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PDMRU UROH LQ WKH HGXFDWLRQ RI IUHH EODFNV L
,DGGWLWRQ WR VHUYLQJ DV D WUDLQLQJ JURXQG IR
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GXULQJ WKLW SHULRG ZHUH DEOH WR SXUFKDVH ODC
SURLGLQJ IRU WKHPVHOYHV DQG WKHLU IDPLOLHV
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PRWLYDWLRQV DQG JUHDW OHQJWKV WKDW EODFNV

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RZQHUVKLS GXULQJ WKH DQWHEHOXP HUD FRQWUL

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\$GOHPDQ *Waiting for the Lord: Nineteenth Century Black Communities in
Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.* &DPGHQ ~~3JLFWWRQ~~ 3

%HUOLQ ,UD ³7KH 6WUXFWXUH RI WKH)UHH 1HJUR
, *Articles on American Slavery: Free Blacks in a Slave Society,* HG 3DXO)LQNHOP
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Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting the Underground Railroad
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* R %URRPH &RXQW\ ~~FRP~~ *National Black HIV/AIDS Awareness Day:*
February 7 -DQXDU\
KWWS ZZZ ELQJKDPWRQDLUSIRUW1RFRHRSUHVV

³+RUULG ~~BYWWR~~ *República.* -XQH

+RUWRQ -DPHV 2 ~~OLYHU~~ *Liberty, Culture, Community, and*
Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1770-1860 1HZ <RUN 2[IRUG 8QLYHU
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B ~~B~~ *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggles in the Antebellum*
North 1HZ <RUN DQG /RQGRQ +ROPHV DQG 0HLHUV 3X

-RQHV)DXVWLQH & ³%ODFN \$PHULFDQ ~~ON~~ *The Journal* WKH &
of Negro Education

3HWHUVRQ & O'Donnell, *The African American Community, Hope of Liberty, Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*, *American Studies International*

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6FKDQW] 0DUNBodies *Philanthropy: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730-1830* E\ -RKQ : RRG 6/7/11

6PLWK *The Valley of Opportunity: A Pictorial History of the Greater Binghamton Area.*

> @ *Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting the Underground Railroad* 2 KLR 1DWLRQDO 3DUN 6HUYLFH

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> @ % :L ONLQVRO *The Land of Binghamton of 1840* % L Q J K D P W R D O O R D X L O
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> @ HUDOG *The City of Opportunity: A Pictorial History of the Greater Binghamton Area* 9LUJLQLD'R%QDIFKJ & RPSDQ\ 3XEOLVKHUV

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> @³+RUULG *Broome Republican* -XQH

> @GZDUG &RXQWU\PDQ ³IURP *The Empire State* WR 6W
History of New York HG E\ 0LOWRQ 0 &OLQH 1HZ <RUN &RU

> @, QWUR *The Making of Slavery in the North* HG 'DYL G 5RHGLJHU
0DUWLQ + %ODWW 1HZ <RUN *DUODQG 3XEOLVKLQ.

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> @UQHVLQH . (QRPRWR DQG 'DYL G / \$QJXV 3\$IU
\$WVHQGDQF &HQQWVU *Journal of Negro Education*
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> @, ELG

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> @RURWK\ 3URYLQH 37KH (FRQRPLF 3RVLWLRQ RI
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The Journal of Negro History

> @, ELG

> @-DPHV 2OLYHU +RUWRQ *Black Boatmen's Family Life and
Community Struggles in the Antebellum North* 1HZ <RUN DQG /RQGRQ +R
0HLHU 3XEOLVKHUV

> @%URRPH &RXQW\ +1850 *Wesleyan Record* 6RFLHW\

> @%URRPH &RXQW\ +1850 *Wesleyan Record* 6RFLHW\

> @%URRPH &RXQW\ +1855WRUJREDQ 6RFLHW\

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> @*R%URRPH &RXQW\ +1855WRUUREDD 6RFLHW\ *Press Release: National Black HIV/AIDS Awareness Day: February 7* -DQXDU\

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* H R U J L D 3 U H V V

5 R R U G D (The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Tujillo

Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945. ' X U K D P D Q G / R Q G R Q ' X N H

