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## AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

### I

For the past twenty-eight years, Nathan M. Kaganoff, Librarian of the American Jewish Historical Society, has been compiling for the society's journal a regular feature entitled "Judaica Americana," an annotated bibliography listing monographic and periodical literature in the field. The bibliography appears semi-annually, and serves as a barometer of how the study of American Jewish history has changed. Recently, I counted the number of items listed in this bibliography at five year intervals. The result bears out what many have surely suspected: that the number of publications in American Jewish history has grown by leaps and bounds.

#### Publications in American Jewish History<sup>1</sup>

1965	175
1970	155
1975	231
1980	289
1985	465
1989	515

This is not the only indication that American Jewish history has come of age. The availability of scholarly books in American Jewish history, the willingness of learned journals to accept articles in the field, the popularity of American Jewish history courses on college campuses across the nation, the burgeoning number of Ph.D.s, the establishment of major new chairs in American Jewish history at Columbia and Brandeis—all these reinforce the sense that the field has come a long way.

Yet, quantitative growth of this magnitude—232% in twenty years—is not an unmixed blessing. First of all, it is now well-nigh impossible to keep abreast of writings in American Jewish history. Where an earlier generation of scholars could literally read everything published in the field, that today is impossible. Even significant books and articles are easily overlooked. Second, scholars now face what may be an academic

corollary to Gresham's Law: bad scholarship drives out good. Glitzy volumes issued by commercial publishers and careless volumes published by academic presses perpetuate old errors and clog the marketplace. Meanwhile, important studies by young scholars go begging. Finally, and perhaps inevitably, the field is fragmenting. Since nobody can master more than a small portion of the available literature, scholars are forced increasingly to specialize in narrow sub-fields. Like professionals in so many other areas, they find themselves knowing more and more about less and less. Gone is the broader sense of the discipline as a whole.

These problems notwithstanding, the last decade has been an exciting one for American Jewish historians. Important gaps in our knowledge have been filled and our understanding of American Jewry's past (and thus implicitly of its present) has been substantially modified. Much remains to be done; still, this is a welcome opportunity to review what ten years have taught us.

## II

For a long time, students of American Jewish history focused on the colonial period. This was only natural since it was in the colonial period that American Jewish history began. But it was also a subtle apologetic: the aim was to demonstrate that American Jews had been part of America almost from the beginning; they were not merely "new immigrants." With the publication of Jacob R. Marcus's magisterial 1,650 page *The Colonial American Jew* (1970), the study of colonial Jewish history seemed, for a time, to have come to an end. Eschewing filiopietism, Marcus had made every effort, in his words, "to set forth the truth," hewing a path for himself "through a jungle of fact, half-fact, and ethnocentric schmoose." By the time he was done, there seemed nothing left to say.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1980s, however, two little noticed monographs suggested that the last word had, in fact, not been written on colonial-era Jews. The first, a stunning pamphlet by Lewis S. Feuer, told the story of Joachim Gaunse, "mining technologist and first recorded Jew in English-speaking North America." A brilliant Prague chemist who revolutionized England's copper smelting industry, Gaunse came to America in 1585 to serve as the metallurgist at Roanoke Island, Virginia, the ill-fated colony established by Sir Walter Raleigh. He stayed for less than a year, returned to England, and in 1589 was indicted as a Jew for blasphemy.<sup>3</sup> What makes his story particularly significant to American Jewish historians is the date of Gaunse's arrival in the New World—fully 69 years prior to the traditional "beginning" of American Jewish history in 1654. This serves as yet another reminder that American Jewry's founding myth—the famous story of the twenty-three Jewish refugees from Recife, Brazil

who sailed into the port of New Amsterdam and fought for religious liberty—is something less than unvarnished historical truth.<sup>4</sup>

The second noteworthy contribution to colonial American Jewish history was Robert Cohen's painstaking analysis of the "life cycle of the Jewish family in eighteenth century America."<sup>5</sup> Based on data from 498 early American Jewish families, Cohen showed that "Jews did not start limiting their families at the time when other Americans did." He explained the discrepancy on the basis of colonial Jews' distinctive urban and economic characteristics, as well as on their cultural heritage. Whether or not the explanation holds up, Cohen's discovery is significant for what it reveals about contemporary trends in American Jewish historical writing. Cohen asked new questions, based on his familiarity with the questions being asked by colonial American historians in general, and his research was comparative in nature, contrasting Jews with colonial New Englanders. Last but not least, his historical analysis had contemporary relevance. It offered those worried about the falling Jewish birthrate a broader historical understanding of the factors that have shaped Jewish demography in modern times.<sup>6</sup>

This concern with the historical background to contemporary issues has likewise informed recent studies of Jews in the next period of American Jewish life, stretching from the American Revolution to the large-scale migration of Central European Jews in the 1840s. This has traditionally been a dark period in American Jewish history, owing to a dearth of available source materials.<sup>7</sup> In the past decade, however, several studies have proposed that it was precisely in this period—a formative period in American history generally—that many of the basic contours of American Jewish life as we know it first took shape. Ira Rosenwaike, in his demographic study of this era, focusing on the year 1830, concluded that American Jewry, although still only 4000 strong, stood "on the edge of greatness." His study is important for its careful use of the manuscript census and available synagogue records, as well as for its conclusions regarding the composition of the American Jewish population—most immigrants came from England and Holland, not Germany—and of the "striking differences" that already distinguished individual American Jewish communities from one another.<sup>8</sup>

Using primary sources of a different kind, including secular newspapers and surviving correspondence, my biography of Mordecai M. Noah sought to explore the tensions faced by a Jew of this period who aspired to be a leader both in American politics and in Jewish communal life. It argued that the career of Noah, the best known American Jew of his day, could shed light both on the place of Jews in American life and on the central problems that Jews faced in an America composed largely of Christians.<sup>9</sup> The relationship of Jews and Christians has formed the basis of some of my later work as well, notably a series of articles in which

I concluded that the challenge posed by Christian missionaries beginning in 1816 played a major role in shaping and (paradoxically) strengthening the American Jewish community as a whole.<sup>10</sup> George L. Berlin, in a related book, explored how American Jews, through their writings on Christianity and Jesus, defined their relationship to American society and culture.<sup>11</sup> Looking at yet another aspect of Jewish-Christian relations, Morton Borden chronicled the Jewish struggle for religious equality in America, the historical background to the contemporary debate over what the “no establishment” and “free exercise” clauses of the First Amendment should mean.<sup>12</sup>

### III

By all accounts, the American Jewish community began to develop in a more serious way in the 1840s, when immigration increased and the first European-trained rabbis assumed pulpits in leading synagogues. Traditionally, this has been known as the German Period in American Jewish history—somewhat of a misnomer. In fact, besides coming from Germany, many Jews during this period immigrated from Poland, while others hailed from Lithuania, Hungary, France, Holland and England. These smaller immigration streams have only begun to be analyzed by scholars, and it will require a great deal more research to understand how they impacted on American Jewish history as a whole, and why their impact was, in time, forgotten. By contrast, the study of German Jews in America has experienced something of a boom in the past decade, following a long period of neglect. Naomi Cohen’s *Encounter With Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States 1830-1914*<sup>13</sup> is the first synthetic treatment of the subject, and it convincingly argues that it was the German Jews who “set the institutional framework and the codes of behavior that, with relatively few important qualifications, obtain today (p. xi).” Three other scholars—Jacob R. Marcus, Avraham Barkai, and Hasia Diner—will publish competing studies of German Jews in America in the coming decade. In a preliminary article, Barkai has indicated that he will look at German-Jewish emigration within the context of German Jewish history generally and compare the immigrants with those who stayed behind in Germany. He also argues, contrary to accepted wisdom, that German-Jewish immigration continued on long past 1870, and that in the ensuing four decades some 50,000-60,000 Jews from Germany emigrated to America’s shores.<sup>14</sup>

The central questions posed by recent historians of the “German Period” revolve around problems of identity and religion: What did it mean to be a Jew during this formative era in American Jewish life?

