available to him. I left the hospital and went to a private physician. I went back the following Tuesday. After the routine examination, the doctor, looking over the papers, said there's something unusual. He called the office to ask what was my blood count. I was a little less than a pint low, whereas two or three days before that, according to the laboratories report, I was three pints below, so the doctor couldn't understand this because he said it was impossible for a person to regain this much blood. They had not given me a blood transfusion, nor had they

given me any type of medication to build the blood. The blood couldn't have been restored within a two or three day period. Listening to this conversation, I was amazed. I knew how I felt. I felt it was, maybe, I felt it was my mind.

Abel R.

An alternate plan of action soon becomes available With the help of an interested broker and builder, Adat Beyt Moshe found a suitable location and painstakingly worked out a solution to its quest.

In the summer of 1961, we were travelling in the South of New Jersey looking for some other land that might be desirable. Now we had revised our plan of ten homes to five homes. We would build larger houses, we would get two families in one home. We'd have enough. Cousins would live together. So we drove from Egg Harbor to Philadelphia on the White Horse Pike looking at building sites and sample houses. I passed, during the summer of 1961, this company on the White Horse Pike, just below Warrington, and told them what I had in mind. He was under the impression that the organization was larger than it really was. I felt if we could be successful in building a community of just five houses, I felt that this would be an inspiration for colored people to come to this community which would start. They informed me that it would be difficult to establish us in this area, and they gave us a choice of three areas. They tried in one area here on Weymouth Road. We went there one day with about three carloads of us. We were looking at this land, and he informed us that some of the white people in the area saw us and became alarmed. They had meetings in which they decided they didn't want Negroes here. Well, we had put a deposit on the land in the Hamilton area, and they didn't want us over there, he told us. He said, "I could sell you some Township lots over here in a colored section over on the other side of the White Horse Pike, near the railroad tracks." Then he brought us over to this, here, I could build you five homes here. It will cost you \$1,000.00 for each plot of ground, for the land, then you have to have utilities for each house. We didn't have enough money to do all that. But we bought the land.

He was a very clever businessman, he obtained mortgages for us which was very difficult. He had to purchase the land as a white man to purchase the land for us. Now we were told not to be seen too regularly in this area and whenever we would come before the houses were built, only to come one or two, so the white people

around here wouldn't be alarmed. We have just learned from one of the whites who lives in this area, and had to come and do some work for us, that the people in this area had meetings also. Some were incensed over the fact that colored people were moving in. Of course, at the time, the builder didn't tell us about this because he didn't want us to be alarmed. I don't try to condone the faults of the colored. I'm a colored man and I feel we cannot help ourselves if we try to hide our faults. In fact, the only way we can help ourselves is to recognize our faults. Not for the white people to see our faults, but for us to see ourselves, put forth the effort and devise ways and means whereby these faults can be corrected. He would tell me, "Rabbi, you make sure you keep this community clean, and we'll build you nice houses". He had no idea that I had plans to build something like this. In fact, the people associated with me had no idea it was my plan to do something like this. Some of them thought just to go into the country, to live in the country, but not that it would be as modern as this. This is my own plan, my own idea. I told him not to worry. We have rules and regulations and ordinances to govern this community before we even move here. The rules, regulations and ordinances were read time and time again to the people in order that they might familiarize themselves with them. I said this had all been considered and taken care of.

We all worked very hard to obtain mortgage financing for us, and we finally started laying foundations for two houses in the fall of 1961. In the spring of 1962 the first two houses were completed. The yellow and blue house which I live in was also completed. The builder obtained financing first mortgages to go with the houses and second mortgages to cover utilities. We had to use the names of people who don't live here as holders of mortgages, whose financial background was better than some of us.

In 1962 we moved in. We began working together, clearing the land ourselves, we bought rakes and we bought rye grass. I didn't know anything about grass or soil, being born and raised in Philadelphia. We purchased our own cement, sand, gravel, pumice, poured and mixed and finished our driveways, walkways, as much of the work as we could do ourselves. This year we bought grass seed which we have been successful with.

That's just about it. We're holding our own. It doesn't look like we'll have to give up what we've accomplished as long as we hold jobs and have income. We feel that we'll continue the same policy which we adopted, try to accumulate a surplus. Up to this point, we have had

some difficulties, putting in the cesspools and sewage systems.

We had a meeting before we moved here, while the houses were being constructed, and at this meeting the people were given the opportunity to make their choice, whom they felt it was best to live with, to share the living room, the bathroom and kitchen. We had several meetings, not just one, concerning this and as a result of these meetings we came to the conclusion who would be best to place in each house. At this point, there haven't been any serious difficulties, there have been disappointments but nothing very serious.

We have purchased some more land. We hold that in reserve and hope to purchase more land. Now, if we don't have a need for building homes, we plan to use the land for farming, chickens, sheep and a couple of cows. It is my hope we can produce a greater portion of food even if we have to utilize this area adjacent to us for building homes.

It is very difficult to tell whether new converts will more readily stay in Philadelphia than come out here. The colored people are very difficult to work with, difficult to understand. I have been reassessing the whole aspect of my work, the question of the actual authenticity of the colored people in the United States being Jewish, or just how many of them are of the Judaic racial group, or from the Canaanite strain.

Abel R.

CHAPTER V

It has long been evident that every going association of people is structured by rules of functioning and patterns of behavior. No group can sustain itself without such rules for interaction, whether they be implicit, explicit, overt or covert. While no group requires that all of its members act uniformly, every group demands that behavior be predictable so that it coordinate and direct its activities. In order for Adat Beyt Moshe to sustain itself, it must not only reasonably be able to predict the reactions of its members but each of its members must, in some way, be able to evaluate and understand the actions and reactions that are expected of him. The range of tolerated deviancy is different from issue to issue, but only in the position of its limits rather than a total unconcern for uniformity. Adat Beyt Moshe structures uniformity by providing standards against which behavior may be compared and emulated.

Membership in this group determines for an individual many of the things he sees, thinks about, learns and does. If he is uncertain about his understanding of the events around him, he can accept the opinions of persons he likes or respects. Others press him to act or think as they do, on the ground that there are advantages for the group from his compliance to standards.

Sources of Forces Toward Uniformity

Uniformity at Adat Beyt Moshe can be understood in terms of primary and secondary group standards. A primary standard is one which must be maintained without criticism and without modification. Some standards embody more

importance than others. Their demands must be supported with great loyalty for fear of group disintegration, personal reprisal or divine sanction. Such standards which are incontrovertable include acceptance of the Rabbi's religious leadership of the congregation, his executive leadership in the settlement, the validity of their ethnoanthropology, non-violation of the Commandments and the rejection of Jesus. When recalcitrant members abandon Adat Beyt Moshe, it is claimed that they leave for personal, rather than for theological persuasion.

The people who left the group are people who don't like to go by rules and regulations. Different ones like that want to have their own mind. Some come and learn, but they want to have recognition like our leader. Of course, there has to be one leader, but these people have feelings that they know as much and that they want to lead, and want to have something of their own. Those I know never went back to Christianity because, after seeing the teachings of Jesus, they have to be crazy to go back to Christianity. So, if they leave the movement, they really go back to nothing. Some of them attempt to form new groups, and some people go along with them. One person ets himself up, but those that did go with him are leaving him, because they see him for what he was and now they're coming back.

Internalized controls help maintain a vigorous uniformity. Members concede that deviancy may serve to destroy group function. When threatening deviancy is perceived, accusations by others help control toward conformity and self-discipline.

They (Negroes) live lives of chaos. They don't know how to work together, because they never have worked together. They were always told what to do. Here, we go according to the rules and regulations. It's like following things by the book. That's the only way this place has gotten where it is. That's the only reason we've been able to have the kind of community that we've got. We'd have nothing built here unless we were able to work together, to get along with each other. There are a lot

of things we have to do here, that we're doing. We have to know that we can count on other people. Rather we know that we can count on everybody else here. We don't let each other down because we really were letting ourselves down. This is our chance to prove ourselves. If somebody gets out of line, his neighbor might mention it to him, not out of anger, but to help him. And we can see ourselves when we get out of line, we know when we are doing something that we're not supposed to be doing, or can be doing better. It's more a fight with ourselves, than fighting with anybody else.

William B.

To reach their goals, the congregants point out that they must have coordinated behavior. While long-range goals appear vaguely structured, short-range needs are not, and a member who performs in a non-prescribed, non-approved manner is a threat to achievement and harmony.

In addition, uniformities provide a combined front to the outside world and imply internal solidarity and unity. It is interesting to note that the following teenager, who might normally have considered being different a critical issue, has managed to make a virtue of it.

They (whites) recognize us as a special group, especially the teachers. So men teachers know my name and when I come in they speak to me with a pleasant smile. I noticed that there seemed to be a special attitude to the ones who come from where I live. My brother and the rest of them, members of the community. I was impressed there because they would know my name, they thought we all were brothers, and things like that there. And the way we dress, we always wear a tie and a shirt and these things made us stand out. The majority of the other kids wear sport clothes. When we get together and conversation arises between us, the way we think would be different from the way they think, and they wonder why. I think, that I talk the way I do. And when it comes to pledge

allegiance to the flag, I don't do the same as they do, and they wonder why and things like that. I stand in respect, but as far as putting my hand up, I don't do that. The kids just look, the teacher explained to them everyone don't think alike in this Country and they accepted it.

Alfred L.

It may be noted that a recommended deviancy within the outside community provides the source of energy for compliance internally. The white world's acceptance of their separateness establishes Adat Beyt Moshe as special not only to outsiders but insiders as well.

There are further advantages to mutually acceptable formulations. Ready-made answers provide a structure to reality and solutions to imponderable problems. It helps members of Adat Beyt Moshe to understand themselves and their problems without other available criteria to help them do this.

We will not join ourselves with the enemies of this Country to overthrow this Country, often we feel that the enemies of this are justified in their claims, even as much as the white man was justified in coming and taking it from the Indians, and the Asians who are akin to the Indians, are justified in taking this Country from the white man. We will not fight against or for, we are neutral, if we must go to jail we will go to jail, we do not feel there should be any killing. Why should we kill Asians merely because we live in this Country? Why should we kill Asians because the white man doesn't like Asians, why should we kill Germans because the white man says the Germans are no good? They said the Germans were no good in World War II, yet today, we find they are supporting the Germans, they said the Japanese were no good, yet today we find American dollars are supporting the Japanese. These are our arguments. Why Should we? And we have a law, our commandments, that says "Thou shalt not kill".

If there is an agreement between the United States and us, if they recognized us as a nation within their nation, gave us some sort of diplomatic recognition, or status in Washington, then we could feel there is something to fight for,

but to say we are only citizens figuratively, citizens of American merely because we were born in this Country, if that be the case, the dogs and cats should go to war, the animals should fight because they were born in this Country, too. Dogs and cats are treated better than Negroes. This is the way we feel, and we feel that if the case should come to court, we will go to court. If we are able to obtain counsel. But we know feelings run high and we know what the rulings will be. So we are prepared to go to jail. Can't put us away for the rest of our lives. We know the law of the land says we can only go to jail for a limited time. And coming out, you can say, well, this will give you a bad name. We already have that. We are Negroes!

Abel R.

Ideological and behavioral standards are dispensed authoritatively by the Rabbi. His "encyclopedic" knowledge and inspirational proclivity is justification for the presentation of dicta. Since "normality" in this community is leader centered, then one's commitment to a standard is a function of acceptance of the leader. Any ideological position at Adat Beyt Moshe may be described by concentric and attenuated levels of individual commitment to ideology, community and leadership. Those members of the community who feel and express a stronger allegiance to the Rabbi also show greater uniformity of ideology and behavior. Those members whose enthusiasm is diminished somewhat with respect to the Rabbi also demonstrate greater non-compliance and non-acceptance of dicta.

Every once in a while I have to work on Saturday. They (employer) asks me to do that. I don't particularly like it but I don't refuse to do so because I think that I owe something to my family. It's more important that they get a little more money for things that they need. I've had to miss services, but that doesn't bother me. Maybe that's not what he (the Rabbi) likes, but I have to run my own life.

James M.

Forces directing uniformity are stronger and more effective when tangible achievements (such as increased membership, funds, land, buildings and outside recognition) can be demonstrated. Disappointments, frustrations and failures lead to crystallization of discontent, disunity and non-uniformity of feeling and response.

Specific non-compliance is covered by sanctions. Regulations concern the health, welfare and sanitation of the community and are embodied in a set of rules which must be obeyed by all. These deal in very general fashion, with general issues, such as the deposition of trash, littering, etc. Specific problems, incapable of interpersonal compromise, are referred to the Board of Directors for arbitration or decision.

Violations of specific rules carry penalties usually in the form of fines or demands for exchange of services and material where destruction of property is involved. The members of the community were reluctant to discuss with the investigator, specific instances in which such machinery was brought to bear, although they admitted of such cases in their history.

Consequences of Pressures Toward Uniformity

Members who act in deviant ways may continue to be respected or excused by the community which designates such actions as inferior but compassionately notes the individual's struggle with himself. Or, the deviant behavior may be reinterpreted as being non-threatening to the general principles of the group. Uniformity may be maintained with pervasive non-compliance by modifying group doctrine to conform with new

situations or deviant pressures. Non-acceptable and non-alterable deviancy such as sexual or aggressive offenses or repudiation of the leader may cause an offender to be excluded from the membership and the community. As a function of its small population and its somewhat static condition significant deviancy is an insignificant circumstance.

Community and Non-Community Membership

Approximately half of the membership of Adat Beyt Moshe are not located within the settlement of Ellwood. These members have remained in their original neighborhoods in Philadelphia. They present varying reasons for having decided against joining the settlement.

We wanted to go out and get a house out there in the woods, but it was not easy for us to do so, it's hard to get to work, it's pretty far away, we felt it was better to stay here.

T. T.

We believe in Judaism, but there were some ideas about, that we came in conflict with concerning the Rabbi, and we thought it would be better to stay here. This is our home and we felt this was the smartest thing to do.

S. T.

I'm just too old to start thinking of moving out to anywhere else. But I go out to services and we see each other.

F. B.

My house is paid for, I didn't want to get all involved in a big debt all over again.

T. F.

I never did think it was a good idea to go all the way out there. My next move is to Israel.

N. B.

I'm hoping in the future to be able to move out to the settlement. I don't know when that will be, but I guess I'll have to work something out.

B.D.

The "outside" community of Adat Beyt Moshe seems to be composed of individuals who were less friendly to the investigator, reticent about divulging any information about their feelings or their plans and generally more defensive about themselves. While their criticisms of their group were not extremely vocal, they seemed more so than the inhabitants at Ellwood.

Flexibilities

The balance between existence and non-existence of this movement can be directed by a shift of only a few members of the congregation. Since the life blood of the organization rests in its ability to hold its membership, there is strong pressure which militates against dogmatic demand. Some principles may not be violated, of course. The tenet which justifies "Colored Hebrews" may not be challenged. The Torah may not be rejected and the leader of the community may not be overthrown. But flexibility is shown even in such delicate areas as the Kashruth. While all of the congregants attempt to maintain a rigid separation of milk and meat and a concern for pollution by non-kosher food, they are free to reinterpret this tenet in their outside working world.

I do the best I can when I'm outside. I try hard not to have unclean food, but sometimes you just can't help yourself. It doesn't worry me, I just do the best I can. I don't think it matters.

Joshua C.

Persuasive arguments to prospective members tend to stress individual behavioral freedom. A Black Muslim who was being solicited was given such an appeal.

One thing about this community here, nobody bothers you. You're your own boss, you live your own life, and as long as you keep yourself as a decent human being, nobody ever tells you what to do. You do things the way you think things should be done. There's nobody here who's a God, that lives your life for you, tells you what to do and how to live it. You're your own boss.

Abel R.

Since a multitude of reality problems, psychological conflicts, overlapping loyalties and cross pressures beset many members, heterogeneity of thought and action may provide a source of creative expression in which problems, unsolvable in old ways, may be dealt with by new ways.

We want our people to have ideas, we want them to think. That's been the problem of the colored people in the United States, they haven't been taught to think, to reason things out, to come up with new ideas and new solutions. All they've been doing in the past is using the ideas and solutions of the white masters. We encourage everyone here to solve the problems which are burdening us, and even if we don't always agree with an idea, nevertheless, it's good to consider it. Any idea might turn out to be very good that's how science works, that's how we've progressed in civilization, by listening to new ideas. We accept any new idea, as long as it doesn't violate the Torah or operate in sin.

It may be noted that a careful balance is attempted between creativity and orthodoxy, a balance hopefully providing sufficient innovation to solve old problems more effectively without smashing tradition and basic dogma.

Individual Motives and Group Goals

The concept of a group goal having the strict meaning as the sum of similar individual goals does not seem to be operative at Adat Beyt Moshe. While there is an expressed sameness of motives of individuals when questioned, it is interesting to note that when these same individuals are queried about other people's motives, they point out their dissimilar strivings and impulses. Whether their responses are projections of themselves or an accurate analysis of their neighbors is a moot point. Nevertheless, it appears that at least some group goals of this community exist when there appears to be no substantial similarity among the individual motives of the members. For example, there appears to be little congruence between the announced group goal of migration to Israel and individual wishes along this line for, at least the near future. While agreeing in principle on the validity of this goal, for the group, there seems little motivation toward its present satisfaction for most of the individuals.

Some of them are not as interested as I am in getting to Israel. They really go along with us because of the settlement here, they have it better than before and they don't care one way or another about moving again.

Abel R.

They're pretty old people and it was a place for them to retire and spend their old age in a nice place. It's quiet and it's peaceful out here, and it's very clean and they get along pretty good.

Thomas R.

Where else could he have gotten a house with no money? He didn't put a hundred dollars into it, and look at this place, it's beautiful here out in the country.

James M.

CHAPTER VI

The Leader

The life history of Abel Respes, Leader and Rabbi of Adat Beyt Moshe, is presented here in an effort to seek insight into the meaning which new social forms possess for the members of this community. While the following presentation focuses on an individual, its interest is not merely one person's way of handling a universal situation, but for what light it can shed on how an aspect of culture is generally experienced, and the part that one's background and experience plays on the creation of an ideology.

There are benefits in finding clues to the values and the attitudes of a single person, to get some idea as to why he has become the type of individual he is. But the limitations to this data are obvious. This is a report in retrospect involving reconstruction and selection. It cannot pretend to be more than a superficial substitute for the richness and complexity of this human life. His autobiography has been edited to provide readability and rearranged from its original sequences to allow for coherence and emphasis. While this makes for easier content classification, it loses the important chain of association. For this reason, a fuller and more accurately sequenced text is offered as an appendix to this work.

At the time of this investigation of Adat Beyt Moshe, Abel Respes was 44 years old. He is a man of medium build, with evidence of a waning muscularity and thin overlays of fat. He stands about 5'9" or 10". His cherry mahogany face is smooth and accented by a short

black beard flecked with gray and only casually trimmed. His hair is black, short and curly. Facial features are small, his nose is narrow and his lips are thin. He wears rather thick glasses, and his eyes seem slightly puffed with a tendency to look off into the distance. His shoulders are somewhat rounded and he walks as though burdened, as though tired, yet still vital. His voice is sharp, elevated and energetic. He looks like the "head man".

The following autobiography is the result of successive interviews over a period of several months in which Abel Respes narrated his life story. He required little persuasion to talk to the investigator after somewhat cautious first encounters. He was generally interested in the task, although its purpose was never quite clear to him despite several attempts at explanation.

Early Days

Abel's parents were Georgia Negroes who looked northward for economic opportunity and who migrated to Philadelphia during World War I.

A substantial migration of southern Negroes occurred beginning in 1915. Several factors of change coincided and created this effect. In the South "white infiltration" into the kinds of work formerly monopolized by Negroes, the relative shift westward of cotton growing, and the ravages of the boll weevil made the Negro farmer worse off than he had been before. The draft of white workers, the stopping of immigration, and the general war prosperity forced Northern industry to turn actively to Negroes for new workers. (Myrdal, 1944).

I was born on December 1, 1919, in Philadelphia in the old Hahnemann Hospital. My people are from Georgia. The only thing I know about the place they came from is that the name of the place is Buena Vista.

While there are proportionately more Negro infants born than white, significantly fewer of the Negro infants live. Pulmonary diseases, particularly, exact higher death rates from Negroes; however evidence from many sources suggest that this is a function of exposure and socio-economic differentials rather than race (Perkins, 1954).

There were five of us. I had a sister born, she died as an infant. I don't know how - of bronchitis. There is another brother and two sisters who are older than I am. I am the youngest.

Abel's early family life was cursed with family disorganization and parental deprivation. His mother became mentally ill and his father remained an unreliable source of support for him either economically or emotionally.

The discrepancy between Negroes and white rates of mental disease is so great that it is certain that Negroes have more mental ailments than do white. The Negro rates exceed the white rates at every age. It has been concluded that the increased rates of schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychoses would seem to be due in part to migration and urbanization (Rosenthal, 1934).

Family Structure

At the age of a year and a half, I suppose between 18 months and two years, my mother suffered a mental breakdown. My father was a gambler. He would gamble and he would drink, and lose large sums of money, and we had to suffer a lot of times. My mother worked, from what I understand. But I can only repeat what was told to me. It was all in vain. I suppose she

was unable to bear it. It was too much for her and she suffered a mental breakdown. She was placed in an institution, first in the Philadelphia General Hospital, then the Philadelphia Mental Hospital at Byberry. She stayed there until 1950, until she died. I don't know the exact year she was placed in that institution. The records state she was a patient there for 28 years. I believe she was 28 years old when she went in. When she went into this place we were living in the neighborhood of 8th and Girard Avenue, in a small street between 8th Street and 9th Street (Darien Street).

In addition to the direct indices of family disorganization, Negroes appear to have a larger share of the factors contributing to family disorganization. Lodgers, for example, are often a disruptive factor in family life. Doubling up of families in a single household is another factor and Negroes have more of it and overcrowding (Stern, 1943).

On each side of us one of my mother's sisters were living with their families, and I believe my father's two younger half brothers were living with my father and father's mother. There was bad feeling between my father and my mother's sisters who lived on each side of us. They had larger families than we. One of my mother's sisters had 14 children, and the other had about 8 children.

Both poverty and migration act to maintain the old pattern of a female centered family. Employment discrimination has traditionally made it more difficult for the poorly educated Negro male to secure steady employment than the poorly educated female.

When the unskilled Negro male does get a job, he generally assumes an occupation that pays barely enough to support himself, much less a family. Such conditions inevitably contribute to a typical pattern of desertion and disorganization (Pettigrew, 1964). The grandmother is

often the dominant figure in the Negro lower class family and in many cases she is the sociological mother of the extended family group. That is, she may be the person who directly rears the grandchildren, and perhaps also nieces, nephews, and adopted children, exercising authority, assuming responsibility, and called upon during the major crises of life (Frazier, 1939).

They accused my father of being guilty of making my mother ill. They accused him of being the cause of my mother being in her mental condition. Well, this created a bad situation. So my father moved away from the area, and my grandmother continued to live with us for a time.

Abel's father does not disappear from his life entirely. He returns periodically to visit, sometimes sees Abel roaming the streets. His concern for his son is more than casual and occasionally helps keep Abel out of trouble.

The disillusionment and insecurity which Negro men experience in the city may bring back memories of the secure affection and sympathy of the wife or children whom they have left behind. This may bring a resolve, generally transitory and soon forgotten, to return to their kinfolk (Frazier, 1939).

