

Identity among local descendants of early Jewish settlers in Tahiti, Tonga, and Hawai'i

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Abstract

By the mid-19th century there were three key kingdoms in Polynesia: Hawai'i (annexed by the U.S. in 1898; conferred statehood in 1959), Tahiti (annexed by the Republic of France in 1880; conferred collectivity status within French Polynesia in 2003), and Tonga, which remains a sovereign kingdom. Between 1841 and World War I, Tahiti attracted three permanent European Jewish settlers, Tonga three, and Hawai'i perhaps some 100 (typically more transitory) Jewish settlers from both Europe and the U.S. Descendants of these pioneers survive in Tahiti and Tonga as either Christian or New Age; in Hawai'i, however, only four of the early Jewish families have been locally located, each identifying Christian. Yet despite Christian or New Age affiliation, some descendants reveal palpable connection to modern Jewish culture. The article assesses the intensity of these connections.

Keywords: Judaism, Immigration, Polynesia, Christianity, Syncretism

Introduction

Most residents of the Pacific Islands are descended from Austronesian immigrants to Taiwan, some of whom began radiating throughout the Pacific in the fourth millennium B.C. and, once settled on a wide swath of the islands by the 13th century A.D., converted to Christianity in the early 19th century. Three prominent ethnic exceptions are the Republic of Fiji, the French collectivity of New Caledonia, and the U.S state of Hawai'i. Nearly half of Fiji's population was Indian by the mid-1980s, whilst over a third of that of New Caledonia is European and over half of the Hawai'ian population derives from Japan, the Philippines, or the US mainland. And nearly 12% of the inhabitants of French Polynesia are Chinese.

Into this mix may be added a small number of descendants of European and American Jews. From 1840 to 1914, for example, a tiny – but in some cases eventually influential – group of Jewish immigrants settled in the key Polynesian kingdoms of Tahiti and Tonga – three in Tahiti, three in Tonga. And in the pacesetting Kingdom of Hawai'i, some 100 openly Jewish

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the global research of Christine Liava'a of the New Zealand Genealogical Society, without which this article could not have been sufficiently documented; thanks also to Dr Lorenz Gonschor at the University of Hawai'i for translation of relevant excerpts from German sources.

emigrants from both Europe and the U.S. mainland settled in the kingdom-trans-U.S. territory,² with most returning to the American mainland by the early 20th century.

To date, descendants of four such pioneers in Hawai'i, and the six in Tahiti and Tonga, have been located on the same island as their ancestor. By now nearly all are practising Christians. Moreover, all are only fractionally Jewish genetically; indeed, in Tonga and Tahiti, all are mostly genetically Polynesian. Yet most retain some connection to their remote Jewish ancestry, even whilst affiliating Christian. This study seeks to describe, and in the end explain, such connections, however tenuous.

Methodology

Within the study, the degree of Jewish identity is determined by each descendant;³ the two who contend their remote Jewish ancestor ought not be considered Jewish have necessarily been excluded. The descending degrees of identity comprise approximations of the following sentiments: Due to a remote Jewish ancestor, I consider myself 1) Jewish; [or] 2) only fractionally Jewish genetically, but with some connection to the Jewish people; [or] 3) only fractionally Jewish genetically with no particular connection to the Jewish people.

Limitation of the study

A comprehensive study of the descendants of early Jewish settlers in the designated kingdoms would need to address an estimated population of 7500 in Oceania, the Americas, and Europe; yet the subjects of this study have been selected from a narrower subset – i.e., descendants currently residing on the same island of a designated former or ongoing Polynesian kingdom to which their Jewish ancestor(s) immigrated (Pommier, 2015). The reasons for this filter are twofold: 1) as a researcher based in the Kingdom of Tonga, the author lacked the resources to undertake a global survey in Australasia, Europe, and the U.S. mainland; and 2) in any case, the author preferred to study subjects whose assessment of identity has been formed on the same island as that to which their ancestor immigrated – i.e., the author wished to shield assessments from the cultural influence of, for example, contemporary Paris, San Francisco, or Sydney. Consequently, the study cannot claim to fully evaluate the targeted population.

² For research regarding descendants of covert Portuguese Jews who reportedly also emigrated to Hawai'i during this period, see: Philip Lee Pasquini, *Indentured immigrants: a Jewish family odyssey from Madeira to the Sandwich Islands*, Ignacio, Calif.: Flypaper Press, 1999; Sandra Cumings Malamed, *The return to Judaism: Descendants from the Inquisition discovering their Jewish roots*, McKinleyville, Calif.: Fithian Press, 2010.

³ There is no consensus regarding the construct *Jewish*, and, in the interest of economy, conflicting definitions will not be reviewed here. See e.g., "Uniting the Jewish people one Masa Israel Conference at a time," Molly Cram, May 14, 2015 at <http://www.hillel.org/about/news-views/news-views---blog/news-and-views/2015/05/14/uniting-the-jewish-people-one-masa-israel-conference-at-a-time>: "... the Jewish people have no consensus on what 'Jew' means." [Retrieved 28 Nov. 2016]

Tahiti: Jewish settlers and local descendants

Early Jewish settlers with contemporary local descendants include:

Alexander Salmon (1820-66; arrived 1841) was the son of French Jewish financier, John Salmon (1790-1867), who emigrated to London in 1791 (Gossler, 2005:193-212). According to John's great-grandson Ernest Albert Salmon (1888-1961), John was accused by France's National Constituent Assembly of financing King Louis XVI's aborted escape to Austria (Salmon, 1964). By 1837 interest rates in the U.K. and resulting panic in the U.S. bankrupted the family investment firm in London; consequently, three of John's sons – Alexander, Julius, and Mortimer – ceded their inheritance to their sisters and sought their fortune outside the U.K.

Soon after arriving in Tahiti from California in 1841, Alexander courted the adopted half-sister of Queen Pomare IV, Arii Taimai (1821-97), who he married in 1842. He later served the queen as secretary under the French Protectorate and, concurrently for a time, the French governor as consultant. Over the next forty years, the political and economic influence of the Salmons expanded as a result of the exploits of three of their children:

- At age 14, Tetuanui Reiaitera'iatea Titaua Salmon (1842-98) married Scottish merchant John Brander (1817-77). The resulting Salmon-Brander political and economic dynasty dominated Tahitian commerce for the remainder of the century.
- Alexander Ari'ipaea Vehiaitipare Salmon (1855-1914) became de facto ruler of Easter Island from 1878 until ceding the territory to Chile in 1888.
- Johanna Marau Ta'aroa a Salmon (1860-1934) married Crown Prince Teri'i Tari'a Te-ratane (1839-91) in 1875, then reigned as an adolescent queen from 1877 until the cession of Tahiti to France in 1880. It is therefore indisputable that the final queen of Tahiti was half-Jewish.

