

Reviews of Books

THE JEWISH PEOPLE, PAST AND PRESENT, Vol. IV —
300 YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES.
New York: Jewish Encyclopedic Handbooks, Inc. 1955. ix, 280 pp.
\$10.00

Even in this age of specialization and collaborative scholarship, *300 Years of Jewish Life in the United States* commands attention. The fourth volume of *The Jewish People, Past and Present*, it rests on the labors of a five-man editorial board, a six-man board of editors, one executive director, two literary editors, five translators, and eleven contributors. Also worthy of mention is the Marstin Press, which has manufactured a dignified yet handsome book.

Anita Libman Lebeson sets the stage with a fifty-five-page "History of the Jews in the United States," and then follow chapters by Jacob Lestschinsky, "Economic and Social Development of American Jewry"; Jacob Agus, "Current Movements in the Religious Life of American Jewry"; Philip Friedman, "Political and Social Movements and Organizations"; H. L. Lurie, "Jewish Communal Life in the United States"; Mark Wischnitzer, "The Impact of American Jewry on Jewish Life Abroad"; Samuel Niger, "Yiddish Culture in the United States"; J. K. Mikliszanski, "Hebrew Literature in the United States"; Abraham Menes, "The Jewish Labor Movement"; Max D. Danish, "The Jewish Labor Movement — Facts and Prospects"; and Joshua Trachtenberg, "American Jewish Scholarship."

The expenditure of such effort, talent, and money makes it exceedingly unpleasant to report that *Three Hundred Years* falls short of the mark. Neither in format nor in data will it do as an encyclopedia; and it lacks the unity, organization, and perspective to qualify as a synthesis. Indeed, in view of the wealth of editorial talent, one is surprised that there is no introduction to pull the volume together, apart from a perfunctory preface by the publishers. The result is a hodgepodge of facts (frequently undigested) and

essays of varying quality (often repeating each other) resting on the tired and old idea that Jews are interesting simply because they are Jews.

The first chapter is the worst offender in this respect, and should prove — if it needs further proof — that “ancestor-on-the-brain” is not sufficient cause to break into print. The usual kind of name-dropping ethnic history, it consists largely of disconnected vignettes of famous Jews from Christopher Columbus (Columbus is presented as one who acted suspiciously Jewish) to Emma Lazarus. Mrs. Lebeson serves no good historical purpose by ending her account with Miss Lazarus, any more than she does in resurrecting Morris Jacob Raphall, the Bible-quoting, pro-slavery New York rabbi who is somehow significant because he “made a wartime journey to Washington to ask Lincoln to promote his son from a second to a first lieutenancy, a request which the President granted without hesitation.” Mrs. Lebeson’s hortatory prose goes with her material, as do the interspersed pictures of the Statue of Liberty, the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, George Washington, Rebecca Gratz, and other saints in the American Jewish hagiography.

The volume as a whole suffers from the failure properly to relate Jewish history to American history. Thus Philip Friedman mangles the Know-Nothing Movement, its dates, its purposes, its causes, its principal events, and its impact on American Jews. His notes show no evidence that he has read the standard accounts of this outburst of nativism in the United States. Similarly, the chapters on intellectual history, although full of interesting detail, are unrelated to the intellectual histories of other Americans, and are little better than narrowly conceived bibliographical essays. As important, the period before 1890 is so slighted that one misses the significant shifts in the past and feels that one is reading current events rather than history. And far too often America is divided conveniently but unrealistically into Jews and the “general American population,” whereas it should have been emphasized throughout the volume that the Jews are one of the many immigrant groups that settled and make up America. If one is to write about American Jews in particular, and not about Jews in general, then America with all its complexity and diversity must get into the story.

There are exceptions, happily, to these common weaknesses. Abraham Menes raises interesting questions about the uniqueness of Jewish trade unionism in the American labor movement; Jacob Agus is on firm ground in calling attention to the pragmatic and moralistic bent in American religions; and Jacob Lestschinsky does the best that one can with the limited statistics on the economic adjustment of Jews as compared to other ethnic groups. None of these men, however, is original in his conclusions. The most imaginative and stimulating of the essays is the one by H. L. Lurie on communal life. Mr. Lurie's insights are perceptive, and he ranges creatively into related areas.

