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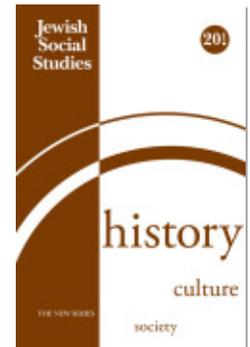
## In the Blood? Consent, Descent, and the Ironies of Jewish Identity

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## In the Blood? Consent, Descent, and the Ironies of Jewish Identity

Susan A. Glenn

**A**nyone who doubts that blood narratives have lost their relevance to discussions of modern Jewish identity has only to consider the emotional debate that ensued in 1997 when the *Washington Post* exposed the “secret” history of Secretary of State Madeleine Korbelt Albright’s family background. Because Albright’s parents were Holocaust refugees and her grandparents were victims, much of the controversy focused on the conflict between one family’s desire to escape history and the public’s call for Albright to remember it.<sup>1</sup> But at the center of this particular storm lay another, equally controversial issue revolving around questions of descent and consent, blood and belief. If Albright was reared as a Catholic and became an Episcopalian upon her marriage, asked novelist Louis Begley, “was she really honor-bound to become, in her late 50s, all of a sudden, a Jew?” His answer was no. And he argued that whether or not Albright “is or is not of Jewish origin should be, in our society, strictly her own business.”<sup>2</sup> The historian David Hollinger later echoed this view, insisting that “anyone can ascribe Jewish identity to Albright by regarding her as a passive object, invoking in relation to that object one or more of the criteria by which she is a Jew.” But in our post-ethnic age of “voluntarism,” argues Hollinger, “only she, as a willing subject, can affiliate as a Jew, and to whatever extent and by whatever means she chooses.”<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps. But only if we ignore the centrality of blood logic to modern Jewish identity narratives. As Judaic Studies scholar Lawrence

Shiffman observed at the time of the Albright debate, the “knee jerk reaction of most Jews . . . is that Albright is certainly a Jew, assuming that her mother’s mother was herself born to a Jewish mother. Jewish tradition teaches that a Jew, no matter how he or she may transgress, remains a Jew.”<sup>4</sup>

Throughout all of the de-racializing stages of twentieth-century social thought, Jews have continued to invoke blood logic as a way of defining and maintaining group identity. Religious doctrine is not the only reason. During the twentieth century, as Michael Marrus, Eric Goldstein, and others have shown, secular movements and institutions also relied upon blood logic as a way of forging a sense of community and common destiny among Jews.<sup>5</sup> It is one of the ironies of modern Jewish history that concepts of tribalism based on blood and race have persisted not only in spite of but also because of the experience of assimilation.

In this article, part of a larger study of strategic Jewish self-fashioning and the uses of social science in the twentieth century, I will examine some of the secular social and institutional practices that have perpetuated this dualism. A revealing methodology for tracing the tension between modern individual claims for identity choice and communal assertions of blood logic is to analyze the 100-year-old practice of “Jewhooing.”

## **Jewhooing**

What is Jewhooing? It is the social mechanism for both private and public naming and claiming of Jews by other Jews. Jewhooing is what parents and grandparents like mine did when, while reading the newspaper or watching television, they wondered out loud if this or that public figure or celebrity—perhaps with their Christian-sounding name and all-American looks—was or wasn’t a member of their tribe. It is also in keeping with what Robert Reich, secretary of labor in the first Clinton administration, does when he mentally transforms Federal Reserve Board chief Alan Greenspan—“the most powerful man in the world”—into a prosaic “Jewish uncle”:

We have never met before, but instantly I know him. One look, one phrase, and I know where he grew up, how he grew up, where he got his drive and his sense of humor. He is New York. He is Jewish. He looks like my uncle Louis, his voice is my uncle Sam. I feel we’ve been together at countless weddings, bar mitzvahs, and funerals. I know his genetic struc-

ture. I'm certain that within the last five hundred years—perhaps even more recently—we shared the same ancestor.<sup>6</sup>