Salmon was baptised in Tahiti by Rev. William Howe of the London Missionary Society, presumably whilst Howe directed the Methodist mission, i.e. between 1847 and 1863 (O'Reilly, 1982:266-67).⁴

Alexandre Feriny Jérusalémy (1830-1914; arrived 1864) was already Catholic when he arrived in Tahiti in 1864 to serve the regime of Napoleon III as treasurer (O'Reilly and Teissier, 1982: 266-67). Nevertheless, he was reportedly the son of a rabbi from Constantinople, David Paul Jerusalemly (1801-?), who emigrated to northeast Spain some time after 1830, before relocating to Marseille (Ceran-Jerusalemly, 2001).⁵ But apparently because the rabbi married a Spanish Catholic, Ucha Dolores de Carmona, Alexandre was raised Catholic and educated by Jesuits in Paris.⁶ It may have indeed been he who the

⁴ [Howe confirms the conversion as] “ ... le résultat d'une conviction longuement réfléchiée et profondément sincère.”

⁵ Ceran-Jerusalemly was the son of Alexandre's grandson Benjamin.

⁶ Patricia Metzger to author, 25 Sept. 2015. Patricia resides in the Cook Islands and is the daughter of Alexandre's granddaughter, Henriette.

Catholic academic, Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam (1813-53) – himself descended from Jews in Lyon – encouraged to remain Catholic in the final months of the professor’s life (Ozanam, 1925).⁷

Once in Tahiti, the paymaster fathered two sons and a daughter with Tetauira Tauria Vahine Maria Tautu (1835-1904), and a son and daughter with Jeanne Henriette Emilie Loger (1835-?). It would be wrong, however, to regard him merely as a revenue officer and patriarch: his description of a New Year’s celebration in 1874 betrays a sensitive understanding of indigenous culture (Ceran-Jerusalem, 1876).

Émile Raphael Levy (1858-1932; arrived 1882) was born in Paris, the son of Joseph Levy (1828-84?) and Rosa Julie [Wolff] (1833-84?) of Alsace. He initially clerked at his brother’s jewellery shop on Boulevard Haussmann (Lubin-Levy, 2015).⁸ In 1882 he arrived in Tahiti in search of black pearl, soon falling in love with Louise Virginie Georget (1860-1918), who he married shortly thereafter (O’Reilly, 1982). The couple parented three sons and three daughters, whilst Émile supplied gems to Europe and the U.S. Although the merchant reportedly spoke Hebrew as well as French, he declined to identify Jewish in Tahiti (Seigel, 2009:56-66).⁹

In a fictitious story for *McClure’s* monthly in New York entitled “The House of Mapuhi”, U.S. novelist Jack London described a character named Levy as a swindler of indigenous divers in the Gambier archipelago (McClure, 1909:247-259). The apparent defamation infuriated the trader (O’Brien, 1921). Possibly with the assistance of the U.S. consulate in Tahiti, the merchant soon compelled *McClure’s* to assure its readers that London did not intend to disparage *Émile* Levy (McClure, 1909:226).^{10 11}

⁷ Prior to becoming a literature professor at the Sorbonne, Ozanam founded the Society of St Vincent de Paul in France

⁸ Dorothy is the great grand-daughter of Émile via Louis Charles and Alfred.

⁹ “That Émile Levy’s tomb is elaborately embellished with Masonic symbols suggested to me that Freemasonry, and not Judaism, had provided him with the rituals and doctrines that gave a sense of meaning and significance to his life. There was no Star of David there, the symbol that would have marked the grave of a person who wished to be remembered as a Jew.”

¹⁰ “RECTIFICATION [In the “House of Mapuhi”, there was] no intent to describe or refer to Mr. Emile Levy, the well-known pearl merchant of Tahiti ...”

¹¹ In a contrived biography of W. Somerset Maugham (*The Two Worlds of Somerset Maugham*. Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1965), Wilmon Menard alleges that Alexandre Drollet, a Tahitian fisheries officer, told Maugham in 1916 that Levy received assistance from the U.S. consulate in responding to London’s attack (Menard, p. 231). Given the prompt “rectification” from *McClure’s*, the account is plausible; however, Menard further alleges that Drollet went on to describe a monetary judgment against London, of which no consular, legal, or media record has yet been found. Prof. Emeritus Robert Calder at Canada’s Univ. of Saskatchewan – arguably the world’s leading Maugham scholar – warns that “... most Maugham scholars do not put a lot of credence in Menard ... Unless [one] can find some corroboration of Menard’s version ... in court records, publisher’s records, newspaper articles, and other archival materials, I would assume that Menard did a lot of fabricating” (Robert Calder to author, Dec. 7, 2015). In further reference to the alleged judgment against London, Prof. Emeritus Earle Labor, founder of the Jack London Research Center, finds it “difficult to imagine a transaction of that magnitude without an outstanding record” (Earle Labor to author, Dec. 5, 2015).

Levy was in other ways a colourful character. Stalking the pearls of the Gambier, he often directed the extraction of oysters from his own schooner. He was additionally a collector of horses, which he purchased in Europe and the U.S.; and he was one of the first Tahitians to own an automobile, importing a Dion-Bouton from France (O'Reilly, 1982).¹²

Interim descendants (highlights: 1937, 1953)

Although the subjects of this study are contemporary local descendants of early Jewish settlers, there are instances when interim descendants significantly affect the development of family identity. Key interim descendants of the Tahitian settlers re listed below.

Alfred Levy (1914-68) was Émile's grandson via Louis Charles Eugene. The family recalls that he travelled to Los Angeles in 1936 to deliver to Metro Goldwyn Mayer screenplays for "The Hurricane" and a remake of "Mutiny on the Bounty". They further remember that, once in Hollywood, Alfred served "Bounty" director Frank Lloyd as technical advisor regarding the South Pacific environment and South Pacific customs (Levy and Saura, 2013). Although the often incomplete Internet Movie Database fails to list Alfred as part of the "Bounty" team, it does list him as technical advisor to director John Ford during the production of "The Hurricane" (IMDB, 1937). Moreover, *Variety* subsequently reports that MGM retained Alfred as an advisor on boar hunting for the cinematic short "Tupapao" (1938), before purchasing his concept for the cinematic short "Tiki", of which there is no further record (Variety, 1938).

