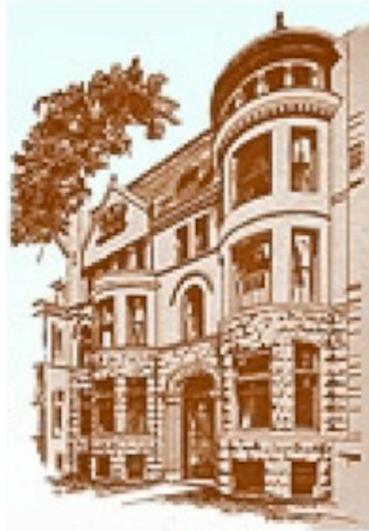


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Zionism and Middle East Curriculum

The relationship between American Judaism and Zionism has received inadequate consideration in university courses on the Middle East. It is possible to study the issues presented by the Israeli-Arab confrontations without learning anything about the issues and dilemmas that Zionism presented for American Jewish leaders. Whatever one thinks about the controversies, there is certainly an inadequacy in terms of the attention given that is in need of remedy.

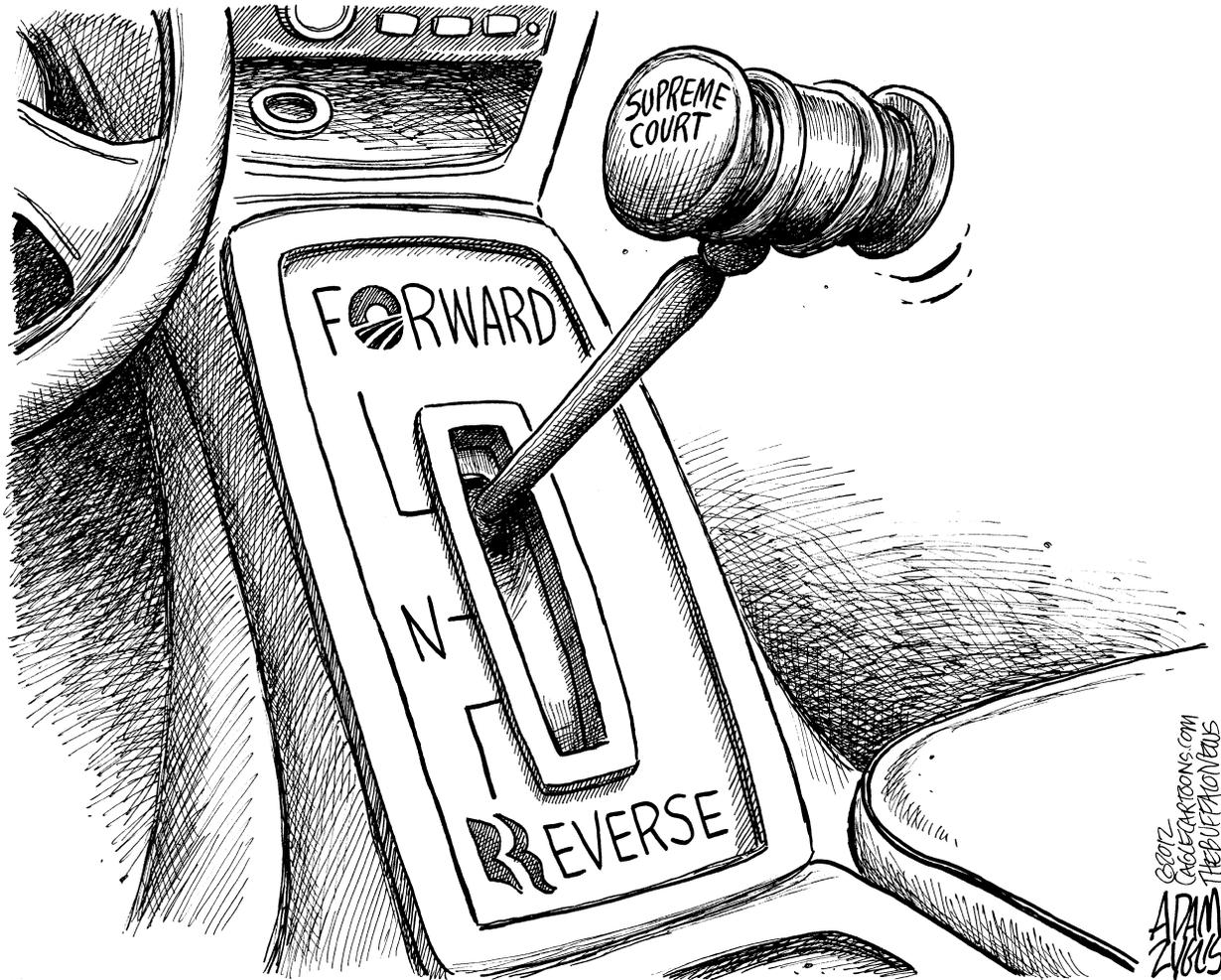
This article does not purport to provide the final word on why Brandeis abandoned his secularism, so that would be a false criticism. It rightly points out that his upbringing was not religious and that he would have been described at one point as a deist. Alice, his wife, belonged to a Unitarian church and he donated to the First Church Unitarian in Boston. My opinion has always been that Alice had a lot of influence on the evolution of Justice Brandeis beliefs, and that is something I would have stressed had the following essay been mine.

Alice Goldmark Brandeis (1866-1945) was born in Brooklyn. Her parents, Joseph and Regina Goldmark, were immigrants from Vienna. She was sent to the Sunday School of the First Unitarian Church in Brooklyn. Alice married Louis in March 1891 and they had two daughters, Susan and Elizabeth. She was a vigorous proponent of women's suffrage, organized labor, and the Zionist movement. She fought for the exoneration of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and supported the presidential ambitions of Robert La Follette. Her sister, Alice Goldmark Adler, was the wife of the founder of the Ethical Culture movement, Felix Adler. She met Adler at First Unitarian services.

So perhaps Alice had a major part in the development of the religious side of Louis Brandeis. Stuart Vyse argues: "In 2004, the *Washington Post* reported that 80 percent of Jews in Israel were secular. The percentage is undoubtedly much lower in the United States, but here, too, secular Jewish life is common. I would love to be a member of that group, but it is not possible for me. Just as conversion to the Judaism of one's birth is impossible; so too is conversion from some other faith—or none—to secular Judaism. Becoming Jewish is a serious business. You cannot simply declare yourself a Jew. As a result, the person who is born Jewish is granted the choice of being a religious or a secular Jew. Though it might never have occurred to him to be anything but a religious person, this was a choice that Brandeis retained."

In general, despite all the attention given to bringing neglected influences into history, we still have a long way to go in explaining why things happened. This is a case in point. Certainly, as the paper argues, Aaron Aaronsohn was significant, prominent and respected intellectual that he was, but one might also want to know something about that Sunday School in Brooklyn. What we have here is a fine door opener on a promising area of research.

Paul Rich
President, Policy Studies Organization



Aaron Aaronsohn and the Zionist Conversion of Justice Louis Brandeis

By Barbara Pfeffer Billauer, Institute of World Politics

Abstract

By the time Aaron Aaronsohn died at the age of 44, he had achieved international fame as a scientist, drawn the boundary map for the newly conquered Palestine and co-founded the NILI spy-ring to advance the Zionist cause – for starters. Amongst the many prominent people he influenced was Justice Louis Brandeis, the man who persuaded Woodrow Wilson to support the Balfour Declaration. Brandeis' sudden conversion from a secular, assimilationist Jew into an ardent Zionist at the age of 54 has defied logical explanation. This article details Aaronsohn's role in converting Brandeis to the Zionist cause.

Introduction

By the time he was killed at age 44 in an airplane accident on his way to the Paris Peace Conference, Aaron Aaronsohn had achieved international fame as an agronomist, drawn boundaries for the newly conceived Palestine, been decorated by the British government, lectured across America on dry farming, co-founded the NILI spy-ring (which contributed to the downfall of Ottoman rule in Palestine) and devised strategy that enabled General Allenby to take Jerusalem. Offered the Hilgard Chair of Agronomy at Berkeley¹, he refused and returned to Palestine to establish the first Agricultural Research Station, administer American Relief efforts, create training programs for science teachers and further international seedling-exchange. Between 1914 and 1919 he was an advisor to the US government, the Ottoman government, the British government and Zionists at the Paris Peace Treaty.

