



A · M · E · R · I · C · A · N
A N T H R O P O L O G I C A L
A S S O C I A T I O N

WILEY

Jews, Multiculturalism, and Boasian Anthropology

Author(s): Gelya Frank

Source: *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 99, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), pp. 731-745

Published by: [Wiley](#) on behalf of the [American Anthropological Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/682521>

Accessed: 28-12-2015 19:08 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



American Anthropological Association and Wiley are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Anthropologist*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Jews, Multiculturalism, and Boasian Anthropology

THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN a lively, if sometimes hushed, in-house discourse about American anthropology's Jewish origins and their meaning. The preponderance of Jewish intellectuals in the early years of Boasian anthropology and the Jewish identities of anthropologists in subsequent generations have been downplayed in standard histories of the discipline. Jewish histories foreground the roles and deeds of Jews, actually a very small minority: less than 3 percent of the world and of this nation's population (Schmelz and Della Pergola 1995). From that vantage, the development of American anthropology appears part of Jewish history. This essay brings together strands of these various discourses on Jews in anthropology for a new generation of American anthropologists, especially ones concerned with turning multiculturalist theories into agendas for activism.

The public silence or omission concerning anthropology's Jews is due mainly to the tone of liberal humanism and cosmopolitanism set by founder Franz Boas (1858–1942), himself a Jewish German immigrant, who in 1896 established the nation's first department of anthropology at Columbia University. There has also been a whitewashing of Jewish ethnicity, reflecting fears of anti-Semitic reactions that could discredit the discipline of anthropology and individual anthropologists, either because Jews were considered dangerous due to their presumed racial differences or because they were associated with radical causes. Any remaining silence should probably be chalked up to indifference.

Jewish contributions to the origins of modern anthropology in the United States, France, and England resulted from, in sociologist John Cuddihy's terms, an "ordeal of civility" (1974). By this, Cuddihy refers to a process by which the newly emancipated secular west-

ern and central European Jews of the 19th century turned an acute consciousness of their ambiguous position in society into disciplinary reflections upon the organization of race, culture, society, and self. The terms of emancipation and civility de-emphasized the Jewishness of Jews who contributed to mainstream institutions as the price of social inclusion under the universal values of secular humanism. Taken by itself, the "ordeal of civility" is an overly psychological and reductionist explanation for the rise of the modern social sciences, although it also contains much truth.

It is already a truism, almost pedestrian, to note that the sciences are not ideologically neutral but shot through with cultural and political meanings. The language of science, like language in general, feminist critics have convincingly argued, is neither asexual nor neutral but reveals an invisible subject.¹ Feminist epistemologist Sandra Harding (1994) has gone farther by proposing that the Western sciences are not only sexed but multicultural.

Turning to anthropology, Jews are "good to think with" about this question. Despite a significant cohort of Jews in the discipline, it was not until Barbara Myerhoff's reflexive ethnography *Number Our Days* (1978), an intellectually acute and emotionally affecting document about aging eastern European Jews in a southern California beach community, that we began to hear professionally about Jews in America and Jews in anthropology. Interviewed in the ethnographic film version of *Number Our Days*, which won an Academy Award in 1976 for best short-subject documentary, Myerhoff said that she undertook her study because she expected someday to be a "little old Jewish lady" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1992:x).

There is more to the story of Myerhoff's reflexive turn to Jewishness. As a graduate student, Myerhoff had conducted research in Mexico among the Huichol Indians. In her forties, married, and raising children, Myerhoff

GELYA FRANK is an associate professor in the Department of Occupational Science and the Department of Anthropology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90033

turned to the cultural study of aging. She approached members of the Chicano community in Los Angeles, where she thought she could put her fluency in Spanish to use. But the development during the 1960s of anti-colonial consciousness, local politics of empowerment, and ethnic pride resulted in the challenging response: "Why don't you study your own people?" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1992:x).

Myerhoff's acceptance of this challenge turned out to be somewhat revolutionary considering the ambivalent, even marginal, positioning of studies about Jews in her discipline (Frank 1995). Virginia Dominguez has noted that mainstream anthropology has had little tolerance for books that "assert Jewishness," even if they do so in addition to socialist, internationalist, or progressive politics. The usual fate of such books, she argues, is that "more often than not they end up ghettoized as Judaic or Jewish Studies" (1993:618). Dominguez writes:

As anthropology debates the ethics and delusions of its historical orientation toward "Others," shouldn't we seriously ponder anthropology's stance(s) toward Jews? Does anthropology have "a Jewish problem"? Let us not be deceived by the fact that Mary Douglas' "The Abominations of Leviticus" is part of the contemporary canon of mainstream anthropology, or that Barbara Myerhoff's work has inspired and moved innovative scholars in anthropological folklore. Large numbers of American anthropologists come from Jewish families, yet very few have done any research or writing on Jews or have actively used what [Jonathan] Boyarin calls Jewish resources. [1993:621–622]

Taking up Dominguez's question ("Does anthropology have 'a Jewish problem'?"), I will begin historically by asking what influence the Jewish background of founder Franz Boas had in shaping the field. In what sense does Boasian anthropology reflect a Jewish "subject position" or Jewish "subject positions"? How have Jews been represented in anthropological studies? Would the theories and practices of American anthropology have been different if anti-Semitism and other forms of racism were not in the background? These are unexceptionable questions.

Sandra Harding's multiculturalist question (1994) may also be applied here: Is anthropology in some sense a Jewish science? My phrasing is meant to be provocative, aiming both to recall and to subvert the basis for such modern historical phenomena as Freud's fear that psychoanalysis would be rejected if associated exclusively with its Jewish founders (Cuddihy 1974), "scurrilous attacks on Einstein's 'Jewish' theory of relativity in the name of German physics" during the Third Reich (Peukert 1987[1982]:94), and the burning of Boas's works by the Nazis (Pathé 1989). The question is meant to underscore the fact that Boas, like other modern European Jewish intellectuals, lived in a Jewish condition. Therefore my answer is yes, but a qualified yes.

Franz Boas's German and Jewish Identity Politics

Franz Boas, "more than anyone else," maintains historian George Stocking, "shaped the character of American anthropology in the twentieth century" (1992b:118–119). Former American Anthropological Association president Annette B. Weiner has described this legacy:

It was Franz Boas, the founder of American anthropology, who articulated the challenge of understanding cultural diversity with his radical, new definition of culture—which sought to demonstrate that no national or racial group was superior to any other. . . . First he established that "race" does not determine behavior; then he showed that cultural and biological contacts between groups discredit any notion of either a "pure" race or a pristine culture. [1992:B1]

During the Progressive Era, around 1890 to 1920, Boas's scientific activity stood in opposition to the reactionary politics of American nativism and the eugenics movement. In public forums as well as scientific writings, Boas challenged restrictions on immigration and miscegenation laws. As Margaret Mead (1977) later reiterated, Boas argued that family lines are the only groups for which particular traits (such as intelligence) can be identified. There is too much variation within so-called races for such traits to be generally ascribed to entire populations.

Franz Boas's students included "a number of men of German or 'hyphenate' origin, several of them Jewish, several of them political radicals" (Stocking 1968c:276). Of the first generation, half or more were Jewish, including Alexander Goldenweiser, Alexander Lesser, Edward Sapir, Paul Radin, Leslie Spier, Robert Lowie, and Melville Herskovits (Lesser 1981). Several of the women Boas mentored (besides his two best known students, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead) were also Jewish. These included Ruth Bunzel, Gene (Regina) Weltfish, Esther Schiff Goldfrank, and Ruth Landes.²

Stocking (1992a) argues that Boas's career linked science and politics in support of liberal-democratic ideals rooted in the anthropologist's identity and experiences as a German of Jewish descent. Quoting Boas, Stocking writes:

Boas was born in 1858, a decade after the liberal revolution and thirteen years before the emancipation of German Jewry was finally formalized in the constitution of the German Empire in 1871. His family were assimilating Jews who had broken "the shackles of dogma" and embraced the "ideals of the revolution of 1848." In Boas' own version of those ideals, education and equality of opportunity, political and intellectual liberty, the rejection of dogma and the search for scientific truth, the identification with all humanity and devotion to its progress were all part of a single

left-liberal posture similar to that of his anthropological mentor Rudolf Virchow. [1992a:94–95]

