

JEWES AND
JUDAISM IN THE
UNITED STATES:
A
DOCUMENTARY
HISTORY

MARC LEE RAPHAEL

LIBRARY OF JEWISH STUDIES

ד"ר. גמור ד"ר.



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HISTORY

*Edited, with
introductions and notes, by*

MARC LEE RAPHAEL ❖❖

Library of Jewish Studies

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For Paula and Steven

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

The idea for this book came from Neal Kozodoy, who also provided generous advice on its content, organization, and style. Much of whatever strengths the book possesses is due to the skills of this exceptional editor.

I am grateful to the following publishers and organizations for their permission to reprint the items below, and especially to the staff of the American Jewish Historical Society for its generous assistance and encouragement.

Business History Review for *Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in 19th Century New York*, by Barry Supple, from *Business History Review* XXXI (Summer 1957).

Central Conference of American Rabbis for "A Contemporary Perspective," from *CCAR Yearbook* 86 (1976).

Conservative Judaism for "Restructuring the Synagogue," by Harold Schulweis, from *Conservative Judaism* 27 (Summer 1973), © 1973, by The Rabbinical Assembly.

Institute for Historical Review for selections from *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur R. Butz, © Institute for Historical Review, 1977.

Institute of Human Relations for selections from *Case Study of a Riot: The Philadelphia Story* by Lenora E. Berson, published and copyright by The American Jewish Committee, 1966.

Nash Publishing Corporation for *Never Again!: A Program for Survival* by Meir Kahane, © Nash Publishing Corporation, 1971.

National Conference of Christians and Jews for "A Study of Attitudes Toward Racial and Religious Minorities and Toward Women," November 1978.

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council for "Black-Jewish Relationships, 1980," papers presented as background for NJCRAC executive committee meeting, Los Angeles, 21 October 1979.

Philosophical Library for selections from *Essays in Traditional Jewish Thought* by Samuel Belkin, published and copyright by Philosophical Library, 1956.

Praeger Publishers for selections from *Black-Jewish Relations in New York City* by Louis Harris and Bert E. Swanson, published and copyright by Praeger Publishers, 1970.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Raphael, Marc Lee.

Jews and Judaism in the United States.
(Library of Jewish Studies)

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Jews—United States—History. 2. Anti-Semitism—United States. 3. United States—Ethnic relations.

I. Title.

E184.J5R32 1983 305.8'924'073 82-9741

ISBN 0-87441-347-8

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Published by Behrman House, Inc., 1261 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10001

Manufactured in the United States of America

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INTRODUCTION



NO SUBJECT has so preoccupied students of the American Jewish experience in the twentieth century as the need to explain Jewish achievement. Few, if any, deny that Jews have attained disproportionately high levels of education, income, and professional status. In fact, no other immigrant group in American history has risen from abject poverty into the middle class—as a group—so rapidly or so completely as the East European Jews of the 1881–1914 mass migration. An analysis made during the mid-1970’s by the National Opinion Research Center for the Ford Foundation, based on a “composite sample” of 18,000 Americans, found the Jews to be the wealthiest and best-educated “religio-ethnic” group in American society. Even southern Jews (despite the exclusion of Florida from the study) were very well educated, were concentrated in professional, managerial, and executive occupations, and were economically well-off.

Are Jews motivated by an intensely strong spirit of achievement, and if so, does that spirit account for their extraordinary position in American society? Or did Jews come to America with occupational skills better suited to urban living than those of other immigrant groups, even though all had approximately the same economic status upon arrival? Perhaps the traditional veneration of learning

in Jewish culture has no parallel in the beliefs of other immigrants, and the Jews have managed to transform this into a greater respect and desire for higher education—and thus a greater degree of occupational mobility—than have others? Is it that Jewish immigrants already had an effective community organization, which ethnic groups not previously faced with the problem of adapting as a minority did not develop? All these explanations are consistent with one another, but are hard to disentangle and evaluate. How can the outstanding achievements of Jews in America be explained?

I

For some time, historians and sociologists, in theoretical analyses of the values of Jewish immigrants in the United States, have emphasized their foresight and sobriety, their hard work and thrift, as well as their willingness to accept “today’s restraints for tomorrow’s rewards,” and have viewed these attitudes—so common to the Protestant American middle class—as especially significant in explaining Jewish achievement, and hence Jewish mobility. Others, more empirical in their findings, have produced studies demonstrating that Jews have always been at the top not only in their orientation to achievement but in *actual* achievements, so that attitudes and experience appear to coincide. Rare has been the study (such as that of David Featherman) which concludes that “achievement-related work values and motivations” do not influence the “process of stratification.” But even according to this student of the subject, education, which surely is a reflection of values, is the most important variable in explaining differences in socioeconomic achievement among religio-ethnic groups.

The most consistent challenge to the hypothesis that Jewish achievement derives from Jewish “values” has come indirectly—from students of the American Italian experience. Studies during the past decade have introduced a new picture of Italian immigrants as people decidedly interested in improving their economic position in the United States, and demonstrating frugality and energy in the process. In addition, it seems that those Italians who came to the New World were not (as was previously thought) the poorest or the least motivated, but were much better educated than those who stayed behind, with some experience in property ownership, capital accumulation, and entrepreneurship. In other words,

the old picture of Italian immigrants as differing markedly from Jewish immigrants in their orientation to achievement must now be revised. Just as the poor educational background of Italians turns out to have been exaggerated, so have the high educational attainments of Jewish immigrants. Research into Jewish school children in Columbus, Cleveland, and Cincinnati has confirmed an earlier conclusion for New York: prior to the 1920's, most Jews did not finish high school, much less go to college. Rather than causing the upward shift to middle-class status, education usually followed it—even though Jews valued education highly and pursued scholastic achievement assiduously.

Japanese immigrants who came to the west coast of the United States at the same time that Italians and Jews arrived in New York were overwhelmingly of peasant origins and without schooling, yet subsequently demonstrated extraordinary educational and occupational success—further evidence of the tenuousness of historical explanations that depend solely upon urban background and educational experience to explain mobility. The truth is that each group believed that its family interests were best served by certain cultural attitudes or values derived from its Old World background, and that these values varied from group to group.

For the Italians, these values did not tend to maximize upward mobility. Italians worked hard and saved what they earned—not, however, for their children's schooling (as did Jews), nor for investing in their small store (as did Jews), but for family comfort. This usually meant property ownership; frugality was directed toward the purchase of a home. When parents did encourage economic and occupational mobility for their children, they did so again in a manner consistent with familial interests. This meant, generally, an occupation which could be pursued locally.

For the Jews, the crucial factor was their ability to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the exploding American economy in the early years of the twentieth century, and to invest their savings in business and in their sons' education—a combination that enabled large numbers of the second generation to enter the middle class. The Jews were overwhelmingly oriented toward business. In the Old World they possessed craft, trade, and mercantile skills and performed such essential nonagricultural tasks as working with wood and metals, selling and marketing produce and wares, making clothes and shoes, building houses and wagons, butchering and baking, hostelry and livery. In short, business was their life; even

the peddlers and hucksters were, in many ways, small businessmen. In the urban communities of America, they became at worst a bourgeoisie temporarily existing as a proletariat.

Indeed, the image of the Jewish immigrant as a proletarian, even a temporary one, is misleading. Studies of more than a dozen long-established urban centers of Jewish immigrant life in the United States reveal that Jews from East Europe performed the same tasks in America as they had throughout the Pale of Settlement and the other centers of East European Jewish life. They were, everywhere (but especially outside New York City), peddlers and hucksters, carpenters and joiners, roofers and masons, blacksmiths and shoemakers, bakers and butchers, as well as tailors and seamstresses. As in East Europe, Jews avoided unskilled jobs in heavy industry and construction; building, railway construction, and quarrying, as well as the coal, steel, cement, and glass industries, were left to the Italians and Poles. In large part, then, it was the decision to concentrate in what had traditionally been the preserves of the Jews throughout Europe—commerce, trade (albeit petty trade), and crafts—that facilitated their rapid adjustment to America.

Jewish immigrants thus had visions of an urban status, sought out possibilities leading to such status, and transferred Old World skills into high rates of occupational mobility. They were aided, of course, by the population boom in a score of metropolitan areas, an explosion that demanded an enormous growth in occupations related to distribution and consumption. The nation's industrial growth opened up this vast array of occupations almost overnight; soon there was a need for white-collar workers, doctors, advertisers, teachers, lawyers, wholesalers, jobbers, retailers, and publishers. Jews, already in a position of some independence, or at least semi-independence, could take advantage of the opening and rapidly achieve middle-class respectability.

This leap into the middle class was aided in no small part by the creation of a Jewish organizational structure that supported and sustained Jewish aspirations. The character of Jewish occupational distribution led to a settled pattern of residence, and because Jews stayed in cities much longer than any other religio-ethnic group (although changing addresses often), they could create a diversity of secular and religious organizations. These initially provided economic assistance; later they offered psychological support and, not infrequently, business contacts. Such social cohesion, mutual

assistance, and rich institutional growth have greatly abetted Jewish achievement in America.

II

Despite the proliferation of Jewish organizations, and the especially significant accomplishments of several with large and well-funded national headquarters (American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, United Jewish Appeal), the main focus of Jewish life in America is local. Indeed, national organizations are usually ineffective at the local level. The American Association for Jewish Education has little impact on the more than 3,000 local Jewish schools. The "denominational" federations of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism are terribly weak, and policies are often determined by individual congregations. The National Jewish Welfare Board hardly affects the programs of local Jewish centers. The joint body of the three largest Jewish "denominations"—the Synagogue Council of America—is unidentifiable to most American Jews. Rare is the Jew who is able to delineate a specific program, aside from tours to Israel, of the American Jewish Congress.

At the local level, however, federated Jewish philanthropy is the one area in which more and more Jews feel a sense of organizational control and participation. While it is true that allocations to Israel are decided largely by the national United Jewish Appeal and that certain nationwide allocations are decided by a distant conference of local leaders gathered from communities throughout the country, in the funding of local agencies, organizations, and institutions—places known to the contributors—American Jewry comes closest to genuine communal decision making. Although conflict is avoided in favor of consensus, and priorities are often fixed by previous allocations, committed individuals, new agencies, innovative programs, and special projects are often able to redirect local funding. More important, the organizations bound up with federated Jewish philanthropy are secular foci of Jewish life, and involvement with them has become an important expression of identification with the Jewish community. Meetings, conferences, rallies, and rewards provide a ritual which gives inspiration and sustenance to men and women in their Jewish identities.

This is not to suggest that federations, and the national organiza-

tions largely anonymous to American Jewry, are insignificant. Through them Jews have been able, in the twentieth century generally, but especially since World War II, to break down most of the remaining barriers of prejudice and discrimination—so much so that young Jews today have difficulty thinking of themselves as truly part of a minority when, in fact, at least in their own community, they “feel” like a majority.

III

What is the “profile” of today’s American Jew? As compared with even so recent a decade as the 1960’s, a smaller percentage of today’s Jewish adults are married, a smaller percentage of Jewish households have minor children, a larger number of Jewish couples are choosing to defer having children until they finish their education or establish themselves in their careers, the full-time Jewish housewife is virtually disappearing, and a smaller percentage of Jewish adults attend worship services. Furthermore, American Jews seem increasingly, though not yet in overwhelming numbers, to be moving away from a consensus about belonging to a synagogue, contributing to Jewish philanthropies, or living in Jewish neighborhoods.

Another readily identifiable characteristic of American Jewish life in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s seems, on the surface, diametrically opposed to the trends just noted. This is the recrudescence of intense religious and ethnic commitment on the part of many Jews, especially young Jews—a commitment that can range from a minimal level of religious observance (where once there had been none at all) to a complete embrace of Orthodoxy, especially in its Hasidic or other revivalist aspect. Esther Jungreis’ *Hineni* (“Here I am”) movement, the Habad (Lubavitch) “houses” or centers scattered on campuses around the country, and many other groups and fellowships have seemed to many observers not merely a fad but a regenerative force in Judaism.

What is beyond dispute is that *the* focal point in the search for identity among American Jews in recent years is Israel. More so than even the rituals of secular philanthropy, Israel has become the “religion” of an increasingly sizable percentage of American Jews. It is well known that American Jews supported Israel during the Six Day War in unprecedented ways, collecting more than

\$300,000,000 through communal fund-raising drives in 1967, at least double the previous year's amount. But this flood of support was dwarfed by the response to the Yom Kippur War of 1973; \$100,000,000 was raised in one week, and almost \$700,000,000 in the federated Jewish philanthropy campaign—and this does not include the millions of dollars Jews spent that year on Israel Bonds, synagogue dues, and Jewish school tuitions.

More salient still is the fact that Israel has become the common denominator of American Jewish life, and provides, according to many observers of Jewish attitudes, the major symbolic content of American Judaism today. For many American Jews, a visit to Israel resembles a religious pilgrimage. Israel's very existence offers irrefutable reconfirmation of Jewish particularity, along with a powerful mythic sense, as Jacob Neusner has stressed, of catastrophe followed by rebirth, echoing the sacred history of the Exodus.

IV

It may well be true, as Marshall Sklare has observed, that the challenge of comprehending the twentieth-century Jews of New York, Los Angeles, and even Oshkosh has hardly begun, and that it is as difficult a task as that of comprehending the Jews of first-century Jerusalem. Nevertheless, no community has ever collected so much material with which to seek understanding as have the Jews of twentieth-century America. There can be no doubt that as a result of an explosion of scholarship in the past three decades, Jews are the most studied religio-ethnic group in America, and there are now sufficient materials to generate a new and creative perspective for understanding the past.

American Jewry is blessed with archival storehouses unprecedented in ethnic research. The American Jewish Archives, on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College, is now more than thirty years old and houses an incomparable collection of original and facsimile documents. The American Jewish Historical Society, adjacent to the Brandeis University campus, is an equally valuable center of manuscripts, records, and documents, and publishes the most important journal in American Jewish historical scholarship, *American Jewish History*. The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (New York), specializing in the records of East European

Jewry, both Old World and New, offers a rich, tantalizing, and virtually untapped repository.

The best collection of materials on contemporary American Jewish life is at the Blaustein Library of the American Jewish Committee in New York. Important and highly useful collections are also to be found at the Jewish Theological Seminary's American Jewish History Center, the B'nai B'rith archives in Washington, D.C., the Hebrew Union College's American Jewish Periodical Center in Cincinnati, and at the Leo Baeck Institute and the Zionist Organization of America archives, both in New York. Most of these, together with the two dozen or so local and regional Jewish historical societies, contain underutilized collections.

Several of these major research libraries have printed catalogues, making preliminary research much easier than at the smaller archives. These invaluable guides include the *Manuscript Catalog* of the American Jewish Archives (five volumes), the *Manuscript Collection*, of the American Jewish Historical Society (two volumes), and *American Jewish Newspapers and Periodicals on Microfilm Available at the American Jewish Periodical Center* (two volumes). Also notable are "Judaica Americana" (in *American Jewish History*) and "Inventory"—rich, well-organized, annotated listings of periodical and monographic material received at the American Jewish Historical Society and the Blaustein Library, respectively. Of equal value would be a single guide to the abundant Jewish oral histories, not only those at the Bancroft, Columbia, and American Jewish Archives but also those scattered in repositories all over the nation.

A large number of first-rate journals and periodicals publish the fruits of studies of Jews and Judaism in America. These journals fall into four major categories:

SOCIOLOGY: *Contemporary Jewry*, *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, *Social Forces*.

RELIGION: *American Academy of Religion Journal*, *Conservative Judaism*, *Council on the Study of Religion Bulletin*, *Jewish Life*, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *Journal of Reform Judaism*, *Religious Education*, *Religious Studies Review*, *Review of Religious Research*, *Tradition*.

HISTORY: *American Jewish Archives*, *American Jewish History*, *American Jewish Year Book*, *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, *Ethnicity*, *Immigration History Society Newsletter*, *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, *Jewish Social Studies*, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, *Jour-*

nal of Ethnic Studies, Journal of Popular Culture, Michigan Jewish History, Shoah, Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly, YIVO Annual.

THOUGHT: *American Zionist, Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook, Commentary, Congress Monthly, Forum on the Jewish People, Intellect, Jewish Frontier, Jewish Observer, Jewish Spectator, Judaism, Lilith, Menorah Journal, Moment, Midstream, Present Tense, Reconstructionist, Response, Sh'ma, Studies in American Jewish Literature.*

Despite all these riches, glaring lacunae remain. The greatest and most obvious need in American Jewish scholarship is for histories—by trained scholars—of the numerous large and medium-sized Jewish communities that are yet unstudied. Three communities with more than 100,000 Jews have no written histories (Philadelphia in the 20th century, Boston, and Miami), while a fourth, Chicago, has not been the subject of a scholarly history since 1933. Three Jewish communities with populations over 60,000 (Detroit, St. Louis, and San Francisco), and nine cities with more than 20,000 Jews (Cincinnati, Dallas, Denver, Houston, New Haven, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, Providence, and San Diego) are lacking published histories. While it may be going too far to argue, as one historian has done, that “universal history is local history writ large,” it is surely true that a synthesis—or even a proper understanding—of American Jewish history requires a plethora of communal histories.

In addition to full-length histories of communities never studied, there is a great need for studies of post-World War II Jewish communities everywhere. Several sociologists have conducted surveys here and there since the 1940's, but published histories of Jewish communities usually stop about the year 1950. For each sizable Jewish community (population 20,000 or more) for which no full-length history exists, there are three for which we have had no published history since 1950. It is certainly understandable why historians have hesitated to update earlier histories: the documents are overwhelming, many key personalities are still living, and evaluation of the past three decades is difficult at short range. Nevertheless, there is no good reason for leaving the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's exclusively to sociologists.

Finally, students and teachers of the American Jewish experience would welcome studies that begin to fill in other large gaps in our

understanding. Such studies would include a start toward a social history of the American Jewish people, a history of Reform Judaism and of American Orthodox Judaism, a study of the Anglo-Jewish press (not only editorials but advertisements and small news items as well), a study of the Jews in popular culture, a history of the myriad of films listed in *Jewish Films in the United States*, an analysis of Jewish leadership in several communities, and a cultural history of American Jewry.

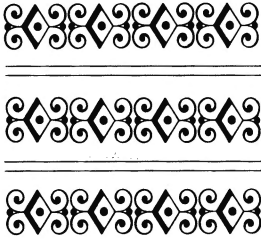
In some of these areas the materials are now available for histories; in others the initial studies still need to be done. But even this brief listing shows the unfairness of the remark made by a distinguished historian of immigration, Philip Taylor, who said he sometimes felt that "the greatest service to the subject would be rendered if Jewish scholars would cease from studying their own people and turn their brilliant talents to *any* other group." In truth, American Jews have yet to be studied with anything approaching the comprehensiveness they deserve.

PART ONE



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

INTRODUCTION



BY THE TIME the East European Jews arrived in the United States, the first wave of “mass” immigration (mostly from Germany) had already acquired a basically middle- or quasi-middle-class status. Of these early immigrants a high percentage were self-employed or held service jobs. A century prior to this first migration, however, the economic strength of Atlantic Jewry was to be found not in the North American continent but in the Caribbean. As Jacob Marcus has noted:

Economically . . . eighteenth century West Indian Jewry enjoyed a centrality which North American Jewry would not achieve for a long time to come. . . . There can be no question that the struggles of the West Indian Jewish communities for civil and economic rights hastened the grant of further liberties and immunities to Christian Dissenters and to Jews in England herself and in other British colonies.¹

Indeed, the twenty-three Jews who landed in New Amsterdam in 1654 may have left within a decade; not for another half-century would New York again muster an organized Jewish community. Only in the mid-eighteenth century did viable Jewish communities appear in Charleston, Philadelphia, Savannah, and Newport; by

then the Jews of the English and Dutch islands, despite the disabilities they faced, outnumbered their coreligionists of North America by five to one. Today, perhaps, their annals seem trivial, but two and three centuries ago, when England or Holland looked to its Jewish subjects in America, it looked south of Florida.

During the seventeenth century the Dutch made vigorous efforts to develop their overseas trade, and their successes with Brazil (from the mid-1620's to the mid-1650's) and the West Indies provided Dutch Jews with many mercantile opportunities at home (investment) and abroad (colonists and traders). Jews from Holland, for example, entered the sugar plantation business in Brazil (tax farmers, planters, mill owners, and sugar brokers), Surinam (planters), and Curaçao (planters and merchants). For the Dutch, the results were control of one of the great sugar-producing regions of the world, a widening of their foreign trade (refined in Amsterdam, the sugar was then distributed throughout Europe), and a source of great wealth; for the Jews, the results were entrance into sugar production and, eventually, into important positions in the sugar trade as brokers and exporters.²

Jews also took an active part in the Dutch colonial slave trade; indeed, the bylaws of the Recife and Mauricia congregations (1648) included an *imposta* (Jewish tax) of five *soldos* for each Negro slave a Brazilian Jew purchased from the West Indies Company. Slave auctions were postponed if they fell on a Jewish holiday. In Curaçao in the seventeenth century, as well as in the British colonies of Barbados and Jamaica in the eighteenth century, Jewish merchants played a major role in the slave trade. In fact, in all the American colonies, whether French (Martinique), British, or Dutch, Jewish merchants frequently dominated.³

This was no less true on the North American mainland, where during the eighteenth century Jews participated in the "triangular trade" that brought slaves from Africa to the West Indies and there exchanged them for molasses, which in turn was taken to New England and converted into rum for sale in Africa. Isaac Da Costa of Charleston in the 1750's, David Franks of Philadelphia in the 1760's, and Aaron Lopez of Newport in the late 1760's and early 1770's dominated Jewish slave trading on the American continent.⁴

The importing of slaves from Africa, the carrying of molasses from the West Indies, and the exporting of rum from New England were by no means the totality of Jewish-owned ocean commerce in colonial America. Jewish merchants exported—to Eng-

land, Africa, and the West Indies—spermaceti oil, candles, soap, honey, cheese, butter, fish, geese, turkeys, varieties of grain products, logwood, horses, and furniture, and they imported a wide variety of consumer wares, hardware, textiles, wines, teas, and spices from England. Typically, colonial Jews lived in tidewater commercial and shipping centers (New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Charleston, Savannah) and engaged in shipping (retailing, wholesaling, importing, exporting), small shopkeeping, or—among many inland Jews—army purveying and wholesale trade. As a group, they played a significant role in helping to foster colonial prosperity.

German Jews, who began to arrive in significant numbers by the mid-1820's, played a role in the developing towns of the Midwest and South roughly equivalent to that of tidewater Jewry in the previous century. The gradual process of agricultural commercialization provided outlets for the commodity trade and thus for service employment for many Jews in rural areas and small towns. As peddlers rather than shippers, they dealt mainly in consumer goods, selling especially to people at home and replenishing their supplies at a store. Most used peddling to gain initial familiarity with language and business, and a great many then clerked with an established firm. Some soon owned stores, and themselves supplied fellow peddlers; most of these shopkeepers eventually expanded their retailing operations through careful saving and made country peddling obsolete.⁵

Some retailers played significant roles in the development and ownership of department stores, emerging from early careers as itinerant peddlers or small retailers in rural areas to eventually become owners of larger general stores and, in several cases, proprietors of department stores. Bavarian-born Benjamin Bloomingdale was but one of at least a score of German Jews whose careers followed this pattern: by 1888, Bloomingdale's, founded by Benjamin's sons, employed 1,000 persons in its New York emporium.⁶

Most of these peddlers-turned-shopkeepers in cities and towns from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi specialized in one product—clothing. Clothing, which included ready-made ware, tailoring, dressmaking, and millinery goods, was the leading branch of the consumer or service groups of industries in antebellum America. In most communities, the clothing industry was dominated by Jewish tailors and dressmakers who cut, fitted, and

sewed clothes for the custom trade and did repair work. They certainly did not monopolize the market, however, for dry-goods and general stores imported ready-made "Yankee" clothes. Moreover, several tailors were merchant-manufacturers and themselves imported a miscellaneous stock of clothing. But by the 1840's, and especially during the boom years of the 1850's, these merchant-tailors dominated the trade in locally made clothing. Those with large shops often took on certain aspects common to manufactories, employing craftsmen to make clothing for their ready-made stock and to cater to the jobbing trade. As their general business expanded, concomitant with the increasing market for ready-made clothes in the 1850's and 1860's, they also extended their facilities for manufacturing men's clothing, while tailoring clothes by hand.⁷

Along with hard work and experience in a craft or trade, credit or capital was a basic ingredient of upward mobility in the newly industrializing western, midwestern, and southern communities of the mid-nineteenth century. Local financial resources were not readily available to the incipient or small-town "manufacturer" or storekeeper, forcing most businessmen to seek partners and to expand their businesses very slowly, on the basis of their own reputations rather than on borrowed capital.