Under the assumed surname Lubin¹³, Alfred was naturalised in 1940, then inducted into the U.S. Army nearly three months before Pearl Harbour. After the War, he served as chef at Victor Hugo restaurant in Laguna Beach, California, followed by the Fireside Inn in Beaumont, California from 1960 until its closing in 1964 (San Bernadio Country Sun, 1960).¹⁴

Alexandre Jérusalémy's great grandson, Jean-Baptiste Heitarauri Céran-Jérusalémy (1921-2014) (San Bernadio Country Sun, 1960),¹⁵ began his career in government printing. But his uncle Lucien died mysteriously in 1946 whilst investigating embezzlement in Bora Bora, and within a few years the tragedy inspired the young printer to collaborate with Danish-Tahitian populist Pouvanaa a Oopa in launching the progressive Rassemblement Démocratique des Populations Tahitiennes (Democratic Movement of the Tahitian People) (Ceran-Jerusalem, 2015).

The RDPT became popular in the 1950s by calling for territorial autonomy, land reform, indigenous access to government employment, and a more ambitious pension scheme. Indeed for seven months in 1953, J-B held the presidency of the Territorial Assembly whilst

¹² Launched in Paris, Dion-Bouton was by 1900 the world's leading manufacturer of automobiles.

¹³ In his naturalisation application, Alfred gave his race as "Hebrew". Naturalisation application file #86419, 1940, U.S. District Court, Los Angeles.

¹⁴ Also see posting by Alfred's daughter Nina Fiamengo, April 18, 2008 on <http://ochistorical.blogspot.com/2008/04/victor-hugo-inn-mission-viejo-julius.html> [Retrieved 18 Jan. 2016].

¹⁵ Once Tahiti's Civil Court confirmed in 1934 that J-B's grandfather Teraiapiti a Tautu Céran (1869-1945) was Alexandre's son, Teraiapiti and his descendants adopted the hyphenated surname Céran-Jérusalémy.

barely over 30 years old. Yet despite the fact J-B was a pious Catholic, he was occasionally subjected to anti-Jewish prejudice during his meteoric rise. His predecessor, Noël Ilari, recalls that when J-B presented his credentials to the French governor, the First Lady greeted him derisively:

Bonjour, Monsieur le Président. Vous êtes juif, n'est ce pas?
Oui, Madame.
De quelle pays, Monsieur le Président?
De Constantinople, Madame.

[Good day, Mr President. You're Jewish, aren't you?
 Yes, Madam.
 From which country, Mr President?
 From Constantinople, Madam.]
 (Ilari, 1978:262)

In addition to owning his lineage in that exchange, J-B confirmed his ethnic solidarity in 1974 by forging a political alliance with Germain Levy (Ceran-Jerusalem, 2015), proprietor of the Hotel Matavai and grandson of Émile Levy (O'Reilly, 1982).

Contemporary local descendants

Contemporary local descendants of the Tahitian settlers are discussed below.

Tamatoa Pomare Pommier (1970-) is a seventh-generation descendant of Alexander Salmon; he directs French Polynesia's Digital Regulatory Agency. Given the social structure of Tahiti, it's understandable he would be more responsive to his royal lineage than his remote Jewish descent. Tamatoa married Eda Chan in 2005 and nominally affiliates Catholic. Yet he's not unaware of his Jewish lineage, thanks to childhood instruction by his recently deceased grandmother Geneviève. "This is the story of your family," she reportedly told her grandson. "It's part of your identity. You need to know about it." (Pommier, 2015)

Pommier concedes it was initially "very weird" to learn of his Jewish ancestry. But over the years, knowledge of his family's history has made him more "tolerant. [Our family] has so many cultures in our blood, how can we [discriminate against] anyone?"

After completing his law degree at France's University of Bordeaux in 1977, Théodore Céran-Jérusalémy (1950 -) followed in Alexandre's footsteps as revenue officer in the Auvergne region. He returned to French Polynesia in the mid-'80s to become assistant, then chief, director, of the territory's land management office. Whilst assistant director, he serially served as secretary general of two labour unions. Since 1998, he has led a law firm specialising in property litigation. Upon marrying Pauline Ah Cong in 1970, he for a time followed her into the Methodist Church before withdrawing in 2010 (Céran-Jérusalémy, 2015).

He reports that some members of his clan deploy the Céran prefix as their surname in order to escape anti-Jewish feeling. “The people [of Tahiti] are afraid of Jews,” he explains. “Being Jewish is a heavy burden to carry here.” But the attorney sees no point in denying his lineage:

I accept my genealogy; I own the link to my Jewish ancestors. I cannot deny my great-grandfather – I would be a hypocrite. Besides, it’s indisputable. When you study the faces of members of our family, they have the hook nose, the Semitic look. My grandfather, my uncles, when they became old with white hair, hook nose, olive skin – they really looked Jewish. *Alors*, we have the Jewish stamp, we cannot escape it (Céran-Jérusalémy, 2015).

And even though he often opposes the policies of Israel’s Likud leadership, he supports the notion of a Jewish state: “Israelis are my brothers,” he says flatly. “I’m not ashamed to say it.” Yet his identity has never led to Jewish affiliation in Tahiti. In the early 1980s, some 40 North African families who had emigrated to Tahiti in the early ’60s founded the Association Culturelle des Israelites et Sympathisants de Polynésie; ACISPO subsequently launched the territory’s first synagogue, Ahava V’achva, in 1993. But because of his Catholic upbringing and ensuing Methodism, Théodore declined to join.

But his cousin, Moana Axel Céran-Jérusalémy (1941-) – descended from Alexandre via the patriarch’s grand-daughter Henriette – *was* attracted to the group: first through Hebrew lessons taught by military magistrate Clément Perez in 1980, then through religious services ACISPO initially conducted in a rented residence. Indeed, Axel’s Jewish identity grew sufficiently strong as to lead him to consider immigrating to Israel, a proposal his wife, Dolorès Eri Teahu, opposed. Axel withdrew from ACISPO later in the decade after several expatriate members whom he had befriended returned to France (personal communication with author, 2 Jan 2015).

Dorothy Peggy Lubin-Levy (1949-) is the great-granddaughter of Émile via the patriarch’s grandson Alfred (see above). Owing to Alfred’s post-war employment and marriage, she was raised in southern California. But she immigrated to French Polynesia in 1977, and now jointly resides on Tahiti and Huahine, another island in the Society chain. In the mid-1990s, she teamed up with Tahitian novelist Chantelle Spitz to launch Opu Nui [Big Stomach], which, within a decade, had restored Fare Potee, a traditional meeting house on Huahine. Now under Dorothy’s direction once again, the Fare both protects and exhibits indigenous tradition. In addition, Dorothy has spearheaded movements to recover the traditional art of kite-flying, as well as to revive Tahitian language instruction in the public schools (Lubin-Levy, 2015).

