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"AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?": A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TWENTIETH CENTURY BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

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# "AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?": A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TWENTIETH CENTURY BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

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## ABSTRACT

## "AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?": A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TWENTIETH CENTURY BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

By

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Between 1920 and 2007, approximately one hundred articles and essays, twenty monographs, and six anthologies have been published on the intriguing relationship between Black and Jewish Americans. This body of scholarship is dense, wide-reaching, analytically sound, and is often times a reflection of changes in American history and society. This essay critically surveys the significant scholarship published on the relationships between African Americans and Jewish Americans during the twentieth century. This comprehensive historiography serves as a tool for exploring how various historical interactions between Blacks and Jews were influenced by the rules, conventions, and protocols of a broader American culture. By critically studying the intersection between race, class, economics, politics, education, and identity formation, I am better able to assess historical interactions between African Americans and Jewish Americans. Looking at the associations between these two historically marginalized groups we can better understand the implications of categories such as ethnicity on intercultural coalition building and how we can overcome barriers that have strained and divided Black-Jewish relations.

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## INTRODUCTION

Black and Jewish relations in the United States have been the subject of considerable dialogue over the past three decades. Peter R. Rose's assessment "that Black-Jewish relations have always had a paradoxical quality: Blacks and Jews have been strangers to one another, more than popular liberal sentiment would suggest; neighbors, who, at least in the North have lived and worked in close proximity if not equality; allies in the struggle for civil rights; and opponents, especially on issues as diverse as affirmative action and American policy in the Middle East "[1] is echoed by scholars such as Jack Salzman, Cornell West, Philip Foner, Cheryl Greenberg, Huey Perry, and Ruth B. White. These scholars all ascribe to a model of convergence and conflict; wherein, the "great alliance" forged during the civil rights movement is perceived as almost nonexistent in contemporary society. "The focus of the discussion usually is whether this relationship, once characterized by support and cooperation forged as allies in the civil rights struggle in the South, actually has taken a turn for the worse in recent years."[2] To better understand the strides made by American citizens, both Black and White, during the twentieth century struggle for African American civil liberties attention must be given to the efforts of inter-racial/ethnic coalitions to achieve such liberties. In examining the interaction between American Blacks and Jews a deeper appreciation is garnered for how matters of race, space, identity, and culture intertwine to generate or impede interethnic coalitions.

The purpose of this essay is to critically survey the significant scholarship on twentieth century American Black-Jewish relations in order to better understand how scholars have conceptualized and written about its various dimensions throughout the

years. By exploring the various degrees by which historical interactions between Blacks and Jews were subject to the rules, conventions, and protocols of larger White European society scholars have dissected and reconstructed the triumphs and pitfalls of American Black-Jewish interactions. "In other words how authentic and positive were these relationships (primary, secondary, official, symbolic), or how were such contacts influenced negatively by racial, religious, economic, social and political considerations."[3] When investing these scholarly works it is to recognize that neither group is monolithic in its opinions or actions, and place both ethnicities in their proper historical, regional, and cultural contexts. Furthermore after examining the historiography, I hope to have grasped which factors (i.e. religious, racial, economic, politics, class, education, or identity) prove to be more critical in formulating the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of each community toward each other, and how such factors impact inter-ethnic communication.

While literature on Black -Jewish relations can be found as early as the 1920s, the upsurge of scholarship produced from the late 1960s through the 1970s showcases the increasing interest of scholars in critiquing the impact of twentieth century events on Black-Jewish associations. Scholars quickly recognized the need to investigate the coalition between African Americans and Jewish Americans an alliance that is typically viewed as reaching its pinnacle during the modern civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and slowly disintegrating by the end of the Black Power era. By the late 1970s, historians and social scientists critiqued the coalition between two historically marginalized, yet very different peoples to better understand the complexities of the civil rights movement and growth of liberalism among American youth.

Increased tensions between the two groups, ideological changes, and different political and social concerns resulted in a lack of scholarship during the 1980s and early 1990s. Since the mid 1990s, however, a revisionist history of Black-Jewish relations has emerged. The focus has moved from the master narrative of the great alliance to focusing on its participants, male and female, Jewish and Black, northern and southern. No longer was the ultimate goal of scholars to ascertain the problems, but to provide detailed historic accounts of Black-Jewish interactions by placing them within the context of their ethnic communities and the larger American society.

Although I rely primarily on a chronological approach I do employ a thematic process to analyze the literature on Black-Jewish relations in the South. Taking this approach allows me to identify the overarching themes, questions, and portrayals of Black-Jewish relations which appear throughout the historiography. While the bulk of the literature was published after the 1960s, there are several pioneering works from the first half of the twentieth century that must be addressed in order to properly contextualize the evolution of this scholarship. Earlier works focus on African American anti-Semitism and Jewish racism; while much of the contemporary scholarship has evolved to spotlight interactions between African Americans and Jewish Americans who were residents of or traveled to the South.

Although contact between Blacks and Jews in the United States began as early as the colonial era, it was not until the twentieth century that it increased in consistency and scale. Scholars such as Louis Harap explored how Jewish acceptance of the racial status quo could often be beneficial and practical for southern Jews, but it often came at the expense of upholding traditional Jewish beliefs in charity and human rights. "The

acceptance of the racial status quo by Jews in the South was not only practical in term of the risks associated with openly opposing slavery and the economic benefits associated with participating in the slave business; it was also self-serving in the sense that the presence of slaves prevented Jews from being at the bottom of the social system."[4]

Eugene Bender's 1969 article "Reflections of Negro-Jewish Relations" examines Black-Jewish relations primarily during the antebellum period; "however, the concluding remarks are meant to spell out, in contemporary terms, selected implications of these historical patterns."[5] Bender's essay is focused primarily on Jews' response to the abolitionist movement. He argues that Jewish concern or indifference to the plight of slaves can be seen as taking two paths: Jews in the North who where cognizant but indifferent to the existence of southern slavery and southern Jews who for the most part ignored slaves and the evils of the peculiar institution.[6] Southern Jews were placed in a precarious position. Realizing their susceptibility to persecution for their religion, many southern Jews opted to either disregard or engage in the peculiar institution practiced by the wider population. "Hence many students of American Jewish communal life have long felt that Jews took on the coloration of the people amongst whom they lived. Essentially this adds up to saying that Jewish attitudes and behavior toward Negroes departed little from the prevailing norms of such communities."[7]

Bender's article was published as when Jewish involvement in the African American civil rights struggles was waning, and African American acceptance of a Black Power ideology that promoted self-sufficiency and community control was increasing. Like many other African American intellectuals and leaders of the time, Bender questioned Jewish motives for aiding Blacks and sought to critique the issue based on

Black-Jewish interactions during the antebellum era. Bender suggests that slaves identified Jews less for their religious affiliation and more as White slave masters and traders that were equally as White as Gentiles. "It is reasonable to assume that most Negro slaves perceived Jews as no more allies than the typical white Christian oppressors."[8] What Bender fails to ask is whether their resentment of Jews was exacerbated by the anti-Semitism which can often be found in the larger Christian community.

Scholars have portrayed Northern Jews more often as abolitionists than their southern counterparts. Nineteenth century Jewish involvement in organizations such as the New York Manumissions Society and the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery serves as early indicators of Jewish liberalism and their dedication to remedy the evils of oppression. "The New York Society saw as its duty to help Negroes who 'destitute of friends and of knowledge; struggling with poverty; and accustomed to submission; they are at great disadvantages asserting their rights.'"[9] Nevertheless during the 1960s, conversations of Jewish involvement in the slave business often outweighed dialogue regarding their contributions as abolitionists. Such polarities as these serve as catalysts for scholars who question the sincerity of the Jewish community in aiding Blacks during the struggle for civil rights.[10] While Bender's work is vital for identifying a tradition within the Jewish community of fighting for African Americans' civil rights, it does not detail the direct interaction between Blacks and Jews during the struggle to end slavery. Bender's work is a history of Jewish involvement in civil liberty politics that briefly delves into the relationship between Blacks and Jews in antebellum America. However his 1969 essay is still currently one of the only texts that

describe Jewish involvement in slavery and abolitionism, while simultaneously dissecting African American perceptions of their fellow oppressed brethren. His article identifies problems that would face both Black and Jewish communities well into the twentieth century. Black Americans contemplated whether to consider Jewish Americans their brethren or merely enemies cloaked in white skin, and Jewish Americans had to decide between security, status, and safety or complying with their religious doctrines and aiding those in need.

## Early Writings on Black and Jewish Associations

The atrocities surrounding World War II and the reactions it saw, caused both groups begin to fully realize their vulnerability as "ethnic outcasts." We see numerous calls and responses from both groups to act favorably in each other's behalf to purge social and government institutions of their discriminatory practices. Forced to evaluate their positions as allies against violations of human and civil rights globally, many members of Jewish American and African American communities formed alliances. The horrors of Nazi Germany, genocide, and concentration camps resounded worldwide, and reinvigorated domestic fears of government sanctioned human rights violations. If the United States was allowing the human rights of its African American citizens to be violated through lynching, disenfranchisement, and Jim Crow, how long before the atrocities committed in Europe became domestic realties? A mutual realization of the need for Blacks and Jews to unite prompted scholars and social activists Louis Harap and L.D. Reddick to address the public in 1942 with their concerns. Harap's article "Anti-Negroism among Jews" appeared in the *Negro Quarterly* in 1942. He argued that "the full and active realization on the part of Jews of their common destiny with the Negroes

has come very slowly";[11] he also encouraged Jews to look more closely at formulating organizational alliances between African Americans and Jewish Americans.