A large minority, however, sought credit in the East, the same direction from which their goods flowed. Credit reports from this period indicate the stereotyping of Jewish businessmen and the difficulty they had in obtaining vital capital through traditional non-Jewish sources. This explains why most Jews, according to credit reports, turned either to Jewish relatives and friends in eastern cities or to the Jewish banking houses that emerged in the antebellum decades. Patterned on European models, these banks created interlocking associations and directorates in order to mobilize large sums of money. Children and other relatives of the owners of a given firm married each other, and marital alliances were also arranged among different banking families. This all produced a New York-centered German Jewish business aristocracy which not only made capital available to Jewish businessmen along the frontier, but itself played a leading role in the American Jewish community well into the twentieth century.⁸

By the 1880's, as the East European Jewish immigrants began to arrive in the United States, the older Jewish immigrants and their children had made a generally comfortable adaptation to American

economic life. In 1889, Dr. John S. Billings of the Bureau of the Census surveyed 18,000 gainfully employed Jews (four-fifths of whom were immigrants from German-speaking countries or their descendants) and discovered a heavy imbalance in favor of trade and commerce. Indeed, 80 percent of the Jews were agents, bankers, brokers, bookkeepers, clerks, collectors, petty merchants, retailers, wholesalers, or the like, and another 5 percent were professionals. Even more striking: two-thirds of all the Jewish families in the United States had at least one servant! Jews had clearly achieved a comfortable position in American society.⁹

Altogether different, of course, is the occupational distribution of the new immigrants from East Europe in the three and one-half decades prior to World War I. The first generation of males and females moved largely into manufacturing concerns as a proletarian labor force, although a sizable number worked as tailors and thus, by dint of hard work and piecemeal earnings, could accumulate some savings, first to reunite the family, then to propel themselves (or their children) steadily out of industrial and into trade and commercial occupations (clerks, retailers, sales personnel), especially into consumer perishables and semidurables (food, dry goods and clothing).¹⁰

The garment trades in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were dominated from top to bottom by Jewish immigrants: 60 percent of employed immigrant Jews worked in the garment industry in 1890, and 85 percent of men's clothing and 95 percent of women's apparel were being produced by Jewish manufacturers in 1900. As a result of the shift to ready-made clothing for men and then women, the clothing industry was able to employ virtually every Jewish immigrant with some skill in this specialty. Manufacturers, many of them Jewish, readily understood that clothing could be finished through a series of simple processes that even inexperienced immigrants could easily master. Immigrants saw the garment industry as a source of immediate employment, for themselves and often for the entire family. The sewing machine was inexpensive, small, and easily installed anywhere.

The total involvement of the family was made possible by the emergence of the "outside shop" or "sweat shop" (sometimes called "putting-out industry" or "home industry"): a small, overcrowded, poorly maintained workplace, often no more than a tenement loft or room. These "shops," which dotted Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, and St.

Louis, were operated by contractors who obtained unfinished garments from manufacturers and found groups of immigrants to complete the work.¹¹ Contractors competed fiercely for the available contracts, and in turn tried to make a profit by subdividing the finishing of the clothing and lowering to a minimum the cost per piece, or the wages per task. As a result, the positive benefits of working close to (or at) home with family and friends and maximizing the labor resources of the household members were more than offset by the continuous downward pressure on piece rates, the long seasonal hours of hectic labor followed by stretches of unemployment, and the exploitation of immigrant men and women and their children as entire families fought for a share of the work.¹²

The garment industry provided the arena not only for a uniquely miserable set of working conditions but also for the testing of the Jewish labor movement. Unable to effectively organize Jewish workers scattered in tenements throughout the city, itself fragmented by innumerable geographical, cultural, and craft differences, the Jewish labor movement gathered support in the early 1900's as the "inside factory,"¹³ with its new technology and divisions of labor, brought thousands of workers together under a limited number of roofs.

While industrial technology brought Jewish workers together during the day, the urban technology of the second and third decades of the twentieth century made possible a steady movement to dwellings some distance from work. The upwardly mobile and increasingly acculturated products of immigrant homes began to leave the ghettos for the expanding suburbs during and after World War I, and this movement into areas of "second settlement" produced a major transformation of an urban ethnic group. Subways, trolleys, elevated trains, and the automobile made the countryside more easily accessible. New apartment complexes and single row houses—the latter available with a small down payment and a 30-year, 5 percent mortgage—sprang up overnight. Asphalt paving, gas ranges, improved sanitary plumbing, and brightly lit rooms combined to make the new residences even more appealing. Tens of thousands of Jews left Manhattan for Brooklyn (Crown Heights, Flatbush, and Borough Park), the Bronx (Grand Concourse), and parts of Queens, while Jews elsewhere were moving to the emerging suburbs around Cleveland (Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights), Chicago, Philadelphia (Logan and South Phila-

delphia), Pittsburgh (Squirrel Hill and Greenfield), San Francisco (Richmond), and numerous other places.¹⁴

By the 1920's a number of new middle-class Jewish neighborhoods had appeared throughout the nation; their inhabitants participated in the decade's industrial and financial expansion and enjoyed America's new heights of productivity and prosperity. The decade unfolded enormous opportunities for Jews, as it did for millions of Americans. Thousands of small and medium-sized Jewish businesses emerged, and large numbers of educated Jews moved into rapidly expanding white-collar jobs and into the professions. Even the Depression—from which this overwhelmingly middle-class group was spared the cruelest blows—did little to alter the Jewish economic profile.

Studies of Jewish economic life in Baltimore, Buffalo, Dallas, Detroit, Minneapolis, New London (Conn.), Passaic (N.J.), Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Stamford (Conn.), and Trenton were undertaken at the end of the 1920's and in the midst of the Depression, and the concurrence of their results is striking. At least 40 percent of employed American Jews in each community derived their income from trade and commercial occupations—well above the 10–15 percent average for the urban populations studied—and the commercial sectors in which Jews operated were much the same everywhere. In Detroit, for example, 15,800 of the 29,300 gainfully employed Jewish workers in 1935 were in trade, while in San Francisco during the same year 4,000 of the 10,000 Jewish men were either in business for themselves or managing the businesses of others. In both cities, as elsewhere, Jews overwhelmingly dealt in food, clothing, furniture, and pharmaceuticals, and this extensive involvement in retail trade helped keep them off relief rolls, enabled them to provide some employment for needy relatives, and contributed to the very low unemployment rate for Jews everywhere, throughout the Depression.

At least 10 and often nearly 15 percent of employed Jews in the late 1920's and 1930's were professionals. They were primarily lawyers, physicians, dentists, teachers, and pharmacists, and less frequently social workers, accountants, or engineers. In San Francisco and Pittsburgh in the 1930's, for example, Jews were three times more likely than non-Jews to become lawyers, judges, and physicians. Somewhere between 15 and 20 percent were proprietors or managers in manufacturing industries, and these were

largely in consumer or “light” industry. In Buffalo, for example, half of the eighty-two Jewish manufacturers in 1938 were in the clothing industry. Finally, fewer than 10 percent of the adult Jewish workers were semiskilled and unskilled laborers; it was this group that most intimately felt the crushing impact of the Depression. American Jewry, even before the 1940’s, had become solidly middle-class.¹⁵

In the years immediately following World War II, the middle-class profile of American Jews became even more sharply delineated, and this trend continued during the 1950’s and 1960’s. C. Bezalel Sherman, who compared ten Jewish communities surveyed during 1935–45 with fourteen surveyed during 1948–53, found that the proportion of professionals rose from 11 to 15 percent within this interval. And by the latter period more than half of all gainfully employed Jews (vs. 23 percent of non-Jews) had professional, technical, managerial, executive, or proprietary positions. During the 1960’s, no study uncovered an American Jewish community in which fewer than 20 percent of the Jewish adult males were professionals (in Boston one of every three Jews was a professional), while proprietors—the largest single occupational group in nearly every city studied—ranged from 27 percent (Boston) to 54 percent (Trenton and Detroit). Thus, well over half, and usually two-thirds to three-fourths, of adult American Jewish males in the 1960’s were either professionals or proprietors! On the other hand, no more than 15 percent of the Jewish workers in any city except New York (where a large number of Jews worked in unionized industries) wore blue collars, compared with more than 50 percent of the general working population in every city studied.¹⁶

For the 1970’s the available evidence reveals a community quintessentially American middle-class. The National Jewish Population Study (1971) noted that six of every ten working Jews over age twenty-five were professionals, technicians, managers, or administrators, while almost three of every ten were clerks or salespersons. Studies of Boston and Columbus, each dating from 1975, demonstrated an even more impressive pattern: seven of every ten employed Jewish men (and half of Jewish women) held professional, managerial, or proprietary positions, while a non-Jew was four times as likely (40 percent vs. 10 percent) to hold a blue-collar position. Income levels showed the same pattern: in Boston 40 percent and in Columbus 65 percent of the Jewish families reported incomes above \$20,000. This was respectively double and

triple the percentage of families in the general population above the same income level.¹⁷

NOTES

1. *Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776* (Detroit, 1970), 1: 138.
2. Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar* (London, 1949), 1: 107; Herbert I. Bloom, *The Economic Activity of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsport, 1937), pp. 156, 148, 158, 36–37.
3. Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York, 1954), pp. 28, 74; idem, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1960), p. 73; Isaac S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao: Curaçao Jewry, 1656–1957* (New York, 1957), p. 304.
4. Edwin Wolf 2d and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 47; Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, D.C., 1932), 3: 211–12, 212–13, 221–22, 226, 264–65, 265–66.
5. Thomas Clark, *Pills, Petticoats and Plows* (New York, 1944); Lewis Atherton, "Itinerant Merchandising in the Antebellum South," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 19, no. 2 (April 1945), 35–39; Jacob Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews, 1775–1865* (Philadelphia, 1955), 1: 302–8, 309–42, 343–52, 353–67; Lewis Atherton, "The Pioneer Merchant in America," *University of Missouri Studies* 14, no. 2 (April 1939), 7–126.
6. Tom Mahoney, *The Great Merchants* (New York, 1955).
7. Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay, *Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth Century Marketing* (Baltimore, 1971), pp. 17–28.
8. Barry E. Supple, "A Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth Century New York," *Business History Review* 31 (1957): 143–78.
9. John S. Billings, *Vital Statistics of the Jews in the United States*, United States Census Bulletin No. 19 (Washington, D.C., 1890), p. 5.
10. Elias Tcherikower, *The Early Jewish Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1961).
11. A vivid description of these shops is Ernest Poole's, "Task Work Bowing to Factory System," *The Outlook*, November 21, 1903.
12. Melech Epstein, *Jewish Labor in U.S.A.: An Industrial, Political and Cultural History of the Jewish Labor Movement, 1882–1914* (New York, 1950).
13. Poole, "Task Work."
14. *Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York* (New York, 1928), pp. 1–12.
15. Jewish Occupational Council, *Patterns of Jewish Occupational Distribution in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1940); Conference on

- Jewish Relations, *Jewish Population Studies*, ed. Sophia M. Robinson (New York, 1943); Nathan Goldberg, "Occupational Patterns of American Jews," *The Jewish Review* 3, no. 1 (April 1945):161–86, and no. 3 (October–December 1945): 262–90.
16. C. Bezalel Sherman, *The Jew Within American Society* (Detroit, 1965), p. 101. For a list of Jewish community surveys of the 1960's, see *American Jewish Year Book* 72 (1971): 87–88.
 17. *AJYB* 74 (1973): 284; Floyd J. Fowler, Jr., *1975 Community Survey: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston* (Boston, 1977), pp. 17, 47; Columbus Jewish History Project, *1975 Community Survey* (Ohio Historical Society).

1 SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES



JEWISH INTERISLAND TRADE: CURAÇAO, 1656

During the sixteenth century, exiled from their Spanish homeland and hard-pressed to escape the clutches of the Inquisition, Spanish and Portuguese Jews fled to the Netherlands; the Dutch enthusiastically welcomed these talented, skilled businessmen. While thriving in Amsterdam—where they became the hub of a unique urban Jewish universe and attained status that anticipated Jewish emancipation in the West by over a century—they began in the 1500's and 1600's to establish themselves in the Dutch and English colonies in the New World. These included Curaçao, Surinam, Recife, and New Amsterdam (Dutch) as well as Barbados, Jamaica, Newport, and Savannah (English). In these European outposts the Jews, with their years of mercantile experience and networks of friends and family providing market reports of great use, played a significant role in the merchant capitalism, commercial revolution, and territorial expansion that developed the New World and established the colonial economies. The Jewish-Caribbean nexus provided Jews with the opportunity to claim a disproportionate influence in seventeenth and eighteenth century New World commerce, and enabled West Indian Jewry—far outnumbering its coreligionists further north—to enjoy a centrality which North American Jewry would not achieve for a long time to come.

Groups of Jews began to arrive in Surinam in the middle of the seven-

teenth century, after the Portuguese regained control of northern Brazil. By 1694, twenty-seven years after the British had surrendered Surinam to the Dutch, there were about 100 Jewish families and fifty single Jews there, or about 570 persons. They possessed more than forty estates and 9,000 slaves, contributed 25,905 pounds of sugar as a gift for the building of a hospital, and carried on an active trade with Newport and other colonial ports. By 1730, Jews owned 115 plantations and were a large part of a sugar export business which sent out 21,680,000 pounds of sugar to European and New World markets in 1730 alone.

Slave trading was a major feature of Jewish economic life in Surinam, which as a major stopping-off point in the triangular trade. Both North American and Caribbean Jews played a key role in this commerce: records of a slave sale in 1707 reveal that the ten largest Jewish purchasers (10,400 guilders) spent more than 25 percent of the total funds (38,605 guilders) exchanged.

Jewish economic life in the Dutch West Indies, as in the North American colonies, consisted primarily of mercantile communities, with large inequities in the distribution of wealth. Most Jews were shopkeepers, middlemen, or petty merchants who received encouragement and support from Dutch authorities. In Curaçao, for example, Jewish communal life began after the Portuguese victory in 1654. In 1656 the community founded a congregation, and in the early 1670's brought its first rabbi to the island. Curaçao, with its large natural harbor, was the stepping-stone to the other Caribbean islands and thus ideally suited geographically for commerce. The Jews were the recipients of favorable charters containing generous economic privileges granted by the Dutch West Indies Company in Amsterdam. The economic life of the Jewish community of Curaçao revolved around ownership of sugar plantations and marketing of sugar, the importing of manufactured goods, and a heavy involvement in the slave trade; within a decade of their arrival, Jews owned 80 percent of the Curaçao plantations. The strength of the Jewish trade lay in connections in Western Europe as well as ownership of the ships used in commerce. While Jews carried on an active trade with French and English colonies in the Caribbean, their principal market was the Spanish Main (today Venezuela and Colombia).

Extant tax lists give us a glimpse of their dominance. Of the eighteen wealthiest Jews in the 1702 and 1707 tax lists, nine either owned a ship or had at least a share in a vessel. By 1721 a letter to the Amsterdam Jewish community claimed that "nearly all the navigation . . . was in the hands of the Jews."¹ Yet another indication of the economic success of Curaçao's Jews

1. Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, (Cincinnati, 1970), 1: 83.

is the fact that in 1707 the island's 377 residents were assessed by the Governor and his Council a total of 4,002 pesos; 104 Jews, or 27.6 percent of the taxpayers, contributed 1,380 pesos, or 34.5 percent of the entire amount assessed.

In the British West Indies, two 1680 tax lists survive, both from Barbados; they, too, provide useful information about Jewish economic life. In Bridgetown itself, out of a total of 404 households, 54 households or 300 persons were Jewish, 240 of them living in "ye Towne of S. Michael ye Bridge Town." Contrary to most impressions, "many, indeed, most of them, were very poor."² There were only a few planters, and most Jews were not naturalized or endenized (and thus could not import goods or pursue debtors in court). But for merchants holding letters of endenization, opportunities were not lacking. Barbados sugar—and its by-products rum and molasses—were in great demand, and in addition to playing a role in its export, Jewish merchants were active in the import trade. Forty-five Jewish households were taxed in Barbados in 1680, and more than half of them contributed only 11.7 percent of the total sum raised. While the richest five gave almost half the Jewish total, they were but 11.1 percent of the taxable population. The tax list of 1679–80 shows a similar picture; of fifty-one householders, nineteen (37.2 percent) gave less than one-tenth of the total, while the four richest merchants gave almost one-third of the total.

An interesting record of interisland trade involving a Jewish merchant and the islands of Barbados and Curaçao comes from correspondence of 1656. It reminds us that sometimes the commercial trips were not well planned and that Jewish captains—who frequently acted as commercial agents as well—would decide where to sell their cargo, at what price, and what goods to bring back on the return trip.

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING IN THE LODGINGS OF THE VICE DIRECTOR, M. BECK, (CURAÇAO), MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1656.

[Vanderkemp's Dutch MS. *Translations of the Dutch Records of New York*, Vol. 12, p. 79.]

Present: M. Beck, Vice Director; Bogert Hammart, Lieutenant; Jan Jacobs Bruyn, Ensign; Balthazar Van Essen, Cornet; Hans Grönwel, Sargeant.

2. Wilfred Samuel, *A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680* (London, 1936), p. 8.

It was proposed by the Honorable Vice Director M. Beck that the petition of the Jew Isaac de Fonseca, being a merchant on the ship named Constant Anna, which arrived here in the harbour from the Barbadoes on the 18th. instant, bringing hither a cargo of flower and brandy and with oil and dry goods—all delivered by the aforesaid Jew and agreeable to the invoice and requesting that he might be permitted to trade with these articles either with the company or with the inhabitants of this island, having for this end brought with him some letters of introduction and recommendation of the Governor of the Barbadoes, which have been read before and communicated to this meeting, declaring that if the company will allow here a free trade to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, a similar privilege would be granted to those of these islands on the Barbadoes, on which request the Vice Director desired to hear the opinion of the council and communicated them at the same time his doubts as, first he was not authorized by the company to admit here any trading whatever, particularly not to trade with horses [except] as compelled by the imperious necessity and want of victuals, and whereas the victuals are the smallest part of the cargo of this merchant and the remainder consists in dry goods and liquors, that by permitting of a free trade in this island not only a large part of the bleating stock of sheep and goats should be carried off and this island ere long should be left without them, but further that through the high prices and artful trading of the Jewish nation the natives of this country would be soon destitute of their bleating stock, by which they would soon be bereft of the means of subsistence to the great loss and injury of the company. Secondly: That it had many difficulties, and thus deserved a mature consideration to give here a direct refusal not to exercise here any trade at all as the company in such a case might become excluded to trade in any manner at the Barbadoes or hold any correspondence with that island, even when circumstances might render it desirable. More so as the aforesaid merchant and the skipper of the ship who is an Englishman declare as certain that if from here, on account of the company, any vessels or ship arrived at the Barbadoes, they shall be admitted and permitted to trade there as freely as any Englishman; whereon it is the opinion of the Vice Director that if this is so and the company takes hold of this opportunity, in proportion of the increase of horses, and that some should be spared from these islands, the company would be benefitted and obtain an early profit which now is aimed at by the individuals who refore [?] the Vice

Director pursuant to the aforesaid considerations and the council submitting it, and after mature deliberation it was decided unanimously that if the aforesaid merchant, Isaac de Fonseca will demand a reasonable price for his cargo and sell it to the company, provided he will agree to accept his payment at Aruba in horses of the company and some bleating flock if this can be spared, that then a trade shall be opened with him.

[Page 82, same heading. Meeting February 23, 1656.]

De Fonseca having refused above conditions, had determined to pursue his voyage to Jamaica, when the Council on account of penurious situation of company's magazine, with the uncertainty when from Holland or New Netherland fresh supplies might be obtained and the indifferent crops through which the negroes of the company and other residents of the country should require assistance to preserve their lives, &c., he was allowed to supply the garrison with victuals, &c., and to trade with natives, except Indians, for only those things that were necessary.

**LETTER FROM M. BECK, VICE DIRECTOR (CURAÇAO),
MARCH 21, 1656.**

[*Ibid.*, p. 231.]

Arrived on Feb. 18 a small vessel from Bardadoes named Constant Anna, despatched by a Jewish merchant residing at Barbadoes. He believes that ship's destination was to trade here instead of Jamaica, as he might have heard of our famished condition. Bought 4,000 lbs. unbolted flour, 1 large vat of hard bread and about 5 or 6 hundred gl. in wares & merchandise, besides 1 pipe brandy, 6 vats of beer, amounting together above 3,000 gl., on which we delivered in payment 14 horses, such as well might be spared here at 150 car gl. [guilder] each in conformity to the price established by company and the remainder in stock-fish hout [wood], a ten gl. the hundred, being wood which was chpt here by a Jew on account of the company—in conformity to the price fixed upon by your Honor, viz; a thirty the hundred, but the wood is indeed so bad, that I should not dare to send it either to your Honor in New Netherland or to the Lord Mayor's in our Fatherland so as it is here known and even of public notoriety, and however as the aforesaid merchant

wished to purchase it, more so yet as it had been chopt by a Jew as aforesaid, I agreed to part with it in his behalf at the aforesaid price, deeming it perferable to take hold of this opportunity and sell it, which would be a benefit to the company, rather than to convey it to the Fatherland at the company's loss.

Three or four Jews solicited that they might be permitted to leave this island, in which I consented, as their presence here is more injurious than profitable.

Your affectionate servant,
M. Beck

Curaçao in Fort,
Amsterdam 21 March 1656.



JEWES AND THE TRIANGULAR TRADE: NEWPORT, 1767

Jewish entrepreneurs were active not only in the interisland trade but in the triangular trade as well. The correspondence of Aaron Lopez reveals the dimensions of this trade, as the Newport merchant turned his attention in 1767 from lumber, ships, oil, furniture, grains, fruits, and fish to molasses, rum, sugar, and slave trade in the web of international commerce. In a letter to his son-in-law, who was also his agent in Jamaica, we glimpse the deep involvement of a Jewish merchant-shipper in the ocean commerce of the western hemisphere.

Newport, September 27th, 1767.

Dear Mr. Abraham Pereira Mendes:

. . . The heavy and continued rains that we have had for 5 days together prevented my dispatching this brigantine [the *Industry*, Captain John Peters] one week sooner, as intended. However, hope it will not be too late to reach a good market for the cargo on board of which you herein have an inclosed bill of lading and invoice to your address.

The brigantine's hull has deceived me and Peters, as I expected she would carry a great deal more dry fish, which being the last article that went on board, I am disappointed in having 10 or 12 hogsheads left behind. She goes also short of shaken [dis-

mantled] casks and no hoops, for which reason, and my being desirous of not keeping you idle while at Jamaica, I have concluded to send you my schooner as soon as she returns from the [whale] fishery (where I learn she has met with tolerable success).

The method I propose is to ship by her all the hoops and shaken hogsheads which I think both brigantine cargoes [of molasses] may require. Shall also send a couple of coopers in order that while these vessells are executing the [Honduras] Bay plan, they may be setting up casks for their cargoes.

I intend the schooner shall touch at Georgia to land some effects, which Mr. [James] Lucena writes me will very well answer there at this season of the year. Therefore have already desired him to prepare a cargo of their large cyprus [cypress] shingles, to which I shall order the addition of some of their horses, hogs, and poultry (all for the Jamaica and Honduras Bay markets). So much for your government [guidance].

I flatter myself if this brigantine [the *Industry*] meets with moderate weather on her passage and carries well the few horses I have shipped, that your [Jamaican] countrymen will allow them to be as clever a cargo as any shipped this year. If so, I make no doubt, you will jockey a good price out of them. The stallion is called a fine creature. I have sent but sixty sheep on purpose that they have room enough to be well attended. As for the rest of the cargo, believe your good endeavours shall not be wanting to make the best of it, and dispatch Peters as expeditiously as you can [to Honduras], in order to enable Newdigate [commander of the other brig] to execute the plan of two trips from the Bay with each vessell.

I must recommend you to embrace the first offer for your dry fish, as there is many vessels that will soon follow this with the same commodity.

Several of the sailors on board I took out of the gaol [jail], and am in a considerable advance for the most of them [I paid their fines]. I have given Captain Peters a strict charge to keep a watchfull eye upon them that they may not give him the slip at Jamaica, especially the Negro fellow [whom] I bought of Benjamin Brenton, [and] who ran away from Captain [John] Pyner's schooner, and never could catch him till about three or four days past near Boston. Therefore, as he is a noted rogue subject to this failing, may, if indulged, do the same at Jamaica.

After having tryed many of the builders up our rivers for to build the fishing smack which your good friend desired, I have at

last engaged Old Goddard (the man that built Mr. Rotch's sailing boat). This old man, though he is deemed our first character in the capacity of boat building, undertakes to do her for a quarter part less than any of the builders of an inferior class, and if I mistake not she will turn out within the last limited price your friend prescribed. The season being so far advanced, I shall not be able to dispatch her before the spring when, if God grant us life, you may expect to see her at Jamaica with such a cargo as her small hold will allow us to put into her. Meanwhile, you may inform your friend my particular attention shall be given to see that she is faithfully built.

I come now to express the satisfaction it gave us to hear you were all well on board [the vessel commanded by] Newdigate five days after you left this port, as we had it reported by a vessell that spoke with you at sea. . . .

We are all well, excepting your dejected wife, who mourns too hard your absence. She is most recovered of an ill turn which has reduced her low, but thanks to God mends fast. I would not permit her to write, fearing it may do her hurt, therefore she desires to join her love with Mrs. Lopez's regards and my best wishes for your preservation from evil. My respects to your honoured mother and the rest of the family concludes me,

Your most affectionate well wisher,
[Aaron Lopez]

P.S. I had forgot to mention that Captain Peters is to have 3 tons of logwood privilege, and John King, the mate, 2 tons, as per agreement with both of them, which please to note. Also that for farther encouragement of Peters I have spared him the hogshhead codfish No. 2 of the within invoice, which you may deliver him.



THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC RIGHTS: NEW AMSTERDAM, 1657

In New Amsterdam the small Jewish community of 1654–55, the first on the American mainland, had to fight for each right it sought. After having been refused the right to exercise their religion publicly and to maintain a separate burial ground within the city limits, the Jews petitioned for an end to economic discrimination.

At the end of January 1657, Peter Stuyvesant and the colonial council decided that only "open door" retailing ("public-store business or handicraft trade") was to be permitted in New Amsterdam, and this only to citizens of New Amsterdam. Denied citizenship, Jews thus suffered the most restrictive discrimination possible in merchandising. Early in April that same year, Jacob Cohn Hendricus asked the New Amsterdam Burgomasters (mayors) for permission "to bake and sell bread within this city, like other bakers, but with closed door" (private shopkeeping in one's own home). Although "closed door" operations were common in Amsterdam, this request was refused in New Amsterdam. Jews were thus legally prohibited from both private and public merchandising.