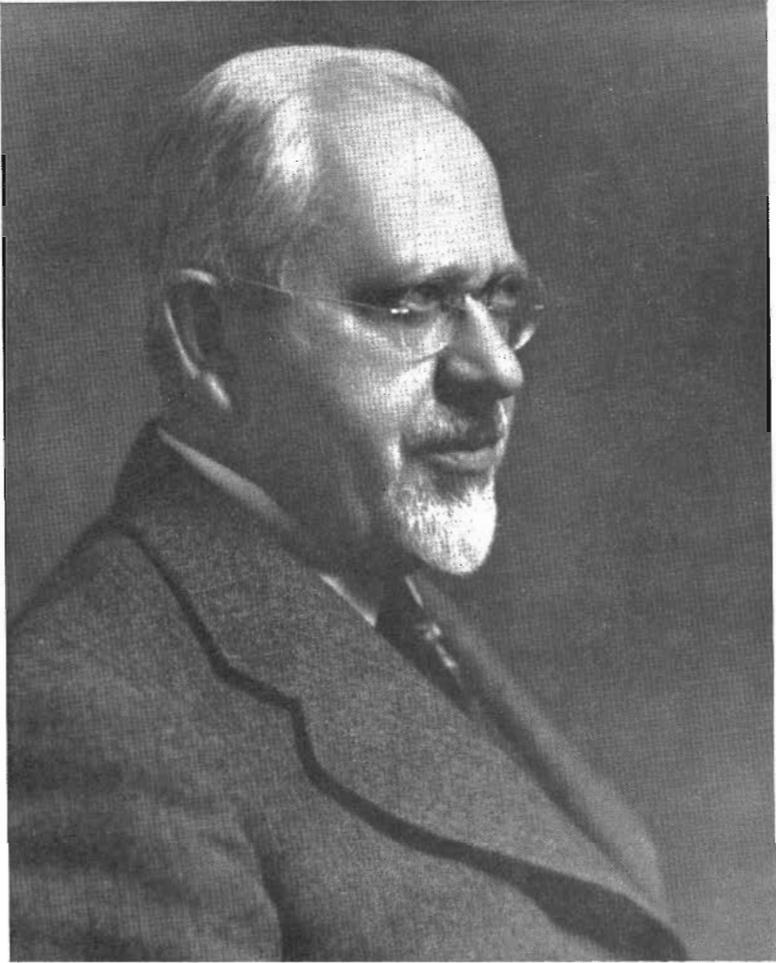
More than a quarter century has passed since Marcus L. Hansen opened immigration history as a field for historical research. The harvest has been meager, and it will continue to be so until immigration history rises above narrow racial pride and comprehends the total social process. Only in this way will we come to understand both the unique and general characteristics of each of the nation's varied ancestral groups. All this Hansen understood in the 1920's, and that his warnings and advice need to be repeated at this time is all the more a pity.

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ARTHUR MANN

ADVENTURE IN FREEDOM — THREE HUNDRED YEARS
OF JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA. By Oscar Handlin.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1954. ix, 282 pp.
\$3.75

Oscar Handlin's *Adventure in Freedom* is a perplexing book. It is perplexing because it reveals a paradoxical approach: on the one hand, the sharp, pointed insights of a talented historian; on the other, the tract-like compilations of a journalist. The Handlin of the earlier chapters is strangely out of joint with the Handlin of the later chapters. Whereas Handlin's treatment of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is marked by a critical and discerning eye for major structural changes, he envelops the problems of the twentieth century in a haze of impressionism and in a mist of chatter.