What distinguished Jews from non-Jews? What kind of Judaism did Jews practice? To answer these questions—which, by no coincidence, are the same kinds of questions that Jews in America today ask of themselves—some historians have focused on the German connection of German Jews, implying that it was this ethnocultural tie that was critical to Jews' identity. Stanley Nadel, a student of German-American immigration, goes so far as to argue that German Jews were completely Germanic in spirit, participating actively in German-American cultural life. The two German-American communities (Jewish and Protestant), he writes, were bound together in "an organic unity which lasted for generations"<sup>15</sup>—in other words, German-Jewish immigrants were as assimilated then as American Jews are now. Nadel's view, however, has been challenged. Avraham Barkai, for example, claims that the "German-Jewish symbiosis," to the extent that it existed at all, "came to an end before very long (p. 314)," due in part to German anti-Semitism. The Jewish tie, he indicates, proved in the end to be both more important and more long-lasting—again a message that is not without contemporary relevance.<sup>16</sup> Taking a middle ground, Michael A. Meyer argues that while "a specific German-Jewish identity" with close ties to German culture did emerge in America prior to the Civil War, by the 1870s it was already under attack "even by those German Jews in America who owed it the most." American Jewry, as it came of age, sought cultural independence, and that, Meyer shows, meant turning away from Germany—although Germany's influence, albeit in more muted form, continued to be felt in the community for several generations longer, distinguishing German Jews from immigrating East Europeans.<sup>17</sup>

Viewing identity from a different perspective, other historians have examined the relationship of Jews to the American environment, then overwhelmingly Protestant in character. A series of recent studies indicate that anti-Semitism and overt missionizing were much more common throughout the nineteenth century than generally believed, and that even thoroughly assimilated Jews like August Belmont and Judah Benjamin (both the subjects of important recent biographies) met with considerable prejudice on their road to success.<sup>18</sup> It follows from this account that no matter how assimilated nineteenth-century American Jews were, how many Christians they befriended, and even if they intermarried, they were never permitted to forget their religious roots. Studies of the key religion and state issues that affected Jews—equal rights violations, Sunday closing laws, school prayers, and more—confirm that Jews both perceived themselves and were perceived by others as members of a minority group denied "equal footing" in Protestant America.<sup>19</sup> While Jews experienced philo-Semitism as well as anti-Semitism, and were certainly better off than the vast majority of Jews around the world, historians appreciate better now than they ever did before the ambiguities

of the Jewish position and the ambivalence that other Americans felt toward them.<sup>20</sup>

Some of the most exciting recent work on the German period focuses on religious life—appropriately so, for it was during this period that Judaism underwent the radical transformation that reshaped it into the American Judaism that we have come to know. It was then that the traditional, unified synagogue-community broke down; modern religious pluralism, characterized by a multiplicity of competing ritually and ideologically divergent congregations, became the order of the day; and American Judaism gradually accommodated itself to the norms and spirit of American religion, as defined by the Protestant mainstream. Michael A. Meyer synthesizes many of these developments in the appropriate chapters of his *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, an award-winning survey of the history of Reform Judaism throughout the world. He shows more clearly than anyone has before how Reform Judaism responded to American conditions, and how America, in turn, reshaped Reform Judaism distinguishing it from Reform in other countries.<sup>21</sup> No parallel study of American Orthodox Judaism exists, but historians, perhaps influenced by Orthodoxy's contemporary resurgence, have become newly sensitive to the subject's significance. At least two important monographs on leading nineteenth-century Orthodox rabbis are in progress, Lance Sussman's biography of Isaac Leeser and Moshe Sherman's study of Bernard Illowy.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, there is a growing realization, adumbrated in Leon Jick's *The Americanization of the Synagogue*,<sup>23</sup> that the real story of nineteenth-century American Judaism is not the battle between light and darkness, as Isaac Mayer Wise and some of his successors portrayed it, but rather the challenge to keep Judaism alive under American conditions, and the development of different and competing strategies to meet this challenge and save Judaism from extinction.

But this is not the whole story of nineteenth-century American Judaism. To understand that, we need to know a great deal more than we now do about the religious world of American Jews—the synagogue, the rabbinate, and the cantorate, myths, rituals and symbols, liturgies and sermons, folk religion, home religion, and civil religion, and, of course, gender differences that distinguished Judaism as experienced by men from Judaism as experienced by women. A beginning has been made in many of these areas, as evidenced by the publication in recent years of such significant titles as *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed*, edited by Jack Wertheimer; *The American Rabbinate: A Century of Continuity and Change*, edited by Jacob R. Marcus and Abraham J. Peck; and *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate*, by Mark Slobin.<sup>24</sup> Others have helped us to understand that Judaism also existed outside of the synagogue. Deborah Dash Moore, for example, shows that B'nai

B'rith functioned as a "secular synagogue"; it sought to establish "a new covenant" for emancipated Jews dissatisfied with mainstream Judaism. Tony Fels makes a related argument in his detailed study of "Jews and Freemasonry in Gilded-Age San Francisco." Similar arguments could be made about the rise of Ethical Culture, a theme explored by Benny Kraut, as well as about the whole Jewish Social Justice movement—an effort to make Jewish life meaningful to those who found no meaning in traditional prayers and ceremonies. Elliot Ashkenazi, in his pathbreaking study of *The Business of Jews in Louisiana, 1840-1875* maintains that even business and family relationships served as surrogates for religion; they "linked Jews with Jews so as to provide a substitute for institutional religious contact."<sup>25</sup>

Beyond this, historians have begun to tease information about popular religion from foodways and other non-traditional historical sources. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's remarkable analysis of Jewish cookbooks reveals a great deal of significant information concerning the observance of the Sabbath, holidays, and dietary laws in nineteenth-century America, by men and women alike. My study of the ceremonial use of raisin wine sheds light on Passover observances and popular (mis)understandings of Jewish law. Eric Friedland and Aryeh Goren reveal, in different ways, American Jews' obsession with death and death-related rituals. Beth Wenger shows how Jewish women redefined their position in Jewish life and assumed new and more active roles in synagogues and community work, even as they held fast to traditional religious symbols concerning the "woman of valor." Karla Goldman, Ellen Umansky and Dianne Ashton, in a series of works-in-progress, show how women also helped reshape American Judaism once the focus of their religious lives shifted to the synagogue.<sup>26</sup> All of these studies—and this is by no means a complete listing—testify to a growing period of ferment in the study of nineteenth-century American Judaism; there is a sense that the history of Judaism in this formative period must be rewritten from scratch. While it is still too soon to foresee the emergence of a new synthesis, it seems safe to predict that scholarship in the coming decades will transform our understanding of what American Judaism is, and how it has developed and changed through the years. The implications of this extend far beyond the academy, and impinge on fundamental questions of contemporary significance, including what it means to be an American Jew and how changes in the religious life of American Jews impact on Jewish survival.