Harap acknowledged that Jews were probably slow to act due to their higher economic status coupled with delusions that the intensity of African American oppression did not warrant a strong reaction.[12] "This different intensity of oppression has fostered in many Jews that their position is different from that of the Negro."[13] He identified the possible rationale of some Jews for their lack of action on behalf of the Black community by arguing that in their quest for acceptance adherence to the "color line" can largely be to blame for their sentiments toward African Americans. In his assessment of Jewish inaction he does not overlook those Jews who were dedicated to the Black struggle early on. He spotlights the work of individuals such as Dr. David Einhorn and Moriz Pinner during the abolitionist movement. "While Jews have never as an organized group been enemies of the Negro people, they might be said to have erred by omission rather than by commission. Nevertheless, there are plenty of examples of Jews who have been in the front lines of the battle for Negro rights."[14] Harap clearly identified the personal challenges that many members of the Jewish community faced when having to decide their role in the struggle for Black rights. Harap's essay illuminates the reservations and internal conflicts that even the most liberal Jewish Americans faced when deciding their position on African American civil liberties. Jewish omission, Harap claimed, was a necessary means of survival in a society that is often less accepting of those that are not of white European descent.

L.D. Reddick embraced a more direct approach in his examination of Black sentiments toward Jews, and chastised both Blacks and Jews for their inability to work together as two oppressed peoples. He asserted:

> To a man from Mars it must seem strange and tragically ironic that the Jewish and Negro peoples on planet Earth are not allies. The Martian observer sees the Jews kicked about in Germany and the Negroes kicked about in Georgia; and yet both Jew and Negro continue to insist upon the privilege of facing their doom separately, whereas together they could stand and fight.[15]

Published in the same issue of the *Negro Quarterly* as Harap's article, Reddick's "Anti-Semitism among Negroes" confronted the manifestations and issues surrounding anti-Semitism and "anti-Negroism" in a strategic fashion that left no party without blame. "Worst of all, we must admit that there is anti-Negroism among Jews and anti-Semitism among Negroes."[16] As did Harap, Reddick attempted to provide the reader a framework within which both Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism can be contextualized. He pointed to anti-Semitism among Blacks as principally an urban phenomenon, and also argued that ill feelings towards Jews were primarily tied to stereotypes held by the larger American society. Furthermore, he perceived Black anti-Semitism as a symptom of greater conflict-ridden associations between African Americans and White Americans. The relationship of merchant and consumer, landlord and tenant, employer and employee, servant and mistress wherein Blacks were typically the exploited party impaired African American perceptions of White Americans, both Jew and Gentile."The more overt and intense forms of anti-Jewish sentiment among Negroes are to be found clustered about certain rather definite areas of competition and conflict ...the belief is widespread in the Negro community that a large share of the exploiting landlords are Jewish."[17] Reddick's

essay is a valuable critique of the negative impact of both Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism on the creation and sustainability of inter-ethnic coalitions.

While the early 1940s saw increased empathy on the part of both African Americans and Jews, it appears that true collaboration still eluded them. Reddick claimed that "[t]he Martian observer sees the Jews kicked about in Germany and the Negroes kicked about in Georgia; and yet both Jew and Negro continue to insist upon the privilege of facing their doom separately, whereas together they could stand and fight."[18] Despite the combined efforts of individuals such as W.E.B. DuBois and Henry Moskowitz to establish the NAACP in 1909 and such philanthropic contributions as those of Julius Rosenwald to Tuskegee University, large-scale Black-Jewish coalitions during the opening years of the twentieth century were limited.

Leading African American intellectual Horace Mann Bond proposed a different analysis of Black sentiments towards Jews contending that Blacks do in fact hold more positive attitudes towards Jews than most White Gentiles. Like many of his counterparts, he believed any negative dispositions toward American Jews came from their economic role as landlords and merchants and not from their ethnic identity. "Some Jews have bought up that urban re-development land and are putting up shoddy apartments they call 'Nigger housing' on it."[19] The true extent of African American anti-Semitism and Jewish racism will never be known; nevertheless, scholarship suggests that it was the struggle for power, economic gain, and security that lay at the heart of so much of the discord between African Americans and Jewish Americans. By the 1950s, such discord was still apparent, and issues of the past (i.e. Jewish inaction, slavery and sentiments of economic exploitation) were regaining attention in the scholarly literature.

**Scholarship from 1956-1981**

A resident of Miami Beach, Florida Esther Levine did not mix words when she called for immediate Jewish action in supporting school desegregation and an end to Jim Crow. In 1956, at the height of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Esther Levine was quite disenchanted with leaders and members of the Anti-Deformation League (ADL) and the American Jewish Committee (AJC) for their unwillingness to act quickly and boldly. Her essay, "Southern Jewish Views on Segregation: Report of a Discussion on Approaches toward Meeting the Problem" recognized that "there must be a special approach to Southern Jewry to help it find its rightful place in the struggle for equality and justice in the South."[20] Yet, she warned against the "super-cautious and super-gradual"[21] approach of hoping that by educating southern Jews it will prompt them into action. Levine pointed to the thousands of Jews in the South that she claimed were ready to champion equality for all, but were stymied for want of leadership from larger organizations such as ADL and AJC. Unlike her male intellectual counterparts of the 1940s and early 1950s, Esther Levine prompted southern Jews to recognize their peculiar position in the South, but not let it hinder them in the slightest from their activist responsibilities. Unlike so many other works, she focused less on assessing blame for inaction, and instead prompted Jewish action. Unfortunately by the mid-1960s the optimism found in Ester Levine's article was almost obsolete.

The 1969 collection of essays introduced by Nat Hentoff in *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism,* is indicative of Black and Jewish willingness and unwillingness to confront issues of racism and anti-Semitism, and the impact that these matters had on the creation and collapse of Black-Jewish relations. Hentoff's volume contains essays

written throughout the 1960s by James Baldwin, Earl Raab, Harold Cruse, Walter Karp, and H.R. Shapiro, some of the most prominent members of both the African American and Jewish communities.

African American migration during the first half of the twentieth century to northern cities where Jews were more prevalent increased inter-ethnic contact between Blacks and Jews, and it is in these interactions where we see the roots of future points of accord and conflict. Echoing Reddick's and Bond's essays, James Baldwin's "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic because They're Anti-White" discusses growing up in New York and what he considers as his demoralizing series of Jewish landlords.[22] Baldwin's prominence as an African American leader during the modern civil rights movement, and as a poet, novelist, and playwright, makes his explanation of Black anti-Semitism all the more intriguing. While ethnic and cultural differences undoubtedly played a role in formulating negative perceptions of Jewish Americans, it appears as if Baldwin's, Reddick's, and Bond's work all attribute Black anti-Semitism to the Jewish man's role as a White merchant and landlord and not their ethnic heritage. Drawing from his experiences growing up in Harlem, Baldwin offered a candid first-hand interpretation of urban African American opinions of the Jewish community. "When we were growing up in Harlem our demoralizing series of landlords were Jewish, and we hated them. We hated them because they were terrible landlords and did not take care of the building."[23] Baldwin explains how as a child, he resented Jewish Americans because he felt as exploited by them. He complicates his anti-Semitism by asserting that he was angry with anyone who appeared to have white skin that exploited Black people. More importantly and contrary to the arguments of many of his contemporaries, "[t]he root of anti-

Semitism among Negroes is, ironically, the relationship of colored peoples-all over the globe-to the Christian world."[24] Baldwin associates Christianity with being the catalyst behind global oppression and therefore it is the true stimulus behind Black anti-Semitism. "[T]he most ironical thing about Negro anti-Semitism is that the Negro is really condemning the Jew for having become an American white man-for having become, in effect, a Christian."[25] While many African Americans are Christians, for Baldwin Christianity should ultimately be considered the religion of White European descendant peoples. Christianity was but one means used to oppress Jewish peoples globally, and its practices, both negative and positive, have been passed down over time to all of its followers irrespective of race. For Baldwin, the intolerance toward Jews found in Christianity is but another catalyst to promote Black anti-Semitism.

He then scolded those Jewish Americans who insist that their struggle resembled that of African Americans, and illuminated how such commentary made Black Americans more hostile towards them. "One does not wish...to be told by an American Jew that his suffering is as great as the American Negro's suffering. It isn't, and one knows that it isn't from the very tone in which he assures you that it is."[26] Baldwin further asserted that many Americans including Jews do not realize the America that they live in is not the same America that most African Americans live in, and implored Jewish Americans to understand that fact. "Very few Americans, and this includes Jews, have courage to recognize that the America of which they dream and boast is not the America in which the Negro lives. It is a country which the Negro has never seen."[27] This idea of space and occupying "insider vs. outsider" status as an American citizen proves to be a topic of contention that resonated in the literature by the late 1960s.