I remember there used to be a fellow who used to buy me candy. He'd give me a nickel and give me a hot water bottle. I didn't know what was in this bottle. I put it in my clothes, inside my shirt, and he'd take me by the hand, I was about 6 or 7. We'd go for several blocks. After we'd get so far, he'd take the hot water bottle away from me, and he'd buy me a bar of candy. Five cents was a lot of money in those days to a poor kid. One day my father questioned me about the money and wanted to know where I was getting the candy. I told him about the hot water bottle, and he told me he's transporting bootleg liquor. "You're

carrying whiskey for this man, I don't want you to do that anymore. If you do I'll give you a good whippin' ". So I didn't do it anymore. I wanted the money, but I couldn't do it.

Abel's mother's kin are concerned about the children and complain to the Welfare Department about the setting which is so obviously detrimental to their growth and development and their future.

During the time I was 6 or 7 years old we lived on the 900 block Alder Street. This was a very bad time, I recall, when I was a kid. They were reckless days. Roaring 20's. Red light houses all around us. This was a street where there wasn't just colored people in our neighborhood, but white women married to colored men, Irish and I believe some German women, married to colored men. I know kids today whose mothers were white and fathers were colored. Fathers blacker than I am. These people they drank, they gambled. There were shootings on several occasions. I experienced one when I was a child. I remember one particular house we lived in before they put us under city direction, the 1600 block on Warnock Street. One house, this woman she had games in her house, gambling. I learned to gamble when I was a kid, 6 years old, all the gambling games. I used to sit up all night long and watch the games. On one occasion, I remember, they had a little stool I used to sit on, by the door. They would crowd around by the table and they would tell me, "Look, you sit over by the door," and I was sitting by the door, and this fellow accused the woman's son of cheating and drew a pistol. This woman got in front and tried to keep this man from shooting us, and he fired two or three shots and one bullet just missed me and lodged in the wall beside me. Some of my brothers and sisters were in the house. This woman had children, too. I don't know what happened, they ran out and I ran out too. I had the idea this man was shooting at me.

I relate this to let you know the type of background. You want to know my history, so I'm telling you. So, this is the type of thing I was associated with and got used to.

But the efforts of the authorities to improve Abel's social setting merely replaced it with additional personal stress. A bad neighborhood

was replaced by a cruel "parent". Furthermore, when the children are placed in a foster home, their father leaves for New York, rarely to be seen again, until shortly before his death in 1939.

As Frazier (1939) notes ". . .solitary wandering men and women are in the majority of cases the debris, so to speak, thrown off by a bankrupt . . .(society). It is also true that in the process of adjustment to the urban environment in the North as well as in the South, thousands of migrants become footloose and join the hosts of wandering men and women. These men and women have not only been uprooted from the soil but have no roots in the communal life and have broken all social ties."

When I was around 8 years old, the city took us over and we were placed in a foster home. The four of us were together then, my two sisters, my brother--and I. We went into a little country place called Aberdale. I stayed up there for awhile. These people had a farm. They were paid by the city to take care of children like us, you know. These people were very cruel, they didn't feed us. We didn't get enough to eat. I remember one occasion, they had pigs there, and I was so hungry, I'll never forget this. This man would go down to the bakery, and he would get stale bread for the pigs. They had this bread in a barrel, boxes in the barn. I was so hungry I had to steal it. If he had known I was eating this bread, I would have gotten a beating. He would have whipped me within an inch of my life for taking this stale bread. The bread was molded and had cobwebs on it. I brushed the cobwebs off and ate this molded bread, green, because I was hungry. But the city was paying these people, colored people, a home in which we kids might learn to fit into society. This is what the city was doing. This is what they believed. This still goes on. The city still supports this type of organization.

I remember another occasion. My brother took a crab apple. We had an orchard there, cherry and apple trees. My brother took one crab apple and he was beaten unmercifully. My brother took it because he was hungry. They said he was disobedient. They told him not to take an apple off the tree. And this happened when I was 8 years old, starting in school.

On another occasion my sister was beaten. It was unnecessary. These people treated us so badly. My older sister wrote to the authorities about this condition. They investigated. They saw the marks. I beat my own children. If they do wrong, I whip them, but at the same time I don't starve them. We were beaten for things we wanted to supply, we were hungry, starving. They took us away from those people, and when I was about 9 or 10 years old, placed us in a foster home in S.W. Philadelphia, a place called Elmwood, Eastwick. We lived at 89th and Holstead Avenue.

Abel's existence is somewhat less burdened by familial persecution in a new foster home. His new life, however, seems to contain more relief from punishment and starvation than emotional support and fulfillment.

The new people were pretty nice. This new foster woman was somewhat cruel, the man was more gentle person than the woman. But this woman was not as cruel as the former woman.

During this time my sister became of age. They got you a job and let you go home. It's not a prison, I want you to understand. It's an institution to care for neglected children, supported by municipal funds.

My youngest sister, next to the oldest, became of age and she moved away. I would leave there frequently and come home. This was because I had a love of my own people. This woman was cruel, not as cruel as the other, but my brother won a case against her, and he was transferred to another home in South Philadelphia.

Economics

The wish to be home, to be with his own people, in a place where he belonged, haunted him. He no longer could endure the coldness, and the apartness that was his foster life. But with his own or not, poverty and hunger is a major oppressive force in the life of the child.

The depression of 1931-39 was devastating to American negroes. At every level they trailed their white counterparts in income, and

employment. In New York for instance during 1935 the median income for negroes families was \$980., while that of white families was \$1930. (U.S.Dept. of Labor, 1939).

When I was 12 years old, my sisters were working and they showed proof that they could take care of me. I was taken out of there, and I went to live with my grandmother. My two sisters were living with my grandmother, and my father's half brother, on 10th Street near Girard. That was in 1932. We were doing pretty good, my sisters had sleep-in jobs. But this was the time the depression was beginning to show its effects upon the people. And I remember times in 1932 when we didn't have enough to eat. It was very tough going. My father's brother used to go down to the docks like many other people in Philadelphia, pick up cabbage, potatoes, anything he could find on the ground. There were many days we didn't have anything to eat, I went to school many days in 1932, the early part of 1933, without any food. We didn't have shoes. Our homes weren't heated. We weren't comfortable in the wintertime. I remember one particular occasion we had five cents to buy food with. Sometimes we would go and buy stale buns, stale donuts, cakes. You could get two or three dozen stale buns, and eat them for two or three days. Couldn't take a chance on buying an egg, or a couple of eggs, wouldn't go very far. My grandmother would buy one egg, scramble it, mix it with rice and fry it. My grandmother, my uncle and myself would eat this. My sisters would come home Thursdays and Sundays. They were working for private families. In 1932 we couldn't pay our rent and the constable was on us. We were forced to move. My uncle earned some money loading trucks, working docks, and what not. Somehow, one way or another, between my uncle and my sisters, we managed to get money to rent a house, another house. We moved to Fairmount Avenue in the early part of 1933. Around that time the government passed some sort of subsidy, so that people could get some form of relief check.

It has been noted that in the middle of the '30's roughly one half of the Negro families in the urban north were on relief. This usually was about 3 to 4 times more than the corresponding proportion of whites. The small residual of non relief families with an income of less than \$500. was not significantly higher for Negroes than it was for whites. (Sterner, 1943).

People could get food, but the government would not pay your rent. You had to pay your own rent. I think they called it a food order. We were eligible, and got so much for food for me, so much for grandmother, and so much for my uncle. We had a big house, some other people moved in, some relatives of my grandmother's, I don't know much about them.

Identity Problem

But physical deprivation can chip at more than one's body. The psychological impact of being a have-not takes shape in 1935 when Abel becomes aware of other social classes and learns not only are other ways of life possible, but that they already exist in other beings.

The importance of identity problems for young Negro children has been widely demonstrated. Research which has utilized a wide assortment of techniques and a variety of settings have consistently arrived at the same critical conclusions. Racial recognition in both white and Negro children appears by the third year and rapidly sharpens each year thereafter. Of special significance is the tendency found in all of these studies for Negro children to prefer white skin. They are usually slower than white children to make racial distinction. They frequently prefer white dolls and white friends, and they often identify themselves as white or show a tense reluctance to acknowledge that they are Negro. In fact, young children of both races soon learn to assign, realistically, poor houses and less desirable roles to Negro dolls. (Clark, 1963; Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Moreland, 1953; Stevenson and Steward, 1958; Trager and Yarrow, 1952). Some of this direct manifestation of "self hate" disappears in later years though similar studies of older Negro children find residual symptoms. (Coke, 1946; Johnson, 1941; Seeman, 1946). For the majority of Negro adolescents the early teens introduce their own version of crisis. From

his teachers, his peer group, his contacts with the white world beyond his immediate neighborhood, the Negro teenager encounters serious shocks. The full awareness of his social devaluation in the larger society in addition to the sharp strain felt by all teenagers in a complex society can assume the dimension of a severe emotional stress situation. (Milner, 1953).

In 1934 I attended classes in Central High School at Broad and Green, I saw and came in contact with white boys, white boys in a higher grade than myself, and I had a chance to see how they live. I observed their clothing. I was very poor. So poor in fact that in 1934 I didn't even have a sweater to wear. I had to wear my sister's sweater to keep me warm. I didn't have a hat to cover my head, a decent coat. The only clothes I had were clothes given to me as a result of the government program of aiding the needy. I had a chance to observe the white boys and I saw their clothes. I didn't see white boys at Central High School, most especially Jewish boys, they didn't have my kind of clothes on. They didn't have shoes that were given to them. In fact, I didn't have a pair of shoes. My brother-in-law gave me a pair of shoes that were two or three sizes too large for me. They used to slip around my feet. These white boys used to come to school with two or three salami sandwiches, Jewish rolls, pumpernickel bread, rye bread, lettuce, tomato and cheese, bananas, apples, oranges and a bar of candy. I came to school and my grandmother had a nickel to give me, I would buy three large pretzels, maybe a couple of tootsie rolls, and I would drink water.

I wanted to come out of school, and earn a living, to buy myself clothes. I was ashamed of myself, I couldn't have any dignity. I was never ashamed of my color, or what I am, because I feel as good in my physical appearance as they do. I felt, well, I'm inferior to these people and I'm ashamed, and I don't even have decent clothes to wear. These boys wore bulky sweaters, sport jackets, nice shirts, ties, I was poor. I might have dungarees, sweatshirt, tee shirts. Anything I could get to put on my back to cover my nakedness.

Abel comes to the decision that he must take care of himself, that only through his own efforts, by playing a more active role can he get anything out of life.

Negro children consistently lag far behind white children in education. There is a much stronger tendency for them to drop out of school at the lower grades. It is interesting to note however that the tendency for Negroes to drop out of school more than white drops at the college level. Of all high school graduates over 25 years of age, in 1940, a slightly greater proportion of Negroes than of whites have gone to college (42.6% compared to 41.9%). A much smaller proportion of all Negroes than of whites goes to college, but once Negroes have attained high school graduation, they have a slightly better chance of going to college. This reversal is probably due to the tremendous difficulties the Negro child encounters in getting as far as high school graduation, to the relative lack of opportunities for Negro high school graduates, and to the relatively better opportunities for college trained Negroes (Myrdal, 1944).

I tried to get out of school when I was 15. They forced me to go until I was 16. So I quit school. I came out and got a job making about \$6.00 a week. And I started to buy myself some clothes in order that I might have some dignity, that I might hold my head high, that I might feel like a free man, that I might feel I was something too, that God had made in this world. In '36 and '37 I worked in dress factories downtown, assisting the shippers, helping out the boy carrying packages, delivering to different places, making \$6.00, \$7.00, \$8.00 a week. In 1937 I went to Campbells, got my first job during tomato season, every summer thereafter I would go back and work at Campbell's.

Social Disorganization

Gambling, however, victimized Abel as it did his father before him. In a search for the "big kill" most of the money he earned was squandered.

Certain traits, present everywhere, but more developed in the

Negro as a consequence of his background and subordinate caste system have also been conducive to a high crime rate. Sexual looseness, weak family bonds, and poverty have made prostitution more common among negro women than among white women. Carelessness and idleness have caused the Negro to be the source of a disproportionate amount of accidental crimes and of vagrancy. Negroes also have a high record of crimes connected with gambling and the use of liquor, although it has not been established that their record is higher than that of other lower class groups (Myrdal, 1944).

I learned to gamble when I was four. But at 15 I started to shoot dice. And I learned to play poker when I was hanging around these corners. I'd have a job for awhile and then I'd get laid off. And after sometime when I'd need some money I'd gamble, shoot dice, play poker, some other card game and try to win some money. I wouldn't take anything, I didn't believe in stealing. I'd need money, so I'd gamble to get it. When I was about 17 years old, I worked for a numbers banker, a guy who writes numbers. They used to have a house where you'd turn in the numbers. I'd write leads. You'd get a chance to play each number individually. This fellow was a pretty big numbers banker in the colored neighborhood. He owned a nightclub. You'd get into this stuff. I was tall for my age, I used to go into the club. They had a band and you used to dance, nice and close. I used to like dancing. I wasn't so high up in the organization, but I had a pretty good spot. I wrote on a percentage basis there was no salary. It would come up to \$15.00 a week, \$20.00, something like that. It depended upon how friendly you were, how smart you were. Sometimes we devised a scheme where we could make more money.

One time, one of my associates, a very close friend of mine, we decided to bank some numbers ourselves, and we went broke. We did all right for awhile, but it cleaned us out. We had to pawn our clothes to pay him off. Numbers, shooting dice, playing cards, sometimes I'd be lucky, sometimes I wouldn't. Actually, when I'd add it all up, everything, overall, I lost more than I would win. I would have been much better off if I'd had a job. I wouldn't have been content to do that.

That's what I wanted to do. I wanted to be a professional person. I wanted to be a doctor. I had the

qualifications, the basic background. My elementary training, if you'd read my records in the Philadelphia Public Schools, you'd see that I had a basic intellect for a professional person. I wasn't interested in religion, but I was interested in medicine. I would have liked to have been a doctor.

Occupational Life

Economic deprivation continues to burden Abel but is assuaged by falling in love with the girl whom he marries. Poverty still depresses him, but his feelings of affection for his wife and her economic participation sustains him.

We met this girls' club and my wife was a member of this group of girls. She's from Virginia, on the eastern shore. Most of her background is Indian, as far as she can understand there is no white blood in her. I married her in 1939. When we first got married, we had a room with her aunt on a small street. She was working at the time, taking care of a little child, a white Jewish child. She earned \$5.00 a week, and I was earning \$5.00 a week, too. I was a handyman and working around a restaurant. It wasn't a restaurant. It was like a Hot Shoppe, sandwich shop. We used to hang around this shop when we were kids.

I was very fond of my wife and I wanted to get her out of that life. I was lonely. I never experienced the love of a mother. I knew how I had suffered as a child, and I wanted an opportunity while I was still young, before I got too old. I was 19, trying to raise a family and build a home.

My wife used to come up Girard Avenue and I was watching for her. My boss said I watched at the window too much, and he fired me. I couldn't get any more work. I tried. Just couldn't find anything. She worked until she had to have a baby. Our first baby was born in 1940, in May. We tried to make it as well as we could. But we had to go to public assistance and receive public assistance. Well, during that time I had . . . I kind of lost hope. What's the difference, what's the use of even trying, everything you try there's no success. So I went back to the corner again. I started to hang out around the poolroom again with the fellows. I started to shoot pool and bet pool and this is how I started to go down. I remember I gambled the only \$5.00 we had and lost it. Fortunately my grandmother and my aunt had and gave us surplus food, some beans or something. We were able to eat beans, we were able to struggle back, and we made it. We saved a couple of dollars a week, even during

that time. We'd eat beans, maybe potatoes, beans. . . and in the Fall of 1940 things began to look up a little bit.

The upturn in the national economy had its belated effect upon Abel, too. More jobs were available. Governmental assistance programs made Abel's future seem a little more secure than he had ever seen it. As long as he was willing to work hard and demand little, then "recovery" could be his, too.

In April, 1941, there were 235,000 certified Negro workers assigned to work under the W.P.A. They constituted 16% of the total labor forces in under this administration. The Negroes, therefore, had a somewhat larger share in the work relief jobs than corresponded to their representation among the unemployed workers; for, according to the census of 1940, there were about 13% non whites among all persons who were without jobs and who were seeking work, or who were on emergency work. (Sterner, 1943).

Then I got a job with W.P.A. I received \$26.08 every two weeks. Got that job first and that was a pretty good help to us. We were able to live a little better. During that time I went to school. The government had a training program. I went to school to learn pipefitting, how to make blueprints, how to draw blueprints, shape the pipes for copper tubing. I learned all of that at Mastbaum Vocational School. I went at night. They paid you for this, received the money just like received on the job. In the fall of 1941 I went to work for the Pennsylvania Railroad. That was a hard job. I was a trucker, unloading freight from one car to another. It was cold, outside work and very hard. I remember looking on some of those bills. The merchandise would weigh as much as 1300 lbs., and when you put it on a truck it would be hard to pull. You would have to learn how to balance it so that you wouldn't injure yourself. I cursed the day I was born many times on that job. But it was a job. And I had to feed my family and I made the best of it. I hoped that something else would come. Meanwhile I had placed some applications at the Navy Yard, I worked at the Railroad for 3 or 4 months, and those were the hardest months of my life, that I've ever worked, in the cold, bitter cold, snow worse than this. And there was no fire. The only time

you could come inside if you had to go to the bathroom. And you better not stay in there too long. Those foremen they get wise. My foreman was a tyrant, I'm telling you brother, that man he didn't know how to smile. He didn't know what a smile was. If he caught you playing around you lost the job. I had a family, I had to feed them. I had to work. So I had to work hard, and I worked hard. Any job I took I always gave my employer his money's worth, believe me.

It is not until Abel gets to his next job, at the Navy Yard, that he learns that his personal effort can pay off. He discovers that opportunities no matter how slim, may be sometimes had if you are unyielding, persistent and courageous.

The war boom brought about a tremendous scarcity of labor, and since the available labor reserve before the boom was much greater, in proportion, in the Negro than in the white population, one could have expected that the unemployment rates would fall more for Negro than for white workers, that however did not happen. On the contrary, the proportion among the Negroes among the unemployed workers was considerably higher during the war than had been previously. In fact, the record of the second World War shows that in this respect the Negro profit from the war boom was much less impressive than that of the first World War (Myrdal, 1944).

So I had an application at the Navy Yard, and I left the Pennsylvania Railroad to go to the Navy Yard in 1942. In fact, that was another cold job. The only job I could get down there, the only application I could get through was a laborer. I went into the 72 shop, only laborers or riggers. I thought maybe I could work up to a rigger. You start as a laborer and you work up to a rigger. While I was down there I thought about the training I had received at Mastbaum Vocational and put in a transfer from the 72 shop to the 53 shop. That was a pipe shop. Most of the colored fellows were in the 72 shop. There were few colored fellows in the 53 shop, so they didn't want to let me in. I wrote a letter to the master of the shop. Eventually I threatened to take the case up

with the Federal Fair Employment Practices Division which the President had created at that time, and then they let me into the shop. That gave me a higher rating, and I got a raise in salary.

A person's own beliefs about a social situation can contribute to shaping the situation. Such beliefs are "self-fulfilling prophecies". (Merton, 1948). This phenomenon of social interaction is often crucially important in the exacerbation of the Negroes "marks of oppression" (Hayakawa, 1953). The compliant Negroes' behavior may serve both to "prove" the racists contentions and to heighten and make more serious the personality scars inflicted by being classified and treated as an "inferior". A vicious circle is thus established: the deeper the scars from discrimination, the more in keeping with the discrimination is the Negroes' behavior, the greater the reinforcement of the discriminatory pattern, and thus the deeper the scars (Pettigrew, 1964).

During the years I was down there, in 1943, I fell into a rut again, gambling, drinking, and having a good time. I wouldn't go in, a lot of times I'd be out and they'd want to get rid of me. So they fired me.

I went from the Navy Yard to Cramp's Shipyard. I stayed at Cramp's until things began to slack up, just before the war was over in 1945. Then I went to work at Atlantic Refining Company and I was working there when the war came to an end in 1945. But in 1946 things got pretty bad, I was laid off at the Atlantic Refining Company. After the war there was a mass layoff and things were pretty bad with us.

I was fortunate enough to get a job with Campbell's Soup Company and I was a retort operator. Now, you have to be a high school graduate for that job. Then you only had to have a high school education, one year or part of the year. So I qualified for that job. You had to use your hands, feet, eyes and mind. Everything was fast work, you had to be able to count, to add up in your mind. I made out pretty good on that job, but I was still gambling. Once you get into that gambling it's like a cancerous disease. You still believe you can win and you're excited about it. There was a lot of money in the game. We played poker, shoot crap. Friday, payday, why we'd lose almost all of our pay. Sometimes I would make, in '46, '47, '48, many times, \$100., \$105., \$110., sometimes \$80., \$90. In 1949 I was out of a

job. It was a reduction of force. I wasn't fired, I was laid off. I figured it was very unfair because they kept two white fellows who didn't have as much seniority as I. Of course, all the supervisors were white. It was a white man's job, the job I had. They didn't want colored fellows on that job. Prior to the war no colored man held that job that I had. The only reason a colored fellow got that job was the war.

My wife used to pump milk. She was very healthy, she had very rich milk, and she used to sell it to the Pennsylvania Hospital. She used to make \$34.00 a week, over a \$1,000. a year doing this. We did very well. We were receiving unemployment compensation from the state of New Jersey and we received a supplementary relief check from Public Assistance. I got together with some fellows who were good at masonry, and doing alteration work on buildings, remodeling buildings, painting, etc. I worked along with them. I painted. We set up some sort of a cooperative. That's how I earned my livelihood until I became full time head of our congregation, and I could be paid out of some of the contributions toward the congregation for the religious services I was performing.

Educational Life

The intellectual resources of Abel were always quite apparent to his teachers and even to the child himself. His strong need to learn and understand was constantly frustrated, however, by limited opportunities and oppressive obstacles.

I always had a love of books. I was always a brilliant student in school. I always loved learning. I see this reflected in most of my children today. I always had the highest marks in school. I enjoyed writing. I loved writing. I never had to study too much to learn something. I didn't find it difficult to learn most subjects. I could understand. In Wilson Junior High classes were from the 5th grade to the 8th grade inclusive, and I made good marks. When I graduated to Central High, * I had excellent marks. But this was the time, the first time, a resentment

* It is interesting to note that Central High School has been traditionally an academic and college preparatory institution. While its standards have fluctuated throughout the years, its usual population comprises the intellectually superior.

of white people began to grow up in me, when I was around 14 years old.

I had a friend, a white boy, who was Irish, and he said he wanted to be a civil engineer. I thought a lot of this boy, and thought that he, too, thought a lot of me. I wanted to spend my life with this boy. I knew there was a difference between us in color, but it was never expressed between us kids, and most of the German people in particular among whom we lived. This teacher was a Jewish teacher, Mr. Diamond, a white Jew, and he told me, you'll have to understand that you're colored, he told me that my friend could be a civil engineer, but not me.

When I was told by this teacher that I couldn't be a civil engineer, it destroyed my love of learning. I was frustrated. I became discouraged and I said, well it's all in vain. What's the need of going to school and getting an education. Why strive for high marks, you know being colored you can't get a position in that particular field. I went into high school with this type of an attitude. I had a disinterest in learning. Finally I quit school.

Religious Life

Abel's early religious life, seems characterized by a lack of it. His mother, always an invalid, was unable to transmit to her child her own religious convictions. His father, a militant heretic, was disinclined to teach his son anything concerning traditional Christian beliefs.

Christian churches have for the most part conformed to the power situation of the time and locality. They have favored a passive acceptance of one's worldly conditions and, indeed, have seen their main function in providing escape and consolation to the sufferers. If there is a relationship between the interest of a Negro church and social issues in the social status of its membership, the relation is that a church tends to be more otherworldly, the poorer its members are, and the more in need of concerted effort they are, the less the church attempts to improve their life in this world (Myrdal, 1944). The churches where the poor white people in the south worshipped were similar to the common Negro

churches (Mitchel and Mitchel, 1930). The Negro church appeared to be out of touch in the current social life in the field of morals; the preaching of traditional puritanical morals had little effect on the bulk of the Negro population, and the real moral problems of the people were seldom considered in the church (Myrdal, 1944).