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Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945. ' X U K D P D Q G / R Q G R Q ' X N H
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Moneda on September 11, 1973 when Allende's government was overtaken. Jewish individuals in Chile were only targeted by the secret police if they were against the government or held Leftist beliefs, not for any religious or ethnic reasons. After Allende was elected president of Chile in 1970, 8,000 of the 30,000 Chilean Jews fled to Israel or Canada in fear of their property being confiscated by the government. [1] This is seen in the article "The Virtual Jewish History Tour: Chile" by Beth Weis who believes Jews are sometimes exiled under a Communist government because of their suspected treason. She believes that in the past, Jews have been labeled as enemies of the state by ruling communist governments. Therefore, it is not surprising that some Jews in Chile were fearful of the Allende government and many left almost immediately. [2] However, in 1973 after Pinochet took over many Jews felt it was safe to return. It is important to note that even though many Jews prospered and supported Pinochet, there were people like Nurith Yelenkiviez (a family friend in Chile) who vehemently opposed the military coup. When comparing and contrasting the Jewish experience in Chile and Argentina during those years there are undoubtedly several similarities that need to be addressed. However, it is crucial to demonstrate that being Jewish in Chile was never a threat to one's safety; whereas in Argentina being Jewish did in many cases directly effect the way the military treated the suspect, which in most circumstances meant more brutal and inhuman torturing.

Nazism and anti-Semitism prior to 1970s:

In order to better comprehend the relationship between Jews and the right-wing government of Pinochet, it is important to have a clearer understanding of Chilean Nazism and anti-Semitism ideology that was established before the coup of September 11, 1973 and how that related to Pinochet's government. In the southern region of Chile there had been a German community that has been known to have maintained its traditional German customs. Even though most people from that community do not have German surnames, their heritage is still important to them. These Germans helped influence the way Jews were to be perceived throughout Chile in later years and helped set the groundwork for future anti-Semitism that did from time to time occur.

In 1932 with the rise of Nazism, a Chilean-born named Jorge González von Marees with German ancestry created a Chilean Nazi party known as Vanguardia Popular Socialista (VPS). [3] Gonzalez von Marees was blatantly open with anti-Semitism and his disapproval of President Alessandri accepting of European Jewish refugees in the late 1930s. Although President Alessandri did set specific limitations as to where Jews could live and what professions were open to them. [4] On the 5th of September 1938 a historic event took place when Gonzalez von Marees along with fellow young Nazis

staged a Putsch which led to the storming of the University of Chile and eventually an altercation between the Chilean police and Nazis. Fifty-five members of the VPS died as well as one policeman. Something that is very significant that resulted from that event is that even to this day, there is a commemoration to those fifty-five Nazi "martyrs" in the Santiago General Cemetery and a plaque across the street from La Moneda. [5]

To Pinochet, Nazi memorials were not seen as a major concern and ultimately did not alter his policies towards Jews. This was demonstrated by his appointment of ex-VPS

Being Jewish in Chile did not warrant the secret police to suspect that one was involved in actions against the government. However, not all Jews in Chile were from the middle class, nor did the lives of all Jews improve once the right-wing government took over. There were Jews who were active in the communist movement such as Volodia Teitelbaum (distinct relative of mine) who was leader of the Chilean Communist Party and Senator, and Oscar Weiss who was editor of the communist government newspaper. Both men, along with other Jews endured kidnapping and torturing by Pinochet due to their Leftist ideologies. When interviewing close family friend Nurith Yelenkiviez, I asked her if being Jewish impacted her experience under the military regime, she responded by stating that the regime “produced many negative changes in my life, but it was not because I was Jewish, but rather because I had distinct ideas.” [17] Throughout our conversation via email, she stressed the point that the persecutions carried out by the secret police were for one’s political ideas, and were not based on someone’s religious beliefs.

