Introduction

This volume contains a selection of sixteen of my essays, on the theme of Jews and American public life, published during the past forty years. In the essays in this volume, I sought to analyze and document how American Jews have participated in, and thought about, politics and public life.

While a great deal has been written about the history of the American Jewish experience generally, little has been written on the subject of Jews and American politics and public life. This is especially true about the subject of Jews and the American presidency, a subject that I have been writing about for more than twenty years. In our book *The Presidents of the United States and the Jews*, Alfred J. Kolatch and I examined the role and experience of Jews in each presidential administration from George Washington to Bill Clinton, and discussed the relationship of each of the presidents to the American Jewish community at large and to individual American Jews.

The history of Jewish-presidential relations and of Jewish involvement in American public life generally begins in the early republic, with the presidency of George Washington, who was the first president to visit and speak at a synagogue in the United States and to correspond with American Jews. The famed correspondence between Jews and Washington was the first instance of proactive Jewish involvement in American public life. In the historic letter of the "Hebrew Congregation in Newport" to the president, composed for his visit to that city on August 17, 1790, following Rhode Island's ratification of the Constitution, the Jews of Newport noted past discrimination against Jews, praised the new American government for "generously affording to all liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship," and thanked God "for all the blessings of civil and religious liberty" that Jews now enjoyed under the Constitution. President Washington, in his oft-quoted reply, reassured the Jewish community about what he correctly viewed as its central concern—religious liberty. Appropriately, a phrase contained in the Newport Congregation's original letter, he famously characterized the United States government as one that "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

Comparatively little has been written about the relationship between George Washington and the other founding fathers and America's Jews. In my article on this topic in this volume, I discuss the interaction and correspondence of four founders—George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton—with individual Jews, and their views on Jews and Judaism.

In addition to being among the most prominent founders, these men represent different approaches to, and engagement with, Judaism.

Beginning in the early republic, and throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American Jews looked to the presidency for significant presidential statements and policy positions relating to antisemitism abroad and to the plight of Jews denied religious and political freedom in Eastern Europe. Presidents Ulysses S. Grant and Benjamin Harrison, for example, both expressed public concern and sympathy for the worsening predicament of the Jews in tsarist Russia and Romania and were willing to protest to the tsarist government in Saint Petersburg on their behalf. In 1869, when Jewish leaders brought to Grant's attention the fact that the expulsion of twenty thousand Jews from an area in southwestern Russia was being contemplated, he intervened with the tsarist government and the expulsion order was rescinded. As the pogroms and antisemitic expulsion of Jews in tsarist Russia escalated in 1890 and 1891, a delegation of Jewish leaders including Simon Wolf, Jacob Schiff, Oscar Straus, and Louis Marshall, met with President Harrison in the White House in April 1891 "to discuss the state of Tsarist anti-Semitism and what the United States government might do to alleviate the plight of Russian Jews." President Harrison subsequently requested that Congress adopt a strong resolution calling upon the US State Department to officially protest Russia's anti-Jewish persecutions. In his Annual Message to Congress on December 9, 1891, moreover, Harrison expressed "his sympathy for the Jews of Russia in the most unequivocal of terms."

This was the first of many occasions in which Schiff, Wolf, Straus, and Marshall worked together to lobby Presidents on behalf of Jewish rights at home and abroad. Between the 1890s and 1930s, this small group of Jewish communal leaders, all men of wealth and political influence in the Republican Party, working together with Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, Felix Warburg, Julius Rosenwald, and others, played an influential role in American Jewish public life and in American politics. In 1901, Schiff, Wolf, and Straus successfully lobbied President Theodore Roosevelt and his secretary of state John Hay to respond forcefully to the Romanian Government because of its new antisemitic Trades Law, the result of which was to ban the employment of Jewish workers from any trade. Antisemitic riots in tsarist Russia caused these American Jewish notables to consider the need for a more permanent organization. In April 1903, the infamous pogrom in the town of Kishinev in southwestern Russia—in which forty-five Jews were killed, hundreds injured, and thousands of Jewish homes and businesses destroyed—was followed by dozens more pogroms between 1903 and 1906. As a result, in early 1906, Jacob Schiff wrote a letter to

more than fifty prominent Jewish leaders throughout the country inviting them to New York to discuss forming a committee to protect the political rights and lives of Jews in the United States and throughout the world. Thus, the American Jewish Committee (AJC), one of the most influential Jewish organizations in the country and an important foreign policy voice for American Jews, was born.