Of all those Aaronsohn influenced in America, perhaps Justice Louis Brandeis was most crucial to the existence of the State of Israel. The circumstances surrounding Brandeis' sudden and late-in-life metamorphosis from a secular, assimilationist Jew into an ardent Zionist have defied logical explanation.

“The question of who converted Brandeis² still fascinates scholars,”³ Melvin Urofsky tells us. Jonathan Sarna calls Louis Brandeis's mid-life "conversion" to Zionism "an enduring mystery."⁴ And if Brandeis' conversion to Zionism⁵ is curious, his assuming the mantle of leadership may be more puzzling.^{6,7} While some biographers recognized an Aaronsohn-influence, this article probes Aaronsohn's role, noting the importance of his scientific stature as driving force of his impact.

The Zionist Conversion of Louis Brandeis

The son of devoutly secularist parents, Louis Dembitz Brandeis tiptoed into Zionism in 1910. He was 54 years old. Five years earlier Brandeis believed in total assimilation of Jews into American society. But by 1914 he recognized that the 'Jewish race' was unique, noting that

"assimilation is national suicide. There must be a land where the Jewish life may be naturally led, the Hebrew language spoken, and the Jewish spirit prevails, and that land was "our fathers' land" -- Palestine."⁸

Brandeis' delayed conversion is even more astounding considering his background.⁹ Born to followers of False Messiah, Yaakov Franck,¹⁰ Louis Brandeis¹¹ was raised as a deist¹². "Of all the prominent Jews of the early twentieth century, none had so little identification with Jewish life as he."¹³ His early religious life was so impoverished that wishing to hear Jewish musical liturgy, he and his sister drove to synagogue one Yom Kippur –completely ignorant that this was of the most egregious of sins.¹⁴

Most historians credit Brandeis' full conversion to a 'chance' meeting in 1912 with Jacob deHaas,¹⁵ editor of the Boston Jewish Advocate, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations Board member and once-secretary to Herzl.¹⁶ Yet after meeting de Haas, eight months would elapse before Brandeis would engage in even the most minimal Zionist activity¹⁷ and another year would follow before he would take an active role.^{18, 19}

"Prior to December 1910, Brandeis took no public part in Zionist affairs and was neither regarded as a Jew locally²⁰ nor nationally.... Nor is he mentioned in the Jewish Encyclopedia."²¹ When Brandeis granted an interview to de Haas' newspaper^{22, 23} in late 1910, Zionism was a theoretical question to him. The interview²⁴ reflects Brandeis' ambiguity; he sees himself as a sympathetic observer rather than an interested player: "I have a great deal of sympathy for the [Zionist] movement and am deeply interested in the outcome of the propaganda," he says. "These so-called dreamers²⁵ are entitled to the respect and appreciation of the entire Jewish people."²⁶ Six years later, Brandeis would write, "the rebirth of the Jewish nation is no longer a dream. It is in the process of accomplishment in a most practical way and a most wonderful one."²⁷

Brandeis' Zionist transition begins slowly. Between 1910 and 1912, Brandeis made small donations and occasionally attended Jewishly-related meetings.²⁸ Extolling the spiritual nature of the Jews, he noted their greatest triumph was 'being a priestly people.' Nevertheless, his assimilationist streak was his driving force. A 1910 speech attacks the divided loyalty of hyphenated-Americanism among the newly arrived immigrants.²⁹ The ghosts of divided loyalty to Zion and allegiance to the adopted country of his parents would haunt him throughout his transformation and would require exorcism before Brandeis could fully embrace Zionism.

In 1912 Brandeis was ready to go public.³⁰ His "affiliation with the Zionist Organisation" [sic] was reported at the Cleveland Zionist convention³¹ in April³² and in May–three months *before* meeting deHaas -- he addressed the Harvard Menorah Society.³³ In December, the fifty-six year old Brandeis gave his second Jewishly-related talk³⁴ - about the valor of Jews and the Miracle of Chanukah.^{35, 36}

Sometime in 1912 something changed Brandeis.³⁷ Some say it was the encounter with deHaas who told Brandeis' about the Zionism of his revered uncle, Louis Dembitz.³⁸ Some say Brandeis' role in mediating a garment workers dispute involving Russian Jews touched the socially-conscious Brandeis. One theory mentions Brandeis' exclusion from Wilson's cabinet because he was not sufficiently Jewish. Magnates of the American Jewish Committee claimed

Brandeis was not a ‘representative Jew’³⁹ -- code for someone who would bring Jewish support⁴⁰ and some feel Brandeis’ adopted the mantle of Jewishness to garner a ‘Jewish’ seat in the new administration.

None of these explanations suffice. Three years would elapse between the garment and Brandeis first (somewhat ambivalent) proclamation of Zionist sympathies^{41, 42} and Brandeis’ pivotal meeting with deHaas came in August of 1912, by which time he had already evidenced Zionist interest. Notwithstanding the consensus that deHaas launched the juggernaut of Brandeis’ metamorphosis, meeting deHaas hardly galvanized him. Rather, de Haas appears to have inspired an educational foray for which deHaas played guru. DeHaas, himself, admits that “no single person could have moved Brandeis to become a Zionist. He knew what he was doing and did it deliberately.”⁴³ To be sure, Brandeis acknowledged that “Jacob deHaas, was active originally in bringing me into the Cause.”⁴⁴ However, this tribute hardly qualifies as the epiphany-generating moment credited to deHaas.

Seven months would elapse after meeting deHaas before Brandeis took a public stand. On Sunday, March 20, 1913, Brandeis presided over a rally in Boston⁴⁵ featuring Nahum Sokolow, international Zionist celebrity and past Secretary of the World Zionist Organization.⁴⁶ Sokolow spoke for two hours. Brandeis spoke for ten minutes.⁴⁷

Sokolow’s speech generated a tepid response from Brandeis.^{48, 49, 50} “who stated he was present in order to evidence his personal affiliation with the Zionist movement...a great ideal attempt to accomplish what had become the greatest Jewish need.”⁵¹ Brandeis told the audience that “the message Mr. Sokolow brought to Boston may sometime become a reality and the Jewish people may establish the national state that they have aspired to and longed for so long... .”⁵² The bland statement, while certainly pro-Zionist, is hardly a ringing endorsement. And Sokolow’s dream seemed far from reality – even for the most committed.⁵³ The American Zionist movement was moribund, a situation hardly exciting enough to jolt Brandeis from his patriotic stupor and wrest him from the competing forces of allegiance to his parent’s homeland and loyalty to his people’s.⁵⁴

Brandeis’ sole reported Zionist activity during the following month is a letter to the president of the Federation of American Zionists, Harry Friedenwald,⁵⁵ suggesting a meeting. The Federation turns to Aaron Aaronsohn, beseeching his help and begging him to “find time to discuss matters that will arise at the meeting.”⁵⁶ There is no record of the meeting, yet one month later Brandeis morphs from a restrained proponent into an ardent and impassioned Zionist.⁵⁷

One would be remiss by not asking: what happened?⁵⁸

At precisely the same time Sokolow swept the American Zionist scene, Aaron Aaronsohn was becoming an icon in both agro-circles and the Zionist camp. His signature discovery of wild wheat had captured the imagination of the newly industrialized America.⁵⁹ The Maccabaeon, the Zionist Journal to which Brandeis contributed in 1911, commented on his discovery, its value to humanity, his establishment of a Jewish Agricultural Station, his championing of the Zionism and his success in recruiting supporters⁶⁰ with nothing less than awe.

About the time of Aaron's wild-wheat discovery, Brandeis was championing the use of scientific evidence in legal decisions and social policy. To those familiar with 'the Brandeis brief' - the first Supreme Court brief relying almost exclusively on scientific data,⁶¹ - it should come as no surprise that Brandeis' love affair with Zionism might be catalyzed by a scientist. Aaron Aaronsohn:⁶² botanist, geologist, agronomist, hydrologist, cartographer, strategist and spy - was the perfect candidate.