My mother was, from what I understand, a hard working woman and religiously inclined. The Holy Church Movement was gaining popularity in the United States. I understand she was a member of this movement, although my father was opposed to all Christian Churches.

Abel does not seem to need any religious satisfaction as a child and receives none. But when he is 13 years old a dramatic event occurs which significantly shapes, nearly 16 years later, the turning point of his life.

It was on Fairmount Avenue, this phenomenal event happened to me. On that block there was quite a number of white people on all sides. I remember this particular instance. We were playing a game of Chinese Tag. Most of the kids had gone in, and these two white girls, one girl lived next door to me and the other lived down the street, and we were still playing. They had chased me up toward Ludden Street, and I was chasing them. I was "it" and I was chasing them. It was in the summer. An electrical storm was in the making. It was very dark, thunder and flashes of lightening. It was hot and people were sitting outside to get air, to sit out as long as they could. The humidity was very high. There were scattered sprinkles. All of a sudden a flash of lightning came out of the east and struck me! When it happened I felt as though I was paralyzed. From my waist up my entire body was engulfed in flames. No one could see any part of me but my legs. That's all they could see. The upper part of my body was a mass of flames. To me it was as though I was in a vacuum, everything else was shut out. I couldn't hear a thing. I don't know if it was the effects of the thunder, I don't know what it was. All I know is, I actually didn't become frightened until it was all over. I wasn't afraid at the time it was happening. I seemed momentarily paralyzed, I couldn't move. Just like a force was overpowering me. And to me it was as though everything

around me was black. I couldn't see anything, as though I was in a vacuum. I know one thing, I had never experienced anything like this. When lightning comes inside the ouse, I'm outside looking at it. But when this happened this was as though I was within this light. This was the way it appeared to me. I was in the center of this light, and this light was all around me, and everything around me was obscured. I didn't see any buildings, any people, anything. A white woman screamed, "Oh, my God, the boy is struck by lightning, the kid is dead!" She fell back in the doorway. She was certain I was dead.

What does one do when one is a child, only 13, and is struck by lightning? Run home, of course, which is exactly what Abel did. He ran to his grandmother, having survived the holocaust and he was very frightened.

My grandmother, she scolded. Colored people are superstitious about thunder and lightning. They say, "When you hear thunder, that's God talking, so sit down and be quiet. When you see flashes of lightning, that's God showing His power, sit down and be quiet." And you would have to sit down during the storm. She was angry with me and she socked me with a fist. She said, "Next time you sit down or next time God will kill you!"

The world of men is dangerous enough without running the risk of displeasing God. Perhaps he could reinstate himself with God. For the next two years of his life his main concern is with religious ways to ingratiate himself with his Maker.

The thing frightened me. And I began to think about it. I said, well, perhaps God was displeased with me and I didn't know about it. I had gone to the Baptist Church a couple of times with some of my cousins during Christmas and Easter. I had gone to Sunday School to get Christmas candy and Easter eggs. But, other than that, I wasn't interested in church. But when this happened, I thought maybe I should join a church.

There was a little mission. Our neighbors on the right had a little mission there. It was a store converted into a mission and I started going to this place. I would listen to these white people preach and I would think, well, I'm in a church, maybe God will be merciful to me now.

Colored people, we believe in omens, you know. If a picture falls off a wall, somebody is going to die. If the wind blows the door open, or the door would shut and nobody shut the door, that's a bad omen, somebody's going to die. Lots of things like that. So I started thinking that this is a bad omen. Maybe I'm going to die. So I went to this mission for awhile.

My brother had joined one of these Holiness churches. So, I went to this church. I was 13 years old. I went to that until I was almost 14. They had a system; get on your knees, put a couple of chairs in front of the pulpit and call this the mourners' bench. Get down and pray, and they tell you to call on Jesus. I wanted the Holy Ghost, too. So I called Jesus, Jesus didn't answer. They would sing. They would clap their hands, beat the tempo on the drums, make a lot of noise, and they would say, "Call him louder, call him faster!" I would call him so fast that my mouth would get dry. I would imagine that I could see angels floating. I would try to imagine everything, trying to get this Holy Ghost. I'd see them scream, jump and yell. I said I wanted to get the same thing too. I was in earnest. I wasn't kidding around. If the thing were true, I should have gotten it, because I was really seeking for it - I was trying to get it. I was so long getting it. They would say, "Well, he's a brilliant child, and we'll let him open the service, he'll read from the bible." This woman, she was the mother of the church and her son, he was the pastor. So she said, "You're very good, you're very intelligent, you can open the service, you can read the Bible, and so forth and so on. But you've got to get the Holy Ghost". I couldn't get the Holy Ghost. So, I said that's the only thing I'm lacking, and I'm going to pretend I got the Holy Ghost. So one day I jumped up and started making some kinds of funny noises. It was a farce: I was pretending. I don't know if they really believed I had something. But they said, "Well, he's got the Holy Ghost." They were all laughing, but I knew I was pretending. But I wanted to belong with the rest of the people, so I started sounding like the men. All the men jumped up and down, and I looked at the women and thought I don't like the way the men sound, and I thought I would try something different, so I changed myself. I stopped jumping straight up and down and started doing some fancy steps. So the Pastor of the church said to the mother of the church "Little Abel has lost the Holy Ghost." I knew I never had it anyway.

When I was put out of the church, I was afraid I was going to die. I wanted to be associated with the church, and these people of the Holy Church they go up and down

the street saying, "Look, the day of judgment is at hand." There were a lot of these Holiness movements among the colored, Holy Ghost churches.

There was a girl who went to school with us, her mother was a pastor at one of these churches, she was giving a birthday party and she invited us all up. I was reluctant to go at first because I thought, well, if we're supposed to have the Holy Ghost, we're not supposed to be having birthday parties. She said to come up after school, so, I went up after school and I saw all the kids acting like at a birthday party, and she was acting the same way. I had a lot of confidence in this girl, I was sure she had the Holy Ghost. I knew I didn't have it. I knew I was pretending. But I was certain that this thing with the Holy Ghost was real, and this girl's mother being director of the church, well, I was certain she had it. So, when I saw this girl conducting herself in this manner, I said, well, there's nothing to this thing. I came out and I didn't go to the church anymore.

Fifteen years of Abel's life pass by before he comes face to face with yet another religious experience. During the interim he is a man without God and without concern. But in 1949 a frightening occasion provides the lever for a complete change in his life; a change in perspective, a change in purpose, and a change in his very identity. For in 1949 Abel experiences a hallucination!

Hallucinations are usually auditory, less often visual and occasionally involve taste, smell and skin sensitivities. The organization of hallucinations varies all the way from a continuous stream of visions, or a voice with which the subject holds long conversations, to the most fragmentary sound - a word or phrase out of context, a scream, a whisper, laughter. Hallucination seems to be not only signs of illness, they are often signs that a patient is actively trying to cope with his regressed situations, that he is actively trying to get well (Freud, 1953; Cameron, 1963).

I retired early around 10:30 - 11:00 o'clock, earlier than I was accustomed on a Saturday night. I used to spend all weekend gambling, and I was

bored with this type of life. I wasn't making any progress in it. I wasn't winning any money, and it was a drain on my health. It was wearing me down. I was exceedingly tired, and I thought, well, this time I would stay in. Sometimes I would gamble all night and all day. This was very taxing for me. In the process of time I began to feel it.

This evening I was lying down on the bed, around 10:30 - 11:00 o'clock, and I was halfway asleep, not totally. I was conscious enough to know if someone walked into the room. I heard a voice say, "Seek God!" It sounded like a whisper, but it filled the atmosphere. My eyes were closed, and it seemed to float down to my ears. It had a tingling effect. Instantly I was awake. I was wide awake. I didn't take time to look around and see if anyone was in the room. I covered my head with the blanket because I had never experienced anything like that. As I lay there I was frightened. My pulse began to rise rapidly, and I began to perspire profusely. I was catching my breath, shortly, in gasps. I was very excited and afraid, I didn't really believe in ghosts, but I knew it wasn't a ghost. It was something I had never experienced. I had no fear of ghosts, but this was something that just brought terror over me.

I lay there, thinking what to do, what this thing was, trying to figure what it was in the room. I tried to reason, to rationalize. I said, I'm 29 years old. It's very foolish of me to try to cover my head up like a child. So I tried to remove the cover from my head, but I was unable to. The blanket seemed to be held down by a pressure like a force of wind. I used all the strength that I had and I couldn't remove the blanket from my head. And then a few moments later, I heard a sound, like a gust of wind against the east wall of my bedroom. Then the blanket just fell down, and I never saw anything. But I heard the sound of wind. I woke my wife up, and I told her what had happened. Of course I didn't sleep anymore during the night. I didn't know what it was. I didn't understand.

For weeks following the incident, I began to dream dreams. And after that I looked in the mirror at my face. My face seemed to take a powdery - dead look. This is in real life. Each day I began to observe, I called it to my wife's attention. Well, this really frightened me, and I told her there's only one thing I can do, this is to start to read the Bible, live a better life. Maybe I'm going to die. I had no idea of joining any church or any religious movement. I never had very much faith in the religions. And of the reasons why religion never impressed me is because the promise of most religions was something in the abstract. It was something without life. You had to

die to obtain the promises. I didn't feel there was no God.

So I felt, well, I'll read the Bible in my way. I didn't have all of the details or facts. But as a child I felt that Daniel was one of our own. When I was in trouble, in my way, I prayed to God. I remembered stories of Daniel, I felt Joseph and Jacob were ours, I felt these were not white people, these were colored. As a result of the revelation I was inspired to study and read the Bible. When I began to study and read I uncovered many facts. As of 1949 I told my wife we would have to start living,-- read the Bible, sing, pray. I had some negro spirituals around the house. We would play them on the phonograph, we would listen to these negro spirituals. We would read the Bible, and in the next step I said we would have to stop eating pork.

At the time there was a fellow working at Campbell's who worked on another floor and we used to discuss many things. This man was associated with a group of people who called themselves Israelites also. He attended a place known as the Israelite Bible School in Philadelphia and he invited me down. When I attended this meeting I found that the theme was black nationalism. And I learned that this group was an offshoot of another group that had come along a generation before my time. They also stated that the colored people were Jews. I'm not the first to state this, there are others. There's Rabbi Matthew in New York, there are others in New York. And there was a Rabbi Josiah Ford who, from the West Indies Islands, came along in my father's generation.

My father had attended some black-Jewish meetings, he attended some meetings that I didn't know too much about. There was a movement in the United States known as the Pacific Movement, which the Japanese, I understand, were directing. My father was lectured by the Japanese. My father often told me that the Japanese were going to attack the United States and this country was going to lose the war, and I had been instructed as a child never to bear arms against the Japanese.

These nationalistic tendencies, black nationalism, this my father held. They were mine, too. I went to these meetings and these people had these nationalistic ideas. This was similar to what I had been taught. But the nationalistic or racial aspect of his teaching seemed to hold me. I had read the Bible about the Jews being black, and they also come to this point and we had something in common. I continued to attend this place. It was not called a church. One of the reasons that it impressed

me, because it was known as the Israelite Bible School and it was a place where individuals had the right to express themselves if they were capable or qualified.

Abel's special verbal and intellectual abilities soon singled him out as an individual of promise. The Israelite Bible School is deeply impressed and he begins to rise within the hierarchy.

The chief deacon, on one occasion, asked me to say a few words. And that evening I stood up from my seat and faced the audience and spoke. The seemed to be impressed with what I said. On the next occasion he invited me to speak from the speaker's rostrum. After that on several occasions they asked me to speak. The deacon and the congregation were pleased with what I had to say. At that time there weren't many people attending this place. The audience contained not more than ten people. When summertime would come they had a custom to speak on the streets. One of the street corners was 22nd and Ridge Avenue. I became the regular third speaker. Of course, the messages dealt mainly with the international situation, explaining prophecies in the Bible, telling the colored people that they were Jews, and explaining the purpose of Jesus on earth. Much of that part was in line with the Christian teaching. This I was reluctant to accept, because I knew, that all Jews that I knew didn't accept things like that. We disagreed with some things, but if I were going to be in the school, and associated with the people, I had to go along with them. I found out that they didn't observe the Sabbath. I found they would eat anything as did a Christian. So, if I were to stay in the school, I would have to relax - I couldn't preach, teach abstinence from what we would designate as unclean food, and follow this man's teachings.

Abel's commitment, however, is shortlived in the Israelite Bible School. He finds himself in difficulties with his authorities. He and some associated friends are forced to leave the congregation. Perhaps it is time for him to hold his own services, to lead himself into salvation.

It happened one day that I was in the neighborhood of 7th and Poplar, Philadelphia, and I saw this religious store. I was reluctant to go in because I didn't know how they were going to accept me. I said to myself, I'll go

in. They can't do anything but refuse to sell me something. I don't know what I'm going to buy, but I'll go in and look around.

In the window I saw the yarlmalka, the tallis, the various religious books, music sheets in the window and the menorrah. So I went into the establishment and the proprietor there was a very nice woman. Her father was a rabbi who had died and she was carrying on the business. She showed me some books and among the books that she showed me was a Siddur. I didn't know the name of the prayer book at that time. So I said, what is a Siddur? She explained that this is a daily prayer book and I asked, do you have the Bibles that are without the New Testament?

Up to that time we had the standard King James Bible containing both the Old and New Testament. What I sought was a Bible that did not contain the New Testament. She said, yes, and showed me the Bible published by the Jewish Publication Society which is the standard version used by the Jews. When we began in 1951 we started by reciting the prayers from this prayer book in English, and reading from the Chumash in English.

In the fall of 1951 one of the members brought home a little book. She's a domestic and she brought home a book her employer had given her for use by a little child. She showed me that, and I looked over the book. It had some Hebrew words in it. It was supposed to be a book -- that was simplified and would give the sounds and the syllables in English so that it would be easy to pronounce these words. So I said, this is pretty good and maybe I will learn this, and I put the book aside. In 1952, studies of the Hebrew religion continuing, we decided to keep Passover.

The Jewish religion states that in the season of Passover it's the custom to have a Seder, and to read from a book known as the Hagaddah, which tells the story of Egypt. I wanted to be able to read this in Hebrew, and I -- purchased these books. They have pages recorded in English on the left hand page. On the right hand page it's recorded in Hebrew. And I wanted to say a portion of the service in Hebrew. This was in 1952. I wanted to learn Hebrew, and I prayed. I fasted one day and I prayed to God to give me the Hebrew language, the language of my forefathers, to me. I thought something miraculous would happen, something phenomenal. I would just begin to speak Hebrew. I didn't consider that there was more to it than just to speak it in words. I fasted for three days. I didn't eat any food, I didn't drink any water. But at the end of that period I was unsuccessful. At that time the woman at the religious store had sold one of the members of our congregation a book called "First Knowledge of Hebrew."

I tried to understand this book, but I couldn't understand it. Everything was the opposite to begin with, the book opened from the wrong end. English is from left to right and this reads from right to left, one is backwards from the other. I took this book and I began to study. I prayed and I studied very diligently and I put forth much effort. I tried very hard and in about two weeks time I completed the book. The book was very simply arranged, the only thing needed was a qualified teacher. This I did not have other than the divine spirit. I continued to develop and improve my knowledge of the Hebrew language.

A series of dreams following his mystical experience goad Abel on to further investigation in the mission before him. While no further "direct" contact with the supernatural is made, instruction and revelation comes to him in dreams and by message from special individuals.

For weeks following the incident I began to dream dreams. In one of my first dreams I saw three flashes of lightning in succession across the sky, and the lightning shape took the form of a fiery seven. Three times this happened. Then I saw a huge Bible open in the sky and I heard a voice, a very loud voice. It seems as though the voice was not only in the sky, it was everywhere. It was saying, "Every word that is written here shall be fulfilled!" At that time I wasn't aware of the Jewish Bible. While this dream puzzled me, and I was concerned, it didn't make me begin to study the Bible.

I had another dream succeeding that. These events happened very closely together, within the same month. In this dream I was standing in a beautiful park, and I saw two gentlemen with bright shining faces. They were bearded and their heads were covered. I took them to be angels or priests, their faces were so bright. They seemed to have features similar to a colored person, but they didn't have the skin texture, they didn't have the color of a colored person. Their faces seemed to be illuminated, and their heads covered. They had beards and they seemed to be standing on platforms. One of them came down from his raised platform, he came to me and he gave me a book. He put the book in my hand, and he was talking to me and he was pointing his finger in my face. He seemed to be angry, or at least that's -- what I took it to be because he had a very stern expression. I was afraid to look into his face. In fact, in the dream I looked away from him. I looked to the floor. When I looked at his face, his face was so bright it would

burn my eyes. I looked in a mirror,

hurt my eyes. I looked in a glance, sideways. That's how I could detect his features. They were somewhat like a colored person's. But his face was bright, shining. I couldn't understand the words he was saying. But when I woke up, I was muttering something. My tongue seemed to be maybe two or three times its normal size. I was saying "Yes, Lord" and I woke up. I couldn't understand this dream again, or why I was calling this person Lord.

And then there was a dream in which I saw numerous white people who desired to go with me to the land of Israel. We were making preparations to take colored people. There were about four or five men assisting me. I had given orders to see that the white people were taken out of the Pullman and change them to the freight cars. Colored people were placed in there first, and these men informed me that there weren't enough colored people who wanted to go with me to the land of Israel. I was somewhat letdown, and then I heard a lot of people yelling and screaming. I saw a crowd of white people, and they were like children, raising their hands and they were very excited and seemed to be very serious, as if they desired to say something. They were asking me to take them with me. I was reluctant to understand them because I was interested in colored people and not white people.

On another occasion I dreamt I went through a tunnel. Before I went through this tunnel there were these two white women. They were sick, and there was a little child, a white child. And I had to take this child through this tunnel and it was very dark in there. When we got to the other side, there was a beautiful park scene. It was a very beautiful place. I got this child through the tunnel. I left this child and this child was able to go on its own, but its parents kneeled.

Once I dreamt I was walking down the street and there were a number of Catholic Sisters and priests and they were kneeling in the street, and they were bowing, and when I looked around I didn't see anyone else but myself. I became aware that they were bowing to me, and I couldn't understand why because I was always suspicious of these people.

There was another dream in which I dreamt I was on a plantation down south. I saw a colored woman and two children. This woman was crying and seemed to be my ancestors. It seemed they were just brought to this country, just coming in. They didn't look like Africans, as they pictured Africans to me, but they were my ancestors. They were colored. They looked more like Indians, the Indians of Florida. They were clothed like someone from

the family of Levi - had married into the tribe of Judah, and I was a descendent, a direct strain. She was crying because it seemed that the slave master was going to use these women. This is what I dreamt. I believed that I'm a descendent of David, and that it's possible that I could have Levittican and Judaic blood both in my veins.

While the content of these dreams may be analyzed in a number of ways for their latent content, manifestly it can be seen that their subject matter consists of instruction and promise. As a wish fulfillment unconfirmed in a wakened state Abel's dreams provide not only the mechanism of what he must do but the promise of reward in its doing. He is told that he must study and wholeheartedly accept the Bible. Through this instrument he can find the instructions to his fulfillment and the solution to his problems. But even greater glories are to be his. The dream provides a meeting with the Lord and an opportunity for His instruction. Abel's mission is clear. He is to be a modern Moses and deliver his people to the promised land. Other people, too, will recognize him as a great deliverer and a great leader. Not only will others accept his value but his last dream tells him he will even be able to accept himself as a descendent of the House of David and a fulfillment of a Biblical prophecy.

There are yet other remarkable incidents of great significance which occur in Abel's life. They are mysterious and nearly inexplicable. He sees them finally as divine messages through human vehicles which confirm his special position to man and God.

In July, 1949, another man appeared, a very unusual man. Throughout my life individuals have come on the scene. They have spoken things to me that were most unusual. They have told me things that were going to happen to me, and these

things have come to pass. And then they've disappeared. My wife will substantiate that. These people have never told me who they were, but I have in my own way become accustomed to say that they were mollocheam. These were angels. They looked like human beings, and they would bring a message to me. They would talk to me and then they would just disappear. When I say just disappear, I mean they would not come around anymore. We were sitting on this man's porch, there were five of us. And he picked up a penny and he said, "Whose penny is this?" No one claimed it. He asked, "Is this yours?" I said, "No, it's not mine." The penny's head was up. And he said, "This penny is heads up. Do you know the significance of this? I'm talking to you". (pointing to me). I said, "No, I don't". He said that this means that in the days of John the Baptist they took his head, but in your case it won't be your head. Somebody else will go in place of you. I didn't know what he was talking about. After that I would see a lot of pennies. Maybe it was a coincidence. But I would see them wherever I would go. I would see pennies along the street, I would see them on street cars, on buses, all heads up.

The leader of our organization was sick at this time, and I went to his house to see him. In his livingroom there was a penny, heads up. I went up the steps, on the step there were two pennies, heads up. I went into the bedroom there were pennies, heads up.

Simultaneously, there was another gentleman who became ill. At least, he said he was ill. We thought the man was losing his mind. They placed him in the psychiatric ward in Philadelphia General Hospital and after a few weeks he was out. He was acting very strangely, and we went to this man's house. I went there to pray for the man. So, there he was in bed. There were about ten of us standing around his bed. This man was acting like a person out of his mind, raving somewhat. He told his brother-in-law to run home, this man lived on Christian Street and look on the shelf in his livingroom and he would see a cigar box, and in this cigar box he would see two pennies. and right away I thought, this is a coincidence. He said bring them to me right away. So his brother-in-law brought the two pennies to him right away. This man took the pennies. He gave me a penny and he gave his brother-in-law a penny. And he told us each to flip the penny and cover the penny. In about a month we put him back in the Philadelphia General Hospital and he told us he didn't remember any of this. I flipped my penny, his brother-in-law flipped his penny. He said, "Now, take your hands off." Before we took our hands off he said, "Now your penny, Sidney, is tails," and he told me my penny was heads. Then he said to me, "Kneel down and bend your head over," and I bent my head over, and he said, "Let me put my arm over you." I felt he was a psychiatric case and best to cooperate

He said, "This penny means you will always be the head, you will never be the tail. You're Abraham." And he begins to smile and said, "It's a pleasure to put my hands on the head of Abraham."

What it meant, I don't know. I hoarded this in my mind because it was a very special unusual coincidence about pennies.

Abel's feelings toward himself and toward his fellow men is mixed. It ranges from acceptance to nonacceptance, approach to avoidance. While his actions appear to remain flexible according to circumstance, his feelings show only ambivalence.

Negroes who passionately hate whites tend to be those Negroes who most hate and reject themselves (Trent, 1957; Grossack, 1957; Stekler, 1957; Himmelhoch, 1950; Yarrow and Lande, 1953).

Three general types of responses characterize Negro American reactions to oppression: moving toward, against, or away from the oppressor. But each of these responses is uniquely shaded and shaped by the personalities of individual Negroes. These general types are only useful abstractions, for no two human beings ever react to the same situation in precisely the same manner. Broadly speaking, public opinion poll data suggests that moving toward orientations are most common among middle class Negroes, moving against orientations are most common among the poorest and darkest Negroes, and moving away orientations are most common in the South (Pettigrew, 1964).

The established government of Israel, we felt, were concerned with European people, white people. Caucasians who consider themselves Jews, or later with those Jews who were identifying themselves with Jews in the Middle Eastern countries. We didn't feel that they were interested in us, concerned with us, to find out whether or not there were some Jews among the colored population of the U.S.A. We felt they were not concerned with us, and they did not consider us as Jews, even when we began to identify ourselves as Jews and began on this long road back home, so to speak.