Boas's father, Meier Boas, was a prosperous merchant whom his son described as "liberal, but not active in public affairs" (quoted in Hyatt 1990:3). Franz Boas received a religious education, which his daughter, Franziska Boas, later claimed was "purely a sop for his grandparents, who were orthodox" (quoted in Hyatt 1990:4). Like many other Germans of Jewish descent, Boas was a cultural hybrid. During his fieldwork of 1883–84 in Baffinland, for example, he recorded his discomfort with eating pork (Stocking 1968a). Stocking comments on "the ambiguity of Boas's culturally marginal background," which

made it difficult to accustom himself to the salt pork of the seaman's diet, but which impelled him at the same time to celebrate an Arctic Christmas with presents underneath a candled tree "as though we were at home." [1968a:150]

Boas's mother, Sophie Meyer Boas, was a radical freethinker and an active supporter of the Revolution of 1848. Among her revolutionary contacts was physician Abraham Jacobi, who escaped from Germany, where he was imprisoned for high treason from 1851 to 1853. He later sponsored his nephew Franz Boas's move to the United States (Hyatt 1990:3). Settling in New York, Jacobi helped found the study of pediatric growth and development, becoming the first professor of children's diseases in the United States (Neidle 1973; Stocking 1968b). Jacobi's close friend was physician Ernst Krackowizer, a leader of the Austrian revolt of 1848 (Neidle 1973:68). Boas married Marie Krackowizer, Ernst's daughter, in 1887, the year he emigrated to America.

Sophie Boas founded the first Froebel kindergarten in Minden (Lesser 1981). The early childhood education program established by Friedrich Froebel stressed engagement in occupations: exploring, handling, and doing (Downs 1978). Lesser (1981) credits Boas's mother and the Froebel kindergarten with providing the foundation for her son's interest in natural history. But what Lesser did not mention is that the public kindergarten movement founded by Froebel was a highly contested left/liberal innovation (Downs 1978).³ The instilling of moral and communitarian values was the governing principle of Froebel's approach, values that remained stamped upon Boas's adult thinking:

That the primary business of a school [according to Froebel] is to train children in co-operative and mutually helpful living; to foster in them the consciousness of mutual interdependence; and to help them practically in making the adjustments that will carry this spirit into overt deeds. [Dewey 1956:117]

In the 1870s, years of Boas's youth and adulthood, waves of racial and political anti-Semitism began to ap-

pear following German unification and the extension of rights to Jewish citizens (Glick 1982). Financial speculation had set off a period of rapid industrialization in the early 1870s. The predominantly urban, middle-class Jews were blamed by populists for dislocations of peasants seeking wage labor in the cities and for the depressed economic conditions that characterized the rest of the decade. Volkish beliefs about a common "Teutonic" or "Aryan" racial origin for the diverse German-speaking people became common and acceptable. Boas's letters from Kiel, where he was a university student from 1877 to 1881, included reports of anti-Semitism. There Boas acquired several deep facial scars from dueling, recalled Kroeber (1943:7), who attributes them possibly to an incident of anti-Semitism:

He emerged from his four years with several deep facial scars from sabre cuts received in duelling. Later on he turned aside questions about these by referring to polar bear clawings in Baffinland. As of the "Mosaic confession," as his dissertation *Vita* phrases it, he would presumably have been ineligible to the conservative Korps which were the German equivalent of American fraternities and practiced sabre fencing; though he was a member of a more liberal Burschenschaft, the Alemannia. One story, which he is said to have revealed confidentially but which cannot be vouched for, is that on hearing an anti-Semitic insult in a public cafe, he threw the speaker out of doors, and was challenged. Next morning his adversary offered to apologize; but Boas insisted that the duel be gone through with. Apocryphal or not, the tale absolutely fits the character of the man as we later knew him in America. [1943:8]

This story is especially interesting in light of Sander Gilman's (1991) comment that facial scars from duelling were sometimes sought as a mark of manliness and successful assimilation among Jewish German men.

Avoidance of all intermingling with Jews was a theme hammered home during Boas's university years, particularly by Adolf Stoecker, court chaplain to the emperor, and the most prominent anti-Jewish agitator of the time (Glick 1982). Anti-Jewish agitation fomented by Stoecker was common in Berlin through the mid-1880s. He called for strict quotas on Jews throughout the public sector and reorganization of the nation's economic structure. In 1881, Stoecker won the Reichstag seat representing Siegen (the constituency adjacent to Minden, Boas's home), to which he was reelected in successive years. His opponent in the 1881 Reichstag election was Rudolf Virchow, a physician, socialist politician, and physical anthropologist who was shortly to become Boas's mentor.

Virchow, a non-Jew born in 1821 in Prussian-occupied Pomerania, had founded the new biomedical field of cellular pathology and also pioneered the progressive use of physical anthropology using measurements of bodily traits to disprove the racial premise of a single

German volk (Nuland 1988). Boas studied physical anthropology with him from 1885 to 1886. "Although his physical anthropological training with Virchow was limited," Stocking states, "Boas' later eulogy of Virchow and the character of his own physical anthropology leave no doubt of Virchow's influence" (1968b:167).⁴

Boas was aware that his chances for a university professorship in geography in racist Germany were likely to be limited, as he stated in letters, because of his Jewish origins and his outspokenness. His writings from 1882 to 1884 indicate that he felt alienated from the Germany of his day (Stocking 1968a). Emigrating to the United States in 1887, Boas continued the scientific study of race, producing results similar to Virchow's. Boas found that presumed "racial" characteristics such as height and even skull dimensions, as well as intelligence as measured by I.Q. tests, were not fixed but remarkably plastic, responding within a single generation to changes in environment. These results were demonstrated for southern Europeans, Jews ("Hebrews"), African Americans, and other groups considered racially inferior (Boas 1982[1940]).

Boas was not a practicing Jew; most likely, he was an atheist. In New York, he became a member of the Society for Ethical Culture, a nondenominational offshoot of Reform Judaism. The Ethical Culture movement was inaugurated in 1876 by Felix Adler, an educator, social activist, and, later, professor of political and social ethics at Columbia University. Son of Rabbi Samuel Adler of New York City's prestigious Temple Emmanu-El, Felix Adler also had been ordained as a Reform rabbi in Germany (Kraut 1979). Ethical Culture's purpose was "to replace the particularism of prayer, ritual, and distinct creeds with a humanistic faith embracing all humanity, while stressing the rights of individuals" (Glick 1982:556).

The social philosophies of Ethical Culture and the Froebel kindergarten movement were linked. Adler established a free Froebel kindergarten in 1878, an institution later expanded to a full curriculum for children up to age 14 (Downs 1978). When Columbia University's Teacher's College began instruction in 1887, John Dewey (1956) made the Froebel kindergarten a basic feature of his progressive approach to education. Boas sent his own children to the Ethical Culture school. Boas's student Alfred Kroeber, a non-Jewish German who entered Columbia College in 1892 at the age of 16, was educated in private schools tied to the Ethical Culture movement (Darnell 1990; see also T. Kroeber 1970).

In a letter from the field to his 15-year-old son Heinrich condemning the outbreak of World War I, Boas emphasized the importance of the Ethical Culture School and its teachings. His statement recalls Froebel's emphasis in early education on cooperation and mutually helpful living:

St. Eugene, Cranbrook, British Columbia
August 15, 1914

Dear Heini,

You want to know what I am thinking about the war? First of all, I think that it is horrid and that there is no excuse for the people who bring such a disaster to mankind.

It is not easy to explain what I am thinking, but I shall try: If you play baseball against another school you are enthusiastic about your team and sad when your school loses. In accordance with the Ethical Culture School we tried always to impress on you that you should not only be interested in your team but you should give recognition of good performance on the part of your opponents, and also be happy about it. It is only a coincidence that you are in the same school with one boy one day; tomorrow you could be in school with another; and it does not make us better to be in school with the good players. The only thing that counts is the good play, and you can try to be as good as the good players. It is a sign of a bad school when its students are envious of other schools and are against them, just because they don't belong to them. [Rohner 1969:272-273]

Leonard Glick writes that like most German Jews of his class and time in America, Boas sought to be identified foremost as a German and as little as possible as a Jew. During World War I, Boas's German identity itself was a drawback professionally. Identification as a Jew, Glick suggests, would have further detracted from Boas's credibility. In 1919, a time of "intense postwar xenophobia and antiradical hysteria," Boas was censured and forced to resign from the National Research Council (Stocking 1992b:117). Boas's access to undergraduates at Columbia College during and after World War I was restricted, and he was allowed only to instruct female students at Barnard College, Columbia's "sister school" (Weltfish 1980:123).