Aaron Aaronsohn: The Strange Force that Ignited Brandeis' Zionist Fervor

Born in Romania, Aaron Aaronsohn immigrated to Palestine in 1882 at the age of six, where he added Hebrew, Arabic and French, and later Turkish to the Rumanian and Yiddish he already spoke. Following High School in Zichron Yaakov, he attended the French Agricultural College in Grignon under the patronship of Baron Edmund Rothschild.⁶³

Eight years later Aaronsohn would participate in a geological expedition of the Dead Sea led by Professor Max Blanckenhorn before accompanying Professor Otto Warburg⁶⁴ (later President of the World Zionist Organization) in a botanical exploration of Palestine.⁶⁵ After cultivating an expertise in botany, he religiously pursued geology. Soon Aaron was acknowledged as an expert on Palestine's flora and geological structure. It was said that "he could read fossils as a pious Jew reads the scriptural portions of the week."⁶⁶

In 1906, Aaronsohn rose to prominence for discovering the elusive *Triticum dicoccoides* (Wild Emmer wheat), near Rosh Pina, in northern Israel. The weather-resistant variety called 'the mother of wheat' was reminiscent of that grown in the early Neolithic period, ostensibly leading to the invention of agriculture and civilization at the Fertile Crescent.⁶⁷ Aaron's discovery was cited for its historical value⁶⁸ along with the possibility of using it to engineer hardier and more resistant wheat.⁶⁹

In short order he created insect-resistant wheat, gluten-rich wheat, sesame seeds that produced more oil, olives more resistant to disease, five new strains of barley, an early-ripening grape and superior mulberries (from which he intended to begin a silk industry).⁷⁰ He discovered exotic dates from Egypt,⁷¹ introduced improved production techniques, cover-crops for his citrus orchards, plants that kept sand-dunes from shifting⁷² and wind to power his agricultural station.

The monumental wheat discovery brought him to the attention of David Fairchild.⁷³ Dr. Fairchild, a botanist who brought cherry trees to America along with 200,000 other agricultural species, managed the Office of Seed and Plant Introduction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA).^{74, 75, 76} Through Fairchild's intercession⁷⁷ Aaronsohn was welcomed by the US Department of Agriculture where he would make a searing impression on everyone he met.

Fairchild would later write, "I soon discovered I was in the presence of an extraordinary man."⁷⁸ This sentiment was proffered by many Americans who met him, among them Roscoe Pound, later Dean of Harvard Law School, James Angell, Dean of the University of Chicago,

Thomas Eliot, President of Harvard University and Eugene Hilgard, esteemed Professor of Botany at University of California, Berkley.

William Bullitt, himself an outstanding Yale graduate, adviser to President Woodrow Wilson and later Franklin Roosevelt's first ambassador to Moscow, said of Aaronsohn: "He seemed a sort of giant, an elder day-like Prometheus. He was the quintessence of life: of life when it runs torrential, prodigal and joyous. Many men, no doubt, are as great as he was intellectually, though I have never known his peer, but if they are great intellectually, they are not also great emotionally, as he was: great in courage, in sympathy, in desire, in tenderness, in swift human understanding; great at once in dealing with statesmen and children, with scientists and artists, great at once in humour and constructive imagination."⁷⁹

"He was, I believe, the greatest man I have ever known," Bullitt wrote of Aaronsohn.⁸⁰

Bullitt would transmit this sentiment to Brandeis⁸¹ (who acknowledges Bullitt's worldly sophistication as ample basis to judge Aaronsohn).⁸² Bullitt's testimony is instructive: "I remember him in Washington - how diplomats sat open mouthed, astonished by his knowledge and insight and ... warmed by his picture of the Zion to be. I remember him in Paris . . . how from the first he foresaw the end of the tragic drama, how unerringly he picked his way through a thousand diplomatic pitfalls, how wise he was in counsel and how strong in friendship. . . . The Jewish race had many brilliant leaders but when Aaron died I believe it lost the man who, before all others, could kindle the hearts and minds of men of other nations to active sympathy. And not Zion alone will suffer for his loss."

Nor was Bullitt's impression impetuous and short lived. Twenty-five years after Aaronsohn's death, Bullitt would laud Aaronsohn, saying that had he lived, he could have prevented the schism that caused Brandeis' resignation from official Zionism. Bullitt,⁸³ who also served as Roosevelt's ambassador in France,⁸⁴ never forgot Aaronsohn. One Christmas Day in 1941, Bullitt, now President Roosevelt's emissary to the Middle East, travelled from Jerusalem to Zichron Yaakov, a three hour trek, to visit Aaron's surviving brother and sister.⁸⁵

Justice Felix Frankfurter, Brandeis' protégé, who led the American Zionist delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, said: "you cannot speak too generously of his genius, of his originality, of his resourcefulness, the power of his personality to set aflame the mind and spirit of others. [He was] one of the few men whom I have ever known who really had heroic stature,"⁸⁶ summing up with the accolade, "I do not need all the fingers of my two hands to include him [Aaronsohn] among the most memorable persons I have encountered in life."^{87, 88} .^{89, 90} Frankfurter later would call Aaron one of the "most creative minds he had ever encountered"⁹¹

Aaronsohn's impact in no small measure derived from his forceful personality which oftentimes blinded many to his prodigious scientific accomplishments. But to Fairchild, himself a remarkable and highly-esteemed agronomist, Aaronson was the paragon of scientist; more than a brilliant botanist, Aaronsohn had earned Fairchild's highest accolade, he was a "plantsman."⁹² Fairchild, who called Aaronsohn's contributions to American agriculture "invaluable,"

believed that but for Aaron's death,⁹³ he would have been responsible for creating 'a type of experimental agriculture which would be epoch-making.'⁹⁴

The Chain of Events:

On Aaronsohn's arrival in the United States in 1909⁹⁵ (where he perfected his rudimentary English in the span of a month), Section Chief Fairchild introduced Aaronsohn to America's scientific elite. After making an awesome impression on so many people, the then 33 year old Aaron was offered the Chairmanship of the Department of Agronomy at the University of California at Berkeley. He refused. However, he did receive US government authorization to open the first American Agricultural station in in Palestine. Aaronsohn's next objective was to have the USDA fund the facility. When the USDA declined, Aaron asked Fairchild for introductions to wealthy Jews who might finance it privately.

And so begins the chain of events leading to Aaronsohn's meeting – and influence on– Brandeis.

Fairchild introduced Aaron to Dr. Cyrus Adler of Dropsie College.⁹⁶ Adler introduced Aaron to Oscar Strauss⁹⁷ and Judge Julian Mack⁹⁸ whose friendship with Aaron would develop an intensity that rivaled the friendship of Jonathan and David.⁹⁹ Strauss introduced Aaronsohn to his brother Nathan (co-founder of Macy's, and sponsor of Aaronsohn's health- work in Palestine) and to attorney Louis Marshall.¹⁰⁰ These contacts were important for two reasons: many became trustees of the agricultural station, and some became instrumental in the Zionist movement.

Louis Marshall, a noted business lawyer, was one of America's most influential Jewish communal leaders. To Marshall, searching for a *raison d'etre* for contemporary Jews, Aaronsohn was a Godsend (figuratively if not literally). Marshall writes that after meeting Aaron he wondered whether a new type of pioneer Renaissance man was being created, saying, "he has certainly made a conquest of me."¹⁰¹ After a few days Marshall and Aaronsohn raised \$20,000 for the agricultural station. However, to obtain US government approval Aaronsohn needed to guarantee outside funding for five years and obtain American incorporation. The incorporation was easy.¹⁰² Marshall incorporated the station in New York. The money issue was more vexing.

Mesmerized by Aaronsohn's ability to merge modern science with passionate Zionism, Marshall introduced Aaronsohn to the banker Jacob Schiff, mentioning that Aaronsohn's scientific supporters included German geologist Professor Schweinfurth and the USDA.¹⁰³ Then Marshall introduced Aaron to Julius Rosenwald¹⁰⁴ (founder of Sears Roebuck).¹⁰⁵ Rosenwald had a keen interest in education (particularly science-education) as a means for oppressed peoples to gain stature, and Rosenwald was blown away Adler noted that Rosenwald was generally deliberate and precise in all his decisions, save once: the immediacy and intensity with which he agreed to be a part of Aaronsohn's agricultural work and later his Zionist activities.¹⁰⁶

Marshall, Rosenwald and Judge Mack promoted Aaron's project.¹⁰⁷ Mack was to become Aaron's best American friend and Rosenwald would emerge as Aaron's staunchest champion and most dedicated supporter,¹⁰⁸ notwithstanding his skittishness at becoming a Zionist.¹⁰⁹

Within a year of touching down on American soil, Aaronsohn had raised the necessary funding and established the first American-type research laboratory in Asia (or the Orient, as Fairchild called it) in Atlit, near Haifa.¹¹⁰ Its opening was noteworthy enough to be reported in the prestigious journal 'Science'.^{111 112}

During his first U.S. visit, Aaron also met Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah. Szold had been active in Zionist Affairs since 1898¹¹³ but her first trip to the Holy land was in 1909, shortly after meeting Aaronsohn.¹¹⁴ Arriving in Palestine, Szold visited Aaron's family in Zichron Yaakov, a two day trip from Jerusalem. Following her visit, Szold became a trustee of Aaron's Experiment Station.