The space that Jewish Americans occupy in America was a theme found continually in Hentoff's collection of essays. Like Baldwin, Rabbi Jay Kaufman attempted to tackle the issue of Black anti-Semitism, but provided a less objective approach of analyzing both groups to derive conclusions. Rabbi Kaufman's "Thou Shalt Surely Rebuke Thy Neighbor" focuses on Black manifestations of anti-Semitism and the strain that it placed on Black-Jewish relations. Not willing to merely explain away Black anti-Semitism as anti-White sentiment, Kaufman challenged African American leaders to chastise prejudice and speak out boldly against Black Power ideology which he felt encouraged anti-Jewish and Israeli opinion.

By the end of the 1960s, literature on Black-Jewish relations began to focus less on manifestations of early prejudice and more on the rise and fall of the coalition formed between African Americans and Jews during the modern civil rights movement. The successful efforts of Blacks and Jews to end Jim Crow, end lynching, desegregate schools, protect African American voting rights, and put an end to legal discrimination were all missions that had brought them together since the beginning of the century. The redirection of the literature can primarily be attributed to a growing need to make sense of the events of the 1960s and how they impacted the state of Black-Jewish relations. Scholars saw the decline of the Black-Jewish coalition, the emergence of Black Power, the support of many militant African Americans of Arabs in Israel in the aftermath of the 1967 Six Day War (Arab-Israeli War), and the shift by many Jewish Americans toward liberal causes such as the anti-war campaign against Vietnam and the women's rights struggle as a signal to investigate Black-Jewish associations. Scholars became increasingly fascinated by the accomplishments and failures of the Black-Jewish

coalition, chiefly for its ability to promote tangible change in the structure of America's social and political institutions. Emerging scholarship became preoccupied with analyzing the intricacies that surrounded the Black-Jewish alliance of the civil rights movement. Dialogues often began with analysis of manifestations of Jewish racism and Black anti-Semitism during the inter-war years and conclude with critiques of Black Power and Jewish nationalism. This pattern can initially be seen in 1970 with Robert Weisbord and Arthur Stein's *Bittersweet Encounter.*

Originally, Weisbord and Stein were attempting to answer the call by scholars for a historic analysis of Black-Jewish relations during the twentieth century by writing *Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew.* Nevertheless, it fell short of expectations and proved to resemble a book length analysis of the evolution of twentieth century Black sentiments toward Jews.[28] Along with not meeting other's hopes, the book did not meet the authors' intended goals of "provid[ing] a study which places contemporary Jewish-Negro relations in historic perspective; and hopefully to shed some light on an area of interracial relations that has already generated much heat and misunderstanding in recent years."[29] *Bittersweet Encounter* differed from the works of Harap and Rabbi Kaufman in two distinct ways. Weisbord and Stein argued that despite some superficial similarities, the Jewish American experience had little in common with the Black experience and that the racism of many Jews is inseparable and indistinguishable from White Americans' racism. "Clearly though, the pattern of social discrimination was never as extensive as that which affected the Negro. Jews have not been forced to walk across southern towns to get a drink of water."[30] The first chapter, "The Jew and the Negro in American History," is dedicated to chronicling the differences

between the Black American and Jewish American experiences. The authors' asserted that while American Jews were discriminated against, the atrocities that African Americans suffered on American soil were far worse.

> But who can deny that Jews are privileged, not deprived? In the main, they are comfortably ensconced as members of America's bourgeoisie. When they are barred from country clubs, Jews build their own, just as big and just as gaudy as those that exclude them. If Jews live in ghettos today they are golden ghettos for the most part, and Jews are there by choice. Therefore, a Jew who tells a Negro that he, too, understands bigotry and brutality may actually enrage the latter.[31]

They also contended that African American resentment of Jews has little in common with traditional types of anti-Semitism. In fact, they argue that African American resentment was a manifestation of urban ghetto life and disdain for underhanded economic exploitation. The so-called Bronx Slave Market,[32] the unwillingness of shop owners to employ African Americans, discrimination in shopping areas, and inequity in promotion and recruiting were all factors that lead to anti-White and anti-Semitic sentiments among African Americans between WWI and WWII. Weisbord and Stein argued that the Great Depression further aggravated tensions between Blacks and Jews, a time during which with African Americans had to continue to humble themselves in order to survive. Still, the bulk of the authors' work focused on discrediting allegations of Black anti-Semitism during the 1960s in relation to events such as the civil rights movement, the New York City Ocean-Hill Brownsville school strike of 1968, the 1968 "Hatchett Affair" at New York University,[33] and the rise of Black Power ideology.

By dissecting the prevalence and nature of anti-Semitism among Blacks, Weisbord's and Stein's text served as a counter argument for those that exaggerate and distort the degree of anti-Semitism among African Americans. "Blacks consistently emerge as less anti-Semitic than white gentiles where economic stereotypes are not involved."[34] The authors also challenge tenets of Jewish racism and the reluctance of the many members of the Jewish community to openly address some of their racist practices. "Jewish negative feelings about Negroes are often expressed privately but rarely appear in print."[35] While *Bittersweet Encounter* falls short of its objective of providing a historical analysis of the evolution of Black-Jewish relations, it is still noteworthy for its ability to provide a broader understanding of how opinions and stereotypes developed across ethnic lines.

Taken in combination, the studies of Baldwin, Kaufman, and Weisbord and Stein appear to suggest that many African Americans during the 1960s were willing to publicly discuss, identify, and challenge charges of Black anti-Semitism. This so-called willingness on the behalf African Americans can be attributed to two different circumstances. During the early half of the 1960s, African Americans were willing discuss and sometimes dismiss their anti-Semitism as a symptoms of their anti-White/anti-exploitation sentiments. Secondly, by the latter half of the 1960s many African Americans were condemning Black anti-Semitism as nothing more than a product of problematic Black Power ideologies that sought to isolate African Americans from the rest of society.

The scars of an alliance that had all but dissipated by the end of the 1960s are most readily seen in the literature produced in the aftermath of the civil rights movement.

All too often scholars writing about the Black-Jewish coalition were still linked to their experiences as young liberals working in an inter-ethnic movement to rid America of its discriminatory practices. Young idealists eventually became leading intellectuals whose scholarship on Black-Jewish relations often reflected their experiences. While scholarly in nature, the literature between 1969-1981 is often wrought with conspiracy theories, accusations of anti-Semitism, and more importantly the need to declare culpability for the demise of the alliance. Objectivity is not lost on all authors during this era; yet preoccupation with determining "what went wrong" left significant holes in the scholarship regarding matters such as region, gender, political association, and class that would not be adequately addressed until the end of the millennium.

> The lessons of history have been demonstrated in every corner of the globe: that no "minority" which fights alone can save itself and that the world will "little note nor long remember" any minority which howls about its own persecutions and at the same time stands indifferent when the same persecutions are inflicted upon another disadvantaged group.[36]

When L.D. Reddick wrote these words, he could not have predicted that in as little as a decade American society would see the fruits of a Black-Jewish alliance with the 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision to desegregate schools. As early as 1969, Eugene Bender had called for "a historic analysis of change and stability in these relationships...and an attempt to assess the patterns of these relationships with reference to the dynamics of American society."[37] Philip Foner contended that "most recent works exist in an historical vacuum...and it seem[s] none of the authors concern themselves with a systematic exploration of black-Jewish relations before the 1950s."[38] Calls by Foner and Eugene Bender for scholarship that offered a historic analysis seem to have

fallen on mostly deaf ears until the 1970s, when two significant scholarly studies appeared that focused on the evolution of Black-Jewish relations in the United States. Both works, authored by, Lerona Berson and Hasia Diner, were the first books by women officially on the subject.

Lenora E. Berson's 1971 work *The Negroes and the Jews* is the first book that thoroughly addressed the historic evolution of the Black-Jewish alliance. Berson begins with her analysis in antebellum South Carolina and concludes with the 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville case in Brooklyn, NY and the rise of Black Power. "This book is the strange story of the relationship between the Negroes and the Jews, from its beginning to the present. This is the story of the facts and the myths, the real and the illusory. It is the story of the effect of this ambivalent partnership on America's past, present, and future."[39] Berson's study still serves as one of the most comprehensive studies to investigate how social and political issues in the United States effected Black-Jewish relations.