Judge Mayer Sulzberger served as the first president of the AJC from 1906 to 1912. For close to sixty years, Sulzberger, a pillar of the Republican Party in Philadelphia, and a close friend of President William Howard Taft, played an extraordinary role in American Jewish public life, exercising a profound and far-reaching influence on the leadership and political direction of Jewish organizational life in America. As president of the American Jewish Committee, Sulzberger's greatest achievement was bringing about the abrogation of the Russo-American Commercial Treaty of 1832 because of Russia's refusal to recognize United States passports when American Jews wished to travel freely to tsarist Russia. In the first of my two articles about Mayer Sulzberger in this volume, I discuss and analyze the history of the political campaign to abrogate the treaty and ensure the religious liberty of American Jews traveling abroad, led by Sulzberger, Louis Marshall, and Jacob Schiff between 1908 and 1912.

Sulzberger was also one of the great philanthropists in American Jewish history. Part of Sulzberger's unique and enduring legacy as a Jewish public servant and philanthropist, as I discuss in some detail in my second article about him, derived from his extraordinary achievement as a rare book collector and as a patron of Jewish libraries and scholarship. During his lifetime, Sulzberger was the foremost private collector of Jewish books and manuscripts in America. More than any other individual, Mayer Sulzberger can be considered the "founder" of the Jewish Theological Seminary's incomparable Judaica library, one of the single largest aggregations of Jewish books and manuscripts in the world, that came to rival the great Jewish libraries of England and Europe. Almost from its inception, he was the library's most generous benefactor, its patron *par excellence*.

In a related article, I discuss and analyze the life, business career and philanthropic achievements of Julius Rosenwald, the president of Sears, Roebuck, and Company and, like Sulzberger, one of the preeminent Jewish philanthropists in the early twentieth century. While Rosenwald's accomplishments at Sears showed him to be a true pioneer of modern business—Henry Ford is said to have borrowed the assembly line technique from Rosenwald—he was also a trailblazer in the field of philanthropy, devoting as much energy to giving away his wealth as to acquiring it.

In 1929, Mayer Sulzberger's cousin Cyrus Adler (1863–1940), to whom I dedicate two articles in this book, became president of the AJC. Although a committed non-Zionist, as I discuss in the first of my two articles, during the 1920s Adler worked closely with Chaim Weizmann and Louis Marshall in the creation and development of the expanded Jewish Agency for Palestine. As I analyze in some detail, Adler was in the forefront of forging the rapprochement between the Zionist and non-Zionist leadership of the Jewish Agency and must be credited with being one of its most influential architects and farsighted leaders. During the last years of his life, in the late 1930s, as I discuss and analyze in the second of my two articles, Adler was instrumental in helping to rescue, resettle, and secure academic positions for Jewish refugee scholars from Nazi Germany.

Between the presidential elections of 1868 and 1932, a majority of American Jewish leaders identified with and actively supported the Republican Party, its candidates, and its policies. Between 1896 and 1928, the most influential Jewish Republican Party leader was the eminent attorney Louis Marshall, who served as president of the AJC from 1912 until his death in 1929. In this volume, I devote one article, "Louis Marshall, the Jewish Vote and the Republican Party," to Marshall's important role in Republican Party politics and American Jewish public life, and to his views on the Jewish vote. Although a pillar of the Republican Party, Marshall was also the best-known and most articulate proponent of the doctrine of Jewish political neutrality, denying the very existence of a Jewish vote and continuously calling upon his fellow Jews not to vote as Jews in the political arena, but as American citizens. At the same time, however, Marshall was always ready to use his high standing in the Republican Party to seek electoral support for Republican candidates in the name of American Jews, and to leverage the Jewish vote to urge or pressure Republican Presidents and Secretaries of State on issues of Jewish concern. While in theory Marshall deplored the concept of a Jewish vote, in practice he knew there were Jewish voters, especially among the newly enfranchised East European Jewish immigrants, who might be instructed and advised on political candidates and issues, and he not infrequently sought to instruct and advise them. As I discuss in this article, this was his objective when he began to publish a Yiddish newspaper, the *Jewish World*, in 1902, to support Republican candidates at election time and to urge Jewish voters on Manhattan's Lower East Side to rally to their support.