Another example of a Jewish Chilean whose life was worsened by military regime is seen by Marjorie Agosín’s accounts in *Always from Somewhere Else*. [18] In this book she goes into detail about her life growing up in Chile and America and the hardships her family had to endure. In a section of her book, Agosín describes the distress she experienced under Pinochet. She writes that “[T]he years of the military dictatorship robbed us speech and the possibility of wonder.” [19] It is interesting to observe the contrasting experiences and ideas shared by my parents and Agosín. She goes on to state that the dictatorship forced her to flee the country and to grow up far away from her family and friends. In contrast with my family who felt safe in Chile only when Pinochet had gained power, people like Agosín and Yelenkiviez revealed a feeling of despair once the military regime had taken over and many of their rights were revoked and limited.

It is important to realize that although Pinochet may have viewed the Jews in a favorable light, it is not accurate to state that he was advantageous for all the Jews. As seen with people like Nurith Yelenkiviez and Marjorie Agosín not all Jews were thriving under Pinochet. Many opposed his rule, especially those with Leftist ideas. It was only those Jews who were part of the middle class who were pro-Pinochet. Nonetheless it is crucial to recognize that most Jews in Chile were an integral part of the middle-upper class. By interviewing and reading about Chilean Jews who prospered and suffered one is able to understand that Pinochet and his government were by no means anti-Semitic, but rather opposed anyone who threatened his rule.

When discussing what ordinary life was like for the majority of Jews during the reign of Pinochet I found that very little seemed to have changed in their daily Jewish lives. Peppy Goren spoke of returning to the Jewish country club, going to synagogue, and celebrating all Jewish holidays as if there had never been a coup.[20] Rabbi Goren, who was very active in the Jewish community, told me that “as a Jew my life truly changed nothing since the junta and Pinochet.”[21] Even Nurith Yelenkiviez asserts that as far as being Jewish, her life was not altered either. When comparing the social differences and fears that existed between the Jews of Chile and Argentina one must realize that in Argentina Jews had a different experience strictly due to their religion and alleged political alliances. In Chile, Jews were not suspected of communist ties simply because they were Jewish. This is evident by the efforts made by Pinochet to not only show his support for the Jewish communities, but placing several Jews with high governmental positions.

An interesting and important aspect Pinochet’s relationship with the Jews is that during the Jewish High Holidays he would make sure to pay a visit to all the synagogues in Santiago.[22] Peppy Goren remembers clearly that during the Yom Kippur services the leaders of the junta would come for about twenty to thirty minutes and stay for a special service prepared just for them. Jewish communities arranged for a special service for the dictator so that any fears Jews may have had about Pinochet’s intentions would be eradicated. It was also a public demonstration supporting for his government. When speaking to her more extensively about the synagogue visits she explained that “it was really a very nice gesture from them, and as well as to assure us that have nothing against Jews.”[23] Rabbi Goren reaffirms the idea that Pinochet visited the synagogues as a sign of his respect for Judaism and the Jewish people.[24] His reverence to the Jewish communities did not only stop at the synagogues.

Within the Chilean government and army Jews took on numerous prestigious occupations. Luis Fleishman writes about Sergio Melnick who was an Orthodox Jew and an important consultant of Pinochet on economic issues.[25] Also, along with leading American Jewish economist Milton Friedman, their ideas and innovations led to a prospering Chilean economy, even so to this day. Also, the Minister of Justice and close friend of Pinochet was a Jew named Miguel Schweitzer Speisky. His son, Miguel Schweitzer Walters, also achieved prominence within the government when he was appointed ambassador to England as well as Minister of External Affairs.[26] Then there was General José Berdichewsky Scher, who also happened to speak fluent Yiddish, was a key participant in the bombing of the capital that helped pave the way for Pinochet’s government. In the mid 1970s General Berdichewsky Scher was given the

diplomatic responsibility of ambassador to Israel. This was a position that Pinochet viewed as very important. Not only did the Israel and Chile have good relations due to their military arrangements and exchange of weapons, but both countries were very reliant on the American government for financial support, addition aid, and steady trading partners. .

