

John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Faith. By Patrick Lacroix. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2021. viii, 263 pp. \$39.95.)

It is a common assumption that the greatest challenge John F. Kennedy faced, as a Catholic politician, was persuading Protestants in the 1960 election that he would respect the division of church and state—and that once he had done this, and thus beaten Richard M. Nixon, the matter was largely forgotten. This perception was reinforced by Kennedy's reluctance to talk about his faith while in the White House, arguably because it was not that strong. In 1968, when running for the Democratic presidential nomination, Eugene McCarthy joked that were he elected, he would be America's first Catholic president (p. 13).

Patrick Lacroix's excellent book challenges this narrative on multiple fronts, demonstrating that the administration was a bridge between two eras: in the early twentieth century, American religious life was characterized by competition between denominations (Protestant versus Catholic), whereas today it is better defined by debates within denominations (conservative versus liberal). It is surprising to discover that as early as 1960, some conservative Catholics regarded the idea of a Kennedy presidency as a poisoned chalice, either because of his policy positions or because they reasoned that a man this happy to separate his Catholicism from his politics cannot be that good a Catholic (p. 33). As president, Kennedy confirmed these suspicions. He opposed federal financing for church schools and urged respect for the Supreme Court's ban on state-authorized prayer in public schools. The Jesuit *America* magazine noted that Kennedy had "bent over backwards so as to make it dramatically clear to any Southern Baptist" that he was his own man (pp. 71–72).

But in April 1963 Kennedy suddenly felt comfortable enough to address a Catholic audience, speak in a Catholic idiom, and praise the Pope—why? Lacroix shows that in three short years the Vatican had changed dramatically, abandoning its once-rigid anticommunism in favor not just of coexistence but liturgical reform, debate about doctrine and, crucially, a new emphasis upon social activism. Sectarianism declined in America not neces-

sarily because Kennedy proved Catholics could be trusted to govern independently from the Pope but because the Pope himself was perceived to be an agent of modernization, making the Church more palatable to liberal Protestants. Kennedy's personal religion became a "moot point" (p. 109). The other side of this story is that conservative Catholics and Protestants reconciled in reaction to these very liberalizing trends, and post-Kennedy, they found common cause around sexual liberation and secularization.

The conservative realignment is well documented in historical literature, giving the impression that it is the more dynamic story. Lacroix does us an enormous service by illustrating the roots of the quieter yet no less significant alliance of religious liberals and Democrats that reached its pinnacle during the civil rights movement. Hopefully, other historians will pick up where he leaves off. It is curious that a book so potentially relevant, crying out for a wider audience, does not have more to say about Joe Biden, a president also charged by religious conservatives with not being a "real Catholic" while, ironically, being near simpatico with a reforming Pope in the Vatican.

Timothy Stanley
Kent, United Kingdom

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Where Is Juliet Stuart Poyntz? Gender, Spycraft, and Anti-Stalinism in the Early Cold War. By Denise M. Lynn. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021. xvi, 206 pp. Cloth, \$90.00. Paper, \$24.95.)

Today the name Juliet Stuart Poyntz remains generally unknown. Denise M. Lynn introduces her to current readers, demonstrating that not all forgotten figures were insignificant. Poyntz played an important role in both radical history and women's history.

Poyntz was born on November 20, 1886, into a middle-class Omaha family. Her mother left her father and moved to Jersey City, New Jersey, when Juliet was nine years old. The broken home hardly affected the girl's scholarship: she graduated from high school at age sixteen and then attended Barnard College,

the London School of Economics, and Oxford University.

Like many women of her social class during the early twentieth century, Poyntz became a progressive. After a brief, unhappy marriage, she supported women's suffrage and trade unionism, and joined the Socialist party's left wing. Through the latter she met the Russian feminist Alexandra Kollontay and the Bolshevik leaders Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin visiting New York.

During the 1920s, Poyntz joined the Workers party, soon renamed the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA). The Communists welcomed radical women, but few ever reached high positions in the movement. Poyntz, however, proved to be no token. A powerful debater, she did not fear challenging the male leadership and the official party line (p. 45). She showed herself to be a hard-nosed Communist. Rumors circulated that she had participated in show-trial interrogations. In an age unused to women in politics, she frightened fellow party members and badgered American politicians (p. 11). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) considered Poyntz one of America's ten leading Communists. Moreover, she maintained a close friendship with the anarchist Carlo Tresca, anathema to the CPUSA. Lynn opines that even while Poyntz was working as a public figure, "the party may have been grooming her for the underground" to isolate her from all open comrades (p. 49). Poyntz did go underground in 1934. The Russian government has refused to release files of the KGB and its predecessor agencies, so no historian knows exactly how the Soviets valued her work.

During the spring of 1937—the bloodiest year of Joseph Stalin's Great Terror—Poyntz suddenly disappeared from her rented New York flat and was never seen again on American soil. Tresca waged a relentless campaign to get the New York police and the FBI to investigate. Neither agency deemed the loss of a major Communist alarming. Even the subsequent assassinations of Tresca, and later Leon Trotsky (in Mexico), brought no energetic inquiry.

In this exhaustively researched, well-written book, Lynn argues persuasively that Poyntz's disappearance constituted the symbolic moment when many American anti-Stalinists began broadening their critical focus. In their

eyes, no longer was one murderous tyrant the cause of the Soviet Union's failure to end mass exploitation. Instead, Marxism itself, always denounced by the political right, began receiving withering condemnation from a parade of former leftists, ex-spies, and professional anticommunist witnesses seeking headlines and book contracts. Many erstwhile leftists made major contributions to the second red scare and the anticommunism that dominated American life for decades after World War II.

James G. Ryan
Texas A&M University
Galveston, Texas

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The Politics of Peace: A Global Cold War History. By Petra Goedde. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. xviii, 292 pp. \$35.00.)

The history of peace movements during the Cold War is well-trodden ground. But most authors have followed narrow paths, studying, for example, antinuclearism in the run-up to the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty or the antiwar movement during the Vietnam conflict. Few works explore multiple expressions of peace activism, much less encompass the whole globe.

Petra Goedde's *The Politics of Peace* is a striking—and remarkably successful—break from old patterns. Goedde sweeps around the world and across the quarter century from World War II to the heyday of superpower détente in the early 1970s. Anchored in exhaustive reading and meticulous research in U.S. and West European archives, this approach enables Goedde to examine parallels in different national experiences and to assess the overall importance of peace activism to the broad contours of the Cold War.

The first of these agendas drives the initial two-thirds of the book, which explores peace advocacy from 1945 to the early 1960s. Rather than proceed in a strictly chronological fashion, Goedde slices the early Cold War thematically, devoting chapters to the rise of the Euro-American New Left, the interplay of environmental and peace movements, the role of religious activism, and the contributions of

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