When writing specifically about Jews, Boas limited his focus exclusively to fighting racist stereotypes, to the extent of virtually ruling out a cultural approach. That is a lack that contemporary anthropologists (including myself in this essay) are trying to rectify. As Glick points out, Boas did not seem to recognize that "being Jewish might in itself operate as a formative element in a social environment" (Glick 1982:557).

In 1933, when Nazism began to take hold in Germany, Boas sent an open letter to President von Hindenburg protesting the appointment of Hitler as chancellor. His essay "Aryans and Non-Aryans" was perhaps Boas's most widely circulated work (Herskovits 1953). Writing in 1938, Boas continued to expound the view that in-group ethics "must be expanded to include all humanity" and that "the identification of an individual with a class because of his bodily appearance, language, or manners has always seemed to me a survival of barbaric,

or rather of primitive, habits of mind" (Boas 1938:203, quoted in Glick 1982:555).

Contemporary critic bell hooks writes that Boas was "by no means a radical according to contemporary standards" but that his anthropology was "oppositional" because it directly challenged the racist assumptions then circulating in the emerging discipline of anthropology (1990:135). Glick points out similarly that Boas's "sensitivity to ethnic prejudice was paralleled by relative indifference to problems of social class" (1982:559). Joan Vincent notes a complete disjunction between Boas's politics and his cultural theories:

[Franz Boas's] cultural anthropology was apolitical in the extreme. This was in striking contrast to his scientific activism in the politics of his day. Boas was active in opposing racial segregation, writing for the popular press, mobilizing philanthropy for Negro education, and speaking at Atlanta University on the invitation of W. E. B. DuBois. [1990:125–126]

Near the conclusion of his long career, Boas commented, "My ideals have developed because I am what I am and have lived where I have lived" (Boas 1938:204, quoted in Glick 1982:555). This is precisely true of Boas as a secular Jew. "There is a sense," Stocking writes,

in which he transmuted personal history into scientific paradigm: the experience of Jews in Germany provided him the archetype of an ostensibly racial group that was in fact biologically heterogeneous, which had assimilated itself almost completely to German national culture and which in multitudinous ways had enriched the general cultural life of modern civilization. [1992a:113]

Jews as Ambiguous Whites

Franz Boas's theories concerning race and culture were consistent with the assimilationist strategies of German Jews in America (Lewis 1992). As in European countries, Jews in America were viewed as racially ambiguous, occupying an intermediary position between black and white.⁵ The August 17, 1915, lynching of Jewish factory owner Leo Frank, in Marietta, Georgia, was a watershed experience that highlighted the ambiguity of Jews' position (Lewis 1992). Frank, accused by a black janitor of the murder-rape of a white female employee, was the first white in the South after the Civil War to be convicted of a capital offence on the testimony of an African American. Frank's name was later cleared of the charges when the janitor who accused him admitted guilt for the crime.

German Jewish involvement in civil rights causes escalated dramatically after the episode as wealthy German Jewish families like the Schiffs, Rosenwalds, Adlers, Flexners, Lehmans, Gruenings, and Spingarns, who had become "decade by decade less distinguish-

able from other white Americans" (Lewis 1992:20), were mobilized. Mainly anti-Zionist and used to a strategy of accommodation and assimilation, they responded to the Leo Frank case by endorsing civil rights for blacks through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League. David Levering Lewis notes, if perhaps too dismissively, that Jews fought anti-Semitism by "remote control" (1992:25).

By assisting in the crusade to prove that Afro-Americans could be decent, conformist, cultured human beings, the civil rights Jews were, in a sense, spared some of the necessity of directly rebutting anti-Semitic stereotypes; for if blacks could make good citizens, clearly, most white Americans believed, all other groups could make better ones. [Lewis 1992:31]

Discrimination and stigma were sufficient for American Jews to try to assimilate to the white mainstream, or at least downplay their differences in the public sector. This was especially true for children of the approximately 4 million eastern European Jewish immigrants who had arrived in America by 1925. From 1920 to 1940, as sociologist Nathan Glazer (1957) noted, the overwhelming majority of the (eastern European) immigrants' children had "deserted" Judaism. A New York City survey in this period found that young Jews were more likely than Protestants and Catholics to become atheist or agnostic. They did not convert but were indifferent or hostile to the traditional religion.

The career of Edward Sapir illustrates how assimilationist trends among eastern European Jews were played out in anthropology (Darnell 1990). Born in Pomerania, in 1884, Sapir entered Columbia University in 1901, where he received all his degrees through the doctorate. His father was a cantor born in Vilkomir, his mother came from Kovno, and his family fled the pogroms of the Russian czar. Sapir was raised on New York's Lower East Side and Yiddish was his first language. Formal religious observance was not part of Sapir's upbringing after his parents were divorced, and he was not a practicing Jew.

Sapir's interest in Jewish topics early in his career was strictly scientific. Later, he became increasingly committed to Jewish activism, particularly to YIVO (Yidisher Visenshaftliker Institut), an institute for advanced study in Yiddish located in Vilna, "the Jerusalem of Lithuania," an established seat of Jewish learning. David Mandelbaum, in 1941, summarized his teacher Sapir's changing attitudes toward Judaism and its relationship to his practice as an anthropologist:

For a long time Sapir's attitude toward Jewish problems was that of the anthropologist whose training admits him to a seat in the press box of the human universe. He saw Jewish matters steadily and saw them whole, as befits a

scientific observer. During his latter years, however, he began to feel that a place at the observation post does not exclude one from a share in the play on the field. He became more and more engrossed in and concerned with the problems of being a Jew and with the turmoil of modern events. [Mandelbaum 1941:139, quoted in Darnell 1990:406]

Sapir's career as a student at Columbia occurred at a transitional time when the Jewish population in the United States was rapidly increasing and changing. The eastern European Jews were different from the German Jews who preceded them: they came from Orthodox rather than Reform backgrounds, had less secular education, and were poor. Although Columbia was the elite educational institution for New York City, eastern European Jewish students like Sapir were buffered from the most blatant effects of American anti-Semitism, writes Sapir's biographer Regna Darnell (1990). Up to 40 percent of the immigrant children entering Columbia were Jewish, somewhat less than for other New York universities but well over the 10 to 12 percent implicit quotas of the elite private institutions of the East Coast.

But a hostile situation awaited Sapir later when he left the faculty at the University of Chicago in 1931 to take the position of Sterling Professor in Anthropology at Yale. In 1930, there were four Jews among 569 faculty at Yale. Sapir was denied membership in the Graduate Club, the key institution where academic business was conducted by Yale's senior faculty. He was not the only Jew to apply, Darnell notes, and there were other Jewish members, but his was the case over which those with anti-Semitic sentiments on the membership committee made their stand.

Sapir's student David Mandelbaum published in 1939 what was probably the first ethnographic account to appear in print about a Jewish community by an American anthropologist. It appeared outside the discipline, in *Jewish Social Studies*. While conducting research on castes in India, Mandelbaum had encountered a small, well-established community of Jews in Cochin, on the Malabar Coast, that was virtually unknown in the West. Mandelbaum's article concludes with a classic Boasian refutation of spurious racial theories:

If any further proof be needed that Judaism is a social and not a physical heritage, that it is a matter of cultural conditioning and not of congenial acquisition, the black Jews are a prime case in point. Although anthropometric measurements and blood tests equate them physically with the other autochthonous inhabitants of Malabar, culturally they are vastly different from their Hindu neighbors. The Judaism of the black Jews is a wholehearted faith and a strictly observed code of conduct. Their single-minded adhesion to the Jewish tradition stamps them as more truly Jewish than are most modern Jews of the Western world. [Mandelbaum 1939:459]

An earlier study of a Jewish community undertaken in the 1920s by Ruth Landes also focused on a culturally and racially anomalous group, members of an offshoot of the Garvey back-to-Africa movement in Harlem. Landes's article "Negro Jews in Harlem" (1967) was also published outside the discipline, in the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, but 40 years after the research was undertaken (S. Cole 1994; Park and Park 1989). The marginalization of Landes's research on the black Jews of Harlem, and of her other work on race, deserves further elaboration. It reflects her vulnerability as a junior female (Jewish) anthropologist to harassment from a senior (Jewish) male colleague, Melville Herskovits.

