
Going to Bat for Jackie Robinson: The Jewish Role in Breaking Baseball's Color Line

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We live in an age of second thoughts about civil rights progress and black-Jewish cooperation. Jackie Robinson's desegregation of major league baseball recalls a time of surer moral compass and strong mutual support between African Americans and Jews. The encouragement Robinson received at a critical point in his rookie year of 1947 from Jewish slugger Hank Greenberg highlighted the solid backing of the Jewish community for his major civil rights advance. Nor was this support an isolated incident.

Headlines of the day, suggesting strong parallels between the African American and Jewish struggles, offer reasons for the mutual support. Expectations for greater tolerance after the Allied victory in World War II were quickly dashed. In the United States, racial segregation and denial of African American voting rights, and discrimination against blacks and Jews in housing, education, and employment, continued after the defeat of Nazism. Blacks in the United States and Jews in Europe were each subjected to renewed violent attacks. Fifty-six African Americans died in racially motivated killings between June 1945 and September 1946, and few, if any, of the perpetrators were punished. In Aiken, South Carolina, policemen gouged out the eyes of Isaac Woodard only three hours after his discharge from the army, having arrested him on a false charge of disorderly conduct. In May 1947, early in Jackie Robinson's rookie season, the press reported that an all-white jury in Greenville, South Carolina, had acquitted 28 "confessed lynch murderers" charged with torturing a black man to death.⁷ American Jews, many of whose relatives had been slaughtered by the Nazis and their accomplices, recoiled in horror once again upon learning that pogromists in

Kielce, Poland, had on July 4, 1946, annihilated 41 of the 200 Jews in the town who had survived the Holocaust. Kielce had had a prewar Jewish population of 18,000. By mid-1947, the Jewish death toll in Poland's postwar pogroms had surpassed 1,500.²

Jews fleeing the postwar pogroms found no peace. In May 1947, a British destroyer rammed the Haganah ship *Hatikvah*, carrying 1,500 Holocaust survivors to Palestine. British sailors boarded the ship and attacked the Jews with tear gas and fire hoses. The British then shipped the Jews to a detention camp in Cyprus. Reflecting strong black support for the creation of Israel, the African American Chicago newspaper *Defender* condemned both the British government and the U.S. State Department for their "unbelievably shameful double-crossing" of the Jews.³

The prominent role of Jews in the struggle to break major league baseball's color line has been almost entirely overlooked, although the African American press emphasized it at the time. The writing of the history of baseball's desegregation shows signs of the same revisionism discernible in recent accounts of Jewish participation in the civil rights movement. Clayborne Carson, for example, has treated the Jewishness of Jewish civil rights workers as accidental or irrelevant, ostensibly because their involvement was not narrowly rooted in a religious identification. David Levering Lewis claims, moreover, that "opportunism underlay the Afro-American-Jewish coalition," and that African American collaboration with Jews proved to be "minimally beneficial to the Afro-Americans."⁴ The evidence of the importance of Jewish ethnic heritage in predisposing young people toward civil rights involvement is ignored. At the same time, the ethno-religious identity of Jewish merchants, criticized as black ghetto exploiters, goes unquestioned. Emerging from the crucible of this historical alchemy, the civil rights martyrs Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman cease to be Jewish—but mercantile Blumstein's on 125th Street in Harlem remains as Jewish as ever.

Strong support for the desegregation of baseball reflected a long-standing Jewish commitment to promoting African American civil rights that dated back to the Progressive era. Jews provided far more emotional commitment and organizational and financial support to the black civil rights movement and the advancement of black education than any other white group. Martin Luther King, Jr. declared that "It would be impossible to record the contribution that Jewish people have made toward the Negro's struggle for freedom, it has been so great."⁵

During the early twentieth century, many Jewish philanthropists, most notably Julius Rosenwald, contributed heavily to African American education. Rosenwald's donations helped build over 5,000 black schools and colleges. He donated half the funds to a new school for blacks to any Southern community that raised the other half. Rosenwald would not donate to Southern white schools. By 1932, 25 to 40 percent of all African American children attending school in the South were educated in Rosenwald schools.⁶ African American sociologist Horace Mann Bond discovered Southern blacks' deep appreciation for Rosenwald's philanthropy in an encounter on a rural Alabama road in the 1930s, after his car became stuck in the mud. Two black men with a mule suddenly appeared and pulled Bond's car from the rut. When Bond mentioned that he worked for the Rosenwald Fund, the

men exclaimed excitedly, "You work for Cap'n Julius!" and refused to accept payment for their service.⁷ Jewish philanthropists Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Paul Warburg, Jacob Billikopf, and Julian Mack also made very large financial contributions to support black education.⁸

Rosenwald and other Jews provided strong backing for Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. During the early twentieth century Jews comprised the majority of whites at Tuskegee's commencement exercises.⁹

The black-Jewish alliance was institutionalized when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1909, the most important organization for the advancement of black rights of the next half century.¹⁰ Jews provided a substantial part of the NAACP's original financing and emergency aid when the association almost went broke during the Depression. The NAACP's first successful event, a 1910 national conference on the disenfranchisement of African Americans in the South, was organized by Henry Moskowitz, a Rumanian-born Jewish social worker and garment industry arbitrator, and Hungarian-born rabbi Stephen Wise. Three of the NAACP's presidents were Jews: Joel Spingarn, who in 1912 joined with Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams in an unsuccessful attempt to introduce a civil rights plank at the Progressive Party convention; Arthur Spingarn; and Kivie Kaplan. In 1917, Joel Spingarn was instrumental in convincing the U.S. Army to commission hundreds of black officers. In 1940, W.E.B. Du Bois paid tribute to Joel Spingarn's contribution to black civil rights, a year after his death, by dedicating his autobiography to his memory, describing him as a "Scholar and Knight"—"one of those vivid, enthusiastic but clear thinking idealists which from age to age the Jewish race has given the world." Jews constituted nearly half the NAACP's legal staff through the 1930s.¹¹

Jews were also prominent in supporting the National Urban League (NUL), formed in 1911 to assist African Americans who had migrated from the South to northern cities. Columbia University economics professor E.R.A. Seligman served as the NUL's first chairman, and its board included a significant number of both religious and secular Jews.¹²

During the 1930s, Jews rallied behind the Scottsboro boys, nine African American youths falsely accused of rape in Alabama and put on trial there for their lives. Jewish attorneys Samuel Liebowitz and Joseph Brodsky served as their defense counsel, putting their own lives at risk. The Yiddish and English-language Jewish press solidly backed the defendants. In his summation, prosecutor Wade Wright condemned Liebowitz and Brodsky and the masses of Jews who agitated for the defendants' release, shouting to the jury, "Show them that Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York."¹³

The two principal Jewish trade unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (ACW), sharply criticized the refusal of many American unions to admit or organize African American workers, and welcomed blacks into their own ranks.¹⁴ That the ILGWU and ACW were socialist-led does not explain their pro-black orientation, since non-Jewish socialist unions, like the United Brewery Workers,

showed little interest in African American workers.¹⁵

There may have been an element of self-interest in Jews' strong backing for African American civil rights, since ending racial discrimination might also result in Jews gaining equal access to jobs, housing, and education. But Jewish support for the black cause was motivated largely by Jews' ability to identify with another oppressed people, and by idealism and moral conviction shaped by Jewish values. Like blacks, Jews during the 1940s continued to be barred from many colleges and professional schools by discriminatory quotas, and from many neighborhoods by restrictive housing covenants. Many job advertisements stipulated that the employer would consider only Christian applicants.¹⁶ But Jews also risked intensifying anti-Semitism by embracing the cause of the nation's most despised minority.

Anti-Semitism is the world's longest hatred, and Jews, descended from a people who had been slaves in Egypt, saw many similarities between their historical experience and that of African Americans. Every year at Passover, Jews remembered their people's suffering in slavery and their exodus from Egypt, reinforcing their identity as a people in bondage who had struggled for freedom. This underscored the commonality of their historical experience with that of the blacks. For Jews, philanthropy was theologically rooted in the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud, which "made charity not only a virtue, but a duty."¹⁷ Mario Cuomo has noted that American Jews were "the most generous people in the world that I've seen," giving heavily "not just to Jewish causes—to hospitals of all kinds, to education of all kinds. They marched in the civil rights campaign . . ." ¹⁸

Both the Yiddish and English-language Jewish press in America devoted considerable attention to exposing anti-black racism, and drew parallels between the oppression of African Americans and Jews in Europe. These newspapers compared American anti-black riots to European anti-Semitic pogroms, and Southern lynchings to autos-da-fé, the public burnings of Jews during the Spanish Inquisition. The *Forward*, for example, editorialized: "Kishiniev and [East] St. Louis—the same soil, the same people. It is a distance of four and a half thousand miles between these two cities, and yet they are so close and similar."¹⁹

The important Jewish role in agitating for the desegregation of the National Pastime was part of this decades-long, intense Jewish support for African American civil rights. But the Jewish contribution to breaking baseball's color line has been obscured, hidden in tributes to "progressive whites" and celebrations of the civil rights efforts of American Communists. Considerable attention has recently been devoted to the crusade waged against baseball's color line by Lester Rodney as sports editor of *The Daily Worker*, the Communist Party (CP) newspaper, yet the fact that Rodney and most of his reporters were Jewish is almost never mentioned.²⁰ By contrast, mainstream Jews who were critical players—on the field, in the press box, in the front office, in the stands, and in American society—in the struggle to integrate baseball have become invisible, their contribution retrospectively erased.²¹