It is very impressive the impact and influence Jews had in the Pinochet regime when compared to Argentina where Jews were not given the opportunity to actively participate in government nor live without fear. Pinochet did not discriminate against hiring Jews or for that matter anyone based on religious background. However, alternatively in Argentina, Jews were not found in any governmental posts during the military rule of 1976-83. According to Jacobo Timmerman, Argentine military governments did not and would not place any Jew in positions of authority, nor would Jews be given the right to serve in state radios or programs.[27]

Jewish Experience in Argentina:

After engaging in extensive research, reading testimonies of Jewish prisoners, and interviewing Juana Nuger whose son Heron is classified as a desaparecido, I was able to progressively gain a more accurate understanding of how the Jews were perceived by the military. A reoccurring theme among the stories of the survivors was the “special” treatment that they received while under investigation. Several torturing methods used in Argentina greatly resemble those of the Nazis. It is not surprising, given Argentina’s record on anti-Semitism that a ruling body of government would act against the Jews if given the opportunity to do so. Jacobo Timmerman, is the author of an autobiographical book called Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number, in which he retells his experiences while being sentenced to the infamous clandestine cells.[28] He goes into detail about certain events in which the investigators acted in a more ruthless manner when his Jewish identity was revealed. He also discusses how it was common for the military to use Nazi symbols as a way to intimate Jewish prisoners. Similar experiences are also seen in the “Comisión Israeli por los Desaparecidos Judios en Argentina” which is an Israeli sponsored Commission that successfully gathered detailed interviews of family members of los desaparecidos who lived through those scary years in Argentina. It also has several editorials by experts about the military’s involvement in discriminating against Jews. Fortunately, there is a copious amount of primary sources and personal accounts that will help present a vivid portrayal of the coercion the Jews in Argentina had to undergo during those years.

When reading Timmerman’s description of the clandestine cells he specifically notes that although it was unpleasant for non-Jews and Jews alike, he is graphic in portraying

the maltreatment of Jewish prisoners and their relationship with the investigators. Timmerman was held in three different secret locations and two legal prisons throughout 1976-

which was specially designed for the Jews in order to forcefully collect information. When she was finally let free, the officers ordered her to believe that she had not visited anywhere, heard anything, and that nothing happened, otherwise her family would undergo severe consequences. She had done nothing illegal, yet was treated like a criminal.

This is not the only case which accounts for Jews receiving harsher treatments while under military custody. Marcelo Weisz Gustavo was kidnapped on February 16, 1978 at the age of twenty-six; he was never again to be seen by anyone. He was taken to the prison called "El Turco Julian" which was notorious for its open anti-Semitism and its extreme torturing of Jewish inmates.[38] When asked about the punishments and torturing of Jews at this particular camp, his mother, Ruth Paradise de Weisz answered, "cualquier tipo de tortura es terrible pero eso tipo de tortura...imaginense." [39] There is also the story of Fernando Ruben Brodsky who was twenty three years old when he was taken away on August 14, 1979. His family is convinced that he was kidnapped because he was Jewish. Sara Silberg de Brodsky, Fernando's mother, states that her son was given more torture than normal because he was a Jew. Once while talking to Fernando on the phone, she recalls him describing that while under interrogation the soldiers would ask him about certain aspects of Judaism that he was not able to answer, and as a punishment for his ignorance he was further castigated.

An Argentine Jewish woman by the name of Juana Nuger, whom I personally interviewed, told me the story of her disabled son Heron who was taken away in front of her. He was kidnapped due to his Leftist activities that he and his brother were involved in.[40] She believes that although being Jewish may have factored in on his abduction, it was not the sole reason. According to Juana, many Jews, such as her son, were participants in Leftist politics; therefore, as a result many innocent Jews were also seen as being a threat and were deemed automatically an enemy of Argentina. This led to fear amongst Jewish communities because anyone could be marked as a potential enemy. While singling out an already disliked minority group, the Argentine government attempted to categorize all Jews under one branch of politics. Juana believes that since the Red Scare was sweeping the world, and Jews were often been unfairly connected to communism, it was a scary time being a Jew in any country that viewed Leftist thinking as threatening, as was the case in Argentina.[41]

These testimonies by Jewish sources give credibility to the accusation that the military government throughout the years 1976-83 openly discriminated against Jews. A few explanations given as to why Jews in Argentina were heavily discriminated by the

military is because of the abundance of anti-Semitic beliefs in Argentinean society, a predisposition that Jews posed a threat to their power, and simply because the Jews were not seen as being genuinely Argentinean. Therefore, targeting Jews whether involved with Leftist politics or not could be favorable in order to dismiss any disruption to their dictatorship. According to Sergio Starlik, the military investigators were watchful about the activities of Jewish organizations, sports clubs, synagogues, and the overall Jewish community in Argentina. [42] One must wonder why Chile, a country also ruled by a right-wing military leader who loathed communists, did not see Jews as a threat, while in Argentina, where Jews consisted of only one percent of the country's population, ten percent of the people who disappeared were Jews. [43]