Ruth Landes (1908–91) was the daughter of Russian Jewish immigrants and raised in Brooklyn, New York. She was a student of Ruth Benedict. Her biographer Sally Cole describes Landes's radical family background:

Her father, Joseph Schlossberg, was cofounder of the American Clothing Workers of America, and her family moved in social circles that included Jewish and African American intellectuals, writers, and political activists. Through her family she met W. E. B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, and Zora Neale Hurston and developed an early interest in African American cultural life. After completing a bachelor's degree at New York University, Landes began a graduate program in social work and undertook a four-year study of Harlem storefront churches in the 1920s for her master's thesis, which was later published as "Negro Jews in Harlem." During this time Landes' father's longtime friend, anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser, introduced her to Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict, both of whom strongly encouraged her to consider graduate work in anthropology. [1994:xiii–xiv]

Melville Herskovits (1895–1963) was a student of Boas and also of European Jewish parentage. (His mother was born in Germany, and his father, in Hungary.) His biographer George Eaton Simpson credits Herskovits with being "the founder of scientific Afroamerican studies" (1973:1). Simpson never mentions that Herskovits was a Jew, although Herskovits had briefly studied to become a Reform rabbi. Champion of the theory of survivals of West African cultures in the American diaspora, Herskovits published his book *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1958[1941]), a brilliant rejoinder to the prevailing argument held by scholars that the language and cultural practices of lower-class African Americans were degenerate forms of white European civilization (J. Cole 1985). Herskovits's earlier contributions as a physical anthropologist may read less favorably today, although they continued Boas's antiracist focus on the plasticity of physical traits and the effects of environment.⁶

Herskovits led a relentless campaign to discredit Ruth Landes's work in Brazil because of her radical

politics and feminist perspectives. He attacked her association with communists, her independent behavior as a single woman in the field (she had an open affair with black folklorist and journalist Edison Carneiro), her data that documented previously unknown features of the *candomblé* religion (female ritual leaders and the homosexuality of male priests), and her innovative writing style (S. Cole 1994). Landes was unable to gain a regular appointment as a professor in an anthropology department until 30 years after she received her doctorate. Her tenure-track position at McMaster University in Ontario, Canada, was gained not on the strength of her mature work concerning the African American diaspora but on earlier research on the Ontario Ojibwa, undertaken when she was a graduate student (Park and Park 1989).

With the rise of Nazism and the destruction of Jewish life in Europe, Boas's students Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, neither of them Jewish, took the lead in legitimating a full-scale study of Jewish culture. This endeavor in salvage anthropology resulted in Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog's *Life Is with People* (1952), a composite reconstruction of *shtetl* life in eastern Europe. The research was completed in 1949 under Ruth Benedict's direction, as part of a project at Columbia University funded by the Office of Naval Research. A grant from the American Jewish Committee made writing of the book possible.

Following the war, what may have been the first full-length ethnography based on participant observation in a Jewish community anywhere in the world appeared. This was Melford E. Spiro's report on life on a socialist Jewish commune in the newly established state of Israel, *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia* (1956). It was not until the 1970s, however, that a monograph documenting Jewish community life in the United States appeared: Myerhoff's *Number Our Days* (1978). Born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1935 and raised partly by her "story-telling grandmother, an illiterate woman from [eastern] Europe," Myerhoff reported her alienation in having been brought up "in a neighborhood and time when children of immigrants were not fully human beings" (Myerhoff and Ruby 1992:338).

Myerhoff's last project, a visual ethnography conducted in 1986 among ultra-Orthodox Jews in the Fairfax district of Los Angeles, resulted in the film *In Her Own Time* (see Frank 1995). In it, Myerhoff reflected on her urge as a younger person to disassociate herself from the shameful foreignness of her ethnic heritage. Diagnosed with lung cancer during the study, Myerhoff expected to undergo chemotherapy and anticipated the possible loss of her hair from the treatment. Trying on wigs at the home of an ultra-Orthodox woman who sold them for purposes of female modesty, Myerhoff commented:

What's so ironic about this is that I spent my childhood trying to get rid of curls because I thought it was Jewish hair and I was embarrassed. And now that I'm middle-aged and I like it, here I am getting a wig! [Myerhoff, in Littman 1995]

Myerhoff's work in *Number Our Days* anticipated for some, and encouraged in others, a new wave of reflexive Jewish ethnography. But her approach to Jewish ethnicity reintroduces a racial discourse that would have made Franz Boas's skin crawl. (As Glick argues, Boas never resolved the conflicts concerning Jewish assimilation that fueled his anthropology.) Concerning her attempts to learn about eastern European Jewish culture from her informant, Shmuel Goldman, and to identify with it, Myerhoff emphasized their visible, "racial" similarities:

Our shadows were exactly the same size—small, compact, heads enlarged by wiry curls. Despite the forty years that set us apart, despite our differences in sex, history, knowledge, belief and experience, we resembled each other. It could be seen that we were of the same racial stock. Shmuel had a way of reckoning all differences between us in his favor, mocking but without cruelty, yet in a way that always made me feel somewhat apologetic. I was grateful for all our similarities and read them as signs of hope in the validity of my attempt to comprehend him. [1978:42]

Although Jews in America were often perceived as a racial group by others and themselves, Sacks (1994) argues that after World War II, they became "white folks" through the G.I. Bill, which subsidized massive development and purchase of single-family homes in suburban communities. Included in this realignment of racial categories were other "ethnic whites" such as Italians, Irish, and Greeks who were also targeted to benefit from affordable, federally guaranteed mortgage loans. At the same time, federally approved redlining and restrictive covenants kept blacks and Latinos out of the suburbs. State-sponsored institutionalized racism in banking and real estate transformed inner cities into ghettos (which means recognizing that Jews in banking and real estate were complicit in such policies, although hopefully not all).

Perceptions of Jews as ambiguous whites did not simply disappear, however, as illustrated in the introduction to sociologist Elliot Liebow's *Tally's Corner* (1967), an ethnography of black street life. Liebow, the son of Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe, was born and raised in Washington, DC. His father was a grocer in predominantly black, working-class neighborhoods, and the family lived in rooms adjacent to the various stores he operated. Liebow writes that, during his research,

the fact that I was Jewish came up only twice. Once, a man who worked but did not live in the area threw some Yiddish

expressions at me because "I thought you looked Jewish." The other time was when I met a soldier in a local bootleg joint. We had been talking for some ten minutes or so when he asked me whether I was "Eyetalian." I told him I was Jewish. "That's just as good," he said. "I'm glad you're not white." [1967:252]

Despite the exodus of some Jews to the suburbs and an apparent homogenizing of white ethnic lifestyles, most remained in the major cities and environs. About half of all American Jews remain concentrated in three metropolitan areas: 32.9 percent in New York–northern New Jersey–Long Island (comprising 10.6 percent of the local population); 10 percent in Los Angeles–Anaheim–Riverside (3.9 percent of the local population); and 6.5 percent in Miami–Fort Lauderdale (11.5 percent of the local population) (Kosmin and Scheckner 1995). Further, many of the new suburban communities assumed the character of distinct ethnic enclaves.

Ironically, just as Jews were more likely to be perceived as white and were more likely to enter the American mainstream, their political allegiance became increasingly suspect. With the end of the New Deal and beginning of the Cold War, McCarthyism, red-baiting, and blacklisting converged in attacks on Jews associated with left/liberal causes. The 1951 trial and execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for espionage was a harsh object lesson. Accounts by Gene Weltfish and Eleanor Burke Leacock underscore the undermining effects of state-sponsored red-baiting and anti-Semitism within anthropology.