Jewhooing has a public institutional history as well. I borrow the term from a contemporary Web site called “Jewhoo!” Founded in 1997, “Jewhoo!” (the site name is a parody of the internet search engine “Yahoo!”) is the brainchild of two New Yorkers—Chris Williams, who is not Jewish, and Michael Page, a Russian-born Jew who grew up in Brooklyn. Page wanted to combine humor and entertainment with the serious purpose of celebrating Jewish “contributions to civilization.” But because “Jewhoo!” is crosslinked both by organizations like the American Jewish Historical Society and by some neo-Nazi Web sites, it serves—willy nilly—as a portal of entry where the curious philo- or antisemite can learn whether their favorite politicians, sports figures, theatrical and Hollywood stars, or scientists qualify for inclusion in the Jewish hall of fame.<sup>7</sup> Visitors to the popular Web site are invited to submit names of and biographical information about people who are thought or known to be Jews, and the editor, Stanley Comet, researches their ancestry. Comet, who goes by the pseudonym “Nate,” has also created a game called “Locate the Landsman”—a game designed to pull hidden Jews out of the closet, so to speak. As “Nate” explains:

It is particularly delicious to find out that someone who is famous, but not obviously Jewish, is Jewish. Great LTL Jewish finds include Dinah Shore (blond with a Southern accent), Leslie Howard (who played Ashley Wilkes in *Gone with the Wind*, the personification of Southern aristocratic gentility), and Harris Barton, former offensive lineman for the San Francisco 49ers—not a position associated with Jews.<sup>8</sup>

In an enthusiastic review of the “Jewhoo!” Web site for the *Forward* online, Justin Shubow hailed it as “the most comprehensive listing of its kind” and promised that “surprises are in store for even the most knowledgeable Jewish geographer [*sic*]. Who knew that Don Francisco, host of the popular Spanish-language television show *Sábado Gigante*, is a member of the tribe?”<sup>9</sup>

Blood logic is something of a contested issue in the research and selection process at “Jewhoo!” In his correspondence with me, “Nate,” who strikes me as both intellectually savvy and politically aware, confessed that he was occasionally criticized “for listing persons whose mother is not Jewish and by other people who want me to list persons who have a drop of Jewish blood in their veins.”<sup>10</sup> Biographical listings in “Jewhoo!” specify whether the famous person is Jewish, not Jewish,

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Jewish by ethnic background but not religion, or whether he or she is “half Jewish” or “fully Jewish.” Soon, promises “Nate,” the site will contain a “maybe” category for individuals whose Jewishness is suspected but not proven. But the line is drawn at those who are “one quarter or less Jewish by blood” and do not practice Judaism. Messianic Jews for Jesus are also excluded. The question of whether to include converts to other religions is decided on a “case-by-case basis.”<sup>11</sup>

The “Jewhoo!” Web site, though perhaps more brazen and confident than any previous Jewish Who’s Who, is neither novel nor unique. Though different in tone and purpose, the 1982 *American Jewish Biography* offers what historian Henry L. Feingold describes in his introduction as a “finder’s guide” that “will be especially useful to Jews and others who habitually pose the question, ‘Is he or she Jewish?’”<sup>12</sup>

If we think about the social implications of these biographical sources, we quickly realize that “Jewhoo!” and its contemporaries and predecessors—going back to the beginning of the twentieth century—constitute a system for large-scale Jewish naming and claiming, a system that reinforces concepts of tribal membership through the logic of blood. For more than 100 years, Jewish encyclopedias, Who’s Whos, biographical dictionaries, and other reference works have provided a secular mechanism for making private issues public, for making the invisible visible, and thus for corralling the wandering Jew.