Among American Communists, Jews were disproportionately involved in the campaign to desegregate baseball, and after the growing threat of fascism led

the Comintern to initiate the Popular Front in 1935, they were increasingly identified as Jews. Lester Rodney noted that it was Hitler's rise that propelled him into a "kind of Jewish consciousness."²² Jews constituted a substantial percentage of the pickets in the CP and Bronx American Labor Party demonstrations against baseball's color line at Yankee Stadium.²³ The logic of the Popular Front led the CP to make a concerted appeal to Jews, who, as the Nazis' primary targets, were a critical component of any anti-fascist coalition, and the Party promoted a "progressive Jewish identity" Jewish Communists' ethnic consciousness was further strengthened during World War II, as the Allies struggled to defeat Nazism, and in the late 1940s, when the CP supported the creation of the state of Israel.²⁴

From 1935 through the late 1940s, Jews in the CP gave significant attention to combatting anti-Semitism, which they linked to anti-black racism. In fact, the Party gave considerable emphasis to the importance of the "Negro-Jewish alliance," implying that a special bond existed between the two oppressed peoples. Jews were heavily represented in the CP's Harlem branch; most of the white Communist teachers and relief workers in Harlem were Jewish.²⁵

The even more important mainstream Jewish support for the desegregation of baseball and for Jackie Robinson himself was greatly influenced by the central role of the major Jewish organizations—most prominently, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the Jewish Labor Committee, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations—in the intergroup relations movement, which emerged and attained its peak influence in the years immediately following World War II. This movement embraced the "theory of the unitary character of prejudice," in which all forms of bigotry, including both anti-Semitism and racism, were seen as "inseparable parts of the same phenomenon."²⁶ This perception was rooted both in the common barriers American Jews and African Americans confronted in gaining access to housing, universities and professional schools, hotels and resorts, and employment in many fields, and in a deepening insecurity among Jews after the Holocaust. Both Jewish community centers and synagogues and African American churches suffered dynamite bombings by hate groups in the postwar period.²⁷

Anti-Semitism had never been more intense in the United States than immediately before and during World War II, and Jewish organizations feared it would become even more widespread in the postwar period. Many predicted another cataclysmic depression in which demobilized veterans accustomed to violence and angry about unemployment might take out their resentment on Jews and other minorities, as had been the case in central Europe after World War I. In March 1938 an Opinion Research Corporation (ORC) poll showed that a majority of Americans believed that Nazi Germany's persecution of Jews was "wholly or partly" the Jews' fault.²⁸ In the month of D-Day, June 1944, ORC found that 24% of Americans considered Jews in this country a "menace to America," up from 17% in August 1940, while only 6% viewed the Germans in the United States in that way. Even in February 1946, only months after Allied troops had entered the annihilation camps, fully one-fifth of the American population continued to believe Jews were a menace to the country; by comparison, the figure for Germans was only 1%.

Moreover, that same month another ORC poll revealed that a substantial majority of the American population would not be influenced to vote against a congressional candidate because he had declared himself to be anti-Semitic, and “almost a quarter declared they would find him more attractive for being so.”²⁹

Jewish organizations also feared that a massive increase in hate propaganda might follow the lifting of wartime censorship. Jews had become greatly alarmed during the 1930s about the proliferation of domestic fascist groups like the Silver Shirts, the Black Legion, and the German-American Bund, which spewed hatred of both Jews and African Americans, and the increasingly strident anti-Semitism of the popular radio priest Charles Coughlin.³⁰

Additional developments immediately after World War II reinforced Jews’ belief that they and African Americans faced a common threat. A resurgent Ku Klux Klan (KKK), anti-black and anti-Semitic, claimed a membership of 20,000, and newly formed neo-Nazi groups like the Columbians demanded the deportation from the United States of both Jews and African Americans. The 1946 *American Jewish Yearbook* considered “the most significant anti-Semitic [threat] of the year” to be “the reemergence of the KKK.” Jewish observers at KKK rallies reported that anti-Semitic remarks produced tumultuous applause. Segregationists, in fact, saw Jews “as the brains—and the money—behind black attacks on segregation.” Segregationists in Congress, like Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, alarmed many Jews by their prominence among those calling for the immediate reindustrialization of Germany as an anti-Soviet bulwark. Jewish World War II combat veterans returned in 1945 to Miami to see the familiar signs “No Jews Wanted, Christians Only” along the beach. “Restricted Clientele” notices barring Jews from housing and hotels were displayed in many Florida communities where Jackie Robinson was denied accommodations during spring training. Jewish organizations failed in their effort after the Holocaust to pass displaced persons legislation that would modify the national origins quota system on which U.S. immigration policy was based, and which was highly discriminatory against Jews.³¹

The major Jewish organizations joined with the principal African American civil rights groups in aggressively lobbying for fair employment, fair education, and open housing legislation in the immediate post-World War II period. The Jews gave the strongest support among whites for the bill, establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission. In the late 1940s, the major Jewish organizations produced a vast assortment of posters, pamphlets, and films that condemned all forms of racial, ethnic, and religious intolerance and presented positive images of minorities. In 1947, the American Jewish Committee endorsed federal anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, with no dissent from its southern members, and called for the creation of a permanent federal commission on civil rights.”

During the late 1940s, the African American press highlighted Jews’ disproportionate support for the civil rights cause, emphasizing that blacks and Jews were joined in a common struggle against bigotry. Black newspapers praised Jewish journalists like Walter Winchell and Shirley Povich of the *Washington Post* for their prominent role in the campaign to desegregate baseball.³³

Because few whites covering sports criticized baseball's color line, Jewish sportswriters were especially important in presenting the case for desegregation to a mainstream readership and radio audience. Although he exaggerated somewhat, Branch Rickey had warned Jackie Robinson when he signed him to a contract in October 1945 that "virtually nobody" supported their challenge to organized baseball's color line: "No owners, no umpires, very few newspapermen."³⁴ Rickey claimed in 1948 that his fellow major league club owners, supported by National League president Ford Frick, had unanimously denounced his signing of Jackie Robinson in a secret report presented at a 1946 meeting. But a member of New York mayor LaGuardia's Committee on Unity noted that what Rickey most feared was "the venom of some of the sportswriters."³⁵ St. Louis Cardinals owner Fred Saigh, who fiercely opposed desegregation, compared Midwestern sportswriters favorably with the "Jewish boys" writing for eastern newspapers, whom he described as "very minority-minded."³⁶

Jewish sportswriters and journalists of the era were prominent among the practitioners of a new big-city style whose hard-boiled edge was softened by sympathy for the underdog. Saigh was accurate in highlighting the commitment of many Jewish sportswriters and journalists to desegregating baseball. Walter Winchell, the most prominent newspaper columnist and radio newscaster in the United States during the 1940s, long an outspoken champion of civil rights, gave high priority in his commentary to denouncing baseball's color line. He provided valuable emotional support for Jackie Robinson during his critical rookie year.



Walter Winchell. Courtesy of *New York Journal-American* Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Winchell's views had considerable impact, since his column was syndicated in more than 2,000 newspapers. Fifty million people read the column or listened to his weekly Sunday night radio broadcast.³⁷

Although he was not observant, Winchell's "Judaism ran deep," according to his biographer. The son of a shirtmaker and grandson of a cantor, he was raised in East Harlem by Russian Jewish immigrant parents and spoke Yiddish fluently. Winchell possessed a "radar-like sensitivity to . . . anti-Semitism," which drew him into the struggle against all forms of bigotry. Almost immediately after the Nazis came to power in Germany, Winchell was being called "the most rabid

anti-Hitlerite in America.”³⁸ His attacks on anti-Semitic groups like the Silver Shirts during the 1930s and the KKK after World War II were a major focus of his columns and broadcasts. Winchell became one of the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s primary sources of information on pro-Nazi groups operating in the United States. He worked closely with the ADL, which supplied him with research material on anti-Semitism and racism.³⁹ As a result of his campaign against hate groups, Winchell was “inundated” with anti-Semitic mail, and segregationist Congressman John Rankin of Mississippi denounced him on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives as a “little communistic kike.” By contrast, the Anti-Defamation League praised Winchell in January 1947 for his “excellent campaign to eradicate [the] use of distorted stereotypes of all minorities.” During the late 1940s, Winchell was also a very vocal and passionate Zionist.⁴⁰

Winchell, who conspicuously accompanied African American boxing great Sugar Ray Robinson around Miami when its hotels still posted signs “No Negroes, Jews, or dogs allowed,” became one of Jackie Robinson’s strongest and most visible supporters.⁴¹ Robinson’s wife, Rachel, recalled that Winchell invited Jackie and her, along with Sugar Ray Robinson and his wife, to be his guests at a “white” Miami Beach nightclub. She remembered the tension as Winchell “literally led the way, parted the waters,” as the two African American couples “followed him like sheep to his table.” In May 1947, Winchell joined Jackie Robinson at a “Negro Freedom Rally” at New York’s Madison Square Garden.⁴² That same month the Chicago *Defender* praised Winchell for “blast[ing] the St. Louis Cardinals’ ‘Klansmen’ who had planned to strike rather than play against Jackie Robinson.” Winchell declared on his weekly radio broadcast of May 11, 1947: “Ball players who don’t want to be in the same ball park with Robinson, don’t belong in the same country with him.”⁴³