She concedes that neither her grandfather nor father identified Jewish. “When my father was dying [in California],” she explains, “he asked not be buried in the Jewish cemetery [in Papeete] but next to his mother, who was Tahitian/Polish.” As for her religious upbringing, Alfred

... sent [my brother and I] to Catholic Church: we all had first communion, we all went to confirmation or whatever. [My father] never went, but he sent us to become Catholic, which I never really understood. It was fun to do on Sunday, but the minute I left the family, I didn't go back to church at all ... I broke away from the Church completely, it didn't interest me. (Lubin-Levy, 2015)

Yet only as a hip activist in the 1960s did Dorothy begin to celebrate her Jewish roots:

I loved Bob Dylan and that Jewish side of him that he started bringing out while he was singing. And I was proud that I was Jewish like Bob Dylan. It was thanks to Bob Dylan where I even thought, wow!, [Jews] are super-creative. And then, of course, people like Gertrude Stein ... who [early on] knew that Picasso was a great artist and Hemingway was a great [novelist] (Lubin-Levy, 2015).

Once on Huahine, Dorothy eventually became the spiritual partner of Bobby Holcomb (1947-91), an expatriate musician, dancer, and artist of Hawaiian, Portuguese, and African ancestry, who had been resurrecting indigenous culture since his arrival in 1976. In addition to inspiring her own efforts, Dorothy credits Bobby for helping to raise and tutor her daughter, the artist Sabrina Levy-Birk (1970-). Moreover, Bobby encouraged Dorothy to reclaim her Jewish ancestry:

Bobby loved my being Jewish ... He knew some of the great minds of the world were Jewish people: composers, creators. He actually once said, 'I just *love* Jewish people.' And I felt very proud that geniuses [like Bobby] recognised that Jewish people are extremely intelligent (Lubin-Levy, 2015).

Now in her mid-60s, Dorothy credits her Jewish ancestry with catalysing her commitment to social justice, despite the fact that her mother was Catholic:

Judaism has definitely played a role in who I am: my acts towards equal rights, working in the Fare Potee, bringing back the Tahitian language ... [People say] if you come out of a Jewish womb, then you're Jewish. Well, okay, then I'm not a Jew, but I certainly act like one.

She concedes that before coming to Tahiti, she was estranged from her heritage. "I thought ... I had no [link] to my great-grandfather [but] today I understand the way I act is [due] a lot to my Jewish DNA." As for her daughter Sabrina, the child developed a commitment to peace and justice even before departing California. In the mid-'70s, she and her mother joined French activist Brice Lalonde in sailing towards the Tahitian island of Moruroa to protest French nuclear testing (Tahiti-infos, 2014).

As a young woman, Sabrina studied intellectual property law at the University of Nantes, receiving her degree in the late '90s. Returning to Tahiti, she campaigned for sovereignty and indigenous rights via a programme aired by Radio Te Reo O Tefana, the voice of Tahiti's sovereignty coalition. In 2001 the coalition placed Sabrina low on its list of legislative candidates; but in 2004 she received a higher ranking and in fact was elected when the

alliance won an unexpected victory. Over time, however, she became disillusioned with her progressive comrades in the Assembly:

What I learned after about ten years of politics was that ... the people around [coalition leader Oscar] Temaru were more interested in money than in [political] change. Because of that, [political] change became impossible ... [At one point] I had to completely go against my own party (Levy-Birk, 2015).

Bored with law, burned by politics, the former legalist now focuses on painting. “I’ve always drawn since I was little because of [inspiration I received from] Bobby,” she explains. Her *nom d’art* is Sarahina, combining the Biblical spouse of Abraham with the mythic Tahitian Hina.

Both these lines of ancestry [i.e. Jewish and Tahitian] show up in my art ... I do a lot of research on Tahitian legends and then try to look for similarities of Jewish origin. Like I had a painting called “Hina Eva”: for the Tahitians Hina is the mother of creation, the first woman, and I put her with Eve from the Garden of Eden. [In the Old Testament] they talk about Eve and the snake and here [in Tahiti] we have Hina and the eel.

Tonga: Jewish settlers and local descendants

Early Jewish settlers with contemporary local descendants include:

Paul Samuel Bloomfield (1842-1911; arrived 1869) was likely born in Hamburg, the son of Eliazer (1822-1866?) and Sophia Blumenfeld (1820-?) (Horowitz, 2014:341-346). Evidence suggests his father and brother immigrated to London in Paul’s childhood, whilst his mother remained in Hamburg. Paul served as petty officer in the U.S. Navy during the final year of the Civil War, eventually seeking his fortune in the South Pacific. He settled in Fiji in 1866, before emigrating to Tonga in 1869. A year later, he married Sela Tulu Mo’unga, the granddaughter of US adventuress Elizabeth Morey (1780?-1805?). The couple parented three sons and two daughters. Whilst in Tonga, Paul served as a cultivator of copra and banana, an informal banker, and later, judicial administrator at the U.K.’s High Commission of the Western Pacific and translator at Tonga’s Supreme Court, both in Nuku’alofa, Tonga’s capital.

Lionel Barnet Levin (1862-1933; arrived 1879) was born in Bristol, U.K., the son of Alexander (1828-90) and Rachel [Joseph] (1831-91). He immigrated to Tonga at age 17, initially clerking for a German merchant firm in the Ha’apai chain before establishing his own trading company in Nuku’alofa in the early 1880s. He fathered two daughters out of wedlock – ‘Amelia [Oswald] (1886-1983) and Esther Julia [McLeod] (1896-1982) (Joseph, 1970:24-36).¹⁶

According to Lionel’s great granddaughter, ‘Amelia Levin Tu’inukuafe (1947-), he was retained by HM King George Tupou II to import English furniture for the royal palace. As a

¹⁶ “Amelia Oswald ... writes of her father in the most affectionate terms.”

consequence of this interaction, the earlier 'Amelia became the mistress of Queen Lavinia's older brother, Salesi Tu'ipulotu Kupu (c. 1887-1947), bearing the prince a son, Vili Levin Kupu (1905-70). Shortly after the boy's birth, however, Lionel advised 'Amelia to raise Vili in Auckland to spare the royal family embarrassment.