These secular mechanisms of identity enforcement and group pride must be understood in the context of Jewish responses to the problem of assimilation. For the past century, institutional Jewhooing has served as both a method for promoting the acceptance of Jews and an ambivalent response to the absorption of Jews into mainstream American society. The public institutions of Jewhooing have sought to prove that Jews can be assimilated. But Jewhooing also reflects the anxieties of assimilation. Significantly, the more Jews tend to blend in and move up into positions of status and authority within the larger American society, the more likely they will be named and claimed as Jews by other Jews.

### **Changing Needs and Purposes**

Which is not to argue that nothing has changed. Even a small sampling of Jewish reference books from the twentieth century reveals that their purposes have differed and their justifications have changed as they responded to different needs of various sectors of the Jewish community over time. But it is striking that, with only a few exceptions, blood

logic and biological descent—rather than affiliation and consent—governed the process of selecting biographical subjects. This has been true for works that sought to develop the field of Jewish history and scholarship as well as publications aimed at popular audiences.

The earliest biographical reference works served two related purposes. On the one hand, they sought to advance new fields of Jewish scholarship. In the 1890s, German Jewish scholars and reformers in the United States promoted *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the scientific study of Judaism). By applying modern methods of social science research to the study of Jewish history, culture, and society, organizations like the Jewish Publication Society (founded in 1888) strove to support authoritative works on Jews and Judaism. Under the leadership of Cyrus Adler, librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, the society began publication of the *American Jewish Yearbook*, an annual compendium of statistics and reports on nearly every aspect of Jewish social life and organization throughout the Diaspora, and a source of information about the activities of Jews prominent in public life. These and other Jewish reference works of the early twentieth century helped not only to lay some of the foundation for Jewish social science research but also to familiarize Jews with their own history.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, such works were intended to serve the purpose of Jewish public relations. Specifically, they sought to combat the growing menace of antisemitism in Europe and the United States by emphasizing the positive contributions of Jews to national civic life, science, and culture. And, as Mitchell Hart points out, projects like these had a political dimension: “the ability to speak *about* Jews authoritatively meant the ability to speak *for* Jews.”<sup>14</sup>

The most ambitious project of this kind was the 12-volume *Jewish Encyclopedia* (published in New York between 1901 and 1905), which covered Jewish history, biography, sociology, and anthropology. Along with its intention of establishing a scholarly edifice for the study of Jewish history and life, it aimed to prove that, even if Jews constituted a distinctive race, they were hardly an inferior breed. Rather, their participation in the advancement of mankind made them “cosmopolitan” and capable of assimilation.<sup>15</sup> Viennese and Berlin-educated scholar Isidore Singer, who planned and edited the encyclopedia, was keenly aware of the inherent tension in such a project when he commented in his 1901 preface upon the “delicate” business of Jewish biography. The encyclopedia would offer a “register” of “all Jews and Jewesses” who “have a claim to recognition.” But, as Singer acknowledged, so many writers, artists, and others had been impelled by social conditions to “conceal their origins” that it was not always easy to

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determine who among them “belong to the Jewish race.” An even more “delicate problem” was the issue of those who had left the Jewish fold altogether. Singer insisted that, because the encyclopedia dealt with “Jews as a race,” it would be “impossible to exclude those who were of that race, whatever their religious affiliations may have been.”<sup>16</sup>

This use of blood logic, which favored descent over consent, and which some Jewish critics at the time labeled as “anthropological dogmatism,” established the model for most future Jewish reference works.<sup>17</sup> The one partial exception before the 1950s was the 1926 edition of *Who’s Who in American Jewry*. While adopting the principle of Jewish descent as a criterion for biographical selection, the editors (Julius Schwartz and Solomon Aaron Kaye—the latter a Zionist) made some accommodations to the arguments for consent. In their preface, they acknowledged the stakes by expressing regret that “some persons preferred to be omitted rather than associate their names with those of their racial colleagues. . . . [A] few even rejected with indignation the proposal of being included in a volume where their Jewish identity would become a matter of public knowledge.”<sup>18</sup>