Shirley Povich, sports editor of the *Washington Post*, was among the most prominent critics of the color line in baseball and other sports, even before the United States entered World War II. Povich was raised as an orthodox Jew by Russian immigrant parents in a large family where “there was always one boy preparing for a Bar Mitzvah.” Povich’s opposition to discrimination against African Americans was undoubtedly shaped by what he had learned as a child about the persecution of Jews in Russia. The person he called his “Malamud,” his Hebrew teacher, whom Povich idolized, had “a big saber wound across [his] cheek” as a result of resisting induction into the army of Russia, the world’s leading anti-Semitic country at the time. Povich’s grandfather had had his friends put out one of his eyes to evade the czar’s military service.⁴⁴

Covering spring training in 1941 for the *Washington Post*, Povich wrote that many players in the Negro leagues were as good or better than current major league stars, and that by maintaining a color line, the major leagues were missing out on “a couple of million dollars worth of talent.”⁴⁵ Povich continued to press the baseball establishment to accelerate the pace of desegregation after Robinson’s entry into the major leagues, writing a 15-part feature for the *Washington Post* in 1953 on the African American contribution to baseball and the fall of the color line, for which he received racist hate mail. Povich also regularly denounced George

Preston Marshall for refusing to recruit African American players for his “burgundy, gold, and caucasian” Washington Redskins.⁴⁶

Sam Lacy, sports editor of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, recalled that Jewish sportswriters had come to his support when he was excluded from ballparks. Dick Young of the New York *Daily News* perched with him in protest on the roof of a New Orleans stadium press box during spring training, and Milton Richman of United Press “jumped all over” the Yankee functionary who tried to bar him from Yankee Stadium at World Series time.⁴⁷

Roger Kahn, who joined the New York *Herald Tribune* as a sportswriter in 1947, was among the most outspoken critics of racism in organized baseball during the late 1940s and 1950s. Kahn saw the anti-Semitic prejudice he experienced studying at New York University’s uptown campus, where there were no Jews on the faculty as part of a “loathsome” racism that “ruled America” in the 1940s. He claimed that his biology professor, a consultant to Nazi industry in the late 1930s deliberately gave Jewish students lower grades than they deserved to prevent their admission to medical school. Kahn, who identified strongly as a Jew, later wrote a book on the subject of “What it Means to be a Jew in America,” entitled *The Passionate People*.^{4 8}

According to Kahn, insensitivity to the condition of blacks pervaded baseball writing through the 1950s, and he encountered considerable opposition in his efforts to expose baseball’s racist practices. His editor at the *Herald-Tribune* after 1948, Bob Cooke, opposed the desegregation of baseball, and his deputy “maintained a Gatling-gun chatter of prejudice,” taunting Kahn for being pro-black. Cooke resisted Kahn’s efforts to describe the abuse Jackie Robinson suffered, and the “slothlike” pace of the major leagues’ desegregation. The *Herald-Tribune* refused to print an article Kahn wrote that strongly criticized the big league clubs for using a St. Louis hotel that barred Jackie Robinson and the other early black players. Kahn’s editor told him he was being paid to write about sports, not race relations. Kahn’s repeated denunciations of the rampant racism in baseball led Jackie Robinson to ask him to help him set up an African American magazine called *Our Sports*.^{4 9}

To be sure, there were some Jewish sportswriters, most notably Dick Young of the New York *Daily News*, who agreed with mainstream sportswriters that Jackie Robinson as a veteran player had become too strident and abrasive. Initially very supportive of Robinson, Young came to prefer the Dodgers’ more soft-spoken



Shirley Povich. © 1948, The *Washington Post*.
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African American catcher Roy Campanella. But Young nonetheless declared after Robinson's retirement that no African American player could have handled the role of breaking the color line as well as Robinson. Young, who as a Jew was restricted from staying at some hotels, was angered that the Dodgers had trouble finding lodging for Robinson in St. Louis and Cincinnati. In 1949, the year Robinson won National League Most Valuable Player honors, Young remarked, "He leads the league in everything but hotel reservations." Robinson himself, looking back on his career in 1968, stated that he had respected Dick Young."

A Jewish city councilman in Boston, civil rights activist Isadore Muchnick influenced Branch Rickey's decision to desegregate baseball by pressuring the Boston Red Sox to arrange a tryout in April 1945 for Jackie Robinson and two other African American players, Sam Jethroe and Marvin Williams. The tryout attracted Rickey's attention and probably contributed to his choosing Robinson as the player to break the color line. In 1944 Muchnick introduced a motion to revoke the privilege to play Sunday baseball that the city council had granted to Boston's two major league teams, the Red Sox and the Braves, if they did not desegregate. Muchnick declared, "I cannot understand how baseball, which claims to be the national sport and which . . . receives special favors and dispensations from the Federal Government because of alleged morale value, can continue a pre-Civil War attitude toward American citizens because of the color of their skins." Immediately after Muchnick made his motion, he received a letter from Red Sox general manager Eddie Collins, informing him that no blacks wanted to play in the major leagues. When Muchnick made Collins's letter public, he was contacted by African American sportswriter Wendell Smith of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, who offered to supply black players for a tryout?

The ethnic identity of Isadore Muchnick, representing the so-called "Jewish Ward 14" (consisting of part of Dorchester and part of Mattapan) from 1942 to 1947, was hardly incidental to his human rights activism. Muchnick called himself a Jew of "deep religious convictions" and had originally planned to become a rabbi. He was prominently involved in Jewish causes, serving as secretary of the New England region of the Zionist Organization of America, and with the Common Jewish Appeal.⁵² In 1943 and 1944, Muchnick had introduced resolutions in the city council favoring the creation of an educational program in the Boston public schools to combat racial discrimination, but they had been blocked by Irish-American councilmen, who comprised a majority. Muchnick pressed for school desegregation a decade or more before the issue became fashionable among liberals. As chairman of the Boston School Committee during the early 1950s, the first Jew to hold a citywide office in Boston, Muchnick favored banning an essay contest on good citizenship sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) because the DAR had refused to allow the great African American contralto Marian Anderson to sing at Constitution Hall in 1939.⁵³

Scholars and sportswriters have always implied that Councilman Muchnick's push to desegregate Boston baseball was calculated to appeal to black votes in his district. This reflects the increasingly widespread revisionist view that Jewish activism on behalf of African American civil rights was motivated only by self-interest. This

explanation for Muchnick's call for an end to baseball's color bar originated with Wendell Smith, who told interviewer Jerome Holtzmann in the early 1970s that he was the initiator of the call to revoke the Sunday baseball privilege in Boston: "I saw this little piece in the paper where [Muchnick] was running for reelection in a predominantly Negro area and was having quite a time getting reelected . . . I telephoned him . . . and told him 'If you want some Negro votes, why don't you stand up in the City Council and vote against Sunday baseball? . . . He said he would.'" Smith told Shirley Povich that Muchnick had represented a "heavily Negro district" when Povich interviewed him in 1953 for his feature on African Americans and baseball for the *Washington Post*. Jules Tygiel, author of the principal scholarly study of the desegregation of baseball, identifies Muchnick as "a white politician representing a predominantly black district." David K. Wiggins, another leading sport historian, in an article on Wendell Smith, which discussed the April 1945 tryout, states that Muchnick "represented a largely black district." Arnold Rampersad, in the most recent Jackie Robinson biography, similarly writes that Muchnick's district had shifted from Jewish to "mainly black."⁵⁴

Yet the assumption that Councilman Muchnick's challenge to baseball's color bar was primarily motivated by his desire to win supposedly much-needed African American votes for reelection is entirely without foundation. His district was 99.69 percent white in 1940, and 99 percent white in 1950, with only 439 nonwhites among 51,170 residents. And Muchnick won reelection twice without opposition. There was no significant African American migration into Muchnick's old district until the 1960s.⁵⁵ Moreover, in discussing the April 1945 tryout in 1947, Wendell Smith made no mention of Muchnick's representing "a predominantly Negro area," nor of any difficult reelection prospects, and did not suggest that Muchnick was merely responding to an initiative from Smith.⁵⁶

Although the Red Sox showed little interest in the African American players when they showed up at Fenway Park, treating them like "freaks from a strange and distant world," Robinson deeply appreciated Muchnick's efforts, and the two became good friends. Muchnick called the Boston Braves front office the next day to request a tryout for the black players, but was turned down. Wendell Smith noted that when Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers two years later, one of the first letters he received was from Muchnick, a message of strong support in which the councilman declared, "I have every confidence you will make the grade." Robinson inscribed a copy of Carl Rowan's 1960 biography of him to Muchnick "I hope you enjoy *Wait Till Next Year*. Much of it was inspired by your attitude and beliefs."⁵⁷

It is also quite possible that two Jews, Ike Levy and his brother Leon Levy, wealthy Philadelphia businessmen, had planned to desegregate major league baseball in the early 1940s, before Branch Rickey. The Levys intended to purchase the financially ailing Philadelphia Phillies from Gerry Nugent, and to hire as their general manager Eddie Gottlieb, a Jew and leading promoter of African American sports in Philadelphia. It was believed that Gottlieb might recruit Negro League stars for the Phillies. But National League president Ford Frick made it clear that "he wanted neither Jews nor blacks in the majors."⁵⁸