Of the 27 founders of Tonga's (still extant) Royal Nuku'alofa Club in 1914, two were European Jews – Levin and Siegfried Seelenfreund from Poland, next described.¹⁷

Siegfried Seelenfreund (1880-1943?; arrived 1910) emigrated from Kraków to Tonga via Sydney in 1909.¹⁸ After presumably interviewing at Burns Philp headquarters in Sydney, he sailed on to Tonga to manage the firm's outpost in the Vaini district of Tongatapu. By 1916 he'd taken up with Helena Vika Tuaukilaumea, with whom he fathered three daughters over the next four years. But the death of Vika in childbirth in 1920 led him to leave his children with her Catholic parents and return to Kraków, where he resumed merchanting and soon married a Jewish woman from Berlin.¹⁹

Evidence suggests, however, that he and his wife Malvine – like most Jews in Kraków – were trapped by the German occupation in 1939 and, by 1943, had either perished in the city's improvised ghetto or been executed in Auschwitz. It is likely, then, that Siegfried – as a result of his atypical repatriation – was Polynesia's sole Holocaust victim (Horowitz, 2014:314-346).

Interim descendants (highlights: 1931, 1933, 1938)

In the early 1930s, Sunia Bloomfield (1905-65), Paul's grandson, affiliated his family with the Free Wesleyan Church, the Methodist church that still dominates Tonga's religious life; affiliation reportedly followed the urging of his wife, Halamehi, after the birth of the couple's oldest son, **Sunia Paula** (1931-). Although the Bloomfields had never identified as Jews in Tonga, the family's first two generations declined to identify as Christian (Horowitz, 2014:314-346).

Lionel's grandson, Vili Levin Kupu, returned to Tonga after his grandfather's death in 1933 but according to his daughter, he neither identified Jewish nor affiliated Christian.

In December 1938, Keti Seelenfreund (1917-2001), Siegfried's oldest daughter, became a Catholic nun in the Sisters of Mary in the French colony of Wallis and Futuna.

Contemporary local descendants

¹⁷ Founders plaque, Royal Nuku'alofa Club, Vuna Road, Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

¹⁸ Record Group: RG-15.098; File: rg-15_098m_0139-00000117 - rg-15_098m_0139-00000119; Stadthauptmann der Stadt Krakau (Starosta Miasta Krakowa) 1939-1945 at U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC; index to outward passengers to interstate, UK, NZ and foreign ports (1852-1923), Public Record Office of Victoria, Australia, www.prov.vic.gov.au [Retrieved 5 June 2015]

¹⁹ See list of Kraków voters in 1935 at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/krakow/kra_1935_voters.html [Retrieved 5 June 2015]; 'A. Francis 'Alipate, pers. comm., 31 May 2015. Francis is the son of Siegfried's youngest daughter Stephanie.

Papiloa Bloomfield Foliaki (1935 -) is the daughter of Paul's grandson, Sunia (1905-65) via Paul's son Sione (1874-1917). In the late 1970s, she became the first female commoner to be elected to the Tongan legislature, in many ways pioneering the kingdom's (still ongoing) transition to democracy. Earlier in the decade, she developed Tongatapu's first transit network, deploying a fleet of nearly 40 mini-buses until the mid-1990s. As an early champion of gay rights, she founded the Tonga Leitis Association in 1985, despite the fact she herself is not gay.

Now past 80, Papiloa currently serves as deputy director of Tonga Trust, a leading community development NGO. When asked if she reckons her management skills derive from her Jewish heritage, she replies, "Yes, definitely. People attribute [my accomplishments] to my Jewish genes" (Horowitz, 2014:341-346).

The former MP recalls childhood playmates in Fatai village teased her and her brother Teiapa'a for being "little Jews". The pair responded sharply: "We hit many of them [in retaliation]," she recounts. "My brother and I became little terrors [in Fatai]." After the death of Papiloa's husband in 1992, she migrated from her spouse's Catholic affiliation to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. "But I'm still searching [for a meaningful theology]," she concedes.

In 1975 Papiloa's older brother Sunia Paula obtained a Master's degree in education at the University of London. He went on to become Tonga's education director in 1982, advancing later to acting minister. He retired to the family plantation in Lakepa in 2005. Although only one-eighth Jewish, he claims Jewish identity: "I'm a Jew. Finished [end of story]. And proud of it, because Jews have done a lot of things for the world." Although Paula identifies Jewish, he and his wife regularly attend the Wesleyan church in Fatai, where he occasionally addresses the congregation. "And nobody can ever say anything," he insists, "to make me a disbeliever [in Christ's divinity]!" When asked if this faith qualifies him as a Jew for Jesus, he replies with a wry smile: "Yeah. Why not?"

'Amelia Levin Tu'inukuafe (1947 -) is the daughter of Lionel's grandson Vili (1905-70) and Vili's wife Lose. She attended Auckland Business College in New Zealand, becoming in the early '90s partner and general manager of Trans-Am Shipping, now Dateline Trans-Am. After retiring in 2006, she converted her late parents' home in downtown Nuku'alofa to a four-room guesthouse with adjacent apartment, opening it in her mother's memory as Lose Lodge in 2012. Like the Bloomfield family, the Levin family attributes 'Amelia's 'business mind' to her Jewish heritage. "I've always been proud of my Jewish blood," she adds.

According to Tu'inukuafe, her father was proud to be Jewish, and only occasionally attended church, although she and her husband attend Anglican church regularly.

Sister Dr Katie Ann Kanongata'a (1942-) is the daughter of Siegfried Seelenfreund's second daughter, Soana (1918-2003), who was raised Catholic after Siegfried's return to Poland; like

her aunt, she became a nun. Consecrated in Fiji in 1971, Katie received a PhD in missiology in 1986 from the Pontifical Urban University at the Vatican. She returned to Tonga in 1993, serving six years as superior general of a convent in the Longoteme district of Tongatapu (Kanongata, 2015).

As keynote speaker at the initial conference of Tonga's Catholic Women's League in 1995, Katie inspired the formation of the Centre for Women and Children to minister to victims of spousal violence and abuse and briefly directed the centre in 2009 (Matangitonga, 2015). Yet her most important contribution was her founding in 2002 of the Catholic Theological Institute in the Veitongo district of Tongatapu, an academy she continues to direct.

When confronted with evidence of her Jewish ancestry, Katie brightened: "I could be related to Jesus!" she exclaimed (Kanongata, 2015).

Hawai'i: Jewish settlers and local descendants

Early Jewish settlers with contemporary local descendants are discussed below.

At age 21 James Steiner (1860-1939; arrived 1882) immigrated to the U.S. from the Pilsen region of what is now the Czech Republic, arriving in Honolulu. In time he acquired Hart Confectionary and Catering, before launching his own bakery and curios shop. In 1889, James returned to Prague to marry Rosa Schwarz and bring her to Hawai'i (Statewide Country Archives, 2016). By 1899 the family had erected the three-story Elite Building, eventually replaced by the Education Building, which the family still owns. Over the next decade, they resided and acquired property in Waikiki, at the time an hour-long commute to Honolulu. Yet the value of a Steiner parcel currently leased by the Hyatt Regency Hotel is estimated to be approximately \$50 million (Trifonovitch, 2002).