MORDECAI M. KAPLAN
Founder of Reconstructionism
(see p. 54)

The analytical Handlin has made a valuable contribution towards our understanding of the patterning of American Jewish history, especially in the nineteenth century. He makes vividly clear that the immigration of the Jews to this country is directly related to the development of capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe. He clearly demonstrates that it was the breakup of the old economic, social, and political order which impelled both Jews and non-Jews to move. He demonstrates that German Jews did not emigrate in large numbers until the nineteenth century, although the conditions of the Jews in Germany were very bad in the eighteenth. They did not move until the basic agricultural economy had been disrupted by the rise of capitalism. He furthermore shows that East European Jews did not emigrate until the Polish and Russian economy was likewise dislocated. Handlin thus makes clear that the sources of emigration are not to be looked for primarily in persecution or even in poverty, but in the shattering of an economic structure in which the Jews had had their place.

Handlin likewise clarifies the pattern of Jewish settlement in the United States in the nineteenth century, by placing it in the framework of a society expanding rapidly westward. Jewish immigrants are swept up by this pattern and they follow close on the heels of the immigrant and native farmer as distributors of commodities. The Jew thus easily becomes an enterprising peddler, merchant, and shopkeeper, and ultimately settles down in the burgeoning urban centers of the South and the Middle West. During this phase there is no need to prod the Jew to leave the eastern seaboard, for the beacon of opportunity beckons him from the interior.

The East European Jews, however, come onto the scene after the westward expansion has used up the free land and after the process of initial middle-western urbanization has already taken place. The opportunities for immigrants are now restricted to factory work or to the supplying of the consumption needs of vast metropolises. The Jews thus conform to the limits set by the economy, and they either tend the machine or they become peddlers, storekeepers, or jobbers in the very big cities. They do not move to the West in any large numbers because the economic pattern has changed in the course of the years.

Thus Handlin himself conclusively shows that the major developments in American Jewish history are themselves the consequences of major changes within the economy both in Europe and in this country. How is it, then, that the Handlin who writes of the post-World War I years no longer considers such changes to be of value or concern? Those forces to which he attributes such great significance in the nineteenth century did not come to an end. The economic changes in Europe in the twentieth century, especially in Poland and in the Balkans, had effects very similar to those which disrupted populations in the nineteenth century. Nor did the economy in the United States stand still. By the end of World War I the economy of the United States was no longer capable of absorbing large numbers of immigrants, and for this reason immigration was restricted by law. When, therefore, displaced populations in Europe need to emigrate, but at the same time economic developments elsewhere in the world *preclude* immigration, then the surplus population stays where it is, and, in the case of the Jews, ultimately suffers annihilation. Had Handlin continued the analytical method of the early chapters, he would have been forced to drive this truth home. Yet so far has Handlin strayed from his analytical approach that he does not even see restrictive immigration acts as a demand of the economy, but only as a reaction to fear of foreigners (pp. 202-4)! Indeed, restrictive immigration is seen as a cause of the depression (p. 204)! And by 1952 the Jews remaining in Eastern Europe are not even seeking to come here (p. 257)!

It is truly amazing that the development of the American economy after 1914 and its complete transformation of the class structure of American Jewry are ignored by Handlin. Many pages are devoted to Jewish merchants in the eighteenth century, and to Jewish peddlers, manufacturers, department store owners, and proletarians in the nineteenth century, but not even a full page to the economic transformation of the Jews in the twentieth. We are merely reassured that Jewry has become middle class, but Handlin makes no effort to describe the process, or to assess its vast implications.

Handlin's treatment of the twentieth century thus represents a flight from analysis. This flight is most vividly apparent in two aspects of Handlin's methodology: (1) his periodization of Amer-

ican Jewish history after 1880; and (2) his treatment of anti-Semitism.

No historian can escape the problem of periodization, and the periodization which he adopts reveals the essence of the historian's method. Through periodization the historian conveys to the reader his assessment of that which dominates, or organizes, or gives meaning and coherence to a segment of time.

The early chapters follow a conventional periodization long recognized by American historians, but beginning with 1880 a significant change occurs. A chapter on anti-Semitism is inserted immediately after Chapter Seven, "Americanization: 1880-1920." Yet the chapter on anti-Semitism covers the time span 1890 to 1941. This is truly perplexing in view of the fact that the history of the Jewish community from 1919 to 1941 has not yet been narrated!