Branch Rickey himself identified Jewish professor Frank Tannenbaum, a scholar of comparative slavery and race relations at Columbia University and immigrant from Austria-Hungary, as a major influence on his decision to break baseball's color line. Tannenbaum was prominent in organizations that assisted European Jewish refugees to escape Nazi persecution. Rickey noted in 1956 that he had worried that placing a black player on a major league club "would be a repeat of . . . the 18th Amendment," an experiment that "would over-leap itself" and thus "set back rather than solve the negro problem in this country." To determine whether desegregating baseball was feasible, he had consulted several scholarly works on slavery and race. According to Rickey, it was Tannenbaum's *Slave & Citizen*, published in 1946, that gave him the "'spine' to make the move." He informed Tannenbaum's publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, that *Slave & Citizen* was "the one book that gave me a set conviction that I was doing the right thing and that the consequences would be favorable."⁵⁹

Rickey was particularly impressed with Tannenbaum's argument that increased contacts between blacks and whites would undermine "all seemingly absolute systems of values and prejudices." Tannenbaum emphasized that American society was "essentially dynamic" and predicted that "future generations [would] look back upon the record of [racial] strife . . . with wonder and incredulity." Rickey urged Tannenbaum's publisher to issue *Slave & Citizen* in a cheap paperback edition, since it "furnishes the reasoning that will . . . solve the negro problem . . . with . . . rapidity," and announced that he had given away six dozen copies of the book.⁶⁰



Frank Tannenbaum. Courtesy of the Columbia University Archives and Columbian Library.

As a result of Rickey's reading of *Slave & Citizen*, he and Tannenbaum became friends. Tannenbaum, who had always been disappointed that professors "wrote learned books which few people read and which had little influence," was very pleased to hear from Rickey that his work had influenced him in his decision to bring Jackie Robinson to the major leagues. He thanked Rickey for giving him "a sense of moral justification for the kind of academic career that I have pursued." Rickey invited Tannenbaum to watch a Dodgers game with him at his box in Ebbets Field, and personally introduced him to Jackie Robinson. Robinson and Tannenbaum corresponded until the latter's death in 1969.⁶¹

American Jews as a whole viewed Jackie Robinson as a surrogate whose successes were as much Jewish as African American triumphs, having already been drawn in the 1930s to African American boxing great Joe Louis, who became for them a dramatic symbol of their opposition to fascism, American Jews had devoted increasing attention to sports in the 1930s, horrified that the Nazis used sports to advance their cause. Jews had spearheaded a vigorous, although ultimately unsuccessful, campaign for a United States boycott of the 1936 Olympic games in Berlin. These games provided the Nazis with an opportunity to score a major propaganda triumph for fascism over the allegedly decadent western democracies.⁶² Jews were ecstatic when Joe Louis demolished German heavyweight Max Schmeling, embraced by the Nazi regime as a symbol of Aryan supremacy, in a dramatic one-round knockout in 1938—the year of the *Kristallnacht*, when the Nazis declared open season on Germany's Jews. President Roosevelt himself had highlighted Joe Louis's importance as an anti-fascist symbol when he invited Louis to the White House, asked to feel his muscles, and announced, "Joe, we need muscles like yours to defeat Germany."⁶³

Jews were the only white ethnic group that shared with African Americans the experience of being regularly subjected to physical beatings during childhood and adolescence because they were a despised minority. This led Jews to become disproportionately involved in boxing, as a means of promoting self-defense and enhancing self-esteem. By 1928, Jews had more contenders in the eight weight divisions than any other ethnic group. Most of the major Jewish fighters during the 1930s considered themselves symbols of Jewish resistance to anti-Semitism and fascism. Barney Ross, holder of the world welterweight, junior welterweight, and lightweight titles, told a friend, "The news from Germany made me feel I was . . . fighting for all my people." His antifascist convictions led him to enlist in the Marine Corps immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Demanding a bout with Max Schmeling, Kingfish Levinsky declared, "I'll take on Hitler the same night after I've brushed Schmeling out of the ring." Max Baer, who wore the Star of David on his trunks for the first time in defeating Schmeling in 1933, hoped to deliver another blow against Nazism by facing him again, and even offered to fight him in Germany. Baer openly baited the Nazis by proclaiming, "Every punch in the eye I give Schmeling is one for Adolf Hitler." But Hitler would not permit Schmeling to fight a Jew again.⁶⁴

For the innumerable Jews whose most searing memory of childhood was being beaten and taunted as "Christ Killers," Joe Louis—the African American scorned and ridiculed by the Nazis, who had humiliated Max Schmeling—was *their* avenger, just like the Jewish boxer with the Star of David on his trunks, who pummeled the gentile tighter as the opposing cornermen desperately cried out for their man to "Kill the Jew Bastard!"⁶⁵

As with Joe Louis, Jews were strongly drawn to Jackie Robinson, who displayed incredible courage and dignity in facing horrible verbal and physical abuse, and even death threats against himself and his family—and in so doing delivered major blows against the forces of bigotry that threatened all minority groups. Jack Greenberg, who became director of the NAACP Legal Defense and

Education Fund, recalled that he and the Jewish youth he grew up with viewed Robinson as a “surrogate hero,” explaining, “He was the way we saw ourselves triumphing against the forces of bigotry and ignorance.”⁶⁶ In 1948, when the *American Hebrew* claimed that “America’s unrealized ideal of equality is becoming a reality in the sports world,” it barely mentioned Jews who had achieved mobility through sports, and instead focused almost exclusively on blacks personified by Jackie Robinson. This identification inspired Robinson’s enshrinement as iconic hero even in the recent spate of novel—Alan Lelchuk’s *Brooklyn Boy* (1990), Mark Lapin’s *Pledge of Allegiance* (1991), and Pete Hamill’s *Snow in August* (1997)—in which first- and second-generation Jewish protagonists enter the mainstream of American culture through their love of baseball. For many Brooklyn Jews, “Wait till Next Year!” replaced “Next Year, in Jerusalem.”⁶⁷

Jews could more easily empathize with Jackie Robinson because the few Jews who played in the major leagues had been regularly subjected to anti-Semitic taunts from opposing players and fans. Hank Greenberg, who played in the major leagues from 1933 to 1947, with a four-year interruption for military service during World War II, recalled that he was constantly baited: “How the hell could you get up to home plate every day and have some son of a bitch call you a Jew bastard and a kike and a sheenie . . . without feeling the pressure. If the ballplayers weren’t doing it, the fans were.”⁶⁸

During the 1935 World Series, the Chicago Cubs hurled such vicious anti-Semitic epithets at Hank Greenberg, playing for the Detroit Tigers, that plate umpire George Moriarty walked over to the Cubs dugout and warned some players he would throw them out of the game if they continued to use those insults. But because umpire Moriarty used profanity in warning the Cubs, Commissioner Landis fined him, without fining any of the Cubs. When Greenberg told the press he was upset by Landis’s action, the Commissioner sent him a long formal letter expressing his outrage at Greenberg’s comments. During the Series the Cubs also shouted “Christ Killer” at Jewish umpire Dolly Stark.⁶⁹

Unlike Jackie Robinson, who was ordered by Brooklyn management not to respond to racist taunts, Greenberg and other Jewish players warned the bigots that they would physically retaliate. Andy Cohen, who played for the New York Giants in the 1920s when he was in the minor leagues, had to endure a fan yelling “Christ Killer” at him throughout a game. Cohen finally marched over to the grandstand with a bat and called out to the fan, “Come down here and I’ll kill you too.”⁷⁰

Once when bench jockeys hurled anti-Semitic epithets, Hank Greenberg charged the New York Yankees dugout, challenging the entire team to a fight. Jewish sportswriter Haskell Cohen gleefully noted that during the 1947 season a teammate of the 6’ 4”, 215-pound Greenberg, then finishing out his career with the Pittsburgh Pirates, and playing with painful elbow chips, sneered, “For a Jew playing as lousy ball as you are, that’s certainly a lot of money you’re getting.” Greenberg told him to keep his mouth shut, and when he continued his taunts Hank promptly knocked him down with a punch to the jaw. Cohen also recalled an earlier incident when a Detroit Tiger teammate of Greenberg’s made an

insulting remark about his Jewishness. Greenberg picked up a bat and walked up to the player with a wicked glint in his eye. "You Southern —," Hank muttered. "If you so much as peep once again, I'll bring this bat across your thick skull." Needless to say, the bigot beat a hasty retreat.⁷¹

Strongly identifying with the Jewish struggle against fascism, Greenberg said that he came "to feel that if I, as a Jew, hit a home run, I was hitting one against Hitler." He was the first major leaguer to enlist in the army in World War II. Unlike many other players who became athletic directors in the service, Greenberg volunteered for combat. He served as captain of a B-29 bomber squadron in the China-Burma-India theater, and participated in the first land-based bombing raids of the Japanese home islands. Along with his four home run titles, he won four battle stars.⁷²

But Greenberg said that the only time he really felt like a hero was the day he sat out a game late in the 1934 season to attend synagogue on Yom Kippur and received a standing ovation from the congregation. With Greenberg, a major leaguer's observance of Jewish holidays became the subject of widespread public attention for the first time in the nation's history. Greenberg's not playing on Yom Kippur was an important affirmation of Jewish identity in a period that witnessed an alarming intensification of anti-Semitism. On Rosh Hashanah in 1934, the front page of the *Detroit Free Press* carried a headline in Yiddish, and over it the English translation, "Happy New Year, Hank!"⁷³