During Marshall's lifetime and in the decades that followed, the "Jewish vote" was a coveted prize in presidential elections. Since the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the vast majority of Jewish voters have supported the Democratic Party. In 1932, eighty-two percent of the Jewish vote went to

Roosevelt, while only eighteen percent went to Republican Herbert Hoover. In 1936, FDR received eighty-five percent of the Jewish vote. In the elections of 1940 and 1944, fully ninety percent of American Jews voted for Roosevelt, the largest Jewish vote for a president in American history. Every other Democratic presidential candidate from Harry Truman in 1948 to Hilary Clinton in 2016, with the exception of Jimmy Carter in 1980, received at least sixty percent, and not infrequently more than seventy percent, of the Jewish vote.

Jewish Presidential Appointments

Beginning in the early republic, American Jews also looked to the presidency for political recognition in the form of presidential appointments to diplomatic posts and, much later, to the president's cabinet, the Supreme Court, and the White House staff. Presidential appointments have been an important vehicle for Jews playing an increasingly prominent role in American government and public life.

The tradition of Jews receiving presidential appointments is also almost as old as the nation itself. Presidents James Madison and James Monroe, for example, appointed Jews to several consular posts, including Scotland, St. Thomas, and Tunis. In 1853, President Franklin Pierce named August Belmont, the politically influential Jewish financier and Democratic Party fundraiser, to the post of US minister to the Hague. As the first Jew to hold this high rank in the American diplomatic service, Belmont represented the United States in the Netherlands from 1853 to 1857. Throughout his long career in Democratic Party politics, Belmont would raise more money for presidential candidates than any other nineteenth-century Jew. From 1860 to 1872, he would also serve as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the first Jew to do so.

A few months later, in the fall of 1852, President Millard Fillmore had offered Judah P. Benjamin a seat on the Supreme Court. In February of 1852, Benjamin, a Louisiana attorney and politician, had entered national politics, winning a seat in the United States Senate, the first professing Jew to do so. Benjamin declined Fillmore's Supreme Court appointment, preferring to remain in the Senate, where he soon established a reputation as one of the chamber's greatest orators, often compared to Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay. Similarly, in 1857, Benjamin turned down an offer from President James Buchanan to appoint him US minister to Spain. When Louisiana seceded from the Union in February 1861, however, Benjamin, a passionate Southerner, resigned his Senate seat. Soon thereafter, Confederate President Jefferson Davis

appointed Benjamin attorney general of the Confederacy, making him the first Jew to hold a cabinet-level office in an American government. Benjamin subsequently served as the Confederacy's secretary of war and secretary of state.

In 1881, President James A. Garfield appointed the eminent Jewish communal leader Simon Wolf as US consul general to Egypt. Wolf, a Washington, DC attorney and power broker who was widely acknowledged to be the spokesman for American Jewry in the nation's capital, was a political confidant of and adviser to every Republican president from Abraham Lincoln to William Howard Taft. Wolf had actively campaigned for Garfield, as he had earlier for Ulysses S. Grant and Rutherford B. Hayes, and was rewarded for his many years of service to the Republican Party when he was named consul general to Egypt by President Garfield on July 1, 1881, just one day before the chief executive was to fall mortally wounded to an assassin's bullet. Wolf would later serve as a close adviser to Presidents Harrison, McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt as well.

Between the Civil War and the turn of the century, all Jews who received presidential appointments were nominated for diplomatic posts. Often their religion was important in the decision to appoint them to particular posts. In 1870, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, a prominent attorney and Jewish communal leader, US consul to Bucharest, Romania. In sending Peixotto to Bucharest, which was then a hotbed of virulent antisemitism, Grant endorsed the new consul's intention to use the American consulate to promote Jewish rights and political emancipation in Romania.

In 1887, President Grover Cleveland appointed Oscar S. Straus as US minister to Turkey, the second Jew to hold this rank in the American diplomatic service. Straus was an immensely successful and popular minister to Turkey. His gift for diplomacy enabled him to win an invitation from the sultan to arbitrate a business dispute between the Turkish government and Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the Jewish financier and philanthropist who had built the first railroad connecting Constantinople and the cities of Europe.

In appointing Oscar Straus the first Jewish US minister to Turkey, President Cleveland established a precedent that every president—Republican and Democrat alike—would follow during the next thirty years. Presidents Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson each appointed Jewish ministers (and later, ambassadors) to Constantinople.