Aaron's impact on Julian Mack was even stronger.¹¹⁵ Mack, a lifelong champion of social justice and friend of Jane Addams's Hull-House had come earlier to his Jewish identity. By 1906 he was Vice President of the American Jewish Committee.¹¹⁶ His conversion to Zionism was nudged along by Justice Felix Frankfurter,¹¹⁷ but it was Aaron who created the rhapsody.¹¹⁸ Mack "fell under the spell of Aaron Aaronsohn,"¹¹⁹ confiding that "I never felt as close to any man as I did to Aaron from the time I first met him on his original visit to America.¹²⁰ The "intimate friendship with that brave, romantic, Palestinian man of science, Aaron Aaronsohn,"¹²¹ [was] important in Mack's Zionist evolution."

With promises of money from his new-found friends¹²² and the beginnings of a fruitful collaboration with Mack,¹²³ Aaron returned home where he continued his experiments, renewed contacts with Agriculturalists world-over and reached out to new ones. During the next year his correspondence with botany professors, agricultural experts and government agents in the United States, Ceylon, South Africa, Egypt Germany, and Hawaii reached the thousands. More than a venue for sharing advice and literature, the connections resulted in a brisk seed-exchange that fostered international agriculture -- and advertised the Jewish presence, each letter emblazoned with the logo: 'The Jewish Agricultural Station in Palestine.'

Following his visit to the United States, Aaron published a paper under the auspices of the US Department of Agriculture.¹²⁴ In the 64 page monograph,¹²⁵ Aaronsohn identified no less than a dozen variants of plant species from Palestine suitable for cultivating in California, which, he noted, was remarkably like Israel in topology and climate. His advice on improving husbandry further increased his prominence.

In May, 1910 the New York Times reported that Professor Schweinfurth, "the king of botanical explorers," considered Aaronsohn's work to be the most important botanical discovery which occurred during his lifetime, and one which scientists all over the world are saying may result in untold benefit to humanity in the indefinite increase it promises in the world's supply of wheat, has just become known outside of strictly scientific circles."¹²⁶

Aaron comments: "I am very proud that for the first time since prehistoric times, man has again tried sowing the prototype of wheat, this work has fallen on Jews escaped from the ignoble massacres of Russia, Jewish workers working on Jewish ground, the historic cradle of the race."¹²⁷ R. Chodot, Professor of Botany at the University of Geneva, concurred: "'Is it not a singular coincidence that this young Jew should rediscover... the origins of our civilization... in The Land of Judea.'" ¹²⁸ Chodot then details Aaronsohn's expeditions around the Dead Sea and on

the West Bank at Tel Nimrim, Ain Hummar and El-Mazara -- which he refers to as Moab or the Valley of the Jordan -- in the land of Judea.

By early 1912 word of Aaronsohn's work spreads. On January 6, 1912, Louis Brandeis is introduced to Aaronsohn's work through a lecture given by Julius Rosenwald. Brandeis writes his brother, "the talk is the most thrilling[ly] interesting I have ever heard,"¹²⁹ and tells his brother to send for Aaron's USDA Bulletin.^{130 131}

Ten months later, Aaron was invited by the Canadian Minister of Agriculture to attend a conference in Lethbridge, Alberta.¹³² This visit to North America would last almost a year, during which Aaron would lecture on behalf of agriculture, fund-raise for his Agricultural Station, proselytize for Zionism -- and meet Brandeis for the first time.

Aaron travels to the conference by way of the United States, arriving on October 20. The New York Times glowingly announced the visit, reporting on the historic and technological importance of Aaron's discovery. "By cross-breeding," the Times notes, "the young discoverer hopes to find a hardier and better type of wheat." Following the Canadian conference Aaron tours British Columbia, Oregon, Washington, California and Arizona, meeting agricultural experts and farmers.¹³³ Aaron began his trip eastward three months later.¹³⁴ Shortly after New Year's Aaron arrives in Chicago¹³⁵ where he is hosted at Mack's ranch. Mack's 17 year old daughter, Ruth, falls for Aaron, an obsession which would last her lifetime.

Aaron's public appearance dance-card was full -- but the press never tired of reporting on his doings: On January 6, 1913 Julius Rosenwald hosts a lunch in his honor at the luxurious Blackstone Hotel.¹³⁶ Several hundred prominent Chicagoans gather to hear Aaron speak, including the Dean of the University of Chicago.¹³⁷ On January 7, Aaron lectures at the Chicago chapter of Sigma Xi Society;^{138 139} on January 27 he speaks at a Hadassah gathering in New York;¹⁴⁰ on February 19, he joins a commission of civic leaders sponsored by Julius Rosenwald to visit Tuskegee University; on March 3, he lectures to the Chicago Hebrew Institute, where Julius Rosenwald calls him "one of the greatest leaders of the Hebrew race in the East."¹⁴¹ Cyrus Adler writes to Judge Mack (now in New York) about setting up a lecture for botanists at the Museum of Natural History integrating cold science and Zionism.¹⁴² On March 6 Aaron gave two lectures, one at the Chicago Chapter of Sigma Xi entitled "Evidences of Recent Progress in Engineering"¹⁴³ and one at the City of Chicago Club,¹⁴⁴ entitled "The Discovery of Wild Wheat and Its Possibilities for the United States."¹⁴⁵

Aaronsohn's talks were about his scientific work but the press reported on his comings and goings with the enthusiasm of a cub-reporter assigned to cover a movie icon.¹⁴⁶ The Sunday Magazine of The New York Times carried a two-page spread.¹⁴⁷ Its readers could not but be impressed with Aaronsohn's discoveries, the importance of cross-breeding and possibilities of enhanced food production with higher nutritional value.

While the majority of his audiences were scientists or science-phillic, Aaron never lost an opportunity to preach Zionism. In his March 6 speech to the Chicago Club he interspersed scientific material with an exposition on the contribution of Jews to Society-at-large and to Palestine in particular. Following a brilliantly conveyed analysis of the agricultural similarities between California and Palestine, he launches into an impassioned portrayal of the importance of Jewish colonists to Palestine and to improving the lot of the Arabs:

“When we came to Palestine,” he proclaims, “extremely few Arabs knew what a wagon or a carriage was. Even now they have not word or ‘carriage’ or ‘wagon.’ They use the European word. They did not know that a horse could be used to draw a wagon or a plow. In fact, when we began buying the first horses in that country we disgraced- as the Arabs used to say – a beautiful creature which was born, in their opinion, only for saddle purposes. ... But tempted by money they quieted their consciences... Now we find thousands of farmers using horses... and American machinery.”

On March 15, Aaron travels to New York where he was hosted by Judge Mack and Felix Frankfurter. The next day the trio lunch at the Art Club in New York with Robert Bacon, former US Ambassador to France and Theodore Roosevelt, now Fellow at Harvard University. Aaron spoke for one hour and forty minutes (noting in his diary that henceforth he would be known as the man who kept the Colonel quiet for 101 minutes.) His diary records that he spoke about the importance of the Jewish presence in the Holy Land.¹⁴⁸ Following the talk, Bacon invited Aaron to speak at Harvard.¹⁴⁹

Two days after Aaron dined with Roosevelt (and four days after Brandeis hosted Sokolow), Harvard law professor and Brandeis-colleague, Roscoe Pound contacts Judge Mack¹⁵⁰ to discuss Aaron’s Harvard lecture. Aaron was well known to Pound (not surprisingly, since Pound’s PhD was in Botany) and Pound was looking forward to seeing him. Ultimately Aaronsohn would give two lectures in Boston.

During April while arrangements for Aaron’s speaking engagements were finalized, severe floods attacked the Midwest. As of April 6, 460 people were killed in Ohio alone and 77,000 were homeless. By this time Aaron’s reputation had exploded. He was the new go-to-expert of Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Knight Lane and they would meet on at least two occasions that month.¹⁵¹ On April 5, 1913, the New York Times reported:

Aaron Aaronsohn, head of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station in Palestine, conferred with Secretary Lane on means to control the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Mr. Aaronsohn’s suggestions impressed the Secretary, who will discuss them with President Wilson.