The only remaining option was an all-out try for the right of citizenship (burgerrecht), and this was undertaken by Asser Levy that same month. Levy argued that he stood military watch together with citizens and that he had been a citizen of Amsterdam; nevertheless, the Burgomasters and Schepens (sheriffs) refused the request. The petition, however, was referred to the colonial council, and bowing to what they felt would be the inevitable outcome when the request reached Amsterdam, the councillors reversed the decision and granted Asser Levy, four other Jews, and "their nation" the privilege of New Amsterdam citizenship. By 1660, five or six years after their arrival, New Amsterdam Jews were engaging in wholesale trade throughout the colony and operating retail shops in New Amsterdam.

The 31st January 1657.

... from now henceforward no . . . shopkeepers or artisans shall exercise within this City and public-store business or handicraft trade such as have sought and obtained the small or common Burger right from the Burgomasters and Schepens and . . . bear like other Burghers and citizens their burdens, expences, expeditions and watches.

The 11th April 1657.

Jacob Cohn Hendricus, a Jew, appears in the Court of Burgomasters; requests permission to bake and sell bread within this City, as other bakers, but with closed door. Which being deliberated on, 'tis decreed, as this is directly contrary to the privilege granted by the Honble Director General and Council to the Burghery of this City

and also against the orders given by the Honble Lords Majores, the petitioners request cannot be granted. . . .

Asser Levy, a Jew, appears in Court; requests to be admitted a Burgher; claims that such ought not be refused him, as he keeps watch and ward [*tocht en wacht*] like other Burghers; shewing a Burgher certificate from the city of Amsterdam, that the Jew is Burgher there. Which being deliberated on, 'tis decreed as before that it cannot be allowed, and he shall apply to the Director General and Council.

2 NINETEENTH CENTURY



FAMILY BUSINESSES OF GERMAN JEWISH ORIGIN: NEW YORK

Well into the first half of the nineteenth century, peddling in the German states was contemptuously associated with the petty trade of the town and with village Jews who had been restricted by law from entering other occupations. Free of this stigma, the Jewish immigrant exchanged the Old World pack for an American one. Gradually he went from basket to pack, from peddling on foot to peddling on horseback, and finally from horse to wagon.

Able, hard-working, and persistent, German Jews took their limited capital, turned it into stock, and with pack on back trudged out across the countryside. Some dealt in the products of the local countryside, others relied heavily on the imports of traveling merchants. When they had gained more than a pittance, they chose small towns of promise in which to establish a general merchandise or drygoods store. Soon this store became a temporary training ground for relatives or Jewish friends who needed some capital before seeking independent enterprise. Everywhere, too, these newcomers drummed the hinterland, using their benefactor's base as a source of supply.

From such alliances developed, in dozens of cities, an interlocking Jewish socioeconomic structure connecting both families and businesses. This type of alliance, already familiar to European Jewish communities, reached its apogee in New York City. Jacob Schiff and Paul Warburg, for example, married the daughters of Solomon Loeb; Felix Warburg married the daugh-

ter of Jacob Schiff; and Otto H. Kahn married the daughter of Abraham Wolf. Through a series of strategic marriages, identical club and restaurant and temple affiliations, as well as friendships and informal liaisons, German Jewish families—highly conscious of their nationality—gradually coalesced into an eminently successful merchant elite. Such alliances produced rich, strong, and united Jewish social elites in numerous cities by the last quarter of the nineteenth century.



CREDIT REPORTS: OHIO

Jews demonstrated a remarkable talent for merchandising in nineteenth-century America. They systematized the distribution system, especially of dry goods, and played an important role in the emergence of the modern department store. To a great extent, they accomplished this feat despite great difficulty in obtaining critical investment capital from Yankee bankers. The major avenues of commercial credit—eastern banks—relied heavily on credit ratings before extending loans, and the primary responsibility for supplying such ratings was undertaken, beginning in 1841, by the business now known as Dun and Bradstreet, Inc.

Initially located in New York and gathering data from local businessmen only, the ratings house soon opened offices in various parts of the country; confidential agents (attorneys, bank clerks, lawyers, merchants, or other white-collar workers) filed reports on thousands of businesses. These reports included biographical facts about the proprietor (name, country of origin, age, estimate of net worth, business experience, and family or ethnic background) as well as information about the firm, and usually were submitted at least twice yearly. Since the agents almost always identified Jewish merchants as "Jew," these reports provide a valuable source for determining the extent to which negative stereotyping played a role in determining a Jew's credit rating and the ways in which Jews actually did obtain credit.

R. G. DUN AND BRADSTREET CREDIT REPORTS COLUMBUS AND CLEVELAND, OHIO (EXCERPTS)

Nathan Gundersheimer Bro. & Co.

9-3-1844 Jews, and like the rest of their fraternity have no fixed habitation long, consequently have no certain re-

sponsibility or standing, ability and integrity are questionable

1-25-1846 Jews, general character doubtful (63:92)

Louis Amburg

10-1849 German Israelite, can learn nothing of his circumstances (63:89)

J. Nusbaum & Co.

1-21-1850 Small Jew concern, can't give further information (63:58)

Samuel Loeb

3-1850 Jew, should deem it especially before crediting to have some evidence of his responsibility (1:81)

3-1854 Close fisted and Jewish in his disposition, trust him with some condition

A. & C. Loeb

2-1851 Lives pretty well for a Jew (1:94)

Moses Schwab

11-1852 Jew, said to be scaley, would not trust

8-1857 Jew, pretty clever kind of man, be careful (1:94)

Aronson & Bro.

1-25-1853 Jews, can learn but little about him (63:77)

James Britonstool

1-30-1857 Like all other Jewish establishments of this kind, is hard to tell anything about their means (63:134)

A. Strauss & Co.

1-1-1859 Jews, nothing known of them (63:152)

J. Goodman & Son

1-1-1859 Jew establishment, impossible to estimate their worth (63:135)

Abraham Gundersheimer [& Co.]

1-1860 Hard to say how much these Jews are worth (63:92)

Simon Lazarus

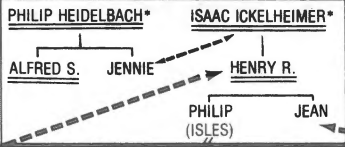
1-1860 Jew, means unknown (63:154P)

9-24-1864 A Jew, can't tell much about him

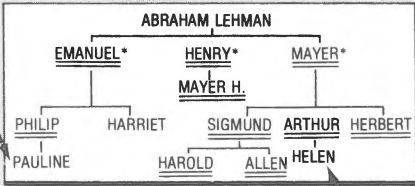
CHART I

FAMILY BUSINESSES OF

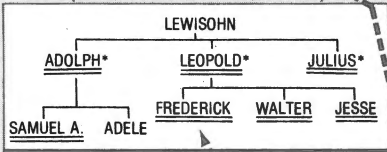
HEIDELBACH, ICKELHEIMER & CO.



LEHMAN BROTHERS



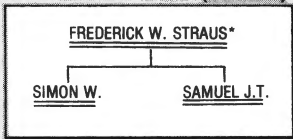
LEWISOHN BROS. (and A. LEWISOHN & SONS)



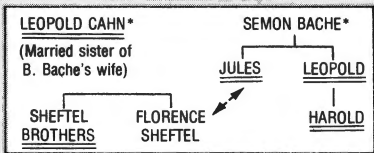
WERTHEIM



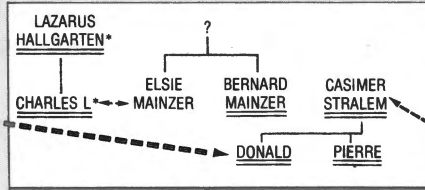
S.W. STRAUS & CO. (Bankers)



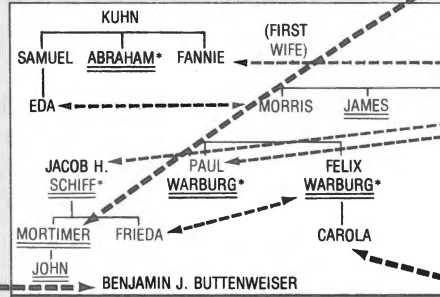
J.S. BACHE & CO.



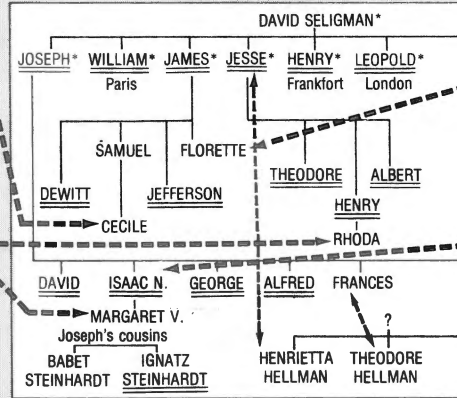
HALLGARTEN & CO.



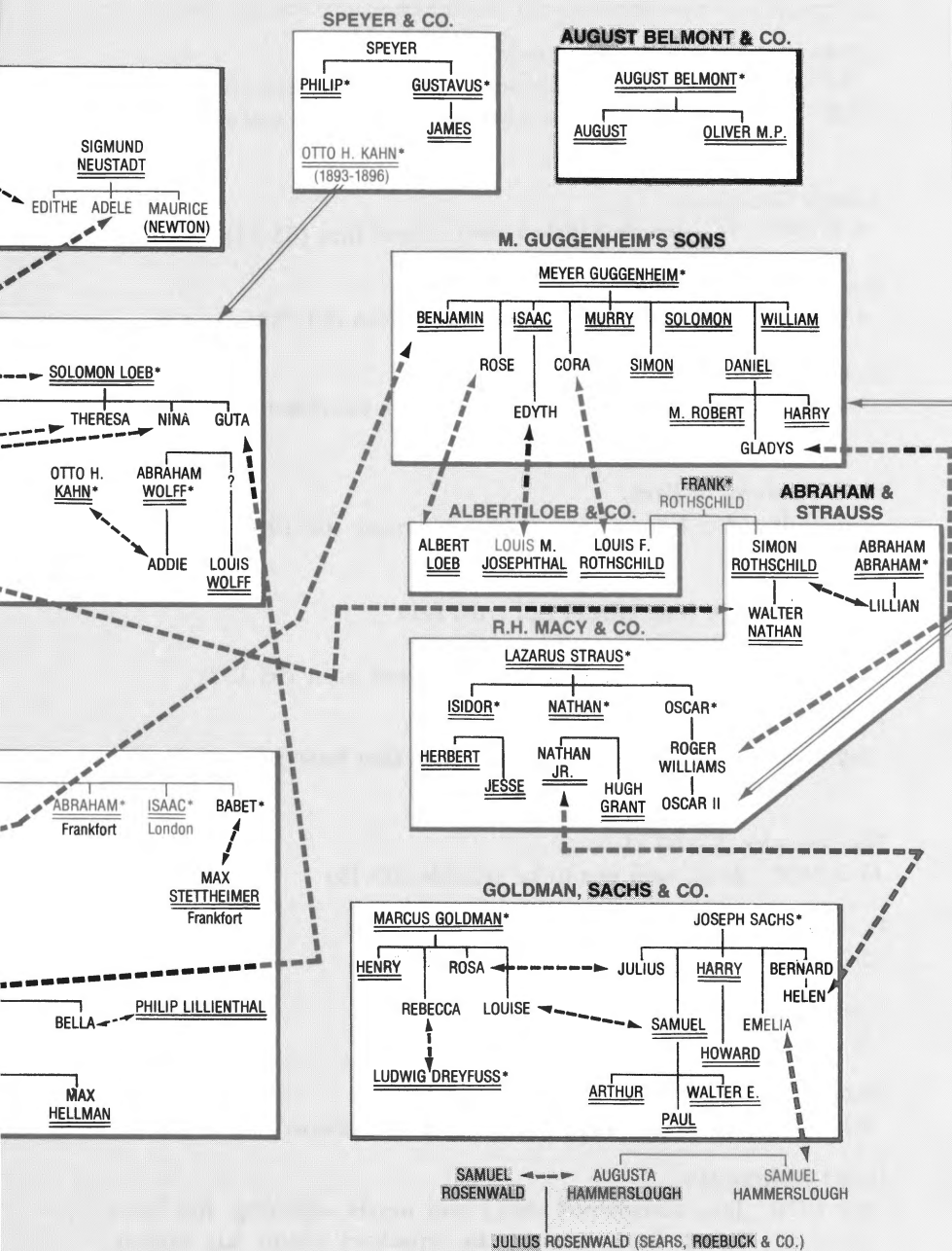
KUHN, LOEB & CO.



J. & W. SELIGMAN & CO.



GERMAN-JEWISH ORIGIN



NOTES: BROKEN LINES INDICATE MARRIAGES. DOUBLE UNBROKEN LINES INDICATE MEMBERS OF A FIRM. ASTERISKS INDICATE ACTUAL IMMIGRANTS, IF KNOWN. NOT ALL MEMBERS OF FAMILIES ARE SHOWN.

James [sic: Joseph] Gundersheimer

4-9-1863 Jew, nothing definite known about him (63:165)

10-25-1872 Stands well and is considered a sharp and shrewd Jew
(63:202)

Joseph Goodman

4-9-1863 Is a Jew but little known about him (63:44)

Isaac Gundersheimer

4-9-1863 Jew, not much known about him (63:133)

A. Gundersheimer

4-9-1863 Israelites, impossible to tell the condition of these Jew
clothing houses (63:258)

H. S. Amberg & Bros.

1-1-1866 Are honest Jews doing fair trade (63:196)

A. Aaron

1-1-1866 A Jew. Would not trust him

11-28-1867 Both tricky and worthless

1-1-1868 German Jews and not in good odor (63:152)

Charles Aaron

3-23-1866 Israelite. He is of that class that have no foundation.
Would not trust (63:135)

Margolinsky, I. and H.

11-9-1866 Jews, said not to be reliable (63:15)

D. Weiss

2-1-1867 Jew, not to be trusted (63:265)

Loeb Halle

4-1867 Jew, clever (1:14)

Samuels & Van Ullum

1-1869 Israelites, keep a low, third class obscure store (1:302)

Israel Jashenosky

4-4-1876 Jew, considered tricky and needs watching, has been
up here raising the mischief about his report
(65:425)



If Columbus and Cleveland are at all representative of other communities, Jewish merchants generally found traditional avenues of commercial credit difficult to obtain. Therefore, when forced to borrow from eastern capitalists to operate their businesses, they turned to sympathetic Jewish merchant bankers, friends, relatives, and especially Jewish wholesale mercantile firms in such cities as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. While an inland merchant did, upon occasion, travel to the eastern cities himself, he usually sought coreligionists who would extend capital or credit, and who would serve as purchasing agents.

**R. G. DUN AND BRADSTREET CREDIT REPORTS
COLUMBUS AND CLEVELAND, OHIO (EXCERPTS)**

Fascon Smith & Martin

10-1847 It is understood that the Father of "F," who lives in the East, advances the capital (1:56)

S. Hecht

8-1855 Started in business in April last. Has no means of his own. Friends advanced funds and goods (1:104) or (63:104)

1-1856 Wholesale clothing merchant at Baltimore, his brother-in-law, to whom he has to pay proceeds of each week after deduction of \$50 (1:104)

Loeb Halle

8-1860 Business is too small to go to New York for goods . . . one would question open an a/c with him, but here would sell him mod.

3-1861 Credit is good at home for small amounts—should buy there (1:14)

A. Gundersheimer

4-9-1863 Should buy of friends (63:258)

Manuel Halle & Co.

1-1864 Can get all the capital they require from brethren all over the state (2:188)

A. Aaron

7-17-1867 Credit not very good. His brother Chas Aaron made 2 assignments to him within 2 years (63:152)

Samuels & Van Ullum

1-1869 If an Eastern merchant gives them credit it must be entirely at his own risk (1:302)

Joseph Gundersheimer

2-26-1875 Parties in Cincy who have been selling him for several years past (65:455)

8-27-1878 His brother Nathan Gundersheimer endorses for him at Bank (65:516)

10-13-1880 He has one or two Eastern friends who carry his a/c, houses known to him for yrs (66:826)

F. & R. Lazarus & Co.

11-27-1882 Understand they continue to pay cash for their goods (67:1015)



A BUSINESS PROFILE OF AMERICAN JEWRY IN 1890

Most of the German Jews who arrived in the United States during the middle decades of the nineteenth century were very poor; indeed, in the 1850's nearly 20 percent of those who came to New York found themselves dependent on the city's Jewish charities. Overwhelmingly they gravitated to peddling, and then in large numbers traded the pack for other forms of retail, wholesale, or general commercial pursuits. In the clothing trade, for example, they appeared first in the marketing of second-hand goods, passed next into the jobbing of ready-made garments, and then came to dominate both the wholesale manufacture and the retail distribution of apparel.¹

While thousands of these German Jewish immigrants gambled on the future of isolated towns and cities inland, larger numbers filled the eastern seaboard cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. In these cities, and especially in New York, one may glimpse the meteoric rise of German Jews by the 1880's—men whose parents and grandparents had moved up

1. Max Kohler, "The German Jewish Migration to America," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 9 (1901):87-105.

the ladder from ragpickers to peddlers to retailers to manufacturers. In other industries, also, Jews had achieved considerable economic success. As their Sephardic predecessors had profited from the opportunities presented by the new federal government, the European wars, and the canal network in America, many of these German Jews took advantage of the huge demands created by the Civil War, postwar population growth, and industrial development during and after Reconstruction to emerge as great merchants of the Gilded Age.

Yet we should note especially that the Jews did not control the great corporations which manipulated the mighty industrial machine of America, and that even in New York they were outside the largest and most powerful financial institutions. The great financial power of the United States rested with the national banks, the trust companies, the savings banks, the life insurance companies, and other fiduciary institutions of like character. The thirty five Jewish banks and financial firms hardly dented this powerful financial armada.

In order to show by means of some authoritative statistical source of information how prominent a share in the commercial life of the country the Jews really take, THE AMERICAN HEBREW has caused to be compiled for this special number a large number of facts bearing on the subject, which will prove interesting to the general reader, and be valuable to the future historian.

The figures and facts to be here utilized have been laboriously gathered from the excellent reports of the mercantile agency of R. G. Dun & Co., of this city, who generously and courteously placed at the disposal of the representatives of the paper every facility for prosecuting the work.

The statistics that were elaborately tabulated, but which can here be only briefly summarized, embrace the capital invested in business by Jews in the years 1860, 1870, and 1890, respectively, in the various branches of trade. To the understanding of the figures, some preliminary caution will be necessary.

It must be understood, for instance, that these figures do not cover all the facts but are illustrative and suggestive; approximate but not adequate. They represent the very lowest possible amount invested by the Jews in business. Care was taken to include only such houses that were certainly controlled by Jews. Doubt meant exclusion.

Many houses entered in the books of the commercial agency have for various legitimate reasons no rating attached to their

names, although their business standing may be unexceptionable. Furthermore, any large amount of capital controlled by Jews is invested in corporations of various kinds. All of these suggestions will show to how great an extent the capital invested by Jews has been minimized in the following figures.

It must be noted also that these figures take no cognizance of the extensive real estate operations engaged in by Jews. The compilation of the facts bearing upon these would have been a task requiring months and months. Whoever has watched with any fair degree the daily records of transfers in the newspapers will appreciate that the real estate transactions of the Jews represent an enormous capital.

Of course the data collected relate exclusively to New York City. It would have been a well-nigh impossible task to extend the work to cover the entire country, and the result would not have repaid the pains. The facts as to New York are fully representative of those in regard to all other cities inhabited to any large degree by Jews.

It is only necessary further to explain to those who may not be familiar with the methods of the commercial agency, that its reports consist of estimates as to the commercial standing of all business houses. A "rating" is attached to each firm, which indicates the capital invested as being, for instance, from \$2,000 to \$5,000. This classification is marked by the letter "H," while a figure ranging from "one" upwards, indicates the general estimate for reliability.

A firm in class "H" may, therefore, have a capital ranging from \$2,000 to \$5,000. In order to get at the approximate facts the following figures will show the totals in that class based on the lowest rating, and also the totals based on the average rating (in class "H," \$3,500), which must, of course, be much nearer the truth than the lowest possible rating.

To-day, as twenty years ago, we find dry and fancy goods at the head of the list. Of course, it is a comprehensive heading, and includes the manufacture and sale of trimmings, underwear, neckwear, laces, ladies' cloaks, millinery and furs, as well as the general term, "dry and fancy goods."

In 1870 there were 646 Jewish firms represented with a capital invested of eighteen million at the lowest rating, and of twenty-eight million at the more accurate average rating. During the two decades, however, these figures have grown, so that in 1890 with but 514 firms entered, the lowest rating was forty-six million and

the average rating showed a capital invested of fifty-eight million or more than double that of 1870.

A slight decrease in the number of firms is also shown in the clothing trades and manufactures. In 1870 there were 291 firms in this hue of business, in 1890 but 264. The capital invested, however, increased from seven million to nineteen, according to the lowest rating, and from twelve million to twenty-four, according to the average rating.

The true significance of these figures will be better appreciated if it is added that, while in 1870 there were but fifty-seven Jewish firms in the dry goods trade with a rating of over one hundred thousand dollars, there were in 1890, 125 such firms with a rating of over one-hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

The next line in order of precedence to be considered, is that which embraces the manufacture and sale of hats and gents' furnishing goods. Here, too, there was a decrease in the number of firms from 184 in 1870 to 169 in 1890. But again we note in the capital an increase from four million at the lowest rating, to nearly ten million, and from six million to twelve millions, at the average rating.

In banking and finance we come to the first classification showing an increase in the number of firms, being from 21 in 1870, to 35 in 1890. Still more notable is the increase in the capital, from five and a half millions in the former year, to twelve millions in the latter, at the lowest rating, and six millions at the average rating, to over thirteen in 1890.

It is particularly in this section of banking and finance that we must recognize the minimizing power of the classification A I, where the rating of capital invested is given as over one million dollars, without any means of learning how very many millions more may be at the disposal of the seven of our coreligionists who are thus rated in 1890 in banking and finance, while in 1890 there were but three, and in 1860 the few Jewish financiers were merged in the classification "miscellaneous."

In the tobacco and smokers' articles trades we find a noteworthy increase, not only in the capital invested of four millions at the lowest rating in 1870, to twelve millions in 1890, and from six millions in 1870 at the average rating, to nearly fifteen and a half millions in 1890, but also in the number of firms, from 13 in 1860, 87 in 1870, to 165 in 1890. The wine and liquor trade shows an

increase of firms from 42 in 1870, to 94 in 1890, and of three million capital invested in 1870, to ten millions in 1890, at the average rating.

One of the most extraordinary series of facts gleaned from the statistics is the influx of Jews into the trades grouped together in jewelry, optical goods and precious stones. In 1860 there were but twenty such firms; in 1870 there were 58; and in 1890 the number had increased to 133. In 1870 the capital invested was at the lowest rating two millions, in 1890 six and a half. In 1870 at the average rating, it was three millions, and in 1890 eight and a half millions.

In the cloth business we have again a decrease in the number of firms, from 56 in 1870 to 31 in 1890, but at least a more than two-fold increase in the capital invested, which according to the lowest rating was in 1870, twenty-three hundred thousand dollars and in 1890, sixty-one hundred thousand; according to the average rating it was \$3,690,500 in 1870, and in 1890, \$7,222,500.

Another notable increase in the number of houses as well as in the money invested, is afforded by the leather, findings and hides trades. In 1860 there were but nine firms, in 1870, there were 53. In 1890, however, there were 83. In 1860 only one was rated in the second grade "high," one "good," and the others only "fair." In 1870 there were already, according to the lowest rating, one and a half millions, and the average rating nearly \$2,341,500, which was increased in 1890 to five and a half millions, and \$6,822,500, according to the respective ratings.

A very similar phenomenon is presented in the glass and paints trades. Here the eight firms of 1860 were tripled in 1870, and in 1890, more than quadrupled, by reaching the number of 38. The capital invested also presents the usual familiar features by increasing, according to the lowest rating from \$812,000 in 1870 to \$4,795,000 in 1890, and from \$1,326,000 in 1870 according to the average rating, into \$5,712,500 in 1890.

Furniture, bedding and upholstery statistics, also furnish indications of the wider diffusion of industries which is going on among the Jews. In 1860 there were two engaged in those lines; by 1870 this number had been increased to eleven, and in 1890 it had mounted to 37. Still more wonderful are the facts as to the capital invested, which in 1870 was \$637,000 according to the lowest and \$961,000 according to the average rating. These figures were respectively transformed by 1890 to \$2,265,000 and \$2,712,500.

The most remarkable of all, however, is the meat trade in which there was but one in 1860 found worthy of rating and he was only classed as "good." In 1870, there were ten with a capital invested according to the lowest rating, of \$177,000 and the average rating, of \$268,500. By 1890 there were 74 with a rating at the lowest of nearly four millions and according to the average rating, of \$4,797,500.

There is now left for consideration only that large remnant of trades vaguely massed together as "miscellaneous." The amount involved in this remnant is larger than any single section except dry goods. It embraces under 1870, 231 firms with a capital, according to the average of thirteen millions, which in 1890 is increased to thirty-seven and a half millions for 416 firms.

And now what is to be seen by a summary of these facts? In 1860 there were 374 Jewish firms in this city worthy of a commercial rating. Of these two were classified as "A I"; 24 as "high"; 140 as "good" and 208 as "fair." In 1870 there were 1,714 rated, with the lowest valuation, at \$57,515,000 and, average valuation, at \$87,373,000. In 1890 there were 2,058 rated at \$67,015,000, lowest rating, and \$207,388,000, average rating.

Another interesting phase of the same figures is the computation which shows that little more than ten per cent of the firms rated in 1870 had a capital invested of over one hundred thousand dollars. In 1890, however, there were 496 firms or about twenty-five per cent of the firms rated with a capital of over one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

If any intelligent observer questioned the fact before, he will no longer doubt, in the face of this array of figures, that the Jews have been successful as merchants in the United States of America. They have in fact, as a mass, been much more successful in this country than in any other in the world.

3 TWENTIETH CENTURY



THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK CITY

Judged by any standard except capital employed, the group of industries that produced clothing was among the largest in the country. In 1917, three-quarters of a million persons were engaged in the manufacture of clothing, a larger number than in any single industry except textiles.