In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Straus as secretary of commerce and labor, the first Jew named to a president's cabinet. In 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Henry J. Morgenthau, Jr. as secretary of

the treasury. Morgenthau, the son of the businessman and financier Henry J. Morgenthau, Sr., whom Woodrow Wilson had appointed US ambassador to Turkey, would serve as secretary of the treasury for eleven years, longer than any other treasury secretary in American history.

As I document in my article "Presidents, Presidential Appointments, and Jews," which is included in this volume, eighteen Jews served as cabinet members during the twentieth century. Throughout the twentieth century, more and more Jews were appointed to cabinet and subcabinet positions, to advisory positions on the White House staff and to a variety of diplomatic positions. Often, but not always, especially in the early years, the Jews who were appointed were friends and financial supporters of their political benefactors. Often the positions to which they were appointed were those, such as the ambassadorship to Turkey, reserved for Jews.

In many respects, the 1990s were a historic—indeed, a golden—era for Jews in American politics and government. In that era, more Jews served together in the Senate and the House of Representatives than at any other time in American history. During the first four years of the 1950s, only one Jew, Jacob Javits, was a member of the United States Senate; in the 1990s, eleven Jews served at one time. Also, during the 1990s, forty-six Jews served in the House of Representatives, as compared to only nineteen during the 1950s. For the first time in American history, a president, Bill Clinton, appointed two Jews, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen G. Breyer, to the United States Supreme Court. In the eight years of his presidency, President Bill Clinton appointed almost as many Jews to cabinet posts as did all of his predecessors combined. More Jews served in prominent White House staff positions in the Clinton administration than at any time since the New Deal. Samuel (Sandy) Berger was appointed special assistant to the president for national security affairs, thus becoming the third Jew in American history to serve as the president's chief national security policy advisor on the White House staff. Three Jewish attorneys—Bernard Nussbaum, Lloyd Cutler, and former Congressman and former Federal Circuit Court Judge Abner Mikva—served on the White House staff as special counsels to the president. During the Clinton presidency, Jews received more ambassadorial appointments—twenty-eight—including the first appointment as ambassador to Israel, than in any other administration in American history. In 1997, President Clinton also appointed the first religiously Orthodox Jew as ambassador to an Arab country, Egypt. Soon after Ambassador Daniel Kurtzer arrived in Cairo, moreover, a kosher kitchen was installed for him in the Cairo embassy. From Theodore Roosevelt's historic appointment of Oscar Straus as

secretary of commerce and labor in 1906 to the extraordinary and unprecedented number of Jewish appointments made by President Bill Clinton in the 1990s, American Jews received ever greater political recognition through presidential appointments, which have been one of the most important vehicles for Jewish representation and participation in American government and public life. And, in August 2000, Senator Joseph Lieberman, an Orthodox Jew who did not campaign on the Sabbath, became the first Jewish candidate for vice president. Each of these developments would have been unimaginable during the 1950s. Collectively, they suggest that during the 1990s, as never before, Jews were politically at home in the United States.

Since President Woodrow Wilson's historic appointment of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court in 1916, which I discuss in much detail in one of the articles in this volume, Jewish appointees to the Supreme Court have also played an influential role in American government and public life. Presidents Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Barack Obama each appointed one Jewish justice to the Supreme Court, while, as noted above, Bill Clinton holds the distinction of being the only president to have appointed two Jews to the United States Supreme Court.

Beginning in the last half of the nineteenth century, Jews began to run for elective office in greater numbers and, in so doing, began to play a growing role in American politics and public life. Between 1865 and 2000, 150 Jews were elected to the House of Representatives, and twenty-eight Jews to the United States Senate. The first Jewish Congresswoman, Florence Prag Kahn, a Republican from San Francisco, was elected in 1924 and served in the House until 1937. The first two Jewish women to serve in the Senate were Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, both Democrats elected from California in the early 1990s. Barbara Boxer served in the Senate for eighteen years, while Diane Feinstein (as of this writing) still serves in the US Senate today.