On April 19, four days after arrangements for the Harvard meetings were completed, Aaron notifies Brandeis that he would be in Boston.¹⁵² *Immediately* on receipt of Aaron’s letter Brandeis replies, inviting Aaron to dinner. Brandeis’ letter discloses that he and Aaronsohn were already more than passing acquaintances¹⁵³ (“My dear Mr. Aaronsohn”), but that Brandeis did not know Aaron well.¹⁵⁴

Aaron had left New York for Washington by the time Brandeis’ letter arrived, resulting in two (frantic? desperate?) telegrams plus a letter from Brandeis seeking a reply. None has

survived but the dinner did go forth on May 4. Alfred Lief noted that Charles Eliot, President-emeritus of Harvard was present and following Aaron's presentation 'Brandeis and his guests were beaming.'¹⁵⁵ At this dinner either Aaron delivered the same speech he would give the following day at the Menorah Society or Brandeis attended the meeting along with Eliot, who introduced Aaron.^{156, 157} The talk was about Zionism, commitment to country and Aaron's pride in his people. And it profoundly affecting Brandeis.

Two weeks later, on May 18, Brandeis spoke to the Chelsea (Mass.) Young Men's Hebrew Association, saying:

"A fortnight ago it was my privilege to spend the evening with one of the most interesting, brilliant and remarkable men I have ever met. He is the son of a poor Roumanian Jew who migrated from his native land thirty-two years ago to take up his residence in Palestine, the land of his fathers. The son, who is now at the head of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station in Palestine, is Aaron Aaronsohn. He made what is considered one of the most remarkable and useful discoveries in re-cent years, and possibly of all times. He discovered what is known as the "wild wheat" the plant which botanists, all over the world, had been trying for years to discover. There is a hope that, by reason of this discovery, the food products of the world may be immeasurably increased in quantity; that it may be possible to extend the area of wheat culture by utilizing land long believed to be unfit for wheat culture because of the lack of moisture. He told us that it was his persistent efforts to improve the fertility of Palestine which had led to the discovery of the wild wheat a discovery which has impressed the Government of the United States and which may mean much for the future of Palestine.."

The change in Brandeis since the Sokolow visit is palpable. After meeting Aaron, Brandeis' contacts his friend Norman Hapgood, editor of Harper's Weekly, suggesting Aaron write a piece on Zionism.¹⁵⁸ Hapgood would later write that the "seed of Zionism was first sown in his [Brandeis'] mind" by Aaronsohn and the story of his wild wheat. This is confirmed by Mrs. Julius Rosenwald who "heard Brandeis say that Aaron should be partly credited for his Zionist conversion,"¹⁵⁹ a view also known to Aaronsohn.¹⁶⁰

Soon afterwards, the Maccabean Journal reported that a new organization, the Zion Association of Greater Boston, had been formed with Brandeis as honorary president, and features an article by Aaronsohn.¹⁶¹ During the next months, Brandeis, whose "interests in Jewish national affairs increases from day to day,"¹⁶² continued championing Aaronsohn, but refused Sokolow's invitation to the World Zionist Congress. Instead, he sent a strongly worded letter that he urged be read at the conference, entitled "Return to Palestine."¹⁶³

The Ghost of Aaronsohn—in Brandeis' Words

The unique Aaronsohnian-ideas which surface in Brandeis' writings or speeches further attests to Aaronsohn's influence. Three are set forth:

1. Aaronsohn: May 5, 1913, Lenox Hotel

"We have 150,000 Jews living in Palestine. In thirty years we have not had one single criminal case. 1800 years of persecution

did not succeed in making the Jew a gambler, a slaver, or a gunman. Why? In my opinion it is because you have destroyed by the ways of your education the attachment of the children to the parents. You have brought about estrangement between them. What is sacrilege to the parent is not sacrilege to the child. Among us in Palestine we speak the tongue sacred to our old parents, and we respect their traditions. Our parents, even if they have only a very slight knowledge of Jewish history, can learn from their children. Both parents and children venerate the same things in the Jewish past. You have not succeeded so well in this country."

Brandeis' YMHA speech, May 1913:

"In the Jewish colonies of Palestine there are no Jewish criminals; because everyone, old and young alike, is led to feel the glory of his people and his obligation to carry forward its ideals. The new Palestinian Jewry produces instead of criminals, scientists like Aaron Aaronsohn, the discoverer of wild wheat;¹⁶⁴,¹⁶⁵ .

2. Aaronsohn March 6, 1913 speech at the Chicago Club:¹⁶⁶

"The Jews are often reproached for being too Cosmopolitan, In Palestine we take an altogether different approach from the attitude of most of our brethren the world over. We admit that some of the reproaches laid to us are well founded; we admit that the Jew in fact has certain characteristics of his own' he has a mentality that is different from his neighbors; *he has a psychology different to a certain extent we admit that there is a certain Jewish segregation, caused by discrimination against our race.*"

Brandeis 1915 "The Jewish Problem and How to Solve It,"

"Common race is only one of the elements which determine nationality. Conscious community of sentiments, common experiences, and common qualities are equally, perhaps more, important.... *The segregation of the Jew was so general, so complete, and so long continued as to intensify our "peculiarities" and make them almost ineradicable.*"

Aaronsohn: (Chicago City Club)

"But instead of taking offense and carrying it passively as a burden, we try to develop these peculiarities and properties to their highest efficiency, because we believe that *in bringing out in every individual or in every race to the highest possible degree, worthy qualities and attributes, we make the individuals and the race better and the world richer.*"

Brandeis (continuing):

“We recognize that with each child the aim of education should be to develop his own individuality, not to make him an imitator, not to assimilate him to others. ... And what people in the world have shown greater individuality than the Jews? Has any a nobler past? Does any possess common ideas better worth expressing? Have any marked traits worthier of development?”

The Zionist Imperative as the Predicate for Immigration

Many scholars attribute the burgeoning of Zionism to outbreak of war. This was not the Aaronsohn view. As his sister, Rivka, wrote in “the Young Judean” the first wave of Aliyah (of which her parents were members) preceded the war by almost a quarter of a century: “

“The immigrants,” Brandeis concurred,¹⁶⁷ “came from countries where Jews were persecuted and subjected to the greatest injustice, but the desire to avoid injustice was not the main cause of their settling in Palestine. They went to Palestine because they were convinced that the underlying longing of Jews for Palestine was a fact of deepest significance.”¹⁶⁸

Three years earlier Brandeis heard Aaronsohn articulate the same ideal:

‘First, why did they go to Palestine? You will hear from many sides that it was because they had to suffer from persecution in the countries where they were. But there was no more persecution, nor worse, in 1882 than before. They were not driven by outside forces, but it was the revival of the old Jewish loyalty and hopes that the Jewish race would be restored in Palestine... But the Jewish masses,... when they express a longing to go to Zion do not mean any spiritual thing but a geographical place. That was the sentiment that drove the young men to go to Palestine.’¹⁶⁹

If there remains doubt as to Brandeis’ conversion, the influence on his daughter, Elizabeth, is clear, at least according to Ruth Mack. That honor belongs to Aaron’s sister, Rifka, who travelled with Aaron (Brandeis’ and Frankfurter’s letters note her involvement with affection).¹⁷⁰

“In June 1914 [Brandeis] was an unknown factor in Jewry, one whose Jewish affiliations had been doubted in 1913” with “Brandeis’ adherence to the Zionist movement [first] announced in 1913.”¹⁷¹ On August 20th, 1914, one year and four months after his first Zionist speech, Brandeis was elected provisional President of the Executive Committee for General Zionist affairs of The Zionist Organization of America .^{172, 173}

Aaron Onwards¹⁷⁴

A cable Brandeis sent Frankfurter (November 22, 1917) on learning of the signing of the Balfour Declaration acknowledges his and Weizmann's efforts -- but notes Aaronsohn's importance: "the Declaration "is sending the Message Aronson [sic] has started for Zionist work."¹⁷⁵ And if Brandeis thought highly of Aaron, the feeling was mutual. On November 26, 1917, Aaron writes his brother that his "last trip to the U.S. was unusually productive. It has brought about the closest collaboration with LDB, who is 'really head and shoulders above everyone else.'¹⁷⁶ He is great. He is a statesman...and [Brandeis] discovered that I have character and judgment and wisdom, the three things he appreciates most. You cannot imagine how happy little Felix- who *is* a dear- felt when LDB told him that. Of course much was due to paving the way [by] Felix."¹⁷⁷

Aaronsohn's Influence

The appearance of Aaronsohn on the event-horizon of Justice Brandeis was more than providential. A proponent of science to advance humanity through law and policy, Brandeis was beginning to resurrect his Jewish Identity just as Jews of German heritage were burying or expunging theirs.¹⁷⁸ To be proud to be a Jew- to eschew the assimilative process of hiding their shameful roots –appears to be Brandeis' quest. But Brandeis was still questioning the meaning and purpose of Jewishness in contemporary society.