In 1909 the men's clothing industry produced nearly one-half the value of the total product of the clothing trades. Its principal center was New York, which turned out 40 percent of the goods, while Chicago accounted for 17 percent. Other important centers were also areas of high Jewish immigrant settlement: Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Baltimore, Rochester, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Syracuse.

The greatest expansion of the ready-made clothing business coincided with the period of mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, and it was not long before the majority of the wage earners in this industry were Russian Jews. A 1915 study of garment workers revealed that 97 percent of the male workers in the cloak and suit trades were Jewish, overwhelmingly from Eastern Europe.¹

1 U.S. Public Health Service, Bulletin No. 71, *Studies in Vocational Diseases: The Health of Garment Workers* (May 1915), p. 19.

Workers in the garment industry may be divided into five groups: cutters, who cut out the garments according to patterns furnished them; operators, who sewed the pieces together by means of electrically driven sewing machines; finishers, who performed the hand operations, such as overcasting seams and sewing on buttons; pressers, who pressed the garments whenever necessary; and miscellaneous workers, such as tailors and buttonhole makers. The operators and finishers were paid on a piecework basis, while cutters and pressers were paid by the week.

Rudolph Block, who used the pseudonym Bruno Lessing and was a New York reporter and editor associated with Hearst publications until 1940, wrote dozens of tenement and sweatshop stories. The central characters were the immigrants of New York's Lower East Side, especially the sweatshop workers and clothing makers. In "The End of the Task," Braun and his fiancée Lizschen, who is dying of consumption, work in a sweatshop where thirty sewing machines "whirred like a thousand devils."

In addition to laboring in factories, garment workers toiled at home. The immigrants needed work desperately, and since virtually everyone could sew, entire apartments in tenements were converted into miniature labor forces with parents and children "sweating" in a variety of rooms. An intermediary, or contractor, operated between the home worker and employer by taking the work from the warehouse at a certain piece rate; he then became responsible for its completion, and distributed the "bundles" among those who performed the actual processes of manufacture. This system, through which the immigrant Jew came to be the dominating element in the making of clothing, was vividly described by the social reformer and anti-sweatshop crusader Florence Kelley in her testimony before the United States Industrial Commission on May 3, 1899.

PIECE PRICES IN 1902

Operators.

Cotton without tape and straps	Doz.	30¢
Cotton with tape and straps		35
Satinetes without		34
Cotton with back pockets		50
Satinetes and Union goods, common made		40
Satinetes and Union goods, with back pockets		55
Cotton Flannel without tape straps		40
Cotton Flannel with tape straps		45

Hip pockets	58
Chordroy, common make, without back pockets	45
Chordroy, common make, with back pockets	60
Pocket waisting	3
Chordroy, better make, with back pockets	65
All these lines, with back pockets, better make	65
Tricot coks and diagonol worsted cheviot serge and cashmir, with back pockets	75
Cotton Jersey	60
Closed Jersey	80
Jerseys	75

Trimmings.

Double stitch band	Doz.	5¢
Overlaps of sides		2
Clams		5
Crotch pieces		3
Front lined		8
Whole lined		15
Black in the pockets		3
Tapped from band to band		10
Kreitz taped		5
Knee piece		5
Double stitched pockets		5
Patent Rubber bands		5
Hooks		6
Pockets stitch, large or small		8
Legs sewen twice		5
With cord		12
Raise the pockets outside		3
Sew piece for tape from the back to the front		4
Corner pockets		18
Legs taped		18
Buckle straps		18
Double seat and knee binding		18
Double seat and knee binding when it comes to the clothes		24
Curtain		10
Legs with tape		2

Seat pieces	15
Knee pieces, bent and closed with tape	5
Closed with tape	18
Sweats on the back	3
Sweats back and front	6
Seat pieces sewed with rubber at back	3
Seat pieces sewed on back	3
Extra rubber	6
Lap seam	18
Bent tape	3
Pocket facing from goods	6
Front tape	3
Facing turned over	6
Loops in Knee pants	18
Front belts	each 5
Tops piped	3
Linen coveting	.Doz. 18
Cloths coveting	24
Bloomer pants extra	each 2
Band crotch pieces	.Doz. 5
Loops bent	24
Double stick closed	12
Extra straps in Bloomer	2
Loops taped	24
Slits	18
Rubber made	6
Ready made	10
Legs taped in double needle machine	6

Fancy Goods.

Common linen	.Doz. 40¢
Common linen with legs bound	45
Common linen with cord	65
Bearder in linen	24
White goods with cord	75
Duck pants in white goods	75
String Shutash	12
Bound half and half	36
Flat bound	32

Ribbon	18
Buckle straps by the legs	12
Velvet white serge and stout pants	20
Ribbon and velvet	36
Binding	80
String Shutash	18
Buchr[a]m under hands	5
Back pockets common	12
Back pockets better ones	15

EXTRA WORK EXTRA PAY

The End of The Task

I

The sewing-machines whirred like a thousand devils. You have no idea what a noise thirty sewing-machines will make when they are running at full speed. Each machine is made up of dozens of little wheels and cogs and levers and ratchets, and each part tries to pound, scrape, squeak and bang and roar louder than all the others. The old man who went crazy last year in this very same shop used to sit in the cell where they chained him, with his fingers in his ears, to keep out the noise of the sewing-machines. He said the incessant din was eating into his brains, and, time and again, he tried to dash out those poor brains against the padded wall.

The sewing-machines whirred and roared and clicked, and the noise drowned every other sound. Braun finished garment after garment and arranged them in a pile beside his machine. When there were twenty in the pile he paused in his work—if your eyes were shut you would never have known that one machine had stopped—and he carried the garments to the counter, where the marker gave him a ticket for them. Then he returned to his machine. This was the routine of his daily labour from seven o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock at night. The only deviation from this routine occurred when Lizschen laid the twentieth

garment that she had finished upon her pile and Braun saw her fragile figure stoop to raise the pile. Then his machine would stop, in two strides he would be at her side, and with a smile he would carry the garments to the counter for her and bring her the ticket for them. Lizschen would cease working to watch him, and when he handed her the ticket she would smile at him, and sometimes, when no one was looking, she would seize his hand and press it tightly against her cheek—oh! so tightly, as if she were drowning, and that hand were a rock of safety. And, when she resumed her work, a tear would roll slowly over the very spot where his hand had rested, tremble for an instant upon her pale cheek, and then fall upon the garment where the needle would sew it firmly into the seam. But you never would have known that two machines had stopped for a moment; there were twenty-eight others to keep up the roaring and the rattling and the hum.

On and on they roared. There was no other sound to conflict with or to vary the monotony. At each machine sat a human being working with hand, foot, and eye, watching the flashing needle, guarding the margin of the seams, jerking the cloth hither and thither quickly, accurately, watching the spool to see that the thread ran freely, oiling the gear with one hand while the other continued to push the garment rapidly under the needle, the whole body swaying, bending, twisting this way and that to keep time and pace with the work. Every muscle of the body toiled, but the mind was free—free as a bird to fly from that suffocating room out to green fields and woods and flowers. And Braun was thinking.

Linder had told him of a wonderful place where beautiful pictures could be looked at for nothing. It was probably untrue. Linder was not above lying. Braun had been in this country six long years, and in all that time he had never found anything that could be had for nothing. Yet Linder said he had seen them. Paintings in massive gold frames, real, solid gold, and such paintings! Woodland scenes and oceans and ships and cattle and mountains, and beautiful ladies—such pictures as the theatrical posters and the lithograph advertisements on the streets displayed, only these were real. And it cost nothing to look at them!

Nineteen—twenty! That completed the pile. It had taken about an hour, and he had earned seven cents. He carried the pile to the counter, received his ticket, and returned to his machine, stopping only to smile at Lizschen, who had finished but half a pile in that time, and who looked so white and tired, yet smiled so sweetly at him—then on with his work and thoughts.

He would take Lizschen to see them. It was probably all a lie, but the place was far, far uptown, near Madison Square—Braun had never been north of Houston Street—and the walk might do Lizschen good. He would say nothing to her about the pictures until he came to the place and found out for himself if Linder had told the truth. Otherwise the disappointment might do her harm.

Poor Lizschen! A feeling of wild, blind rage overwhelmed Braun for an instant, then passed away, leaving his frame rigid and his teeth tightly clenched. While it lasted he worked like an automaton, seeing nothing, hearing nothing, feeling nothing save a chaotic tumult in his heart and brain that could find no vent in words, no audible expression save in a fierce outcry against fate—resistless, remorseless fate. A few months ago these attacks had come upon him more frequently, and had lasted for hours, leaving him exhausted and ill. But they had become rarer and less violent; there is no misfortune to which the human mind cannot ultimately become reconciled. Lizschen was soon to die. Braun had rebelled; his heart and soul, racked almost beyond endurance, had cried out against the horror, the injustice, the wanton cruelty, of his brown-eyed, pale-cheeked Lizschen wasting away to death before his eyes. But there was no hope, and he had gradually become reconciled. The physician at the public dispensary had told him she might live a month or she might live a year longer, he could not foretell more accurately, but of ultimate recovery there was no hope on earth. And Braun's rebellious outbursts against cruel fate had become rarer and rarer. Do not imagine that these emotions had ever shaped themselves in so many words, or that he had attempted by any process of reasoning to argue the matter with himself or to see vividly what it all meant, what horrible ordeal he was passing through, or what the future held in store for him. From his tenth year until his twentieth Braun had worked in factories in Russia, often under the lash. He was twenty-six, and his six years in this country had been spent in sweatshops. Such men do not formulate thoughts in words: they feel dumbly, like dogs and horses.

II

The day's work was done. Braun and Lizschen were walking slowly uptown, hand in hand, attracting many an inquiring, half-pitying glance. She was so white, he so haggard and wild-eyed. It was a delightful spring night, the air was balmy and soothing, and

Lizschen coughed less than she had for several days. Braun had spoken of a picture he had once seen in a shop-window in Russia. Lizschen's eyes had become animated.

"They are so wonderful, those painters," she said, "With nothing but brushes they put colours together until you can see the trees moving in the breeze, and almost imagine you hear the birds in them."

"I don't care much for trees," said Braun, "or birds either. I like ships and battle pictures where people are doing something great."

"Maybe that is because you have always lived in cities," said Lizschen. "When I was a girl I lived in the country, near Odessa, and oh, how beautiful the trees were and how sweet the flowers! And I used to sit under a tree and look at the woods across the valley all day long. Ah, if I could only——!"

She checked herself and hoped that Braun had not heard. But he had heard and his face had clouded. He, too, had wished and wished and wished through many a sleepless night, and now he could easily frame the unfinished thought in Lizschen's mind. If he could send her to the country, to some place where the air was warm and dry, perhaps her days might be prolonged. But he could not. He had to work and she had to work, and he had to look on and watch her toiling, toiling, day after day, without end, without hope. The alternative was to starve.

They came to a place that Linder had described, and, surely enough, before them rose a huge placard announcing that admission to the exhibition of paintings was free. The pictures were to be sold at public auction at the end of the week, and for several nights they were on inspection. The young couple stood outside the door a while, watching the people who were going in and coming out; then Braun said:

"Come, Lizschen, let us go in. It is free."

Lizschen drew back timidly. "They will not let people like us go in. It is for nobility." But Braun drew her forward.

"They can do no more than ask us to go out," he said. "Besides, I would like to have a glimpse of the paintings."

With many misgivings Lizschen followed him into the building, and found herself in a large hall, brilliantly illuminated, walled in with paintings whose gilt frames shone like fiery gold in the bright light of numerous electric lamps. For a moment the sight dazzled her, and she gasped for breath. The large room, with its soft carpet, the glittering lights and reflections, the confused mass of colours

that the paintings presented to her eyes, and the air of charm that permeates all art galleries, be they ever so poor, were all things so far apart from her life, so foreign not only to her experience, but even to her imagination, that the scene seemed unreal at first, as if it had been taken from a fairy tale. Braun was of a more phlegmatic temperament, and not easily moved. The lights merely made his eyes blink a few times, and after that he saw only Lizschen's face. He saw the blood leave it and a bright pallor overspread her cheeks, saw the frail hand move convulsively to her breast, a gesture that he knew so well, and feared that she was about to have a coughing spell. Then, suddenly, he saw the colour come flooding back to her face, and he saw her eyes sparkling, dancing with a joy that he had never seen in them before. Her whole frame seemed suddenly to become animated with a new life and vigour. Somewhat startled by this transformation he followed her gaze. Lizschen was looking at a painting.

"What is it, dear?" he asked.

"The picture," she said in a whisper. "The green fields and that tree! And the road! It stretches over the hill! The sun will set, too, very soon. Then the sheep will come over the top of the hill. Oh, I can almost hear the leader's bell! And there is a light breeze. See the leaves of the tree; they are moving! Can't you feel the breeze? Oh, darling, isn't it wonderful? I never saw anything like that before."

Braun looked curiously at the canvas. To his eyes it presented a woodland scene, very natural, to be sure, but not more natural than nature, and equally uninteresting to him. He looked around him to select a painting upon which he could expend more enthusiasm.

"Now, there's the kind I like, Lizschen," he said. "That storm on the ocean, with the big ship going to pieces. And that big picture over there with all the soldiers rushing to battle."

He found several others and was pointing out what he found to admire in them, when, happening to look at his companion's face, he saw that her eyes were still fastened upon the woodland picture, and he realized that she had not heard a word of what he had said. He smiled at her tenderly.

"Ah, Lizschen," he said, "if I were rich I would take that picture right off the wall and give them a hundred dollars for it, and we would take it home with us so that Lizschen could look at it all day long."

But still Lizschen did not hear. All that big room, with its lights and its brilliant colourings, and all those people who had come in,

and even her lover at her side had faded from Lizschen's consciousness. The picture that absorbed all her being had ceased to be a mere beautiful painting. Lizschen was walking down that road herself; the soft breeze was fanning her fevered cheeks, the rustling of the leaves had become a reality; she was walking over the hill to meet the flock of sheep, for she could hear the shepherd's dog barking and the melodious tinkling of the leader's bell.

From the moment of their entrance many curious glances had been directed at them. People wondered who this odd-looking, ill-clad couple could be. When Lizschen became absorbed in the woodland scene and stood staring at it as if it were the most wonderful thing on earth, those who observed her exchanged glances, and several onlookers smiled. Their entrance, Lizschen's bewilderment, and then her ecstasy over the painting had all happened in the duration of three or four minutes. The liveried attendants had noticed them and had looked at one another with glances that expressed doubt as to what their duty was under the circumstances. Clearly these were not the kind of people for whom this exhibition had been arranged. They were neither lovers of art nor prospective purchasers. And they looked so shabby and so distressingly poor and ill-nourished.

Finally one attendant, bolder than the rest, approached them, and tapping Braun lightly upon the sleeve, said, quite good-naturedly:

"I think you've made a mistake."

Braun looked at him and shook his head and turned to Lizschen to see if she understood. But Lizschen neither saw nor heard. Then the man, seeing that he was dealing with foreigners, became more abrupt in his demeanour, and, with a grunt, pointed to the door. Braun understood. To be summarily ordered from the place seemed more natural to him than to be permitted to remain unmolested amid all that splendour. It was more in keeping with the experiences of his life. "Come, Lizschen," he said, "let us go." Lizschen turned to him with a smiling face, but the smile died quickly when she beheld the attendant, and she clutched Braun's arm. "Yes, let us go," she whispered to him, and they went out.

III

On the homeward journey not a word was spoken. Braun's thoughts were bitter, rebellious; the injustice of life's arrangements

rankled deeply at that moment, his whole soul felt outraged, fate was cruel, life was wrong, all wrong. Lizschen, on the other hand, walked lightly, in a state of mild excitement, all her spirit elated over the picture she had seen. It had been but a brief communion with nature, but it had thrilled the hidden chords of her nature, chords of whose existence she had never dreamed before. Alas! the laws of this same beautiful nature are inexorable. For that brief moment of happiness Lizschen was to submit to swift, terrible punishment. Within a few steps of the dark tenement which Lizschen called home a sudden weakness came upon her, then a violent fit of coughing which racked her frail body as though it would render it asunder. When she took her hands from her mouth Braun saw that they were red. A faintness seized him, but he must not yield to it. Without a word he gathered Lizschen in his arms and carried her through the hallway into the rear building and then up four flights of stairs to the apartment where she lived.

Then the doctor came—he was a young man, with his own struggle for existence weighing upon him, and yet ever ready for such cases as this where the only reward lay in the approbation of his own conscience—and Braun hung upon his face for the verdict.

“It is just another attack like the last,” he was saying to himself. “She will have to lie in bed for a day, and then she will be just as well as before. Perhaps it may even help her! But it is nothing more serious. She has had many of them. I saw them myself. It is not so terribly serious. Not yet. Oh, it cannot be yet! Maybe, after a long time—but not yet—it is too soon.” Over and over again he argued thus, and in his heart did not believe it. Then the doctor shook his head and said: “It’s near the end, my friend. A few days—perhaps a week. But she cannot leave her bed again.”

Braun stood alone in the room, upright, motionless, with his fists clenched until the nails dug deep into the skin, seeing nothing, hearing nothing, feeling nothing. His eyes were dry, his lips parched. The old woman with whom Lizschen lived came out and motioned to him to enter the bedroom. Lizschen was whiter than the sheets, but her eyes were bright, and she was smiling and holding out her arms to him. “You must go now, *Liebchen*,” she said faintly. “I will be all right to-morrow. Kiss me good-night, and I will dream about the beautiful picture.” He kissed her and went out without a word. All that night he walked the streets.

When the day dawned he went to her again. She was awake and happy. “I dreamt about it all night, *Liebchen*,” she said, joyfully. “Do you think they would let me see it again?”

He went to his work, and all that day the roar of the machines set his brain a-whirring and a-roaring as if it, too, had become a machine. (He worked with feverish activity, and when the machines stopped he found that he had earned a dollar and five cents. Then he went to Lizschen and gave her fifty cents, which he told her he had found in the street. Lizschen was much weaker, and could only speak in a whisper. She beckoned to him to hold his ear to her lips, and she whispered:

“Liebchen, if I could only see the picture once more.”

“I will go and ask them, darling,” he said. “Perhaps they will let me bring it to you.”

Braun went to his room and took from his trunk a dagger that he had brought with him from Russia. It was a rusty, old-fashioned affair which even the pawnbrokers had repeatedly refused to accept. Why he kept it or for what purpose he now concealed it in his coat he could not tell. His mind had ceased to work coherently: his brain was now a machine, whirring and roaring like a thousand devils. Thought? Thought had ceased. Braun was a machine, and machines do not think.

He walked to the picture gallery. He had forgotten its exact location, but some mysterious instinct guided him straight to the spot. The doors were already opened, but the nightly throng of spectators had hardly begun to arrive. And now a strange thing happened. Braun entered and walked straight to the painting of the woodland scene that hung near the door. There was no attendant to bar his progress. A small group of persons, gathered in front of a canvas that hung a few feet away, had their backs turned to him, and stood like a screen between him and the employees of the place. Without a moment's hesitation, without looking to right or to left, walking with a determined stride and making no effort to conceal his purpose, and, at the same time, oblivious of the fact that he was unobserved, Braun approached the painting, raised it from the hook, and, with the wire dangling loosely from it took the painting under his arm and walked out of the place. If he had been observed. would he have brought his dagger into use? It is impossible to tell. He was a machine, and his brain was roaring. Save for one picture that rose constantly before his vision, he was blind. All that he saw was Lizschen, so white in her bed, waiting to see the woodland picture once more.

He brought it straight to her room. She was too weak to move, too worn out to express any emotion, but her eyes looked in unutterable gratitude when she saw the painting.

"Did they let you have it?" she whispered.

"They were very kind," said Braun. "I told them you wanted to see it and they said I could have it as long as I liked. When you are better I will take it back."

Lizschen looked at him wistfully. "I will never be better, *Liebchen*," she whispered.

Braun hung the picture at the foot of the bed where Lizschen could see it without raising her head, and then went to the window and sat there looking out into the night. Lizschen was happy beyond all bounds. Her eyes drank in every detail of the wonderful scene until her whole being became filled with delightful spirit that pervaded and animated the painting. A master's hand had imbued that deepening blue sky with the sadness of twilight, the soft, sweet pathos of departing day, and Lizschen's heart beat responsive to every shade and shadow. In the waning light every outline was softened; here tranquility reigned supreme, and Lizschen felt soothed. Yet in the distance, across the valley, the gloom of night had begun to gather. Once or twice Lizschen tried to penetrate this gloom, but the effort to see what the darkness was hiding tired her eyes.

IV

The newspapers the next day were full of the amazing story of the stolen painting. They told how the attendants at the gallery had discovered the break in the line of paintings and had immediately notified the manager of the place, who at once asked the number of the picture.

"It's number thirty-eight," they told him. He seized a catalogue, turned to No. 38, and turned pale. "It's Corot's 'Spring Twilight!'" he cried. "It cost the owner three thousand dollars, and we're responsible for it!"

The newspapers went on to tell how the police had been notified, and how the best detectives had been set to work to trace the stolen painting, how all the thieves' dens in New York had been ransacked, and all the thieves questioned and cross-questioned, all the pawnshops searched—and it all had resulted in nothing. But such excitement rarely leaks into the Ghetto, and Braun, at his machine, heard nothing of it, knew nothing of it, knew nothing of anything in the world save that the machines were roaring away in his brain and that Lizschen was dying. As soon as his work was done he went

to her. She smiled at him, but was too weak to speak. He seated himself beside the bed and took her hand in his. All day long she had been looking at the picture; all day long she had been wandering along the road that ran over the hill, and now night had come and she was weary. But her eyes were glad, and when she turned them upon Braun he saw in them love unutterable and happiness beyond all description. His eyes were dry; he held her hand and stroked it mechanically; he knew not what to say. Then she fell asleep and he sat there hour after hour, heedless of the flight of time. Suddenly Lizschen sat upright, her eyes wide open and staring.

"I hear them," she cried. "I hear them plainly. Don't you, *Liebchen*? The sheep are coming! They're coming over the hill! Watch, *Liebchen*; watch, precious!"

With all the force that remained in her she clutched his hand and pointed to the painting at the foot of the bed. Then she swayed from side to side, and he caught her in his arms.

"Lizschen!" he cried. "Lizschen!" But her head fell upon his arm and lay motionless.

The doctor came and saw at a glance that the patient was beyond his ministering. "It is over, my friend," he said to Braun. At the sound of a voice Braun started, looked around him quite bewildered, and then drew a long breath which seemed to lift him out of the stupor into which he had fallen. "Yes, it is over," he said, and, according to the custom of the orthodox, he tore a rent in his coat at the neck to the extent of a hand's breadth. Then he took the painting under his arm and left the house.

It was now nearly two o'clock in the morning and the streets were deserted. A light rain had begun to fall, and Braun took off his coat to wrap it around his burden. He walked like one in a dream, seeing nothing, hearing nothing save a dull monotonous roar which seemed to come from all directions and to centre in his brain.

The doors of the gallery were closed and all was dark. Braun looked in vain for a bell, and after several ineffectual taps on the door began to pound lustily with his fist and heel. Several night stragglers stopped in the rain, and presently a small group had gathered. Questions were put to Braun, but he did not hear them. He kicked and pounded on the door, and the noise resounded through the streets as if it would rouse the dead. Presently the group heard the rattling of bolts and the creaking of a rusty key in a rusty lock, and all became quiet. The door swung open, and a frightened watchman appeared.

"What's the matter? Is there a fire?" he asked.

A policeman made his way through the group, and looked inquiringly from Braun to the watchman. Without uttering a word Braun held out the painting, and at the sight of it the watchman uttered a cry of amazement and delight.

"It's the stolen Corot!" he exclaimed. Then turning to Braun, "Where did you get it? Who had it? Do you claim the reward?"

Braun's lips moved, but no sound came from them, and he turned on his heel and began to walk off, when the policeman laid a hand on his shoulder.

"Not so fast, young man. You'll have to give some kind of an account of how you got this," he said.

Braun looked at him stupidly, and the policeman became suspicious. "I guess you'd better come to the station-house," he said, and without more ado walked off with his prisoner. Braun made no resistance, felt no surprise, offered no explanation. At the station-house they asked him many questions, but Braun only looked vacantly at the questioner, and had nothing to say. They locked him in a cell over night, a gloomy cell that opened on a dimly lighted corridor, and there Braun sat until the day dawned, never moving, never speaking. Once, during the night, the watchman on duty in this corridor thought he heard a voice whispering "Lizschen! Lizschen!" but it must have been the rain that now was pouring in torrents.

V

"There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary be at rest.

"There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor.

"The small and the great are there; and the servant is free from his master."

It is written in Israel that the rabbi must give his services at the death-bed of even the lowliest. The coffin rested on two stools in the same room in which she died; beside it stood the rabbi, clad in sombre garments, reading in a listless, mechanical fashion from the Hebrew text of the Book of Job, interpolating here and there some time-worn, commonplace phrase of praise, of exhortation, of consolation. He had not known her; this was merely part of his daily work.

The sweatshop had been closed for an hour; for one hour the machines stood silent and deserted; the toilers were gathered around the coffin, listening to the rabbi. They were pale and gaunt, but not from grief. The machines had done that. They had rent their garments at the neck, to the extent of a hand's breadth, but not from grief. It was the law. A figure that they had become accustomed to see bending over one of the machines had finished her last garment. Dry-eyed, in a sort of mild wonder, they had come to the funeral services. And some were still breathing heavily from the morning's work. After all, it was pleasant to sit quiet for one hour.

Someone whispered the name of Braun, and they looked around. Braun was not there.

"He will not come," whispered one of the men. "It is in the newspaper. He was sent to prison for three years. He stole something. A picture, I think. I am not sure."