Touching on urban conflicts, fascism, communism, association with the Democratic Party, the Depression, WWII, White flight, creation of suburbs, the civil rights movement, Zionism, and the treatment of Black Jews, Berson's study concluded that "As allies [Black and Jewish Ameicans] are at the core of the liberal movement in the United States. As antagonists they may well hasten the nation down the bloody road of racism and reaction."[40] She asserted that the common denominator that unites Blacks and Jews is found in the tradition of otherness. "Both have been victims of caste systems which viewed them as pariahs, and in this they are unique among Americans."[41] While the Depression of the 1930s coupled with the mass migration of Jews proceeding WWII

triggered urban anti-Semitism among Whites; the migration of African Americans after the war set off nationwide phobia against Black Americans. "Whereas the Jew-hater envies the Jew his success and attributes his own failure to Hebrew guile, the Negro-hater fears becoming contaminated by the man he scorn, deprived of class and caste."[42]

Following her analysis of White anti-Semitism and "Negrophobia," Berson discussed African American self-help efforts that preceded the union between Blacks and Jews. Discussing the self-help initiatives of individuals such as Booker T. Washington in conjunction with the larger African American community, Berson reconstructed Black-self help initiatives and its appeal to the larger Jewish community. She pointed to the early efforts of Jewish philanthropist Julius Rosenwald and his work with Washington as foreshadowing efforts by the larger Jewish community in the African American struggle for civil rights. One drawback of Berson's study is her often seeming paternalistic tone when addressing the need for Jewish Americans to act on behalf of African Americans, or the establishment of a sect of Black Jews as attempting to ultimately emulate Jews. "When they [Jewish Americans] recovered from their initial shock, most Jews were bemused by the spectacle of Negroes trying to emulate them."[43] The relationship between African Americans and Jewish Americans that appeared in Berson's text is one that never reached a deep level of respect or sincerity, but was merely the product of both groups recognizing the beneficial nature of such an alliance to meet the greater goals and ambitions of their respective communities. This is seen in her discussion of Jewish philanthropist Julius Rosenwald. Rosenwald donated large sums of money to the cause of Black uplift primarily because he saw the great strides being made by African Americans and the glass ceiling they hit because of their supposed lower class, racial, and citizenship

status. "The dictum is that discrimination against one minority group is bad for all minority groups; in essence the battle for Negro rights is the battle for Jewish rights. The lesson of Cain had been learned. The Jew was to be his black brother's keeper."[44]

By the book's conclusion, the reader should have gained clarity not only on issues dealing with Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism, but also on the factors that contributed to various circumstances and interactions between Blacks and Jews. Berson's discussion of the impact of Black Power ideology, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville case, and the relocation of Jews to areas outside of the city are provocative in the sense that she grapples well with the notion of how group identity influences future politics. She predicted the African American shift from focusing on liberal politics to addressing problems plaguing the Black community (i.e. poverty and access to institutions that provide economic and social mobility) coupled with the movement of Jewish Americans toward conservatism would adversely impact the future of the Left.

> Should either the Jew or the Negro desert his position in the liberal coalition, which realistically exists only within the Democratic Party, the nation would undoubtedly veer sharply and rapidly to the right. It has been the tacit electoral alliance between Negroes and Jews which lain at the heart of Democratic party liberal politics and has acted as a brake not only on the conformist instincts of the Catholics and Southerners within its tent, but also as a safety valve in the political life of the nation as a whole.[45]

Although it was published six years later and deals with a shorter time span, Hasia Diner's 1981 *In the Almost Promised Land* proved in many ways to be less provocative than Berson's work. Diner's work focused mainly on American Jewish involvement in the modern civil rights struggle of the 1940s-1960s. She uses Black American struggles

as the lens to view Jewish ethnic responses to American democratic hypocrisy. Diner contends that Jewish involvement in the Black struggle stemmed less from the prophetic outsider tradition of Jews, and more from a need to fulfill their ethnic needs in a society that was not accepting of Jews. Fighting for freedom, justice, and equality are considered fundamental components of being American. As a result, Diner asserts that championing a fight for African American civil rights would essentially strengthen their connection to true American citizenry. Her work is also unique as it placed the disintegration of Black-Jewish relations not in the late 1960s but in the mid-1930s when she claims the needs of both groups were diverging.

Both groups sought the protection of the law against discrimination and physical harm, but by the 1930s the dissimilar needs of both communities became apparent. African Americans were increasingly concerned with open access to all institutions, community control, economic and educational empowerment and gaining their rights as full citizens. Jewish American concerns were often reflective of those of African Americans when it came to issues such as institutional access, but by the 1930s Jewish Americans were increasingly aware of how to negotiate the space between being White, Jewish, and American. Restrictive covenants that denied them access to White suburban neighborhoods repeatedly reminded them of their status as not quite American. While the Holocaust proved to be a uniting force between African Americans and Jews, it also amplified Jewish concern for the safety of their communities globally and domestically. Like Diner, Philip Foner's 1975 article further expounded on the difficulties that both Blacks and Jews faced during the first half of the twentieth century.

Philip Foner's "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century" remains a significant source on early twentieth century Black-Jewish relations. Using primary sources, he examines a sometime dysfunctional relationship between Blacks and Jews that made itself most evident in printed primary sources of both groups. "[I]t is an essential part of that study [on Black-Jewish relations], for the opening years of the twentieth century provided the first well-focused incidents of national importance in which blacks and Jews came into conflict."[46] He reconstructs Black-Jewish relations at the dawn of the twentieth century by analyzing newspapers such as *The Christian Recorder, The Colored American, The Public,* and the *Baltimore Sun.*

Foner argued that at the dawn of the twentieth century the sympathy and willingness of African Americans to identify with and help Jews was met primarily with contempt by their Jewish brethren. Foner sites Dr. Solomon Cohen's 1903 letter to the *The Public,* a weekly newsletter in Chicago. "There was, he charged, absolutely no relationship between the treatment of Jews in Russia and that accorded to Negroes in the United States, for it was simply ridiculous 'to contrast the advance stage of intellectual and moral development of the Jews in general with the limited progress that masses of Negroes in America have made.'"[47] Notions of Jewish contempt and unwillingness to be classified amongst Blacks is a far cry from Hasia Diner's point that American Jews equated working for the advancement of Blacks as bolstering their American identities.

African American leaders along with the Black newspapers such as *The Crisis* and *the Pittsburgh Courier* continually encouraged African Americans to use the Jewish experience as a viable model to overcome oppression and gain economic and educational empowerment. Despite being praised for their perseverance as a people, Foner declared

that by dawn of the twentieth century, anti-Semitic editorials were also being produced in conjunction with more positive pieces. Black Americans, according to Foner, were beginning to recognize the flaws in the Jewish community and its connection to and aspirations for "whiteness." "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century" does an excellent job of utilizing printed materials to illustrate how African Americans initially identified with the plight of Jews internationally; but upon being met with indifference from Jewish Americans their attitudes toward Jews gradually shifted. "A reading of the black press in the early years of the twentieth century leads to the conclusion that many blacks believed that the Jews had been tested and had failed to live up to the principles of Moses and the prophets."[48]

The suspicion that Foner's article addressed is a reflection of sentiments that can also be found in Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* which touches on a host of the various themes found throughout this essay (i.e. anti-Semitsm, Jewish racism, and power/economic struggles). More importantly, it is indicative of both the growing suspicion among some members of the African American community and the disintegrating nature of the Black-Jewish civil rights coalition. Published in 1967, Cruse's work sparked debate within both African American and Jewish American communities. By questioning Jewish motives for their involvement in the struggle for civil rights and condemning African American figures such as James Baldwin and Archie Shepp for their close relationships with Jewish Americans, Cruse prompted mass response from scholars and activists regarding his opinions.

In "Negroes and Jews-The Two Nationalisms and the Bloc(ked) Plurity," Cruse begins by acknowledging that the words that follow may shock or offend certain readers,

but quickly reminds readers that Jewish literature consistently comments on inter-minority group issues. Cruse chastised the African American community, particularly its intellectuals, for their willingness to believe that Jewish Americans are in fact kindred spirits and brethren to Black Americans. "For, many years, certain Negro intellectuals have been unable to face the Jews realistically. Among the many myths life and history have imposed on Negroes...is the myth that the Negro's best friend is the Jew. There is little evidence that the Jewish group was much interested in the Negro's plight for 'social uplift.'"[49] He pointed first to the issue of slavery and rejected the notion that liberal traditions among Jews dated back to abolitionism. "They were pro-slavery, anti-slavery, slave-owners, slave-traders, pro-Union, pro-Confederate, war profiteers, army officers, soldiers, spies, statesmen, opportunistic politicians or indifferent victims of intersectional strife of the Civil War."[50]

Cruse encouraged Black intellectuals and activists to be more critical in their thought processes, including their stance regarding Jewish Americans and their role in aiding the African American community. Cruse seemed to be less troubled with the position African Americans took regarding Jewish Americans as long as they arrived at a conclusion using critical analysis. He goes on to critique Black intelligentsia for allowing Jewish Americans to deal with the plight of African Americans on their own terms. "Negroes have either been uncritically pro-Jewish or critically tongue-tied on both matters. Such ambivalence toward Jews stems partly from the fact that Negro intellectuals and critics allow them to deal with the Negro issue on *their own* terms from *their* position of social power."[51] While scholarship does consistently indicate that the question of power and who possess it has been source of contention, the literature has yet

to prove that either group's voice was completely silenced during their interaction. The relationship that Cruse portrays is one of unquestioning servitude by African Americans. Such a depiction of his community not only oversimplifies the fluid nature of Black-Jewish relations, but reduces members of the African American community to little more than mindless puppets. The concern then becomes, if in fact Jewish Americans possess the power in this coalition where does that leave African Americans in their struggle for community control and identity?