Born in Thorn, Prussia, Paul Randolph Neumann (1838-1901; arrived 1883) emigrated to the U.S. at age 15 (Los Angeles Herald, 1901:3). Admitted to the California bar in 1864, he began partnering with young Henry Eickhoff (1856-1933) in 1877 before relocating to Hawai'i in 1883. In the interim he married Elise S. Dingle (1852-1908), the daughter of a German father and Mexican mother partly of indigenous ancestry. In deference to Elise, the family affiliated Catholic.

Neumann represented San Francisco as a Republican in the California State Senate from 1870-82. From 1867 he additionally served as counsel for Claus Spreckels' California Sugar Refinery, which was processing raw sugar from Maui (Miller, 2010:23). But after being denounced by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as a tool of the sugar baron, he lost a bid to represent San Francisco in the U.S. House of Representatives in the election of 1882.

Meanwhile, his client's subsidiary, the Hawaiian Commercial Company (1872-82) – which at the time dominated the harvesting of sugar in Maui – had ingratiated itself with Hawai'i's King Kalākaua (1836-91; r. 1874-91); the monarch had not only been loaned substantial sums, but also wined and dined during a visit to California in 1881. As a result of both

competence and friendship, Neumann – upon arrival in Honolulu – was appointed Hawai'i's attorney general and accorded a seat on the Privy Council; he served in both capacities until 1886, and again briefly in 1892 under Kalākaua's successor, Queen Lili'uokalani, Hawai'i's final monarch (1838-1917; r. 1891-1917)²⁰.

After the queen's overthrow in January 1893 by a cabal of U.S. and European settlers stiffened by the U.S. Navy and Marines, Neumann represented the monarch in the U.S. as part of a delegation that included young prince David Kawānanakoa and former finance minister E.C. Macfarlane. One historian credits Neumann's poignant summary of the insurrection, dramatically published in the *New York World*, with persuading president-elect Grover Cleveland to (unsuccessfully) attempt to restore the Hawaiian kingdom during his second presidency (DeWitt, 1896:76-79).

Two years later the queen was charged with misprision of treason for failing to report a failed insurrection against the "Republic" of Hawai'i. As her counsel, Neumann persuaded a military tribunal to spare her life. Whilst the queen was in custody, she and her attendants stitched Neumann's name on to a quilt that saluted the monarch's allies (Hackler and Woodard, 2004). The attorney was a passionate advocate for indigenous sovereignty. When the new editor of Honolulu's *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* – Henry Castle, the son of a missionary-turned-sugar-magnate who had instigated the "republic" – disparaged Queen Lili'uokalani in an editorial in January 1894, Neumann rushed into Castle's office and demanded an apology. Upon refusal, the lawyer struck the editor, but another of the queen's former finance ministers, W.H. Cornwall, separated the pair before Castle could sustain injury (New York Times, 1894).

Upon the attorney's death in 1901, a Hawaiian daily eulogised him as "one of the most brilliant men who ever set foot on Hawaiian soil" (The Independent, 1901).²¹ Neumann reportedly denied Jewish ancestry throughout his life (Cashmere, 1978). He was toastmaster of the Hawaiian Masonic Lodge, eulogised in their temple after his death, and buried in their section of Oahu Cemetery. Moreover, as mentioned, he married Catholic and so reared his children.

Nearly three years after his death, however, a Jewish-American monthly based in New York reported that Neumann was born to Jewish parents and raised in that faith (New Era Illustrated Magazine, 1904).²² In the mid-1970s Rudolf Glanz described a "Jew who played a prominent role in the political history of the [Hawaiian] islands. He was Neumann,

²⁰ On the occasion of the queen's 175th birthday in September 2013, Hawaiian governor Neil Abercrombie ordered the plaque beneath her statute at the capitol to indicate a lifetime reign. <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.10151623734262409.1073742093.150237952408&type=3> [Retrieved 25 Jan. 2016]

²¹ Launched by Danish expatriate Edmund Norrie in 1895, *The Independent* was edited by him until 1902 before ceasing publication in 1905. Like Neumann, it supported the restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy. (

²² By 1904, *NEI* was being published by Isidor Lewi (1850-1938), who would later sit on the editorial board of the *New York Tribune*.

descendant of a German Jewish family” (Kurtzig, 1930:6-63).²³ And later in the decade Kirk Cashmere – a Jewish Studies undergraduate at Brandeis University who would go on to become a prominent civil rights attorney in Hawai’i – judged evidence regarding Neumann’s Jewish lineage to be “irrefutable”, claiming it “clearly suggests” Jewish ancestry (Cashmere, 1978).

Although Max Hirsch Weinberg (1870-1944; arrived 1898) was raised in Russia, he soon concluded “there was no future for a Jewish person” there. By the 1890s he had joined relatives in Chicago before moving to Hawai’i, soon followed by his brother Samuel (1877-1914). The brothers launched an import firm called Honolulu Trading, distributing for, among other clients, Colgate Palmolive and Elgin Watch. His great-grandson David recalls that “after the monthly ship arrived from San Francisco, Max would deliver his goods over the next two weeks, then spend the rest of the month reading books in the library” (Weinberg, 2016).²⁴ The brothers sold the company for \$50,000 in 1917.

Max met his future wife, a young Jewish woman named Estelle, on a business trip to the mainland and married her in Honolulu in 1910. The couple raised two sons: Bernard (1911-92) and Richard (1913-85). Although Bernard married a Congregational Protestant from Ohio, he declined to attend church until his son and daughter were teenagers.

Encouraged by his brother-in-law Isadore Rubenstein to relocate to Hawai’i, Joseph S. Spitzer (1843-1910; arrived 1898) and his wife Edith (1856-1930) moved from Chicago to Honolulu. Joseph had previously emigrated from Austria, Edith from Germany (Our Family History, 2015). In 1900 the couple launched the Hub Clothing store in downtown Honolulu, which was managed after his death by sons Sidney, Arthur, and Clifford. Sometime around 1970, the family terminated the shop and sold the land on which it was located (U.S. Militaria Forum:2013, Spitzer, 2015).

Interim descendants (highlights: 1915, 1923, 1949)

Profits from family investments enabled James’s son, Harry Steiner (1890-1980) to attend Yale Law School. Upon returning to Hawai’i, he served as deputy U.S. attorney before being appointed magistrate to the U.S. District Court in Honolulu in 1923.