Whole areas of nineteenth-century American Jewish history remain unstudied. We still, for example, lack a detailed history of Jews in the Reconstruction-era South. Contemporaries believed, in the words of Mark Twain, that "after the war . . . the Jew came down in force, set up shop on the plantation, supplied all the negro's wants on credit, and at the end of

the season was proprietor of the negro's share of the present crop and of part of his share of the next one."<sup>27</sup> Whether this is true, and how the perception (if not the reality) affected Southern history and Black-Jewish relations remains a mystery. We also know surprisingly little about Jewish political life in nineteenth-century America. That Jews had learned how to play "ethnic politics," even in the early decades of the century, can no longer be questioned. By century's end, Jews had full-time lobbyists in Washington, and mobilized as Jews in support of various public policy issues.<sup>28</sup> But the full extent of their behind-the-scenes political activities—what they sought, what they offered, and what they received—is far from clear. We know far more about Jewish politics in other countries, where the subject is not quite so sensitive.

Finally, and most surprisingly of all, we lack detailed knowledge about Jewish economic life in the German period. Ashkenazi's book, mentioned above, deals with key themes in a suggestive manner, but it focuses only on three decades in the Jewish economic life of Louisiana. What about other American Jewish communities?<sup>29</sup> Steven Mostov and David Gerber, using the records of Dun & Bradstreet, have shown how difficult it was for Jews to obtain credit in the nineteenth century, partly due to anti-Semitism and partly due to Jews' distinctive economic culture, which Protestants found to be alien. Whether their findings can be extended nationwide is not clear, particularly since Lyle W. Dorsett discovered that Jews were "apparently not denied credit" during the formative period of Denver, Colorado.<sup>30</sup> Is it possible that credit was more available to Jews in some areas of the country than others? Did this affect Jewish mobility? Nor is it clear how Jews overcame whatever restrictions they faced, and became upwardly mobile. Later Jews, according to recent studies by Shelly Tenenbaum and Morton Weinfeld, generated internal capital through loan societies and Jewish "sub-economies"—Weinfeld's valuable term for the web of economic relations, linking Jewish employees, employers, consumers, buyers, and sellers.<sup>31</sup> Did Jews utilize these same techniques in earlier periods as well? Until more work is done in American Jewish economic history, we can do no more than guess.

#### IV

The next period in American Jewish history, the era of mass East European immigration, beginning in 1881, is much better documented. For many American Jews this *was* American Jewish history; everything prior to 1881 was simply preparatory. The era also became part of American Jewry's collective memory, for even non-immigrants could warmly identify with "the world of our fathers," as Irving Howe lyrically portrayed it. Yet in the wake of Howe's bestseller, the scholarly study of



East European Jewish immigration declined; Howe's 720 page opus seemed more than ample to cover the field.<sup>32</sup> The bulk of those studies that have subsequently appeared expand on themes that Howe treated, and correct errors and oversimplifications, but do not seriously challenge his interpretation as a whole. Thus, Pamela S. Nadell has taught us much more than we ever knew about the the first stage of the immigration process—"the journey to America by steam."<sup>33</sup> Deborah Dwork and Jacob Jay Lindenthal have meticulously examined public health and medical care in the Jewish immigrant community.<sup>34</sup> Gary Dean Best and Bernard Marinbach have filled in many new details regarding the Galveston Movement, the effort to divert immigrants from New York to the port of Texas.<sup>35</sup> Uri Herscher and Robert Alan Goldberg have deepened our understanding of immigrant agricultural communities.<sup>36</sup> Jeffrey S. Gurock has brilliantly portrayed the immigrant Jewish community uptown in Harlem and its significance, particularly in terms of American Jewish urban and religious history.<sup>37</sup> Stephan F. Brumberg has explored with depth and penetration the Jewish immigrant encounter with the New York public school system.<sup>38</sup> Mark Slobin and Fred Somkin have analyzed, with extraordinary insight and sensitivity the popular music of Jewish immigrants, and how it reflected key themes in the Jewish immigrant experience as a whole.<sup>39</sup> And Hannah Kliger, Daniel Soyer and Michael R. Weisser have taught us to better appreciate the activities and longterm significance of immigrant *landsmanshaftn*, voluntary organizations that eased the transition from old world to new.<sup>40</sup>

The major innovation reflected in recent scholarship is a growing emphasis on disaggregation. Rather than generalizing, as Howe did, about immigrants as a group, younger scholars are now beginning to focus on particular strands of immigrants, recognizing that the process and outcome of immigration differed markedly based on such factors as (1) year of immigration, (2) place of origin, (3) destination within America, (4) religious orientation, and (5) gender.<sup>41</sup> The greatest advances so far have been made in the study of women immigrants and Orthodox immigrants—another example of how contemporary concerns have shaped the agenda of historical scholarship. Two full-scale books on immigrant Jewish women have recently been published: Elizabeth Ewen's *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars*, a comparative study of the life and culture of Italian and Jewish women on the Lower East Side of New York, and Sydney Stahl Weinberg's *The World of Our Mothers*, an ambitious synthesis that traces immigrant Jewish women from their roots in European *shtetlekh* to retirement communities in Miami Beach.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, monographic articles have probed more deeply into such themes as domesticity and vocational training, marital desertion, and women-led consumer protests.<sup>43</sup> Two recent volumes of primary sources—Jacob R. Marcus's massive documentary history of the American Jewish women,

and Josephine Wtulich's edited translation of immigrant letters, many by Jewish women writing home to Poland — should facilitate further research into these and related areas in the coming decade.<sup>44</sup>

At first glance, it would seem that far more should be known about Orthodox immigrants; after all, most East European Jewish immigrants came from Orthodox backgrounds. Twenty-five years ago, however, Charles Liebman showed that many immigrants, even if nominally Orthodox, were in fact lax in their religious commitments. The most committed Orthodox Jews, according to this view, refused to emigrate since America was known as a *trefa* land and leading European Orthodox rabbis warned against settling there. As a result, the “best” Jews remained where they were, while the ignorant and the freethinkers came over in droves, and were soon found violating the commandments with impunity.<sup>45</sup> Liebman's thesis has been widely accepted,<sup>46</sup> and it undoubtedly contains a great deal of truth. Yet more recent scholarship has reminded us that, despite everything, some fully observant Orthodox Jews did immigrate to America. They struggled to maintain Orthodox lifestyles, resisted forms of Americanization that entailed violations of Jewish law, and in time succeeded in building up Orthodox institutions that perpetuated the essence of traditional Jewish life. One such immigrant was an Hungarian Orthodox rabbi named Moses Weinberger, and the recently published translation of his 1888 Hebrew volume depicting “Jews and Judaism in New York” is a primary source for understanding Orthodox Jewish life in this period.<sup>47</sup> A series of pathbreaking articles by Jeffrey Gurock has further refined our understanding of American Orthodoxy, particularly the ongoing conflict within the movement between “resisters” and “accommodators.”<sup>48</sup> Gurock and his students are continuing to study the history of Orthodox Judaism in America, and new studies are slated to appear in the coming decade. In the meanwhile, students of immigrant Judaism must fashion a more complex model of religious developments, one that incorporates Liebman's insights without overlooking the contributions that those Orthodox Jews who did immigrate to America made.