It is in answering the above question that Cruse approaches the most sensitive and contentious of topics, and also where he received some of the most outspoken criticisms. By rejecting the notion that American Blacks and Jews are fellow sufferers, Cruse argued that in fact most African Americans and Jews are embarrassed or resentful that such comparisons are even made. He also declared that in the case of Zionists it is less the sentiment of "brotherhood" that drew them to the fight against racism, but a strategic plan to dismantle the American Anglo-Saxon power structure. "[O]rganizational and propaganda techniques reveal that influential Zionist thought sees Anglo-Saxon nationalism in the United States as its main potential political threat."[52] Furthermore, he accused Jews of using African Americans as a means to divert the attention of Anglo-Saxon America away from the positive strides made by the Jewish community.

Cruse condemned Jewish Americans that believed African Americans should be grateful for their assistance in the struggle for equality, particularly since he believes they had ulterior motives. While he does admonish Jewish Americans, Cruse's focus is on speaking to the African American community regarding their interactions with Jewish Americans. He implores them to be wary of what he considers to be Jewish modes of

manipulation and propaganda. "There are far too many Jews from Jewish organizations into whose privy councils Negroes are not admitted, who nevertheless are involved in every civil rights and American-African organization, creating policy and otherwise analyzing the Negro from all possible angles."[53] In his estimation, African American leaders "will never achieve any kind of equality until more Negro intellectuals are equipped with the latest research and propaganda" and are willing to accept the path to greatness is through cultural nationalism.[54] For Cruse, this is the same cultural nationalism that made Jews a powerful force in American society. Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* is indicative of the scholarship of both Black and Jewish Americans that focuses on negative aspects of the interactions between Blacks and Jews; nevertheless by the late 1980s and into the new millennium the trend in scholarship shifts toward telling the story of coalition building and social change.

**Scholarship of the 1980s and the New Millennium**

Literature on Black-Jewish relations began to fade by the early 1980s. The once praised alliance seemed to disintegrate and this lack of scholarship reflected the dying political and social coalition. In 1986, Huey Perry and Ruth B. White's article "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation between Blacks and Jews in the United States" reflected the sentiments of Peter Rose's works that categorizes the great alliance as reaching its high point during the Civil Rights Movement and rapidly crumbling by the late 1960s.[55] "The position taken in this paper is that the relationship between Blacks and Jews has been transformed from one of support and cooperation during the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s to one of conflict and suspicion during the 1970s and 1980s."[56] As far as the analysis of the 1950s and 1960s, White and Perry's article brings little that is new

to the conversation. It is in their discussion of events during the 1970s and 1980s where the work shows promise.

For a coalition that was thought to be all but dead by the early 1970s, it is intriguing that into the 1980s African Americans and Jews still seemed to express hostile feelings towards one another.[57] Perry and White explore the issues of the late 1970s and 1980s that resulted in increasing antagonism between both communities, and its impact on the union's ability to function. According to Perry and White, the partnership began to weaken when African Americans started focusing less on issues of segregation and discrimination in the South and turned their attention to the socio-economic ills of northern cities such as Chicago and New York. Furthermore, "[a]nother reason for the exodus was that some Northern civil rights supporters who applauded the victories in the South had difficulty coping with the social and economic integration of blacks in their region of the country."[58]

President Lyndon B. Johnson's summer 1965 speech illuminated African Americans' shift of focus from issues of segregation to matters of access and inclusion. Johnson encouraged the nation to understand that it was not merely enough to "open the gates for opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."[59] This speech would give way to one of the largest point of contestation between African Americans and Jewish American, affirmative action. Many Jewish Americans saw affirmative action as reflective of quota systems instituted during the earlier half of the century to restrict their access to universities and government employment. "Jews saw compliance with quota regulations as favoritism for some groups in the pursuit of jobs, promotions, and school admissions. Quotas evoked for Jews their own history of

exclusion"[60] Tensions regarding quotas coupled with the rise of Black Power redefined interactions between Blacks and Jews permanently.

The emergence of Black Power also coincided with growing African American sympathy for non-White oppressed peoples across the world. The 1967 Six Day War (Arab-Israeli War) in the Middle East was condemned by many members of former integrationist organizations such as SNCC and CORE as an attempt by Jews at imperialism in the Middle East. "SNCC saw the Arabs as victims and the creation of Israel as an extension of imperialism and violation of the territory of the Arabs."[61] However, for many Jewish Americans the victory of Jewish Israeli's was seen as a point of pride and garnered a high level of support. Black Power, anti-imperialism, and reluctance towards affirmative action can be considered some of the earliest markers of the disintegrating alliance, but by the 1980s the tensions of the decade before had reached full impact. The Andrew Young Affair of 1979,[62] Jesse Jackson's bid for presidency in 1983, affirmative action, and the rising popularity of Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam further estranged Blacks and Jews during the 1980s. The argument is clear. Distinct from the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the problems of the 1980s created a sense of "color consciousness" that pitted Blacks against whites and Blacks against Jews. [63]

Jonanthan Kaufman's *Broken Alliance* follows much the same path as the previous authors in arguing the time line for the creation and collapse of the Black-Jewish coalition. A journalist, Kaufman's 1988 portrayal relied primarily on the biographies of activists both African American and Jewish American. In opposition to focusing on the histories of political or social factors, he focused on how activists interpreted the reasons

for the shifting nature of Black-Jewish relations. Interviews place Kaufman in an advantageous position; whereby he can reconstruct the Black-Jewish coalition through the words of its members. Had he not been privy to such information he may have overlooked that even in times when the alliance seemed strongest "the symbols of cooperation covered a cauldron of ambivalent feelings and conflicting emotions."[64] Fortunately, by the 1990s scholars were far enough removed from these feelings to begin producing works that explored the intricacies of the alliance.

The subject of Black-Jewish relations is one area of United States history that saw revitalization during the mid-1990s. Academics were no longer satisfied with interpretations that spoke merely of Black-Jewish relations in grand narrative terms. The typical grand alliance analogy that has Black-Jewish relations growing in strength during the 1940s and 1950s and meeting its demise during the late 1960s needed to be complicated, and the turn of the century was an ideal time to do so. The focus changed to include a closer examination of the early twentieth century, women (both northern and southern), Jews in the South, the works of rabbis, labor unionization, music, and Hollywood as fundamental aspects that represented American Black-Jewish relations.[65]

Murray Friedman, former mid-Atlantic regional director of the American Jewish Committee, scrutinizes the Black-Jewish coalition with his 1995 book *What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance.* Friedman condemned the revisionist scholarship that questioned Jewish motives for participating in civil liberties struggles, and calls for scholars to be responsible historians. [66] He is disturbed by what he sees as increasing tendencies of academics to write Jews out of civil rights histories. To challenge scholars that focus primarily on the dissolution of the coalition,

Friedman reminds readers that it is remarkable "that it held together for so long—or indeed that it ever existed."[67]

Overall Friedman's work reflects the arguments and positions of the dominant historiography, except in his analysis of Blacks and Jews in the arts and social sciences. It is in his evaluation of this subject that Friedman carves out a space for his text in the historiography. "Blacks and Jews as Allies in the Arts and Social Sciences" traces the cooperation and sometimes conflict between Blacks and Jews from the 1910s until the 1930s in the academic and artistic worlds. One of the most significant elements of this chapter is Friedman's discussion of Jewish attacks on scientific racism, and how the pairing of Black and Jewish intellectuals focused on disproving scientific racism, helped lay the intellectual foundations for the civil rights movement. Gunnar Myrdal is quoted as writing "[t]he gradual destruction of the popular theory behind race prejudice is the most important of all social trends in the field of race relations."[68] Much like Friedman, Cheryl Greenberg relies on the social and organizational efforts of African Americans and Jews during the 1930s and 1940s to develop her thesis about the great coalition.