Those who heard slowly shook their heads. There was no feeling of surprise, no shock. And what was there to say? He had been one of them. He had drunk out of the same cup with them. They knew the taste. What mattered the one particular dreg that he found? They had no curiosity. In the case of Nitza, it was her baby who was dying because she could not buy it the proper food. Nitza had told them. And so when Nitza cut her throat they all knew what she had found in the cup. Braun hadn't told—but what mattered it? Probably something more bitter than gall. And three years in prison? Yes. To be sure. He had stolen something.

"Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery," droned the rabbi, "and life unto the bitter in soul:

"Which long for death, but it cometh not; and dig for it more than for hid treasures;

"Which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad, when they can find the grave?"

And the rabbi, faithful in the performance of his duty, went on to expound and explain. But his bearers could not tarry much longer. The hour was nearing its end, and the machines would soon have to start again.

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It is an old story in the Ghetto, one that lovers tell to their sweethearts, who always cry when they hear it. The machines still

roar and whirr, as if a legion of wild spirits were shrieking within them, and many a tear is stitched into the garments, but you never see them, madam—no, gaze as intently upon your jacket as you will, the tear has left no stain. There is an old man at the corner machine, grey-haired and worn, but he works briskly. He is the first to arrive each morning, and the last to leave each night, and all his soul is in his work. His machine is an old one, and roars louder than the rest, but he does not hear it. Day and night, sleeping and waking, there are a hundred thousand machines roaring away in his brain. What cares he for one more or one less?

SWEATSHOPS IN THE HOME

Testimony of Florence Kelley before the United States Industrial Commission, May 3, 1899.

Question: What was the proportion of native Americans to the whole?

Answer: We never found any in sweatshops. The native Americans who are working at the garment trades are perhaps the most dangerous of all from the point of view of the purchaser. They are women with young children, who are dependent upon themselves and upon charity, and who work in their own homes, and take the work directly from the factory and make it up, and take it back, and they are so isolated that it is perfectly impossible to keep up any sort of scrutiny as to the sanitary conditions under which they work. We always reported that, so far as we were able to judge, that was the most dangerous of any kind of work.

Question: We want to know what the wages were: if we know that we can readily judge of the social conditions. We want to know what the surroundings of the family are—the school facilities and things of that kind.

Answer: As to making any general statement of average wages, my knowledge is not on a large enough scale to make such a general statement, except this one; I have never found, in 7 years of living among people who do finishing at home—I never found anyone who worked at home who

made a living. There is a very large body of American, German, Jewish, Bohemian, Polish, and Italian women, who take work home.

I have never been able to ascertain through our charity people, or through my own acquaintance, that even one could support herself through that. Invariably, if she is a married woman, her husband keeps the family; or, if she is an unmarried woman, she receives relief from the county charitable agencies or private agencies. The wages of the people who work in the shops vary from those of children, whom I have known to work 6 months for nothing with the understanding that they would later get \$1 a week and work up slowly to \$4 and \$5, up to the Scandinavian custom tailors, who make a relatively good living at it.

Question: Would the average wage of a woman vary much over \$5 a week?

Answer: I do not know a sufficient number of cases to make any average. The people are so unintelligent that it is almost impossible to get any statement of that kind. The [Illinois] State Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1892, made a special investigation of the wages of the people in the garment trades, and I acted as expert at that time, and I hunted up a very large body of people working in these shops and I found such examples as this—of the extreme difficulty of learning facts: I found a girl who told me she bound seams in ladies' cloaks and made \$18 a week.

She was a Russian Jewish girl, who had been there for a number of years. When I questioned her I found her week began Saturday morning and ended a week from the following Monday. She would really work 9 consecutive days, violating her Jewish belief by working on Saturday, and would pay a man to run the machine during the night. They divided the \$18 she drew. And still to this day she always speaks of herself as earning \$18 a week at binding cloaks. It is quite impossible to form a trustworthy opinion of what they earn.

On the other hand, I tried to find out what the poorest lot earned at sewing cloaks. They always have a little book from the contractor with the prices marked in. I collected a lot of these books and tried to get the cloak makers

working at home to reduce the prices to hours and tell me how much they got. Five families agreed to do that, and then it transpired that not one of the five families owned a clock. They go by light and dark. If they are not intelligent enough to tell the time, of course they are not intelligent enough to give any trustworthy statement about the wages per hour, per day or per week.

Those examples represent the two extremes. These last people were of the Sicilian peasantry; they had always told time by the sundial, and I do not suppose they ever saw a clock, and they do not know enough to keep a record. The only people who can give any intelligent statement are the sharpest of the contractors, who keep books, and those are entirely misleading, because they will have a man working in the shop who runs a machine, and pay him a lump sum for working for a given time, and he employs young girls, who work at perhaps one-half a man's pay, and also hires a man to run a machine at night, and you cannot tell how much of the lump sum is peddled out. So finally the statements of the Bureau of Labor Statistics were exceedingly noncommittal. They gave statements made up from the books of the contractors, with the qualifying statement that they never could tell how much of the money stayed with the man to whom it was paid and how much was paid out for subdivisions of labor.

It is perfectly safe to say that the poorest people working in any trade in Chicago are the people who work in the garment trades. There is no other set of people who are both working and also to so great an extent receiving relief from public and private charity. Of course that is not a definite statement about their wages.

Question: Have you known of any contagious or cutaneous diseases conveyed through manufacture in sweatshops or private houses; have you traced them definitely?

Answer: I think that has never been done. We never were able to make the connection between a case of infectious disease and the manufacture of the goods in a house in which there was infectious disease, for this reason: The garments are cut in the cutting room and go to the foreman,

and he gives them to a contractor, who takes them to the shop and, after the seams are stitched, gives them to the person who does the handwork at home; then she takes them back to the shop, and either the contractor himself or an expressman takes them back to the foreman, and they go into the stock of goods, then to the retailer, and then to the purchaser.

The nearest I ever came to making a connection did not really connect. I found an overcoat, a good summer overcoat, being made up in a room in which there was a patient dying of small-pox; that was in Twentieth Street, in Chicago; and the hanger on the coat, the little silk strap, was marked with the name of a custom tailor in Helena, Montana. The garment had been ordered there. If we had not caught it, the garment would have gone back. That was an unusually close connection between the custom tailor and the disease. There are usually more people between the two, so that it is impossible to trace it.

Question: Do you think the contagious diseases are spread pretty largely that way?

Answer: Yes; the longer I worked at it the stronger that conviction grew.

Question: Do you know any way that the employees of the sweat-shops could better their condition?

Answer: No. We have tried for 10 years at Hull House to organize the girls. We have been having trade union meetings for 10 years in the garment trades. It has never been possible to get an organization that amounted to anything at all. There was an organization of the cutters in 1893 and 1894; which was broken up by the combination of 28 manufacturers; and that was the only relatively strong organization in this trade, because there are no women and children in the cutter branch; they were all men. They were the most intelligent people in the trade. They had built up the organization in a year and a half, and the manufacturers broke it up like that [snapping fingers].



“FORTUNE” LOOKS AT AMERICAN JEWRY, 1936

A distinct economic profile of American Jewry in the 1930's arises from a detailed study undertaken by the editors of Fortune. They discovered that in "vast industrial fields" there was virtually no Jewish representation. These included the basic light industries (banking, insurance, telephone, telegraph) as well as the major heavy ones (mining, petrochemicals, shipping, rail, aviation, automobiles, engineering, power). The survey revealed Jews to be most often concentrated where manufacturing and merchandising converge. They filled the ranks of jobbers, wholesalers, and general merchandisers—at least in eastern metropolitan areas—and dominated the clothing industry everywhere.

"Jews," the editors concluded, "are so far from controlling the most characteristic of present-day American activities that they are hardly represented in them at all." Jews nevertheless had high visibility in the economy. The editors implied that this resulted from the unusual situation of the East European Jewish immigrants, who showed precisely those traits conducive of business success (aggressiveness, acumen, temperance, frugality, clannishness, willingness to postpone gratification), traits which, however, struck some Americans as offensive.

Realizing that Jews have been the scapegoats of all Western history, that they have been made to bear responsibility for everything from the Black Death to the economic ills of the Germans, [intelligent Jews] fear that the enormous increase in Jewish numbers in America will lead to charges that the Jews have monopolized the opportunities for economic advance and that these charges will pave the way for Fascism here as they paved the way for Hitler in Germany. Non-Jews who prefer democratic institutions to dictatorship share that fear.

To determine whether it is a fear deserving of serious attention, it is necessary to inquire, first, what significance the extraordinary numerical increase in American Jewry actually has, and, second, whether there is any factual basis for charges of Jewish monopolization of American economic opportunity.

As to the increase in numbers, a little reflection should persuade even those Jews who, like Professor [Lewis] Namier, think of num-

bers as dangerous ("to a nation rooted in its own soil . . . they mean strength and security, but for us, outside Palestine, they have always constituted a danger") that the danger here is more apparent than real. Numerical increase is always purely relative. A 1,500-fold U.S. increase since 1800 means nothing without an examination of the figure from which departure is taken. And in any case it is the trend and not the total which is significant. There were only a few thousand Jews in America in 1800 and the reason why there were only a few thousand was that Jews were not permitted to live in England at the time of the first British settlements in America. The reason for the enormous sixfold increase in world Jewry between 1800 and 1933 was the fall in the death rate, chiefly the infant death rate, brought about by medical, sanitary, and economic advance—phenomena from which all populations profited more or less equally, though the Jews, whose high fertility was noticed by Tacitus, increased more than twice as rapidly as the world population. That rate of increase no longer holds. The Jewish birth rate, like other birth rates beginning with the French about 1811, has now fallen to meet the new conditions of survival and longevity. [Arthur] Ruppin remarks that the most striking present feature of Jewish vital statistics is the fall from an eighteenth-century birth rate of forty-five per 1,000 to a rate of eighteen in 1932. This rate moreover declines from East to West in Europe, having been 24.1 in Russia in 1926 and 5.9 in Vienna in 1929. In New York the rule breaks down, the Jewish rate being higher than the non-Jewish. (The Jewish 1932 rate of 17.5 is to be compared with the rate for non-Jews of 16.5) The Jewish advantage, however, is probably to be explained by the fact that about half the Jews living in America are still first-generation immigrants largely from Eastern Europe with the high Eastern European birth rate.

The fact of the matter is, in other words, that an enormous increase has taken place. But the further facts are, first, that the increase is attributable to a temporary unbalance between Jewish birth rate and Jewish death rate in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, second, that that unbalance has largely corrected itself, and, third, that the gates of immigration into the United States are now closed. The three tides, first, of Sephardic Jews from Brazil, Holland, England, and the Spanish Americas in the eighteenth century, second, of German Jews in the first half of the nineteenth, and, third, of Polish and Russian Jews between 1882 (the year of the great Russian pogroms) and 1925 are not

likely to be followed by a fourth. There is therefore little reason for apprehensiveness on the ground merely of anti-Semitic propaganda based upon increasing numbers.

The second and fundamental question then presents itself. Are there any facts to support a charge that Jews have monopolized or are monopolizing economic opportunity in the United States? Before this question can be answered it is desirable to see precisely why it presents itself. What difference does it make even if Jews do run away with the system? Why shouldn't they monopolize any profession or branch of industry they are intelligent enough to capture? A man's job should not be determined by his parentage. To this proposition and to the related proposition that any discrimination against Jews in the professions or in industry is unjust there is no answer in logic or morality. Both are unanswerably sound. But there is an historical answer. Which is that a disproportionate Jewish participation in the economic life of a country has been found capable of arousing anti-Semitic feeling.

Why this should be so—why the success of the Jewish minority should be so particularly resented by other peoples—is a complicated question which is rendered more complicated by the fact that anthropologists are now generally agreed that the Jews are not a race in any scientific sense of the term—no more of a race, for example, than the Germans.

What then is the explanation of anti-Jewish prejudice if the Jews are not a racial unit? The answer would seem to be that anti-Jewish prejudice is the classic example of that dislike and fear of strangers which the Greeks knew as xenophobia and which appears as a familiar phenomenon among primitive peoples and peoples reverting to primitivism. The outstanding fact about the Jewish people is the fact that they have preserved, though scattered among the nations of the earth, their national identity. They are unique among the peoples of the world not because they have bold noses—only a small percentage of Jews have the Jewish nose—but because they alone, of all peoples known to history, have retained in exile and dispersion and over a period of thousands of years their distinction from the peoples among whom they live. The Jew is everywhere and everywhere the Jew is strange. Japanese are strangers in California but not in Japan. Scotsmen are outlanders in Paris but not in Edinburgh. The Jews are outlanders everywhere. The country of the Jew, as Schopenhauer puts it, is other Jews.

And therein is the key to the peculiar destiny of the Jews. The

quality which makes them the scapegoats of Western history is the quality which makes them strangers in Western history—their devotion to their own cultural tradition under conditions of almost impossible hardship and the psychological traits which that devotion has established. Jews themselves, but not non-Jews, think of the Jewish religion as the chief cause of the Jew's universal strangeness, and the Christian religion as the chief cause of the prejudice from which he suffers. Non-Jews, on the other hand, cite such complaints as those gathered together in *Catholics, Jews, and Protestants*, a study undertaken at the request of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. These are: "Aggressiveness, 'sharp business practices,' clannishness, and lack of sensitivity to the feelings of Gentile groups," the preservation among the Jews of "the 'haggling' habit which most of the Western world has outgrown," "the use of shoddy or poor materials," the fact that "Jews are considered by certain leading insurance companies as a poor fire risk," etc.

The truth is that neither these ancient chestnuts of racial prejudice nor the equally ancient references to religious history explain the Jew's position. They are merely rationalizations of the underlying feeling of foreignness—instances of difference made to stand for the difference itself. The true difference is cultural. All other immigrant peoples accept the culture of the country into which they come. The Jews for centuries have refused to accept it and are now, in many cases, unable to accept it when they would. The habit of pride, the long, proud stubbornness of their ancestors, is too strong in them. Even many of those who have deserted the traditions of their people and accepted in every detail the dress and speech and life of the non-Jewish majority are still subtly but recognizably different.

That difference alone, with ignorant or parochial minds, is cause for prejudice. When it is combined, as it frequently is, with an equally strong sense of difference and hence of clannishness on the part of the Jews, it may also affect minds to which neither ignorance nor narrowness can be ascribed. Any minority, and particularly any self-conscious minority, will develop centripetal tendencies. Members of the minority will tend to agglomerate. And this the Jews have notoriously done. Though they are very far, as we shall see, from monopolizing American industry, they have nevertheless made fair progress toward monopolizing those subdivisions of industry in which they have established themselves. Indeed the very fact of the existence of discriminatory quotas and barriers and

the like in industry and education and the professions is proof, not only of Gentile injustice, but also of the Jewish tendency to inundate a field where other Jews have made entrance. It is a natural trait and an understandable trait but it serves to exaggerate the feeling of strangeness and hence the prejudice which that feeling inspires. Seeing Jews clannishly crowding together in particular businesses and particular localities the non-Jew (who does not think of himself as acting clannishly) is more than ever impressed with the exotic character of this unusual people.

And being impressed with the Jews' difference from himself and hence their foreignness he is all too ready to resent their economic successes as a kind of outside invasion of *his* world. He is all too ready to agree that if the Jews have more than their "share," the Jews must be opposed. It is useless to argue that the conclusion is a *non sequitur*: that there is no reason on earth why a man's blood stream should qualify his economic achievements. The only truly convincing answer and the only real obstacle to anti-Semitic propaganda of this most dangerous sort is the appeal to fact.

And the fact is this: that there is no basis whatever for the suggestion that Jews monopolize U.S. business and industry.

Two points should be made at the outset. First, the number of Jews who can be thought of as threatening non-Jewish control of U.S. industry is not so large as the Jewish population estimate of 1933 would suggest: the great mass of the 4,500,000 American Jews, like the great mass of American non-Jews, is made up of workers, employed or unemployed, to whom the control of U.S. industry is a purely academic matter. Second, the number of Jews who can be thought of as threatening non-Jewish control of U.S. industry is not so large as the *seeming* prevalence of Jews would make it appear. The Jews *seem* to play a disproportionate part for two reasons: the Jews and particularly the Polish Jews with their ghetto background are the most urban, the most city-loving, of all peoples, and the favored occupations of Jews in the cities are those occupations which bring them into most direct contact with the great consuming public. These are matters of common observation. The proclivity of the Jews for finance, trade, and exchange has been frequently noticed by Jewish writers and the concentration of Jews in the cities is a present as well as an historical fact. Over 1,000,000 of the 4,500,000 Jews of the first century lived in Alexandria alone and 95 per cent of present American Jews live in American cities of more than 10,000, while 84 per cent live in cities

of more than 100,000. This urban concentration is a circumstance of considerable importance in the present connection. One of the effects of modern industrialism has been to increase the relative importance of the cities. The great metropolis is the true expression of modern life as the country and the castle were the true expressions of medieval life. In consequence any group which is numerous in the cities will seem more important than its actual numerical strength would make it. For example, nearly half the Jews in America live in New York City alone, and the fact that the city of New York is so important to the life of the country taken together with the fact that 30 per cent of the population of that city is Jewish has the effect of throwing its 1,765,000 Jews into very high relief.

Urbanization has also of course certain substantial effects upon Jewish life and hence upon Jewish successes. It is largely responsible, for example, for the Jewish concentration in the learned professions. The Jews share with the Scotch and certain other peoples an almost morbid passion for higher education. But that passion would have been fruitless had the immigrant Jews not remained in the large cities. The American system of education makes it possible for a poor boy living in a great city to carry himself through college and even through certain professional schools free, whereas a similar boy living in a rural community will be stopped after high school by the costs of transportation to the state-college town and by the cost of board and food away from home. The result has been to give the children of certain city-dwelling types of recent immigrant an education advantage over the children of native American and other stocks living in rural areas. The proposed nationwide scholarships at Harvard are one response to this situation.

But though the urbanization of the Jews is a matter of real importance in some connections its principal effect remains in the field of appearances. If appearances are disregarded and replaced with facts the general impression of Jewish ubiquity and power disappears. Indeed the immediate reaction is that the Jews, who can lay better claims than most non-Jews to credit for the creation of the present economic order, are less well represented in many directions than they should be. The Jews and the English were the chief designers of finance capitalism in the last century but only the English have profited correspondingly. The Jews have seen themselves surpassed in one business or banking province after another by upstarts who were still swinging swords or pushing plows when

the Jews were the traders and the bankers of Europe. It is one thing for a non-Jew to say "Oh, the Jews run everything." It is another for an impartial observer to see exactly what they *do* run.

First of all and very definitely, they do not run banking. They play little or no part in the great commercial houses. Of the 420 listed directors of the nineteen members of the New York Clearing House in 1933 only thirty were Jews and about half of these were in the Commerical National Bank & Trust Co. and the Public National Bank & Trust. There were none in the Bank of New York & Trust Co., National City, Guaranty Trust, Central Hanover, First National, Chase, Bankers Trust, or New York Trust. Indeed there are practically no Jewish employees of any kind in the largest commercial banks—and this in spite of the fact that many of their customers are Jews. In the investment field although there are of course Jewish houses, of which Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Speyer & Co., J. & W. Seligman & Co., Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., and Lehman Bros. are the best known, they do not compare in power with the great houses owned by non-Jews. (Dillon of Dillon, Read & Co. is considered a Jew by other Jews but he is not, as his name suggests, an active member of his race nor is his firm considered Jewish by either Jews or non-Jews.) If these houses are ranked upon the amounts of foreign loans outstanding on March 1, 1935, J. P. Morgan with 19.87 per cent, National City Co. with 11.71, Dillion, Read with 11.44, Chase, Harris, Forbes with 8.45, Guaranty Co. with 6.68 per cent, Bancamerica-Blair with 6.18 per cent, and Lee, Higginson with 4.23 per cent all rank above the highest Jewish house, which is Kuhn, Loeb with 2.88 per cent. Ranked on the basis of domestic activity, Kuhn, Loeb, which has been very active of late in the steel industry and which has a long and honorable record of general activity in American business, would of course stand very near the top, but even in the domestic field non-Jewish interests are still far and away the most influential.

Furthermore, these so-called Jewish houses are by no means exclusively Jewish. In Kuhn, Loeb Messrs. Elisha Walker, Bovenizer, Wiseman, and Knowlton, none of them Jews, are extremely active, while control of J. & W. Seligman is now shared with Frederick Strauss by Earle Bailie and Francis Randolph, a member of the proudest family in the Virginia Tidewater.

On the New York Stock Exchange, 148 of the 919 members, or 16 per cent, are Jews, while fifty-five of the 637 firms listed by the Exchange directory are Jewish, twenty-four are half-Jewish, and

thirty-nine have dominant Jewish influence. The absence of Jews in the insurance business is noteworthy. Herman A. Behrens, President of Continental Assurance Co., and J. B. Levison, President of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Co. in San Francisco, are two of the few Jewish executives of large insurance companies. In the insurance-agency field, however, about half the business is Jewish in New York. And the New York insurance-brokerage business is predominantly Jewish although the three or four nationwide brokerage houses with New York offices are non-Jewish. Outside New York Jewish representation follows the Jewish population proportion.

If the Jews have a subordinate place in finance, which they are often said to control, they have an even more inconspicuous place in heavy industry. The only outstanding Jews in that field are the Blocks and Max Epstein of Chicago, the Blocks being largely interested in Inland Steel . . . the No. 7 producer, and Mr. Epstein being Chairman of the Board of General American Transportation Corp., which manufactures tank cars. Inland Steel is a successful company well liked and much respected in the trade but its share of the steel business is relatively small. The only exception to the rule that steel is not a Jewish industry is the scrap business. Scrap iron and steel, a half-billion-dollar business in 1929, which provides the steel industry with half its metal requirements, is owned 90 per cent by Jews, being an outgrowth of the junk business, which at the end of the last century was in the hands of Russian Jews. The largest company in the business is Luria Bros. & Co. of Philadelphia owned by Russian Jews. Others are Hyman Michaels Co. of Chicago, founded by Joseph E. Michaels, a Portuguese Jew, Charles Dreifus Co. of Pittsburgh, and Luntz Iron & Steel Co. of Canton, Ohio. It may be added in passing that practically the whole waste-products industry including nonferrous scrap metal (a \$300,000,000 a year business in 1929), paper, cotton rag, wool rag, and rubber, is Jewish.

Something the same situation exists in automobiles. There are only three Jews of any prominence in the executive end of manufacturing—Morris Markin, President of Cord-controlled Checker Cab, Meyer L. Prentis, Treasurer of General Motors, and A. E. Barit, First Vice President and General Manager of Hudson. There are only two Jews in positions of importance on the financial end—Jules Bache in Chrysler and John Hertz of Lehman Bros. on the Board of Studebaker. And there are few Jews in the new-car

distributing business. No considerable number appears until the second-hand trade is reached.

The coal industry is almost entirely non-Jewish. It is doubtful whether the roster of the leading twenty-five companies would show a single Jew from miner to manager or on up to the board of directors. And they are not numerous in distribution. Conceivably 2 per cent of the wholesale selling and possibly 10 per cent of the retail trade—most of the latter around New York—is in Jewish hands.

Rubber is another non-Jewish industry. Of the tire manufacturers only Kelly-Springfield was ever Jewish and Kelly-Springfield is now in non-Jewish hands. There are Jewish concerns in rubberized fabric and to a lesser extent in the rubber-heel-and-shoe business but they are not dominant. Neither do they control petroleum. On the contrary the Jewish interest is solely in the marketing of petroleum products and even there it is probably no more than 5 per cent, the chief marketer being American Oil of Baltimore, and American Oil, though still managed by the Blausteins, who founded it, is now controlled by a Standard of Indiana subsidiary. The chemical industry is in a comparable position. Neither in Du Pont, Allied Chemical & Dye, U.S. Industrial Alcohol, or Air Reduction is there a single Jew in a managerial position. There are two Jewish directors, Alfred A. Cook of Allied Chemical and Jules Bache of U.S. Industrial Alcohol. Otherwise Jews appear as researchers and laboratory men, in which positions several of them have made considerable reputations.

Shipping and transportation are equally non-Jewish. There are no Jews of any importance in railroading save Jacob Aronson, Vice President in Charge of the Legal Department of the New York Central, and the only notable Jew in shipping is Samuel Zemurray, managing director of United Fruit. There is a corporation of Jewish control named American Foreign Steamship Corp. but it is relatively insignificant. On inland waterways only the Hudson River Navigation Corp. recently bought by subway-tunneling Mr. Samuel Rosoff seems to have Jewish ownership. There are no Jewish shipbuilders of any kind. In passenger bus transportation the Jewish interest is minuscule, being limited to a half dozen little lines like Capitol Coach, Lincoln Transit, and Manhattan Coach in the New York area. In aviation the situation is about the same. There is no Jewish control in the management or ownership end of either transport or manufacture. Jewish financial interest there

undoubtedly is, as for example, through Lehman in T.W.A. But Lehman is associated in T.W.A. with Atlas and financial control is non-Jewish throughout.

A vast continent of heavy industry and finance may therefore be staked out in which Jewish participation is incidental or nonexistent. To this may be annexed other important areas into which Jews have rarely penetrated such as light and power and telephone and telegraph and engineering in general and heavy machinery and lumber and dairy products. In brief, Jews are so far from controlling the most characteristic of present-day American activities that they are hardly represented in them at all.

To find Jewish participation in industry it is necessary to turn to the light industries. And even there it is necessary to turn from the manufacturing to the distributing end. There is an entire group of industries like wool, silk, cotton, and rayon weaving where the Jewish interest in production is small, being 5 to 10 per cent in wool (for example, L. Bachmann of Uxbridge Worsted, Austin T. Levy of Stillwater Worsted, and Allen and Bernard Goldfine), 15 per cent in silk (for example, Hess, Goldsmith & Co., David Silks, Inc., Widder Bros.), 5 per cent in cotton (the Cone family of North Carolina, Sigmund Odenheimer of New Orleans, Elias Reiss of New York), and 16 per cent in rayon-yarn production (Industrial Rayon and Celanese Corp.). But in these same industries the Jewish interest in distribution is large, half the wool sales agents and jobbers, three-quarters of the silk converters, and three-quarters of the cotton converters being Jews. In the underwear and dress-cutting trades using rayon 80 to 90 per cent are Jews.