What lies ahead in the study of East European Jewish immigration? Ewa Morawska's microcosmic investigation of East European Jewish immigrant life in Johnstown, Pennsylvania is a particularly exciting work-in-progress, and represents a major advance both methodologically and conceptually. Her emphasis on continuities between patterns of life in the old world and the new, her ability to compare Jewish and Gentile immigrants from the same general European area, and her focus on a smaller community rather than a major city all distinguish her work from those of previous scholars and should yield a landmark study.<sup>49</sup> Moses Rischin's long-awaited biography of Abraham Cahan is also due to appear sometime this decade, adding immeasurably to our understanding not only of Cahan, the greatest of the East European Jewish immi-

grant leaders in America, but also of Jewish Socialism and the culture of the Lower East Side, as well the whole process of immigrant “self-eman-cipation”—American style.<sup>50</sup> Finally, with the opening up of the iron curtain, it should be possible for the first time to examine late nineteenth and early twentieth century East European source materials bearing on Jewish emigration. This will, one hopes, make possible detailed studies of particular immigration streams, as well as comparative studies. It should also allow us to better appreciate the diverse old world back-grounds of Jewish immigrants, and the impact of these “source commu-nities” on the subsequent history of East European Jews in different regions of the United States.

## v

The history of American Jews from World War One to the present has so far defied efforts at synthesis.<sup>51</sup> Much has been written on anti-Semitism, Zionism, and the Holocaust, and discrete monographs have illuminated a wide range of other subjects, but all the available data does not add up to a coherent account of how American Jewry, during a fifty year period, rose to assume a position of wealth, power and influence on the national and international scenes. Part of the problem lies in the generational model that many historians have accepted, which seeks to explain a myriad of political, social, economic, cultural and religious developments on the basis of ill-defined “generations” stretching from the late nine-teenth century to the present. The model is thoroughly misleading, ex-cluding as it does both pre-1881 immigrants and latecomers, and it too often substitutes generational determinism for in-depth analysis. In fact, American Jewish history has always been influenced more by world and national events than by any “generation” whatsoever.

The bulk of the problem, however, lies in the unbalanced nature of historical research, which has tended to focus on a few sensational epi-sodes to the neglect of more subtle and significant changes taking place just beneath the surface. We thus know a great deal about American Jewish leaders and the Holocaust, but almost nothing about the changing nature of American Jewish leadership itself, and the reasons for its per-ceived decline. Similarly, we can read a shelf of volumes about anti-Semitism in the inter-war years, but far too little about how American Jews overcame it, earned their college degrees in defiance of restrictive quotas, and became upwardly mobile.

Among the welter of recent volumes bearing on American Jewish history in the twentieth century, a few stand out. Deborah Dash Moore’s *At Home in America*, an imaginative and methodologically sophisticated study of the children of New York’s East European immigrants and the

world they created, describes the emergence of middle-class Jewish ethnicity. Second-generation Jews, Moore explains, "succeeded in wedding their experiences as New Yorkers to their existence as Jews. . . . As they built new neighborhoods, pursued secular education in the public schools, organized their religious and philanthropic institutions, and entered the political system, they established the limits of their assimilation into American society."<sup>52</sup> Subsequent studies, notably Jeffrey Gurock's social history of Yeshiva University and Jenna Weissman Joselit's lively portrayal of New York's Modern Orthodox Jewish community during the interwar years support Moore's thesis; both deal, in different ways, with efforts to reconcile Jewish tradition and American life. Joselit's earlier book, a study of Jewish criminality during this same era, confirms the thesis from yet another perspective, for she shows how both criminality and New York Jewish concerns about it declined as Jews' sense of being "at home in America," increased.<sup>53</sup>

The sense of growing security that Moore and others describe rested on two ideological pillars that have only just begun to be explored: first, the idea of cultural (later ethnic) pluralism, a model of American society that permitted Jews to be at once separate and equal; and second, the idea of a "Judeo-Christian" tradition that opened the door to interfaith cooperation and replaced narrow "Christian America" claims with the more inclusive model of "Protestant-Catholic-Jew." Werner Sollors and Mark Silk have traced the evolution of these ideas in American thought, showing how both were constructed with particular aims in mind. The consequences for American Jews, however, have yet to be studied in depth, although Benny Kraut's recent articles on the origins of the interfaith movement are highly suggestive.<sup>54</sup>

Even less clear is how American Jews reconciled their apparent optimism about America with the realities of social anti-Semitism and the growing movement on behalf of a Jewish State. Recent works have increased our stock of information about both subjects, and have spawned significant interpretive debates over such issues as the nature and extent of American anti-Semitism, the proper understanding of Louis Brandeis's role within the Zionist movement, and the interrelationship between Zionism and Reform Judaism.<sup>55</sup> But the need for a broader interpretation that relates all of the many disparate themes from this era to one another remains unmet. One hopes that Henry Feingold's work-in-progress on this period, part of a five-volume synthetic history of American Jewish life that he is editing, will fill this void.

The other key theme that must be placed into the larger context of this period is, of course, the troubling question of American Jewry and the Holocaust. A whole shelf of recent books concern themselves with this subject, from David Wyman's best-selling *The Abandonment of the Jews* to David Kranzler's venomous study of the Orthodox Jewish response

to the Holocaust, an ultra-Orthodox tract. There are studies of how the American government ignored the Holocaust, how the national and Protestant press reported the Holocaust, how Jewish leaders responded to the Holocaust, how refugees came to America to escape the Holocaust, how displaced persons fared after the Holocaust, and much, much, more.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, during the past decade at least as many published volumes have been devoted to these questions as to all of 18th and 19th century American Jewish history combined. This is not the place either for a detailed review of this literature or for an extended analysis of those scholarly issues that continue to sizzle.<sup>57</sup> The question, looking ahead, is whether these issues are significant enough to warrant continued investment of scholarly resources at the current extravagant level. We do still need a broadly-conceived study of the Holocaust's impact on American life generally and on American Jewish life in particular—subjects being pursued, in part, by Peter Novick. But what we may need even more, at this point, is background and historical context: studies of American Jewish political life and culture stretching back into the nineteenth century, as well as in Europe, analyzing the stock of received political wisdom and experience that American Jews brought with them to the crisis of the 1930s and 40s, and then drew upon in formulating their responses to it. In short, rather than viewing American aspects of the Holocaust in an historical vacuum, as is so often done today, we need to see it as part of the continuum of American Jewish history, one chapter in a long story that has not yet been adequately recounted.