In 1915 Selma Hoermann consented to marry Arthur J. Spitzer (1876-1956), Joseph's son, on the condition their children be reared Lutheran. But the couple celebrated the major Jewish holidays at home, including eating *matzoh* at Passover and lighting a *menorah* at Hanukah

²³ According to Kurtzig, the ancestry of Paul Neumann’s mother, Rosalie Kühlbrand Neumann, can be traced to Meir ben Isaac (c. 1482-1565), a German Jewish rabbi who trained in Prague, then practiced in Padua. Isaac’s descendants – e.g., grandson Samuel Wahl Katzenellenbogen (1541-1617) and Rosalie’s father, Gottlieb Kühlbrand (1782-1853) – resided in Poland, with Kühlbrand settling in what became the Thorn-Bromberg area of Prussia. Glanz (1892-1978) was initially an Austrian Jewish attorney, Kurtzig (1865-1946) a Polish Jewish poet; they both later published Jewish histories.

²⁴ Weinberg is Max’s grandson via Bernard.

(Spitzer, 2015). In 1949 Blanche van Oort married Arthur Hoermann Spitzer (1917-76), Joseph's grandson, on the condition their children be reared Catholic.

Contemporary local descendants

Jonathan H. Steiner (1958 -) attended Punahou School in Honolulu, before obtaining an Honours J.D. from his father's alma mater, Stanford Law School. Until recently, he was of counsel with McCorrison Miller Mukai MacKinnon, specialising in commercial civil litigation.

Although he was raised in a consistently secular household, he recalls becoming attracted to Christianity whilst a student at Punahou and now accepts the divinity of Jesus Christ. His wife, Kelly, was raised Methodist and the couple were married by Punahou's Congregational chaplain. He, his wife, and son rarely attend church, but pray nearly every evening, though his son has neither attended Sunday school nor been confirmed.

I don't think it's important to go to church every Sunday ... You can pray to your god when you're out on the ocean or hiking in the mountains. I personally am not a strong believer in organised religion – maybe that's a product of the fact that I wasn't brought up in an organised religion.²⁵

At the request of his father Keith (1929-), Jonathan has recently begun drafting a family history that may only be privately distributed. He was astonished to learn that the siblings James left behind in central Europe were all eliminated by National Socialist Germany during the Second World War.

Yet the attorney cautions against "placing a huge amount of importance" on this history. He recalls that when he visited Dachau as a student he retained the perspective of a tourist rather than that of a Jew: "At the time," he explains, "I kind of knew about my Jewish heritage but it hadn't really registered." Only since studying his family's history over the past year has Jonathan confronted the depth of his Jewish roots.

Whilst two Christian descendants of Paul Randolph Neumann reside in Honolulu, one maintains that social science ought to regard the late attorney general as Lutheran and the other holds that, based on evidence known to her as of 2015, PRN ought not be regarded Jewish.

Until his recent retirement, Max's grandson David Weinberg (1943-) continued the firm launched by his father Bernard in 1951, a company that wholesales stationery and office supplies. Although Bernard had married a Christian (see above), only his wife and daughter Carol [Hanlin] (1940 -) initially attended church. Meanwhile, mindful of the religion of his parents, Bernard enrolled David – then just seven years old – in weekly religious instruction

²⁵ Jonathan H. Steiner, pers. comm., 5 Jan. 2016

at Honolulu's sole Jewish centre. But the boy quit after a couple of years, and the entire family began attending church in the late 1950s (Weinberg, 2016).

In the spring of 1967, however, Egypt massed troops on its border with Israel, blocking the Jewish state's access to the Red Sea. Israel warned Egypt that the deployment represented a *casus belli*. With Israel in jeopardy, Bernard felt compelled to donate \$500 to the United Jewish Appeal and affiliate Jewish. For a period of approximately six months, his wife and children joined him in attending Friday evening services at the Jewish community centre. "Mother supported him," Carol recalls, "we all went as a family. But we continued to go to church on Sunday" (Hanlin, 2016). A half-century later, David continues to sympathise with Zionism:

I have feelings for Israel. It's a terrible [situation] when all your neighbours are your enemies; when you're trying to live a normal life, and you're constantly being attacked (Weinberg, 2016).

He regularly attends a Congregational church in his neighbourhood, but is sceptical about the divinity of Christ:

I live by the Ten Commandments ... I believe that Jesus was probably the greatest philosopher that ever lived. I have no idea if he was the Son of God, I don't know if there's a heaven. I often think that when I die, everything will turn from grey to black and I will no longer exist (Weinberg, 2016).

Allan Thomas Spitzer (1955-) is the great grandson of Joseph. Not only were he and his siblings raised Catholic, but his older brother Robert (1952 -) is now, among other accomplishments, a Jesuit media personality. Allan earned a business degree at Oregon's University of Portland in the U.S., and is currently executive vice-president of a company that distributes laboratory equipment.

His Catholicism is inclusive of Jewish culture. As a Sunday school teacher since the mid-'90s, he introduces young Catholics to, among other rituals, Passover and Hanukah celebration:

Even though one is Christian, one is still following the Jewish tradition – that's the origin of the Christian religion. One really can't separate them: it's a continuum ... Judaism is part of my background, I haven't lost it. I'm a product of both Judaism and Christianity. I mean, Jesus was a Jew: if it was good enough for Him ... (Spitzer, 2015).

When Allan studied in Austria for a time, he visited the Dachau concentration camp in Bavaria:

You hear, you read, but you've got to see something like that to get an appreciation of how horrendous it was. Humans as guinea pigs: 'Let's stick them in a bucket of ice water and see how long it takes to die. And we'll record the numbers.' Absolutely no appreciation for human life at all (Spitzer, 2015).

When asked if he experienced the camp as a Catholic or as the great-grandson of a Jew, he replied:

It was personal, it was. It blew me away ... I mean, I knew my origin. I knew there had to have been relatives who went through this. They may [only] be extended family, but still they're part of me.

Data analysis

None of the contemporary subjects outlined above currently practise the Jewish religion: of the 12, nine practise Christianity, one identifies non-denominational monotheist, one is a lapsed Jew, and two retain composite spirituality.

Pommier, T. Céran-Jérusalémy, Foliaki, Bloomfield, Tu'inukuafe, Kanongata'a, Spitzer, Steiner, and Hanlin entirely or primarily affiliate Christian, although Pommier and T. Céran-Jérusalémy do not currently attend church. Steiner also doesn't attend, but supplicates Jesus at home. Weinberg describes himself as an unaffiliated monotheist, who nevertheless attends church regularly. M.A. Céran-Jérusalémy is a lapsed Jew. Levy appears to derive her spirituality from Buddhist philosophy, as well as indigenous and Jewish folklore; Birk from the latter two.