What undergirds anti-Semitism during the period 1880 to 1941? What central theme does it enclose? What insight does this periodization give us as to the processes at work? Why, if no unifying theme is intended, does it end in 1941, and not in 1954? Surely anti-Semitism in the 1930's was far from being identical with that which flourished in the 1890's! Handlin has forcibly extracted anti-Semitism from the historical processes and has treated it as though it were a thing in itself. Such a periodization obstructs any attempt to see anti-Semitism as dynamically related to the changes occurring within society. This is even more apparent when an analysis of the chapter shows that no effort is made to break down this period into smaller units of time related to changes within the structure of American society.

The same criticism can be leveled at Handlin's periodization of the succeeding two chapters. These chapters are "The Reordering of Jewish Communal Life: 1920-1954" and "The Sources of Stability: 1920-1954." During these years American Jews passed through a series of widely divergent phenomena: the post-World War I Reaction, the Great Prosperity, the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War. Each of these major configurations had a significant impact on the reordering of Jewish life and on the sources of stability. Handlin's overextended periodization produces only a blur, for even within these chapters there is no

attempt at treating each of these phenomena as a unit. It is paradoxical that as Handlin comes nearer to the present, where clarity is so crucial a matter for his readers, he dissolves distinctness in the fuzziness of facts thrown together haphazardly.

A similar flight from analysis is evident in Handlin's treatment of anti-Semitism. It has already been pointed out that Handlin's periodization, 1890 to 1941, obscures the significance of the phenomenon. Handlin's actual treatment of the phenomenon makes it clear that the periodization was no accident. The closer Handlin comes to the present, the less space he devotes to anti-Semitism. Twenty-seven pages (pp. 174-201) are devoted to anti-Semitism prior to 1914, and *nine* pages to anti-Semitism from 1918 to 1941 — the years which witnessed not only Henry Ford and the *Dearborn Independent*, but also the legal restrictions on immigration, the spread of the quota system, and the popularity of Father Coughlin! The Leo M. Frank case, which affected the Jews adversely in only one state, is given two pages (pp. 200-201), while Henry Ford is given *one sentence* (p. 203), and Father Coughlin *one paragraph* (pp. 208-9)! At the end of the book the McCarran-Walter Act is opposed by the Jews, not because it affected them as a group, but because "its monstrous racist provisions grossly contravened the ideals of justice and human equality" (p. 257), as if any other "race" had ever been subjected to annihilation! The significance of the Walter-McCarran Act is precisely that its racist provisions did not prevent its passage through Congress, nor have such provisions led to its quick repeal!

Handlin can achieve this amazing disproportion only because he does not see anti-Semitism as a phenomenon linked inextricably to the patterns of change within society. He minimizes its significance because he considers the anti-Semitic charges as shopworn, patently false, the sort of propaganda that appeals to the uncritical or to the gullible (cf. pp. 202-3, 208). He shrugs aside the problem because he cannot understand how anyone could believe such stupid nonsense. However, any serious student of anti-Semitism in its historical manifestations knows that the false, stupid, and shopworn character of the propaganda is no protection against its effectiveness when a society is undergoing major stresses and strains. Anti-Semitism

waxes and wanes in direct relationship to economic *and* social stability. The first major anti-Semitic outbreak in this country occurred in conjunction with the farm crisis of the 1880's and 1890's. When this crisis was overcome, anti-Semitism was dormant until the years of uncertainty which followed the end of World War I. The prosperity of the latter 1920's once again weakened anti-Semitism, but the Great Depression unleashed it with an intensity never known before. World War II and the continuation of full employment and prosperity since then have effectively kept anti-Semitic tendencies in check.