To Brandeis, Aaronsohn epitomized the answer. Noting that Aaronsohn was "one of the most interesting, brilliant and remarkable men."¹⁷⁹,¹⁸⁰ along with pedagogue David Yellin, and Boris Schatz, founder of the Bezalel Art School (who he learned of from Aaronsohn), made Brandeis proud of his heritage, of what it meant to be a Jew.¹⁸¹ These men embodied the marriage of idealism and pragmatism–Brandeis' mantra.

Searching to manifest his newly found Jewishness, Brandeis encountered restrictions imposed by his upbringing: His Jewishness had to be far removed from the "Shtetl variety" from which his ancestors fled. If he could not become Orthodox like Uncle Louis, perhaps Zionism was an alternative?¹⁸²,¹⁸³ Brandeis seemed to think so: "... Zionism [comes] with the force of an evangel. To be a Jew and to be proud of it; to glory in the power and pertinacity of the race, its traditions, its triumphs, its sufferings, its resistance to persecution; to look the world frankly in the face and to enjoy the luxury of moral and intellectual honesty; to feel pride in belonging to the people that gave Christendom its divinities, that taught half the world monotheism, whose ideas have permeated civilization as never the ideas of a race before it, whose genius fashioned the whole mechanism of modern commerce, and whose artists, actors, singers and writers have filled a larger place in the cultured universe than those of any other people."¹⁸⁴

In Zionism Brandeis found his *raison d'être*: "noting that, on the whole, it was the most worthwhile of all his endeavors."¹⁸⁵ But before Brandeis could embrace Zionism, he needed to extricate himself from the taint of disloyalty to his family's country. Indeed, Brandeis wrote that "during most of my life my contact with Jews and Judaism was slight and I gave little thought to their problems, save by asking myself whether we were showing in our lives due

appreciation which this hospitable country affords.¹⁸⁶ In the minds of successful immigrants America was a refuge and land of opportunity; infidelity to the land that provided suffrage was treason. To assuage these misgivings, Brandeis' formulation of Zionism required a synthesis of Zionism with American allegiance. "To be a good American we must be better Jews and to be better Jews, we must be Zionists." i.e. "Zionism through Americanism."

To Brandeis, Aaronsohn evidenced the perfection of Creation– the amalgam of the altruistic scientist and committed Jew – the objectives being one and the same; to advance humanity. "Brandeis was won over by Aaronsohn's descriptions of Jewish Palestine, which appeared to embody the attributes he so admired- democracy, morality, experimentation, industry and smallness.... 'Zionism is the Pilgrim inspiration over again; the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers should not find it hard to understand and sympathize with it.'"¹⁸⁷

Aaronsohn's scientific achievements coupled with his love of Israel defied Brandeis to emulate him – to become a living example of someone who could both demonstrate his Jewishness and be a prime mover in modern society. Aaronsohn taught Brandeis what it meant to be a Jew.¹⁸⁸ And, if deHaas re-invigorated the connection with Uncle Louis, I suggest only Aaron Aaronsohn could demonstrate to Brandeis what it meant to be a better Jew.

Post script

On learning of Aaron's death, Felix Frankfurter wrote a note to Rifka:
"Some day in some ordinary [way] an adequate word will be said for Aaron. It will take much time and many minds to do justice to the universality of his mind, the romance of his achievements and the abounding richness and greatness of his character. ..."

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² Jonathan D. Sarna, "Louis D. Brandeis: Zionist Leader," *Brandeis Review* (Winter, 1992) <http://www.brandeis.edu/hornstein/sarna/americanjewishcultureandscholarship/Archive4/LouisD.BrandeisZionistLeader.pdf>.

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⁵ Brandeis to Bernard Gerson Richards, February 2, 1911.

⁶ Jerry Klinger, "Judge Brandeis, President Wilson and Reverend William E. Blackstone changed Jewish history," *The Jewish Magazine* (August, 2010). http://www.jewishmag.com/146mag/brandeis_blackstone/brandeis_blackstone.htm

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⁸ Speech November 8, 1914, The Menorah Society of Columbia University, (1946) 447.

⁹ Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy, eds., *The Family Letters of Louis D. Brandeis*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002). "His parents raised their children to be "high-minded idealists." <http://www.brandeis.edu/hornstein/sarna/reviewessays/Archive/TheFamilyLettersofLouisD.BrandeisReview.pdf>

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¹² "His mother ... "encouraged her children to value ethical teachings of religion, including Judaism, while eschewing the age-old rituals." *Louis Brandeis & Jacob Frank, Frankists Today*, *Musings of a Jewish Bookseller* (November, 2102). http://judaicaused.blogspot.co.il/2012/11/louis-brandeis-jacob-frank_4530.html

¹³ Jerold S. Auerbach, *Rabbis and Lawyers: The Journey from Torah to Constitution*, (Indiana University Press, 1990, 2010), describing Brandeis' inner conflict between being Jewish and being American.

¹⁴ Adam Kirsch, "Review: A Zionist Supreme: How Louis Brandeis's Zionism was rooted in American review of *Louis D. Brandeis: A Life*, by Melvin Urofsky," *Tablet Magazine*, (September 29, 2009) <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-arts-and-culture/books/17014/a-zionist-supreme#comments>; See also Review by Jonathan Sarna, (Oxford University Press, 2005).
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¹⁷ Walter Roth, "Judge Julian W. Mack: The Court and the Community," *Chicago Jewish Historical Society*, <http://chicagojewishhistory.org/pdf/2007/cjh.3.2007.pdf>.

¹⁸ Sarna, *Louis D. Brandeis: Zionist Leader*.

¹⁹ "The announcement [of Brandeis' affiliation with the Zionist Organization] created no great stir. "Judge Brandeis Reaches 75th. Birthday: Tributes from Mr. Nahum Sokolov President of Jewish Agency," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (November 13, 1931).
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²⁵ Louis D. Brandeis, *Zionism and Patriotism*, Federation of American Zionists, (Israel, 1916). Aaronsohn Archives, Bet Aaronsohn Museum, Zichron Yaakov.

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²⁷ Brandeis, *Zionism and Patriotism*.

²⁸ “When he applied for membership in the American Jewish Committee in 1907 Brandeis was rejected because, he [had] not identified himself with Jewish Affairs and is rather inclined to side with the Ethical Culturists.”. Sarna, *The Jewish Legacy of Louis D. Brandeis*. A few years later, he was sent the application but never returned it.

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³⁰ Nelson L. Dawson, editor, *Brandeis and America*, University of Kentucky Press, (Lexington: 1989).

³¹ Gurock, *American Zionism: Mission and Politics*.

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³⁴ Jodi Eichler-Levine, *Suffer the Little Children: Uses of the Past in Jewish and African American Children’s Literature*, New York University Press, (New York, 2013)9.

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³⁶ NOVEMBER 13, 1931 , *Jewish News*.

³⁷ Allon Gal, “In Search of a New Zion: New Light on Brandeis’ Road to Zionism” in Gurock, *American Zionism: Mission and Politics*.

³⁸ M. M. Silver, *Louis Marshall and the Rise of Jewish Ethnicity in America*, (Syracuse University Press, 2013).

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⁴³ Walter Roth, *Judge Julian W. Mack: The Court and the Community*, Chicago Jewish Historical Society, 1999 Archives. <http://chicagojewishhistory.org/pdf/2007/cjh.3.2007.pdf>

⁴⁴ Ami Isseroff, "Louis Brandeis: Zionism Brings Happiness and Understanding," *Zionism and the Israel Information Center*, http://www.zionism-israel.com/hdoc/Zionism_understanding_Happiness_Brandeis.htm

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⁴⁷ deHaas, *Louis D. Brandeis, A Biographical Sketch*.