As the most recent study on Black-Jewish relations, Cheryl Greenberg's 2006 study *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century* complicates the existing historiography. Greenberg answers the call to add new and refreshing concepts to the literature with her discussions of Black and Jewish women in labor unions as predating their male counterparts, the reluctance of Southern Jews to participate in civil rights ventures, and how contemporary Black-Jewish tensions are manifesting themselves on university campuses across the country. The major strength of her argument lies in her discussion of post-war liberalism as a catalyst for encouraging

African Americans and Jewish Americans to work together to fashion a more liberal and egalitarian America. In many ways her work upholds older sentiments of the "great alliance," but not without offering a revisionist view as to why it did not succeed. A Black-Jewish alliance could never survive because at its core existed misunderstandings and gender and ethnic biases that were never properly addressed. "Focusing on liberal political organizations as sites of interaction, I seek to temper the idealized vision of perfect mutuality by demonstrating that blacks and Jews had different but overlapping goals of interests which converged in a particular historical moment."[69]

Greenberg challenges Friedman's and Kaufman's assertion that Jews because of their shared history of oppression are "natural" allies with African Americans, and echoes Diner's position that Jewish self-interest is a motivating factor for their involvement in the struggle for civil liberties. However, she argued that acts of "self-interest" were obvious by both parties. "For both Jews and blacks, the collaboration...emerged out of clear and explicit self-interest, but a self-interest that corresponded with a broader moral vision."[70] She points to the bonds formed by Blacks and Jews as largely coming out of the principles of post-war liberalism such as individualism, limited government influence, and pluralism. She does not limit her discussion to the liberal leanings of African Americans and Jewish Americans in the post-war years, but goes on to interrogate the consequences of the shift in recent years of the liberal agendas of both groups. What is most impressive about her work is that she situates Black-Jewish relations within the larger history of American liberalism, and equates the decline in positive Black-Jewish relations with the weakening of post-war liberalism.[71]

Murray Friedman and Cheryl Greenberg share optimism for the resurgence of a strong Black-Jewish relationship during the twenty-first century that is lost on Seth Forman. Seth Forman's *Blacks in the Jewish Mind* directly confronts all the historiography on Black-Jewish relations and condemns scholars for not recognizing the "detrimental" effect this grand alliance had on American Jewish identity. He employs the same framework as Greenberg and places Jewish activism in the larger tradition of post-war American liberalism, but he comes to starkly different conclusions than his colleagues.

Forman argues that the grand alliance literature based on a framework of alliance and conflict, while useful, has many limitations, particularly in it analysis of race relations. "[M]any historians have been unwilling to relinquish some standard and highly valued presumptions about white racism and its impacts on Blacks and have therefore approached the subject of Blacks and Jews as merely an extension of the study between Blacks and whites."[72] Historians straining under the pressure of contemporary racial politics sought to downplay the complex and volatile nature of race relations, and in his estimation have downplayed issues such as Black anti-Semitism. "The result has been a series of interpretations that redefine benevolent Jewish attitudes toward Blacks as primarily motivated by self-interest and, to that extent not markedly distinct from the racist attitudes of the larger white society. Black anti-Semitism...has become the most vocal manifestation of a largely justified animosity toward whites."[73] While a well researched study, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind* often times leaves the reader questioning whether the author's animosity toward the grand alliance has resulted in an overtly biased critiques of the historiography.

Published in 1998, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind* is polemic in nature yet in still, one of the most controversial and thought provoking studies to come out of the scholarship on Black-Jewish relations. The uniqueness of his argument must be dealt with in layers beginning with his thesis. "This book shows not only that American cultural and political institutions have been more responsive to Black communal needs than to Jewish ones but that American Jewish leaders and intellectuals have been, at times, preoccupied with matters of race due primarily to their belief...that freedom from external bigotry is all that is necessary for a minority group to flourish in this great land."[74] Forman calls his study one of self- reflection that uses Jewish sentiments toward Blacks to 'illuminate the often complex amalgam of emotions, memories, presumptions, and beliefs that constitute Jewish identity."[75] For Forman the post-war decline of anti-Semitism left American Jews unable define themselves in relation to Jewish oppression and victimization, and quickly produced the need for Jews to identify with the victimization of African Americans. Forman does not view the concerns of Jews and Blacks as being inextricably linked, and criticizes Jewish leaders for favoring Black issues over Jewish problems. *Blacks in the Jewish Mind* contends that Jewish liberalism, in its quest to promote Black civil equality, resulted in the need for Jews to express "Jewishness" through political rather than religious forms.

**Activism of Southern Blacks and Jews**

By the dawn of the new millennium, the historiography on Black-Jewish relations was once again undergoing much needed revisions. Scholars such as Clive Webb, Debra Schultz, and Raymond Mohl filled two voids in the historiography by addressing both the South and Jewish women. Previous scholarship tended to overlook the complexities that

living in and traveling to the South presented for Black-Jewish relations, particularly its women. Scholars were either evading or content with dismissing southern Jewish involvement in civil rights struggles as mostly nonexistent, and also relegated both northern and southern women to the margins of the scholarship. Scholars such as Jeffrey Melnick and Debra Schultz have in many ways taken a new approach to critiquing Black-Jewish relations, rejecting the notion of a continuity during the civil rights era that disintegrated by the late 1960's. They replace these notions with scholarship that identifies conflict and turmoil throughout; while simultaneously recognizing that there are distinct periods when differences between Blacks and Jews were set aside in the fight for human liberty.

"*Black-Jewish Relations on Trial* attempts to call into question the dominant historical narrative of this relationship. My [Melnick] title is meant to suggest that the class of behaviors and utterances we call 'Black-Jewish relations' might be best understood as coming to light most clearly in the medium of crisis."[76] Melnick and Diner seem to differ on their interpretations of the significance of Leo Frank's trial as a vehicle to promote Black-Jewish political and social alliances. While Diner argued that Frank's trial was the catalyst for Jewish involvement in the struggle for civil rights, Melnick used the case to illuminate the intense ethnic tensions between African Americans and Jews.

*Black-Jewish Relations on Trial* challenges the "so-called" connectedness that Blacks and Jews share during times of crisis. Melnick relied heavily on court transcripts, newspaper articles, and other writings to reconstruct Black-Jewish associations in Atlanta, Ga. and his findings encouraged scholars to reinterpret their conceptions of industrialization, sexuality, and perceived threats associated with Jewish migration. After

Frank was accused of murdering Mary Phagan, the Jewish community was outraged. However, the literature suggests that their indignation reached new heights when they realized a Jim Conley (a Black man) was testifying against him. It is from those sentiments that Melnick makes the assertion that "Frank and his supporters used racist language to demean Conley and took refuge in what they understood to be the privilege of Jewish whiteness."[77]

After learning of Jewish assaults on Conley's character, the Black press immediately defended Conley and the character of Black men. Perhaps outside of the South the Frank case served as an awakening to American Jews regarding their susceptibility toward oppression and violence. However, the atmosphere of Atlanta told a much different story; one where southern Jews were fighting to maintain their "whiteness" and superior status and Blacks were constantly challenging Jewish proclamations of superiority.

Debra Schultz addresses the issue of region in a much different manner than Melnick by focusing on northern Jewish women who traveled south. *Going South* is a study of fifteen individual northern Jewish women who traveled South to work during the Civil Rights Movement; it "focuses on a group of boundary-crossing, northern Jewish women had the opportunity, and the means, and will to put their bodies on the line to challenge the entrenched system of southern racism in the 1960s." [78] This is the first text study that is dedicated to surveying the role of Jewish women during the Civil Rights Movement. She addresses the intersection of race, class, gender, region, and religion to investigate the factors that pushed them to travel South and their experiences once they arrived. Jewish women were constantly negotiating their multiple and contradictory

identities in a movement that was led primarily by Black men and Christians. Debra Schultz does an excellent job of unpacking how identity politics often left northern Jewish women in a precarious position trying to negotiate their activism, gender, "whiteness", and "Jewishness."

For Schultz, the collapse happens long before SNCC ousted its White members. She blames the influence of racial tensions and the ill treatment of the movement's women as two significant reasons that ultimately caused Blacks and Jews to go their separate ways by the late 1960s. Melnick and Schultz appear to agree on two major issues. First, those internal and external struggles between Blacks and Jews have always plagued Black-Jewish relations and made it highly susceptible to collapse. Secondly, that the center could never hold in an alliance that was divided along racial and gender lines from its inception and its dissolution inevitable. Because her work focused on Jewish women activists who traveled south, she largely neglects those Jewish women that were already living in the South.

Clive Webb is particularly incisive at portraying the position of southern Jewish women when he quotes an Alabamian Jewish women as saying, "we are not able to take a position contrary to the community at large."[79] Webb argues that the activism of southern Jewish women often had to be cloaked in the actions of the larger White female Christian society. Southern Jewish women participated in activities such as building kindergartens for Black children and opposing lynching, but these programs were always spearheaded and protected by the presence of White Christian women. One drawback is that Jewish women appear less courageous for their reluctance to establish organizations without the cloak of White Christian female membership. Webb's *Fight against Fear:*

*Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* focuses specifically on southern Jews' activism during the civil rights movement. He revisits the history of the civil rights movement through the experiences of southern Jews. Webb argues that no Black-Jewish alliance existed in the southern states, but that southern Jews did do more to advance civil rights than previous scholarship acknowledges. In grappling with the complex existences of southern Jews and their attitudes toward civil rights agitation, *Fight against Fear* attempts to offer explanations for the activism or lack thereof by southern Jews.

Building on Baumin and Kalin's revisionist argument that some southern Rabbis were in fact active in encouraging the civil rights activities of their congregations, Webb reconstructs the story of southern Jews. [80] However, he still "assumes that the majority of southern Jews were motivated solely by the desire for self-preservation."[81] While his analysis sometimes mitigates southern Jewish attitudes toward African American struggles, he does critique to those Jews who had been indoctrinated with racist-segregationist ideology. Yet unlike Melnick, Webb does not consider Jewish racism as characteristic of most southern Jews, and urges that future works, readers, and scholars analyze the southern Jew according to his circumstances.