Among those affiliating Christian, three appear to have at times followed the historic Jewish role of social justice campaigner – T. Céran-Jérusalémy, Foliaki, and Kanongata'a. Levy is a social justice campaigner who identifies Jewish and Buddhist. Birk has been a social justice campaigner, who retains substantial Jewish identity.

Both Foliaki and Tu'inukuafe link their Jewish identity to their competence in commercial enterprise. Five of those who affiliate Christian may be described as syncretic Christians²⁶ who retain some connection with the Jewish people – T. Céran-Jérusalémy, Foliaki, Bloomfield, Tu'inukuafe, and Spitzer.

Abandonment and reclamation of Jewish identity

During the 1980s, only one of the 13 subjects practiced Judaism, whilst 10 attended church and/or affiliated Christian. Why was abandonment of Judaism so prevalent among subject families from 1850-1930? Conversely, given the abandonment of Judaism among most subject families, why over the last 30 years did one return to Judaism? And why, currently, do two partially identify Jewish and five to some degree?

²⁶ For an analysis of syncretic Judeo-Christian attitudes in early 18th century Portugal, see: Nathan Wachtel, *The Faith of Remembrance*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013

In four families – Jérusalémy (c. 1850), Seelenfreund (1920), Bloomfield (c. 1930), and Spitzer (1915) – Christian identity was a consequence of spousal compulsion or in-law acquisition. Perhaps at the bidding of his Catholic mother, Alexandre Jérusalémy (1830-1914) attended Jesuit school in Paris; by 1853 he'd apparently converted to Catholicism.²⁷ Selma Hoermann required Lutheran affiliation as a condition of her marriage to Arthur J. Spitzer in 1915. Siegfried Seelenfreund entrusted his three daughters to Catholic in-laws after the death of his wife in 1920. And at the insistence of his wife, Sunia Bloomfield affiliated Wesleyan in the early 1930s after the birth of his first child, Sunia Paula.

In the five remaining families – Salmon (m. 1842), Levy (m. 1884), Weinberg (m. 1940), Tu'inukuafe (m. 1971), and Steiner (m. 2001) – Christian affiliation appears to have consensually accompanied intermarriage.

Among the original settlers, three wedded Jewish spouses: James Spitzer immigrated to Hawai'i with Eda Rubinstein 1898 after marrying her in Chicago in 1876; James Steiner brought Rosa Schwartz to Hawai'i after marrying her in Prague in 1889; and Max Weinberg is thought to have brought Estelle Gray to Hawai'i around 1910.

It is impossible at this juncture to ascertain why Alexander Salmon and Émile Levy in Tahiti, and Paul Bloomfield and Lionel Levin in Tonga, begat children with Christian women;²⁸ no relevant letters, diaries, or recordings of these settlers have yet been obtained.

A fair guess is that, to begin with, there were no unmarried Jewish women in Papeete and Nuku'alofa, although Steiner, Weinberg and Spitzer in Hawai'i demonstrated that – with intention and funds – one might retrieve a Jewish wife overseas. And a review of recent analysis of intermarriage suggests that Jewish affiliation is ideally nourished by an: 1) insular Jewish community; 2) magnetic synagogue; 3) charismatic rabbi and/or cantor; and 4) intensive religious instruction²⁹ ... inducements that 19th century Polynesia did not offer.

Yet the Polynesian environment may not be the only reason for abandonment. Nineteenth century Jewish culture in provincial Prussia, Austria, and Poland was not consistently attractive: it was often impoverished, ritualistic, and isolated from advanced knowledge and technology. It is conceivable, then, that those who emigrated were *relieved* to escape the suffocation of family, synagogue, and/or – like Max Weinberg – the relentless hostility of

²⁷ Ozanam, p. 390, op cit.

²⁸ As noted, Jérusalem and Neumann abandoned Judaism at least a decade before immigrating to the Pacific; Seelenfreund returned to Polish Judaism in the early 1920s.

²⁹ E.g., *Til Faith Do Us Part: How Interfaith Marriage is Transforming America*, Naomi Schaefer Riley. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013: "The more you have exposure to people of other faiths, the more likely you are to like them and then marry them yourself."; "Intermarriage", Rabbi Bernard Fox (Northwest Yeshiva High School, Seattle, Washington) at www.mesora.org/intermarriage-fox.htm: "... our resources would be better utilized by providing more intensive Jewish education to our children. It is far easier to prevent assimilation or intermarriage through educating our children, than to try to reach them once they have assimilated." [Retrieved 28 Nov. 2016]

European Christianity; in Polynesia, they – and/or their descendants – may very well have found liberation by transcending their stultifying origins.

Indeed, in an article on oppressed minorities, Harvard psychiatrist Kenneth Levin notes that “population segments under chronic siege commonly embrace ... indictments” of their own subcultures (Levin, 2006). And Columbia social psychologist Howard W. Polsky observes that those who harbour “feelings of Jewish marginality” often conclude that “... being Jewish will hinder their success or identity” (Polsky, 2002).

The great grandfather of Jean-Baptiste Ceran-Jérusalémy – Alexandre Feriny Jérusalémy – appears to have genuinely converted to Catholicism by 1853, a faith uniformly retained by his children and grandchildren. Why then on accession to the presidency of the Territorial Assembly would J-B C-J – reportedly a pious Catholic as well – identify Jewish before the wife of the Governor General?

With limited evidence available, it’s impossible to penetrate the politician’s mind. Conventional wisdom holds that the “feeling of Judaism” is passed on from mother to child (Danzger, 1989:138). Yet it is unlikely J-B C-J received such transmission from either parent.

In conclusion, then, this study proposes six reasons for the seemingly spontaneous recurrence of some Jewish identity among some local descendants of remote Jewish ancestors in Polynesia:

1. There is a passion for rooted authenticity in the human psyche: e.g., discovering – then owning – the key components of one’s ethnicity;
2. In the wake of Émile Durkheim, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, and Niels Bohr, among others, Judaism has become an attractive brand for innovative intelligence;
3. In the wake of the *New York Times*, Jack Warner, Louis B. Mayer, Mark Zuckerberg, and rock music impresario Alan Freed, among others, Judaism has become an attractive brand for those aspiring to media deployment;
4. In the wake of the Prophet Amos, Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxembourg, and U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders, among others, Judaism has become an attractive brand for those who campaign for at least the reform – if not eradication – of predatory capitalism, imperialism, militarism, and associated environmental abuse;
5. Israeli patriotism;
6. In the wake of Mayer Amschel Rothschild, among others, folk wisdom often equates Judaism with financial and commercial acumen.

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