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⁵⁰ Grose, *Louis Brandeis, Arthur Balfour and a Declaration that Made History*.

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⁵² Louis E. Leventhal, *Louis Dembitz Brandeis*.

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⁵⁵ Harry Friedenwald, MD was also a scholar of the history of medicine and medicinal plants. <http://jewishmuseummd.org/tag/harry-friedenwald/>

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⁵⁷ “Brandeis Leads Zion Session,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (January 3, 1916) 7.

⁵⁸ Sarna pointedly asks: “The fact that someone with this highly assimilated background came to be seen as a Jewish prophet-not just an ordinary hero but an object in some circles of profoundly religious veneration-cries out for explanation.” Sarna, *Louis D. Brandeis: Zionist Leader*, 349.

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⁷² Mitchell Posner, “The spy from Palestine” *Queen's Quarterly* (2008).
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- ⁹⁹ -"There entered into Julian's life (1909) Aaron Aaronsohn, a young agronomist of Zikhron Ya'akov, Palestine...He had a crucial influence on Julian Mack. He also influenced Brandeis, among others. Aaron himself once wrote to Julian; 'we have always understood each other, at a hint, or a word'." Harry Barnhard , *The Forging of an American Jew: The Life and Times of Judge Julian W. Mack*, Introduction by Horace M. Kallen, (1974) ABA Journal, (June, 1975). <https://familysearch.org/patron/v2/TH-202-37436-14-14/dist.txt?ctx=ArtCtxPublic>."
- ¹⁰⁰ David G. Dalin , "Louis Marshall, The Jewish Vote and The Republican Party," *The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs* (1992) <http://jcpa.org/article/louis-marshall-the-jewish-vote-and-the-republican-party/>
- ¹⁰¹ M. M. Silver "Louis Marshall and the Rise of Jewish Ethnicity in America: A Biography, Syracuse University Press.2013,books.google.co.il/books?isbn=0815610009
- ¹⁰² David Fairchild, , "An American Research Institution in Palestine. The Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa," *Science* , [American Association for the Advancement of Science](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1635477) 31 (793) (Mar. 11, 1910)376-377 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1635477>
- ¹⁰³ Jerome C. Rosenthal, *A Fresh Look at Louis Marshall and Zionism,1900-1912*, (November, 1910.) http://americanjewisharchives.org/publications/journal/PDF/1980_32_02_00_00_rosenthal.pdf
- ¹⁰⁴ "Julius Rosenwald Papers," The University of Chicago Library.
- ¹⁰⁵ Marshall to Aaron Aaronsohn, Jan. 13, 1910, LM Papers, Box 1579. 181. Marshall to Cyrus Adler, Jan. 18, 1910, LM papers., See also, EliezerLivneh, *Aaron Aaronsohn: The Man and His Times, Ha-Ish U-Zmano*, (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1969). 164, 180.

¹⁰⁶ Adler, Cyrus. "Julius Rosenwald," Editor Kohs, S. C. *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly*. Jewish Communal Service Association of North America (JCSA), 8(3) (March, 1932): 125-127. <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=12359>,

¹⁰⁷ Rafael Medoff, Chaim I. Waxman *The A to Z of Zionism: Aaron Aaronsohn*. Rowman Littlefield (2009)52.

¹⁰⁸ Anna Loeb writes Alexander Aaronsohn (March 28, 1913)," JR [Rosenwald] sent a letter to me to read from Louis Marshall which was really beautiful as much as he lauded Aaron to the skies. He said some very wonderful things about your brother, things to be proud of. It makes me very happy. It was nice of JR to send me the letter to read and I did appreciate it." Aaronsohn Archives.

¹⁰⁹ Aaron's brother, Alexander, refused to declare himself a Zionist, defiantly objecting to a call by Justice Brandeis to do so.

¹¹⁰ Leonard G. Robinson, General Manger, The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society, New York City, "Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America," American Jewish Committee (AIC) Jewish Publication Society (JPS) (1913) republished in the American Jewish Year Book, 14, Berman Jewish Policy Archives at N.Y.U. 21-115bjpa.wagner@nyu.edu.

¹¹¹ David Fairchild, "An American Research Institution in Palestine. The Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa,"

¹¹² El Paso Herald, (May 14, 1910) 11.

¹¹⁴ Aaron was in the US by June of 1909 and remained until October (Katz). Henrietta Szold left for Israel in October and remained until November 22. Steven Klein, "Henrietta Szold's 1909 Diary Hints at Things to Come in the Land of Israel." (Oct. 10, 2012). Her involvement in early Jewish 'feminist' [sic] issues pre-dates 1893 "Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress, Jewish Publication Society, (Philadelphia, 1894). <https://ia700506.us.archive.org/2/items/papersofjewishoojewi/papersofjewishoojewi.pdf>

¹¹⁵ Harry Barnard, *The Forging of an American Jew: The Life and Times of Judge Julian W. Mack*.

¹¹⁶ Beginning in 1890, Mack became active in the Zionist Movement. Walter Roth, "Judge Julian W. Mack: The Court and the Community."

¹¹⁷ By 1917, Frankfurter signing his letters to Aaron “Affectionately, Felix (Dec 5, 1917) or stronger: On Jan 13, 1918 Frankfurter writes to Aaron: Please return to Washington at once to take advantage of important opportunity, Love, Felix.”

¹¹⁸ Aaronsohn Archives, (October, 1916) .

¹¹⁹ Letters of Rivka Aaronsohn, Aaronsohn archives.

¹²⁰ Walter Roth, *Looking backward : true stories from Chicago's Jewish history*, Library of Congress catalog. Academy Chicago Publishers, (Chicago, IL, 2005).

¹²¹ Julian Mack papers, Zionist Archives New York.

¹²² CYRUS ADLER *Jacob Schiff, A Biographical Sketch*
http://www.ajcarchive.org/AJC_DATA/Files/1921_1922_3_SpecialArticles.pdf.

¹²³ Walter Roth, *Judge Julian W. Mack; The Court and the Community*

¹²⁴ A. Aaronsohn, AGRICULTURAL AND BOTANICAL EXPLORATIONS IN PALESTINE

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ New York Times May 8, 1910, “Prehistoric Wheat Found in Palestine, Sought in Vain for Centuries, It is at last encountered in Original Wild Form. Grows on Sterile Lands. By Cross-Breeding Its Young Discoverer Hopes to Produce a Hardier and Better Type of Wheat.”

¹²⁷ R. Chodat, “A Grain of Wheat” *Popular Science Monthly* Volume 82.djvu/42 Jan. 1913, pages 37-38. Wikisource, Presented before the General Meeting of the Société des Arts, Geneva, Switzerland.
http://archive.org/stream/grainofwheatchodoochodrich/grainofwheatchodoochodrich_djvu.txt http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Popular_Science_Monthly_Volume_82.djvu/42 reporting statements made January 26, 1911.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Aaronsohn, Aaron, AGRICULTURAL AND BOTANICAL EXPLORATIONS IN PALESTINE

¹³⁰ Louis D. Brandeis, *Letters of Louis D. Brandeis: Vol. 2: People's Attorney, 1907-1912* Vol. 2, editors: Melvin I. Urofsky , David W. Levy , SUNY press, (1972).

¹³¹ Letters of Aaronsohn to Louis Brandeis and Julian Mack, Aaron Aaronsohn letters, 1912-1984. Jewish Museum of Maryland Courtesy Karen Falk.

¹³² R Chodat, "A Grain of Wheat"

¹³³ William E Smythe set up the Little Landers operations in the U.S. and proposed something similar in Palestine, writes Aaron he is sending his proposal to Brandeis and that "I got more out of you with regard to encouragement than any other who visited us ..."

¹³⁴ On January 27, 1913 Aaron gives a lecture at a Hadassah forum in New York.

¹³⁵ Walter Roth, "Looking backward : True Stories from Chicago's Jewish History,".

¹³⁶ The Cincinnati Enquirer, (January 6, 1913) 5.

¹³⁷ James Angell to Rosenwald: "I wish to express my appreciation at the unusual privilege of hearing Mr Aaronsohn at lunch yesterday. His talk was the most illuminating and informative that I have heard in many a long day." Aaronsohn Archives (January, 1912).