This, of course, does not mean that anti-Semitism completely disappears even in the relatively stable times, but it does most definitely mean that it can be effective only in times of crisis. In such times it achieves a success commensurate with the intensity of the crisis and with the adequacy of the steps taken to meet the crisis. Anti-Semitic propaganda at such times is effective not because it is true, but because it appears to give a satisfactory explanation of why breakdown has occurred. The ability to link Jews with international finance on the one hand and with international communism on the other is the crucial reason for the success of anti-Semitism in the crises of our own day. The power and the frightening success of outworn clichés are starkly attested by the annihilation of millions of Jews. Fraudulent assertions are so potent that the Soviet regime does not hesitate to spread the falsehood of international Jewish power whenever its crisis-ridden structure is endangered.

An analysis of *Adventure in Freedom* thus reveals two Handlins: the sober, keen, and critical Handlin who pierces the surface phenomena in the search for meaningful explanations and vital correlations, and the chatty, optimistic, and naive Handlin who parades the surface phenomena as though powerful structural realities did not exist. The latter Handlin may succeed in reassuring the Jews of our day, but the former Handlin might have armed them with understanding.

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QUESTIONS JEWS ASK: RECONSTRUCTIONIST ANSWERS. By Mordecai M. Kaplan. *New York: The Reconstructionist Press. 1956. xv, 532 pp. \$4.75*

What is original about this volume is not so much its contents, which, in one form or another, we have encountered before, both in the writings of Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan and in the pages of *The Reconstructionist*. But the presentation is something new in modern Jewish theological literature. By choosing the "Questions and Answers" method as his medium, Dr. Kaplan provides us with a twentieth-century link in the long chain of *responsa* literature. Yet here we immediately notice a difference. Theological questions were not altogether unknown in the *responsa* of the past (it suffices to recall that Maimonides, too, contributed to this branch of literature), but problems of a ceremonial and legal nature had an overwhelming preponderance. Kaplan's "responsa," on the other hand, while likewise devoted in some instances to ritual practice and the practical aspects of Jewish life, deal first and foremost with the ideological content of Judaism.

This in itself is evidence, if evidence were needed, that the old way of life, which accounted for the legal questions dealt with in the earlier *responsa*, has been left behind, and that the questions asked by the modern American Jew are much more likely to be concerned with the "why" of Jewish observance and of Jewish identification than with the "how" of concrete ritual practice. Reconstructionism arose by way of answering this "why," asked by a generation which could no longer take Jewish self-identification as a matter of course, and whose thinking in the categories of modern thought precluded its wholehearted acceptance of traditional Jewish belief.

Reconstructionism was not, of course, the first answer to be given. Reform Judaism preceded it by about a century, and to a certain extent, though it seems to have been more concerned with tradition than with theology, Conservative Judaism, too, must be recognized as an attempt to answer the same problem. But if, as it has rightly been said, Conservative Judaism is simply the "Reform Judaism" of the Eastern European immigrant, what are we to make of Reconstructionism, which historically is an offshoot of the Con-

servative movement? Is it merely an attempt to speed up the time-lag (of some sixty odd years) that separates Conservatism from Reform, or does it perhaps represent an advance even over the latter? Both parts of this question may be answered in either the affirmative or the negative, depending only upon whom one asks.

It is undoubtedly true that Reconstructionism represents a closer approximation to certain fundamental planks in the Reform platform than would be acceptable to the more traditional element within the Conservative movement. "What is right about Reform," says Kaplan (p. 439), "is its acceptance of evolution, its recognition of the historic processes by which Judaism changes in response to changing conditions, and yet retains its identity, by virtue of the sense of historic continuity." But, from the Reconstructionist point of view, there is also a great deal wrong with Reform, particularly with Reform in its more "classical" formulations so lacking in appreciation for Jewish national aspirations and "the secular aspects of Jewish culture."

Basically, Kaplan's dissatisfaction with Reform stems from the latter's God-centered interpretation of Jewish life and destiny. While the piety of the ghetto was, as the late Dr. Leo Baeck has pointed out, a *Milieu-Frömmigkeit*, which was liable to disintegrate the moment the individual was removed from that particular environment, Reform endeavored to make it possible for the Jew, *qua* Jew, to step out into the world. As a consequence, the emphasis shifted from what Kaplan called the "*sancta* of the group" to the religious convictions of the individual. To the extent to which Reform managed to build up Jewish life in America, as it were *de novo*, enabling the individual Jew in isolated communities to remain conscious of his religious distinctiveness, while in all other respects identifying himself with the world around him, Reform's endeavor must be pronounced successful.