We didn't find that white Jews were anxious to lead us, to find our way back. There were Jews who came to our meetings, to offer advice. They would question us and seemed to try to trap us, to prove to us, to try to make us state in our own words that we were not Jews because we didn't know the customs of the Jews. There was no sincere effort on the part of the white Jewish community to seek any of us. If we were one and the same people there was no effort on their part to seek us out. They were more concerned with their ancestors from whom they came. They were more concerned with Europe. They were not concerned with us. These European Jews did not seem to be concerned whether or not there might have been some Jews in the United States who on the outside looked typically negroid, but on the inside were Jewish.

Now to my mind, we have not been recognized by the white community, and as a result of this we feel that we do not consider ourselves related to these people, because they have not acted as if we are related to them. We are Jews who are not ashamed of the color that God has made us. We are not ashamed of what our ancestors were, we are not ashamed of the fact that we are colored, and want the public to know that we are distinguished from the white people who are saying they are Jews. We are not trying to practice the white man's religion, or the white Jewish people's religion, and we are not trying to take something from someone else. We are not trying to be imposters, or trying to deceive the public into thinking we're like the white Jewish religion.

We know that the ancestors of the human race were probably colored, dark skinned people. This I have learned through research. Now, we're not ashamed of our color. That's why we say we're colored people. We're happy and thankful to God to be just what God made us. At the same time, we don't frown upon whiteness because they're not of our color. Because it is not I, nor any of the members of my congregation who have made these white people, it is God. Our forefathers were brought to this country against their will. We are the offspring. We are, in the sense, victims of circumstance. I feel that the problem will not be solved by complaining about our condition, I feel the problem can only be solved by trying to determine, who am I? And, after I determine who I am, then I can learn what my culture is, how I'm supposed to live. I know that I'm a social being. But what is the social order that I'm supposed to dwell within? I have to know something about my god so I know how I should live today, to understand, be able to teach my children that they might understand how they should live, that they might pass this on to their children.

The job is very difficult with the colored people not having any program of order, not being raised properly, each person doing as they see fit, there is no practice of imposing any self control to any extent. Colored people seem to be very selfish, self willed. It seems to be a very difficult thing for them to do to restrain and contain themselves. They are people who put forward their views irrespective of how much they might do harm to themselves or others. They will express themselves anytime. This causes harm to people. We feel there's a time to speak, also a time to refrain from speaking. But the colored people in America, they don't seem to be able to understand this. They will speak often out of turn and out of season. They speak things that they should not speak. They will not always speak the truth.

But, my people coming out of Africa are not wild because they were always savages in Africa. They are wild not because of some intrinsic propensity in them, but because they were subjected to this life escaping their persecutors. We have for centuries been denied our name, our language, our culture, denied the right to return to our homeland. We have been denied the right to even know what our country is. Negroes don't know, cannot definitely state, where they came from, or their ancestors came from. All other cultured, educated and well trained people can tell where they came from. They take pride, point with pride to their homeland. The only thing a Negro can say is that I came from somewhere in the jungles of Africa. The great white father was so kind as to put me aboard a ship and I was a wild savage, like a beast, and he had to chain me. They chained slaves not because he was beastly, they chained him because they were prisoners, they chained him so he would not run away, so they could not escape, they chained him so he would not be able to lift up his hand in defense, to his persecutor, his captor, his slave master. Not because they were savages. You mean to tell me the intelligent white people would take a wild savage beast, a black woman, and take her into their homes and on many occasions take her breast and place it into a little pink skinned mouth, a white baby, this black savage breast. Many white babies have been nursed from the breasts of black women in America. No one can make me believe that the intelligent white people who formed this nation would have taken a heathen savage, an animal from the jungles of Africa and entrust their children to the care of this savage.

Abel Respes' life history is presented here, not as an effort to point out his unique qualities and personal characteristics, but because so much of his history can be seen as archetypal in the Negro life-situation. The environment in which he was raised and the agonies which he suffered seem to be common for a great proportion of American Negroes. It may be noted from the style of Abel's remarks, and the recurrence of sentiment associated with self image of the great concern he has with identity: the question of who and what he is. An individual's identity has been regarded by many theorists as a point of reference for establishing the meaning of different objects in the world. In fact, some have written that once one's identity has been developed it can be used as a device for learning about the properties of other people. (Boas, 1938; Kline, 1952; Mead, 1956). A person's picture of himself is indissolubly linked with his experience with social relationships, and his social relationships are inevitably influenced by his view of himself. Wallace and Fogelson (1962) suggest that an individual works to achieve an identity that has a positive affective value. Miller (1960) points out that the average individual will go to any length to prevent his identity from being demeaned. He may even adopt defenses which may lead him into psychosis (Federn, 1952). Respes' prime preoccupation is concern with the identity of himself and those of people who are affiliated with him. He has attempted to raise his status in his own eyes and in the eyes of his world. His great appeal to his followers is his ability to present an increasingly positive self image by demonstrating his material achievement, educational achievement, verbal ability, respect in the eyes of the whites and a capacity for dialectic.

Through the medium of his own identity transformation he demonstrates to his followers tangible evidence of their potential and their greater self acceptance as well.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Adat Beyt Moshe, the first Colored Hebrew community in the United States, is an anomaly. While consciously planned Negro communities in the United States are not new, they are few. But Negro conversions to Judaism are miniscule. Separatist movements supported by established Christian denominations are by no means irregular, but a Jewish Negro protest movement is something rare and a community of such people is unique indeed.

Negro communities, per se, insofar as they were planned and internally highly organized, have always resembled many white utopian communities. But in one vital respect they differ widely and this prime difference destroys any fundamental similarity between them. The utopian communities are by definition, communal in structure and communal in their outlook. They are in the European tradition of socialism and communism. Not so the organized Negro communities. If they take of any specific social, economic and political philosophy, it is the philosophy of the American middle class. Far from aiming at a utopian communal society, Negro communities traditionally were dedicated to training their inhabitants in the virtues of self-reliance, individualism, and independence. Economically, they operated almost without exception on the basis of profit-making capitalism. They appeared communal only in the joining of hands in mutual aid to better develop the individual. It was not the permanent

fusing of individuals in a truly communal society. (Pease, 1963; p. 18)

Adat Beyt Moshe, too, fits this mold. From this perspective, it is no different from any of the organized Negro communities of the last 150 years.

White Jews who learn of Adat Beyt Moshe invariably raise the question, "Jews? Don't they have trouble enough?" White Jews seem to understand the Negro's attraction to the Black Muslims. This is a militantly rebellious group which could draw on poorly contained resentment.

White Jews could sympathize and support a Garvey "Back to Africa Movement" because of their own fantasy of a return to Israel. It made sense for "Black people" to want to get back to a "Black land". White Jews could even accept the various Negro semi-mystical and not wholly Christian Father Divine and Daddy Grace Movements. They could understand that, since Negroes could not participate in white religious life, they would tend to form separatist movements which often seemed to appeal to hysteria and superstition.

But why Jews? This perplexing issue and the esoteric nature of this unique group drew this investigator to it. The question, "What do these people get out of doing what they now do?" demands an answer.

There is a kind of sameness to the people of Adat Beyt Moshe, to their background and their problems. For the most part, they have been raised in urban Negro ghettos in conditions typical of the lowest socio-economic class. Their skills are few, their education was limited, their economic standings were low. But such describes nearly all of the black

ghetto. Yet these people were different from their neighbors. In the first place, their ties to formal and organized Christianity seem to have been rather loose. No Christian group held them long or tenaciously. The inhabitants of this community maintain that the Negro Church never really held their interest, their attendance or their membership on more than a casual basis. Secondly, withdrawal or asocial behavior were unsatisfactory methods for handling their frustration and their stress. Alcohol could not effectively salve futility and idleness was not a fulfilling substitute for opportunity. They had been tried and they had failed. Asocial behavior could be an outlet for the anger of frustration and the hatred of humiliation. But this presented a terrible danger; the overwhelmingly powerful dominant group could make a mockery of such efforts and a shambles of their lives.

They were individuals who were still searching -- searching to ease the dull ache of inferiority and the crushing pressure of hopelessness. They were individuals who could find no refuge in a glorious past and no solace in an uncertain future. In a white world in which they were unwanted equals and unwilling servants, their pain could not be muted. There was no cultural heritage in which integrity could take root and no nurturing approval from which dignity could develop.

They come to Judaism through the vehicle of a new ethnic consciousness. No longer are they cut off from a past beyond a slave ship.

No longer are they poor reflections of white achievements. No longer are they destined to feel inferior, to be despised, to be deprived. For now their heritage is as old as man himself. Now their past and their plight can be understood and justified. Now their future and their salvation can be assured. In one great stroke of commitment, they have their history, their culture, their land and their God. In one bold move, they are the "chosen", no longer the rejected.

But why Judaism? Islam beckoned them as it has so many of their brethren. Perhaps it was because these people were not yet ready to lose a closer link with a previous Christianity. Perhaps they were concerned about the more blatant militancy of the Black Muslims. Perhaps Islam's cultural demands were more radical and difficult a transition than one to Judaism. It can only be speculation.

Other Negro movements attracted millions to their groups without leaving entirely a Christian framework. The Daddy Grace Movement and the Father Divine Peace Mission Movement are prime examples of earthly utopian promise with still existent Christian trappings. Perhaps the ideals of the middle class dream were not so easily apparent, nor so easily fulfilled within these possible solutions. It was the Jew and the Jew alone who so fully represented the Middle Class. His attainments seemed to be congruent with their ideals. He, as they, sought achievement, financial security, self-sufficiency and an approved intellectuality. But if it had been only this, it would not have been enough. To this, they had

been exposed before, at a Calvinistic altar of values. It was only in the Jew that there seemed to be an inner ethnic pride which gave him the strength to withstand oppression and the energy to work toward his own development. Other Negroes had claimed Judaism, too (Fauset, 1944) but none in the Adat Beyt Moshe way. None had so completely rejected Jesus and none had ever built a community.

Whatever it was that brought them together, there is little doubt what holds them now. It is a sense of purpose, a purpose that gives meaning to their lives. They now know what they must do; they must repudiate their evil Canaanite ways, rededicate themselves to Yahvah, make a success of their trial community and make something of themselves.

It is a feeling of participation, of being active and delineating progress. Adat Beyt Moshe is busy: busy with building, busy with maintenance, busy with instruction, busy with prayer, busy and involved.

It is also a sense of a conviction of worth. The degradation of the past, its humiliating and its consequent feelings of unworthiness and incompetence are washed away by a new image, an image of a "swarthy" people" reflecting the "golden hue of God." Now Adat Beyt Moshe can understand why it was they suffered the pains of the past: how it was that their agonies and their anguish were promised by Moses and sanctioned by God. The "cause and effect" doctrine of modern science can now be applied to their condition. Rule has crystallized chaos. One can now

understand the past, deal with the present, and hope for the future.

It is through the medium of Adat Beyt Moshe that these human beings have found the way.

The central strength of Adat Beyt Moshe is to be found in the vitality of its leader, a man with a mission. His legitimacy to himself and his congregation stems from his connection with the Divine and the possession of special personal qualities. An aura of magic and mystique envelops his past. His extraordinary experiences have convinced him and have convinced his followers of his great destiny. Through his life, signs pointed regularly to his mission. Lightning sets him off on the path to religion. And a mystical hallucination sets him free to seek his God.

His personal qualities are many. He shows great accomplishment in self-education, radiates a fervent sincerity and is marked by somewhat special courage. He is a man who, with "supernatural help" has made the shift from an identity he could not abide to one which gives him pride.

The question of transformations of identity can arise in a variety of contexts. When a person lives in harmony with himself and his world, his subjective sense of self scarcely emerges from pre-consciousness. But when he doubts his own values and the values of his world, a painful self-consciousness seems to arise. He follows his behavior and activities as if detached from himself with disapproval and apologies. The enormous labor of integration that reconciles the memories of the past with broadening

present experience and imaginative anticipation of the future is mostly taken for granted when it is successful.

What characterizes a loss of identity is that this pre-conscious labor seems to have stopped and that a meaningless existence is omnipresent. The victim seems to feel that his inner growing has come to a stop. There is no future. Time floats by. He cannot find his place in an unstructured universe. The world is altered in the same sense as his personality. He feels like a passive victim. His movements are automatic and aimless. The loss of identity and the loss of reality described by some schizophrenics as world catastrophe belong together. Such a condition in a personal form is vaguely reminiscent of the term, 'anomie', reintroduced by Durkheim (1897) and describing the consequences of social disorganization and normlessness with the subsequent destruction of meaning and purpose within a group.

Abel Respes was a troubled man, a man in stress, misery, tormenting self-doubt, feelings of sinfulness and self-castigation. But a mysterious hallucination acts as a turning point in his perception of himself and his perception of the world. Through the medium of his mystical experience, the supernatural impels new attitudes and new behavior. And, at the same time, his new ways resolve intrapersonal conflicts as well as interpersonal ones. It is a great source of inner strength and personal security to know that one is God's chosen instrument and the validity for such a notion lies in the dramatic impact of his mystical experience and his mysterious dreams.

To an outsider, Abel's mystical experience is an auditory and tactile hallucination. But to him, it is a message of great mystery and of deep meaning. Since it comes from no other, it must be, then, a direct contact from the Divine. It is the Heavens themselves that explicitly instruct Abel to "Seek God!"

But if the old self is to go, death must claim it. A sign must be shown that it is going. Abel sees his developing deathlike pallor, as a state which points to his extinction, yet it can be seen that it heralds his rebirth. And reborn he is. . . slowly, cautiously, but inexorably.

Now it is indirectly that the Lord makes known his purpose and provides Abel with the instrument to achieve it. For He sends him a series of dreams. They tell Abel what to do, give him instructions and promise him success. Other messengers of God, too, show him special signs of the validity of his mission and the justification of his leadership. Through this mechanism, Abel is reborn and becomes new again. But verification of this transformation can only be substantiated by social sanction. Respect confidence is maintained by his successful leadership which inevitably depends on his unusual personal traits, a keen intellect, a sensitivity to the emotional needs of his members and a dedicated contagious fervor.

Such a personal experience mirrors rather remarkably social ones which are instituted in one form or another in many societies. The dramatic superordinary event of Abel's mystical experience ushers in the

emergence of a new personality. This need is commonly required in all human beings. Every individual undergoes regularly changes in his relation to others and to himself. This involves, inevitably, a change in social behavior, self image and concomitant personal and social acceptance of one's new individual characteristics. Institutionalized transformations are often imprinted by dramatic and meaningful ceremonies which relate to a special crisis in an individual's life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. The change is required in the process of interaction and the equilibrium of an individual, is inaugurated by a series of techniques known as a rite of passage. The essential purpose of these rites, seemingly, enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally defined, to expedite the separation of the initiate from his old group and to introduce him more effectively into a new one. Initiation ceremonies, for example, seem intended to cut off a youth from his former past as if he had died and then to resurrect him into an entirely new existence as an adult. Since many societies expect different behavior from an individual as a child than as an adult, such discontinuity involves a presumption of strain. It has been speculated by Whiting et al. (1958) that these ceremonies seek to ease the strain by dramatically and meaningfully imprinting new attitudes, concepts, roles and reactions on the occasion of transformation of state for both the individual and the group of which he is a member.

There is a haunting similarity between the rite of passage and Abel's mystical experience. The rite of passage seems to accomplish in a social setting what Abel's mystical experience appears to do in a personal one. They both are attempts to solve pressing life problems in which change of position, function or quality is necessary to resolve stress or conflict. There is, of course, only analogic comparability between these two types of experience. But it can be noted that both follow processual patterns of great similarity. They erupt from the need to change and the realization that the patterns of yesterday will be useless tomorrow. The more sweeping the change, the more dramatic the ceremony needed to provide a portal through which one can shed the old and usher in the new. Abel's experience can be viewed as an internal ceremony, personal, dramatic, non-formal. It mediates and justifies his new identity, however, in much the same manner as a rite of passage. But no passage can be considered accomplished unless one's group accepts its validity. Others must see the changes, too, for it to have social meaning. Within the mystical experience, Adat Beyt Moshe see their leader as genuine and his transformation as sufficient.

In a society which is singularly deficient in formal recognition of the assumption of personal responsibility and an adult role, the difficulties of making such a transition is compounded. Old rites of passage

have been transformed to new rites of intensification. (Chapple & Coon, 1942) Even among the white Jews, where the puberty rite of the Bar Mitzvah is still a celebration, it can be easily noted that such has social significance rather than personal utility. It is a rededication of ethnic solidarity rather than a transformation of personal identity. The "Today I am a man", speech of the Bar Mitzvah boy is understood by his listeners as an absurdity as much as it is to him.

Something, then, from a primitive past may be missing in our society, a way in which one can dramatically imprint within himself and his society an expressed change which is both necessary and sufficient. In our society, however, each does not achieve social maturity at any fixed time and no specific rite would have universal utility. For Respes, his strange experiences provide the ceremony, the rationale, the validity and the justification.

No other in this group has had a mystical experience. Yet, they too are different. They too are no longer as they were. They too contain new selves, new behaviors, new obligations, new rights and new privileges.

What rite mediated their passage? Their leader's! It is through him that they can make the change. He not only dies for them, he is reborn for them. Their validity is their leader's validity, and his is based on the revelatory mystical experience. Their association and their connection to the Divine is confirmed by their extraordinary executive.

It is more than just his touch with God that sustains his leadership. It is his special touch with man. He is the one best able to help them seek the common goals, knows what they are or should be, who establishes the rules and points out how rewards can be distributed. He tells them what to do and he helps them do it.

The sequence of events from promise to failure and dedication to crisis follows a significantly structured pattern. Respes provides his members with a goal designed to solve a particular or general problem. He not only designates the goal, he even transmits the instruction for acts which will lead them to it. This requires a two-fold effort. On the one hand, he outlines the steps necessary to satisfaction. But his practical effort is coupled with supernatural reinforcement and support. This practice allows the member to postpone fulfillment and repress his feelings of anxiety or opposition. At such a stage there is a general feeling of mutuality, of program and of potential. Continued postponement, however, leads eventually to impatience and to the eruption of opposition. The leader is running out of time and a failure becomes perceptible. Hostility and schisms that develop and are overtly expressed may be mutually destructive. Some act or agency must intervene or the life of the movement is at stake. It is up to the leader to save the situation and he does so by instituting greater reality effort and/or providing greater magical support. Once

again, fulfillment can be postponed by the excitement of new dedication and stimulation of a new participation. But a price must be paid. The second phase is marked by a shorter life and by a weaker resistance to discontent. As these phases are repeated, the cycles become shorter in duration, until the leader recognizes a change must be made and presents a modified goal. This new goal is still connected to the original; yet it is different enough that a new course of action can be taken. While such a course loses long-range direction, it gains for the group much needed time.

Such a situation may be exemplified by a central goal of Adat Beyt Moshe: the ultimate migration to Israel. From the inception of this group, it has been their promised aim to return to the land of their ancestors. It was a promise from God and their leader, and must be fulfilled. It was striven for through an appeal for funds and the recruiting of new members. In this effort, they could permit themselves to wait for a promised future in a promised land. The excitement of participation and mutual effort helped them repress their anxiety and subdue their doubts. But their migration was only postponed, not tabled. And, as time whittled at their patience, discontent seeped from their group, bringing tormenting concern until they could wait no longer. More effort had to be made, greater strength had to be shown. Demands were made to the highest officials of the United States stating the case and requesting assistance. For the time, this was sufficient to assuage their doubts and to quell their fears. But now, only for a shorter time. And so the cycle

was repeated again and again with each effect more transitory, more temporary until neither the supernatural nor reality could satisfy. The goal had to be modified and it was changed to building a trial settlement in the United States as a training ground for their return to Israel. But disappointment here, too, daunted their efforts. A community could not be delivered quickly and without difficulty. Land was unavailable and capital insufficient. At this time of grave disappointment and indeed danger, the group was fortified by the extraordinary reoccurrence of supernatural intervention in the life of their leader who repulsed death in the face of serious illness by miraculously recovering. Through the medium of prayer, faith and conviction, he once again accomplishes the impossible. In every sermon, the congregation is reminded of the mission of their leader, the validity of his office, the justification of his purpose, and their need for him.

Now I am not a fire and brimstone preacher that is trying to save the world from the destruction. I am not preaching salvation, Christ crucified on a cross and salvation to you. I am a human being that has had the personal experience with the Divine Being you call God. I know God. I've had a personal experience with God. I've heard his voice, personally. I have been struck by his lightning, but I was not burned. This I have never known to happen to anyone else. I've never known anyone struck by lightning and not burned. I've had a personal experience with God.

Abel R. (Sabbath Service)

This is a study of the abrupt social changes in the lives of a handful of people. Yet, while there is change, there is sameness. What they do reminds one of white Jews: yet, there is still similarity to many Christian ways. Selection, innovation, rejection and syncretization may be viewed from many perspectives.

But the central source of their cultural choices appear to derive from the dogmatic assertion that the original Hebrews were colored people. It is a concept based on the fact of racial discrimination and hence, is an overriding concern.

This is why Adat Beyt Moshe must reject white Jews as their brothers and African culture as their past. They reject the African because he is not Jewish and the white Jew is dismissed because he is not colored. If Adat Beyt Moshe is truly the Biblical remnants, then every cultural trait must support or at least not violate, that philosophical tenet. It thereby becomes understandable why there seems to be a strong bond of association with Asiatic peoples. Only they are neither African or European. But there is a hierarchy of kinship, and their association to Negroes cannot be dismissed. Negroes are colored people, too, and may even be Jews if they are sympathetic to Adat Beyt Moshe.

It is understandable why the Talmud must be rejected. The Talmud is unquestionably produced by white Europeans. It makes sense that phylacteries not be required as an outward sign of the Jew. Jewishness is on the inside. It has been too long that their identity has been noted from the outside.

But while Adat Beyt Moshe subscribes to the dictum of the Torah, it follows the conduct of the Talmud. It may be necessary to reject the Talmud as a white instrument, but its method of philosophical rumination, rational interpretation, and emphasis on learning and logic is accepted.

Some traits are incorporated because they have practical value. When a trait's use can be seen from a substantive standpoint rather than an emotional one, its utility is easily understood. Such a trait has a practical, tangible use/ The principle of the communal tithe utilized so extensively in Adat Beyt Moshe has provided them with the ability to generate development that would have been impossible to make under any other arrangement. It is a rather remarkable fact that more tangible accumulation has been made possible by this investment of communal funds than any individual could possibly have accomplished.

Some traits are accepted because of their symbolic quality, that is, what they represent in the abstract. The kashruth represents such a trait. Despite the fact that its demands remove an important staple from the American Negro's diet, it is incorporated as witness of the acceptance of Judaism, for the Dietary Laws represent Judaism.

Still other traits have been incorporated for their supportive utility. In themselves, they are not useful but support other more basic ones. It is interesting to note that the yahmalke is only worn by European Jews. In North African Countries and in Asia, the traditional prayer headdress constitutes the turban. Yet, while the Rabbi is aware of this

fact, it is evident that his acceptance of the yahmalke is necessary since the turban would be considered by outsiders as an affiliation to Islam and have no areal association to the concept of the Jew.

Traits may also be accepted on the basis of their expediency value. These are traits which are consciously thought of as temporary and necessary in a transitional sense, but whose life-use is limited and temporary. The fact that pre-pubertal youths may constitute a religious quorum (minyan) represents such a pattern. There are not enough people to "stand on ceremony" and so a rationale is developed by which such a problem may be temporarily solved.

It is apparent, however, that there is a necessity to hold on to the old. Old ways are a stable and sometimes safer platform from which to reach toward the new. The musical selections in the Sabbath service reflect this situation. The potpourri Jewish music, tempered in the Negro mode indicates the need for not rejecting everything.