Since the nineteenth century, Jewish voters have been concerned over the fate of their coreligionists abroad. In the 1840s, Jewish voters supported the Democrats in gratitude for President Martin Van Buren's official protest to the Ottoman government over the antisemitic Damascus blood libel accusation, and in the late 1850s punished James Buchanan's Democrats for the president's refusal to criticize the Pope in the antisemitic Mortara affair. Between 1865 and 1908, Jewish support for the Republican Party was encouraged by the friendly attitude displayed toward American Jewry by a succession of Republican Presidents, by their appointment of Jews to public office, and by the vigorous protests made by their administrations against antisemitic outrages and pogroms

in tsarist Russia and Romania. In city after city—in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, and San Francisco, among others—Jewish voters were strongly Republican until the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. Jewish Republicanism in San Francisco was unique, however, persisting long beyond the New Deal, while Jews in most other cities had shifted to the Democratic Party with the election of FDR. Also, the type of non-partisan, split-ticket voting that characterized the political behavior of American Jewry generally during this era, was to a degree evident in the political behavior of San Francisco Jews as well. Thus, some staunch and heretofore traditionally Republican Jews in San Francisco would, on occasion, split tickets to vote for FDR or Adlai Stevenson at the national level, while at the same time remaining loyal to the local administrations of San Francisco's Republican mayors, whose candidacies they continued to vigorously support.

Such occasional non-partisan voting notwithstanding, from the late nineteenth century through the 1950s, those Jews who held political office—both elective and appointive—in San Francisco did so, with few exceptions, as Republicans. In this respect, the Jewish political experience in San Francisco was truly distinctive. For this reason, and because the era of Republican ascendency in the city—every mayor of San Francisco between 1911 and 1963 was a Republican—was also an era of extraordinary Jewish influence in the government and politics of the city, the nature of Jewish involvement in San Francisco politics and public life from 1911 to 1963 is especially deserving of the close attention and careful analysis that I give it in one of my articles in this volume.

Church-State Relations

For close to one hundred years, the issue of church-state separation and the role that religion should play in American public life have been policy issues of much discussion and debate among American Jews. Since the 1940s at least, most American Jews have conceived of religion and public life as being rigidly separate realms. They have steadfastly opposed the presence of any religious symbols and practices in the public arena. According to the prevailing liberal Jewish separationist faith of the 1950s and 1960s, Jewish survival and freedom are most secure where the wall separating religion and state is strongest and least secure where government and religion are intertwined.

For several decades, Leo Pfeffer, one of America's foremost scholars of church-state relations, was the preeminent Jewish spokesman for the separationist position. Pfeffer, staff attorney and for many years director of the American

Jewish Congress's Commission on Law and Social Action, argued more church-state cases before the United States Supreme Court than any other person in American history, and did more than anyone else to shape and further the legal doctrine of church-state separationism.

But the liberal separationist position did not go wholly unchallenged even in its heyday. In articles published during the 1950s and 1960s, Will Herberg, whose life and writings I discuss in this volume, and other Jewish thinkers began to call for a reassessment of the prevailing liberal Jewish consensus that religion should play no role in American public life.

During the 1960s, as I discuss in my article "Jewish Critics of Strict Separationism," other prominent Jewish thinkers such as Milton Himmelfarb, Jakob J. Petuchowski, Seymour Siegel, and Abraham Joshua Heschel, began to eschew their earlier liberal faith in separationism, and to develop a Jewish conservative argument for the desirability of greater religious involvement in American public life. While supporting state aid to parochial schools and questioning Jewish opposition to public school prayer, they (like Herberg) called for an abandonment of the Jewish separationist agenda in favor of a more pro-religion stance.

During the 1970s and 1980s, a Jewish neoconservative consensus began to emerge concerning the proper relationship between religion and politics and the role of religious and moral values in shaping American public life. Himmelfarb, Siegel, Irving Kristol, Murray Friedman, and Ruth Wisse, among others, all persuasively warned that an American moral and political culture uninformed by religious beliefs and institutions undermined the position of Jews and the health of a democratic society.

Their concern was shared by Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, who, although "a man of the left," emerged late in life as a critic of the liberal strict separationist position. In his later years, he had increasing misgivings about the efforts of liberal Jewish leaders, such as Leo Pfeffer, to challenge the constitutionality of tax exemptions for churches and synagogues. The growth of Jewish day school education, to which Heschel was deeply committed, prompted him to rethink his own earlier opposition to state support for parochial schools. His views on such church-state policy questions—as on other political and social issues that he addressed as a public theologian—were predicated on the assumption that his religious values and beliefs shaped his political commitments. Dissenting from the liberal Jewish consensus, Heschel did not subscribe to the view that religious values and theological insight should be expunged from American public life. His general view of the relation of religion to politics and public life was, in fact, a considerable departure from the prevailing Jewish consensus—and remains

today much closer to the Jewish critique of strict separationism that most liberal Jews oppose.