But Kaplan is writing out of a different context. He is writing after the mass immigration from Eastern Europe had taken place, and he sees Judaism in terms of *milieu*. Moreover, he finds that neither religious beliefs nor ritual observances can be described as factors which bind all Jews. For there is no single belief and no single observance which is shared by *all* people calling themselves "Jews."

(Kaplan himself has departed significantly from the traditional Jewish belief in God.) The common denominator, therefore, is "peoplehood." Judaism is a "civilization" of which religion is only a part, albeit a significant one. The individual Jew can "fulfill himself" only through the "civilization" of his "people." Yet the concept of "peoplehood" must not be taken to imply the consequences which the more rabid nationalists would derive from it. American Jews owe no political allegiance to the State of Israel, and Kaplan emphatically champions the right of Diaspora Judaism to exist vis-à-vis the Israeli "negators of the diaspora." And so we find Kaplan walking precariously on a tightrope stretched between the extreme poles of "classical" Zionism and "classical" Reform. Unfortunately for Kaplan, the only analogies which he can find for his concept of Jewish peoplehood are the setups of the Roman Catholic Church and, to a lesser extent, of the Protestant denominations, which is, after all, precisely what "classical" Reform claimed, without beclouding the issue by harping on the theme of "peoplehood."

In the past, the Jew would not have worried so much about precise definitions of his status and the finding of suitable analogies. It was sufficient for him to know that his position was unique, because Israel was the Chosen People of God. But Kaplan rejects the idea of the Chosen People.

However, reading between the lines, one discovers that Kaplan's "people" is more of an ideal than a reality. The upbuilding of the State of Israel, which assumes such a central importance in Kaplan's scheme of things, is seen in the proper perspective once we realize that it is about the only thing which all members of Kaplan's Jewish People could do together. And when Kaplan outlines a grandiose scheme for representatives of all of world Jewry to get together in order to reconstitute themselves as a "people," he virtually admits that the "people" of Reconstructionism is as little a present reality as is, in his view, the "religious brotherhood" of Reform.

Kaplan's "Reconstructionist Answers" are, therefore, likely to appeal primarily to the Jew who, though emancipated from the faith of his fathers, has never left the (transplanted) Jewish environment, and who is consequently looking for some rationale of his emotional

"Jewishness." These answers are less likely to appeal to, say, a third-generation Reform Jew, who, incidentally, must be quite surprised to be told that the "Jewishness" of his religion is determined by his adherence to the *sancta*, rather than by the nature of his beliefs and convictions.

Yet Reconstructionism arose primarily to satisfy the needs of a third type of Jew, the unaffiliated Jew on the road to total assimilation. One wonders if such a person, who remains undeterred by considerations of loyalty to the God of the fathers, and who finds cultural satisfaction outside of the Jewish Tradition, will be won over (and won over to what?) when he is told that he has a "moral obligation" to work for the survival of the Jewish People, if not through the synagogue, then at least by means of Israeli dances.

In other words, seeing that the "people" itself must first be "reconstituted," is there any need for such a "people" other than in either the nationalistic or the theological terms with which we are already familiar? Kaplan, who is fond of analogies, reminds us of earlier "covenants" which inaugurated new epochs in Jewish history, the covenants of Moses and of Ezra. The latter, however, should give Kaplan pause to think. For that "covenant" reconstituted Israel in terms of an *ecclesia*, the "congregation of Israel" being identical with "the congregation of the Lord." Where this identity is rejected — and it is implicitly rejected in Kaplan's denial of the Chosen People and the Mission of Israel — it is hard to see how, in the long run, an apotheosis of nationalism can be avoided.