Blood logic prevailed even in the 1930s amid growing antisemitism on both sides of the Atlantic. At a time when certain Jews would have preferred to downplay or conceal their ethnic and religious origins, the public relations agenda of Jewish reference works took on a new urgency. As Leo Glassman, in a foreword to the 1935 *Biographical Encyclopedia of American Jewry*, put it, in this climate of “racial bitterness” it was essential that Jews have works highlighting the contributions of those “who but for racial origin are a counterpart of any composite group of American citizenry.”<sup>19</sup> With Jews increasingly “the target of poisoned darts of falsehood, the prey of professional propagandists,” explained the editor of another major Jewish reference work of the period, only an “up-to-date popular encyclopedia” based on “authentic information” and “coordinated defensive knowledge” could combat “malicious misrepresentations by totalitarian propaganda.”<sup>20</sup>

As theories of racial determinism were taking on ominous new dimensions, especially after the publication of the infamous Nuremberg Laws of 1935, editors who may themselves have wondered about the wisdom of using Jewish genealogy as a standard for choosing biographical subjects found themselves returning over and over to blood logic. The need to prove the social and intellectual worth of Jews, along with the commercial requirements of book selling, meant including as many celebrated figures of actual or surmised Jewish ancestry as possible.

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This necessitated the broadest possible strategy of naming and claiming. John Simons, editor of *Who's Who in American Jewry* (1938), noted that the volume included entries for individuals who had “no connection with the Jewish community except through the accident of birth” as well as “individuals who had renounced their faith.” If a subject had converted to Christianity, that information would also be included in the biographical entry.<sup>21</sup>

It even meant claiming individuals who flatly denied having Jewish forebears. All three major Jewish reference works of the 1930s included biographical entries for the British-born comedian Charles Spencer Chaplin, listing him as Episcopalian by religion but intimating his lineage from the family Thonstein, immigrants to London from Eastern Europe.<sup>22</sup> Libby Benedict, author of Chaplin’s biographical entry in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, a 10-volume work compiled in the 1930s and published between 1939 and 1943, analyzed “persistent rumors” of the comedian’s “Jewish ancestry”—including the theory that his original family name was actually “Caplin.” The writer noted that, even though Chaplin “had said that he was not a Jew,” an “examination of all the evidence makes it seem likely that—if such rumors are true—Chaplin might have avowed his Jewishness had he emerged into fame . . . at a time when international circumstances gave civilized peoples new appreciation for such heritage.”<sup>23</sup>

All three major Jewish reference works of the period also published biographical entries for Karl Landsteiner, the Austrian-born immunologist who received the Nobel Prize in 1930 for his discovery of the four blood groups (which helped make for safer transfusions and more accurate determinations in paternity cases). And though each work acknowledged his status as a convert—“Landsteiner was of Jewish parentage, but became a Roman Catholic,” noted *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*—they also guaranteed that the discoverer of the blood groups could no longer keep his own “Jewish blood” a secret.<sup>24</sup>

Born in 1868, Landsteiner (and his mother) had converted to Catholicism in 1890 while he was pursuing his medical studies in Vienna. In 1922, he immigrated to New York to accept a position at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and was later elected president of the American Association of Immunologists. As anti-Jewish violence intensified in his homeland in the 1930s, Landsteiner privately expressed dire premonitions about the fate of Europe under Hitler. But Landsteiner had reasons of his own for feeling vulnerable. When Karl Burger, a reporter from Landsteiner’s hometown in Austria arrived in New York in November 1930, planning to interview the Nobel Prize recipient, he ended up filing a story on the hopelessness

of his assignment. Landsteiner “does not wish to add a single word about himself personally,” reported Burger, “he wishes to have it understood that a scientist is interested only in his research.”<sup>25</sup>