The depth of cultural imprint appears to differ for the juvenile and the adult. Adults under pressure seem to shed their new patterns more easily than the juveniles. The juvenile seems more thoroughly soaked, the adult more superficially. This can be easily seen by the language patterns alone. Adults and juveniles speak in ways that sound intellectualized and academic. The juvenile, however, is able to sustain

this style, even under stress and emotional excitement, but adults regress to earlier ethnic grammar forms.

What are the prospects of such a settlement or such a movement? Its very existence over time alone is an index of its strength. No outsider can foresee Adat Beth Moshe's future, but one can note substantial obstacles to survival.

A network of contradictory values saps at its strength. This is a group which lauds self-reliance, independent thinking, individualistic responsibility, but requires rigidly conformal behaviour and dependence on authority. Their leader is legitimized by inherent personal qualities which inevitably must be transferred to a successor. While specific possibilities for the routinization of charisma are available, no specific instrumentality has been chosen (Weber, 1946, 1947). There is pride in inductive reasoning but a demand for deductive acceptance. It is a group in equilibrium, yet it must grow or die.

Adat Beyt Moshe is an example of the way some men handle their struggle with themselves and their world. It is their way of solving a universal problem.

APPENDIX

Autobiographical Notes - Abel Repes

I was born on December 1, 1919, in Philadelphia in the old Hahnemann Hospital. About that time a number of colored people began to migrate from the south to Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York. From what I understand, my family was among those who migrated. My people are from Georgia. The only thing I know about the place they came from is that the name of the place was Buena Vista.

My father was against the use of the term "negro" - the use of a form of identification for my family, in particular, he said we were Jews, descendants of the tribe of Judah, Solomon.

He read the Bible, but he didn't try to teach us the Bible. I remember my father reading the Bible, but my father was not a religious man. He was a gambler and he drank. He was not a habitual alcoholic, but he drank excessively and he was a gambler. I never actually knew my mother.

There were five of us, I had a sister born, she died as an infant, I don't know how - born with bronchitis. There is another brother and two sisters who are older than I am. I'm the youngest. At the age of a year and a half, I suppose between eighteen months and two years, my mother suffered a mental breakdown. My father, as I said, was a gambler. I know nothing about my grandfather, I

should say either of my grandfather. I saw both grandmothers. One of them, my mother's mother died when I was a small child. I knew my father's mother, but not my father's father. I did not know my mother's father. These people died before I was born. They didn't talk too much about the past. I guess they wanted to forget the past.

My mother suffered a mental breakdown. She was, from what I understand, a hard working woman and she was religiously inclined. The Holy Church movement was gaining popularity in the United States. I understand she was a member of this movement, although my father was opposed to all Christian churches. He would read the Bible, he would gamble, he would drink, and he would lose large sums of money and we had to suffer a lot of times. My mother worked from what I understand. I can only repeat what was told to me. It was all in vain. I suppose she was unable to bear it. It was too much for her and she suffered a mental breakdown. She was placed in an institution, first in the Philadelphia General Hospital, then the Philadelphia Mental Hospital, Byberry. She stayed there until 1950 until she died. I don't know the exact year she was placed in that institution. The records stated she was a patient there for 28 years. I believe she was 28 years old when she went in.

When she went into this place we were living in the neighborhood of 8th and Girard, in a small street between 8th Street and 9th Street.

(Darien Street). On each side of us one of my mother's sisters were living with their families, and I believe my father's two younger half brothers were living with us, with my father and father's mother.

There was bad feeling between my father and my mother's sisters, who lived on each side of us. They had larger families than we. One of my mother's sisters had fourteen children, and the other had about eight children. They accused my father of being the cause of my mother being in her mental condition. They said that my mother believed in the better things in life and wanted the best things for us. They said she was very strict, I was told she was very strict. She taught us to practice good manners, good conduct. She placed priority on character building; that was a major thing. They accused my father of being guilty of making her ill.

Well, this created a bad situation. So my father moved away from that area and my grandmother continued to live with us for a time. We then moved to another small street over near 7th and Girard. The street was called Alder Street. Most of these streets have now given way to the new housing projects. I was about six or seven years old, and we lived there a couple of years. We were like being neglected. My father's brother had the city, the court, take over this condition. I tell you my life, some people don't like to talk about their life, but this is something that happens, a fact, why should I try to hide it!

We were placed in a foster home, by an organization supported

by municipal funds known as the Bureau of Colored Children.

At that time it was located at Haverford Avenue in West Philadelphia. By this time I was eight years old. During the time I was six or seven years old we lived on the 900 block Alder Street. This was a very bad time, I recall, when I was a kid. They were reckless days, roaring 20's, red light houses all around us. This was a street where there wasn't just colored people in our neighborhood, but white women married to colored men, Irish, and I believe some German women who were married to colored men. I know kids today whose mothers were white and fathers colored, fathers blacker than I am. These people, they drank, and they gambled. There were shootings on several occasions. I experienced one when I was a child. I remember one particular house we lived in, before they put us under city direction, the 1600 block on Warnock Street, one house. This woman, she had games in her house, gambled. I learned to gamble when I was a kid, six years old, all the gambling games. I used to sit up all night long and watch the games. On one occasion, I remember, they had a little stool I used to sit on, by the door, they would crowd around by the table and they would tell me, "look, you sit over by the door," and I was sitting by the door and this fellow accused this woman's son of cheating and drew a pistol. This woman got in front and tried to keep this man from shooting us, and he fired two or three shots and one bullet just missed me and lodged in the wall beside me.

Some of my brothers and sister were in the house; this woman had children too. I don't know what happened; they ran out, and I ran out too; I had the idea this man was shooting at me. I relate this to let you know the type of background. You want to know my history, so I'm telling you. So, this is the type of thing I was associated with and I got used to. I remember there used to be a fellow who used to buy me candy, give me a nickel, give me a hot water bottle. I didn't know what was in this bottle; I'd put it in my clothes, inside my shirt, and he'd take me by the hand; I was about six or seven. We'd go for several blocks; after we'd get so far, he'd take the hot water bottle away from me, and he'd buy me a nickel bar of candy. Five cents was a lot of money in those days to a poor kid. One day my father questioned me about the money and wanted to know where I was getting the candy. I told him about the hot water bottle, and he told me he's transporting bootleg liquor. You're carrying whiskey for this man, I don't want you to do that anymore. If you do, I'll give you a good whippin', so I didn't do it anymore. I wanted the money, but I couldn't do it.

So, as I stated, when I was around eight years old, the city took us over and we were placed in a foster home. The four of us were together then, my two sisters, my brother, and I. After this, my father went to New York and we went into a little country place called Aberdale, Pennsylvania. I stayed up there for awhile, these people had a farm, they were paid by the city to take care of children

like us, you know. These people were very cruel, they didn't feed us. We didn't get enough to eat. I remember one occasion, they had pigs there, and I was so hungry, I'll never forget this. This man would go down to the bakery, and he would get stale bread for the pigs. They had this bread in a barrel, boxes, in his barn. I was so hungry I had to steal it. If he had known I was taking this bread, I would have have gotten a beating. He would have whipped me within an inch of my life for taking this stale bread. The bread was molded and had cobwebs on it. I brushed the cobwebs off and ate this molded bread, green, because I was hungry. But the city was paying these people, colored people, a home in which we kids might learn to fit into society. This is what the city was - this is what they believed.

This still goes on. The city still supports this type of organization. I remember another occasion, my brother took a crab apple, we had a lot of them, we had an orchard there, cherry and apple trees. My brother took one crab apple and he was beaten unmercifully. My brother took it because he was hungry. They said he disobeyed; they told him not to take an apple off the tree. We weren't even allowed to take an apple off the tree. And this happened when I was eight-nine years old, starting in school.

I always had a love of books. I was always a brilliant student in school. I always loved learning. I see this reflected in most of my children today, and this was a little country town.

On another occasion my sister was beaten. It was unnecessary.

The people treated us so badly, my oldest sister wrote to the authorities about this condition; they investigated, they saw the marks. I beat my own children; if they do wrong, I whip them, but at the same time I don't starve them. We were being beaten for things we wanted to supply, we were hungry, starving. They took us away from those people, and in 1930, when I was about nine or ten years old, placed us in a foster home in southwest Philadelphia, a place they called Elmwood, Eastwick. We lived there at 89th and Holstead Avenue. This area was colored and white, and the people were pretty nice. I attended a mixed school and did very well.

I always made the highest marks in school. I enjoyed writing, I loved writing. I never had to study too much to learn something. I didn't find it difficult to learn most subjects, I could understand.

This new foster woman was somewhat cruel - the man was a more gentle person than the woman. But this woman was not as cruel as the former woman. During this time my sister became of age, sixteen years old; they got you a job and let you go home. It's not a prison, I want you to understand. It is an institution, to care for neglected children, supported by municipal funds. My youngest sister, next to the oldest, became of age and she moved away. I would leave there frequently, come back home. This was because I had a love of my own people. This woman was cruel, not as cruel as the other people, but my brother won a case against her, and he

was transferred to another home in South Philadelphia.

When I was twelve years old, my sisters were working and they showed proof that they could care for me and I was taken out of there and went to live with my grandmother. My two sisters were living with my grandmother, and my father's half brother, on 10th Street near Girard Avenue. That was in 1932. We were doing pretty good. My sisters had sleep-in jobs. My father at the time was in New York. This was the time the depression started to show its effects upon the people and I remember times in 1932 when we didn't have enough to eat. There was my grandmother, myself and my father's half brother. It was very tough going.

He used to go down to the docks like many other people in Philadelphia, pick up cabbages, potatoes, anything he could find on the ground. There were many days we didn't have anything to eat. I went to school many days in 1932, and the early part of '33, without any food. We didn't have shoes, our home wasn't heated. We weren't comfortable in the winter time, I remember one particular occasion we had five cents to buy food with. Sometimes we would go and buy stale buns, stale donuts, cakes. You could get two or three dozen stale buns, and eat them for two or three days. Couldn't take a chance on buying an egg or a couple of eggs. Wouldn't go very far. My grandmother would buy one egg, scramble it, mix it with rice and fry it. My grandmother, myself and my uncle would eat

this. My sisters would come home Thursdays and Sundays - they were working for private families.

In 1932 we couldn't pay our rent and the constable was on us and we were forced to move. My uncle earned some money, working docks, loading trucks, and what not. Somehow, one way or the other, between my uncle and my sisters we managed to get money to rent a house, another house. We moved to Fairmount Avenue in the early part of 1933. Around that time, the government passed some sort of subsidy so that people would get some form of relief check. People could get food, but the government would not pay the rent. You had to pay your own rent, I think they called it a food order. We were eligible for this and got so much food for me, so much for grandmother and so much for my uncle.

We had a big house there, some other people moved in, some relatives of my grandmother's. I don't know much about them.

It was on Fairmount Avenue, this phenomenal event happened to me. On that block there were quite a number of white people on both sides. I remember this particular incident, we were playing a game called Chinese Tag. Most of the kids had gone in and these two white girls, one white girl lived next door to me and the other lived down the street, and myself, we were still playing. They had chased me up toward Ludden Street and I was chasing them. I was "It" and I was chasing them. While

I was chasing these two girls, it was in the summer, an electrical storm was in the making. It was very dark, thundering and flashes of lightening. It was hot and people were sitting outside to get fresh air, to sit out as long as they could. The humidity was very high. There were scattered sprinkles. All of a sudden a flash of lightening came out of the east and struck me!

When it happened, it felt as though I was paralyzed momentarily. From my waist up, my entire body was engulfed in flames. No one could see any part of me, but my legs. That's all they could see. The upper part of my body was a mass of flames. To me it was as though a black light shown all around me. It was as though I was in a vacuum. Everything else was shut out. I couldn't hear a thing. I don't know if it was the effects of the thunder. I didn't know what it was. All I know is, I actually didn't become frightened until it was all over. I wasn't afraid at the time it was happening. I seemed momentarily paralyzed. I couldn't move just like a force was overpowering me. And to me it was as though everything around me was black. I couldn't see anything. It was as though I was in a vacuum. I know one thing, I had never experienced anything like this. When lightning comes inside the house, I'm outside looking at it. But when this happened this was as though I was within this light. This was

the way it appeared to me. I was in the center of this light and this light was all around me and everything else around me was obscured. I didn't see any buildings, any people, anything. A white woman screamed. "Oh, my God. The boy is struck by lightning, the kid is dead!" She fell back in the doorway. She was certain I was dead.

I was frightened. My grandmother, she scolded me. Colored people are superstitious about thunder and lightening. They say when you hear thunder that's God talking, so sit down and be quiet. When you see flashes of lightening, that's God showing his power, sit down and be quiet. And we'd have to sit quietly during a storm. She was angry with me and she socked me with a fist. She said, "next time, you sit down or next time God will kill you."

The thing frightened me, and I began to think about it. I said, well, perhaps God was displeased with me. I didn't know about it. I had gone to the Baptist church a couple of times with some of my cousins during Christmas and Easter. I would go to Sunday School so I could get Christmas candy and Easter eggs. But, other than that I wasn't interested in church. But when this happened, I thought maybe I should join a church.

There was a little mission, our neighbors next door on the right had a little mission there. It was a store converted into a

mission, and I started by going to this place. I would listen to these white people preach, and I thought, well, I'm in a church, maybe God will be merciful to me now.

Colored people, we believe in omens, you know. If a picture falls off a wall, somebody was going to die. If the wind blows the door open, or the door would shut and nobody shut the door, that's a bad omen. Somebody's going to die. Lots of things like this. So I started thinking that this is a bad omen. Maybe I'm going to die. So I went to this mission for awhile. My brother had joined one of these Holiness churches. So I went to this church with him. I was thirteen years old.

I went to that church until I was almost fourteen. They had a system; get on your knees, put a couple of chairs in front of the pulpit and call this the mourner's bench. Get down and pray, and they tell you to call on Jesus. I wanted the Holy Ghost, too, So I called Jesus, Jesus didn't answer. They would sing, and they would clap their hands, beat the tempo on the drums and make a lot of noise and they would say, "Call him louder, call him faster!" I would call him so fast that my mouth would get dry. I would imagine I could see angels floating, I would try to imagine everything, trying to get this Holy Ghost. I'd see them scream, jump and yell. I said I want to get the same thing too. I was in earnest. I wasn't kidding around. If the thing was true, I should have gotten it, because I was really

seeking for it. I was trying to get it. I was so long getting it. They would say, "Well, he's a brilliant child, we'll let him open a service, he'll read from the bible." This woman, she was the mother of the Church and her son he was the pastor. So, she said, "You're very good, you're very intelligent, you can open the service, you can read the Bible, and so forth and so on, but you've got to get the Holy Ghost." I couldn't get the Holy Ghost. So, I said that's the only thing I'm lacking and I'm going to pretend I got the Holy Ghost. So one day I jumped up and started making some kind of funny noises. It was a farce; I was pretending. I don't know if they really believed I had something but they said, "Well, he's got the Holy Ghost." They were all laughing, but I knew I was pretending. But I wanted to be along with the rest of the people. So I started sounding like the men. All the men would jump straight up and down, so I looked at the women, and thought I don't like the way the men sound, "I'm going to try something different." So I changed myself. I stopped jumping straight up and down, and started doing some fancy steps, so the pastor of the church said, "Mother, little Abel has lost the Holy Ghost." I knew I never had it anyway. When I was put out of the church I was afraid I was going to die. I wanted to be associated with the church, and these people of the Holy Church, they go up and down the street saying, "Look, the day of Judgement is at hand."

There were a lot of these Holiness movements among the colored, Holy Ghost churches. There was a girl who went to school with us. Her mother was a pastor of one of these churches, and she was giving a birthday party and she invited us all up. I was reluctant to go at first because I thought, well, if we're supposed to have the Holy Ghost we're not supposed to be having birthday parties. She said come up after school. So, I went up and after I went up I saw all the kids acting like at a birthday party, and she was acting the same way. I had a lot of confidence in this girl, I was sure she had the Holy Ghost. I knew I didn't have it, I knew I was pretending. But I was certain that this thing with the Holy Ghost was real, and this girl's mother being director of the church, well, I was certain she had it. So when I saw this girl conducting herself in this manner I said, well, there's nothing to this thing, so I came out. I didn't go to the church anymore.

We moved to Hutchinson Street in 1934. We moved so many times because we couldn't keep up with the rent. When we'd get some money together, we'd get enough to pay for another place instead of trying to catch up with the old place. We'd move to a new place, the only way you could survive, you know what I mean.

On Hutchinson Street the neighborhood was mixed, 1934.

There were Russian Jews, German Jews, and Germans and Irish

on this particular block and colored people. Our neighbors on one side were colored, on the other were the Germans. Next to our German neighbors were German Jews. We got along pretty well, there were no incidents of color when we were kids. We didn't have any trouble. We got along well with the white people. When white people got tired of living with us, and the neighborhood began to decline the white people just moved out, that's all.

In Wilson Junior High School, classes were from the 5th grade to the 8th grade inclusive, and I made good marks. I was getting a little older, I took up an association with colored boys then. The white boys began to move out of the neighborhood gradually, and I took over association with colored boys. I didn't get into any serious trouble. I didn't believe in inflicting any harm on my fellow man deliberately. I would fight to protect myself, but we weren't thieves in the sense that we would break in, robbers. I would go in the company of the boys, I never actually stole anything, but I would watch while some of the boys would go up to Mrs. Smith's Pie Factory there on 9th and Girard; I would watch for the police. There were boys stationed along the way to give the signal in case cops were coming. Sometimes we'd come out with sixteen or twenty pies. There would be enough pies to feed all the boys. If we didn't eat them all, we'd throw pies at each other in the face. This was wrong. We knew

it was wrong. But we were living among the kids, and if you were going to associate with them you were going to do what they do, or else you'd get beaten. If you didn't get beat up, you would have to be able to fight. You couldn't fight by yourself, you couldn't fight them all. And you didn't want to live alone in life. You wanted to have some friends, so to an extent you had to go along with the crowd. During that time I graduated to Central High. I had excellent marks and this was the time, the first time, a resentment of white people began to grow up in me, when I was around fourteen years old.

I had a friend, a white boy who was Irish, and he said he wanted to be a civil engineer. I thought a lot of this boy, and thought that he, too, thought a lot of me and I wanted to spend my life with this boy. I knew there was a difference between us in color, but it was never expressed between us kids and most of the German people in particular among whom we lived. This teacher was a Jewish teacher, a Mr. Diamond, a white Jew, and he told me, well, you'll have to understand that you're colored. Mr. Diamond told me that he could be a civil engineer, but not me. When I was told by this teacher that I couldn't be a civil engineer, it destroyed my love of learning. I was frustrated. I became discouraged and I said well, it's all in vain. What's the need in going to school and getting an education. Why strive for high marks. You know being colored you can't get a

position in that particular field. I went into High School with this type of an attitude, I had a disinterest in learning.

We moved to the 1000 block of Thompson Street in 1935, and I took a commercial course in High School in the fall of '34. I attended classes in Central High School at Broad and Green. I saw and came into contact with white boys, white students who were in a higher grade than myself, older, and I had a chance to see how they lived. I observed their clothing. I was very poor, so poor in fact that in 1934 I didn't even have a sweater to wear, I had to wear my sister's sweater to keep warm. I didn't have a hat to cover my head, a decent coat. The only clothes I had were clothes given to me as a result of the government program of aiding the needy. I had a chance to observe the white boys and I saw their clothes. I didn't see white boys in Central High School, most especially Jewish boys...they didn't have my kind of clothes on. They didn't have shoes that were given to them. In fact, I didn't even have a pair of shoes. My brother-in-law gave me a pair of shoes that were two or three sizes too large for me. They used to slip around my feet. These white boys used to come to school with two or three salami sandwiches, Jewish rolls, pumpernickel bread, rye bread, lettuce and tomato and cheese, bananas, apples, oranges and a bar of candy. I'd go to school and my grandmother would have a nickel to give me and I'd buy three large pretzels and maybe a couple of tootsie

rolls for my lunch and I'd drink water.

My father came back to live with us in 1933, and he died in 1939. He used to say that we're not free and I used to argue with him. I would take the opposite view. He used to tell me that we were not citizens of this country. He said he couldn't explain it all in detail, but we came from Judah. We were the tribe of Judah, Israelites. We belonged to Israel, we didn't belong in this country. He didn't belong to any Jewish group, the only group that he was associated with was the Pacific Movement, I think they were called, and the teachers of this movement were Japanese. They were not American.

He told me that the only way we could be liberated was that the Japanese had to attack the United States, defeat this country and after liberating us we would return to our own land and then we would be free. But, we weren't free in this country. He told me that I should never take up arms against the Japanese when they began to invade this country, that I should not seek to prevent this invasion because it was my liberation.

We would get into arguments. Most colored people, the rest of the family, they didn't go along with it. They believed everything was well. We shouldn't say this or that, this is our country, and so forth and so on. He wasn't very well liked, most especially by my mother's people. My mother's brother, particularly, or one of her brothers, he was a Roman Catholic churchgoer. Of course,

a lot of the things that my father said he didn't go along with. My father said the best political party for us was the Republican Party. But American politics was not the answer to our problems; we couldn't solve our problems through American politics, through any institution of America. It had to be a foreign power to come into America and change the whole set-up in America, to liberate us, because America from its conception, the policy was to subjugate us and keep us in a subordinate category. And of course this type of teaching had its effects upon us.

I created this resentment for white people and carried it through school. I wanted to come out of school, to earn a living, to buy myself clothes. I was ashamed of myself. I couldn't have any dignity.

I was integrated. That's why I can't understand these negroes today, as they call themselves, wanting integration to attend the school with the white boy. I attended school with white boys and I was made to feel ashamed, because of the fact that they had and I had not. I was never ashamed of my color, or what I am, because I feel as good in my physical appearance as they do, I felt... well, I'm inferior to these people and I'm ashamed. I don't even have decent clother to wear. These boys wore big bulky sweaters, they wore sport jackets, nice shirts, ties. I was poor. I might have dungarees, sweatshirt, a T-shirt; anything I could get to put on my back to cover my nakedness.

So I quit school. I tried to get out when I was fifteen, they forced me to go until I was sixteen. I came out when I was sixteen years old and got a job making about \$6.00 a week and I started to buy myself some clothes, in order that I might have some dignity, that I might hold my head high, that I might feel like a free man, that I might feel that I was something, too, that God had made in this world.

In '36 and '37 I worked in dress factories downtown, assisting the shippers there, helping out the boy carrying packages, delivering to different places, making \$6.00, \$7.00, \$8.00 a week. In 1937 I went to Campbells, got my first job there during the tomato season. Every summer thereafter I would go back and work at Cambells. Meanwhile, we were still living at 1000 Thompson Street.

I learned to gamble when I was four, but at fifteen I started to shoot dice and I learned to play poker while I was hanging around these corners. I'd have a job for awhile and then I'd get laid off, then after some time when I'd need some money I'd gamble, shoot dice, play poker, some other card game and try to win some money. I wouldn't take anything. I didn't believe in stealing. I'd need money, so I'd gamble to get it.

As a result of parties and so forth we met a group of girls who had a girls' club, a social club of young girls. When I was about seventeen years old, between sixteen-seventeen years of

age, I worked for a numbers banker, a guy who writes numbers. They used to have a house that you'd turn in the numbers, I used to write leads. You'd get a chance to play each number individually. This fellow was a pretty big numbers banker in North Philadelphia in the colored neighborhood. He owned a night club, and you'd get into this stuff.