Greenberg's experience was hardly unique; anti-Semitism, while not as pervasive as antiblack prejudice, was common in major league baseball at least until the 1960s. Don Newcombe, Brooklyn's pitching ace and the third African American to become a permanent member of the club, recalled that white teammates during the 1950s frequently made anti-Semitic comments about the Dodgers' two Jewish players, Cal Abrams and Sandy Koufax, within earshot of the black players in the locker room and on the field. Hearing players spouting epithets like "Jew son of a bitch" was as objectionable to Newcombe as listening to their racist, antiblack comments. In fact, the Dodgers' African American players, including Robinson, Newcombe, and Roy Campanella, provided support for the Jewish players as they experienced this harassment.⁷⁴ Abrams himself maintained that his playing time was reduced because of Brooklyn manager Chuck Dressen's anti-Semitism, and Koufax stated that Walter Alston, who succeeded Dressen as manager, delayed making him a starter because he was Jewish. Abrams's son claimed that there were times when his father, because he was a Jew, was told that there was no room for him on the team bus, and that he had to ride instead in a station wagon with the equipment man.⁷⁵ In 1949 bench jockeys targeted Jewish outfielder Sid Gordon of the New York Giants with such vicious anti-Semitic epithets that the Anti-Defamation League asked all sixteen major league clubs whether they had any regulations prohibiting prejudiced conduct by players. A *New York Post* editorial condemned the St. Louis Cardinals for "their personal comments on Sid Gordon's religion."⁷⁶ When Cardinal infielder Solly Hemus would get a scratch hit in the 1950s off Warren Spahn or Lew Burdette of the Braves, the all-star pitchers, believing mistakenly that he was Jewish, screamed at

him, "Hemus, that's a goddamn cheap Jew hit and you're a goddamn Jew hitter!"

Anti-Semitic taunts precipitated physical confrontations on the diamond into the 1950s. Cleveland slugger Al Rosen responded combatively to such insults on numerous occasions during that decade, challenging an opposing player who had "slurred [his] religion" to fight him under the stands. When a Red Sox catcher called Rosen anti-Semitic names, he called time and "started toward him, to take him on." Hank Greenberg recalled that Rosen "want[ed] to go into the stands and murder" fans who hurled anti-Semitic insults at him. Rosen, who grew up in a Miami neighborhood where Gentile youth called out to him, "Lookit the Jewboy. Go home and eat yuh matzos, sheeny," had taken boxing lessons to defend himself. His "Jewish education was measured in jabs and hooks."⁷⁸

Even Jews wealthy enough to purchase a major league club suffered anti-Semitic abuse from the other owners, who viewed them as socially unacceptable. Nate Dolin, part of the group that bought the Cleveland Indians in 1949, recalled, "We were just about the first Jewish owners in baseball." (Andrew Freedman and Barney Dreyfuss, both of German Jewish background, had owned major league clubs in the early twentieth century). Dolin emphasized that fellow owners subjected his group to "a lot of anti-Semitism." The Cleveland group was barred from the other owners' private clubs, where important meetings were held, and sometimes were excluded from their hotels. Mary Jo DeCicco, who later married Hank Greenberg, recalled that New York Yankees owners Dan Topping and Del Webb, and their general manager George Weiss, made an impression by uttering anti-Semitic comments when she and her first husband were their guests at the 1955 World Series.⁷⁹

Jews rallied behind Jackie Robinson during his rookie season in 1947, when he suffered unprecedented abuse from opposing players and fans and hostility from many of his teammates. Bill Veeck, owner of the Cleveland Indians, the first American League club to desegregate, noted that Brooklyn was the "ideal place" in which to break baseball's color line because it was more hospitable to African Americans than any other city. Not coincidentally, Jews constituted about 40 percent of Brooklyn's population, the highest proportion of any place with a major league club. As Robinson's most recent biographer, Arnold Rampersad, observes, "Jews were . . . far more ready than any other major group . . . to identify with the fight against Jim Crow." When the Philadelphia Phillies visited Brooklyn in late April, their manager Ben Chapman, an Alabaman, ordered his players to harass Robinson with a barrage of racial insults so venomous that he came close to a nervous breakdown. Robinson recalled that the Phillies hurled at him "the worst garbage I ever heard in my whole life, counting the streets, counting the army."⁸⁰

The response of Jews in the press was strikingly different from that of non-Jewish editors and reporters, who generally responded with what Roger Kahn described as "belligerent neutrality." The *Sporting News*, for example, accepted Chapman's explanation that aggressive bench jockeying was routine in the major leagues, and that Robinson had been treated no differently from any opposing player. It reported that the Phillies had been inundated with "an avalanche of letters

and telephone calls . . . commending Chapman for his fair stand toward Robinson.”⁸¹ But when Walter Winchell learned of the Phillies’ conduct, he announced at the Stork Club that he would “use [his] column to get Chapman out of baseball,” and that “I’ll nail him on my radio show too.” He vowed to “make a *big hit* on that *bigot*.”⁸² Robinson himself believed that Winchell’s immediate denunciation of Chapman on his radio broadcast and in his syndicated newspaper column had strongly influenced Commissioner Happy Chandler’s decision to warn the Phillies not to use racial epithets against him in future bench jockeying.⁸³

Jewish newspapers quickly exposed the connection between Chapman’s racism and anti-Semitism. As a New York Yankee player in the 1930s, Chapman earned a reputation for shouting anti-Semitic insults at Jewish fans, holding his hand over his nose to indicate Jews. He nearly sparked a riot in 1933 when he slid into the Washington Senators’s Jewish second baseman Buddy Myer and, according to Shirley Povich, “cut a swastika with his spikes on Myer’s thigh.” Soon after Chapman ordered the attack on Robinson, the Philadelphia *Jewish Exponent* noted that he had hurled anti-Semitic insults at the Polo Grounds at a Jewish GI who had lost a leg in combat.⁸⁴

The most dramatic display of Jewish solidarity with Jackie Robinson came from Hank Greenberg. The legendary Detroit Tiger slugger who hit 58 home runs in 1938, then with the Pittsburgh Pirates in his last season, was the first opposing player to offer Robinson encouragement. Probably no major leaguer before Robinson had been more abused by opposing players and fans than Greenberg, who was continually taunted for being Jewish.

On May 15, 1947, in a game between the Pirates and the Dodgers, Robinson laid down a perfect bunt and streaked down the line to first. The pitcher’s throw pulled first baseman Greenberg off the bag. Reaching for the throw, he collided with Robinson, who was able to get up and reach second. The next inning Greenberg walked, and asked Robinson, who was playing first base, if he had been hurt in the collision. Assured by Robinson that he hadn’t been, Greenberg said to him, “Don’t pay any attention to these guys who are trying to make it hard for you. Stick in there. . . . I hope you and I can get together for a talk. There are a few things I’ve learned down through the years that might help you and make it easier.”⁸⁵

Greenberg’s support deeply moved Robinson and was widely praised in the African American press. Jackie told the *New York Times*, “Class tells. It sticks out all over Mr. Greenberg.”⁸⁶ Although Robinson suffered harassment unparalleled in baseball history, he recognized a kinship with what he called the “racial trouble” that Greenberg had also experienced.⁸⁷ The Pittsburgh *Courier* reported that the Jewish slugger, who “many times . . . had [had] to close his ears when they hurled racial epithets at him from the opposing bench,” definitely “understands Jackie’s problems.” The Baltimore *Afro-American* informed its readers that Greenberg, as “a Jew,* was well-qualified to advise Robinson: “The more pressure you’re under, the better ball player you’ll become—I know.”⁸⁸

African American sportswriter Wendell Smith suggested that, had the collision involved a player other than Greenberg, it might have sparked a riot.

One has to remember the unprovoked spiking attacks on Robinson by Cardinals Joe Medwick and Enos Slaughter during the 1947 season, and the apoplectic reaction a few years later when Robinson, for sliding into a Giant to retaliate for a beanball, was called “a Hitler” by shortstop Alvin Dark.⁸⁹ Playing first base that rookie season, Robinson probably developed “the quickest foot in the history of baseball,” being well aware that he had to remove it immediately after tagging the bag to avoid spikings.”

In his autobiography, Greenberg emphasized his strong admiration for Robinson, coupled with disgust at the racist behavior of his teammates: “Here were our guys, a bunch of ignorant, stupid Southerners who couldn’t speak properly. . . and all they could do was make jokes about Jackie. They couldn’t recognize that they had a special person in front of them.”