Raymond Mohl's *South of the South: Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement (2004),* deals primarily with two activist Jewish women, Matilda "Bobbi" Graff and Shirley M. Zoloth, who migrated to Miami, Florida during 1940s and 1950s only to be disgusted with the intense racist and segregationist policies of the country's vacation destination. In the midst of communist hysteria, anti-Semitism, and racism these women helped build organizations such as C.O.R.E. to challenge racial segregation. *South of the South* contributes significantly to the historiography by recognizing the

public activism of Jewish women living in the South. Graff and Zoloth contradict the model of "fearful white southern women" that Webb presents, and challenges us to reconsider "fear" as a primary factor for the overall lack of southern Jewish involvement in civil rights activities. Furthermore, Mohl's northern born activists went one step further than Schultz's in that they relocated and took up residence in the South. Since their communal and activist ties occupied the same space, returning home to the North precipitously or at the first sign of trouble was not an option for Graff and Zoloth. Their involvement in liberal civil activism consistently placed their lives, bodies, homes, and families in imminent danger. While the new millennium saw the works of men and women both northern and southern entering the historiography, most often we must still look to edited volumes to find literature that reaches beyond an analysis of the rise and fall of the grand alliance.

**Edited Works**

Few scholars have offered a comprehensive analysis of the history of Black-Jewish relations. Currently edited works such as Jack Salzman's and Cornel West's *Struggles in the Promised Land,* Maurinne Adams and John Bracey's *Strangers and Neighbors: Relations between Blacks and Jews in the United States* and V.P. Franklin's *African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century: Studies in Convergence and Conflict*[82] are the best tools for providing comprehensive analysis of Black-Jewish relations. These volumes trace the history of Black-Jewish relations and touch on topics ranging from the 17th to the 20th centuries. Topics include the slave trade, affirmative action, Jewish racism, urban development, southern Jews, Black Nationalism, and the civil rights movement.

The significance of edited volumes goes beyond their abilities to address a wide range of topics, but lies in the ethnicity of their authors. According to scholar Eric Sundquist, to date edited volumes are the only manuscripts dedicated to Black-Jewish relations that are authored by African Americans.[83] This is not to say that African Americans have not contributed to the scholarship on Black-Jewish relations but typically it has been in the form of essays or articles. Furthermore, Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* does not fit Sundquist's criteria for several reasons. It does not exclusively deal with Black-Jewish relations nor can they be seen as possessing the objectivity necessary to classify them as objective works on Black-Jewish relations. If this is the case, then the story of the grand alliance has mainly been told through the eyes of Jewish men. The absence of African American voices has two implications: that Salzman is correct in his assertion that Blacks care little about the former union, and that in order for the historiography to be complete the perspectives of the other half of the Black-Jewish alliance must enter scholarly discourse.

Edited works that include African Americans are Cornel West's *Struggles in the Promised Land*, John Bracey's *Strangers and Neighbors*, and V.P. Franklin's *African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century*. Working off the assumption that the authors of these works hand picked the articles for their texts, to date edited volumes and scholarly articles are some of the only secondary sources addressing Black-Jewish relations that reflect the position and opinions of African American intellectuals. Yet irrespective of the ethnic composition of its authors, edited works are significant for their ability to offer a wide range of topics, themes, and opinions for its readers.

*Struggles in the Promised Land* is composed of twenty-one essays that aim to recreate the history of Black-Jewish relations by providing a detailed analysis of points of conflict and convergence beginning in the 17th century. "The peculiar entanglements of Blacks and Jews have, at times, provided an important impetus for social justice in the United States and, at other times, have been the cause of great tension."[84] Jack Salzman and Cornell West intended to present a detailed history of Black-Jewish relations in hopes of restoring the tattered alliance. While most of the essays are not particularly original, some of the more stimulating essays are by David M. Goldenberg's "The Curse of Ham" where in he asserts that the so called "Curse of Ham" that is visited upon African Americans is largely a myth formulated by racist Jewish rabbis. Goldenberg goes on to recognize that charges of Jewish racism consist of three parts: the rabbinic statements that project an anti-Black sentiment; interpretations of rabbinic literature (Talmud and Midrash) that reflect a "Talmudic view" of Blacks; and the notion that racism in Western civilizations is the product of rabbinic and Talmudic bigotry.[85] David Davis's "Jews in the Slave Trade" confronts those that place Jews at the center of the African slave trade. Davis acknowledges that some Sephardic Jews engaged in the slave trade but overall they were not the primary financial benefactors of slavery. "To blame Jews for participating in the Atlantic slave trade is a bit like blaming Native Americans for contributing to the oil industry that now threatens the earth with atmospheric pollution and global warming."[86] Thomas Cripps "African Americans and Jews in Hollywood" balances earlier arguments made by Seth Forman. Unlike Forman, Cripps focuses on explaining how Hollywood is reflective of both the goals of African Americans and Jewish Americans to assert their individual and cultural identities. Gary Rubin's

"African Americans and Israel" and Letty Cottin Pogrebin's "Blacks, Jews, and Gender: The History, Politics, and Cultural Anthropology of a Women's Dialogue Group" is an analysis of a women's group composed of Black and Jewish women. Pogrbin's essay demonstrates the significance of the female voice in articulating issues surrounding Black-Jewish relations. Collectively, these works meet West and Salzman's goal to "undercut the rhetoric by trying to determine what might in fact have happened between Blacks and Jews during the slave trade, in Hollywood, and in the struggle for civil rights."[87] Yet despite his dedication to preserving the history of the grand alliance, Salzman concedes that "increasingly, many African Americans seem to have lost interest in 'dialoguing,' in trying to understand what went wrong. Jobs, not talk, is necessarily the prime agenda."[88]

Maurinne Adams and John Bracey's volume proves to be the most dense and comprehensive of the three edited works. Broken into both thematic and chronological categories, *Strangers and Neighbors* contains essays dated as early as 1868 and ending in 1997. Several essays such as Nell Irvin Painter's "The Kansas Fever Exodus" and Roi Ottley's "Found: The Lost Tribe of Black Jews" address the means by which African Americans identify with elements of Judaism such as Moses and the children of Israel, bondage in Egypt, parting of the Red Sea, Exodus, and being God's chosen people. Irrespective of era African Americans often recognized their shared heritage with Jews as those that were similarly forced to endure slavery and degradation as a result of their supposed otherness.

The eradication of slavery did little to thwart African Americans' attachment to stories of the Exodusters and God's never failing mercy and grace for those that suffer. It

was through the Christianity found in the Bible that Africans made sense of their slavery, and saw themselves relative to the children of Israel who God delivered from bondage. The distinct nature of Afro-Christianity can easily be seen in African American interpretation of the Exodus. "No single symbol captures more clearly the distinctiveness of Afro-American Christianity than the symbol of Exodus. [T]he Middle Passage had brought them to Egypt land, where they suffered bondage under a new Pharoh."[89] It is in African American identification with the children of Israel where readers begin to understand the outrage of many African Americans and Jewish Americans with the lack of early involvement by Jews in the struggle for civil liberties; especially for peoples with shared histories.

V.P. Franklin's *African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century* is one the most recent edited volume on Black-Jewish relations. Part I of the volume delves into issues of social policy, African American and Jewish American neoconservatives, and welfare. Nancy Haggard Gilson's "Against the Grain: Black Conservatives and Jewish Neoconservatives" interrogates the stereotype of the consistently liberal African American and Jewish American by probing the social and political positions of the rising number of Jewish and Black conservatives. Despite sharing the title of conservative, many African American and Jewish Americans differ on their assessment of poverty and government assessment. "[T]he heart of the Black conservatives' criticism of poverty and civil rights policy is an argument about racial identity and community, whereas the Jewish neoconservatives focus primarily on the limitations of state intervention and 1960s New Left influences on liberal welfare policies."[90] While many Black neoconservatives still argue that race is still a significant obstacle in their path to

community stability and achievement, many neoconservative Jewish Americans subscribe to the models of broader White conservatives and argue the only obstacle to success is self. It appears that even in an arena where they should once again be united they often find it difficult; they continue to be divided by remains a difference opinions regarding power and African American access to power.

## Conclusion

The 1990s saw a growth in the scholarship on Black-Jewish that has lasted into the twenty-first century. The literature has flourished by moving away from the grand narrative and by focusing on the smaller themes within the historiography. Southern Jewish men and women made appearances through Clive Webb's *Fight against Fear*, Raymond Mohl's *South of the South*, and Mark Bauman's and Berkley Klains *The Quiet Voices of Black Rabbis and Civil Rights*. However more work still needs be done regarding the coalitions of Black and Jewish women in the North and South; Black-Jewish relations and its ties to post-war liberalism; the shifting nature of Black-Jewish relations on University campuses; Reaganomics and the move during the 1980s toward conservatism; Black-Jewish relations during the labor struggles of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s; impact of events in the Middle East post the 1967 Six Day War leading into the contemporary struggles in Israel and Palestine on the coalition; and how/if increased economic mobility on behalf of Blacks has altered contemporary associations between African Americans and Jewish Americans.