Marxist-feminist anthropologist Eleanor Leacock (1922–87) was denied a security clearance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the mid-1940s when she was invited to work on antifascist projects by Ruth Benedict and Rhoda Metraux. Although not a Jew herself, Leacock was suspected of having associations with Jews and radical politics. This was likely, of course, to have been true but was mistaken by the FBI as a *de facto* risk to national security. Her biographer comments:

After graduation [from Barnard] in 1944, and like many other anthropologists opposed to fascism, she sought work in Washington, D.C., at the Office of War Information. Ruth Benedict and Rhoda Metraux approved her for employment. The FBI denied her clearance, however; the questions they asked about her, Eleanor Leacock was told by friends, included, "Did she wear Russian blouses? Did she have Jewish friends?" [Gailey 1989:216]

Gene Weltfish (1902–80), a student of Boas raised in a mixed eastern and central European Jewish family on New York's Lower East Side, was called to testify before the McCarthy Senate Internal Security Committee in 1952 and 1953 (Pathé 1989). She was interrogated not only about her own political beliefs and activities, including her participation in two international women's

rights groups, but also about the political beliefs of Ruth Benedict. Benedict and Weltfish had earlier coauthored the U.S.-government-sponsored pamphlet "The Races of Mankind," of which millions of copies had been distributed throughout the world and which the McCarthy committee considered subversive. Weltfish's account follows:

During the first four years of my graduate teaching at Columbia, Hitler rose to power in Germany, bolstering his heinous operations with the racist theories developed from distorted anthropology. The books of Professor Franz Boas . . . were burned in Germany. . . . For sixty years, Professor Boas traveled widely in this country and abroad, lecturing on the scientific facts about race and human biology. . . . In 1942, after his death, Ruth Benedict, my senior colleague in the Anthropology Department, and I felt that we should carry the banner on the race question. . . . In 1943 Ruth Benedict and I collaborated on a pamphlet, "The Races of Mankind," published by the Public Affairs Committee . . . printed and distributed to millions of people in many languages all over the world. . . . The pamphlet was originally written at the request of the U.S.O. for distribution to the men in the armed forces who had to fight side by side with allies such as the Huks in the Philippines and the Solomon Islanders. . . . "The Races of Mankind" was used, not only for orientation by the army, but in the de-Nazification program in Germany after the war. [Memo by Weltfish, October 24, 1967, quoted in Pathé 1989:375]

Benedict and Weltfish's "The Races of Mankind" was pulled from distribution by the U.S. Armed Forces in 1944 because of criticism that it suggested that northern blacks were smarter than southern whites. Weltfish's public disclaimer, that the differential was due to the quality of education, was ignored (Pathé 1989). In 1954, as a consequence of having being called before McCarthy's committee, Weltfish was terminated from her position as a lecturer at Columbia University. She had taught at Columbia for 17 years (long enough, her biographer comments, for any comparable male colleague to have achieved tenure). Like Ruth Landes, Weltfish's career was derailed. Finally, after nine years, she was invited in 1961 to teach undergraduates at Fairleigh Dickinson University, beginning as an assistant professor. In light of such episodes, it is not surprising that other American anthropologists who were Jewish might want to just blend in.

Cultivating (Jewish) "Double Consciousness" in Anthropology

Recognizing the ambiguity of Jews as whites means acknowledging their vulnerability, in international and historical contexts, to that form of racism known as anti-Semitism (Shohat and Stam 1994). It also means acknowledging that most Jews in the United States today

enjoy white privilege in most institutional spheres, such as employment, housing, education, credit, and health care. The ability to engage in “white practices” in relation to nonwhite (or possibly “less white”) Americans is a timely topic for self-reflection and self-criticism by Jews in anthropology (Frankenberg 1993; Sacks 1994).

European racism, according to Michel Foucault, was founded on a binary conception of the social body as a struggle between an upper race and a lower race that first emerged in the 17th century (Stoler 1995). The struggle of the races in the 19th century became, as Stoler restates, “a discourse of normalizing and centralizing power” for the state, which was identified with the whiteness and purity of the ruling class (1995:66). It seems to me, however, that the situation of Jews in America has never been one simply of fitting into a binary paradigm of “white” versus “nonwhite.” Racisms are plural and are practiced differentially in relation to power as, for example, among nonwhite groups in relation to one another (Chang 1993).

Context is critical, therefore, to understanding Franz Boas’s life and work in relation to being Jewish. Although Boas experienced anti-Semitism in Germany and discrimination as a German immigrant in America, he was able to establish powerful connections and a thriving discipline in the academic mainstream. Many of his contacts and much of his support came, however, from the cosmopolitan New York world in which Jewish Germans were well-established and active. Boas’s championing of race equality and racial justice took place in a peculiarly American context: Jews were threatening to nativists who dominated America’s institutions, but seemingly less so than other “racial” groups such as blacks, Japanese, and Mexicans.

This makes sense in colonial and imperialist terms. Nineteenth-century European racism cannot be understood, Stoler (1995) argues, without reference to anxieties about race-mixing in the colonies. It follows that, as “internal Others” in Europe, Jews were a focus for anxieties about race mixing and degeneracy on home territory. In the United States, the positioning of Jews in such anxieties was displaced considerably by the threat posed by massive importation and settlement of nonwhites within America’s borders as slaves and laborers. Thus it was possible for Boas to take the rhetorical position, in his address at the 1908 annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of a white American representing “the physical type of northwestern Europe”:

With the economic development of Germany, German immigration has dwindled down; while at the same time Italians, the various Slavic people of Austria, Russia, and the Balkan Peninsula, Hungarians, Roumanians, east European Hebrews, not to mention the numerous other nationalities, have arrived in ever-increasing numbers. There is no doubt

that these people of eastern and southern Europe represent a physical type distinct from the physical type of northwestern Europe; and it is clear, even to the most casual observer, that their present social standards differ fundamentally from our own. Since the number of new arrivals may be counted in normal years by hundreds of thousands, the question may well be asked, What will be the result of this influx of *types distinct from our own?* [Boas 1909:840, quoted in Glick 1982:545; emphasis added, this article]

Again, despite his ugly experience of anti-Semitism at Yale, Edward Sapir, an eastern European-born Jew, was able to occupy an endowed chair. The careers of Ruth Landes and Gene Weltfish show, however, that radical and antiracist politics proved a greater threat in anthropology to the careers of Jewish women than Jewish men. Boas’s female students lacked the protected status their male counterparts occupied: regular professorial appointments and tenure. In contrast to Landes, her nemesis Melville Herskovits, espousing Boasian views on race, maintained an active role in the NAACP with no cost to his career at Howard University or Northwestern University, only gain (see Jackson 1986).

Putting Franz Boas in the context of the African American struggle, Lee Baker writes that “Boas *should* be seen as an activist who played an important role in the continued struggle for racial equality” (1994:213, emphasis in original). Our recognition of the impact made by Franz Boas and other like-minded Jews in alliance with blacks must be properly framed, of course, as the result of a particular consciousness:

[It] is hardly to suggest that the relationship of blacks and Jews was always idyllic or that Jews have been unfailing paragons of tolerance, compassion, and commitment. . . . Nor can it be maintained that Jews never discriminated against or exploited blacks as other white Americans did, even as many enlisted in efforts to overcome bigotry. [Friedman 1995:9]

Leslie White, a critic of Boas and a non-Jew, argued that the Boasians gained dominance by exclusionary practices and provocatively termed the Boasians a “cult” (1966:4). White labels Boas’s analysis of race “inflexible,” based as it is upon Boas’s background as a Jew and belief in the ideals of the Revolution of 1848. Reworking statements by Boas’s students into a polemic, White writes:

Boas, who was “of Jewish extraction” (Lowie, 1947, p. 310), had been intensely concerned with anti-Semitism since his “formative years” (Kluckhohn and Pruffer, 1959, p. 10). He wrote voluminously on racial problems, as did some of his prominent students. As I have argued elsewhere (White, 1947a), however, he never got to the heart of the matter. Much of his argument was based upon anthropometry and anatomy, which were largely irrelevant because race prejudice and conflict do not arise from lack of knowledge of facts of this sort. . . . Boas had virtually a closed mind, if we

may trust Kroeber's [1956] judgment on this point. [1966:16–17]

White further charges that Boas had a closed attitude toward American-born scholars who were not Jewish (such as Clark Wissler and Ralph Linton) and tended to criticize or overlook anthropological work done by people who were not in the circle of educated Germans and "Forty-Eighters" (supporters of the liberal and socialist revolutions of 1848). White continues:

Let us have another look at the Boas School, the small, compact group of scholars that were gathered about the leader. The earliest were principally foreign-born or the children of immigrants. Goldenweiser was born in Kiev; Radin in Lodz; Lowie in Vienna, and Sapir in Pomerania. Kroeber's father was born in Cologne, and his mother was American-born, of German antecedents. All were fluent in the German language. Like Boas, most were of Jewish ancestry. John Sholtz, writing in *Reflex: A Jewish Magazine* (Vol. 6, p. 9, 1935) has observed that "in the one field of anthropology alone, it is interesting to note the disproportionate position held by Jewish scientists in this country. Men like Boaz [*sic*], Goldenweiser [*sic*], Lowie, Radin are easily the leaders in the field." . . . A school by definition tends to be a closed society or group. Kroeber tells of how George A. Dorsey, an American-born gentile and a Ph.D. from Harvard, tried to gain admittance to the select group but failed. [1966:26]

Although his arguments may be academically defensible, White is also making an anti-Semitic attack. The fact that a reader may not be quite sure reflects the ambiguity of Jewish/white positionings. Is it the Jewishness of Boas that was problematic? Or is it the in-group dynamics of a group of mainly German-born left-wingers, most of whom were Jewish? We may note the unmarked category in this conflict, the fact that all parties were white or "white enough" to be there. Yet Jewishness remained a potent signifier of a dangerous, even polluting, difference—just as the preeminence of foreigners, immigrants, Jews, and colonials during this period was later evoked by the aristocrat Edmund Leach (1984) as the "unmentionable" in British social anthropology.

If Boas's left/liberal politics, specifically his antiracist activism, distinguished his contribution from that of other white anthropologists, what part did his Jewishness play? David Mandelbaum offers a clue in his 1941 tribute to Sapir, claiming that "Jews are, in a sense, born ethnologists." They acquire a sensitivity to cultural differences, he argued, "by virtue of their dual participation in two cultural spheres, that of Judaism and their environing society" (Mandelbaum 1941:140, quoted in Darnell 1990:406).

Mandlebaum's insight is true for any marginal or subaltern group. The great social thinker and antiracist activist W. E. B. Du Bois described such double con-

sciousness as an American of African descent two years after obtaining his doctorate at Harvard: "One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body" (1969:45; see also Carothers 1990 and King 1988). Franz Boas, an emancipated bourgeois Jew, was favorably positioned for "dual participation" due to his ambiguous white status and western European cultural literacy. Such positioning entailed dissonance and discomfort, however, which he attempted to resolve—like Durkheim, Freud, and Marx—by constructing new social theories (Cuddihy 1974).

It is interesting to note a commonality between the Jewish positioning of the American anthropologist Sapir and that described by French structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss. In a rare conversation about being a Jew, Lévi-Strauss emphasized the experience as one of double consciousness:

Didier Eribon: You have always been a partisan of "assimilation" and you have never asserted a Jewish "identity." But you know Metraux's phrase about you, from his journal, "He's the very picture of a Jewish intellectual."

Claude Lévi-Strauss: That doesn't bother me. We're not pure mind, and it seems natural for me, especially as an anthropologist, to size someone up by putting him in his context. . . . I admit that certain mental attitudes are perhaps more common among Jews than elsewhere.

D.E.: For example?

C.L.-S.: Attitudes that come from the profound feeling of belonging to a national community, all the while knowing that in the midst of this community there are people—fewer and fewer of them, I admit—who reject you. One keeps one's sensitivity attuned, accompanied by the irrational feeling that in all circumstances one has to do a bit more than other people to disarm potential critics. [Lévi-Strauss and Eribon 1991:155–156]

Marginality, and Jewishness, does not always lead to liberal or progressive politics. The neoconservative "new opinion elite" includes a number of Jews carrying on an American Jewish tradition of conservative politics (Atlas 1995). Yet in domestic politics, American Jews continue to support Left causes and vote for liberal candidates in disproportion to their numbers despite the increasing conservatism of American Jewish voters since the Reagan years. All the studies of voting patterns since World War II show that high socioeconomic status Jews are more likely to support liberal candidates than those with low status are (Lipset and Raab 1995:161–162). How those politics are perceived among poorer, non-Jewish ethnic groups is another question (see, for example, Chang 1993).

Histories and ethnographies of Jews as a diasporic people provide models of and for ethnic survival through transnationalism and hybridization. These are concerns anthropologists share with multiculturalists

now that diaspora is increasingly recognized as a distinct cultural condition (Ong and Nonini 1997; Segal 1995). A version of this argument, Messianic overtones and all, is presented by theologian Michael Goldberg (1995), who also implores Jewish liberals and conservatives alike to move beyond our fixation on the “cult of the Holocaust” and the cult of Israel as a secular nation-state. Both the Holocaust and Israel have become metonyms for Jewish identity in popular culture which eclipse the full range of actual and possible Jewish cultures and experiences. Such an agenda requires critical perspectives in order to avoid essentialism and stereotyping, just as in the present essay I hope to have made any essential characterization of Jewishness and the Jewish condition quite impossible.

Any number of scholars are reasserting Jewishness in the academy, simultaneously attempting to discover and define what Jewish identity can mean today in that most universalist of institutions (Frank 1997). Some relevant examples from the long and growing list of sources, in addition to several already cited, include: Behar 1996; Boyarin 1992, 1996; Eilberg-Schwartz 1990, 1992, 1994; H. Goldberg 1987, 1995; Kleebatt 1996; Nochlin and Garb 1995; Prell 1989, 1990, 1996; Rubin-Dorsky and Fisher Fishkin 1996; Schneider 1995.

This reappearance of Jewish difference(s) raises the stakes for Jewish anthropologists engaged in multiculturalist discourses (D. Boyarin and J. Boyarin 1995; J. Boyarin and D. Boyarin 1997). Many of us who are Jews, while endorsing left/liberal values and writing on antiracist themes, may slip into complacency on three points: first, that exclusionary “white practices” are our own responsibility to counteract; second, that antiracist struggles are daily and local in academia and all institutions; and, finally, that our renewed commitment to alliance in antiracist struggle is needed.

This agenda properly links Jewish anthropologists to issues of multiculturalism and to other diasporic groups. From the standpoint of the discipline it is important to be mindful, as Terence Turner (1993) points out, that the anthropological concept of culture is not synonymous with that of ethnic identity. Such a move, Turner warns,

risks essentializing the idea of culture as the property of an ethnic group or race; it risks reifying cultures as separate entities by overemphasizing their boundedness and mutual distinctness; it risks overemphasizing the internal homogeneity of cultures in terms that potentially legitimize repressive demands for communal conformity; and by treating cultures as badges of group identity, it tends to fetishize them in ways that put them beyond the reach of critical analysis—and thus of anthropology. [1993:412]

Much of “the misunderstanding, mutual indifference, and resentment” between multiculturalists and anthro-

pologists, Turner argues, springs from this basic difference: Anthropology and its various concepts of culture are not principally oriented toward programs of social change, political mobilization, or cultural transformation (1993:412). It is exactly this point, however, that the preceding reading of Boas’s work on race and culture questions. Boas’s anthropology was strikingly apolitical in terms of explicit theory, but in message and purpose, it was an explicitly antiracist science. Boas’s career, rooted in his position as an ambiguously white European Jewish intellectual transplanted to America, continues to offer a model for infusing the science of anthropology with an activist agenda for inclusion, empowerment, and alliance across boundaries.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I wish to thank Haim Dov Beliak for his generous sharing of ideas, sources, and encouragement during the development of this article over several years. My thanks are also due to Karen Brodtkin, Faye Ginsburg, Harvey E. Goldberg, Janet Hoskins, Sharon Kaufman, Nancy Lutkehaus, Melford Spiro, and George W. Stocking Jr. for providing support and helpful comments on various drafts. I would also like to thank students at the University of Southern California, in a seminar cotaught by myself (Department of Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy) and Nancy Lutkehaus (Department of Anthropology), for their thoughtful reading and comments. Finally, I want to acknowledge the contributions of participants at the invited session “Shades of Enlightenment and the Cultural Geographies of Hope, Identity, and Control,” at the 95th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1996, San Francisco.