In other industries like meat packing a special Jewish branch of the business brings up the total: the kosher meat pack, for example, amounts to almost 10 per cent of the wholesale meat-packing total. While in furniture making a particular Jewish affinity for the upholstered (as opposed to the "case" or wooden) field gives Jewish manufacturers like Artistic in Detroit, Angelus in Los Angeles, and S. Karpen in Chicago almost half the total. But these victories have their counterbalancing defeats. There are light-industry sectors like boots and shoes where on the manufacturing end the Jews are a 40 per cent minority in numbers and a 29 per cent minority in volume. Only in the traditional Jewish bailiwick of the clothing industry can any claim for a Jewish monopoly be made. There, about 85 per cent of men's clothing and about 95 per cent of women's dresses and about 95 per cent of furs and almost the whole wearing-

apparel business are in Jewish hands with the interest of New York Jews predominating.

But the clothing business is the spectacular and outstanding exception to the statement that Jewish industrial interests are generally in the minority. Not even in the liquor business, which was always the prerogative of the Jew in Poland, nor in the tobacco business, in which many a rich Jew made his start, are Jewish interests dominant. Jews have practically blanketed the tobacco-buying business, where Jew and buyer are synonymous words, and control three of the four leading cigar-manufacturing concerns including Fred Hirschhorn's General Cigar, which makes every seventh cigar smoked in America. But their cigarette interest is confined in the Big Four to P. Lorillard and even there they appear only as bankers through J. & W. Seligman. As for the liquor business about half the important distilling concerns are Jewish. The largest U.S. concern, National Distillers (1934 sales: \$50,000,000), is under non-Jewish management though Daniel K. Weiskopf, an active Vice President, is a Jew. The second, Schenley (1934 sales: \$40,000,000), is controlled by Jews though with Grover A. Whalen as Chairman of the Board. The third, Seagrams (sales figure not published), is owned, controlled, and managed by the Bronfman brothers who are Jews. These three companies do about 50 per cent of the business. Of the next three, Frankfort, Hiram Walker, and Continental, only the last named is under Jewish management. But in the wholesale liquor trade in New York Jews do probably only a quarter of the business. Three of the leading firms are non-Jewish—R. C. Williams, Austin Nichols, and McKesson & Robbins. Outside New York, Jewish participation is even less. In the importing business it is small. In the domestic wine business it is trifling.

With the perspective of a broad review such as this it becomes apparent that Jews are most frequently to be found in those reaches of industry where manufacturer and merchant meet. Consequently their predominance in retailing might be expected. It will not be found. The Jewish interest, though easily dominant in New York and in the northeastern cities in general, is not as great throughout the country as is commonly supposed. Department stores are largely Jewish-owned in New York, where Macy, Gimbel, Saks, Abraham & Straus, Bloomingdale, Hearn, all are Jewish—the chief non-Jewish concerns being Stern, Wanamaker, McCreery, Loeser, Lord & Taylor, and Best. Altman is owned by two foundations created by the late Benjamin Altman and Colonel Friedsam,

both Jews. But in Chicago the two leading stores are Marshall Field and Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., one of Yankee origin and the other of Scotch and both under Scotch management at present. The third in rank, Mandel Bros., is Jewish. And farther west the relative number of Jewish stores of importance further decreases. The department-store chains like May, Allied, Interstate, and Gimbel are Jewish but the Five and Ten, etc., chains like Woolworth and Kress are 95 per cent not. In the food-and-grocery field, where the greatest number of chains operate, 95 to 99 per cent including A & P are non-Jewish. Montgomery Ward in the mail-order field is non-Jewish while Sears, Roebuck has a Jewish history (Julius Rosenwald) but active management of Sears, Roebuck now is in the hands of General Robert Wood. Drugstore chains are about 90 per cent non-Jewish and apparel-store chains 90 per cent the other way. Jews in other words are in a definite retailing minority over the country.

By and large, then, the case for Jewish control of American industry falls pretty flat. But the little propagandists of the Shirts [American Nazis] have another tune to their whistle. They contend that, whatever the facts about industry, the Jews control opinion in America through their control of newspapers, publishing, radio, the theatre, and above all the movies. Even granted, in the face of notorious inability of Jews to agree and the wide divergence of their interests, that such a thing as "Jewish opinion" could exist, it would still be difficult to prove that Jewish opinion directs U.S. opinion.

As to the newspapers the facts are strongly the other way round. Save for the prestige of the *New York Times*, which must rank on any basis of real distinction as the leading American newspaper, the interest of Jews is small. There are only four important Jewish chains in the field: the Ochs interest owning the *Times* and the *Chattanooga Times*, J. David Stern owning the *New York Post*, the *Philadelphia Record*, and the Camden (New Jersey) *Courier and Post*, Paul Block owning the *Newark Star-Eagle*, the *Toledo Blade and Times*, and the *Duluth Herald and News-Tribune*, and Emanuel P. Adler of Davenport, Iowa, owning a string of papers in towns such as Davenport and Ottumwa, Iowa; Madison, Wisconsin; Hannibal, Missouri; Lincoln, Nebraska, etc. On the basis of daily circulation these four groups total respectively 489,871, 391,209, 289,126, and 198,610. These figures may be compared with the 5,500,000 daily of Hearst who is not a Jew, Patterson-McCormick's

2,332,156, and Scripps-Howard's 1,794,617. Jewish department-store owners unquestionably influence newspaper policy in cities where they are numerous like New York but the influence is rather negative (against criticism of Jews) than positive (for particular Jews or particular Jewish programs).

The magazine situation is even more striking. Save for the *New Yorker*, in which the largest stockholder is Raoul Fleischman but the directing head Harold Ross, the only important Jewish general magazines are the *American Mercury* and *Esquire*. And *Esquire* is closely related, through its male-fashion department, to the traditionally Jewish clothing business.

Advertising presents something of the same picture. The Jewish participation may be put at about 1 to 3 per cent. Of the 200 large agencies six may be Jewish, the most important by all odds being Lord & Thomas of which Albert D. Lasker is President. Of the 1,800 small agencies perhaps 100 or 150 are run by Jews.

So far as book publishing is concerned there are practically no Jews in the business prior to 1915 and today Viking, Simon & Schuster, Knopf, Covici, Friede, and Random House do not rank in size of annual list with such non-Jewish houses as Macmillan, Scribner's, Harpers, Houghton Mifflin, Appleton-Century, Doubleday, Doran, and the like. In job- and trade-printing plants Jews are perhaps dominant in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago and the two largest bookbinding companies, American Book Bindery and the H. Wolff concern, are run by Jews.

In radio the Jewish interest is extremely important. Of the two great broadcasting chains one, Columbia, is under Jewish control. The other, N.B.C., though non-Jewish in management, is headed by David Sarnoff. Of the local stations the vast majority outside New York, however, are non-Jewish.

As to theatre, the theatre being a New York institution and New York being the largest Jewish city in the world and Jews being drawn to the amusement business and to the dramatic arts, a Jewish monopoly might be expected. In the days of Erlanger and the Shuberts it may have existed. Today, however, a count of active New York producers show fifty-eight non-Jewish producers and fifty-six Jewish and an estimate of their relative importance shows them pretty much in balance. This count, however, does not include the various groups such as the Theatre Guild, the Group Theatre, and the Theatre Union. The inclusion of these predominantly Jewish organizations would probably serve to restore the Jewish advantage

both in prestige and in commercial importance. The commercial importance of the Guild is very high and it still retains a certain prestige. The prestige of the Group is at present probably greater than that of any other producing organization.

The movies however are the chief point of anti-Semitic reliance. And there a persuasive case may be made. Jews were the first exhibitors of movies because the early movie theatres could be operated with little capital: they were commonly empty stores with folding chairs for seats and a derelict piano. Large returns in such ventures tempted them into production. American movies, in consequence, were made for years as Marcus Loew, Adolph Zukor, Sam Goldwyn, Carl Laemmle, Louis Selznick, Louis B. Mayer, Jesse Lasky, and William Fox thought they should be made. . . .

Today Jewish control of the great moving-picture companies is less than monopolistic. An examination of the various producing corporations . . . will suggest that three of the eight principal companies are owned and controlled by Jews, two are probably owned and controlled by non-Jews, and in three management and ownership are divided. But though Jews do not monopolize the industry moneywise they do nevertheless exert pretty complete control over the production of pictures. A majority of directors, including such men as Frank Borzage, Howard Hawks, John Ford, W. S. Van Dyke, King Vidor, and Frank Capra are non-Jews. But directors are subordinate in authority to producers. Of eighty-five names engaged in production either as executives in production, producers, or associate producers (including independents) fifty-three are Jews. And the Jewish advantage holds in prestige as well as in numbers. Of non-Jews, Darryl Zanuck, the new luminary at Twentieth Century-Fox, and Alexander Korda at United Artists are among the outstanding producers. On the Jewish side of the roster are such names as Irving Thalberg, Carl Laemmle, Jr., David Selznick, Ernst Lubitsch, B. P. Schulberg, and Jack Warner.

It is difficult on these figures to conclude that American organs and instruments of opinion are predominantly Jewish. Granted the great power of the movies in the influencing of modern society and the great influence of Jews in the movies, it still remains true that the Jewish interest in journalism and advertising is extraordinarily small and that journalism and advertising also have their persuasiveness. With radio and the theatre standing midway between, each about half owned by Jews, it may perhaps be guessed that they more fairly reflect the actual situation. At the very most half the

opinion-making and taste-influencing paraphernalia in America is in Jewish hands.

The whole picture of industry, business, and amusements, then, may be summed up by repeating that while there are certain industries which Jews dominate and certain industries in which Jewish participation is considerable there are also vast industrial fields, generally reckoned as the most typical of our civilization, in which they play a part so inconsiderable as not to count in the total picture. Perhaps as good a comment as any is that offered by figures published recently in the *American Hebrew*. Of 80,000 individual names listed in *Poor's Register of Directors* 4.7 per cent appear to be Jewish as against a Jewish population percentage of about 4 or a little less. It is admitted by the *American Hebrew* writer that certain Jews are omitted in any such tabulation because of the penchant of certain Jews for adopting non-Jewish names, but it is contended with justice that some non-Jews with Jewish-sounding names will also be included so that the total error will be diminished. And in any case it seems fair to assume that the 4.7 per cent figure is out of line to no considerable extent.

The impression thus given that Jews are very far from controlling American life is increased if the eye is permitted to wander over the agricultural scene. No census of Jews in agriculture has ever been made but even the Jewish Agricultural Society places the total no higher than 80,000 out of a farm population of 30,500,000. Attempts by Jews to move their people out of the urban centers and into colonies on the land have not been successful save in the neighborhood of big cities or in special circumstances. The reason probably is the long legal exclusion of the Jews from landowning in Europe. The total of Jews on the land has increased about 100 per cent since 1900. But the record of the formal settlements is still discouraging. Major Noah's "Ararat" on Grand Island in the Niagara River, a half-agricultural venture, was an unrealized dream in 1818. Then followed "Sholom," which survived from 1837 to 1850 in Ulster County, New York. Third in order were the short-lived colonies established by German Jews already in this country to take care of part of the flood of penniless Russian Jews in the eighties. Subsequently, with the aid of funds supplied by the great Jewish philanthropist, Baron de Hirsch, other and luckier colonies were started. The most famous of these is Woodbine in Cape May County, New Jersey, an agricultural-industrial settlement, with an important Jewish agricultural school. Numerous Jewish farming

communities have sprung up in other localities in southern New Jersey. In addition to New Jersey, the states with the largest Jewish farm population are New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, and North Dakota. Well-known individuals are Simon Fishman, a successful wheat farmer who sits in the Kansas Senate, Jacob Karlin, who has a profitable truck farm in Calverton, Long Island, valued at \$20,000, Irving Kauder of Ulster County, New York, who is a leading breeder of White Leghorns, and Max D. Cohen, who runs 2,000 to 2,500 head of cattle on 3,600 acres in Idaho.

There remains for consideration the two related fields of politics and the professions—particularly law and medicine. The anti-Semitic contention as to the professions is that the Jews have crowded out the rest of the population and are monopolizing all opportunities. To prove which anti-Semites cite estimates guessing that a third to a half of the lawyers in New York City and at least a third of the doctors are Jews. One obvious rejoinder is that a third of the population of New York is also Jewish and that the percentage of Jewish lawyers and doctors in other cities with smaller Jewish populations is correspondingly smaller.

Another equally obvious reply is that 50 per cent of New York lawyers does not mean 50 per cent of New York's lawyer *power*. The most important office law business in America such as the law business incidental to banking, insurance, trust-company operation, investment work, railroading, patents, admiralty, and large corporation matters in general is in the hands of non-Jewish firms many of which, even though they have numerous Jewish clients, have no Jewish partners. Jewish legal activity will be found most commonly in the bankruptcy courts, real-estate law, negligence, divorce, collections and litigation in general. In other words, Jews are largely to be found in those branches of law which do not interest non-Jewish lawyers or in those branches of law related to commercial activities like real estate and textiles where Jews are peculiarly active. It is for that reason that the importance of Jews in trial work is significant. Their presence in the courts means not only that Jews are able trial lawyers but also that non-Jewish lawyers tend to prefer the fat fees and regular hours and routine, solicitor-like labors of their offices to the active, combative, professional service of the law courts. Non-Jewish lawyers have themselves to thank if they think the trend of judicial decisions has recently been contrary to the spirit of Anglo-Saxon law.

The medical situation is not unlike the legal. There is no equally clear-cut separation of fields of professional activity but there is the same disparity between numbers of Jewish doctors and extent of Jewish medical influence. New York, for example, has numerous good Jewish doctors and a few very great Jewish doctors. But Jews do not occupy a position of power corresponding to their abilities or their numbers in the profession. Hospital medical boards and the like are apt to be controlled by non-Jewish doctors, though revolving officiates with Jews and non-Jews alternating are sometimes employed. And north, west, and south of New York the conflict lessens.

The chief difference between law and medicine is that the feeling between Jews and non-Jews is much stronger in the latter profession than in the former. The reason for that feeling is this: of approximately 14,000 young men and women attempting annually to enter the seventy-six reputable U.S. medical schools 50 per cent are Jews, while of the 6,000 more or less who get in only 17 per cent are Jews. Non-Jewish doctors cite these figures as proof of the danger of Jewish aggressiveness and commercialism in the profession while Jewish doctors cite them as proof of discrimination, arguing that if there are a disproportionate number of Jews in medical schools the reason may be that Jews are brighter than non-Jews. The truth seems to be that medicine is merely the most obvious point of collision between forces set in motion by the peculiar development of Jewish life in America. Given the desire of Jews to see their sons in the learned professions, and given their urbanization and hence their access to free college education, and given the assiduity of Jewish children, a clash was inevitable. There is no occasion to explain it by reference to an alleged Jewish intellectual superiority.

The Jewish advantage in the professions, then, is rather shadow than substance. And so, but much more so, is the Jewish importance in politics. Anti-Semites usually put that importance in two ways for purposes of effect if not for purposes of logic. First, "the New Deal is the Jew Deal." Second, "all Communists are Jews and all Jews are Communists." As to the New Deal, FORTUNE has already pointed out ("The Case against Roosevelt," December, 1935) that Jewish influence in Mr. Roosevelt's Washington is minor. Attempts to make it seem important rest on misrepresentations and no amount of political whispering can change that fact. As to Communism the finding of the Congressional Committee of 1931 that

70 per cent of the U.S. Communist Party was alien with Jews predominating has been effectively rebutted. The truth is that of the 27,000 U.S. Communists, few of the higher officers and only 3,500 to 4,000 of the members of the party are Jews.

The reason for the general impression of Jewish and Communist identity is simple. First of all, as we have had occasion to observe, the Jews are urban and largely concentrated in New York. The radical movement is also urban and largely centered in New York. Secondly, the Jewish members of the Communist Party are very commonly the intellectual and hence the articulate members of that party. The second-generation Jewish intellectual with his background of Talmudic dialectic is mentally predisposed to Marxism to a degree which he himself rarely appreciates. And Marxism with its internationalism and anti-nationalism is eminently fitted to the emotional needs of a people without a fatherland. The attachment of men of other blood to the earth on which they were born is sometimes incomprehensible to the traditionally earthless Jew. But most important, Jewish intellectuals are attracted to radicalism because the Jewish intellectual very understandably feels that the "system" is against him. Non-Jews wishing to become teachers and scientists and professional men are able to find more or less open opportunities for the exercise of their talents. Such opportunities are frequently closed to the Jew. In consequence the Jewish intellectual is frequently against the existing order. In consequence he is frequently a radical. And since he is able and idealistic and courageous and articulate he becomes the voice of radicalism. He provides, under his own name or under non-Jewish names chosen for tactical reasons, a very great deal of the magazine writing, the propaganda, the general literature, of the movement in New York. In so doing he puts himself very much in the public eye and his 15 per cent membership in the Communist Party looks like 100 per cent. It is not the natural propensity of the Jews for revolution which produces the impression. It is their natural propensity for journalism and excited, persuasive speech.

But because the Jewish intellectual is a formidable member of the Communist Party it does not follow that "the revolution" in America is Jewish. There are two unanswerable reasons why it is not. One reason is that for every revolutionary Jew there are thousands of Jewish capitalists, shopkeepers, traders, and the like who stand to lose everything in a revolution as 90 per cent of the Jews in Russia (who were traders and the like) lost everything—including,

in many cases, their lives. The other reason is that the revolution in America is much more likely to come from the native-born Americans of Yankee and Nordic stock in the agricultural regions of the Midwest and Northwest than from the Americans of Jewish stock in New York City.

Examination of Jewish participation in American life might be carried further but the findings would remain the same. Jews do not dominate the American scene. They do not even dominate major sectors of the American scene. They do, however, monopolize certain minor provinces. What is remarkable about the Jews in America, in other words, is not their industrial power but their curious industrial distribution, their tendency to crowd together in particular squares of the checkerboard. The reason for their crowding must be found in their most pronounced psychological trait—their clannishness, their tribal inclination. The reason for their choice of particular squares into which to crowd must be found in historical accident. Jews are in scrap iron because they were once in the junk business and they were once in the junk business because a penniless immigrant could make a start there on a shoestring. Jews are in movies because they were in movie theatres and because a few successful cloak-and-suit manufacturers invested their cloak-and-suit profits usefully in the amusement business. (The connection between the movies and the cloak-and-suit business is still esthetically betrayed from time to time.) Were the four and a half millions of American Jews scattered more or less evenly over the whole industrial acreage, and were they as fond of rural communities and small towns as they are of great cities, their presence as Jews would hardly be noticed by other Americans. The whole point of the whole inquiry is that wherever the Jews may be, industrially or culturally or professionally or merely geographically, they are always present in numbers and they are almost always present as Jews.

And therein too lies the point of the so-called Jewish problem. Granted, as any open-minded man who has read the facts here collected must grant, that the Jews do not come within gunshot of running America and that their numbers are no longer rapidly increasing and that there is no color of reason for expecting successful anti-Semitism here. Granted that the FORTUNE Survey, above quoted, demonstrates the ability of the American people to suffer Klan propaganda and Silver Shirt [an American Nazi group] propaganda and the propaganda of the Nazis and still maintain

common sense and basic decency. Granted that there is strong reason therefore for believing that Fascism can be defeated in this country. Granted all this, it still remains true that the future of the Jews in America is puzzling. Can this universal stranger be absorbed in the country which has absorbed every other European stock? Does he wish to be absorbed? Can he live happily and in peace if he is not absorbed? The answers must be guesses. Upper-class Spanish and German Jews *have* been pretty well absorbed. There are, however, numerous Jews who look upon the loss of Jewish identity as a kind of social suicide. If those groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, who wish the identity and distinction of the Jews preserved are able to carry their point then the only hope for the Jews in America is mutual toleration and respect. Since, however, toleration and mutual respect are also the only hope of all who wish to preserve or reestablish democratic institutions in this country the Jews in America will have numerous allies. The first condition of their success will be the quieting of Jewish apprehensiveness and the consequent elimination of the aggressive and occasionally provocative Jewish defensive measures [such as a boycott of German goods] which the country has recently and anxiously observed.



A JEWISH FAMILY AND THE DEPRESSION

When the Great Depression descended upon America, there was no federal program to assist the unemployed, not one state had an unemployment insurance system, and there were no specialized organizations or plans to provide relief to the unemployed. Almost sole responsibility for caring for the destitute lay with the local community. First in line of responsibility came family and relatives; then came private charity, organized and unorganized, which, even in the Jewish community, was totally unprepared philosophically, financially, and administratively to cope with the massive unemployment and loss of income.

It is wrong to think that the only Jews hard hit by the Depression were those who were "marginal members" of society (poorly trained or unskilled) before it struck. Many Jews of considerable training and ability, economically well-off earlier, became destitute, as the Depression affected all classes of American society in greater or lesser degree. There was plenty of unemployment among the educated and skilled, among engineers, mathemati-

cians, insurance salesmen, teachers, musicians, artists, writers, and others ordinarily in higher income and social groups. By the end of the decade, great numbers of young people—especially the children of Jewish immigrant parents—who came out of schools and colleges in the 1930's had never held a steady job, and even more had never held a steady job worthy of their ability and education. In addition, Jews were openly barred from many positions; for example, ads in several major Ohio dailies sometimes specified "Christian" and frequently used such phrases as "out-of-towner preferred" (Cleveland) or "near churches."

Notable in the case history of the Berger family is how firmly the family held to the values acquired while the father was a small businessman. The family paid its rent regularly, even when this meant reducing its diet to a level so low the welfare workers felt it was impossible and must be evidence of fraud.

BERGER FAMILY

Status WPA Home Relief Supplementation *Religion* Jewish
 Man: born 1893 Poland to U.S.A. 1913 Citizen 1934
 Wife: born 1895 Poland to U.S.A. 1920 Citizen 1939

Education

Man: Very little formal education. Attended Hebrew school Poland.
 Wife: No formal education.

Medical Status

Man: Negative.
 Wife: Negative.

Woman's Work History Never worked outside of home.

Married 1912, Poland.

Number of Children in the Home Two Ages—14 and 17 years.

Basic Occupation before Relief Grocery clerk. Previously small businessman.

Average Income Before Relief \$20 to \$30 weekly.

Private Employment Terminated October, 1936.

First Accepted for Relief November, 1936.

Summary

Home Relief From November 2, 1936, to November 23, 1936.
Closed to WPA.

WPA November, 1936, to date with the exception of:

Home Relief for two weeks in August, 1939, following WPA layoff because of 18-month ruling.

Reinstated on WPA September, 1939.

Applied for and received Home Relief Supplementation of WPA wages, March 1940, to date. Earlier applications rejected.

Few reclassifications or shifts while on WPA—was a laborer; at present—watchman, \$52.80 a month.

ABSTRACT OF HOME RELIEF RECORD

- OCT.,
1936 *First Application:* (Social Service Exchange—no record.)
Family is living in four rooms at a rental of \$28 and has lived here since 1934. Their rent is paid to October 31st. The man was a grocery clerk from 1929 to October, 1936, when he was laid off because the owner's brother-in-law was in need of a job. Mr. Berger earned \$20 a week and on this the family managed fairly well. Their rent had been \$25 a month until last year, when it was raised to \$28. Mr. and Mrs. Berger are said to have been panic-stricken at the thought of public assistance. They are especially concerned about their rent, which they have always paid in advance. The man stated that they had always managed adequately, but had not been able to save any money because of their low income. Therefore, they had no resources and it was necessary for them to come to Home Relief only two weeks after Mr. Berger lost his job. The man said that he is "too proud to stay on Home Relief long."
- NOV. 2,
1936 Investigator visited Mr. Berger's former employer, the grocer, who said that Mr. Berger is a "most honest, diligent, conscientious worker" and that he was sorry to let him go. He said that his wife's brother was unemployed and that she had prevailed upon him to give this brother the job.

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- NOV. 2,
1936 *Case Accepted.*
- NOV. 17,
1936 *Man assigned to WPA as a laborer at \$60.50 monthly.*
- NOV. 23,
1936 *Case Closed to WPA.*
- NOV. 9,
1937 *Applied for Home Relief supplementation.* There is an estimated budget deficit of \$4.05 semimonthly. Family is still living in the same apartment; their rental is now \$31. It was raised recently and it is for this reason that Mr. Berger is asking for help. He says that he applied for supplementary assistance at Borough Hall, when first assigned to WPA, and was told that a family with only two children was not eligible for supplementation. The investigator questioned the family's management to date. Both Mr. and Mrs. Berger said that they managed somehow by doing without meat, fruit, etc., by purchasing no new clothing, and by saving in every possible way. Mrs. Berger cried as she talked about their difficulties. She explained that she watches every penny; that her husband takes his lunch with him and that her boy walks to school because they do not have the carfare to give him.
- NOV. 16,
1937 Investigator visited the grocer to whom the Bergers owe a debt of \$25. The grocer says that he extended credit to them because they are the type of family who try their best. He knows that they would not apply for assistance unless their need was great.
- DEC.,
1937 *Case Rejected* "because it does not seem possible for this family to have managed without some other kind of assistance."
- JAN. 4,
1938 *Reapplied for Supplementation:* Mr. Berger says that the last time he applied for supplementation he was ashamed to say that he had borrowed money in order to manage. He says that he borrowed from a friend, \$10 or \$15 at a time as he needed it for rent, and then paid it back when he got his check. He now owes two friends \$15 each. He pays a little on these debts and

then borrows again when the need for rent or utility bills becomes acute. Mrs. Berger showed investigator the contents of the kitchen cupboard. There seemed to be little more than potatoes. Mr. Berger showed investigator his old, torn coat. Investigator reports that "during the interview, Mr. and Mrs. Berger were not resentful at any time. Mr. Berger was resigned to the interview and slightly disgusted." He did not see the reason for such an intensive investigation. "Investigator still not able to understand the family's ability to manage on about \$5 a week for food." The woman was told to keep a daily record of food expenses for the next few days. Man says that he has talked with other men on the job who have families the size of his. They are two or three months in arrears with their rent. He says that he could not stand this; that he has to feel that his rent is paid no matter what else happens.