For while at a superficial glance Kaplan's rejection of the mission of Israel may make him appear very liberal and modern, the fact remains that where, as in Reform Judaism, the doctrine of the Chosen People is maintained, we are dealing with a universalistic concept of religion. Where, on the other hand, the doctrine is rejected, we see the path cleared, not at all to a more broad-minded understanding of the Jewish heritage and the *raison d'être* of Jewish existence, but, on the contrary, for a return to tribalism, and to that outgrown stage of early Israelitish religion, before the time of the great prophets, when Jewish peoplehood, like every other peoplehood, was conceived of in terms of "blood and soil," and when religion had not yet transcended its concern with particular races and localities.

But, if Kaplan's schemes for the reconstitution of Jewish peoplehood do not sound too feasible, the book nevertheless creates the impression that Kaplan is very much, and very honestly, concerned with present-day Jewish realities in America. Typical of many of his "Reconstructionist Answers" is the one he gives to the following question: "If a Jewish boy has time to devote only to one organization, to which organization, a Boy Scout troupe or a Young Judea, should he belong?" (p. 333). After some hemming and hawing, and with the necessary qualifications stressing compliance with the Boy Scout movement's sponsorship of loyalty to religion, Kaplan comes out in favor of the Boy Scouts: "Inasmuch as, from an educational viewpoint, we must assume that the American Jewish child will continue to live in America, it would seem that, educationally, the Boy Scout movement would offer him more for his personal self-realization than would Young Judea" (p. 334).

A detailed index at the back helps to make this volume a convenient *vade mecum* of Reconstructionism.

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JAKOB J. PETUCHOWSKI

THE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF AMERICAN JEWS. By
Lawrence Fuchs. *Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press. 1956. 200 pp. \$4.00*

A study of the political behavior of American Jews has been a desideratum for quite some time. As a part of American Jewish history it is of basic importance, although its relationship to the totality of American political history is insignificant.

The title of this work is, unfortunately, misleading. It is a study of the political conduct of American Jews in certain geographic areas and within specific periods, rather than an overall picture, as the title implies. Beginning with the colonial period, which is disposed of in a page, the author states that "except in South Carolina, Jews in the colonies were not permitted to vote or hold office," and "Jews in New York could vote up to 1737." These are generalizations and do not tell a complete story. The names of Jews in New York are to be found on election rolls after 1737, and in South

Carolina, where they could *not* vote or hold office in the middle-eighteenth century, Francis Salvador held an appointive post on the eve of the Revolution. There is no proof that he was elected by a formal vote. Facts such as these are not easily ascertained, but if these were the only inaccuracies they could be overlooked. There are, unfortunately, other errors.

The treatment of the Federal period, where the author presents Jews as "Jeffersonians All," is the product of incomplete investigation and the use of unevaluated secondary materials. Dr. Fuchs declares emphatically: "There is no record of a single prominent Jewish opponent . . . to Jefferson." If Jews were solidly behind Jefferson, how then can one explain the support given to his opponents, the Federalists, by the wealthy Isaac Moses of New York, the powerful Gratzes of Philadelphia, and the influential Moses Myers of Norfolk, to cite only a few? All these men were prominent within and beyond Jewish circles, and at least one, Moses Myers, questioned the conduct of Jefferson. The majority of the Jews were his supporters, but it is impossible to accept the author's view that this support was monolithic. An examination of the contemporary press (1800-1812) will reveal the support given to the Federalists by many Jews. Nor can Reuben Etting, a Jeffersonian appointee to Federal office in Maryland, be described as "grown wealthy as founder of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad" (p. 29). He was a pensioner of his Federalist brother-in-law, Simon Gratz. Etting was neither wealthy nor a founder of the railroad — it was his brother Solomon, with whom he is confused. Reuben Etting actually ran for office on an independent (non-Jefferson) Philadelphia ticket in 1816, and on the eve of the election withdrew from the race.