1. Harding 1986; Irigaray 1989; Keller 1984.
2. Gacs et al. 1989; see also S. Cole 1994 and 1995, and Weltfish 1980.
3. A ban on kindergartens, issued by reactionary Prussian government officials in 1851, was lifted only in 1860.
4. Not all Jewish historians of race see Virchow in an unambiguously positive light, it should be noted. Gilman (1991:77) cites George Mosse’s (1975:90–91) criticism that Virchow still assumed in his study of German schoolchildren, published in 1886, that the Jews were a separate and distinct racial category.
5. Cheyette 1995; Gilman 1996; Ragussis 1995.
6. Herskovits’s anthropometric study *The American Negro* (1956[1928]) argued that a homogeneous American Negro type had emerged which, while not a “new race,” was distinct and stabilizing. A study undertaken in 1926 to investigate the quality of “looking Jewish” was left unpublished (Herskovits 1960:1505).

References Cited

- Atlas, James
1995 Look Who’s the “Opinion Elite” Now. *New York Times Magazine*, February 12: 32–65.

- Baker, Lee D.
1994 The Location of Franz Boas within the African-American Struggle. *Critique of Anthropology* 14(2):199–217.
- Behar, Ruth
1996 *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Boas, Franz
1909 Race Problems in America. *Science* 29:839–849.
1938 An Anthropologist's Credo. *The Nation* 147:201–204.
1982[1940] *Race, Language and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boyarin, Daniel, and Jonathan Boyarin
1995 *Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity*. In *Identities*. E. A. Appiah and H. L. Gates Jr., eds. Pp. 305–337. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boyarin, Jonathan
1992 *Storm from Paradise: The Politics of Jewish Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
1996 *Thinking in Jewish*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boyarin, Jonathan, and Daniel Boyarin, eds.
1997 *Jews and Other Differences: The New Jewish Cultural Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Carothers, Suzanne C.
1990 *Catching Sense: Learning from Our Mothers To Be Black and Female*. In *Uncertain Terms: Negotiating Gender in American Culture*. F. Ginsburg and A. L. Tsing, eds. Pp. 232–247. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Chang, Edward
1993 Jewish and Korean Merchants in African American Neighborhoods: A Comparative Perspective. In *Los Angeles—Struggles toward Multiethnic Community: Asian American, African American, and Latino Perspectives*. E. T. Chang and R. C. Leong, eds. Pp. 5–22. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Cheyette, Bryan
1995 Neither Black nor White: The Figure of "the Jew" in Imperial British Literature. In *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity*. L. Nochlin and T. Garb, eds. Pp. 31–41. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Cole, Johnnetta B.
1985 Africanisms in the Americas: A Brief History of the Concept. In *Special Issue on Africa and Afro-America: Views from Women in the Field*. G. Frank and M. Richardson, eds. Theme issue. *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly* 10(4):120–126.
- Cole, Sally
1994 Introduction—Ruth Landes in Brazil: Writing, Race, and Gender in 1930s American Anthropology. In *The City of Women*. R. Landes. Pp. vii–xxxiv. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
1995 Ruth Landes and the Early Ethnography of Race and Gender. In *Women Writing Culture*. R. Behar and D. A. Gordon, eds. Pp. 166–185. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cuddihy, John Murray
1974 *The Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx, Lévi-Strauss, and the Jewish Struggle with Modernity*. New York: Dell Publishing.
- Darnell, Regna
1990 *Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dewey, John
1956 *Froebel's Educational Principles: The Child and the Curriculum and the School and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dominguez, Virginia R.
1993 Questioning Jews. *American Ethnologist* 20:618–624.
- Downs, Robert B.
1978 *Friedrich Froebel*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers.
- Du Bois, W. E. B.
1969[1903] *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: New American Library.
- Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard
1990 *The Savage in Judaism: An Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
1994 *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard, ed.
1992 *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Frank, Gelya
1995 *The Ethnographic Films of Barbara G. Myerhoff: Anthropology, Feminism and the Politics of Jewish Identity*. In *Women Writing Culture*. R. Behar and D. A. Gordon, eds. Pp. 207–232. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1997 *Positively Diverse: Jewish Difference in Western Culture and the Academy*. *Review of Thinking in Jewish and People of the Book*. *American Anthropologist* 99:619–621.
- Frankenberg, Ruth
1993 *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Friedman, Murray
1995 *What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance*. New York: Free Press.
- Gacs, Ute, Aisha Khan, Jerrie McIntyre, and Ruth Weinberg, eds.
1989 *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Gailey, Christine Ward
1989 *Eleanor Burke Leacock (1922–1987)*. In *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies*. U. Gacs, A. Khan, J. McIntyre, and R. Weinberg, eds. Pp. 215–221. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Gilman, Sander L.
1991 *The Jew's Body*. New York: Routledge.
1996 *The Jew's Body: Thoughts on Jewish Physical Difference*. In *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*. N. L. Kleebatt, ed. Pp. 60–73. New York: Jewish Museum; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Glazer, Nathan
1957 *American Judaism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Glick, Leonard B.
1982 *Types Distinct from Our Own: Franz Boas on Jewish Identity and Assimilation*. *American Anthropologist* 84:545–565.
- Goldberg, Harvey E.
1987 Introduction: On the Mutual Relevance of Anthropology and Judaic Studies. *In* *Judaism Viewed from Within and Without: Anthropological Perspectives*. H. E. Goldberg, ed. Pp. 1–54. Albany: State University of New York Press.
1995 *The Voice of Jacob: Jewish Perspectives on Anthropology and the Study of the Bible*. *Jewish Social Studies*, n.s., 2:36–71.
- Goldberg, Michael
1995 *Why Should Jews Survive? Looking Past the Holocaust toward a Jewish Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harding, Sandra
1986 *The Science Question in Feminism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
1994 *Is Science Multicultural? Challenges, Resources, Opportunities, Uncertainties*. *In* *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. D. T. Goldberg, ed. Pp. 344–370. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- Herskovits, Melville J.
1953 *Franz Boas: The Science of Man in the Making*. New York: Scribner's.
1956[1928] *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
1958[1941] *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
1960 *Who Are the Jews?* *In* *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*. 3rd edition. L. Finkelstein, ed. Pp. 1489–1509. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.
- hooks, bell
1990 *Saving Black Folk Culture: Zora Neale Hurston as Anthropologist and Writer*. *In* *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. Pp. 135–143. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Hyatt, Marshall
1990 *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity. Contributions to the Study of Anthropology*, 6. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Irigaray, Luce
1989 *Is the Subject of Science Sexed?* C. M. Bove, trans. *In* *Feminism and Science*. N. Tuana, ed. Pp. 58–68. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Jackson, Walter
1986 *Melville Herskovits and the Search for Afro-American Culture*. *In* *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others*. George W. Stocking Jr., ed. Pp. 95–126. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Keller, Evelyn Fox
1984 *Reflections on Gender and Science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- King, Deborah
1988 *Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology*. *Signs: Journal of Women, Society and Culture* 14(11):42–72.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara
1992 Foreword. *In* *Remembered Lives: The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*. M. Kaminsky, ed. Pp. ix–xiv. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kleebatt, Norman L., ed.
1996 *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*. New York: Jewish Museum.
- Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Olaf Prufer
1959 Influences during the Formative Years. *In* *The Anthropology of Franz Boas: Essays on the Centennial of His Birth*. W. Goldschmidt, ed. *American Anthropologist* 61(5, pt. 2), mem. 89: 4–28.
- Kosmin, Barry A., and Jeffrey Scheckner
1995 *Jewish Population in the United States, 1994*. *In* *American Jewish Year Book*. D. Singer, ed. Pp. 181–208. New York: American Jewish Congress.
- Kraut, Benny
1979 *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler*. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press.
- Kroeber, A. L.
1943 *Franz Boas: The Man*. *In* *Franz Boas, 1858–1942*. A. L. Kroeber, R. Benedict, M. B. Emeneau, M. J. Herskovits, G. A. Reichard, and J. A. Mason, eds. *American Anthropologist* 45(3, pt. 2), mem. 61: 5–26.
1956 *The Place of Boas in Anthropology*. *American Anthropologist* 58:151–159.
- Kroeber, Theodora
1970 *Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Landes, Ruth Schlossberg
1967 *Negro Jews in Harlem*. *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 9(2):175–189.
- Leach, Edmund R.
1984 *Glimpses of the Unmentionable in the History of British Social Anthropology*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13:1–23.
- Lesser, Alexander
1981 *Franz Boas*. *In* *Totems and Teachers: Perspectives on the History of Anthropology*. S. Silverman, ed. Pp. 1–33. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, and Didier Eribon
1991 *Conversations with Claude Lévi-Strauss*. P. Wissing, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis, David Levering
1992 *Parallels and Divergences: Assimilationist Strategies of Afro-American and Jewish Elites from 1910 to the Early 1930s*. *In* *Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews*. J. Salzman, A. Back, and G. S. Sorin, eds. Pp. 17–35. New York: George Braziller.
- Liebow, Elliot
1967 *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Earl Raab
1995 *Jews and the New American Scene*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Littman, Lynne
1995 *In Her Own Time*. Lynne Littman, director. Vikram Jayanti and Lynn Littman, producers. 16 mm. color film, 60 minutes. Santa Monica, CA: Direct Cinema Ltd.
- Mandelbaum, David G.
1939 *The Jewish Way of Life in Cochín*. *Jewish Social Studies* 1:423–460.
1941 Edward Sapir. *Jewish Social Studies* 3:131–140.
- Mead, Margaret
1977 *Anthropology and the Climate of Opinion*. In *Anthropology and the Climate of Opinion*. S. A. Freed, ed. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 293:1–14.
- Mosse, George L.
1975 *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*. New York: Howard Fertig.
- Myerhoff, Barbara
1978 *Number Our Days*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Myerhoff, Barbara, and Jay Ruby
1992 *A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*. In *Remembered Lives: The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*. B. Myerhoff. Pp. 307–340. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Neidle, Cecyle S.
1973 Abraham Jacobi, 1830–1919: Impassioned Physician. In *Great Immigrants*. Pp. 67–87. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- Nochlin, Linda, and Tamara Garb
1995 *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity*. Pp. 7–19. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Nuland, Sherwin B.
1988 *The Fundamental Unit of Life: Sick Cells, Microscopes and Rudolph Virchow*. In *Doctors: The Biography of Medicine*. Pp. 304–342. New York: Vintage.
- Ong, Aihwa, and Donald M. Nonini, eds.
1997 *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Park, George, and Alice Park
1989 Ruth Schlossberg Landes (1908–). In *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies*. U. Gacs, A. Khan, J. McIntyre, and R. Weinberg, eds. Pp. 208–214. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Pathé, Ruth E.
1989 Gene Weltfish (1902–1980). In *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies*. U. Gacs, A. Khan, J. McIntyre, and R. Weinberg, eds. Pp. 372–381. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Peukert, Detlev J. K.
1987[1982] *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*. R. Devison, trans. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Prell, Riv-Ellen
1989 *Prayer and Community: The Havurah in American Judaism*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
1990 *Rage and Representation: Jewish Gender Stereotypes in American Culture*. In *Uncertain Terms: Negotiating Gender in American Culture*. F. Ginsburg and A. L. Tsing, eds. Pp. 248–266. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
1996 *Why Jewish Princesses Don't Sweat: Desire and Consumption in Postwar American Jewish Culture*. In *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*. N. L. Kleeblatt, ed. Pp. 74–92. New York: Jewish Museum.
- Ragussis, Michael
1995 *Figures of Conversion: The Jewish Question and English National Identity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Rohner, Ronald P., ed.
1969 *The Ethnography of Franz Boas: Letters and Diaries of Franz Boas Written on the Northwest Coast from 1886–1931*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rubin-Dorsky, Jeffrey, and Shelley Fisher Fishkin
1996 *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Sacks, Karen Brodtkin
1994 *How Did Jews Become White Folks?* In *Race*. S. Gregory and R. Sanjek, eds. Pp. 78–102. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Schmelz, U. O., and Sergio Della Pergola
1995 *World Jewish Population, 1993*. In *American Jewish Year Book*. D. Singer, ed. Pp. 466–492. New York: American Jewish Congress.
- Schneider, David M.
1995 *Schneider on Schneider: The Conversion of the Jews and Other Anthropological Stories*. As Told to Richard Handler. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Segal, Ronald
1995 *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience outside Africa*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Shohat, Ella, and Robert Stam
1994 *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*. New York: Routledge.
- Simpson, George Eaton
1973 *Melville J. Herskovits*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Spiro, Melford E.
1956 *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Stocking, George W., Jr.
1968a *From Physics to Ethnology*. In *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Pp. 133–160. New York: Free Press.
1968b *The Critique of Racial Formalism*. In *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Pp. 161–194. New York: Free Press.
1968c *The Scientific Reaction against Cultural Anthropology, 1917–1920*. In *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Pp. 270–307. New York: Free Press.
1992a *Anthropology as Kulturkampf: Science and Politics in the Career of Franz Boas*. In *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Pp. 92–113. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
1992b *Ideas and Institutions in American Anthropology: Thoughts toward a History of the Interwar Years*. In *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Pp. 114–177. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stoler, Ann Laura
1995 *Toward a Genealogy of Racisms: The 1976 Lectures at the Collège de France*. In *Race and the Education of*