## VI

The history of American Jewish life in the post-War period has only just begun to be researched.<sup>58</sup> The great themes of the era—including the birth and impact of the State of Israel, the decline of anti-Semitism, the rise of the Jewish federations, the growing prominence of Jews in the economic, cultural, and political affairs of the nation, the transformation of Jewish religious life, the emergence of the Jewish women's movement, the rising tide of intermarriages and conversions, the new waves of foreign immigration, the geographical redistribution of Jews out to suburbia and toward the sunbelt—all these developments and more will need to be on the agenda of American Jewish historians in the years ahead.

At the same time, there is a whole series of themes spanning the full length of American Jewish history that have to date received inadequate attention. Some of these themes—I confine my list here to five—are now in vogue, and new monographs may be expected soon. Others have yet to elicit much interest, but are nevertheless critical to any proper understanding of the American Jewish community's development over time.

(1) *Subgroups within the American Jewish community*—While, as we have seen, a great deal of important work on the history of American Jewry's largest subgroup—women—is now in progress, vast lacunae remain, particularly in the areas of social and religious history.<sup>59</sup> We know even less about smaller self-identifying subgroups, including, in the twentieth century, Sephardic immigrants and their children,<sup>60</sup> Syrian, Iranian and Yemenite Jews, German refugees of the 1930s, Holocaust survivors, Hassidim of various courts, and immigrants from the Soviet Union and Israel.<sup>61</sup> Steven Lowenstein's *Frankfurt on the Hudson*, a path-breaking history of the German-Jewish ("Breuer") community of Washington Heights, points to the kinds of studies that we need.<sup>62</sup> These should in time, permit us to write a much broader and more inclusive history of American Jews than any we now possess.

(2) *Regional Studies*—Although dozens of community histories have appeared during the last decade,<sup>63</sup> we still have very little understanding of what factors have historically distinguished American Jewish communities one from another. Southern Jews and Western Jews characterize themselves as distinctive, and have established separate Jewish historical societies, but what makes them distinctive, and when this sense of regional identity arose is by no means certain.<sup>64</sup> That American Jewish communities, even of the same size, do now differ from one another in remarkable ways is now beyond question; the differences even show up in contemporary sociological studies.<sup>65</sup> Understanding these differences and their larger significance, however, remains a major challenge.

(3) *Culture*—The cultural life of American Jews has been both richer and more varied than most historians have recognized. Stephen Whitfield's sparkling essays on a wide range of cultural themes, Arnold Eisen's brilliant analysis of the "chosen people" motif in American Jewish thought, David G. Dalin's collection of Will Herberg's essays, a series of books on the New York Jewish intellectuals, studies of Jewish scholarship and publishing, and a few pioneering forays into the study of American Jewish popular culture, offer some indication of the field's wide range, yet the list of subjects not-yet-explored remains a good deal longer—witness Phyllis Deutsch's fascinating recent article on the cultural transformations associated with the mating rituals at Jewish adult summer camps of the 1920s and 1930s!<sup>66</sup> We stand in particular need of studies focused on the diverse subcultures of American Jewish life: Yiddishists, Hebraists, Zionists, Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, yeshiva boys, fraternity boys, Menorah boys, and so forth. At the same time, we need synthetic treatments of American Jewish cultural life as a whole at particular periods. Only then will we be able to discern the links that have continued to bind American Jews together, allowing them to participate, however uneasily and at different levels, in a common community-wide conversation concerning American Jewry's life and destiny.

(4) *Leadership*—Important recent studies have taught us much about a range of significant American Jewish leaders of the past century, including Cyrus Adler, Louis Brandeis, Israel Friedlaender, Judah Magnes, Abba Hillel Silver, Eliezer Silver, Stephen S. Wise, and Simon Wolf.<sup>67</sup> But we still have only a rudimentary understanding of what leadership meant during different periods of American Jewish history, how and why the term's definition changed over time, why the mantle of leadership fell sometimes on businessmen, sometimes on lawyers, and sometimes on rabbis, how leaders interacted with one another and with their followers, and why in the twentieth century the "generation of titans," as Melvin Urofsky characterized the great leaders of the early part of the century, gave way to a "generation of managers." Aryeh Goren's argument that the changing American Jewish communal agenda of the twentieth century demanded a new style of communal leadership, Benny Kraut's comparative typology of leaders, and my own analysis of the American Jewish leadership spectrum suggest different avenues of possible future research. Together, they all represent yet another example of how American Jewish history, when studied by professionals, may shed fresh light on issues of contemporary significance.<sup>68</sup>

(5) *Religious history*—Notwithstanding all that we have recently learned about American Judaism in the nineteenth-century, the full story of how American Jews moved from the unified synagogue-communities of early America to today's variegated multi-synagogue communities composed of Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative, Orthodox, unaffiliated and "other" Jews remains largely unwritten. Nor has anyone traced when American Jews (or, for that matter, non-Jews) became conscious of *de facto* Jewish religious pluralism, and what effect this consciousness had on subsequent attitudes and religious behavior. Recent studies of the synagogue and the cantorate, coupled with a welcome upsurge of new publications dealing with the history of Judaism's different movements suggest that, after many years of neglect, religious history may once again be coming into vogue.<sup>69</sup> If so, one hopes that the history of American Judaism will be rewritten. Among other things, the new history should examine American Judaism "from the bottom up," link developments in American Judaism to larger themes in American religious history, explain what makes American Judaism different from Judaism elsewhere, and help us to understand how American Judaism evolved into its present state and structure.

Obviously, these five areas do not represent a complete agenda for future research. We also know all-too-little about the economic and political history of American Jews, the history of American Jewish philanthropy and education, and the history of intergroup relations, to mention just a few of many neglected subjects. Still, what *has* been learned

in the past ten years—what we now know and what we now realize we need to know—does at least bespeak the welcome redemption of the field of American Jewish history from its earlier filiopietistic shackles. In the decade ahead historians must strive to further develop and upgrade the field. The challenge is to maintain scholarly standards even while venturing out into new and uncharted historical frontiers.

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#### NOTES

1. Based on Nathan M. Kaganoff's "Judaica Americana" section in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* and *American Jewish History* in the June and December numbers of the years shown. Note that Kaganoff counts each issue of a periodical (rather than each article in it) as one item, does not list articles printed in the American Jewish Historical Society's own journal, and omits dissertations. Were these omissions corrected for, the rate of growth over the past two decades would be even larger.

2. Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 3 vols. (Debroit, 1970), p. xxvi.

3. Lewis S. Feuer, *Jews in the Origins of Modern Science and Bacon's Scientific Utopia: The Life and Work of Joachim Gaunse, Mining Technologist and First Recorded Jew in English-Speaking North America*. Brochure Series of the American Jewish Archives #6. (Cincinnati, 1987); cf. Gary C. Grassl, "Joachim Gans of Prague: America's First Jewish Visitor," *Review of the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews*, Vol. 1 (1987), pp. 53-90.