However, by the end of the decade, Landsteiner would find it necessary to seek legal remedies for maintaining the wall of privacy he had so carefully erected to conceal his Jewish past. In April 1937, the 68-year-old scientist filed an injunction with the New York Supreme Court to prevent John Simons, editor of *Who’s Who in American Jewry*, from publishing his biography in the forthcoming edition. Suing the publishers for \$100,000, Landsteiner claimed that the newspapers might use this information to “designate me as a Jew, when as a matter of fact, I am a Catholic.” Public disclosure of “the religion of my ancestors” would cause “irreparable injury to my private life and profession,” Landsteiner insisted. Not only would it expose him to “ridicule and contempt,” but it would humiliate his 19-year-old son, “who had no suspicion that any of his ancestors were Jewish.”<sup>26</sup>

### Post–World War II Jewhooring

The Landsteiner case marks a turning point in the Jewhooring story. By the end of World War II, the idea of a fixed (and, to the antisemites, inferior) Jewish race had largely been discredited among scientists and social theorists. The horrific fate of Europe’s Jews under the Nazi regime had solidified new social, intellectual, and organizational commitments to overcoming race hatred in the United States. Growing numbers of Jewish writers replaced the traditional biological language of “race” with cultural and social terms like “people,” “civilization,” “community,” and “ethnicity.” Others argued for an even more limited definition of Jewish identity: religion. This paradigm entered American popular culture via novels and movies like the Academy Award–winning *Gentleman’s Agreement* (1947). In a famous scene in the movie, Professor Lieberman, a world-renowned physicist (played by Sam Jaffe), challenges the idea that being a Jew is a matter of racial descent. “I have no religion, so I am not Jewish by religion. Further, I am a scientist, so I must rely on science which tells me I am not Jewish by race, since there’s no such thing as a distinct Jewish race.” In this movie, as in Laura Z. Hobson’s novel, a “Jew” is someone who practices the Jewish religion. Jewish difference is a matter of conscious (religious) choice rather than biological inheritance.<sup>27</sup>

Some, but not all, Jewish reference works reflected the paradigm shift, adopting consent rather than descent as a guiding principle. The

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editors of the 1955 volume *Who's Who in World Jewry: A Biographical Dictionary of Outstanding Jews*, Harry Schneiderman and Itzhak Carmin, proceeded on the principle that "Jewish birth" would not determine the selection process. Instead, the list of appropriate biographical subjects would be based on the modern concept of "self-identification as a Jew" as evidenced by "participation in some phase of Jewish life."<sup>28</sup>

Even with the new emphasis upon self-identification, blood logic did not disappear from the business of Jewish public relations, though some of the reasons for asserting it did change with the times. By the 1960s and 1970s, Jews felt relatively secure in their status as Americans, and the focus of Jewish communal energy shifted from concerns about exclusion from the American mainstream to worries that assimilation had succeeded too well. Intermarriage and disaffection from Judaism now became preoccupations among leaders and organizations concerned about the prospects for Jewish "group survival in the open society," the subtitle of a major study underwritten by the American Jewish Committee.<sup>29</sup> Whereas the pre-World War II reference works had used blood logic to combat antisemitism, post-war Jewish Who's Whos and encyclopedias relied on genealogical claims to stimulate group pride and to foster positive Jewishness among those who did not identify with their ancestral heritage. Scholarly works also noted historical reasons for unearthing the racial lineage of their subjects, citing conversion of the Jews to Christianity (both forced and voluntary) as a central aspect of Jewish history. The massive *Encyclopaedia Judaica* of 1972, edited by Cecil Roth (d. 1970), followed its predecessor *The Jewish Encyclopedia* in this regard.<sup>30</sup>

Over the course of the next three decades, the work of Jewish public relations was also affected by contentious debates among Orthodox and Reform Jews about questions of conversion, intermarriage, and the status of children of "mixed" marriages between Jews and non-Jews. In this environment of secular and religious cross fire, the editors of contemporary Jewish reference works found themselves saddled with the difficult task of defining who should count as a Jew. The stakes were raised in 1983 when the Central Conference of American Rabbis issued a controversial resolution that a child of one Jewish parent of either sex could be considered a Jew if the child "performed appropriate and timely public and formal acts of identification."<sup>31</sup>