- Desire: Foucault's *History of Sexuality* and the Colonial Order of Things. Pp. 55–94. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Turner, Terence
 1993 Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What Is Anthropology That Multiculturalists Should Be Mindful of? *Cultural Anthropology* 8:411–429.
- Vincent, Joan
 1990 Anthropology and Politics: Visions, Traditions, and Trends. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Weiner, Annette B.
 1992 Anthropology's Lessons for Cultural Diversity. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 22: B1–B2.
- Weltfish, Gene
 1980 Franz Boas: The Academic Response. In *Anthropology: Ancestors and Heirs*. S. Diamond, ed. Pp. 123–147. The Hague: Mouton.
- White, Leslie A.
 1947 Review of Franz Boas, *Race and Democratic Society*. *American Journal of Sociology* 52:371–373.
 1966 *The Social Organization of Ethnological Theory*. Monograph in Cultural Anthropology. Rice University Studies, 52(4). Houston: William Marsh Rice University.
- Zborowski, Mark, and Elizabeth Herzog
 1952 *Life Is with People: The Jewish Little-Town of Eastern Europe*. New York: International Universities Press.

NEW WORK IN LATINO AMERICA

ANGELS' TOWN

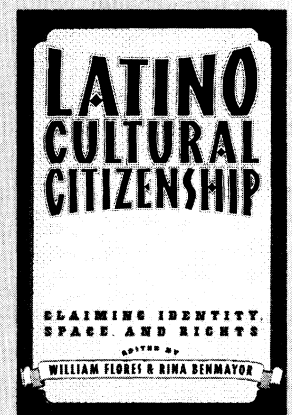
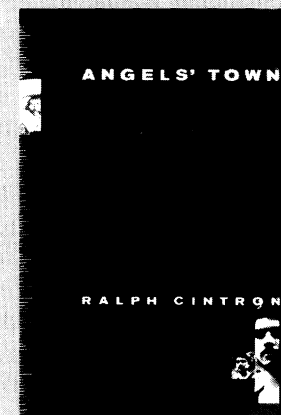
Chero Ways, Gang Life, and Rhetorics of the Everyday
 Ralph Cintron

At a time in which a basic premise of social science — the possibility of understanding the lives of others — is consistently questioned, Ralph Cintron's eloquent book offers a loving portrait of a struggling Mexican-American community and a critique of his own necessarily imperfect undertaking.

"A special book that is just as much about inequality in the contemporary U.S. as it is about the way to research it."

—Virginia Dominguez, author of *White by Definition*

HARDCOVER \$26.00, 0-8070-4636-1



LATINO CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights
 William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor, editors

A pathbreaking work of Latino scholarship that combines theory and ethnography to paint a vivid portrait of Latino community life and analyze its mechanisms and meanings. Coauthors include Renato Rosaldo, Richard Flores, William V. Flores, Rina Benmayor, and Blanca Silvestrini.

"One of the most stimulating projects I've come across in a long time. . . . Groundbreaking."

—Suzanne Oboler, Brown University, author of *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives*

HARDCOVER \$27.50, 0-8070-4634-5

NOW IN BOOKSTORES EVERYWHERE.



BEACON PRESS, BOSTON

<http://www.beacon.org>