Greenberg also recognized differences as well as similarities between his experience and Robinson’s: “Jackie had it tough, tougher than any player who ever lived. . . . I identified with Jackie Robinson. I had feelings for him because they had treated me the same way Not as bad, but they made remarks about my being a sheenie and a Jew all the time.”⁹¹

The strong encouragement and support from Hank Greenberg came at a particularly important time for Jackie Robinson. On May 9, six days before, Stan Woodward, sports editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, had broken the story that the St. Louis Cardinals, acting in collusion with two Brooklyn players, had planned to strike rather than play against a Dodgers team that included Robinson.” The same day Brooklyn management informed the press about several death threats Robinson had received in the mail directed both at him and his wife, along with threats to kidnap his infant son Jackie, Jr. As a result, two police department detectives were accompanying him home each day.⁹³ To make matters worse, several of the Philadelphia Phillies, whom the Dodgers played May 9-11, sat in their dugout during the games pointing bats at Robinson, to simulate guns and remind him of the death threats, and made machine gun-like noises. Chapman had also informed his pitchers that he would fine them \$50 if they had two strikes on Robinson early in the count and did not throw at him. The Benjamin Franklin Hotel, where the Dodgers had stayed for several years when playing in Philadelphia, refused to admit Robinson, and he was forced to find other quarters.



Hank Greenberg. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown, New York.

And on May 13 in Cincinnati, the Crosley Field organist had openly mocked Robinson by playing “Bye, Bye, Blackbird” at the end of the Dodgers-Reds game, as the players walked off the field. Robinson was only just beginning to pull out of a slump that had dropped his batting average to .238 on May 9.⁹⁴

Robinson’s sister, Willa Mae Robinson Walker, recalled the horror Robinson and his family experienced during that time in an interview with journalist Maury Allen, and said that Jackie “talked about quitting”: “In those early days in Brooklyn . . . he got so much hate mail and so many threats on his life. . . . and we worried all the time about him. . . . The phone would ring and we would be afraid to pick it up. We used to think it would be a call from somebody saying Jackie was dead.”⁹⁵ Nor was Robinson receiving much emotional support from his teammates, Jimmy Cannon of the *New York Post* noted: “In the clubhouse Robinson is a stranger. . . . it is obvious he is isolated by those with whom he plays. . . . Robinson never is part of the jovial and aimless banter of the locker room. He is the loneliest man I have ever seen in sports.”⁹⁶ It is obvious, then, how important, and how moving, it was for Robinson when Hank Greenberg reached out to him and offered such warm words of encouragement.

Surprisingly, this highly important conversation in Pittsburgh between Greenberg and Robinson has been almost entirely ignored by Robinson’s biographers and other scholars of the desegregation of baseball. Only Jackie Robinson and Hank Greenberg give it significant attention—Robinson in his 1948 autobiography written with Wendell Smith, and Greenberg in his autobiography, edited by Ira Berkow and published in 1989 after his death. Carl Rowan’s 1960 biography of Robinson does not mention the encounter. David Falkner’s very brief description in his 1995 biography says only that Greenberg had “endured his own trials”; it does not explicitly mention anti-Semitism, nor the impact Greenberg’s support had on Robinson. Jules Tygiel, in his *Baseball’s Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and his Legacy* (1983), a highly valuable study of baseball’s desegregation process, states only that Robinson “publicly thanked opposing players, like Hank Greenberg and Frank Gustine, who welcomed him into the league.”⁹⁷ This fails to convey the significance of Greenberg’s contribution in helping Robinson, or to note that Jackie recognized similarities between African American and Jewish suffering. Robinson did say in his 1948 autobiography, after all, that “I felt sure that he understood my problems.” And Gustine’s “welcome” was hardly as important as Greenberg’s; he merely told Robinson that Pirate hurler Fritz Ostermueller, who hit Jackie with a pitch, had not done so deliberately.⁹⁸

Greenberg noted that Robinson and he “always were friends” after their May 15, 1947, encounter at first base, even though their contacts were necessarily reduced when Greenberg moved back to the American League to become general manager of the Cleveland Indians following his retirement as a player after the 1947 season. The Cleveland press frequently criticized Greenberg during his years as general manager (1949-57) for placing too many blacks on the Indians, more than any other American League team. Greenberg also desegregated the Texas League in 1952, when he assigned an African American player to

Cleveland's Dallas farm club. His determination in the front office to promote desegregation was undoubtedly influenced by the anti-Semitism he experienced in baseball. Prejudiced against both African Americans and Jews, Cleveland's sportswriters denounced Greenberg for replacing "nice Catholic boy[s]" Bob Kennedy and Kenny Keltner with Harry Simpson, a black, and Al Rosen, a Jew; even though the latter two were the superior ballplayers, the fans "rode [Greenberg] terribly." Having experienced exclusion himself, Greenberg instructed Cleveland's traveling secretary to inform hotels that had refused to admit the team's African American players that they would have to take all the Indians' players, or none at all. Even as Cleveland's general manager, Greenberg had been denied admittance in Phoenix to the hotel where American League clubs were staying for their winter meetings, because he was Jewish.⁹⁹

Jackie Robinson throughout his playing career, and after his retirement, enjoyed the strong support and friendship of many Jews, and he deeply appreciated Jews' important contributions to the civil rights movement. Roger Kahn recalled that most sportswriters during the 1950s considered Robinson "uppity" because "he exuded an air of complete independence," which "was not acceptable in a Negro." But Kahn shared Robinson's outrage at the sportswriters' complaints, and the two men became "fast friends," who joined in denouncing baseball's slow pace of desegregation. Robinson also developed a close friendship and working association with Jewish sportswriter Milton Gross of the *New York Post*. Gross assisted Robinson in writing an article entitled "Why Can't I Manage in the Majors?" directly challenging a color bar the major leagues maintained long after they admitted African Americans as players. In his *Post* column, Gross also urged the Dodgers to hire Robinson as a television announcer after his retirement.¹⁰⁰

Robinson's biographer Arnold Rampersad notes that "the Robinsons found Jews far more ready than other whites to accept them socially." The Robinsons' closest friends in Montreal during the critical year of 1946, when Jackie first broke into organized baseball, were a Jewish couple, sportswriter Sam Maltin and his wife Belle. Another Jewish couple, the Satlows, welcomed the Robinsons to Flatbush in 1948, and became lifelong friends. The Robinsons were also close to many other Jews, including Dodgers broadcaster Andre Baruch and his wife Bea, broadcaster Howard Cosell and his family, and Frank Schiffman, whose Apollo Theater in Harlem became for Robinson during his retirement "almost his private uptown office." Grossinger's became the Robinsons' favorite family resort during the 1950s.¹⁰¹

Robinson also received important assistance from Jewish businessmen. When the Robinsons decided to move to Connecticut in the mid-1950s, they discovered that the banks were "dead set against" providing them with a loan to build a house; they finally obtained one from a bank operated by two Jewish brothers. Robinson forged close relationships with Jewish businessmen who supported the Freedom National Bank, of which he was chairman of the board—an African American owned and operated commercial bank that tried to stimulate economic development in Harlem—and the Jackie Robinson Construction Company, which built low-cost housing.¹⁰²

Just as Jews had been in the front lines for him when he broke baseball's color line, Robinson, who became an important civil rights activist after his retirement as a player, gave considerable support to Jewish causes, while urging African American civil rights groups to join Jewish organizations in a coalition similar to that promoted by the intergroup relations movement of the late 1940s. Robinson's widow recalled in her recently published book *Jackie Robinson: An Intimate Portrait* that "Jack believed that positive relations between blacks and Jews were critical to both." Robinson gave his support to the United Jewish Appeal and raised money for the state of Israel.¹⁰³ When Kivie Kaplan, a Jew, became president of the NAACP in 1966, Robinson told him, "No man deserves [the office] more."¹⁰⁴ Even as a player, Robinson became highly interested in the Anti-Defamation League's campaign against anti-Semitism, and was determined to apply its techniques in combatting anti-black racism. He sought out ADL leader Arnold Forster, and "asked [him] searching questions about fighting anti-Semitism." Forster recalled that in the ensuing years, Robinson "helped intensify [the ADL's] cooperative relationship with black civil rights groups."¹⁰⁵ Robinson's breaking of baseball's color line in 1947, one of the most important civil rights advances of the first half of the twentieth century, benefited very significantly from such Jewish cooperation and support.