I was tall for my age, I used to go into the night club. They had a band and you'd dance nice and close. I used to like dancing. I wasn't so high up in the organization, but I had a pretty good spot. I wrote on a percentage basis, there was no salary. It would come up to \$15.00 a week, \$20.00...something like that. It depended upon how friendly you were, how smart you were. Sometimes we'd devise a scheme where we could make more money. One time, one of my associates, a very close friend of mine, we decided to bank some numbers ourselves and we went broke. We did alright for awhile, but it cleaned us out. We had to pawn our clothes to pay him off. Numbers, shooting dice, playing cards, sometimes I'd be lucky, sometimes I wouldn't. Actually, overall, when I'd add up everything, I lost more than I would win. I would have been much better off if I would have had a job. I would've been content to do that, that's what I wanted to do. I wanted to be a professional person, I wanted to be a doctor. I had the qualifications, the basic background, my elementary training. If you'd read my records to the Philadelphia

Public Schools you could see that I had the basic intellect for a professional person. I wasn't interested in religious stuff, but I was interested in medicine. I would have liked to have been a doctor.

My father died in 1939, and we were having these parties. We met this girls' club and my wife was a member of this group of girls. She's from Virginia, on the eastern shore. Most of her background is Indian. Far as she can understand, there is no white blood in her.

I married her in 1939. When we first got married, we had a room with her aunt at a small street named Sartain Street, around 12th and Stiles, 12th and Girard, that area. She was working at the time, taking care of a little child, a white Jewish child, she earned \$5.00 a week, and I was earning \$5.00 a week, too. I was a handy man and working around a restaurant. It wasn't a restaurant, it was like a Hot Shoppe, a sandwich shop. We used to hang around this shop when we were kids. I was very fond of my wife, and I wanted to get her out of that life. I was lonely. I never experienced the love of a mother. I knew how I had suffered as a child, and I wanted an opportunity while I was still young, before I got too old.

I was nineteen, trying to raise a family, and build a home. I was very fond of my wife. She used to come up Girard Avenue, and I used to be watching for her. My boss said I watched at the

window too much for my wife, and he fired me. I couldn't get any more work, I tried, just couldn't find anything. She worked until she had to have a baby. Our first baby was born in May, 1940. We tried to make it as well as we could, but we had to go to public assistance and receive public assistance. Well, during that time I had...I'd kind of lost hope. What's the difference, what's the use of even trying, everything you try, there's no success. So I went back to the corner again. I started to hang out around the pool room again with the fellows. I started to shoot pool and bet on pool, and this is how I started to go down. I remember I gambled the only \$5.00 we had and I lost it. Fortunately my grandmother and my aunt had...they usually gave us surplus foods, some beans or something. We were able to eat beans, my wife is a very good economizer, you know, since we're married, you know. She's a very good wife and we ate those beans, we were able to struggle back and we made it. We saved a couple dollars a week, even during that time. We'd eat beans constantly, maybe potatoes, beans...and in the fall of 1940 things began to look up a little bit.

The war had started in Europe and that made things a little bit better here. For awhile I was receiving this assistance. Then I got a job with WPA, or PWA, one of the two. I received \$26.80 every two weeks, got that job first, and that was a pretty good help to us. We were able to live a little better. During that time

I went to school. The government had a training program. I went to school to learn pipefitting. How to make blue prints, how to draw the blue prints, shape the pipes for copper tubing. I learned all that at Mastbaum Vocational School. I went there at night. They paid you for this, received the money just like you would receive on a job.

In the fall of 1941 I went to work for the Pennsylvania Railroad. That was a very hard job. I was a trucker, unloading freight from one car to another. I was transferred to 56th and Columbia Avenue. It was cold, outside work and very hard. I remember looking on some of those bills; the merchandise would weigh as much as 1300 pounds and when you'd put it on the truck it would be hard to pull. You would have to learn to balance it so that you wouldn't injure yourself. I cursed the day I was born many a time on that job, but it was a job and I had to feed my family and I made the best of it. I hoped that something else would come.

Meanwhile I had placed some applications at the Navy Yard. I worked at the railroad for about three or four months and those were the hardest three or four months of my life that I ever worked, in the cold, bitter cold; snow worse than this, and there was no fire. The only time you could come inside if you had to go to the bathroom, and you better not stay in that bathroom too long; those foreman, they'd get wise. My foreman was a tyrant, I'm telling you, brother, that man, he didn't know how to smile. He didn't

know what a smile was, and if he caught you playing around, you lost the job. I had a family, I had to feed them, I had to work. So I had to work hard, and I worked hard. Any job I took I always gave my employer his money's worth, believe me.

So I had an application to the Navy Yard, and I left the Pennsylvania Railroad to go to the Navy Yard in 1942. In fact, it was another cold job, the only job I could get down there. The only application I could get through was a laborer, I went into the Seventy Two shop, only laborers or riggers, I thought maybe I could work up to rigger. You start as a laborer and you work up. While I was down there I thought about the training I had at Mastbaum Vocational and put in a transfer from the 72 shop to the 53 shop. That was the pipe shop. Most of the colored fellows were in the 72 shop. There were very few colored people in the 53 shop. So, they didn't want to let me in. I wrote a letter to the master of the shop. Eventually I threatened to take the case up with the Federal Fair Employment Practices Division which the President had created at that time, and then they let me into that shop. That gave me a higher rating and I got a raise in salary. During the years I was down there, in 1943, I fell into a rut again, gambling, drinking and having a good time. I wouldn't go in. A lot of times I'd be out and they wanted to get rid of me, so they fired me. I went from the Navy Yard to Cramp's Ship Yard. I stayed in Cramp's Ship Yard until things began to slack up just before the war was over in 1945. Then I went to work at At-

lantic Refining Company. After the war was over there was a mass layoff and things were pretty bad with us.

I was fortunate enough to get a job with Campbell's Soup Company, and I was a retort operator. Now you have to be a high school graduate for that job. Then you only had to have a high school education, one year or part of a year. So I qualified and got that job. You had to use your hands, feet, your eyes and mind. Everything was fast work, you had to be able to count, to add up in your mind. I made out pretty good on that job, but I was still gambling. Once you get into that gambling, it is like a cancerous disease. You still believe you can win, and you are excited about it. There was a lot of money in the game. We'd play poker, shoot crap. On Friday, payday, why we'd lost almost all of our pay. Sometimes I would make, in '46, '47, '48, many times, \$100., \$105., \$110., sometimes \$80., \$90., I was working in Campbell's in 1949, and during this time this next phenomenal event occurred in my life, when I heard this voice, when lying on the bed. I was working in Campbell's then and a couple of months later, or a month or so later I was out of a job. It was the reduction of force. I wasn't fired, I was laid off. I figured it was very unfair because they kept two white fellows who did not have as much seniority as I had. Of course, all the supervisors were white. It was a white man's job, the job I had. They didn't want colored fellows on that job. Prior to the war no colored man held the job that I had. The only reason a colored

fellow got on that job was the war.

My wife used to pump milk. She was very healthy. She had very rich milk from her breast and she used to sell it to the Pennsylvania Hospital. She used to make \$34. a week, she'd make over a thousand dollars a year doing that. We did very well.

Anyhow, I was just a common man at Campbell's and Company when it happened! The first was on a Saturday night. I retired early, around 10:30-11:00 o'clock, earlier than I was accustomed on a Saturday night. I used to spend all week-ends gambling, and I was bored with this type of life. I wasn't making any progress in it. I wasn't winning any money and it was a drain on my health. It was wearing me down. I was exceedingly tired, and I thought, well, this time I would stay in. Sometimes I would gamble all night and all day. This was very taxing for me. In the process of time I began to feel it. Working during the week at a job that kept me on my toes at Campbell Soup Company. It required a tremendous amount of physical effort and thought at the same time. I was a food processor. This was rapid motion-type of work. Speed production was there at the Campbell's Soup Company. And while I needed all the rest I could get, instead of rest, all weekend I would gamble. But as I said, this weekend came, and I don't know, I just felt that it wasn't interesting to me anymore. This evening I was lying down on the bed around 10:30-11:00 o'clock and I was halfway asleep, not totally asleep, I was conscious enough to know if someone walks in-

to the room. I heard a voice say "Seek God!"

It sounded like a whisper, but it filled the atmosphere of the room. My eyes were closed, and it seemed to float down to my ears. It had a tingling effect. Instantly I was wide awake, I didn't take time to look around if anyone was in the room. I covered my head with the blanket because I had never experienced anything like that. As I lay there, I was frightened. My pulse began to rise rapidly, and I began to perspire profusely. I was catching my breath shortly, in gasps. I was very excited and afraid. I didn't really believe in ghosts, and I knew it wasn't a ghost. It was something I had never experienced. I had no fear of ghosts, but this was something that just brought terror over me.

I lay there, thinking what to do, what this thing was, trying to figure out what it was in the room. I tried to reason, to rationalize a little. I said, "I'm 29 years old. It's very foolish for me to try to cover my head like a child." So I tried to remove the cover from my head, but I was unable to. The blanket seemed to be held down by a pressure like a force of wind. I used all the strength that I had and I couldn't remove this blanket from my head. And then a few moments later I heard a sound like a gust of wind against the east wall of my bedroom. Then the blanket just fell down, and I never saw anything, but I heard the sound of wind. I woke my wife up, I told her what had happened, and of course I didn't sleep anymore during the night. I didn't know what it was. I didn't understand.

For weeks following the incident I began to dream dreams. In one of my first dreams I saw three flashes of lightning in succession across the sky, and the lightning formed, took the shape of a fiery seven. Three times this happened. Then I saw a huge Bible opened-in the sky-and I heard a voice, a very loud voice. It seemed as though the voice was not only in the sky, it was everywhere. It was saying, "Every word that is written here shall be fulfilled!" At that time I wasn't aware of the Jewish Bible. I didn't know that the Christian Bible contained 66 books and that the Jewish Bible contained 24 books. The only Bible that I was aware of, had knowledge of, was the Bible that was used in school and in public life in America, the King James' version of the Bible. I had one in my possession, an old German woman had given it to me when I first got married and I still have this King James version of the Bible. That was the only one I had. And while this dream puzzled me, and I was concerned, it didn't make me begin to study the Bible.

I had another dream succeeding that. These events happened very closely together, within the same month. In this dream I was standing in a beautiful park and I saw two gentlemen with bright shining faces and they were bearded and their heads were covered. I took them to be angels or priests, but their faces were so bright. They seemed to have features similar to a colored person, but they didn't have the skin texture. They didn't have the color of a colored person. Their faces seemed to be illuminated, and their heads were covered. They had beards and they were standing on platforms.

One of them came down from his raised platform, he came to me and he gave me a book. He put the book in my hand, he was talking to me and he was pointing his finger at my face. He seemed to be angry, or at least that's what I took it to be because he had a very stern expression. I was afraid to look into his face. In fact, in the dream I looked away from him. I looked to the floor. When I looked in his face, his face was so bright it would hurt my eyes. I would look in a glance sideways. That's how I could detect his features, they were somewhat like a colored person's. But his face was bright, shining. I couldn't understand the words that he was saying. But when I woke up I was muttering something. My tongue seemed to be maybe two or three times its normal size. I was saying, "Yes, Lord," but it was coming out in slurs. I wasn't speaking fluently. All I was saying was, "Yes, Lord," and I woke up. I couldn't understand this dream again, or why was I calling this person Lord.

After that I looked in the mirror at my face. My face seemed to take a powdery-a dead look. This is in real life. Each day I began to observe, I called it to my wife's attention. Well this really frightened me, and I told her there is only one thing I can do, this is to start to read the Bible, live a better life. Maybe I'm going to die. I had no idea of joining any church or any religious movement. I never had very much faith in religion. One of the reasons why religion never impressed me is because the promise of most religions was something that was in the abstract. It was something without

life. You had to die to obtain the promises. I didn't feel that there was no God. So - I felt, well, I'll read the Bible - in my way - I did feel that black slaves that were sold in the United States had a contact with God that no other Americans have had. The songs that they would sing, I've often thought of how these people who were sold as slaves in America - I was taught in school that they were brought from the jungles of Africa - yet they sang of David, they sang of Moses, they sang of Joshua. I asked myself time and again, how could this be if these people were savages, heather, wild by nature as the white race teaches us in America. How can they know this Bible, how can they learn the Bible so rapidly?

Then there was a dream in which I saw numerous white people who desired to go with me to the land of Israel. We were making preparations to take colored people, there were about four or five men assisting me. I had given the orders to see that the white people were taken out of the pullman and change them to the freight cars. Colored people were placed in there first, and these men informed me that there weren't enough colored people who wanted to go with me to the land of Israel. I was somewhat let down, and then I heard a lot of people yelling and screaming. I saw a crowd of white people and they were, like children, raising their hands and were very excited and seemed to be very serious, as if they desired to say something. They were asking me to take them with me. I was reluctant to understand them because I was interested in colored people and not white people.

On another occasion I dreamt I went through a tunnel. Before I entered this tunnel there were these two white women. They were sick, and there was a little child, a white child. And I had to take this child through this tunnel and it was dark in there. When we got to the other side, there was beautiful park scenery. It was a very beautiful place. I got this child through the tunnel, I left this child, and this child was able to go on its own, but its parents kneeled.

I dreamed I was walking down the street and there were a number of Catholic sisters and priests, and they were kneeling in the street. They were bowing and when I looked around I didn't see anyone else but myself, I became aware that they were bowing to me, and I couldn't understand why because I was always suspicious of these people.

That's the basic thing that gave me the strong belief that we were Jews. Not what I had been taught out of the Bible, or anything I had read out of the Bible, but the manner in which these people suffered. Now I remember that my grandmother would tell me that her mother told her how the slaves were not allowed to read books, how they were not allowed to pray, how they were not allowed to hold any religious meetings. Now in piecing these pieces together from what my grandmother told me, how they had to put pots down to smother the sounds of their voices, how they would be whipped or beaten if they were caught assembling together in a house, in any homes to worship, well, I felt that these people must have been seeking a religion that was different from that of the slave masters, otherwise

the slave masters would not have been punishing them.

I didn't have all of the details or facts when I was a child. But as a child I felt that Daniel was one of our own. When I was in trouble, in my way, I would pray to God. I remembered stories of Daniel, I felt that Joseph and Jacob were ours, I felt that these were not white people, they were colored.

As a result of the revelation, I was inspired to study and to read the Bible. And when I began to study and read I uncovered many facts. As of 1949 I told my wife that we would have to stop working on Saturdays. We'll have to start living, read the Bible, sing, pray. I had some negro spirituals around our house. We would play them on the phonograph, and we would listen to these negro spirituals. We would read the Bible, and in the next step I said we would have to stop eating pork. At the time there was another fellow working at Campbell's who worked on another floor and we used to discuss many things. This man was associated with a group of people who called themselves Israelites also. He attended a place known as the Israelite Bible School in Philadelphia, and he invited me down.

When I attended this meeting with this fellow, I found that the theme was black nationalism. And I learned that this group was an offshoot of another group that had come along a generation before my time. They also stated that the colored people were Jews. I'm not the first to state this, there are others. There's Rabbi Matthew in New York. There are others in New York, and there was a Rabbi

Josiah Ford, from the West Indies Islands, who came along in my father's generation. My father had attended some meetings - black Jewish meetings - he had attended some meetings that I didn't know very much about.

There was a movement in the United States known as the Pacific Movement, which the Japanese, I understand, were directing. My father was lectured by Japanese. My father often told me that the Japanese were going to attack the United States, that this country was going to lose the war, and I had been instructed as a child to never bear arms against the Japanese. This my father instilled more in me than Judaism. It was not Judaic principles. It was mostly a thing of nationalism. My father was one who was not pleased with the suffering of my people. I suppose this I must have inherited from him. He was also a gambler, his father before him was a gambler. My grandfather, my father, my uncles, they were all gamblers. I guess this is something I inherited. I don't know. However, maybe I'm fortunate, I got away from it.

But these nationalistic tendencies, black nationalism, this my father held. They were mine, too. I went to these meetings and these people had these nationalistic ideas. This was similar to what I had been taught. But the nationalistic or racial aspect of his teachings seemed to hold me. I had read the Bible about the Jews being black, and they had also come to this point and we had something in common. I continued to attend this place. It was not called a church. One

of the reasons it impressed me, because it was known as the Israelite Bible School, and it was a place where individuals had the right to express themselves if they were capable or qualified.

The chief deacon, on one occasion, asked me to say a few words. And that evening I stood up from my seat and faced the audience and spoke. They seemed to be impressed with what I said. On the next occasion he invited me to speak from the speaker's rostrum. After that, on several occasions they asked me to speak. The deacon and the congregation was pleased with what I had to say. At that time there weren't many people attending this place. The audience contained, at the most, no more than ten people. When summertime would come, they had a custom to speak on the streets. One of the street corners was 22nd and Ridge Avenue. I became the regular third speaker. Of course, the messages dealt mainly with the international situation, explained prophecies in the Bible, telling the colored people that they were Jews, and explaining Jesus' purpose on earth. Much of that part was in line with the Christian teachings. This I was reluctant to accept because I knew, being a Jew, that all Jews that I knew didn't accept things like that. We disagreed on some points, but if I was going to be in the school and associated with the people I had to go along with them. I found out that they didn't observe the Sabbath and I had to discontinue my practice of observing the Sabbath. I found that they would eat anything as well as Christians would. So, if I was going to stay in this school I had to relax-I couldn't preach,

teach abstinence from what we would designate as unclean foods and follow this man's teachings. This went on until around July 1949.

In 1949 we used to assemble in this gentleman's house in West Philadelphia, and discuss the Bible. In July, 1949, another man appeared, a very unusual man. Throughout my life individuals have come on the scene, they have spoken things to me that were most unusual. They have told me things that were going to happen with me, and these things have come to pass. And, then they've disappeared. My wife will substantiate that. These people have never told me who they were, but I have in my own way, become accustomed to say these were mollocheam. These were angels. They looked like human beings, but they would bring a message to me. They would talk to me, then they would just disappear. When I say disappear, I mean they would not come around anymore. We were sitting on this man's porch, there were five of us, and he picked up a penny and he said, "Who's penny is this?" No one claimed it, he asked, "Is this yours?" I said, "No, it's not mine." The penny's head was up. And he said, "This penny is heads up. Do you know the significance of this? I'm talking to you" (pointing to me). I said, "No, I don't." He said that this means that in the days of John the Baptist they took his head, but in your case, it won't be your head. Somebody else's head will go in the place of you. I didn't know what he was talking about.

After that I would see a lot of pennies, maybe it was a coincidence. But I would see pennies wherever I would go. I would see them along the street, I would see them on street cars, on buses, all heads up.

The leader of our organization was sick at this time, and I went to his house to see him. In his livingroom there was a penny, heads up. I went up the steps. On the step there were two pennies, heads up. I went into the bedroom, there were pennies, heads up. Everywhere I would go I would see these pennies, heads up. Simultaneously there was another gentleman who became ill. At least, he said he was ill. We thought the man was losing his mind. They placed him in the psychiatric ward at Philadelphia General Hospital, and after a few weeks he was out. He was acting very strangely, and we went to this man's house. I went there to pray for the man. So, there he was in bed. There were about ten of us standing around this man's bed. The man was acting like a person out of his mind, raving somewhat. He told his brother-in-law to run home, this man lived on Christian Street, and look on his shelf in his livingroom and he would see a cigar box, and in the cigar box he would see two pennies. And, right away, you know, I thought, this is a coincidence. He said bring them to me right away. So his brother-in-law brought the two pennies to him right away. This man took the pennies, he gave me a penny and he gave his brother-in-law, and he told us each to flip the penny and

cover the penny. In about a month we put him back in the Philadelphia General Hospital, and he told us he didn't remember any of this. I flipped my penny. His brother-in-law flipped his penny. He said, "Now take your hands off." Before we took our hands off he said, "Now your penny, Sidney, is tails." and he told me my penny was heads. I removed my hand. It was true. His was tails, mine was heads. Then he said to me, kneel down and bend your head over, and I bent my head over and he said, "Let me put my arm over you." I felt he was a psychiatric case and best to cooperate. He said, "This penny means you will always be the head, you will never be the tail. You're Abraham." And then he begins to smile and said, "It's a pleasure to put my hands on the head of Abraham." What it meant, I don't know. I hoarded this in my mind because it was a very unusual coincidence that this man came along with the pennies and these things were happening in my life about pennies.

And then there was an incident. While this gentleman was sick, some troubles came up where the second man in line, in the company of some of the other deacons, in the school, were guilty of embezzling over \$1,000. , money of people set aside for burial funds. I uncovered this, and I became unpopular at the time. At that time, I became the second man, the second teacher in this school, and I tried to bring them to more Judaic life, but there were constant conflicts and disagreements.

There was another incident with a woman that happened in the school. This woman was guilty of committing an act of a violation of Judaic principles as well as Christian principles, an immoral sexual act. When I compiled the evidence on this woman and I presented the council with the evidence, they found her guilty. They didn't dismiss the woman from the organization. There was leniency extended to her. She was a member of the choir, and she was restricted to a seat in the audience like a visitor. She consulted with the leader. They had a private conference, without my knowing it. When I arrived one Sunday afternoon he said I wouldn't have any more duties as a teacher or any more duties in the school. On his own he dissolved the council which I established. So I took my family and a couple of members and we went along. We sat at one of the houses that evening and discussed it. A few people went along with me, and this man who came along and told me about the pennies, he told me it was good that you were cast out. Now you can do the work for God you were destined to do. Then I began to talk on street corners and I would assemble at one of these women's house which was a 2454 N. 20th Street, on my own. That's how I became the leader of the people.

There was another dream in which I dreamt that I was on a plantation down South. I saw a colored woman and two children. This woman was crying and they seemed to be my ancestors. It seemed as if they were just brought to this country, just coming in.

They didn't look like Africans as they pictured Africans to me, but they were my ancestors. They were colored. They looked more like the Indians, the Indians of Florida. They were clothed like somebody from the family of Levi - had married into the tribe of Judah. And I was a descendent, a direct strain. She was crying because it seemed that the slave master was going to use these women. This is what I dreamt, I believed that I'm a descendent of David, and that it's possible that I could have the Levitical and Judean blood both in my veins.

We had an apartment on 12th Street. In the front two rooms we had an arch, a partition designed to make it look like a chapel. We held our meetings there. It was at this house at 2157-12th Street, that I studied the Bible and other books. I got a book on world religions and I studied that book extensively.

I left Campbell's in January 1949. I left this group in July 1949. We were receiving unemployment compensation from the state of New Jersey, and we received a supplementary relief check from public assistance. This continued for awhile until after I got these people together, and we started. These fellows were very good at masonry, and doing alterations work on buildings, remodeling buildings, painting, etc., and I worked along with the. I painted. We set up some sort of a cooperative and that's how I earned my livelihood.

In 1951 I had a dream. I was looking into the window of a store and I saw some religious articles and books there. Up to

this point there was no Hebrew in our services. It was mostly teaching from the English Bible. There was no foundation for any of the things that I believed in from my childhood. This I had to come to on my own.

It happened one day that I was in the neighborhood of 7th and Poplar Streets, Philadelphia, and I saw this religious store. I was reluctant to go in because I didn't know how they were going to accept me. I said to myself, I'll go in; they can't do anything but refuse to sell me something. I don't know what I'm going to buy, but I'll go in and look around. In the window I saw the yarmalka, the tallis, the various religious books, music sheets in the window, and the menorrah.

So I went into the establishment and the proprietor there was a very nice woman. Her father was a rabbi who had died, and she was carrying on the business. She showed me some books and among the books that she showed me, was a sidder. I didn't know the name of the prayer book at that time. So I said, "What is a sidder?" She explained that this is a daily prayer book. I bought the prayer book, and I asked, "Do you have Bibles that are without the New Testament?" Up to that time we had the standard King James Bible containing both the Old and New Testament. What I sought was a Bible that did not contain the New Testament. She said yes, and she showed me the Bible that is published by the Jewish Publication Society, which is the standard version among

the Jews. When we began in 1951, we started by reciting the prayers from this prayer book, in English, and reading from Chumash in English.