The scholarship on Black-Jewish relations has progressed from early twentieth century proclamations of Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism into a body of literature

whose topics are as diverse as its people. The literature has shown us that internal power struggles, gender bias, and conflicts regarding ethnic identity can weaken the core of even the most fruitful alliance. Scholars agree that Black and Jewish self-interest coupled with a rise in liberal politics created a climate post-war climate that was ripe for social change and inter-ethnic coalitions. However with every civil rights gain it appears that there was growing friction between the groups that could not be masked. Whether one sides with Diner and places the unraveling of the alliance in the 1930s or with Berson and places it in the mid-1960s, the fact is true that the once budding coalition of liberals is virtually non-existent in present society.

In 1995, African American intellectual and pastor Cornel West sat down with Jewish intellectual Michael Lerner to have an open conversation about the current status of Black-Jewish relations. Their discussion was recorded, transcribed, and turned into a national bestseller, *Jews and Blacks: A Dialogue on Race, Religion, and Culture in America.* West and Lerner's discussion does an excellent job of identifying, interrogating, and discussing the subjects that have historically plagued Black-Jewish relations. While not scholarly in nature, it acts as a significant primary source for its ability to attack issues at the heart without the unnecessary scholarly jargon. West and Lerner position themselves as descendents of Jewish American and African American peoples. Articulating the position of many members of both groups regarding matters such as Louis Farrakhan and O.J. Simpson, both men are able to provide insight into cultural understandings and interpretations of both these men. Lerner and West often disagree but seem optimistic about the potential of a rekindled Black-Jewish relationship.

Faith is often lost as to whether the grand alliance will ever reach another high point in American history, but with the upcoming 2008 presidential election we may in fact see Blacks and Jews working together to elect Senator Barack Obama as the first African American president of the United States. The historiography tells the story of an alliance often wrought with conflict and dissentions but ultimately bearing many fruits. As members of two historically marginalized communities, both American Blacks and Jews have been placed in each other's paths to facilitate social change as partners in the fight for a more egalitarian society. In assessing the literature, I am hoping that scholars will utilize the model set forth by Blacks and Jews to critique and encourage acceptance in an increasingly multi ethnic, racial, and cultural society. However if Blacks and Jews remember that "[t]he best of the Jewish tradition puts a premium on mercy and justice; the best of the Black heritage, on improvisation and experimentation"[91] we may once again be able to show America the benefits and successes of inter-ethnic cooperation.

**Notes**

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[1] Peter Rose, "Blacks and Jews: The Strained Alliance," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 454 (March 1981): 55.
[2] Huey L. Perry and Ruth B. White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," *Phylon* 47 (1986): 51.
[3] Eugene Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships: The Historical Dimension," *Phylon* 30 (1969): 57.
[4] Perry and White, "The Post Civil Rights Transformation," 52.
[5] Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships," 58.
[6] Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships,"59.
[7] Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships," 59.
[8] Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships," 60.
[9] Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships,"59.
[10] Tony Martin's *The Jewish Onslaught*, Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, and speeches by Leonard Jeffries and Lewis Farrakhan are all individuals that publicly questioned the sincerity of Jewish involvement in the Civil Rights Movement; in addition to openly discussing Jewish complicity in the slave business and in producing negative stereotypes of African Americans in Hollywood.
[11] Louis Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," *Negro Quarterly* 1 (1942): 445.
[12] Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," 108.
[13] Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," 109.
[14] Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," 109.
[15] Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," 112.
[16] Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," 112.
[17] Harap, "Anti-Negroism among Jews," 117.
[18] L.D. Reddick, "Anti-Semitism among Negroes," *Negro Quarterly* 1 (1942): 112.
[19] Horace Mann Bond, *Negro-Jewish Relations in the United States: Leading Negro and White Scholars Examine One of the Crucial Problems of Present-Day America* (New York, 1966), p. 5.
[20] Maureen Adams and John Bracey, eds., Strangers and Neighbors: Relations between Blacks and Jews in the United States (Massachusetts, 1999), 526.
[21] Maureen Adams and John Bracey, *Strangers and Neighbors,* 526.

[23] *Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism* (New York: Richard W. Baron, 1969), 3.
[24] *Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism* (New York: Richard W. Baron, 1969), 5.
[25] *Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism,* 9.

[26] *Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism,* 6.
[27] *Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism,* 7.
[28] Although Stein and Weisbord were attempting to fashion a historic analysis of Black-Jewish relations it fell short of their goal, and was presented more as a historic analysis of African American attitudes toward Blacks. For this reason I have decided to include it in this section in opposition to placing it into my analysis of manuscripts published in the 1970s regarding Black-Jewish relations.
[29] Robert Weisbord and Arthur Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter: the Afro-American and the American Jew* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), xxii.
[30] Weisbord and Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter*, 11.
[31] Weisbord and Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter*, 14.
[32] The Bronx Slave Market was an exploitative system where White, middle-class women selected domestic workers on their ability to offer an abundance of services for the lowest wages.
[33] In September 1968 controversy erupted at NYU's campus over the appointment of John Hatchett as head of the Black student center. Soon after his appointment, an article that he wrote in 1967 on the New York public school system surfaced. The article which was thought to be attacking Jewish Americans and African Americans that sided with Jews was used by some students and faculty to demand his dismissal. The controversy surrounding the Hatchett affair widened the gap between those African Americans, particularly students that supported Hatchett and those Jewish Americans that called for his dismissal.
[34] Weisbord and Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter*, 210.
[35] Weisbord and Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter*, 208.
[36] Reddick, "Anti-Semitism among Negroes,"112.
[37] Bender, "Reflections on Negro-Jewish Relationships," 57.
[38] Philip S. Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," *Phylon* 36 (1975): 359.
[39] Lenora Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews* (New York: Random House, 1971), 9.
[40] Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews*, 9.
[41] Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews*, 13.
[42] Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews*, 61.
[43] Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews*, 213.
[44] Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews*, 80.
[45] Berson, *The Negroes and the Jews*, 417.
[46] Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," 359.
[47] Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," 363.

[48] Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," 367.
[49] Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* 476
[50] Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, 478.
[51] Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, 481.
[52] Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, 487.
[53] Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, 497.
[54] Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, 497.

[56] Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 51.
[57] Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 57.
[58] Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 58.
[59] Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 58.
[60]Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 58.
[61] Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 59.
[62] The Andrew Young Affair of 1979 refers to the resignation of African American UN ambassador to Palestine Andrew Young after having an unauthorized meeting with Palestine Liberation Organization. After his resignation it is said that he condemned Israel as terrorists and imperialists.
[63] Perry and White, "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States," 58.
[64] Jonathan Kaufman, *Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times between Blacks and Jews in America* (New York: 1988), 267.
[65] What interests me is that to date other than edited works by V.P. Franklin, Cornel West, and John Bracey there has been no manuscript written by an African American that is dedicated to examining twentieth Black-Jewish relations. Is Friedman correct in his assessment that African American's are not concerned with the alliance between African Americans and Jewish Americans?
[66] Murray Friedman, *What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance* (New York, 1995), 3.
[67] Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, 33.
[68] Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, 126.
[69] Cheryl Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1.
[70] Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*, 92.

[71] Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*, 253.
[72] Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*, 2.
[73] Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*, 2.
[74] Seth Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind: A Crisis of Liberalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 216.
[75] Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind*, 3.
[76] Jeffrey Melnick, *Black-Jewish Relations on Trial: Leo Frank and Jim Conley in the New South* (Jackson, 2000), ix.
[77] Melnick, *Black-Jewish Relations on Trial*, xi.
[78] Debra Schultz, *Going South: Jewish Women in the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), xv-xvi.
[79] Clive Webb, *Fight against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 148.
[80] *The Quiet Voices of Southern Rabbis* edited by Mark Bauman and Berkley Kalin is a dense volume of edited works that explores the activism of southern rabbis during the Civil Rights Movement. Often relegated to the margins of the master narrative of Black-Jewish relations, many southern rabbis were in fact active during the civil rights movement and encouraged the activism of their congregations.
[81] Mark K. Bauman and Berkely Kalin, eds., The *Quiet Voices of Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights, 1880s- 1990s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), xv.
[82] Another notable edited text is Paul Berman's *Blacks and Jews: Alliances and Arguments*. This compilation of essays was first published in 1994 to address concerns facing Black and Jewish communities. Divided into four sections, the book thematically categorizes the scholarship on Black-Jewish relations. Focusing on literary battles, historical and political reflections, controversies, and philosophical interpretations the text offers a variety of explanations for the emergence and deterioration of the alliance.

[83] Eric Sundqist, *Strangers in the Land: Blacks, Jews, post-Holocaust America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005), 3.
[84] Jack Salzman and Cornel West, eds., *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 5.
[85] Salzman and West, *Struggles in the Promised Land*, 24.
[86] Salzman and West, *Struggles in the Promised Land*, 65.
[87] Salzman and West, *Struggles in the Promised Land*, 8.

[88] Salzman and West, *Struggles in the Promised Land,* 5.
[89] Maureen Adams and John Bracey, *Strangers and Neighbors*, 58.
[90] Franklin, *African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century*, 166.
[91] Salzman and West, *Struggles in the Promised Land*, 416.

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