In the Israeli government supported-article "El Terrorismo de estado en 1976-1983 sobre el transcurso de la política argentina en el siglo XX," by Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, there is additional evidence that Jews were subjugated to more excruciating treatment once taken captive by military forces. The article describes how Jews were sentenced to "special treatment", something that other victims who were mentioned earlier also verify. The article also states that during these "special" torturing sessions, the Argentine officers would sing Nazi songs in order to aggravate the Jewish prisoners.

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states that “durante las torturas , era llamado contantemente ‘judio bstardo’ y ‘judio de meirda’ y que me iban a matar porque era judio.” [46] Years later in 1996, Siderman was triumphant in wining a legal battle against Argentina in which the country was forced to pay him six million U.S. dollars due to the suffering he survived.

Other examples in this in-depth project which portray Jews being mistreated are the first hand account of Pedro Miguel Vanrall, and the confession of a former Argentine officer. When Pedro Miguel Vanrell reflects upon his horrid memories about being detained, he

The Jews of Argentina, on the other hand were not granted the freedom of being accepted as Argentinean citizens because of their religious background. All Jews were suspected of working with Leftists to try and take over the government. While under Argentine investigation, Jews were given a “special” treatment, which included being humiliated by forcing them to pay homage to portraits of Hitler. Also, according to survivors like Jacobo Timmerman, Jewish women received far worse sexual abuse than did Christian women. The Jewish communities as an entity were forced to stand on guard and be cautious of the military.

The military in Argentina forced the Jews to live in daily fear due to their religion. Their alleged political beliefs were not the only causes for arrests, but their ethnicity also instigated the military to harass and bully the Jews to such extremity, as the testimonies make clear. They were an insignificant portion of the population, yet seemed to be over represented among those who were questioned and given brutal treatment. Anti-Semitism had long been a part of Argentine governments, and the ruling powers of 1976-83 did not and see any reason to alter past policies on the Jews. In Chile, Pinochet made a strong push to renounce any anti-Semitism that may have existed within government ministers. He made an effort to demonstrate his support for Jewish communities by visiting them on the High Holidays. He even demonstrated his good will to the Jewish people by being very supportive and admiring of the State of Israel. One can observe that although the political regimes of Chile and Argentina may have been

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de Waisberg, Reina Esses. Personal interview via electronic. September 9, 2001.

- [24] Goren, Rabbi Uri. Personal interview in person. October 11, 2005
- [25] Luis Fleischman. "Pinochet-good for the Jews, tragedy for human rights."
- [26] Simón Caro. "Fue antisemita la dicadura de Pinochet." Unknown Source. (January 22, 1999): <http://puntofinal.cl/990122/intertext.html> October 12,2005
- [27] Timmerman, Jacobo. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number.(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981).
- [28] Timmerman, Jacobo. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number.168
- [29] Timmerman, Jacobo. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number. 71
- [30] Timmerman, Jacob. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number. 71
- [31] Timmerman, Jacob. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number. 70
- [32] Timmerman, Jacob. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number. 131-132
- [33] Timmerman, Jacob. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number.66
- [34] Timmerman, Jacob. Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a number. 143
- [35] Israel: Comison Israeli por los Desaparecidos Judios en Argentina. Minister of Exterior Relations and Minister of Justice. Jerusalem: date is unknown.
- [36] Strejilevich, Nora. Personal interview via electronic. September 10, 2001.
- [37] Strejilevich, Nora. Personal interview via electronic. September 10, 2001. This

called what you used to be called, listen, never pronounce your name. Now you will be called Z-65.”

[46] Israel. Informe sobre la situacion de los detenidos-desaparecidos judios durante el geocidio perpetrado en Argentina. In translation this means “during the torturing, I was called constantly ‘Jewish bastard’ and ‘piece of shit Jew’, and they would tell me I was going to die because I am Jewish.”