JAN. 25,
1938

Mr. Berger presented a diet list kept by his wife. The family seems to have been living on a diet which excludes milk, meat, or fish. They use potatoes, evaporated milk, canned fish, etc., as indicated by the list for a week.

FEB. 8,
1938

Man at the District Office. Still no decision by Home Relief. According to investigator, "visitor stated that the list of foods composed by his wife seemed to create some doubt in our minds of the ability of the family to manage over a period of a year on such a diet without there being some apparent decline in health." The decision on the case is left up to the nutritionist. Man states that the family's need is great; that otherwise he would not have applied. He says that the \$3 increase in rent brought about the present emergency. He says that they also hope to be able to get some clothing if they are accepted for supplementation.

FEB. 15,
1938

The nutritionist stated that in her opinion "the family could not have lived on this budget for any length of time without seriously impairing their health."

FEB. 15,
1938

Case Rejected. "It seems apparent that the family has not explained management freely."

- AUG. 16,
1939 *Reapplied for Full Home Relief.* Man was dismissed from WPA, August 10, 1939, because of the 18 month ruling. Questioned again about how the family has been able to manage, they replied they have managed somehow so far. Their rent was increased to \$33. They have a roomer who pays \$10 a month and Isaac, who was graduated from high school this June, received \$3.80 a month from NYA [National Youth Administration] while at school. Mrs. Berger is unable to say how much she needs for living expenses, repeating what she has frequently said in the past, that she managed with what she had on hand. The home is described as crowded, with a boy and girl sleeping in the living room so that the roomer may have a room of his own. Man is anxious for work. Goes to stores and markets but is unable to obtain work. He says that he wants to return to WPA rather than stay on Home Relief.
- AUG. 31,
1939 *Case Accepted.*
- SEPT. 12,
1939 *Reassigned to WPA as a laborer at \$52.80.*
- SEPT. 14,
1939 *Case Closed to WPA.*
- FEB.,
1940 *Reapplied for Home Relief Supplementation.* When asked why they had not applied sooner they said Isaac had received \$15 a month from NYA while at City College, which he entered last fall, and that he had given it all to his mother to use for the household expenses. She gave him carfare and he took his lunches from home so that he used little of the \$15 himself. He was dropped from the NYA rolls this semester because his average fell below C.
- The rent was raised two months ago and is now \$34. They were able to make ends meet until this month with the help of the \$10 from the roomer and Isaac's \$15 income. Their rent is paid to date but they still owe \$15 to the grocer. He has been lenient because they pay something regularly, but recently they have failed to keep the bill down and were told that the

grocer must have something on account before extending further credit.

MAR., 1940 *Case Accepted for Home Relief supplementation.*

MAY, 1940 *Last Entry—clothing check for \$5 granted.*



FAMILY INCOME IN 1975

Whatever explanation they proposed, recent studies all agree that in the post-world War II era, Jewish income levels have consistently been higher than those of the general population and comparable to, if not even higher than, those of the high-status Protestant denominations. As early as 1957, a Bureau of the Census survey revealed that 17 percent of Jewish males (vs. 3.6 percent of the males in the total population) had incomes of \$10,000 and over, while only 25 percent of Jewish males (vs. 41 percent of the total male population) had incomes under \$3,000.¹

In the 1970's an important study was conducted for the Ford Foundation by Andrew Greeley, based on a composite sample of 17,700 Americans taken from twelve separate representative national surveys and excluding both nonwhites and Spanish-speakers. No matter how one arranged the evidence, Jews stood at the top of the rank order of American denominational groups in average family income (1974 dollars). Further, Jews demonstrated income superiority at every age cohort, leading Greeley to describe them as "in every measure one could care to choose the most successful group in American society."²

The Jewish community of Columbus, Ohio, numbering 15,000 in 1975 (3 percent of the city's population), is representative of much of American

1. Sidney Goldstein, "American Jewry, 1970: A Demographic Profile," *American Jewish Year Book* 72 (1971):81.
2. Andrew Greeley, *Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality*, Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences, Series No. 90-029, Studies in Religion and Ethnicity, (Beverly Hills, 1976), p. 39.

Average Family Income Reported by Jews
in Columbus, Ohio, 1975

<i>INCOME</i>	<i>AGE</i>						<i>Cumulative percent- age</i>
	<i>18-25</i>	<i>26-35</i>	<i>36-45</i>	<i>46-55</i>	<i>56-65</i>	<i>All</i>	
Under \$7,000	27.8%	1.5%	2.0%	**	6.3%	4.6%	4.6%
7,000-12,000	33.3	10.8	3.9	**	6.3	8.7	13.3
12,000-15,000	27.8	9.2	7.8	**	9.3	9.2	22.5
15,000-20,000	11.1	13.8	11.8	**	18.8	11.7	34.2
20,000-35,000	**	38.6	35.4	60.0%	31.2	36.2	70.4
35,000-50,000	**	15.4	23.5	16.7	12.5	15.8	86.2
50,000-75,000	**	7.7	7.8	16.7	12.5	9.2	95.4
75,000-100,000	**	1.5	3.9	3.3	3.1	2.6	98.0
100,000+	**	1.5	3.9	3.3	**	2.0	100.0
Total N (%=100)	36	130	102	60	64	392*	

*Not all of the 490 respondents answered each question.

**Our failure to discover any persons in these categories does not mean they do not exist—they do; but suggests that their number is very, very small.

Jewry. Fully 77.5 percent of those responding to a 1975 random probability sample of more than 9,000 adults reported family incomes over \$15,000; 65.8 percent earned more than \$20,000; and nearly three of ten respondents reported an income of more than \$35,000. Few had to wait long for such economic success; of those under 36 years of age, 78 percent earned more than \$15,000, and 61 percent reported incomes over \$20,000. Not one "middle-aged" person, furthermore, listed a family income less than \$20,000.

PART TWO



INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY has used a time-honored means of defending itself against discrimination: institutions and organizations designed to meet specific needs of individuals or groups within the community. In the absence of organized communal authorities, such voluntary associations and institutions have played particularly significant roles in discharging group responsibilities and maintaining as much cohesion as possible within the Jewish community.

The American Jewish Committee, the first national Jewish organization to emerge in the twentieth century, had as its primary concerns defense of the Jewish good name vis-à-vis the non-Jewish world (“community relations”) and intervention with governments—domestic and foreign—on behalf of the civil, religious, social, and economic rights of fellow Jews. The Committee, established in 1906, sought to entrust these tasks to a handful of affluent and influential men with great prestige and a sense of noblesse oblige, hoping in this way to provide leadership for all of American Jewry. Founded in the wake of the Kishinev pogroms in Russia and headed initially by Judge Mayer Sulzberger, the American Jewish Committee operated in a manner characteristic of its organizers, men who were accustomed to managing their own

affairs and to taking direct personal action in such matters as traveling, testifying, serving on committees, communicating with government leaders, and giving money. The Committee's accomplishments in securing equal rights for Jews—and, later, other groups—have been impressively and thoroughly documented. Its first notable achievement, in 1911, was the U.S. decision to abrogate the Russo-American Treaty of 1832 because the Russians refused to recognize the passports of American Jewish citizens. Ever since then, in addition to its concerted efforts to strengthen America's pluralistic and democratic society, the Committee has played an important role overseas, especially through its offices in Europe, Latin America, and Israel.¹

Whereas the American Jewish Committee was run by a few wealthy German Jews who appointed or elected each other at annual meetings, it was the intention of the American Jewish Congress to democratize and broaden national Jewish leadership through elections held in numerous communities. To that end, under Stephen S. Wise's impetus, the Congress sought to give a more popular base to those representing Jewish rights than the Committee seemed to afford. After a brief existence near the end of World War I, the Congress reorganized in 1922, as a representative, democratic body espousing popular causes and composed of several organizations with broad social bases in the East European immigrant Jewish community. It expanded into a World Jewish Congress in 1936, as Nazi pressure on German Jewry intensified. In the late 1930's the Congress began to expand its popular base by soliciting individual memberships; but in time the organization's constituency began to withdraw, and the Congress became an American Jewish community-relations agency rather than an experiment in mass democracy. Since World War II, the Congress, like the Committee, has continued to exert abundant influence.²

By the outbreak of World War I, American Zionism had made some strides forward, despite a slow decline from 1910–1914 in branches and numbers.³ The various Zionist organizations had been more or less united under the Federation of American Zionists (established in 1898), but with Louis D. Brandeis taking over the leadership of a new Zionist group, the Provisional Executive Committee, late in the summer of 1914, far-reaching changes began to occur in American Zionism. Brandeis did not exaggerate when, at the end of 1916, he described two years of leadership as filled with "Zionist conferences every day."⁴ The Provisional Execu-

tive Committee began immediately to coordinate all Zionist activity in the United States and greatly expanded its breadth and strength. A revitalized American movement was developing a new national structure, which emerged as the Zionist Organization of America in the summer of 1918. In addition to an aggressive fund-raising program and “progressive” ideology, perhaps Brandeis’ most significant contribution was to demonstrate that one could be a “true American” and Zionist at the same time. Indeed, he argued in speech after speech that

America demands that each and every one of you should stand up and be counted as a supporter of the Zionist cause. America demands that, because it is only by doing your duty as Jews that you can do your duty as Americans.⁵

In addition to the Committee, the Congress, and the Zionist organizations, there is the International Order of B’nai B’rith, a Jewish fraternal and service organization whose first American lodge was founded in New York City in October 1843. In its early years, the B’nai B’rith created an extensive network of orphanages, homes for the aged, and hospitals, as well as programs of mutual aid, social service, and philanthropy. It responded to what it viewed as an increasing amount of anti-Semitism prior to World War I with the establishment of the Anti-Defamation League in 1913. Since then, the League, less autonomous than the other organizations because it remains a specialized arm of B’nai B’rith, has increasingly sought to protect the status and rights of Jews and to improve relations among ethnic groups.

On January 10, 1939, three American Jewish leaders, meeting in New York City, signed a document creating the “reconstituted” United Jewish Appeal, a voluntary organization specializing in the collection of funds. The three signatories were Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, and William Rosenwald. They represented, respectively, two competitive organizations with opposing purposes, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal, and a beneficiary agency, the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany. This agreement made the UJA the single American Jewish fund-raising organization for the work of relief and rehabilitation in Europe, for immigration and resettlement in Palestine, and for refugee aid in the United States. Despite the complexities of priorities and allocations, this 1939 agreement has

functioned continuously (except for part of one year) ever since.

The Joint Distribution Committee, one of the two main UJA partners, was founded in 1914 to meet “overseas” needs, those of the small Jewish settlement in Palestine and those of the Jews of Eastern Europe whose homelands were transformed into battle-grounds by World War I. The leaders of the Joint opposed the claim of the Zionists that Palestine provided the only solution to the Jewish problem. The Joint’s policy was to give aid to all Jews—wherever they might be—including those in Palestine and those in other countries, whether friendly or hostile to the United States. The Joint also funded diverse projects in many lands which promised to aid Jews; these included medical stations, loan cooperatives, vocational training schools, and agricultural settlements. Underlying the Joint’s aid philosophy was an explicit optimism that Jewish life in Europe, despite the hardships of the 1920’s and 1930’s, would not merely endure but gain vitality. Such optimism inspired the Joint to raise and distribute hundreds of millions of dollars, but together with the implicit non-Zionism of some Joint leaders, it also led to clashes with the Zionist organizations.⁶

The United Palestine Appeal, on the other hand, focused exclusively on Zionist projects. Created in 1925 at the urging of American Zionist leaders who wished to coordinate previously independent fund-raising efforts in America (especially those of the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Foundation Fund, Mizrachi, and Hadassah), it was also a response to the launching of an ambitious fund-raising campaign by the Joint. The latter sought, together with the Soviet government, to provide funds to establish thousands of Soviet Jewish families in agricultural enterprises in the Crimean region; eventually, the Joint hoped, 250,000 Jews would occupy 3,000,000 acres of land in colonies in the Ukraine and Crimea. In response to this and other Joint efforts, the Zionists waged prolonged campaigns throughout the 1920’s and 1930’s to demonstrate that support for Palestine was a more worthwhile investment than a diaspora agricultural scheme; to increase the proportion given to Palestine from the Jewish welfare-fund drives conducted in most cities; and to convince communities, whenever possible, to combine Joint Distribution Committee and United Palestine Appeal drives and increase the latter’s share. The Zionists, generally speaking, met steady opposition from the controlling oligarchy of large givers who generally favored European relief and distrusted Zionist projects.⁷

After several years of bitter and tough negotiations between American Jewish leaders and the World Zionist Organization in New York, an “enlarged” Jewish Agency was created in August 1929. The Agency, for the first time, associated non-Zionists with the efforts to build a Jewish national home in Palestine by granting them 50 percent representation on the 224-member plenary council as well as on the smaller administrative committee and even the executive committee, and softened somewhat the rivalry between the two ideological positions. The enlargement provided the stimulus for several joint fund-raising campaigns in 1930 (Allied Jewish Campaign) and in 1934 and 1935 (United Jewish Appeal Campaigns).⁸

These attempts at cooperation, both political and philanthropic, collapsed. The experience of the enlarged Jewish Agency was a failure, for the thrust of Zionist ideology increasingly favored a sovereign state, whereas the non-Zionists had joined only to provide cultural, scientific, and philanthropic support, and a refuge in Palestine for East European Jews. Within a decade the non-Zionists had ceased to participate.⁹

Worse, only modest sums were collected in the joint appeals. For example, in 1935, of all the large cities, only Cleveland met its quota; a mere \$1,600,000 was raised from a total of 700 communities. This was \$2,000,000 less than the individual organizations had raised in 1928, and thus it came as no surprise when, with strong pressure from the Joint leadership to get out, the executive committee of the United Jewish Appeal voted in October 1935 to discontinue the cooperative campaign experiment.¹⁰

The return to independent campaigns in 1936, 1937, and 1938 was short-lived. The immediate catalyst for the re-creation of the United Jewish Appeal was the infamous *Kristallnacht* (November 10, 1938), and the Nazi decision to demand of Germany's Jews an “indemnity” of more than one billion marks. This event crystallized the growing realization by the leaders of the American Jewry that, whatever their ideological differences, only a centralized and harmonious fund-raising body could fully mobilize the vast resources needed to meet the crisis confronting the Jews of Europe on the eve of World War II.

Furthermore, as the number of refugees arriving in Palestine began to dwindle steadily in 1937 and 1938 because of British restrictions, the Joint and the United Palestine Appeal had a common goal: opening the doors of nations to refugee Jews. The Joint

was reluctantly persuaded to work for opening Palestine, while the Zionists came to accept the need to find other havens of refuge for Europe's Jews. This common objective drew the organizations close together.

Behind the unity drive stood the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, the organization which united all the various Jewish communal federations and fund-raising groups throughout America. Its professionals understood how much more convenient—and rewarding—one annual campaign for overseas needs would be. In October 1938 its leaders actually proposed to the two major partners “a new type of combined drive,” the new United Jewish Appeal for Refugee and Overseas Needs and a \$20,000,000 campaign for 1939, with prearranged formulas for allocations. Despite its limitations, the UJA in 1939 and 1940 raised considerably more than separate fund-raising had ever secured, a total of \$30,500,000.”

Fund-raising became a major activity and reached into every nook and cranny of American Jewish life. If the United Jewish Appeal raised only \$14,000,000 in 1941, in the postwar period 1946–1962, American Jews raised more than \$2.29 billion for their various communal charities, of which more than half went to the UJA. In the 1960's and 1970's, moreover, the amounts increased so rapidly that by the end of the 1970's the UJA was raising a half billion dollars each year.

Some observers of the contemporary American Jewish scene have remarked upon the way in which some of the many and diverse organizations have begun to come together and to shift from independence to interdependence. Daniel J. Elazar, for example, has noted that “the Yom Kippur War, like the Six Day War before it, has led to increased centralization of power and authority within the American Jewish community.”¹² While there is no doubt that some cooperation has become commonplace—examples include the Israel Task Force among secular organizations and the Synagogue Council of America among the religious groups—neither the economic necessities of the 1970's nor the decreased ideological commitments of each institution and its respective constituents have so far led even to any abortive mergers.

The only major efforts at organizational unity in the American Jewish community came a century apart. In the 1850's Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia and Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati passionately sought a union of American Jewish religious congregations which

would strike a balance between the authority of tradition and American secularity. In the 1950's, Robert MacIver of Columbia University suggested, on behalf of several national agencies, that American Jewish organizations were overreacting to a fairly limited and low-level amount of anti-Jewish prejudice, and proposed the centralization or merger of American Jewish secular bodies.

Both attempts at unity failed. Leiser withdrew from the budding religious union as soon as he realized that Wise's agenda did little to accommodate the traditionalists, while Wise's Reform colleagues denounced what they viewed as his compromise on the authority of the Talmud. Similarly, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, which had the most to lose from MacIver's recommendations, claimed that the sociologist misread the nature of American anti-Semitism; feeling that the ideology of their agencies was being severely compromised, they withdrew from the developing union of the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Though both eventually returned to the Council in the mid-1960's, they did so only on terms which guaranteed their independence.

As we turn from secular to religious organizations, let us note first that some years before rabbis like Isaac Mayer Wise, with his Reform leanings, began to arrive in the United States, several small Jewish communities had tried to introduce innovations in their modes of worship. The first community to do so was that of Charleston, where some congregants sought changes in the style of worship and, more important, the elimination of some traditional tenets. While those in authority denied the petition, the request revealed a desire for change that would be "canonized"—to use David Philipson's term—by the Reform rabbis at Pittsburgh later in the century.¹³

With the heavy German Jewish immigration of the 1840's, 1850's, and 1860's, representatives of the nascent Reform movement arrived in the United States; they provided the leadership for this distinctive product of German Jewish migration as it coalesced in an acceptable American form. Kaufmann Kohler was correct when he noted that "Reform Judaism is a German importation."¹⁴ Tentatively in Philadelphia in 1869, but dramatically in Pittsburgh in 1885, a small group of these German Jewish reformers, well-schooled in German philosophy, philology, and reform, shaped the Pittsburgh Platform of Reform Judaism. It articulated a set of guidelines that abolished restrictive limitations either without

foundation in nature or based on history and supernaturalism; these included the Hebrew language, the traditional prayer book, the obligations of the commandments, the personal Messiah, and the restoration of Zion. In their place, Reform committed itself to rational experience alone as the final authority in Judaism, and to the affirmation of the election and universalizing mission of the Jewish people.¹⁵

One has only to compare the 1885 platform with the "Guiding Principles" adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis who assembled in Columbus in 1937 to note the change that came over the movement in the intervening half-century. In the very definition of Judaism, the Jewish people is now given centrality and distinctly affirmed. Judaism is no longer spoken of primarily in universal terms, but as "the religious experience of the Jewish people." Further, a special section is now set aside for the Jewish people in history, and the land of Israel is affirmed as a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life.¹⁶

It should be pointed out that in both the 1885 and 1937 statements, and again in 1976, the intense interest of the Reform movement in translating the Jewish ethical spirit into specific programs of social justice is affirmed. And year in and year out, the Reform movement, through such standing CCAR committees as Social Justice, Arbitration, International Peace, and others, has taken strong stands on child labor legislation, industrial conflicts, the profit motive, the New Deal, federal housing, civil liberties, and more.¹⁷

The problem of Sabbath observance and Sunday services, which had occupied European Reform for half a century, became a controversial issue in the last two decades of the nineteenth century among Reform rabbis and some others who were soon to emerge as architects of the Conservative movement. The subject was raised at Reform rabbinical meetings as early as 1896, when Israel Aaron called upon his colleagues to either give Saturday a "resanctification" or "invest Sunday with the spirit of the Jewish Sabbath." Aaron urged neither "half-hearted allegiance" nor "half-way measures," but that was precisely what the Committee on the Sabbath proposed in 1903 by recommending Sunday services but leaving the traditional Saturday Sabbath intact.¹⁸ A large number of Reform congregations responded positively to the recommendation, but the move toward Sunday services was one of many features of the Reform temple which convinced the masses of

East European Jewish immigrants that it more closely resembled a Christian church than a synagogue.

The appearance of 2,000,000 nominally Orthodox East European Jews at first challenged and then defeated the claim of Reform to be *the* Judaism of American Jews. Their presence made possible the development, by slow and subtle stages, of a middle ground between traditional Judaism and Reform, although the leadership of the new movement never thought of itself as occupying the middle ground. Only reluctantly and belatedly did the builders of Conservative Judaism abandon the word Orthodoxy.

The roots of Conservative Judaism, like those of Reform, were in Germany, where in the 1840's and 1850's it flourished under the name of Positive-Historical Judaism and the leadership of Zechariah Frankel. Frankel stalked out of the 1845 Rabbinical Conference in Frankfort because a majority of the participants had declared there was no "objective necessity" for Hebrew in the worship service. The early American "Conservative"¹⁹ leaders acknowledged their debt to Frankel—even calling their program Historical Judaism for a time—and, in naming their new rabbinical school the Jewish Theological Seminary, consciously attempted to follow the program which Frankel presided over at the Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau.²⁰ Strongly united by their rejection of the antinomian tendency of Reform, and by their own loyalty to tradition while affirming the legitimacy and need for adaptation and change, they stressed an interest in Jewish history (especially the classical or rabbinic period), Jewish institutions (especially the Sabbath and the Hebrew language), and Jewish legal traditions (especially dietary regulations and the ban on intermarriage). All of these commitments, they believed, served to make a Jew conscious of belonging to the living, continuing Jewish people.

As immigrant Jews, and especially their children, lost their attachment to Orthodox synagogues and moved into areas of "second settlement," they flowed into the modernized and Americanized Conservative synagogues, where fluent English sermons and dignified worship greeted them.²¹ The Seminary itself, after an ineffectual start, was given new life in 1902 by the selection of Solomon Schechter, as its head. Yet its goals remained the same: to train English-speaking but "traditional" rabbis who could speak to the immigrants from the context of the new world of America. The very vagueness of these goals, and of Conservative theology,

was the movement's strength, for by not reformulating theology as the Reformers had done, Conservative leaders were able to create a broad coalition.

Although the essence of the movement has always remained quite elusive, Louis Finkelstein's 1927 address to his colleagues provides one of the most concise statements of Conservatism, with its disavowal of the literal interpretation of revelation and its emphasis on the inviolateness of Jewish tradition. This is, in many ways, an affirmation of what Solomon Schechter called "Catholic Israel"—or antisectarianism—the maintenance of all the customs and practices which still find general acceptance among the Jewish people as a whole.²²

A colleague of Louis Finkelstein on the Jewish Theological Seminary faculty was Mordecai M. Kaplan, professor of homiletics and dean of the Teachers Institute. Kaplan was ordained at the Seminary in 1902 and devoted more than fifty years of his life to service on its faculty, while mounting, in the words of the president of the Seminary, "the most vigorous onslaught on the . . . goals of Conservative Judaism."²³ In 1922 he organized the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, a religious fellowship out of which emerged the Reconstructionist movement. There his weekly sermons provided the testing place for his thoughts on reinterpreting or "reconstructing" Judaism in the light of modern conditions and knowledge.²⁴

The Reconstructionist movement, which developed rapidly during the two decades following the Society's founding, constructed new *sancta* to replace the old, devised new liturgies, revised old rituals and beliefs, and sought to preserve the historical continuity and authenticity of Jewish culture. Convinced that modern natural, historical, physical, and psychological sciences had destroyed the traditional concepts of divine revelation of the Torah and divine authority of Jewish law, and certain that the Reformers had forgotten the people while preserving their mission, Kaplan perceived Judaism as a civilization, embracing the artistic, literary, religious, educational, and communal activities of the Jews. Reconstructionism revolved, therefore, around the group; the people, not God, became the source of salvation.²⁵

A journal, the *Reconstructionist*, was founded in 1935, and other publications followed in an attempt to apply the principles of Reconstructionism to liturgical texts. *The New Haggadah* (1941) stripped the festival of its biblical miracles, especially the plagues, and its

references to the Jews as the “chosen people”; added were hymns and readings about Moses’ personality and the concept of freedom, in an attempt to portray the Egyptian experience as a paradigm of contemporary enslavements. Even more ambitious were the Reconstructionist *Sabbath Prayerbook*, *High Holiday Prayerbook*, and *Festival Prayerbook*. Upon publication of the first, Kaplan was denounced in an open letter by three of his Seminary colleagues and was placed in *herem* (excommunication) by the Orthodox Agudath Harabbanim.²⁶ Today Reconstructionism remains a distinctive, if still not a mass-based, branch of American Judaism.

It is commonplace today—perhaps in overreaction to an earlier, sentimentalized picture of Jewish piety—to speak of the forces of secularism that caused a decline in traditional Jewish observance in Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century and, consequently, a high level of nonobservance among immigrants to the United States.²⁷ Yet East European Jews did seek to re-create as much as possible of the life and culture they had known in the Old World. What had been traditional faith and form were vigorously maintained by many, even if religious ritual and ethnic identity were subtly changing under the impact of new circumstances. Tens of thousands of men crowded the study rooms of their synagogues before or after a long and wearing day in the sweatshops of the urban ghetto.

Despite its vigor, however, Orthodox Jewry in the early twentieth century was deeply split and badly organized. With the formation of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in 1898 and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada (Agudath Harabbanim) in 1902, Orthodoxy found instrumentalities for the promotion of its central values (especially Jewish education) and gained effectiveness. Indeed, decade by decade, American Orthodoxy became more sophisticated in its organizational complexity and expertise.