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 2. Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe Since 1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 24.
 3. "British Ram Runner; 1500 Jews Aboard,*" *New York Herald Tribune*, May 18, 1947; "Editorial," *Chicago Defender*, May 24, 1947.
 4. Clayborne Carson, "Blacks and Jews in the Civil Rights Movement" in Joseph R. Washington, Jr., ed., *Jews in Black Perspectives* (Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), pp. 113-17 and Carson, "Blacks and Jews in the Civil Rights Movement: The Case of SNCC" in Jack Salzman et al., eds., *Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews* (New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992), pp. 36-39; David Levering Lewis, "Shortcuts to the Mainstream: Afro-American and Jewish Notables in the 1920s and 1930s" in Washington, ed., *Jews in Black Perspectives*, p. 84, Murray Friedman, *What Went Wrong?: The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), p.8.
 5. Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 208.
 6. Howard M. Sachar, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 802; Hasia Diner, *In The Almost Promised Land American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 168, 175.
 7. Julian Bond, "Forward" in Adam Fairclough, ed., *The Star Creek Papers* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), pp. viii-ix.
 8. Diner, *In The Almost Promised Land*, p. 168.
 9. Murray Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, p. 43.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 48; Nancy Weiss, "Long Distance Runners of the Civil Rights Movement: The Contribution of Jews to the NAACP and the National Urban League in the Early Twentieth Century" in Jack Salzman and Cornel West, eds., *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward A History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 132 (quotes), 135-37; Diner, *Promised Land*, pp. 125, 127, 133; B. Joyce Ross, *J. E. Spingarn and the Rise of the NAACP, 1911-1939* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 85-97.
12. Nancy Weiss, *The National Urban League, 1910-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 53-54; Diner, *Promised Land* p. 185; Sachar, *Jews in America*, p. 803; Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, p. 48.
13. Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, pp. 99-100; Diner, *Promised Land*, pp. 42, 98; Dan Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), p. 235 (quote).
14. Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, p. 59.
15. Diner, *Promised Land*, pp. 199-202.
16. Friedman, *What Went Wrong?*, p. 131; Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 158; Diner, *Promised Land*, p. 229.
17. Letty Cottin Pogrebin, *Deborah, Golda, and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America* (New York: Anchor Books, 1992), pp. 112-13; Diner, *Promised Land*, p. 125 (quote).
18. Jack Newfield, "An Interview With Mario Cuomo," *Tikkun*, May/June 1998, pp. 21-22.
19. Diner, *Promised Land*, pp. 43, 75; Lewis, "Shortcuts to the Mainstream" in Washington, ed., *Jews in Black Perspectives*, p. 84 (quote).
20. See, for example, Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), pp. 36-37; Mark Naison, "Lefties and Righties: The Communist Party and Sports During the Great Depression" in Donald Spivey, ed., *Sport in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 129-44; Kelly Elaine Rusinack, "Baseball on the Radical Agenda: The *Daily* and *Sunday Worker* on the Desegregation of Major League Baseball, 1933 to 1947," M.A. thesis, Clemson University, 1995.
21. Tygiel's *Baseball's Great Experiment*, for example, the principal scholarly study of the desegregation of baseball, devotes considerable attention to the campaign of African-American sportswriters and the Communist Party (although not Jews in it) against baseball's color line, but ignores the Jewish role in desegregating baseball. The principal biographies of Jackie Robinson, Carl Rowan's *Wait Till Next Year: The Life Story of Jackie Robinson* (New York: Random House, 1960); David Falkner's *Great Time Coming: The Life of Jackie Robinson From Baseball to Birmingham* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); and Arnold Rampersad's *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), also give little or no attention to the Jewish role, although Rampersad does discuss the importance of Robinson's friendships and business contacts with Jews.
22. Paul Buhle and Michael Femanowsky, "Baseball and Social Conscience: An Interview with Lester Rodney," 1981, pp. 3-4, UCLA Oral History Program, University of California at Los Angeles Library.
23. Joe Gerstein, "Anti-Semitism in Baseball," *Jewish Life*, July 1952, p. 22.
24. Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), pp. 322-24.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 322-24 (quote p. 324). Jewish Communists sometimes deferred their own political aspirations to advance black empowerment. In 1943, Adam Clayton Powell's election to Congress would have left the New York City Council without black representation. To prevent this, Carl Brodsky withdrew as a candidate in favor of Ben Davis, Jr., because, "As a member of the Jewish people I can appreciate what it means not to have the great Negro minority represented." Gerald Horne, "Black, White, and Red: Jewish [sic] and

- African Americans in the Communist Party” in Marla Brettschneider, ed., *The Narrow Bridge: Jewish Views on Multiculturalism* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996), p. 127.
26. Stuart Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 18.
 27. Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, pp. 84-93, Deborah Dash Moore, *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 154, 163-64, 308.
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 32. Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, pp. 43, 48, 88-90; Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The Political Behavior of American Jews* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 108; Naomi W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee, 1906-1966* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972), pp. 385-87.
 33. See, for example, Pittsburgh Courier, May 17, 1947; Chicago *Defender*, May 17, 1947; “Wendell Smith” in Jerome Holtzman, ed., *No Cheering in the Press Box* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995), p. 317.
 34. Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment*, p. 36; Jackie Robinson as told to Alfred Duckett, *I Never Had It Made: An Autobiography* (Hopewell, N. J.: The Ecco Press, 1995 [1972]), p. 32 (quotes).
 35. Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment*, p. 80; Dan W. Dodson, “The Integration of Negroes in Baseball” in Jules Tygiel, ed., *The Jackie Robinson Reader* (New York: Dutton, 1997), p. 158 (quote).
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 37. David Q. Voigt, “From Chadwick to the Chipmunks,” *Journal of American Culture* 7 (Fall 1984): pp. 31-37; Forster, *Square One*, pp. 57, 94-95; Neal Gabler, *Winchell: Gossip, Power, and the Culture of Celebrity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), pp. xi, 377.
 38. Gabler, *Winchell*, pp. 3, 9-10, 195 (first and second quotes), 196 (third quote).
 39. See, for example, *ADL Press Digest*, January 13 and July 16, 1947, reel 2774, ADL Papers; Gabler, *Winchell*, pp. 196-97, 294; Forster, *Square One*, pp. 58, 95.
 40. Gabler, *Winchell*, pp. 296 (first quote), 333 (second quote), 385; *ADL Press Digest*, January, 1947, reel 2774, ADL Papers (third quote). Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo chimed in with a letter to Winchell calling him a “limicolous liar and notorious scandalizing kike.” Edward Shapiro, “Anti-Semitism Mississippi Style” in David A. Gerber, ed., *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 143.
 41. Gabler, *Winchell*, p. 409.
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43. "Terry Moore, Marty Marion and Two Dodgers Accused," *Chicago Defender*, May 17, 1947.
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46. Shirley Povich, *All These Mornings* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 88 (quote), 128, 133.
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48. Roger Kahn, *Memories of Summer: When Baseball Was an Art, and Writing About It a Game* (New York Hyperion, 1997), pp. 35, 40 (quotes); Roger Kahn, *The Passionate People: What It Means to be a Jew in America* (New York William Morrow & Co, 1968).
49. Kahn, *Memories*, pp. 98 (first quote), 147, 207 (second quote).
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51. Clif Keane, "Robinson's Day With Sox Told: Muchnick Recounts Tryout Arrangement," *Boston Globe*, April 29, 1959; Glenn Stout and Dick Johnson, eds., *Jackie Robinson: Between the Baselines* (San Francisco: Woodford Press, n.d.), p. 38 (quote).
52. Isadore Muchnick, Obituary, *Boston Globe*, September 16, 1963; Jordan Muchnick (nephew of Isadore Muchnick), telephone interview, June 5, 1997; "Isadore Harry Yaver Muchnick" in *25th Anniversary Class Report, Harvard College Class of 1928* (1953), p. 772 (quote) in Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. On "Jewish Ward 14" see Charles H. Trout, *Boston: The Great Depression and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 41, 47, 299.
53. Jordan Muchnick telephone interview; David Muchnick (son of Isadore Muchnick), telephone interview, June 4, 1997.
54. Holtzman, *No Cheering*, p. 318 (first quote); Povich, *All These Mornings*, p. 132 (second quote); Shirley Povich, telephone interview, June 5, 1997; Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, p. 43 (third quote); David K. Wiggins, "Wendell Smith, The Pittsburgh Courier-Journal and the Campaign to Include Blacks in Organized Baseball, 1933-1945," *Journal of Sport History* 10 (Summer 1983): 25 (fourth quote); Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson*, p. 119 (fifth quote). Smith's inaccurate account continues to be repeated by sportswriters. See, for example, Larry Whiteside, "They Tried, But Had No Chance," *Boston Globe*, March 28, 1997.
55. "Total and Non-White Population of Boston's Ward 14 as of 1950 by Census Tract," 1950 U.S. Census of Population, Boston, Mass. Census Tracts, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce; David Muchnick telephone interview; "Isadore Harry Yaver Muchnick" in *25th Anniversary Class Report, Harvard College Class of 1928*, p. 772; Yona Ginsberg, *Jesus in a Changing Neighborhood: The Study of Mattapan* (New York The Free Press, 1975), p. 29; Hillel Levine and Lawrence Harmon, *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), pp. 194-224.
56. Wendell Smith, "The Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 26, 1947.
57. *Ibid.* (quote); Keane, "Robinson's Day With Sox Told," *Boston Globe*, April 29, 1959; David Muchnick, telephone interview. Autobiographical inscription from copy in possession of Isadore Muchnick's daughter, Fran Muchnick Goldstein. Isadore Muchnick later said about the tryout, "You never saw anyone hit the wall the way Robinson did that day." Stout and Johnson, eds., *Jackie Robinson: Between the Baselines*, p. 40.