In the fall of 1951 one of the members brought home a little book. She's a domestic, and she brought a book her employer had given her for use by a little child. She showed me that, and I looked over the book. It had some Hebrew words in it. It was supposed to be a book that was simplified and would give the sounds of the syllables in English so that it would be easy to pronounce these words. So I said, "This is pretty good; maybe I will learn this," and I put the book aside.

In 1952, studies of the Hebrew religion continuing, and we decided to keep Passover. The Jewish religion states that in the season of Passover it is the custom to have a seder and to read from a book known as the Hagaddah which tells the story of Egypt. I wanted to be able to read this in Hebrew, and I purchased these books. They have pages recorded in English on the left hand page. On the right hand page it's recorded in Hebrew. And I wanted to learn Hebrew, and I prayed. I fasted one day, and I prayed to God to give me the Hebrew language, the language of my forefathers, to me. O thought something miraculous would happen, something phenomenal, I would just begin to speak Hebrew. I didn't consider that there was more to it than just to speak it in words. I fasted for three days, I didn't eat any food, I didn't drink any water, but

at the end of that period, I was unsuccessful. At that time, the woman from the religious store had sold to one of the members of our congregation a book called "First Knowledge of Hebrew."

I tried to understand this book, but I couldn't understand it. Everything was the oposite to begin with, the book opened from the wrong end. English is read from left to right, and this reads from right to left. One is backwards to the other. In other words the English is backwards to Hebrew, or Hebrew is backwards to English.

I took this book and I began to study it. I prayed and I studied very diligently. I put forth much effort. I tried very hard and in about two weeks time I completed that book. The book was very simply arranged, the only thing needed was a qualified teacher. This I did not have, other than the divine spirit. Most people do not want to believe this. This is the truth. Not only Hebrew, no other man taught me anything; to observe Pesech, or that I should adhere to the commandment the circumcision law, or to observe Succoth, or to observe anything. There's no white man, no colored man, no human at all who can come forward and say I taught this man what he knows. This I learned myself, thus I began my studies of the Hebrew language in 1952. The studies of the customs, the traditions, the laws, the practices of the Hebraic way of life began before that, a year, a year and a half, prior to that. This came about with a wrestling within my own mind as to whether I wanted to be a Judeo-Christian or a totally 100% Jew. To be a

100% Jew I would have to discard the New Testament and embrace only the Torah. In 1952 I was able to read and in the season of Passover we had our first Seder. We went through it as it was written in the Torah, and I continued to develop and improve my knowledge of the Hebrew language.

During that year I decided to go on the radio and try to increase our membership. There wasn't much success from that venture. It was very hard. Judaism is very difficult. There were things taught that were very difficult to accept. At the time I felt that we would even wear the native dress, that is as close as possible to our ancestors. I felt at that time that our women should not straighten their hair. They went along, and we were expecting to return to our homeland soon. The hope was not to build anything in America but to return to our country, Israel. We had hoped that someday sooner or later the idea would catch on. At that time I was of the opinion that all of the colored people were Jews. But in studying more extensively later, I found that the Jews had intermarried with Canaanites. So to some extent every colored person has a certain amount of their blood in them. Now those who are prone to a certain wicked, disorderly type of conduct, show indication of the Canaanite attributes. Lawlessness seems to be an intrinsic thing in the colored people, and this is similar to the type of conduct of the Canaanites. I eventually came to the conclusion that all colored people are not Jews, in the physical sense, it takes

a lot of time. Anyway, I thought they were all Jews because the Bible states that the Jews were black. In the Book of Lamentations it is written in the 4th chapter, 8th verse, "Darker than black is their visage, they are not recognized in the streets." In Jeremiah it stated, "They are darker than black." The book of Daniel says in the 7th chapter, 9th verse, "The ruler of the world had hair like lamb's wool." Looking at the hair of the white man, and looking at the hair of the colored man's head, we concluded that the colored person's hair is more a wooly type hair than a white person's. So Daniel prophecized that the one that will judge the entire world will be one with wooly hair. So we said colored people must rule the Jews.

So this is about the time we were concerned about returning to our homeland. We felt that we would get the people together and I would petition the government for redress of grievance. Our grievance would be that we were being held as hostages, captives in a land that was not ours, and were not permitted to return to our homeland. This was my plan. It was my intention to approach the government with the proposition or with an idea of suggesting how to take these colored people and resettle them in the land of Israel. This is the basic teaching of 1952 and the purpose for which I went on the radio. However, I wasn't successful as I stated, at that time there came a division between one of our families, and they left.

As a result of the radio program, two or three people came in. I met at that time a gentleman, Bishop Murphy. I passed his place. He came out and we talked. He believed in some of the holidays, and not eating pork. We had a lot of things in common. He was a Jew, I don't know where he acquired his Yiddish, and he would refer to himself as the schvartzer, a black Jew. He used Yiddish and Hebrew. He invited me to his church, at that time at 11th and Berks. I was expecting to go into a synagogue. They would preach a lot of Jesus, a lot of Christianity. You know, Jesus died for our sins. I was trying to get away from this. We were going from this and these people seemed to be retaining it. So, I thought, well, these people were confused, mixed up. As a result of this association some of his members began to associate themselves with me. They came into our group. They felt what I had was more authentic, and this gave a couple more to us. These people were with me. We raised our meeting to about one hundred people and attended various groups around Philadelphia and New Jersey. And I lectured to them. Out of that I met some people in North Jersey, Asbury Park, and there were a few more members who came.

In 1953 I met a woman minister who had a radio program, about fifteen minutes on Sunday night at 7:30. I'd go up Sunday nights at sunset, on one Sunday night of each month, and I'd speak on her radio program. We attracted the attention of two or three more, and so we were gradually growing. In 1955 we still were

carrying on the radio program. As a result of our radio broadcasts some of the White Jewish congregations invited me up to speak. At the time the trouble between Egypt and Israel was going on. I told those people they couldn't get rid of Nasser. They might as well learn to live with Nasser. The Bible prophesied there would be a Saviour of Egypt and perhaps Nasser was this man. The best they could do was try to get along with Nasser. They did not seem to be too keen about what I said. They didn't seem to accept it too well. So I packed my briefcase and went home.

In 1957 I continued with this small group and continued on the radio. I began to be a little more successful with some more people. There seemed to be a rush of new members coming in the early part of '57. I was still living at 2157 N. 12th Street. We were saving money to purchase a building whereby we might have services in a larger place. The group decided they would purchase a large building and my family would live upstairs. In the fall of '57 we came across a building at the southwest corner of 17th and Girard Avenue. We saved some money, but we didn't have quite enough for a down payment. They wanted \$22,000.. It was owned by the Philadelphia Insurance Company. We didn't have quite enough, but some of the people, they took out individual loans, and we were able to get together a little over \$8,000., we made settlement and we purchased it in November, '57. We occupied this building and I continued to broadcast. The member-

ship then, at that time, was close to one hundred people and my dream seemed to be materializing. My hopes and aspirations at last seemed to be bearing fruit.

These people were brought in mostly from a nationalistic or racial appeal. I continued to draw my members with the nationalistic ball. "You are a colored man, you are somebody, you are not a savage, you are a human! You're the Jews, you're a proud people, the leaders of the world. The Bible states that the Jews had black skins and wooly hair..." I was using quotations from the Bible and quite a number of people came in, as I said, one hundred to one hundred and fifty. Some, maybe one hundred were more faithful, others just came in and out. Things seemed to me to be going along very well.

In 1958 I felt these people seemed to be anxious to return to their homeland. I felt that I had to produce, to do something. With these people we had started a cooperative store as a means of raising funds. We hoped a grocery store in time would grow into a supermarket. That was a way of establishing an economy. We might be independent. We might provide jobs for the unemployed in our midst. We tried to find a store in Philadelphia.

We became completely organized. We had regular meetings to keep up with the immediate business at hand. I had a board of directors and would hold elections. People were elected to hold offices as the Board of Directors, President, Vice President, Treasurer and the various Executive offices. We followed the procedure

according to parliamentary rules and regulations. We would make laws, entertain motions, give opinions and ideas to further our program. Of course, most of the ideas formulated from my own mind. The colored people don't seem to have the type of mind that, - the progressive mind - to build themselves as an independent people. In my association with them, you lead them to the trough, you leave them to do something for themselves, they don't do nothing. You have to suggest. I don't use dictatorial powers. I never wanted to impose upon them my views, my opinions. I would give them the opportunity to express their own views, their own opinions for their own good. If they would come up with an idea that I thought would be detrimental to their cause, I would suggest that they either abandon the idea or shelve it, or try to modify the idea so as to enhance the program.

In 1958 I drafted a resolution to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower. I had a vision, the establishment of a colony of Jews, our first purpose in Israel. If it wouldn't be taking a part of the land from the present government of Israel, maybe in the area of Gaza.

I drafted a resolution to the President of the United States in which I referred to this colony of colored Jews in the Holy Land. I obtained signatures from various members of the congregation, and I sent this draft resolution to Washington to Dwight D. Eisenhower. The draft resolution was referred to the State Department.

At that time John Foster Dulles was the Secretary of State.

I received an answer from a lesser officer, an official or employee of the State Department stating that the letter had been sent to the White House. At that time there seemed to be the possibility for war in the Middle East, Egypt, Israel, Jordan. I stated in my letter to the State Department that perhaps, if we could be presented to the United Nations, we could be presented to the world as the descendents of the ancient Hebrews. Then the argument that was being used by the Egyptians would be refuted. Nasser maintained that the Western Powers were trying to establish a position in the Middle East in the form of Caucasian Jews which they said were not the original inhabitants of that land, but were people who were brought from Europe and that they were being forced in among the Arabs. I said that they could not say this about us, because the world knows we were enslaved in this country and have been wandering many years from our homeland.

The fact that they brought us from the jungles of Africa does not mean that we were native inhabitants of Africa. In Jewish history, we go back to the days of Antiochus. We know that many of the Jews fled the Holy Land because of the persecution by the Greeks, and the Romans became a great power again many of the Jews fled the Holy Land. It was the custom of Jews when they would flee Israel, they would not go to Syria, they would not go to Jordan. The custom, the practice of the Jews, was to flee into Egypt. They would come down into Egypt, thus placing them into Africa and

during the time of Antiochus we know that the Grecian ideology, the Grecian way of life and Grecian customs flourished in Egypt. Alexander the Great built the city of Alexandria and the Jew, the ancient Jews, the colored Jews, found themselves persecuted in Egypt as well as they were in Israel. They were persecuted in other North African countries as well as they were in Canaan or Palestine. Then they had to journey into the interior of Africa, this is the theses, my own assumption, not a fact. But, it is a fact that the Jews were persecuted, and if they were persecuted we know that they fled their own country to escape persecution - then they found that their persecutors were also in Egypt and other North African countries, and there was only one thing left for them to do, and that was to flee into the interior of Africa, which is the jungles. Thus they went into the jungles and lost contact with civilization. If you would have to flee because this country was invaded by the Chinese you would come into the wilderness and into the wooded sections of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and you would have to hide there. You would no longer have running water in a bathtub, hot and cold, no longer have a refrigerator to preserve your foods, you would lose contact with civilization. You and your family would remain in hiding in the jungles or wooded sections of the United States of America while the enemies would occupy the cities. There would be no books to pass on to your offspring. You could only recite to them what you knew, and if your child ceased to recite this after you die, if you would suffer the misfortune of

of dying when the child was young, then the child would associate with the beasts of the jungle, and would grow up with a wild nature.

Now this is my assumption, that these people coming out of Africa, they were not wild because they were always savages in Africa, they are wild savages not because of some intrinsic propensity in them, but because they were subjected to this life escaping the persecutors. I stated that we have for centuries denied our name, our language, our culture, denied the right to return to our homeland. We have been denied the right to even know what our country is. Negroes don't know, cannot definitely state where they came from, or their ancestors came from. All other cultured, well educated and trained people can tell where they came from. They take pride, they point with pride to their homeland. The only thing a Negro can say is, "I came from somewhere in the jungles of Africa. The great white father was so kind as to put me on board a ship and I was a wild savage, like a beast and he had to chain me." They chained slaves not because they were savages, not because they were beastly, they chained him so that they would not be able to lift up their hands in defense against their persecutors, their captors, their slave master. Not because they were savages.

You mean to tell me the intelligent, white people would take a wild savage beast, a black woman, and take her into their homes and on many occasions let her take her breast and place it into a little pink-skinned mouth, a white baby, this black savage beast.

Many white babies have been nursed from the breasts of black women in America. No one can make me believe, that the intelligent white people who formed this nation would have taken a heathen savage, an animal from the jungles of Africa and entrust their children to the care of this savage.

That's why I said I would argue this point. However, all of the colored people in America are not my people. When I say my people, I speak of the Jews, Hebrews, the Israelites, who are captives in the United States of America. I felt if I was given the opportunity to express myself before the assemblage of nations in the United Nations, that I would be able to convince them that we have a right to that land, as much right to it as the Arabs. I asked the government of the United States to present me this opportunity to defend myself before the nations of the world, and to accuse not only the white nations of enslaving and subjugating my people, but the black races as well. Ethiopia is not innocent. Egypt is not innocent, or Ghana who seeks her freedom today. The tribes of West Africa, they are not innocent. They enslaved us as much as any white man. In fact, they went into the interior of Africa and brought us up and sold us to the white man. They are just as guilty. I am not a black racist as the Black Muslims and Malcom X. Black men bear as much guilt for persecuting black people as white. We persecuted some black people ourselves. If a thing is wrong, it's wrong. This was my plan of 1958.

I received a very nice, well worded letter, I think the Eisen-

hower Administration at least showed a willingness to recognize this thing that was happening in the United States, but that's about as far as it got. Nothing else developed.

During this time it was thought this was a very bold venture on my part to approach the United States government with this draft resolution. I thoroughly explained it to my people and they were greatly impressed. I had much confidence in the success of this thing that I drafted and sent to Washington. The very fact that the government did acknowledge recognition of the receipt of the papers was impressive to me, it was a step forward. However, some of the people began to criticize. I found that one man that was associated with me, who assisted me and filled the second position in the organization, the next position of authority to that of myself, and had been associated with me since the time I had been cast out of the place in South Philadelphia circulated this bad information among the people. I learned that he had stated that I was interested in myself, I really wasn't interested in the colored people. I was seeking to further my own gains, ends, to establish myself and to enrich myself. He had no grounds for making this statement because whenever I would go on missions I would always try to take him and others, two or three others, so that they might observe what was going on. When I returned I would relate to the people what had occurred and these observers would substantiate or would confirm what I had stated so that the people would have

confidence in my leadership.

On one occasion he accompanied me to a white gentleman in Wynnfield. This man was a political boss, and he had listened to one of my radio broadcasts in 1953 and he was a Jewish man. That Sunday night I had spoken against the Catholic Church, that it was not the authentic religion and that the people were being duped. I had nothing personally against the Catholic Church other than that it has sought to set itself up as the authority to bring people to righteousness, and this was not so.

That evening when I returned from a radio station and a white woman called me at my home and she had listened to my broadcasts. She said that she was formerly Roman Catholic and had since disassociated herself. She was associating herself with one of the Eastern religions. I don't know which one it was. She asked, "Have you received any phone calls from the Catholics, no priests have called you?" When I said, no, she said, "You're going to get a call from them. You literally destroyed the Catholic Church and the entire Christian religion with your history and data that you gave tonight, and you can expect trouble from the priests." I told her, "Lady, I anticipate trouble from all angles. When I went into this business, I went into it with the anticipation that in the end I'll lose my life. I'm aware of the fact that Jews have died for what I believe in. I am prepared to lose my life for what I believe in. There's nothing else of greater value

to me than my life, and if I'm prepared to lose that, surely I'm prepared to lose everything else that I possess. I know there's nothing they can do to me, I expect that after they have killed me. As this has happened to me through divine revelation, it will happen to someone else in another generation. I shall continue to teach until I live no more.

Well, I received a phone call the next day from this white Jewish gentleman. I went out to his place, I took this second man in command, as an observer, and I took my eldest son. I took my son with me in order that he may learn through practice, that he may see what is going on, listen to conversation so that he can learn. This white man made offers to me. He said, I listened to your broadcast last night and I don't think you should have said some of the things you said. Some of my best friends are Catholics, I said, All right, I don't have anything against Catholics, nothing personal against Catholics. I'm merely stating a fact. It's just like the United States. They don't have anything against the Russian people, but they are expressing themselves as to how they feel about communism. It is an ideological system that they don't agree with. Christianity is a religious system that I don't hold with. The only reason a Christian can say they don't hold with Judaism is because the Jews killed Christ. They murdered their God. But no Christian can say they don't hold to Judaism because what Moses wrote was absurd, illogical, irrational. They can't say this. The

only thing they hold against the Jews is that the Jews rejected their Saviour. This is the basic teaching of the Catholic Church. What is there in the Torah that they can say is wrong. They can say, well, as far as abstaining from eating unclean foods, they cannot say that this is wrong or that this is evil, they can only say they don't feel this is expedient, we do not feel that this is necessary. This is not necessary to the attainment of salvation.

He told me that Governor Fine was one of his friends, and some judges were friends of his, high dignataries and that I could come to his synagogue. Come in with our rabbis. You could be an associate Rabbi. Would you like to be in politics? What kind of job would you like to hold? Would you like a job down in City Hall? "Look, I'm not interested in politics." I said, "The only interest I have in politics is to people, in a moral sense. I can aid this nation. As to belonging, supporting any political party^{as} a party, as to being a political partisan, I have no interest."

In 1953 I was living in a slum section of Philadelphia at 12th and Susquehanna, and I was offered an opportunity by a man to move out with my family, to come and live with white Jews, and have a job in City Hall, by getting votes. He's a judge now. He said, "There are other colored men who are judges. We made them. You come in with us, you learn and if you want to become a judge, we'll make you one." I refused all this. Now since my second in command had a knowledge of all this, I can't understand how he could

go among all these people and say I was concerned with developing myself. I denied myself. I denied my family. The people didn't know. They believed the man, so in 1958 there became a great cleavage in the organization. Many people left. The people whom you see here now they are the people who remained.

In 1959 I discontinued broadcasting on the radio. At that time I wrote to the speaker of the House, Mr. Sam Rayburn. I also wrote to the present president when he was the Majority Leader in the time of the Eisenhower Administration, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson. I didn't receive an answer from Mr. Johnson, and no answer from Mr. Rayburn. The wording was different, but the idea was basically the same. So with the few people I had in 1959 we went to Washington to see President Eisenhower, the president of the United States.

We thought perhaps we could stir the country, the nation. The idea was to get recognition by the government with the hopes that the colored people throughout the country, if the government would accept our idea then perhaps the colored people would accept us as being authentic. Many colored people ask, "How did you people get to be Jews? The Jews are white, I'm not a Jew. I came from Africa, there are no Jews in Africa." It's difficult, it goes into a long drawn-out debate. We give them points. Do you see what it says in the Bible? Now in English it says that the Jews were black, you're reading it, seeing it with your eyes. Yes. It says here that the one who is

going to rule the world is going to have wooly hair. Yes. You're reading it. We go into the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy where Moses predicted that the Jews would suffer certain curses. He said these things will be upon you as a mark and a sign. I said, Look, see these things, you would be the tail and not the head. You would suffer all types of sicknesses and diseases because you won't walk according to this Law of the Commandments. You would sow much in the field and you will reap little. Doesn't this seem indicative to what is happening to us. Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee. Thou shalt have no assurance of your life. Have you been lynched by the thousands in this country? Well now, this is supposed to happen to the Jews, not to negroes. "Well," they say, "I was taught in school that I was a negro and this is what I believe. The only Jews I see are white Jews. I have never seen any black Jews."

We felt if the United States Government would recognize my efforts and acknowledge that this country has made a gross error in holding the people of our God in captivity that perhaps the colored people would be impressed, if they saw the government taking definite steps to reestablish these people to their former estate.

This was my opinion. If the government could be induced to do this perhaps colored people would come. It was prophecied that only a remnant would return. There was never stated in the prophecy exactly how many people would return. It said a remnant, though the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a multitude.

Now we felt that we would try to make that remnant as large as

we possibly could. In 1959 I planned. All these ideas emanated from my own mind. For the demonstration in Washington we made placards and signs. Some of the signs read in Hebrew, "We desire Freedom" some read in English, "We are America's Displaced Person's" Some state we wish to return to our land. We took a busload of people, forty people. The first part of the morning we went to the White House. I sent Mr. Ross to the Police Department in Washington, to find out if it was permissible for us to march in front of the White House gates. About three officials from the Washington Police Department came up later, and they asked what was the nature of our demonstration. I explained to them, and they asked what was written on some of the signs. I showed my copy of the draft resolution which I sent to Washington and a copy of the letter which I received from the State Department. They said, "we'll go inside and see if it will be permissible to march, or to demonstrate. They went in, came out, and said you have permission of the President.

About fifteen policemen were stationed around, here and there. The commanding officer stated to us that we don't want you people to be alarmed. Don't feel these police are here to intimidate you, only to protect you, to keep anyone from interfering with your orderly demonstration. He told us not to sing, not to chant, but just to walk quietly. One of our members said they recognized our president. He came out on the steps and looked at us. I didn't see

him. We stayed awhile. That day, later in the afternoon a news reporter came up to get our story. Some pedestrians passing by were curious and asked questions. The commanding policeman asked if I wanted to answer questions, and I said yes. He said I didn't have to answer, I told him I didn't mind, I'd answer questions. At 4 o'clock the police officer in charge signaled for the bus driver to bring our buses in front of the gate there. We boarded our bus. A reporter from Washington Star rode along with us for awhile trying to get some information.

We returned to Philadelphia, but there was no result from that demonstration. I did write President Eisenhower on two or three more occasions other than sending this draft resolution. On one occasion when the President sent troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, I wrote and cautioned the President about the use of troops to insure and enforce civil rights. Such a practice could be dangerous. It would be foolish for the United States to enter into another civil war for the colored people. The only solution for the colored people is that they return to the Torah, the law of Moses. If they are not Jews, not Hebrews, there is no solution. I did not receive an answer to that letter. When John Foster Dulles got sick and died, I wrote a letter and expressed my prayers and concern for Mr. Dulles. I think I wrote after his death, but I'm not sure, it was while he was sick and we received a letter at that time and were thanked for our consideration for the health of Mr. Dulles. I received another letter

from the White House, but it said they received my letter and that was all, nothing significant in it. We continued on and in 1960 the present administration got in power.

In 1959, after the separation from this other group which reduced our numbers, I felt the program then had been wrong. I had to revise my plans to conform with the smaller number of people. I felt we would continue to broadcast to try to gain more members. But the membership was slow in growing and people seemed to be reluctant to accept or participate in the program. We would receive letters from a few stating they enjoyed the message, and thought it was a wonderful thing. But no people were coming forward who wanted to participate in the program. The radio program was costing a bit of money, and not making progress in gaining new converts. I'd been on the radio on and off since 1952, and I decided that when that contract would expire in 1960 I would discontinue broadcasting for awhile.

I revised my plans and decided to build, to establish a community in the United States with the hope that the people would be induced to associate themselves with something in this country. I felt it was the idea of going to another country which made the colored people reluctant to associate themselves with us. I felt they were afraid to venture out on their own, attempt anything of the self-government nature, and I felt I would have to revise my plans and try to establish something in the United States, to construct new homes in a wooded area either in Pennsylvania or New Jersey,

a new community, a new way of life. We might learn how to govern ourselves and by so doing might prepare ourselves for an eventual day when our people would return to their own country. I didn't feel that my people, and they agreed with me, that we had any part in the present state of Israel, the government of Israel. The established government of Israel, we felt, were concerned with European people, white people, caucasians who considered themselves Jews, or later with those Jews who were identifying themselves as Jews in the middle eastern countries. We did not feel they were interested in us, concerned with us, to find out whether or not there were some Jews among the colored population of the United States of America. We felt that they were not concerned with us, and that they did not consider us as Jews even when we began to identify ourselves as Jews, and began on this long road back home, so to speak. We didn't find that white Jews were anxious to lead us to find our way back. There were white Jews who came to our meetings, to offer advice, would question us, to trap us to prove to us, make us state, we were not Jews, because we did not know the customs of the Jews. We didn't know Talmud, we didn't know the practices of the Jews.