4. The story of the 23 refugees is, in fact, fraught with historical problems that have so far defied all efforts at solution. Neither the identities of the 23, nor the name of their vessel, nor even their point of embarkation has ever been determined. For a recent analysis, see "The Problem of the First Jewish Settlers in New Amsterdam, 1654," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. 15 (August 1981), pp. 169-177.

5. Robert Cohen, "The Demography of the Jews in Early America," in Paul Ritterband (ed.), *Modern Jewish Fertility* (Leiden, 1981).

6. See also Robert Cohen, "The Life Cycle of the Jewish Family in Eighteenth Century America," in U.O. Schmelz et al, *Papers in Jewish Demography* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 19-31.

7. In a volume just published, the first of a projected four-volume massive work, Jacob R. Marcus draws together all the available source materials from this time period, including many not previously known, to offer an original synthesis of the era's social, cultural, and economic life. See Jacob R. Marcus, *United States Jewry 1776-1985*, Vol. 1, (Detroit, 1989). Robert Singerman's remarkable new bibliography of *Judaica Americana* to 1900 should facilitate a great deal of new research in all aspects of pre-twentieth century American Jewish history, see Robert Singerman, *Judaica Americana*, 2 vols. (New York, 1990).

8. Ira Rosenwaike, *On the Edge of Greatness: A Portrait of American Jewry in the Early National Period* (Cincinnati, 1985). Jacob R. Marcus's *To Count A People:*



*American Jewish Population Data, 1585-1984* (Lanham, 1990) summarizes all available population data on American Jewish communities, Rosenwaike's included.

9. Jonathan D. Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew: The Two Worlds of Mordecai Noah* (New York, 1981).

10. Jonathan D. Sarna, "The American Jewish Response to Nineteenth-Century Christian Missions," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 68 (1981), pp. 35-51; *idem*, "The Impact of Nineteenth-Century Christian Missions on American Jews," in Todd M. Endelman, *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World* (New York, 1987), pp. 232-254.

11. George L. Berlin, *Defending the Faith: Nineteenth-Century American Jewish Writings on Christianity and Jesus* (Albany, 1989).

12. Morton Borden, *Jews, Turks, and Infidels* (Chapel Hill, 1984); cf. Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Jews and Church-State Relations: The Search for "Equal Footing"*. American Jewish Committee Pamphlet Series (New York, 1989).

13. (Philadelphia, 1984).

14. Avraham Barkai, "German-Jewish Migrations in the Nineteenth Century, 1830-1910," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, Vol. 30 (1985), pp. 301-318.

15. Stanley Nadel, "Jewish Race and German Soul in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 77 (September 1987), pp. 6-26.

16. Tony Fels makes the same argument in his analysis of social life in late nineteenth century San Francisco, see Tony Fels, "Religious Assimilation in a Fraternal Organization: Jews and Freemasonry in Gilded-Age San Francisco," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 74 (June 1985), p. 373. See also Cohen's treatment of this question, *Encounter With Emancipation*, pp. 55-63.

17. Michael A. Meyer, "German-Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America," in Jacob Katz (ed.), *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model* (New Brunswick [N.J.], 1987), pp. 247-67.

18. David A. Gerber (ed.), *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana, 1986); Leonard Dinnerstein, *Uneasy At Home: Anti-semitism and the American Jewish Experience* (New York, 1987); Jonathan D. Sarna, "Jewish-Christian Hostility in the United States: Perceptions from a Jewish Point of View," in Robert N. Bellah and Frederick E. Greenspahn (eds.), *Uncivil Religion: Interreligious Hostility in America* (New York, 1987), pp. 5-22; George L. Berlin, *Defending the Faith: Nineteenth-Century American Jewish Writings on Christianity and Jesus* (Albany, 1989); David Black, *The King of Fifth Avenue: The Fortunes of August Belmont* (New York, 1981); Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (New York, 1988).

19. See works cited above, n. 12.

20. Cf. Louise A. Mayo, *The Ambivalent Image: Nineteenth-Century America's Perception of the Jew* (Cranbury [N.J.], 1988).

21. Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York, 1988).

22. Lance J. Sussman, "The Life and Career of Isaac Leeser (1806-1868): A Study of American Judaism in its Formative Period" (Ph.D., HUC-JIR, 1977); Lance J. Sussman, "Isaac Leeser and the Protestantization of American Judaism," *American Jewish Archives*, Vol. 38 (April 1986), pp. 1-21; Moshe Sherman, "Rabbi Bernard Illowy and the Shaping of American Orthodoxy 1850-1870," (Dissertation-in-Progress, Yeshiva University). See also the special issue of *American Jewish History*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (December 1979) devoted to Orthodox Judaism in America,

and the polemical, unfootnoted, but nevertheless useful biography of Abraham Rice by I. Harold Sharfman, *The First Rabbi: Origins of Conflict Between Orthodox and Reform* . . . (Malibu, 1988). Studies of American Orthodoxy to 1983 are collected and listed in Reuven P. Bulka, *Dimensions of Orthodox Judaism* (New York, 1983).

23. Leon A. Jick *The Americanization of the Synagogue, 1820-1870* (Hanover [NH], 1976).

24. Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (New York, 1987); Jacob R. Marcus and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The American Rabbinate: A Century of Continuity and Change* (New York, 1985 [originally published as the November 1983 issue of *American Jewish Archives*]); Mark Slobin, *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate* (Urbana, 1989); see also Alexandra S. Korros and Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Synagogue History: A Bibliography and State-of-the-Field Survey* (New York, 1988).

25. Deborah D. Moore, *B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership* (Albany, 1981), esp. pp. 6-7; Fels, "Religious Assimilation in a Fraternal Organization," esp. p. 393; Benny Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler* (Cincinnati, 1979); Leonard J. Mervis, "The Social Justice Movement and the American Reform Rabbi," *American Jewish Archives*, Vol. 7 (June 1955), pp. 171-230; Elliott Ashkenazi, *The Business of Jews in Louisiana, 1840-1875* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), esp. pp. 160-161.

26. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Kosher Gourmet in the Nineteenth-Century Kitchen: Three Jewish Cookbooks in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Gastronomy*, Vol. 2 (Winter 1986/7), pp. 51-88; Jonathan D. Sarna, "Passover Raisin Wine, the American Temperance Movement, and Mordecai Noah: The Origins, Meaning, and Wider Significance of a Nineteenth-Century Jewish Religious Practice," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 59 (1988), pp. 269-288; Eric Friedland, "The Atonement Memorial Service and the American Mahzor," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 55 (1984) pp. 243-282, Arthur Goren, "Traditional Institutions Transplanted: The Hevra Kadisha in Europe and in America," in Moses Rischin (ed.), *The Jews of North America* (Detroit, 1987), pp. 62-79; Beth Wenger, "Jewish Women and Voluntarism: Beyond the Myth of Enablers," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 79 (April 1989), pp. 16-36; Karla Goldman, Ellen Umansky, & Dianne Ashton, personal communications; cf. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Folk Culture of Jewish Immigrant Communities: Research Paradigms and Directions," in M. Rischin (ed.), *The Jews of North America*, pp. 79-94.