To some extent, the spectrum of opinion was reflected in popular and scholarly Jewish reference works of the 1990s. Paula Hyman and her co-editor Deborah Dash Moore adopted a mix of cultural and genealogical criteria in their 1997 *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. Like the editors of the 1955 *Who's Who in World Jewry*,

Hyman and Moore insisted that each subject to be included “identified” as a Jew “or was perceived as such by her contemporaries.” They accepted “as Jewish” female subjects whose father or mother was Jewish as well as converts to Judaism. But neither did they abandon blood logic altogether. Women who had rejected Jewish identity were included if both parents were Jewish, as were Jews who converted to another religion, because, as the editors put it, “conversion is . . . an aspect of the modern Jewish experience.”<sup>32</sup>

Contrast this to another 1990s reference work, which along with the Web site “Jewhoo!” made blood logic its primary selection criterion. Returning to the principle established in 1901 by *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, the 1994 *Concise Dictionary of American Jewish Biography*, a two-volume work edited by Jacob Rader Marcus, named and claimed anyone with real or surmised Jewish ancestry. As Marcus explained, subjects would be selected on the basis of “ethnic origin, notability, notoriety.” He admitted that because “many persons” were selected “as Jews solely on the basis of their ‘Jewish’ names,” this “undoubtedly” produced some “errors.” But as Marcus put it, Jews have always been eager to “boast of their important persons.” The result, he noted, was that reference works “proudly claimed” and “paraded” individuals with “little or no Jewish affiliation” if they “enjoyed a degree of [public] prominence.” He cited as precedent the example of Landsteiner, who “had certainly not been grateful for inclusion in an earlier Jewish work.” Marcus then laid the case to rest by noting that Landsteiner had sued the publisher, and lost.<sup>33</sup>

Reference works and encyclopedias provided key institutional mechanisms for Jewish naming and claiming. But they have not been the only public venues for reinforcing tribal identity on the basis of blood logic. Indeed, as the Web site “Jewhoo!” suggests, entertainment may be the next growth industry on the horizon. Take comedian Adam Sandler’s “Chanukah” songs, which he performed in the late 1990s. These gleeful and irreverent send-ups poke fun at the private and public rituals of Jewhooing, even as they participate in them:

When you feel like the only kid in town  
Without a Christmas tree  
Here’s a list of people that are  
Jewish like you and me:  
David Lee Roth  
lights the menorah  
So do Kirk Douglas, James Caan  
and the late Dinah Shore

...

Paul Newman's half Jewish  
and Goldie Hawn's half, too  
Put them together  
What a fine looking Jew!<sup>34</sup>

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Somewhat more didactic in tone, though generously spiced with jokes, pop quizzes, and gossipy anecdotes, is *The Half-Jewish Book*, which the authors, Daniel Klein and Freke Vuijst, call a public “celebration” of the “unique identity” of so-called “half-Jews.” In a not-so-veiled attack upon the “all or nothing” views of Orthodox rabbis and others who view “half-Jews” as the “tragic product of intermarriage,” the book sets out to prove “the unique and fascinating” cultural status of the half-Jew. Like Sandler’s Chanukah songs and the “Jewhoo!” Web site, *The Half-Jewish Book* excavates degrees of Jewish ancestry in high-profile public figures like politicians, movie stars, and writers. And though they acknowledge that many Jews might take offense at a concept like “half-Jewishness” because it “recapitulates and perpetuates” the “genetic definitions” of the Nazis’ Nuremberg Laws, they insist that their book is not based on “simple [biological] arithmetic” but represents an attempt to “define a rich and elaborate personal identity.”<sup>35</sup>

Whether in the contemporary venues of popular culture or in the traditional realm of encyclopedias and Who’s Whos, the editors and authors of Jewish reference works have faced the difficult and sometimes anxiety-provoking task of reconciling the business of Jewish public relations and the commercially driven requirements of publishing with the complex and contested nature of individual and group identity.