To portray the activities of Jews in nineteenth-century politics, the author parades a number of officeholders on a local, state, and national level, but fails to mention many whose importance cannot be neglected in the scope of such a work: Jacob Henry of North Carolina, the Mosses and Phillippes of Philadelphia during the 1830's and 1840's, the Know-Nothing Naars of New Jersey a decade later, and Michael Seligson, the Orthodox Jewish mayor of Galveston, Texas, in 1853.

The political impact of the Civil War upon Jews, North and

South, is brushed over lightly, and the Reconstruction period is scarcely understood. The most influential Republican leader of the West, Edward Rosewater, of Omaha, Nebraska, is not mentioned, and neither is his son Victor, who became national chairman of the same party in 1912. Such a list should include also Isador Bush of Missouri and Simon Guggenheim of Colorado.

No attempt is made to compare the situation of the Jews in politics in the Midwest and Far West with the Jews of the East. The Western Jew was a part of the indigenous growth of that section, and from the beginning he was an integrated part of the new pioneering communities, participating actively in its political life. The crowded urban communities of the East, with their controlled political machinery, made it much more difficult for the Jewish newcomer to attain political recognition. Only the socially and financially well-established Jew could hope for political preferment in the East. In the West, the immigrant Jew did not fear competition from an immigrant German or Irishman; he was on the same level. Even the Yankee migrant accepted this new plane of political equality.

The sections of the book which deal with Jews as supporters of radical trends require further study. This is equally true of the political conduct of the Russian Jewish immigrant, whose treatment reveals an incomplete knowledge of the period. The motivations which lured an insignificant number of Jews to the anarchist movement, enticed them to the Socialists, or, later, allowed them to be duped by the Communists, are not even presented. Some of the Yiddish periodicals which served these ends, *Di Wahrheit*, *Di Arbeiter Zeitung*, *Di Zukunft*, *The Forward* in its early days, and the more recent *Freiheit*, were evidently not examined by the author.

In summarizing the "socialist tradition" among Jews, the author refers to an undocumented Department of Justice study of 1947 which purports to show that 56.5 per cent of the Communist Party membership was Russian-born. Does he mean to imply that they are Jews? Does the Department of Justice make such a statement? The belief that this older "socialist tradition" among Russian Jews has influenced political behavior among their descendants cannot be substantiated, and any conclusions built on that thesis are to be viewed with suspicion.

In the discussion of Jewish political alignments, the statement is made that "The Republicans joined Tammany and the Zionists joined the Communists in 1919 to beat [the socialist] Meyer London." The description of such strange political bedfellows should be documented. Without proof we must continue to believe that the Communists were without political power at that time, and that the Zionists were politically inactive.

In analyzing the national election of 1952, Dr. Fuchs brings much that is worthwhile to this study. The statistical tables in this section are valuable. The material on Boston, New York, and Chicago shows careful investigation and thoughtful interpretation. His views demonstrate a careful approach to this material. It indicates that the author's transition from historical material to sociological method has brought him to a field with which he is more familiar.

It is in the area of definition and interpretation that Dr. Fuchs is subject to criticism. The analysis of the "sources of Jewish internationalism and liberalism" is misleading, and lacks an understanding of the real causes of why Jews lean to liberalism. At no time is it clear what the author means by "internationalism." Does he mean what the Russians imply, the Henry Ford connotation, or interest in foreign affairs? The absence of a clear-cut definition of this term is not helpful.

The author's inattentiveness to spelling is disconcerting. One may attribute the misspelling of Benjamin Nones (Noanes), *The Occident* (Occidental), Lewis N. Dembitz (Dembritz), and Henry Hyams (Hyans) to typographical error or hasty proofreading, but when the name of Jacob H. Schiff is spelled as Shiff six successive times (pages 52-54), the student of the period is tempted to question the other sections of this work.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that there is no effective, united "Jewish vote" in the United States. Only when there arises an issue which can militate against them as Jews is there a chance that they will unite in an effort to vote against a specific candidate, but the areas where this is possible are relatively limited.

A definitive study of Jewish political behavior in the United States is yet to be written.

American Jewish Archives

MAXWELL WHITEMAN