27. Mark Twain [Samuel Clemens], "Concerning the Jews" [1899], reprinted in Arnold A. Rogow, *The Jew in the Gentile World* (New York, 1961), p. 269.

28. Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew*, esp. pp. 8-9; the best treatment is in Cohen, *Encounter With Emancipation*, pp. 129-158; see also Esther L. Panitz, *Simon Wolf: Private Conscience and Public Image* (Rutherford [N.J.], 1987).

29. Of course, published Jewish community histories contain economic data that is available for study. See, particularly, Steven Hertzberg, *Strangers Within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta 1845-1915* (Philadelphia, 1978), and Stephen G. Mostov, "A 'Jerusalem' on the Ohio: The Social and Economic History of Cincinnati's Jewish Community, 1840-1875" (Ph.D., Brandeis University, 1981).

30. Stephen G. Mostov, "Dun and Bradstreet Reports as a Source of Jewish Economic History: Cincinnati, 1840-1875," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 72 (March 1983), pp. 333-353; David A. Gerber, "Cutting Out Shylock: Elite Anti-Semitism

and the Quest for Moral Order in the Mid-Nineteenth Century American Marketplace," in Gerber (ed.), *Anti-Semitism in American History*, pp. 201-232; Lyle W. Dorsett, "Equality of Opportunity On the Urban Frontier: Access to Credit in Denver, Colorado Territory, 1858-1876," *Journal of the West* 18 (1979) pp. 75-81.

31. Shelly Tenenbaum, "Immigrants and Capital: Jewish Loan Societies in the United States, 1880-1945," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 76 (September 1986), pp. 67-77; Morton Weinfeld, "The Ethnic Sub-Economy: Explication and Analysis of a Case Study of the Jews of Montreal," *Contemporary Jewry*, Vol. 6 (Fall/Winter 1983), pp. 6-25; cf. Oliver B. Pollak, "Communal Self Help and Capital Formation: Omaha's Jewish Loan Associations, 1911-1979," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 78 (September 1988), pp. 20-35.

32. Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York, 1976). This is not to say, of course, that Howe's treatment is beyond criticism. See, for example, the withering review by Morris Schappes in *Jewish Currents*, September 1977, pp. 3-31.

33. Pamela S. Nadell, "The Journey to America by Steam: The Jews of Eastern Europe in Transition," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 71 (December 1981), pp. 269-284.

34. Jacob Jay Lindenthal, "Abi Gezunt: Health and the Eastern European Jewish Immigrant," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 70 (June 1981), pp. 420-441; Deborah Dwork, "Health Conditions of Immigrant Jews on the Lower East Side of New York, 1880-1914," *Medical History*, Vol. 25 (1981), pp. 1-40.

35. Gary Dean Best, "Jacob Schiff's Galveston Movement: An Experiment in Immigrant Deflection, 1907-1914," *American Jewish Archives*, Vol. 30 (April 1978), pp. 43-79; Bernard Marinbach, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (Albany, 1983).

36. Uri D. Herscher, *Jewish Agricultural Utopias in America, 1880-1910* (Detroit, 1981); Robert A. Goldberg, *Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah and Their World* (Salt Lake City, 1986).

37. Jeffrey S. Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish 1870-1930* (New York, 1979).

38. Stephan F. Brumberg, *Going to America, Going to School* (New York, 1986).

39. Mark Slobin, *Tenement Songs: the Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants* (Chicago, 1982); Fred Somkin, "Zion's Harp by the East River: Jewish-American Popular Songs in Columbus's Golden Land, 1890-1914," *Perspectives in American History*, n.s. Vol. 2 (1985), pp. 183-200.

40. Hannah Kliger, "Traditions of Grass-Roots Organization and Leadership: The Continuity of Landsmanshaftn in New York," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 76 (September 1986), pp. 25-39 [this special issue of *American Jewish History* is largely devoted to the landsmanshaftn]; *idem*, "A Home Away from Home: Participation in Jewish Immigrant Associations in America," in Walter P. Zenner (ed.), *Persistence and Flexibility: Anthropological Perspectives on the American Jewish Experience* (Albany, 1988); Daniel Soyer, "Between Two Worlds: The Jewish Landsmanshaftn and Immigrant Identity," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 76 (September 1986), pp. 5-24; Michael R. Weissner, *A Brotherhood of Memory: Jewish Landsmanshaftn in the New World* (New York, 1985).

41. These are the themes stressed in recent scholarship, but not, of course, the only factors of significance. Age, wealth and state of health were obviously critical as well.

42. Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925* (New York, 1985); Sydney Stahl Weinberg, *The World of our Mothers* (Chapel Hill, 1988.)

43. Nancy B. Sinkoff, "Educating for 'Proper' Jewish Womanhood: A Case Study in Domesticity and Vocational Training, 1897-1926," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 77 (June 1988), pp. 572-600; Ari Lloyd Fridkis, "Desertion in the American Jewish Immigrant Family: The Work of the National Desertion Bureau in Cooperation with the Industrial Removal Office," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 71 (December 1981), pp. 285-299; Reena Sigman Friedman, "'Send Me My Husband Who Is In New York City': Husband Desertion in the American Jewish Immigrant Community, 1900-1926," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 44 (Winter 1982), pp. 1-18; Paula E. Hyman, "Immigrant Women and Consumer Protest: The New York City Kosher Meat Boycott of 1902," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 70 (September 1980), pp. 91-105; see also Norma Fain Pratt, "Immigrant Jewish Women in Los Angeles: Occupation, Family and Culture," in Jacob R. Marcus and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *Studies in the American Jewish Experience*, Vol. 1 (1981), pp. 78-89 and Paula E. Hyman, "Culture and Gender: Women in the Immigrant Jewish Community," in David Berger (ed.), *The Legacy of Jewish Immigration: 1881 and Its Impact* (New York, 1983), pp. 157-168.

44. Jacob R. Marcus, *The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History* (New York, 1981); Witold Kula, et. al., *Writing Home: Immigrants in Brazil and the United States 1890-1891*, edited and translated by Josephine Wtulich (New York, 1986).

45. Charles Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 66 (1965), pp. 27-30.

46. See especially Arthur Hertzberg, "'Treifene Medina': Learned Opposition to Emigration to the United States," *Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 1-29, and his *The Jews in America* (New York, 1990), esp. pp. 138-148.

47. Jonathan D. Sarna (ed.), *People Walk on their Heads: Moses Weinberger's Jews and Judaism in New York* (New York, 1981.)

48. See, especially, Gurock's, "Resisters and Accommodators: Varieties of Orthodox Rabbis in America, 1886-1983," *American Jewish Archives*, Vol. 25 (November 1983), pp. 100-187; and his "The Orthodox Synagogue," in Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (New York, 1987), pp. 37-84.