These reference works have served many purposes: public education and public relations, the development of Jewish history and scholarship, and, of course, entertainment. They were also intended, as the editor of *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* put it in 1939, as an instrument for “quickening the Jewish spirit among our own people,” especially among those who had “forsaken their ancestral fountain.”<sup>36</sup> In all of these capacities, the vehicles of Jewhooing complicate the assumption that, among Jews, blood logic has been kept alive primarily in the context of religious orthodoxy. If the Jewhooing tradition tells us anything, it is that secular practices and institutions have been equally (if not more) powerful mechanisms for the enforcement of fixed, embodied, racially determined concepts of Jewishness. Madeleine Albright may indeed be free as a modern subject to define her own ethnic and religious identity in any way she chooses. But whatever her

personal choice, the secular vehicles of Jewhooing will give her no quarter. Jewishness is “in the blood,” and the proof of it is only a click away. Entries for Albright (and for Karl Landsteiner) can be found at Jewhoo.com.

## Notes

- 1 Frank Rich, “The Albright Question,” *The New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1997, p. 21; Letters to the Editor, *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1997, p. A32. See also Marjorie Garber, *Symptoms of Culture* (New York, 1998), 90; Michael Dobbs, *Madeleine Albright* (New York, 1999), 9–10, 387–93.
- 2 Louis Begley, “In Patriotism’s Name,” *New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1997, p. A26. See also the public debates in letters to the editor: “Secretary Must Embrace Her Past to Shape the Future,” *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1997, p. A32, and “When ‘Elegance’ Meant Denying a Jewish Past,” *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1997, p. A20.
- 3 David Hollinger, “Jewish Identity: Assimilation and Multiculturalism,” in *Creating American Jews: Historical Conversations About Identity*, Karen S. Mittelman, ed. (Philadelphia, 1998), 59, 53.
- 4 Lawrence Shiffman, “Is Madeleine Albright Jewish?” *Moment* 22, no. 2 (Apr. 1997). See also Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (1961; reprint, West Orange, N.J., 1983), 68–71.
- 5 See Michael R. Marrus, *The Politics of Assimilation: A Study of the French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford, 1971), 15–27; John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); Eric L. Goldstein, “Different Blood Flows in Our Veins’: Race and Jewish Self-Definition in Late Nineteenth Century America,” *American Jewish History* 85 (1997): 29–55; Eric L. Goldstein, “Race and the Construction of Jewish Identity in America, 1875–1945” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000), 389, 420–21, 422–25, 427–29; and Mitchell B. Hart, *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford, 2000), 87–96, 231–32.
- 6 Robert B. Reich, *Locked in the Cabinet* (New York, 1997), 81.
- 7 E-mail correspondence to author from Jewhoo! editor “Nate” (Stanley Comet), Oct. 28, 2000, Jan. 24, 2001. See also Dawn Eden, “Who Knew?” (Nov. 1999), Web review, [www.offoffoff.com](http://www.offoffoff.com).
- 8 “Notes on Playing Locate the Landsman (LTL),” <http://www.jewhoo.com/editor/landsman.html>.