Until the beginning of the 1970s, it could be argued that the concern of some Jewish community leaders for the position of Jews in the United States was exaggerated. Antisemitism had largely disappeared in the years following World War II. Reaction to the atrocities of the Nazi era was such that even mildly antisemitic public utterances came to be viewed as unacceptable. The civic status of American Jews seemed more secure than ever before.

By 1980, the year that my article on "Jews, Nazis, and Civil Liberties" was published, the "Golden Age" of American Jewish life had come to an end. American Jews were experiencing a growing anxiety over various developments of the previous decade, including the growth of Black Power, the emergence of quotas in employment and education, and the growth of Arab influence in the United States. The political climate of the country was clearly changing; there appeared to be a growing indifference to Jewish political concerns. American Jews viewed themselves as facing new threats to their security.

Adding to the new sense of insecurity was the much-publicized activities of neo-Nazi groups in Skokie, Illinois and in San Francisco, activities that the Jewish community was unable to halt. While few in number, the Nazis, evoking nightmarish memories of the Holocaust, sent a shudder through American Jewry.

In this article, I examine the impact on the American Jewish community of the revival of neo-Nazi activities in the United States. Specifically, I focus on the much-publicized proposed neo-Nazi march through the predominantly Jewish suburb of Skokie, Illinois in 1977, and the opening of a Nazi bookstore—the Rudolf Hess bookstore housed ironically in a building owned by a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz—across the street from a synagogue in San Francisco the same year, and the Jewish community's response to both these events. In both cities, the immediate targets of Nazi provocation were groups of Jewish survivors who had settled in the United States in the aftermath of the Holocaust. In this article, I discuss and analyze the controversial decision of the American Civil Liberties Union to go to court to defend the First Amendment rights of the neo-Nazis to march in Skokie and to open a Nazi bookstore in San Francisco, and the anger of many Jews over the ACLU's decision to do so.

In two of my articles, I discuss the lives and writings of Will Herberg, one of the most thoughtful and provocative American Jewish religious thinkers of the post-World War II generation, and Hannah Arendt, one of America's most influential political theorists and intellectuals of the 1940s–1970s. A Marxist

and atheist through much of his young adulthood, Herberg turned to the study of Judaism only after his romance with Marxism ended. A prolific and influential Jewish theologian and sociologist of religion, beginning in the 1940s his spiritual journey from Marxism to Judaism was unique in the American Jewish intellectual history of the twentieth century. In 1951, Arendt published her magisterial study of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, which established her reputation as a major political theorist, with a gift for sweeping historical generalizations. Few theories of Jewish history have been so controversial as Arendt's thesis of the fundamentally apolitical nature of the modern Jewish experience in the widely acclaimed *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, in which she offered a penetrating analysis of antisemitism and an interpretation of modern Jewish history that has continued to be a source of public discussion and debate among Jewish historians and social scientists alike.

One area of American public life in which Jews have made a notable contribution is sports generally, and baseball in particular. The concluding two articles in this volume are devoted to the historic role and contribution of Hank Greenberg and Sandy Koufax, baseball's two greatest Jewish superstars, and the only Jewish players ever elected to Baseball's Hall of Fame. During his nine-season career, Greenberg led the American League in home runs four times, in RBIs, four times, and was twice voted the American League's Most Valuable Player. Greenberg's significance as a Jewish baseball icon, and his enduring niche in American Jewish history, was achieved in September 1934, when he refused to play on Yom Kippur despite his Detroit Tigers team's pursuit of the American League pennant. Against the backdrop of the rising antisemitism in the Depression decade, which was especially strong in Detroit, Greenberg's decision to publicly affirm Jewish religious tradition by not playing on Yom Kippur was a defining moment and a source of pride and inspiration for Jewish baseball fans throughout America, who came to refer to him as a "Jewish standard bearer" for his people, as a Jewish role model of historic proportions. Koufax, the subject of my second article, was the outstanding Jewish baseball player of the post-World War II era, and one of the greatest pitchers in baseball history. When Koufax refused to pitch the first game of the 1965 World Series, because it fell on Yom Kippur, his decision, like Greenberg's thirty years earlier, was a public affirmation of his Jewish identity that became a source of pride to fellow American Jews. By refusing to pitch on Yom Kippur, Koufax defined himself publicly as a man of religious principle who placed religious faith above craft, and, like Greenberg, became inextricably linked with the American Jewish experience.