58. Bruce Kuklick, *To Every Thing A Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 146 (quote); Povich, *All These Mornings*, pp. 129-30.
59. Branch Rickey to Alfred A. Knopf, May 9, 1956, box 14, Frank Tannenbaum Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (quotes); Obituary of Frank Tannenbaum, *New York Times*, June 2, 1969, and death notices, June 3, 1969.
60. Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave & Citizen* (New York: Vintage Books, 1946), pp. 127-28 (first three quotes); Rickey to Knopf, May 9, 1956 (fourth quote), Branch Rickey to Frank Tannenbaum, January 23, 1963, box 14, Tannenbaum Papers.
61. "A Story and a Question: II," *Adirondack Enterprise* (Saranac Lake, N.Y.), June 6, 1969 (first quote); Frank Tannenbaum to Branch Rickey, May 18, 1956 (second quote); Jackie Robinson to Frank Tannenbaum, May 31, 1961; and Alice H. Maier to Jackie Robinson, July 18, 1969, box 14, Tannenbaum Papers.
62. On the campaign to boycott the 1936 Olympics see Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 69-82 and Peter Levine, *From Ellis Island to Ebbets Field; Sport and the American Jewish Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 185, 219-21. The Nazis used the medal results to claim the superiority of fascism over democracy. Germany accumulated more points than the United States, Italy more than France, and Japan far more than Britain. Mandell, *Nazi Olympics*, p. 280.
63. Chris Mead, *Champion: Joe Louis, Black Hero in White America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), pp. 133-34.
64. Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field*, pp. 177-81 (first quote from p. 178, second from p. 180); Jeffrey Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 106 (third quote). Max Baer, the son of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother, identified strongly as a Jew. The public, boxing promoters, and the press, including the Jewish press, considered him a Jew. Baer resented charges that he was not a Jew, pointing out that Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party viewed him as Jewish. Baer claimed to be "the first *bona fide* heavyweight champion of the Hebrew race." He is included in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field*, p. 182 (quote); Sammons, *Beyond the Ring*, p. 91; "Max Baer," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Volume 4 (Jerusalem, Israel: Kerr Publishing House, Ltd., 1973), p. 79.
65. Turner Lippe, sparring partner and friend of Jewish boxing great Abe Attell, world featherweight champion from 1901 to 1912, recalled opposing cornermen at Attell's fights frequently yelling for their fighter to "Kill the Jew bastard!" Telephone interview, December 1986. On the Jewish boxer as avenger of American Jews beaten and taunted by anti-Semites, see Ken Blady, *The Jewish Boxers' Hall of Fame* (New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1988), pp. 29-30, 52-53, 111-13.
66. Kaufman, *Broken Alliance*, pp. 83-84.
67. Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field*, pp. 240-41 (first quote); Eric Solomon, "Jews and Baseball: A Cultural Love Story" in George Eisen and David K. Wiggins, eds., *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995), pp. 75-101; Carl Prince, *Brooklyn's Dodgers: The Bums, the Borough, and the Best of Baseball* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 42-44; Eric J. Greenberg, "From Prague to Park Slope," *Jewish Week*, May 9, 1997, Irv Saposnik, "To Brooklyn: Again and Again," *Jewish Currents*, January 1993, pp. 9-10 (second quote).
68. Hank Greenberg, *The Story of My Life*, ed. by Ira Berkow (New York: Times Books, 1989), p. 116.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84; Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, p. 182.
70. Ira Berkow, "Introduction," Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, p. xv.
71. Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, p. 104; Haskell Cohen, "In Sports," *Jewish Exponent* [Philadelphia], October 3, 1947 (quotes).

72. Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, p. 117 (quote); William M. Simons, "The Athlete As Jewish Standard Bearer: Media Images of Hank Greenberg," *Jewish Social Studies* (Spring 1982): 107; Ralph Kiner, "Unforgettable Hank Greenberg," *Reader's Digest*, October 1988, p. 85.
73. Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field*, pp. 135-37; Kiner, "Unforgettable," *Reader's Digest*, p. 85; Aviva Kempner, "The Game Came Second," *Washington Post*, September 18, 1994; Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, p. 57.
74. Don Newcombe, telephone interview, June 5, 1997. In his autobiography Sandy Koufax describes Newcombe as good-natured and helpful to him during his difficult years as a "bonus baby" in Brooklyn. Sandy Koufax with Ed Linn, *Koufax* (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), p. 89.
75. Elli Wohlgeterter, "Interview: Calvin R. Abrams and May Abrams," *American Jewish History* 83 (March 1995): pp. 114-15; Peter Golenbock, *Bums: An Oral History of the Brooklyn Dodgers* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), pp. 263, 266-67; Harvey Araton, "A Dodger Who Faced Barriers, Too," *New York Times*, March 1, 1997; Kahn, *The Era*, pp. 327-28.
76. Arnold Forster, *A Measure of Freedom* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1950), pp. 168-69.
77. David Halberstam, *October 1964* (New York: Villard Books, 1994), p. 110. Even as late as 1977 Reggie Jackson witnessed Yankee manager Billy Martin and several Yankee players, including stars Thurman Munson, Sparky Lyle, and Graig Nettles hurling anti-Semitic insults at teammate Ken Holtzman; in his autobiography Jackson quotes Nettles publicly denouncing a reporter as a "Jew cocksucker." Stephen H. Norwood, "My Son the Slugger: Sport and the American Jew," *Reviews in American History* 21 (September 1993): p. 470.
78. Harold U. Ribalow and Meir Z. Ribalow, *The Jew in American Sports* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1966), p. 44 (first quote); Roger Kahn, *How the Weather Was* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 75, 76 (fourth and fifth quotes), 78 (second quote); Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, p. 218 (third quote).
79. Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, p. 208 (quotes), 2.54; David A. Rausch, *Friends, Colleagues, and Neighbors: Jewish Contributions to American History* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1996), p. 116.
80. Bill Veeck with Ed Linn, *Veeck As In Wreck: The Autobiography of Bill Veeck* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), p. 175 (first quote); Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson*, pp. 220-21 (second quote); Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, pp. 182-83; Haskell Cohen, "In Sports," *Jewish Exponent*, June 20, 1947; Roger Kahn, "We Doan Need No Niggers Here" in Richard Orodender, ed., *The Phillie Reader* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), p. 58 (third quote); Percentage of Jews in Brooklyn's population is calculated from Isaac Landman, ed., *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia in Ten Volumes* (New York: Universal Jewish Encyclopedia Corp., 1948), Vol. 2, p. 544; *American Jewish Yearbook* (1955), and Population Division of the U.S. Census Bureau, 1940 and 1950.
81. Kahn, "We Doan" in Orodender, ed., *Phillie Reader*, pp. 59 (first quote), 60; Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, p. 183 (second quote).
82. Kahn, "We Doan" in Orodender, ed., *Phillie Reader*, p. 62.
83. Jackie Robinson as told to Wendell Smith, *Jackie Robinson: My Own Story* (New York: Greenberg, 1948), p. 145.
84. Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, p. 182; Povich, *All These Mornings*, p. 55 (quote); Haskell Cohen, "In Sports," *Jewish Exponent*, June 20, 1947.
85. Wendell Smith, "The Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 24, 1947, Robinson, *Jackie Robinson: My Own Story*, pp. 146-47 (quote).
86. *Ibid.*, p. 147; "Hank Greenberg A Hero to Dodgers' Negro Star," *New York Times*, May 18, 1947 (quote).
87. Robinson, *Jackie Robinson: My Own Story*, p. 147.

88. Smith, "The Sports Beat," Pittsburgh *Courier*, May 24, 1947; "From A to Z," Baltimore *Afro-American*, May 17, 1947. See also Dan Burley, "Major League Dozens' Playing," *Amsterdam News*, June 25, 1947.
89. Smith, "The Sports Beat," Pittsburgh *Courier*, May 24, 1947; Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, pp. 202-03; Falkner, *Great Time Coming*, p. 239 (quote).
90. Michael Berenbaum, "Jackie and Campy: Ethnicity in the 1950s," *Los Angeles Jewish Journal*, April 18-24, 1997, p. 29.
91. Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, pp. 189-91 (first quote p. 190, second pp. 190-91).
92. Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, pp. 185-88; "Terry Moore, Marty Marion And Two Dodgers Accused," Chicago *Defender*, May 17, 1947. Robinson included an entire chapter titled "Strike!" in his 1948 autobiography,
93. "Cardinal Strike Plot Thwarted; Robbie Gets Threatening Mail," New York *Age*, May 17, 1947; Rowan, *Wait Till Next Year*, p. 185; William Nack, "The Breakthrough," *Sports Illustrated*, May 5, 1997, p. 61.
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95. Maury Allen, "Pepper Street, Pasadena" in Tygiel, *Jackie Robinson Reader*, p. 24.
96. Nack, "The Breakthrough," p. 61.
97. Rowan, *Wait Till Next Year*, Falkner, *Great Time Coming*, pp. 172-73; Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, p. 192.
98. Robinson, *Jackie Robinson: My Own Story*, p. 147; Smith, "The Sports Beat," Pittsburgh *Courier*, May 24, 1947.
99. Greenberg, *Story of My Life*, pp. 191 (first quote), 207-08, 212 (second quote), 213, 217 (third quote); Gerstein, "Anti-Semitism in Baseball," *Jewish Life*, p. 22. See also the recollections of Al Smith, one of Cleveland's early black players, in Lee Heiman, Dave Weiner, and Bill Gutman, eds., *When The Cheering Stops . . . Former Major Leaguers Talk About Their Game & Their Lives* (New York: MacMillan, 1990), p. 77.
100. Kahn, *Memories of Summer*, pp. 67-68 (quotes); Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson*, pp. 254, 286, 300.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 221 (quotes), 313, Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, p. 74; Rachel Robinson, *Jackie Robinson: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), pp. 88, 124-27.
102. Roger Kahn, "The Lion at Dusk" in Tygiel, *The Jackie Robinson Reader*, p. 268 (quote); Rachel Robinson, *Intimate Portrait*, pp. 190-92, 208; Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, p. 195.
103. Robinson, *An Intimate Portrait*, p. 162; John Vernon, "Beyond the Box Score: Jackie Robinson, Civil Rights Crusader," *Negro History Bulletin*, October-December 1995, p. 19.
104. Jackie Robinson to Kivie Kaplan, n.d., Kivie Kaplan Papers, American Jewish Archives.
105. Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson*, p. 220.