- 9 Justin Shubow, "Playing Who's a Jew? and Other Virtual Games," *Forward*, Nov. 5, 1999, at [www.forward.com](http://www.forward.com).
- 10 E-mail correspondence from "Nate," Oct. 28, 2000.
- 11 "Frequently Asked Questions," <http://www.jewhoo.com/editor/faq.html>.
- 12 Henry L. Feingold, introduction to *American Jewish Biography* (New York, 1982), ix.
- 13 Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830–1914* (Philadelphia, 1984), 203–7. In 1909, the American Jewish Committee assumed joint responsibility for publishing the *Yearbook*. On the emergence of Jewish social science, see Hart, *Social Science*, and Shuly Rubin Schwartz, *The Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America: The Publication of the "Jewish Encyclopedia"* (Cincinnati, 1991).
- 14 Hart, *Social Science*, 41.
- 15 *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York, 1901–5), 1: vii. For an extensive discussion of this, see Schwartz, *Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America*, 1–19; 108–19. Shimeon Brisman, *A History and Guide to Judaic Encyclopedias and Lexicons*, vol. 2 (Cincinnati, 1987), surveys the proliferation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century works published in the United States, Europe, and Israel.
- 16 *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1: xi–xii. On Singer's perspectives as well as those of the other contributors, see Schwartz, *Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America*.
- 17 Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch quoted in Schwartz, *Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America*, 82.
- 18 *Who's Who in American Jewry* (New York, 1926), preface.
- 19 *Biographical Encyclopedia of American Jews*, ed. Leo M. Glassman (New York, 1935), vii–ix.
- 20 *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isaac Landman, 10 vols. (New York, 1939–43), preface to vol. 1.
- 21 *Who's Who in American Jewry*, vol. 3 (1938–39), ed. John Simons (New York, 1938), vi–vii.
- 22 *Biographical Encyclopedia of American Jews* (1935); *Who's Who in American Jewry* (1938–39); *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 3.
- 23 "Chaplin, Charles Spencer," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 3: 112–13. Hannah Arendt included Chaplin in her famous essay "The Jew as Pariah: A Hidden Tradition" (1944), in *The Jew as Pariah: Jewish Identity and Politics in the Modern Age*, Ron H. Feldman, ed. (New York, 1978), 80–81.
- 24 *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 6: 531; *Who's Who in American Jewry* (1938–39), 586; *Biographical Encyclopedia of American Jews* (1935), 297.
- 25 Paul Speiser and Ferdinand G. Smekel, *Karl Landsteiner*, trans. Robert Rickett (Vienna, 1975), 71–72, from a press clipping dated Nov. 1, 1930.
- 26 Grace Robinson, "Scientist Sues to Bar Listing as Notable Jew," *New York Daily News*, Apr. 5, 1937; transcript in Karl Landsteiner Papers, American Philosophical Society; Howard Morley Sachar, *The Course of*

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- Modern Jewish History* (1958; reprint, New York, 1977), 406.
- 27 These themes are taken up in Lester D. Friedman, *Hollywood's Image of the Jew* (New York, 1982), 128; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 128–31; Goldstein, "Race and the Construction of Jewish Identity," 417–24.
- 28 *Who's Who in World Jewry: A Biographical Dictionary of Outstanding Jews*, ed. Harry Schneiderman and Itzhak J. Carmin (New York, 1955), vii, xiv–xv. The Advisory Council included Salo W. Baron. Only living Jews were listed in the dictionary; thus, there was no entry for Landsteiner, who died in 1943.
- 29 Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier: A Study of Group Survival in the Open Society* (New York, 1967).
- 30 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Cecil Roth, 16 vols. (New York, 1972). Stephen Whitfield observed the tendency of several 1980s Jewish reference works to uncritically inflate the achievements of biographical subjects. See his review essay "Big Shots," *American Jewish History* 74 (Sept. 1984): 76–87.
- 31 Edward S. Shapiro, *A Time for Healing: American Jewry Since World War II* (Baltimore, 1992), 240–41. On patrilineage and the priestly class, see Meryl Hyman, "Who Is a Jew?": *Conversations Not Conclusions* (Woodstock, Vt., 1998), 223–24.
- 32 *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Paula E. Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore (New York, 1997), xxii.
- 33 *The Concise Dictionary of American Jewish Biography*, 2 vols., ed. Jacob Rader Marcus (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1994), 1: xiii.
- 34 Adam Sandler, "The Chanukah Song"; it was first performed on "Saturday Night Live" and recorded on his 1996 Warner Bros. CD "What the Hell Happened to Me." Another version, "The Chanukah Song Part II," appeared on the 1999 Warner Bros. CD "Stan and Judy's Kid."
- 35 Daniel Klein and Freke Vuijst, *The Half-Jewish Book: A Celebration* (New York, 2000), xvii–xxi.
- 36 *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1: preface.