[47] Israel. Informe sobre la situacion de los detenidos-desaparecidos judios durante el geocidio perpetrado en Argentina.

[48] Israel. Informe sobre la situacion de los detenidos-desaparecidos judios durante el geocidio perpetrado en Argentina. The translation is “ towards the Jews we applied all types of tortures but especially sadistic and cruel: the recto scope, which would consist of a tube would be placed inside the anus of the victims, or in the vagina of the women, and inside the tube a rat would be put inside.”

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and his vile paper; the actions brought against him; and most importantly, his duplicity must be examined.

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citizens were attracted to Mr. Rivington's newspaper based on its claim of neutrality and non-

The next day, Rivington received a rather cordial letter from Holt himself. Holt implored, as a fellow printer, that Rivington disclose the name of the author of the remarks. [16] Holt also expressed his disapproval of Rivington's actions, "...Mean while I would just hint to you—that I do not think your publishing such an abusive Piece of Scurrility against me, is justified either by the Nature of the Printing Business, or any Part of my Conduct towards you—on the Contrary, I have refused to publish several Things merely because they contained Reflections upon you, tho' much less exceptionable than these..." [17] However, Holt may have made himself out to look far more innocent than he actually was. Holt was the printer of one of the most popular, widely read patriot newspapers. So it is with no surprise that these two men would take to their presses to insult one another. Ashbel Green recalled from his youth that these two men would incessantly hurl insults at one another and make statements in their respective papers against the other, whether the statements were true or not. [18] But, the scope of individuals Rivington infuriated was not limited to fellow printers.

Major-General Charles Lee could only describe Rivington's paper using one word, "insulting." [19] Lee was never personally attacked in Rivington's paper; however, being a leader in the patriot cause, Lee had a problem with Rivington's overall message and ideals. Lee proposes in a letter written to Benjamin Rush, "...that the miscreant Rivington is suffer'd to heap insult upon insult on the Congress with impunity." [20] Lee even stresses that Rivington, "...has now advertis'd tea to be sold—for God's sake..." [21] After the Boston Tea Party, for Patriots, selling, consuming, or purchasing tea was out of the question for member of the Patriot cause. But, Rivington was already a clearly established Loyalist. Lee's statement indicates that he had no concern for Rivington's Loyalist beliefs or political freedom.

Although Major-General Lee spoke of Rivington being a fearless printer who would print without regard, Rivington would eventually pay for his partisan publications. In a broadside released to the public on November 16, 1774, a letter from ten citizens of Baltimore, Maryland, that was sent to Rivington on November 5, 1774, stated that although they had been encouragers of Rivington's *Independent Advertiser*, they no longer wanted to receive the *Independent Advertiser*. [22] They expressed their sincere unhappiness about reading that his paper now contained political comments regarding the unfortunate dispute between England and the Colonies.

Rivington would soon be sorry for taking this publication so lightly. But, why should not Rivington have been able to print his beliefs and his reactions to this effigy without fear


Isaac Sears, not satisfied with this attempt at apology, took his revenge a step further. On November 23, 1775, Sears accomplished what he had set out to do when he first wrote to Rivington. [48] Eyewitness Thomas Jones claimed that no notice was taken of the large number of people gathered in front of his press because it was in a public location. [49] Jones watched as Isaac Sears, Alexander McDougal, Peter R. Livingston, John Smith, Joshua Hett Smith, and other principal leaders of the New York mobility entered Rivington's press, demolished his printing apparatus, destroyed parts of his types, and carried off the remainder of his types. [50] On that fateful day, approximately two hundred men entered Rivington's house and burned it to the ground. [51] All the types that were stolen by the Sons of Liberty were later melted down and used to make bullets. [52] Rivington, realizing that his life was truly in danger, packed up and took his family back to England, out of the reach of the Sons of Liberty.

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In 1777, Rivington returned to New York to begin printing and circulating his Gazetteer. [53] However, the Gazetteer would no longer carry the "Loyal" title of the paper he published before he fled to England. He now published his paper with the authority of the King of England. He had been granted a Royal commission as printer to the King and received a payment of one hundred pounds per year. [54]

The question of when exactly Rivington was propositioned and agreed to become a spy is not clear. This is a question that historians still do not have an universally accepted answer to, but it is highly debated given the other factual evidence that is available.