49. One chapter has already appeared; Ewa Morawska, "A Replica of the 'Old-Country' Relationship in the Ethnic Niche: East European Jews and Gentiles in Small-town Western Pennsylvania, 1880s-1930s," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 77 (September 1987), pp. 27-86.

50. See, in the meanwhile, Rischin's introduction to his *Grandma Never Lived in America: The New Journalism of Abraham Cahan* (Bloomington, 1985).

51. Recent brief accounts include, Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *On Equal Terms: Jews in America, 1881-1981* (New York, 1982) and Milton Plesur, *Jewish Life in Twentieth-Century America, Challenge and Accommodation* (Chicago, 1982). Judd L. Teller, *Strangers and Natives: The Evolution of the American Jew from 1921 to the Present* (New York, 1968), while somewhat dated, is still extremely valuable.

52. Deborah Dash Moore, *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (New York, 1981), p. 4.

53. Jeffrey S. Gurock, *The Men and Women of Yeshiva* (New York, 1988); Jenna Weissman Joselit, *New York's Jewish Jews: The Orthodox Community in the Interwar Years* (Bloomington, 1990); Jenna Weissman Joselit, *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and*

*the New York Jewish Community, 1900-1940* (Bloomington, 1983). Since New York, at this time, was home to more than 40% of American Jews, the fact that all of the works cited generalize from New York to the Jewish community as a whole is less of a problem than it might otherwise seem. Still, parallel studies from other regions of the country would be welcome.

54. Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York, 1986); Mark Silk, "Notes on the Judeo-Christian Tradition in America," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 36 (Spring 1984), pp. 65-85; Benny Kraut, "Towards the Establishment of the National Conference of Christians and Jews: The Tenuous Road to Religious Goodwill in the 1920s," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 77 (1988), pp. 388-412; *idem*, "A Wary Collaboration: Jews, Catholics, and the Protestant Goodwill Movement," in William R. Hutchison (ed.), *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960* (New York, 1989), pp. 193-230.

55. See, especially, Jonathan D. Sarna, "American Anti-Semitism," in David Berger (ed.), *History and Hate: The Dimensions of Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 115-128; Leonard Dinnerstein, "The Historiography of American Antisemitism," in Dinnerstein (ed.), *Uneasy At Home: Antisemitism and the American Jewish Experience* (New York, 1987), pp. 256-267; Henry L. Feingold, "Investing in Themselves: The Harvard Case and the Origins of the Third American-Jewish Commercial Elite," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 77 (June 1988), pp. 530-553; "The Influence of Zionism on the American Jewish Community: An Assessment by Israeli and American Historians," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 75 (December 1985), pp. 130-183; Evyatar Friesel, "American Zionism and American Jewry: An Ideological and Communal Encounter," *American Jewish Archives*, Vol. 40 (April 1988), pp. 5-23; and Michael A. Meyer, "American Reform Judaism and Zionism: Early Efforts at Ideological Rapprochement," *Studies in Zionism*, Vol. 7 (Spring 1983), pp. 49-64.

56. David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945* (New York, 1984); David Kranzler, *Thy Brother's Blood: The Orthodox Jewish Response During the Holocaust* (New York, 1987); Monty Noam Penkower, *The Jews Were Expendable: Free World Diplomacy and the Holocaust* (Urbana, 1983); Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933-1945* (Bloomington, 1988); Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945* (New York, 1986); Robert W. Ross, *So It Was True: The American Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews* (Minneapolis, 1980); Moshe R. Gottlieb, *American Anti-Nazi Resistance, 1933-1941* (New York, 1982); Haskel Lookstein, *Were We Our Brothers' Keepers? The Public Response of American Jews to the Holocaust, 1938-1944* (New York, 1985); Rafael Medoff, *The Deafening Silence: American Jewish Leaders and the Holocaust* (New York, 1987); Sharon R. Lowenstein, *Token Refuge: The Story of the Jewish Refugee Shelter at Oswego, 1944-1946* (Bloomington, 1986); Ruth Gruber, *Haven: The Unknown Story of 1000 World War II Refugees* (New York, 1983); Abram L. Sachar, *The Redemption of the Unwanted* (New York, 1983); Jarrell C. Jackman and Carla M. Borden (eds.), *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, 1930-1945* (Washington, D.C., 1983); Abraham J. Peck & Uri D. Herscher (eds.), *Queen City Refuge* (West Orange [NJ], 1989); Leonard Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust* (New York, 1982); Barbara Stern Burstin, *After the*

*Holocaust: The Migration of Polish Jews and Christians to Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1989); Abraham J. Peck (ed.), *The German-Jewish Legacy in America 1938-1988* (Detroit, 1989).

57. See Henry Feingold, "Who Shall Bear the Guilt for the Holocaust: The Human Dilemma," *American Jewish History*, Vol. 68 (March 1979), pp. 261-282; *idem*, *Did American Jewry Do Enough During the Holocaust?* B.G. Rudolph Lectures in Judaic Studies (Syracuse, 1985.)

58. See, especially, Chaim I. Waxman, *America's Jews in Transition* (Philadelphia, 1983) and Jack Wertheimer, "Recent Trends in American Judaism," *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 89 (1989), pp. 63-162.

59. See works cited above, nn. 26, 42-44; June Sochen, *Consecrate Every Day: The Public Lives of Jewish American Women, 1880-1980* (Albany, 1981); Ellen Umansky, "Women in Judaism: From the Reform Movement to Contemporary Jewish Religious Feminism," in Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin, (eds.), *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York, 1979), pp. 333-354; Ann D. Braude's survey essays in Rosemary R. Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller (eds.), *Women and Religion in America*, 3 vols. (New York, 1981-86); and Sylvia Barack Fishman, "The Impact of Feminism on American Jewish Life," *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 89 (1989), pp. 3-62.

60. See Marc Angel, *La America: The Sephardic Experience in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1982); Joseph M. Papo, *Sephardim in Twentieth Century America: In Search of Unity* (San Jose, 1987).

61. Illuminating anthropological essays on some of these groups have recently appeared in Jack Kugelmass (ed.), *Between Two Worlds: Ethnographic Essays on American Jewry* (Ithaca, 1988); and Walter P. Zenner (ed.), *Persistence and Flexibility: Anthropological Perspectives on the American Jewish Experience* (Albany, 1988).

62. Steven M. Lowenstein, *Frankfurt on the Hudson: The German-Jewish Community of Washington Heights, 1933-1983, Its Structure and Culture* (Detroit, 1989).

63. See the bibliography of community histories and synagogue histories, in Alexandra S. Korros and Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Synagogue History: A Bibliography and State-of-the-Field Survey* (New York, 1988).

64. See the publications of the Southern Jewish Historical Society, the Western Jewish Historical Society, and the Western Jewish Historical Center of the Judah L. Magnes Museum. Key studies include Moses Rischin, *The Jews of the West: The Metropolitan Years* (Waltham, 1979); Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky (eds.), *Turn to the South: Essays on Southern Jewry* (Waltham, 1979); and Samuel Proctor and Louis Schmier with Malcolm Stern (eds.), *Jews of the South* (Macon, 1984).

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