There was no sincere effort on the part of the white Jewish community to seek any of us, if we were their brothers. If we are one and the same people, there was no effort on their part to seek us out. They were more concerned with their ancestors. They were more concerned with Europe, they were more concerned

to my mind with what happened to the Jews in Germany, and what happened to the Jews in Poland, and what happened to the Jews in Russia. They were not concerned that there were Jews in the western world who had been brought here by Spain. They were not concerned with the fact that there were Jews here who had been forced to accept Christianity. They just took it for granted. They said you're Christians, as if Christianity was something that was inherited, you know. Christianity was a belief that was taught to the colored people, this is nothing that is a part of their nature. They are not Christians because they are intrinsically Christians. They are Christians because the slave masters taught them to be Christians. They had not the opportunity to evaluate, to make a choice between two religions. We see now the activities of the Black Muslims in the person of Mr. Elijah Mohammad and Mr. Malcolm X. The colored people are giving their version of religion, and we find there are thousands of colored people who are associating themselves with these Black Muslims and likewise I feel if there had been sincere efforts on the part of the White Jews to seek out their brethren from among the colored race, we would have been successful.

None but a true Jew could accept Judaism. The Judaic way of life is a strenuous and severe way of life. It is difficult to practice, especially in a Christian nation. If Judaism had been brought to the colored people by the white Jews, only those colored people who had been Jews would have associated themselves

with them. But the white Jews seemed to have taken a position that it was sacriligious to attempt to go out as a missionary, not to convert negroes to Judaism, but to seek Jews among negroes. To seek out their brothers. These European Jews didn't seem to be concerned whether or not there might have been some Jew in the United States who on the outside looked typically negroid, but on the inside were Jewish. Now to my mind, we have been not recognized by the white Jewish community and as a result of this we feel that we do not consider ourselves related to them. So I decided to establish our own community, and that is why the sign hangs in front of this place saying, "Colored Hebrew Community." The purpose of this sign is to establish that when you see people living here who in physical feature, physical appearance, look like the American negro, these are not negroes, these are Jews.

We want the public to know that these are Jews here. But these are Jews who are not ashamed of the color that God had made them. They are not ashamed of what their ancestors were, not ashamed of the fact that they are colored and want the public to know that they are distinguished from the white people who are saying that they are Jews, so that the public might know that we are not trying to practice the white man's religion or the white Jewish people's religion, or that they're not trying to take something from someone else, that we're not trying to be imposters

or trying to deceive the public into thinking that we are like the white Jewish religion think. We know that the ancestors of the human race were probably colored, dark skinned people. This I have learned through research. Now, we're not ashamed of our color. That's why we say we're colored people. We're happy and thankful to God to be just what God made us. At the same time, we do not frown upon whiteness because they are not of our color, because it is not I, nor any of the members of my congregation who have made these white people. It is God, Yahvah, the Almighty God who has made them, and he made them thus. He made them as he saw fit. We have no right to look upon the person as an inferior person because their physical features or their skin color varies from our own. This is the work of God!

This is the thing that forced us to establish a community of our own. We did all this on our own, no one assisted us, no one helped us, no one sought us out to find out if there might be some Jews among these colored people. We were victims of racial discrimination, victims of racial persecution. We're concerned with racial persecution more than we are concerned with racial discrimination. We can live with discrimination. We don't mind being segregated, that they should discriminate in certain fields, areas, even to go to an all colored school, we don't mind this, providing we are not denied the right to practice our beliefs, our customs, our culture.

We will practice our customs, among white people, we will practice them among colored people, we will practice them among Chinese, among Japanese, among everyone, anywhere in the world. This is our culture, our way of life. This is what we believe in. We feel we have been separated, alienated, from that which is ours and we are like lost sheep trying to find our way back home. The way back is not easy. It is very difficult. Sometimes we make our way back, it seems to be in the right direction, sometimes we may make an error, but in time we'll be back on the right track.

We are colored people, and we have observed the practice of the white people, neighborhoods have laid down its colored barriers. Its barriers against racial color. If colored people did come in, in time that community will become totally or predominantly a negro community. You cannot escape yourself. This is not the solution to your problem, to move into a white community. There may be one or two white people in the community who may accept us, but the majority of the white people have not come to the point where they are ready to accept colored people to live with them as neighbors. I am aware of the fact that all of the fault is not the white man's. I am aware that much of the fault is our own. We have failed to prove to the white people that we are a civilized people, that we are qualified to live in a civilized community, our social standard is unequal to that of the white people.

Now that is why we established this community, to prove to

ourselves that we are what we say we are, and that we can establish a society that is equal to that of the white race, to Mongolians, or to any other peoples throughout the world. Within our society we would work to observe the customs and the traditions of our ancestors and keep alive our culture. We would give it new life. We would transmit this culture to our children. We would encourage our children to dedicate themselves to the preservation of the culture and to develop it within themselves during their generation and to teach it also to their children so that our Judaic heritage might live again within us. This is, we feel, our mark of distinction. In the United States it has been the color of our skins, the texture of our hair, the physical features of our faces, our noses, our lips, these have been the marks of distinction by our possessors, those who enslaved us and held us captive. We feel we want to make ourselves distinctive in our character, our psychological make-up, we can only do this by associating ourselves with the Judaic culture of our ancestors. We are aware of the fact it is very difficult to practice the Judaic culture of the United States of America or any other country that is non-Jewish for the Torah was given to Jews to practice in their own country, not in the country where they were captured and enslaved. Our forefathers were brought to this country against their will and we are the offspring, we are, in a sense, victims of circumstances. I feel that the problem will not be solved by complaining about our

condition. I feel the problem can only be solved by trying to first determine, Who am I? and after I determine who I am then I can learn what my culture is, how I'm supposed to live. I know that I am a social being, but what is the social order that I am supposed to dwell within? I have to know something about my God so that I know how I should live today, to understand, to be able to teach my children how they should live, that they might understand how they should live, that they might pass this on to their children.

So we decided to purchase this land. The job was very difficult, with the colored people not having any program of order, not being raised properly, each person doing as they see fit, there was no practice of imposing self-control to any great extent. Colored people seem to be very selfish, self-willed, it seems to be very difficult for them to restrain and contain themselves. They are people who put forth their views irrespective of how much it might do to themselves or others. They will express themselves, anytime. This causes harm to people, we feel that there is a time to speak, also there's a time to refrain from speaking. But the colored people in America they don't seem to be able to understand this. They will speak out too often out of turn and out of season. They speak things that they should not speak. They will not always speak the truth, and this was what was happening in our group. They were no doubt fascinated by the growth and de-

velopment of large Christian churches among the colored and I suppose they felt they could establish the same kind of thing using the Old Testament and using Judaism, but this is impossible. There have been no great negro ministers who have been able to amass great wealth by duping the people with the Old Testament. You can't take the Torah and dupe the people. If you're going to teach the people Torah, if they are interested in Torah and want Torah, they will seem more of the laws and commandments. This is good for the people, this is not harmful. That's why you don't find great churches and great religious institutions established among colored people who use Judaism as a means of amassing wealth, because if you teach Torah you elevate people, not degrade them. But these fellows feel they could use the Bible and teach nationalism, refer to the Bible to substantiate the fact that the Jews were colored people, and use this teaching to build a great organization to make money for themselves. However, I haven't seen any of them who have been successful. This is, to my mind, why these individuals start this schism, and came within our group and brought about this division, and reduced our numbers to a small amount. I was aware of the fact that there were some opportunists, I didn't know how long they were going to remain. There were some fields of endeavor that were open to us. There were opportunities available to us, I felt that instead of complaining about that which we don't have, that we should take advantage of those opportunities that were available to us,

utilize them to develop ourselves, to create for ourselves a higher standard of living, and a better higher social order.

This is why we thought of getting this place.

Now, in the fall of 1959 I took sick. I had contracted a bad cold, I used to talk on the streets back in 1949. I didn't do too much to correct the condition when I would catch cold, I didn't have too much confidence in doctors. I didn't take care of myself as I should when I first started, I was careless. I would speak on streets and I would perspire profusely in cold weather. I would teach in subzero. I believed so perfectly in this thing I was teaching it would stimulate me, and I would perspire even on a very cold day. I would talk on 22nd and Ridge Avenue in the ice and snow, and I would take off my coat, perspiring so, a foolish thing to do. I contracted colds and flu. I've always had asthma, sinusitis, since I was a child. Our living standard was poor. Our home not adequately heated. This, I feel was the cause, I contracted so many colds. In 1959 I fell victim to pneumonia. At the same time there was a sort of a disappointment for the manner in which the colored people had received me. I had such a great love for these people, which I felt were my people, and I felt quite disappointed. I developed hypertension, and a heart condition, and all of this was complicated by pneumonia. The heart condition enlarged my heart, my pulse was rapid. My blood pressure went up and I had an asthmatic condition, sinusitis.

I couldn't breathe through my nose. My chest was congested. I was hospitalized for awhile. I had to be in an oxygen tent. When I came out, during this time, I didn't cease my duties. I continued to carry on services. With this heart condition the doctor told me not to walk to steps. I would have some of the men to carry me upstairs after I would finish my services. And I began to slowly mend, and we continued our program, and we went off the air in 1960.

Our first purchase was land in Hammonton Township, New Jersey, in Atlantic County near Mays Landing. We consulted with a building firm over in Blackwood, New Jersey. At the time we thought of putting each family in a home and desired to have ten homes built. The building firm here told us we wouldn't need a down payment. But we couldn't get mortgages because that area was zoned farm area, or something like that. In other words, they would only allow a house to be built on two acres, there would have to be two acres around each house. That meant we could only build five houses, even if we have ten acres of land. So the question arose of acquiring more land for the purpose of building these ten houses. At that time there were more people interested.

We felt we needed at least ten houses to start with.

We inquired about this lot adjacent to our property. We had to shelve this idea for the time being because of an outrageous sum they were asking. During this time I was going through a stage of slowly recovering. In 1961 we waited for this building firm to give their answer, and I became ill again in 1961. I didn't know I had pneumonia this time. I noticed at the conclusion of services on Friday night I felt a slight headache and felt unusual and I really couldn't explain it because I knew I was trying to get over my hypertension. This heart condition I hadn't fully recovered from, the hypertension is still there even now. I attribute it to my psychological aspect, the way I'm forced to think. Many times I'm disappointed. I'm not disturbed, but disappointed and this affects me. However, I'm able to accept things better now than I did two or three years ago. At this particular time I went to the Mercy Douglas Hospital. They gave me an injection and a doctor told me to go home and get in bed and stay there three days and then return. He gave me some medicine and I took it. All week I was perspiring. Every time I'd change my pajamas, and they'd be soaked and I stayed chilly all the time. So I went back to the hospital and they told me I must have pneumonia. The following weekend

I went to sleep that Saturday night. It was very difficult for me to rest. I couldn't breathe. I woke up around three or four o'clock in the morning. It was difficult for me to breathe. I told my wife to call an ambulance that would take me to the hospital.

It's impossible for colored people to get an ambulance and a cabulance is for the wealthy. We couldn't get an ambulance. So I said maybe you could call the city, the city has a police emergency driver, because I can't breathe. I have to have oxygen. I don't know what had happened, I thought I was getting better. My respiratory system and my circulatory system seemed to be both having trouble. They were both so tired. So I told her to call, and I thought while she was getting ready. I thought, No, don't call. Because if they send an emergency wagon here, there'll be a lot of excitement and cause too much attraction. I'm going to believe, trust in God that I'll be all right. I began to think, the ability to breathe became more and more difficult. Around sunrise I told her to open all the windows, to wrap me up in warm blankets in the house and to put on her coat if she wanted to stay in, if not, to go out, I knew I needed oxygen. This was the only way, it was a really cold morning. I was dying, it seemed to me. I didn't have enough strength to hold my head up. She propped

me up in the bed. I told her what to do, put pillows around my head, the only thing that I had was the consciousness of my mind. I was conscious of my mind. But I knew that I didn't want to go to sleep because if I went to sleep I knew that I didn't have enough strength in my body to wake up. So I prayed affirmatively in my mind, and slowly I began to recover and as I began to recover I breathed very deeply, my ability to breathe was just about gone and after about two or three hours while I wasn't back to normal, I was breathing well enough to get dressed around the room, to go downstairs, to go to the hospital in my car, and I went down, I stopped and kissed the covenant in front of the door, prayed, and I asked God that I be able to come back to my children, my family, that I might raise them so that something I started would not die. I could teach my children, and after they are old enough to understand themselves, I would be willing to die. This is what I asked. I know it's all psychological to a person who doesn't believe in God. They'll say you are alive because you wanted to live. This power is in his mind; I'm aware of that, but I did believe there is a mind beside's man's. There is a power besides the human mind of man which does not always overpower, does not overrule the mind of man, but this mind and this power takes over after man is unable to do for himself.

Our body heals itself, so to speak. We do not heal our body. I feel that this orderly process of healing that goes about in the body is conducted by a mind, or a force that is present which cannot be seen, but which can be understood. Perhaps 2 to one who cannot understand this, one who believes can sound somewhat unbalanced, somewhat of an eccentric.

To say that God is within me, that God is a mind that controls my physical being, the orderly movement, the beat of my heart, orderly operation of the organs of my body, my circulatory system, my respiratory system, my digestive system; I feel that these are controlled by, not by myself, but a mind of intelligence that is present within me and that brought me into being. This is how I feel, that I willed myself to stay here, because it was disappointment that brought about the hypertension and it was up to me to calm myself and then my blood pressure would be reduced, my heart would slow down. But, if I remained excited, upset, naturally my pressure would stay up and my heart would continue to be irregular. I went to the hospital and a doctor examined me, a doctor from India. He said, you have an enlarged heart, but it is possible to have this condition corrected. I returned home and was scheduled to return on Tuesday. After they told me to get dressed, I got dizzy, I couldn't stand up, I had to sit down, I

I couldn't see anybody or anything, my sense were intact, I could hear, and I knew what was going on, my vision became completely blurred, I couldn't see anything, make out anything, so they put me on a stretcher and took me upstairs. The hospital was crowded at that time, and didn't have a bed for me. The doctor in charge called to the resident physician, the doctor who examined me requested I be detained in the hospital.

They took my blood count that evening and the next morning. The report showed I was three, maybe four, pints low in blood and that I should have an operation. I didn't want the operation, and neither did I want the blood transfusion, because perhaps the person who will donate the blood to the blood bank will be a person who will have eaten these unclean foods and as a result certain elements from swine will be in the blood. I didn't want a blood transfusion. They said, if you sign yourself out, and if anything happens to you, you are responsible, we are not responsible. All right, I'll take this chance. If I die I'd rather die with undefiled Hebraic blood, I kept it clean as long as I've been following the customs of my forefathers. So I signed the necessary papers, left the hospital on Friday.

During my stay there I prayed to God. I said, "You brought forth water out of a rock to our forefathers in the wilderness, you gave me blood, you formed it from the blood

of my mother and my father, and now I need blood. If it is your will that I live, give me the necessary blood. I have faith and confidence that you will give me this blood. I won't have a blood transfusion." It rained and thundered, there was an unusual storm that night. I was asleep and it awakened me. When I first came into this religion it was revealed to me, in my mind, that God would show me a sign in a storm, the rain, the thunder, the lightening, and as I stated earlier I had been struck by lightening when I was a child, thirteen years old, during a storm, and it was revealed to me then that God would show me a sign in thunder, rain. So when it reained that night, such a severe electrical storm, a most unusual storm, then I felt that this was the answer. I signed myself out that Friday afternoon at the hospital and I came home. They told me to come back next Tuesday for an examination, because when you separate yourself from us certain examinations have to go on our records. In the meantime, consult your private physician and we would make our findings available to him. I left the hospital and went to a private physician. I went back the following Tuesday. After the routine examination, the doctor looking over the papers said there's something unusual. He called the office to ask what was my blood count. I was a little less than a pint low, whereas two or three days before

that, according to the laboratories report I was three points below, so the doctor couldn't understand this because he said it was impossible for a person to regain this much blood. They had not given me a blood transfusion, nor had they given me any type of medication to build the blood. The blood couldn't have been restored within a two or three day period. Listening to this conversation, I was amazed. I knew how I felt. I felt it was, maybe, I felt it was my mind.

In the summer of 1961 we were traveling in the south of New Jersey looking for some other land that might be desirable. Now we had revised our plan of ten homes to five homes. We would build larger houses, we would get two families in one home. We'd had enough. Cousins would live together. So we drove from Egg Harbor to Philadelphia on the White Horse Pike looking at building sites and sample houses. I passed, during the summer of 1961, this company on the White Horse Pike, just below Warrington, and told them what I had in mind. He was under the impression that the organization was larger than it really was. I felt if we could be successful in building a community of just five houses, I felt this would be an inspiration for colored people to come to this community which would start. They informed me that it would be difficult to establish us in this area, and they gave us a choice of three

areas. They tried in one area here on Weymouth Road. We went there one day with about three carloads of us. We were looking at this land, and he informed us that some of the white people in the area saw us and became alarmed. They had meetings in which they decided they don't want negroes here. Well, we had put a deposit on the land in the Hamilton area, and they didn't want us over there he told us. He said, I could sell you some township lots over here in a colored section over on the other side of the White Horse Pike, near the railroad tracks. Then he brought us over to this, here, I could build you five houses here. It will cost you \$1,000 for each plot of ground, for the land, then you have to have utilities for each house. We didn't have enough money to do all that. But we bought the land.

He was a very clever business man, he obtained mortgages for us which was very difficult. He had to purchase the land as a white man to purchase the land for us. Now we were told not to be seen too regularly in this area and whenever we would come before the houses were built only to come one or two, so the white people around here wouldn't be alarmed. We have just learned from one of the whites who lives in this area, and had to come and do some work for us, that the people in this area had meetings also. Some were very incensed over the

fact that colored people were moving in. Of course, at the time the builder didn't tell us about this because he didn't want us to be alarmed. I don't try to condone the faults of the colored. I'm a colored man and I feel we cannot help ourselves if we try to hide our faults. In fact, the only way we can help ourselves is to recognize our faults. Not for the white people to see our faults, but for us to see ourselves, put forth the effort and devise ways and means whereby these faults can be corrected. He would tell me, "Rabbi, you make sure you keep this community clean, and we'll build you nice houses." He had no idea that I had plans to build something like this. In fact, the people I associated with had no idea it was my plan to do something like this. Some of them thought just to go into the country, but not that it would be as modern as this. This is my own plan, my own idea. I told him not to worry. We have rules and regulations and ordinances to govern this community before we even move here. The rules, regulations, and ordinances were read time and time again to the people in order that they might familiarize themselves with it. I said this had all been considered and taken care of.

We all worked very hard to obtain mortgage financing for us, and finally we started laying foundations for two houses in the fall of '61. In the spring of '62 the first two houses were

completed. The yellow and blue house which I live in was
 also completed. The builder obtained financing, first mortgages
 to go with the houses and second mortgages to cover utilities.
 We had to use the names of people who don't live here as
 holders of mortgages whose financial background was better
 than some of us.

In 1962 we moved ⁱⁿ. We began working together, clearing
 the land ourselves, we bought rakes and we bought rye grass.
 I didn't know anything about grass or soil, being born and raised
 in Philadelphia. We purchased our own cement, sand, gravel,
 pumice, poured and mixed and finished our driveways, walkways,
 as much of the work as we could do ourselves. This year we
 bought grass seed which we have been successful with.

That's just about it. We're holding our own. It doesn't
 look like we'll have to give up what we've accomplished as
 long as we hold jobs and have income. We feel that we'll
 continue the same policy which we adopted, try to accumulate
 a surplus. Up to this point we have had some difficulties,
 putting in the cesspools and sewage systems.

We had a meeting before we moved here, while the houses
 were being constructed, and at this meeting the people were
 given the opportunity to make their choice, whom they felt it
 was best to live with, to share the living room, the bathroom

and kitchen. We had several meetings, not just one, concerning this and as a result of these meetings we came to the conclusion who would be best to place in each house. At this point, there haven't been any serious difficulties, there have been disapprovements, but nothing very serious.

We have purchased some more land. We hold that in reserve and hope to purchase more land. Now, if we don't have a need for building homes, we plan to use the land for farming, chickens, sheep and a couple of cows. It is my hope we can produce a greater portion of food even if we have to utilize this area adjacent to us for building homes.

It is very difficult to tell whether new converts will more readily stay in Philadelphia than come out here. The colored people are very difficult to work with, difficult to understand. I have been reassessing the whole aspect of my work, the question of the actual authenticity of the colored people in the United States being Jewish, or just how many of them are of the Judaic racial group, or from the Canaanite strain. These Canaanites were very wicked people and in reappraising the overall situation and looking at the colored people I am forced to conclude that the colored people carry to a great extent members of Canaanites and Hittites.

I have been caused to feel by colored people that many of them are just as much our enemies as are white people. I've been wearing a beard since 1951 and I have found myself the object of ridicule, more by colored people than I have by white people. Now, the manner in which colored people have rejected me has caused me to reappraise the entire situation relative to myself. I must ask the question, why do I think differently from these people? Why do I have a desire to go in a different channel? Are these people truly my people? We look alike, yes--why do we look alike? Then I begin to read the Bible, research in ancient history. The Bible is the most authentic source, to refer to other than discoveries of archaeologists in ancient countries like Egypt or in Iraq. Now the Bible teaches me, in the book of Judges, after the Hebrews came out of Egypt as slaves, came to Israel to become a nation, that these people intermarried with the Canaanites and became a mixed people. The Hebrews, the tribe of Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, the tribe of Simeon, the tribe of Ruben, most all of these tribes intermarried with these Canaanite people. There is an account of King David, when Israel was fighting the Philistines, there a warrior, a descendent of these Canaanite people, a Hittite, and this man had a wife. It was assumed that she was a Hittite likewise. This narrative states King David

had this man slain in battle, and he took his wife, this woman who was a Hittite. Now King David, it is said, had a relationship with this woman and the woman became pregnant, this child died. But David continued to cohabit with this woman and Solomon was born. Now, even if David was a white man, which he was not, then certainly his child Solomon was half and half. This great builder, this man who was distinguished and noted for his wisdom, who became a legendary character throughout most civilized nations, this Solomon was half colored, even if his father was white. His mother was certainly a black woman, and he had to be half colored man and he was the greatest king of Israel. Now, this evidence that the Jews, the Hebrews and the Canaanite people intermarried, I think these colored people seem to lean more to the Canaanite strain than they do to the Judaic.

Jews were taught the Grecian language, they were forbidden to identify themselves to call themselves Jews. The word negro is derived from, the word Niger, Negair, and means black. Negro is a Spanish form of the Greek word, the Latin word Niger means black. To get Jews to forget Jewishness, their Hebraic, Israelite background, this was practiced over 2,000 years ago. It is likewise true that many Greeks and many Romans became converts to Judaism. Many Europeans

became converts 2,000 years ago. Of course, the original Jews were slaves in Italy, and there were many Italians who embraced Judaism, the same is true of Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Poland, Russia. Many Russian nationals embraced Judaism and became Jews. Because a person's name is Trotsky, or Goldberg, this doesn't make the man a Jew, this only states they are Europeans. I've had Jews who come and say to me, you don't have a Jewish name. Of course, I don't have a Jewish name. I have the name of my slave masters and this is considered my name in America.