Although knowing Rivington's past is critical to understanding why he became a spy, it is also key to examine his life as a spy. Historians may not know when he became a spy, but they certainly do know how he was able to live a life as a Patriot spy.

George Washington Parke Custis, step-grandson of General George Washington, proposes, in his memoirs, that if anyone was to be suspected of espionage, Rivington would be the last man suspected, "...and had suspicion arose, the king's printer would probably have been the last man suspected, for during the whole of his connection with the secret service his  literally piled abuse of every sort upon the American general an the cause of America." [55] Although Rivington would be the last man suspected of being a spy, he had the perfect means if he were to spy on the British for General Washington. For when he returned from England in 1777 and rebuilt his press, he added a coffee shop to his printing complex. [56] This shop quickly became a popular meeting place for high-ranking officers of the British military. The secrets he

heard in his coffee shop would eventually be passed on to George Washington, whom he was very well acquainted with.

It was not terribly secret that Rivington was corresponding with Washington. In a letter from William Hooper to James Iredell, Hooper clearly tells Iredell that, "...Rivington has

Governor Tryon. Although most governors never accused citizens of seditious libel, since in most political climates the accused would end up being acquitted by the jury, Rivington would not be able to easily win a case of libel against him. If the jury was composed of Tories, he would have been found guilty. If the jury was made up of Patriots, even though he was insulting the British army and not the Patriot army, he would have been found guilty.

Crary's theories behind Rivington's decision to become a Patriot spy also seem to be misleading. Crary states that Rivington was experiencing financial difficulties by 1779, and so he took the job so he could make enough money to take care of his eight children.^[75] This theory can be refuted by the testimony of Custis. Custis states that any spy for his grandfather "was a dog cheap bargain."^[76] Although this could mean that no matter what it cost to employ Rivington he was worth it. However, for all the risks Rivington would have to take in order to spy for Washington, it would be illogical for him to ris

- [28] ~~16~~ - ~~16~~ #105 (April 20, 1775).
- [29] Hall, ~~16~~, 75-77.
- [30] New York Historical Society, ~~16~~, 143-144.
- [31] ~~16~~ ~~16~~, #70 (August 18, 1774).
- [32] Ibid.
- [33] ~~16~~, #72 (September 2, 1774).
- [34] Ibid.
- [35] Ibid.
- [36] Ibid.
- [37] ~~16~~, #73 (September 8, 1774).
- [38] Ibid.
- [39] It is a common belief that the letter written by "A Merchant of New York" was actually written by Rivington himself and he used the name New York Merchant as a pseudonym.
- [40] Morton Pennypacker, ~~16~~, (New York: 1939) 5.
- [41] Ibid.
- [42] Philip Ranlet, ~~16~~ (Knoxville: 1986) 59. Myles Cooper was the current president of King's College.
- [43] Ibid.
- [44] Pennypacker, ~~16~~, 5.
- [45] Peter Force, ~~16~~, ~~16~~, Vol. 2 Fourth Series (Washington: 1833) 836.
- [46] Broadside, Henry Remsen, ~~16~~ (New York: 1775).
- [47] Broadside, James Rivington, ~~16~~ (New York: 1775).
- [48] Pennypacker, ~~16~~, 5.
- [49] Thomas Jones, ~~16~~, ~~16~~, (New York: 1968) 66.
- [50] Ibid.
- [51] Ibid.
- [52] Pennypacker, ~~16~~, 6.
- [53] Ibid.
- [54] Ibid.
- [55] Custis, ~~16~~, 295.
- [56] Cray, ~~16~~ 68.

[57]Griffith J. McRee, ~~1911~~

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, (New York: 1949) 84.

James Iredell was a lawyer in North Carolina, who eventually became a Supreme Court Justice. William Hooper was also a lawyer in North Carolina who was appointed as a Federal judge, but only served one year due to illness.

[58]George Washington, ~~1911~~

~~1911~~

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, (Washington: 1931) Vol. 27, 9.

[59]Ibid.