¹³⁸ *Interspace News*, (Chicago, January 8, 1913).

¹³⁹ Aaron Aaronsohn, "The discovery of wild wheat and its bearing on the Development of a Drought Resistant Race" *Sigma Xi Quarterly*, (March 6, 1913).

¹⁴⁰ Aaron Aaronsohn, "The Healing of the Daughter, of My People," *The Maccabean*, (May, 1913).
http://archive.org/stream/no5maccabae23zionuoft/no5maccabae23zionuoft_djvu.txt

¹⁴¹ "Jews Modernize Palestine," *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois, March 3, 1913) 8.

¹⁴² Cyrus Adler, January 16, 1913 to Judge Mack, Aaronsohn Archives, Bet Aaronsohn.

¹⁴³ Aaron Aaronsohn, *Sigma Xi Quarterly* (March 6, 1913).

¹⁴⁴ *Chicago City Club Bulletin*, 6(9) (June 9, 1913). Jewish National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.
<http://www.worldcat.org/search?q=kW%3A%22>

¹⁴⁵ Gabriel Davidson and Max Kohler, *Aaron Aaronsohn, Agricultural Explorer*. National Library of Israel (Philadelphia, 1928).

¹⁴⁶ Between 1910 and 1912 Aaronson garnered at least 80 articles in the American press.

¹⁴⁷ "The Modernization of Palestine," *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (March 3, 1913).

117. New York Times, Feb 9, 1913

LOOKING FOR THE “MISSING LINK” IN WHEAT EVOLUTION

After Years of Careful Search Aaron Aaronsohn Discovers a Plant in the Wilds of Palestine That Has Been Long Foreshadowed by Scientists and That May Prove an Inestimable Blessing to Mankind.

¹⁴⁸ Diary of Aaron Aaronsohn, Aaronsohn Archives.

¹⁴⁹ Brandeis and Frankfurter became friends in 1911 . In 1913 Brandeis helped obtain Frankfurter’s appointment at Harvard, assisted by Roscoe Pound. Nelson L. Dawson, editor. *Brandeis and America*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1989.)

¹⁵⁰ Pound would later mentor Frankfurter. N. E. H. Hull, *Roscoe Pound and Karl Llewellyn: Searching for an American Jurisprudence*, University of Chicago Press (1997).

¹⁵¹ “454 Dead in Ohio Flood, 77,133 are Homeless” [Secretary of the Interior] “Lane Suggests Federal Control of Flood Waters,” *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois) (: 6 April 1913) 2

¹⁵² On April 19 Aaron was notified the Botany Department lecture would take place May 5 at 4pm at the Botanical Museum, the Menorah Society lecture was given that evening.

¹⁵³ Alfred Lief writes Charles Crane took Brandeis to a lecture in Chicago in 1912 where he met Aaron. Alfred Lief, *Brandeis; the Personal History of an American Ideal*. Stackpole Sons (New York; 1936.) Aaron did not arrive in the United States until the end of 1912. For the remainder of the year he remained on the West Coast, arriving in Chicago on January 2, 1913. Aaron did lecture in Chicago in 1913, in January and March. Aaronsohn’s diary (Aaronsohn Archives)

¹⁵⁴ The April 21 letter contains ‘B”H’, an acronym for *Baruch Hashem*, used by religious Jews to acknowledge the Creator. Presumably, Brandeis used it out of respect –assuming Aaronsohn’s religious practice. Had Brandeis known Aaronsohn well, he would have realized Aaronsohn was not religious.

¹⁵⁵ Jeffrey S. Gurock, *American Zionism: Mission and Politics*,” citing Alfred Lief, Brandeis Archives, Dunn and Netter.

¹⁵⁶ The MENORAH ASSOCIATION AND MENORAH JOURNAL, 1913

¹⁵⁷ Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy, eds., *The Family Letters of Louis D. Brandeis*, University Oklahoma Press, (2002).

¹⁵⁸ June 16, and July 9, 1913 letters from Brandeis to Hapgood, “Letters of Louis Brandeis, Urofsky, ed. (1973).

¹⁵⁹ Jeffrey Gurock, “*American Zionism: Mission and Politics.*”

¹⁶⁰ Aaronsohn Archives.

¹⁶¹ Vol. 23 no 5. <https://archive.org/details/no5maccabaeaan23zionuoft>

¹⁶² *The Maccabean* (May, 1913) 155-6.
<http://www.idaillinois.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16614coll14/id/38/rec/50>

¹⁶³ Louis E. Levinthal, *Louis Dembitz Brandeis*.

¹⁶⁴ Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, Jehuda Reinharz, editors, “The Jew in the Modern World, The American Experience;: A Documentary History,”, Oxford University Press (1995).

¹⁶⁵ Brandeis, *Zionism and Patriotism*, The Federation of American Zionists, (1916),

¹⁶⁶ Aaronsohn archives.

¹⁶⁷ Brandeis, *Zionism and Patriotism* .

¹⁶⁸ Solomon Goldman, ed. *Brandeis on Zionism*, Zionist Organization of America, (Washington, D.C, 1942.) Lawbook Exchange Ltd. (1999).

¹⁶⁹ *The Sentinel*, 6 (5) (1912, 1913).

¹⁷⁰ When Judge Mack received a contribution for the Palestine Restoration Commission from Elizabeth [Brandeis], he wrote his daughter, Ruth “It appears Elizabeth is becoming a Zionist.” When Ruth reported this to Elizabeth, her response was “What! Doesn’t he know I’ve been one for ages?”: Ruth writes Aaron March 3, 1918, “I think Oobi did that.” [Oobi was Rifka’s nick-name]. Aaronsohn Archives.

¹⁷¹ *The Jewish Sentinel of Chicago*, 33 (02) (1919).
<http://www.idaillinois.org/cdm/search/collection/p16614coll14/searchterm/The%20Sentinel,%20v/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/order/nosort/page/2>

¹⁷² Josef Fraenkel “Patriot, Judge, and Zionist”

<http://web.archive.org/web/20071027065906/http://www.hagshama.org.il/en/resources/view.asp?id=1635>

¹⁷³ Executive Committee of the Twelfth Zionist Congress, (London, 1921); Max Bodheimer to Otto Warburg, (22 November 1914) quoted in Stein, “*The Balfour Declaration*,” Simon and Schuster (1981) 98, n.8, 197-198. http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v06/v06p389_John.html#ftn49

¹⁷⁴ Mrs. Rosenwald writes Aaron on route asking if “visiting Palestine will turn her into a Zionist?”

¹⁷⁵ Western Union Telegram from Brandeis to Frankfurter (November 22, 1917) Aaronsohn Archives, Bet Aaronsohn Museum, Zichron Yaakov, Israel.

¹⁷⁶ The verse was in Hebrew, translated by the author.

¹⁷⁷ Aaronsohn Archives.

¹⁷⁹ L. Brandeis, *Brandeis on Zionism, A Collection of Addresses and Statements*, The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd. (Washington, DC, 1942).

¹⁸⁰ Katz, *The Aaronsohn Saga* 109, quoting Brandeis’ Chelsea Speech on May 18, 1918 reported in the Maccabean.

¹⁸¹ Louis Brandeis, *Zionism is Consistent with American Patriotism*, (June, 1915). <http://www.cojs.org/AJH/flashpaper/america/13-a.swf>

¹⁸² Sarah Schmidt, *Horace Kallen and the Americanization of Zionism*. http://americanjewisharchives.org/publications/journal/PDF/1976_28_01_00_schmidt.pdf

¹⁸³ O.F. Cook, “Jewish Colonization in Palestine,” *Popular Science* (Nov. 1913) 429.

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.cojs.org/AJH/flashpaper/america/13-a.swf>

¹⁸⁵ Sarna, *Review: the Family Letters of Louis Brandeis*. <http://www.brandeis.edu/hornstein/sarna/reviewessays/Archive/TheFamilyLettersofLouisD.BrandeisReview.pdf>

¹⁸⁶ Louis Dembitz Brandeis, *Zionism and Patriotism*.

¹⁸⁷ Naomi Wiener Cohen, “The Americanization of Zionism, 1897-1948.”

¹⁸⁸ Louis Brandeis, *The Jewish Problem: How To Solve It*, Speech to the Conference of Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis, April 25, 1915. , Louis D Brandeis School of Law
“<http://www.law.louisville.edu/library/collections/brandeis/node/234>.”