The institution that began life in 1896 as the Yeshivat Rabbenu Yitzhak Elchanan was most responsible for this development. By the second decade of the century, the Yeshiva had developed a joint rabbinic program of secular and Talmudic studies and an Orthodox rabbinic able to compete with the university-trained American Reform and Conservative rabbis. Instrumental in the maturation of the Yeshiva were numerous scholars and laymen, especially Bernard Revel (1885–1940) and, later, Samuel Belkin (1911–). Under their direction, the school emerged as a center of Jewish

studies with the opening in 1928 of Yeshiva College (later Yeshiva University), a Jewish-sponsored liberal arts college, and subsequently other Orthodox-sponsored graduate and professional programs.

While Orthodoxy has adapted itself to, and enthusiastically embraced, the new American environment in a variety of ways, it has continued to regard itself—as its very name suggests—as the only true Judaism. Despite Americanization, Orthodoxy continues to maintain that God personally revealed Himself at Sinai, chose the people of Israel and gave it His law (Torah), and rewards those who truly and faithfully abide by the Law with the hope of life eternal and of resurrection in days to come. Such affirmations clearly demarcate American Orthodoxy from the other sectors of American Judaism.

One “institution” that seems to appeal in some measure to all the major branches, as well as to Jews seeking meaningful experiences of Judaism outside the synagogue, is the *havurah*. Although *havurot* pride themselves on their individuality, they are almost all identifiable as Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, or Reconstructionist even when they are not synagogue-affiliated. Apart from this, most seem to stress the primary meaning of the Hebrew root from which their name comes—fellowship—and center their activities around holiday celebration, Sabbath observance, study of important Jewish literature, and *tzedakah* (philanthropy). Some *havurot* are small groups of synagogue members (10–20 adults and their children) who meet regularly within and without the synagogue; others consist of groups of unmarried adults whose activities take place in and out of members’ homes. The former seek a more meaningful involvement within the oft-noted anonymity of large synagogues, while the latter seek a viable alternative to the traditional religious institutions of the community. One close observer of the *havurah* movement, Lawrence A. Hoffman, has predicted that the 1980’s and 1990’s will see not only more and more religious institutions discovering the significance of the *havurah*, but the *havurah* rediscovering the synagogue, “thus binding together the finest of both institutions.”²⁸

NOTES

1. See Naomi Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee, 1906–1966* (Philadelphia, 1972).

2. See Morris Fromer, "The American Jewish Congress: A History, 1914–1950," Ph.D. dissertation (Ohio State University, 1978).
3. Marnin Feinstein, *American Zionism: 1884–1904* (New York, 1965); Evyatar Friesel, *The Zionist Movement in the United States, 1897–1914* (Tel Aviv, 1970), pp. 186–90, in Hebrew.
4. *Maccabean*, December 1916, p. 115.
5. *Maccabean*, January 1916 (supp.), pp. vii–viii.
6. H. S. Linfield, *The Communal Organization of the Jews in the United States 1927*, (New York, 1930), p. 110; Oscar Handlin, *A Continuing Task* (New York, 1964); Yehudah Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1929–1939* (Philadelphia, 1974).
7. Linfield, *Communal Organizations*, pp. 115–16; Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, pp. 60–2; M. Berman, *The Bridge to Life* (Tel Aviv, 1970), pp. 19–20, 31, 33, 41; Harry Lurie, *An Heritage Affirmed: The Jewish Federation Movement in America* (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 136–37.
8. Herbert Solow, "The Era of the Agency Begins," *Menorah Journal* 17, no. 2 (November 1929):111–25; Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State* 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 194–95.
9. Jacob C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York, 1950), pp. 40ff.
10. *New Palestine*, October 4, May 31, July 12, 1935; *American Jewish Year Book* 38 (1936–37):211–13.
11. *AJYB* 41 (1939–40):205; Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, *Notes and News* 53 (January 11, 1939); *Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin*, December 27, 1940.
12. Daniel J. Elazar, "United States of America: Overview." Moshe Davis, editor, *The Yom Kippur War: Israel and the Jewish People*, ed. Moshe Davis (New York, 1974), p. 31.
13. David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (Cincinnati, 1931), pp. 329–39.
14. Central Conference of American Rabbis *Yearbook* (1909), p. 252.
15. *CCAR Yearbook* (1891), pp. 120–22.
16. W. Gunther Plaut, *The Growth of Reform Judaism* (New York, 1965), p. 97.
17. See especially the remarkable "Declaration of Principles in Industrial Relations" in the *Proceedings of the 1918 Convention* and the reports of the Commission on Social Justice for 1932 and 1934.
18. *CCAR Yearbook* (1903), pp. 139–71.
19. These early leaders conceived of the Seminary as an Orthodox institution, and even when Solomon Schechter arrived in 1902 its Orthodox character was unchanged.
20. Louis Ginsberg, *Students, Scholars and Saints* (Philadelphia, 1928), pp. 195–216; *Jewish Theological Seminary Students Annual* (New York, 1914), p. 17.
21. Marshall Sklare, *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement* (New York, 1955, 1972), pp. 43–65.
22. *Selected Writings of Solomon Schechter*, ed. Norman Bentwich (Oxford, 1946), pp. 35–6.

23. Gershon Cohen, "The Present State of Conservative Judaism," *Judaism* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1977):269.
24. See Kaplan's "The Way I Have Come," in *Mordechai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation* (New York, n.d.), pp. 283-321.
25. Kaplan, *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Experience* (New York, 1937).
26. *Hadoar*, October 5, 1945, pp. 904-5.
27. Charles Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Life," *AJYB* 67 (1966):27-30.
28. Lawrence A. Hoffman, "The Synagogue and the *Havurah*," paper presented at the National Havurah Conference, July 4-7, 1979, at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

1 SECULAR ORGANIZATIONS



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

On January 5, 1906, The American Hebrew published an open letter from Cyrus Adler, a Semitics scholar associated with the Smithsonian Institution and at that time head of the Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia, calling for the convening of a "National Jewish Organization" which might aid oppressed Jews around the world. This "representative body," consisting of at least one member from every state and territory, would combine the wisdom "of all the Jews in America." The editors of the American Hebrew enthusiastically embraced Adler's proposal, viewing it as the beginning of the end of "rule from above" and the start of "direct representation."

The meaning of the phrase "all of the Jews" was already raising questions in January, when Adler suggested in his letter that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the national organization of Reform congregations, call the greater organization into being. At the same time, when Adler, Louis Marshall, and Cyrus Sulzberger sent the almost identical letter to fifty prominent American Jews, they not only invited largely Reform rabbis and Reform-affiliated lawyers and businessmen, but also called the first meeting of the new organization for the Jewish Sabbath! The letter did nevertheless provide the first detailed, if only theoretical, plan of organization and

representation, and thirty-four men attended the conference that would soon establish the American Jewish Committee.

These men, who met in New York on February 3, 1906, established a committee which studied several plans for a national organization and then reassembled the original invitees. Twenty-two came to New York in May and agreed to establish an American Jewish Committee. The executive committee of the new organization met on July 1, 1906, and voted to expand its membership to achieve representation, as Adler had urged, from every region (if not state) of the nation. The enlarged American Jewish Committee of sixty held its first meeting at New York's Hotel Savoy on November 11, 1906, with Judge Mayer Sulzberger emerging as president and with an executive committee of nine men. Leadership was thus explicitly placed in the hands of a small but extremely able group, as Adler had urged, and these gentlemen began immediately to combat anti-Semitism, prejudice, and discrimination in quiet but effective ways.

In the decades since its founding, and especially since World War II, the American Jewish Committee has departed from its "rugged individualism" position, when a small and aristocratic organization with limited functions and narrow scope communicated exclusively Jewish concerns intimately with American presidents, to embrace a more wide-ranging involvement in education, civil rights, social action, and welfare programs on the domestic and international scenes.

THE CALL FOR A NATIONAL AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATION, 1906

To The American Hebrew:

I should like to submit the following views with regard to a National Jewish Organization in the United States.

The affairs of the Jews in the United States as a religious and social body, are of such importance that there should be in existence a representative body which may act for all of them with authority.

The affairs of the Jew throughout the world are so important as to make it necessary and desirable that there should be a national Jewish organization in the United States which can, in cases of necessity, co-operate with similar bodies in other countries for the welfare of the Jews elsewhere. No existing body or committee represents the Jews of America, but even in the most favorable case, only a very small number of them.

There is no organization now in existence which has, or is likely to have, the constituency to enable it to act as the representative of all the Jews.

No single individual or group of individuals, or no single organization or group of organizations however good their intentions or however great their wisdom can indefinitely act as the representatives of the large body of Jews in America.

It is desirable in cases of need that sections of the United States which possess even a small Jewish community should be represented; thus, to cite a single yet very important subject the distribution of immigration in the United States and the avoidance of congestion on the Atlantic sea coast can only be finally solved by the co-operation of men from every state in the Union.

A congress seems neither possible nor desirable.

I suggest the formation of committees in every state and territory in the Union to act on behalf of the state in matters affecting the people of that state.

I suggest a national committee made up of delegates from these state committees. In this national committee there should be one representative from each state and territory in the Union which has organized itself, or, where such organization has not been effected, a representative might be designated, in some way to be determined. The basis of representation should be at least one representative from each state and territory in the Union.

There should be increased representation in accordance with increased Jewish population. Fifty thousand under might be the unit for one member of the committee, with another member say for each additional fifty thousand, but with a maximum of ten from any one state. A plan such as this would give New York ten, two to Illinois and Pennsylvania and possibly to Ohio, Massachusetts and Missouri. This plan would ensure one representative from every state in the Union with a proper preponderance for each state having a large Jewish population. There might be five members at large. From this committee there should be chosen an executive committee, say of nine, which could have authority to transact business and act for the whole committee, which should be convoked only in cases of emergency.

The organization should have at its disposal reasonable funds for maintaining an office, for obtaining and preserving records and for keeping in existence in a very moderate way the machinery which could readily be enlarged in cases of emergency. The place

of this office and the scope of its work are important questions which must be left for future consideration.

The call for such organization could be by town meeting or existing organizations, or both. The Jews of the United States are at present in a receptive mood, so far as co-operation is concerned, and the details as to this call are not important. The list of members selected for the general committee of the recent 250th Anniversary celebration might very well serve as the nucleus of the persons who should be invited from each state to organize their committees and their representatives in the national committee would then be chosen by the people of each state themselves; or the present existing Russian Relief Committee in New York might serve as the body to call the greater organization into existence or, finally the Committee on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which succeeded a more general organization, might, recognizing the fact that a more general organization is again needed, with propriety take initiative in this matter.

In fine, my whole thought is that only one voice should speak in behalf of the Jews in America on matters of national and international importance and that this voice should be the product of the combined wisdom of all of the Jews in America.

Cyrus Adler



AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Early in 1915, following a year of fierce discussions throughout the Jewish community, Louis Brandeis spearheaded a movement to develop a new and broadly representative American Jewish organization which would be known as the American Jewish Congress. The upheaval and destruction of East European Jewry caused by World War I made it obvious to American Jews that a Jewish delegation would be needed at a subsequent peace conference. And among a growing number of Jews, but especially among the immigrants, the anti-Zionist and antidemocratic biases of the elitist "uptown" American Jewish Committee prevented it from adequately representing postwar Jewish interests.

By February 1916, a call—signed by the presidents of twenty national Jewish organizations—went forth for representatives to meet in Philadelphia on March 26 to charter a course for the newly founded organization.

Seeking to establish a democratic congress to secure Jewish rights in Europe and a Jewish "development" in Palestine, the organizing committee invited each national organization and each city, regional, and state congress committee to send three delegates, plus one additional delegate for every 10,000 members. (On the eve of the conference it was estimated that elected delegates represented eighty-three cities and about 1,000,000 American Jews.) Undeterred by the Committee's bitter attacks on the Congress leadership, 367 representatives arrived in Philadelphia in late March and were aroused by Stephen S. Wise's keynote address.

The American Jewish Congress was quickly co-opted by the American Jewish Committee, which used its influence to force the Congress to agree to disband after the peace conference and to limit its jurisdiction to matters of European Jewish reconstruction. Not until December 1918 did the American Jewish Congress hold its first convention. Four hundred delegates gathered in Philadelphia, chose a delegation to go to Versailles, and instructed it to argue the Zionist position on Palestine and to demand the protection of Jewish minority rights in Europe. As promised, the Congress adjourned on May 30, 1920, after completing its work at Versailles.

The rousing address Stephen Wise delivered at the preliminary conference, as well as the Congress' larger thrust toward democracy and equality in American Jewish life, are of a piece with the broader American scene. The rhetoric of the Congress against the Committee, as that of the Progressives against the great corporations, spoke of "a menace to society" and "manipulation by unscrupulous men." Central to both movements was the fear of power; the greater the strength of an organized interest, the greater the anxiety it aroused. Thus, the Congress referred to the American Jewish establishment as "the trust," an "interlocking directorate," or "a collection of swollen private fortunes." Democratization was another key aim of both the Congress and the Progressives. Each was highly optimistic about the future of the movement for popular government, and each pushed through a series of changes in the mechanics of self-government and popular elections.

The Congress leadership, and especially Stephen Wise, also shared the persistent individualism of the Progressives. While it was necessary to make some use of organization, Wise and the Progressives had a profound distrust of it, and both movements for direct popular democracy were at the same time efforts to realize the (Protestant?) ideals of personal responsibility. Both efforts could tolerate new forms of political organization, but primarily when there was "responsible" leadership, i.e. themselves, and hence they shared an implicit belief in "elite" leadership of the people or, more frequently, for the people.

In the search for mechanical guarantees of continued popular control,

*the reformers were trying to do something altogether impossible—institutionalize a mood. When the mood passed, some of the more concrete reforms remained, but the formal gains lapsed as the impulse to protect people against elitism, a negative goal, predominated. Ultimately, the Congress (like the Progressive movement) did not destroy narrowly partisan interests, did not break up the elite, and did not gain control of its own affairs. By the 1920's the Committee once again dominated the organizational scene.*¹

THE CALL FOR AN AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, 1915

By reason of the war a situation is presented which calls for most careful consideration by the Jewish people of the course which should be pursued to advance their interests.

We are convinced that the miseries of the Jews can never be satisfactorily dealt with by merely relieving individual distress, or correcting individual acts of injustice. We are convinced that the Jews' main efforts should be directed not to charity but to removing the causes which make charity necessary. To remove the causes of misery and injustice, the Jews' thoughts must be directed less to the sufferings of individual Jews than to the wrongs to the Jewish people. We are convinced that the wrongs to the Jewish people will not end until full liberty is attained.

As Americans we should all be quick to recognize that when action is contemplated on grave questions which affect vitally the welfare of the whole Jewish people, methods and means should be adopted under which decisions are not made, or action taken, until there has been full public discussion; and that *decisions affecting the Jewish people are made only by those Jews who may properly be deemed representative of the whole people*. Such consideration can be most appropriately given in a Congress; and the members of that Congress should clearly consist of those who either through existing organizations or other appropriate means may be selected to represent the whole people.

Such a Congress should, if it were possible, include delegates representing the Jews of every part of the world. But this is obviously impossible. More than 10,000,000 of the 14,000,000 Jews of

1. Morris Fromer, "The American Jewish Congress: A History, 1914–1950," Ph.D. dissertation (Ohio State University, 1978).

the world are residents of the belligerent countries. These are for that reason, and because of the lamentable incidents of the war, precluded from participating in any general Congress. The only large body of Jews in a neutral country are the 3,000,000 Jews of America. The remaining few hundred thousand Jews in neutral countries are scattered throughout the two hemispheres. Upon the American Jews, therefore, falls the burden of acting on behalf of their brethren throughout the world, and we Americans may so act with a conviction that in so doing we are representative of the world Jewry; because—

1. The Jewish problem is single and universal, and
2. The 3,000,000 Jews of America are composed of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, coming from every country and district, and including persons from every section of society and every shade of religious belief:

For these reasons it is desirable that a Congress of American Jews, convening on a democratic basis, should be held for the consideration of the problems of the Jewish people.

American Jews have not only the right, but the *duty* to act in this matter. And the duty resting upon us of America is especially insistent. We are free from civil or political disability, and are relatively prosperous. Our fellow Americans are infused with a high and generous spirit, which insures the approval of our struggle to enoble, liberate and otherwise improve the condition of an important part of the human race. The innate American manliness makes them sympathize particularly with our efforts at self-help. American detachment from the Old World problems relieves us from suspicions and embarrassments attending the activities of the Jews of rival European countries. Our loyalty to America cannot be questioned: because conflict between American interests and Jewish aims is not conceivable. The American twentieth century ideals and aspirations—democracy and social justice—are the ages-old ideals and aspirations of the Jewish people. This identity of our ideals with those of other Americans, and the happy position of detachment of this country, leave us free to think, speak and act in behalf of all the Jews of the world.

The Congress should speak not upon one, but on all the issues involved in the Jewish Problem—issues long existing, which the war has accentuated, and upon which a decision may soon be demanded. There is the greater duty of a Jewish Congress to consider every phase of our great problem; because we have reason to know

that the world—Jewish and non-Jewish, is looking to us to plead in the greatest of all possible Jewish gatherings for such action as may secure for our people not only full rights for the individual but an adequate development of the Jewish collective interest.

Whether the Jewish problem shall now be solved depends primarily not upon others, but upon us.

Let us Americans, therefore, lead earnestly, courageously and joyously in the struggle for the liberation of the Jewish people. Let every man and every woman do his or her part.

JEWISH CONGRESS ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

New York, August 16, 1915

STEPHEN S. WISE ADDRESSES THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE, MARCH 26, 1916

This day is destined to be memorable in the annals of Israel—the more because we are thinking not of ourselves alone nor for ourselves, but after the Jewish manner, of and for all Israel. High is the privilege of having part in an assembly which may be destined to make Jewish history and therefore world history. “The revenge of the human soul, when its rights are ignored by power, is history.” Not the revenge but the indomitable resolution of the human soul, in the case of Israel, its rights too long ignored by power, is to be history.

I recall another date, January 31st, 439, nearly fifteen hundred years ago, the East Roman Emperor, Theodosius II, deprived our forefathers of civil rights and excluded them from public offices, and, as has been said, “this act became during the next one and one-half thousand years in every Christian State the basis of the degradation accorded to the Jews.” After nearly fifteen hundred years during the last one hundred of which there has been a beginning of the light, who knows but that even as January 31st, 439, is memorable as our day of loss and woe, this day, March 26th, may by us be made forever memorable as the beginning of a new epoch, an epoch that shall see Israel clothed at last throughout the world with honor and security.

There can be but two questions with regard to the possibility of a Congress—questions touching the name and the thing. As for the name, it is known of men that this is not a Congress but a meeting summoned to consider whether and when a Congress should be

called. We have chosen the name because it is the American name, because its American associations have endeared it to us native and adoptive children of the Republic alike. We have chosen the name Congress because it is an inclusive, all-American name, with no implications of partisanship or factionalism. We have chosen the name as alone befitting the high dignity of such an assembly as we conceive to be needed, because no lesser name would measure the significance of an assembly of democratically chosen representatives of the Jewish people of the land. We have deliberately refrained from using the name Convention because of the political associations wrapped around it—witness, the quadrennial Presidential conventions of the political parties. In view of the faith of certain good men in compact and for one reason or another easily manageable bodies, one is tempted to wonder that the name caucus has not been offered as a substitute for the term Congress. So much for the name which it were ludicrous to defend as against those who for want of anything truly objectionable are happily reduced to the necessity of cavilling at a word!

If any further proof of the fitness of the name Congress were needed, is it not at hand in the circumstance that for a generation a series of congresses have been held in this land dealing with problems of the gravest import? Such have been the world's Congress of Religions, the Tuberculosis Congress, the Sociological Congresses, the Social Insurance Congress temporarily postponed because of the war, the Congress on Child Welfare soon to meet in a South American capital. Never as far as I have heard has objection been made to the use of the term Congress in connection with these assemblies of national and international character. Shall it remain for Jews to belittle their own affairs by refusing to invest their deliberations at the most critical moment of our tasks and hopes with the outward title and the inward dignity of a Congress?

This is not the first time in Jewish history that a Jewish assembly has been called. Little more than a century ago such a Jewish high court was convened by Napoleon, which court in the course of public sessions did little more than ratify the decisions of the Assembly of Notables. This Assembly, in a sense a milestone on the highroad of Jewish history, little availed after one year to avert the restriction of legal rights for Jews. This Jewish Congress or Sanhedrin, while not paralleled by our Assembly, failed to be greatly and permanently serviceable to Jewish interests for two reasons. First, it was not an act of the Jewish consciousness and the

Jewish will. Second, because in the nature of things it was not free to legislate and act on behalf of Israel.

Taking no special account of a series of memorable Jewish Congresses during the last two decades, which were called into being by the high statesmanship of Theodor Herzl, the assembly of this hour has been summoned upon the initiative of the people's will. The Sanhedrin of a century ago, decreed for us, marked the beginning of Israel's emergence from the Ghetto. This assembly, after a century of experience in the manner and the matter of democracy for some of us, and after centuries of democratic idealism for all of us, marks not our emergence from the Ghetto but our resurgence to the highest hopes of Israel's life and destiny. It bears witness that we have not lost our capacity for self-determination and that, paraphrasing Edmund Burke, while not despairing of the world, we have come as a people to put our trust chiefly in ourselves.

The failure to secure aught for our people unless the demand be formulated and fortified by the people's purpose was shown forth in the classic instance of Disraeli's insistence at the Berlin Congress of 1878. Earnestly and resolutely he sought to safeguard the rights of Jews in Balkan lands. He failed in large part because, though an ardent believer in his people's future he omitted to seek support in his people's will. Disraeli died and Roumania utterly forgot. But the Jewish people lives and cannot permanently be ignored. "*In magnis voluisse sat' est.*" In great things it is enough to will but not in the greatest where a people's will alone may be prophetic of a people's achievement.

We have no apologies to make to the American people though our fellow-Americans will be moved to wonder that any Jew should fail to have part in deliberations orderly, responsible, democratic, concerned with the security of half of the millions of Israel and involving the honor of all Israel. No more do we find it necessary to make reply to certain grave accusations unctuously couched in the form of admonition, rooted withal in resentment of the people's determination to be free of their masters! And the people are resolved to be free of their masters whether these be malevolent tyrants without or benevolent despots within the life of Israel. We are sorry not because the American people have caught a glimpse of a deepseated division of opinion, not because we have obviously failed to achieve unanimity touching our aims, but solely because a once beneficent attitude reveals itself as a petulant and malevolent

bossship, abhorring the substance of democracy amid the counsels of a people. It were treasonable to be either unJewish or unAmerican, and we are Jewish in our determination to be self-succoring and American in the strength of our will to achieve the best for our people everywhere that we may in all things free our people for the best.

Were it not for certain circumstances, this meeting would in all likelihood have come under the direction of the surest of hands. Not very long ago, the President of the Republic sought throughout the land for a man to take a place on the foremost Tribunal of the land, the Supreme Court of the United States. By common consent of all save the abettors of privilege, the man was found in a citizen of the Republic whose life has been as serviceable to the nation as it has been honoring Israel. It is in truth a happy omen that the highest place yet reached by an American Jew should fall to the lot of that statesman in the realm of industrial democracy and social ethics.

“Who never sold the truth to
serve the hour
Nor paltered with Eternal God
for power,”

whom the citizenship of the Republic save for the lovers of inequity rightfully reveres as a selfless and consecrated tribune of all the people. This American Jew, who more than any other has moved his people to repossess themselves of the spirit of self-determination and to loose themselves from a long endured bondage of eleemosynary patronage, is Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

We have no program. As individuals we have opinions, even convictions. But our program might be summed up in the words, the Jewish people must create their own organ through which after earnest deliberation and discussion to express their convictions touching the deeds and demands of the Jewish people. Beyond this we are not to go. This Conference is to labor solely to the end that there be devised and perfected such agencies as may bring about a completely democratic organization of all the forces of American Israel save for such as may will to exclude themselves.

If it again be objected that democratic organization is a method of operation and not an end to be sought we again solemnly aver that a people is not worthy of respect which does not insist upon the right to be heard touching its own affairs, but surrenders the right

of judgment and decision to a company of men, however wise and benevolent, who substitute their own opinions and wishes for the convictions and determinations of the whole people. It were little less than a tragedy if the Jewish people first among the peoples in democratic realm should in this land succumb to the pressure exerted by those who for one reason or another are distrustful of the capacity of the many to manage their own affairs.

One further step this Conference may take. It may, after reaching a decision that a Congress be held, suggest in outline a program to be considered by the Congress. But it must be understood that this Conference can do no more than tentatively draft a program for the consideration of the Congress—which Congress must remain free to reach its own decisions on all questions. The Congress, if Congress there is to be, must enjoy freedom unlimited by any mandates from this body. The Congress must remain its own master, as the Jewish people is about to resume the mastery over its own affairs.

While no man may speak with authority for this Conference, it is obvious that among the questions to be considered by it is the situation of Jews in various lands, especially the belligerent lands, the situation in Palestine which history has created for us—the situation which an historic people have recreated for themselves—the Jewish migration which as a problem has been intensified rather than evoked by the world war, the question whether or not a Jewish Congress shall be brought into being and, after that, the choosing of a group of men to be entrusted by us with the task of representing this Conference in making needed arrangements for a Congress.

A Congress means that which Theodor Herzl was wise enough to foretell—that the fate of Israel cannot be settled for us but must be determined by us, by Israel's collective will and indomitable purpose. A Jewish Congress means that we are to cease to be onlookers or auditors at a debate on the future of Israel, that, whatsoever that future, we are to mould it in whole or in largest part. They alone are satisfied to have our future moulded for us who are indifferent to the question whether or not Israel is to have a future. A Congress means that, whatsoever the decision with regard to the future of Israel, we must reach it and we must pronounce it.

The world cannot be expected to assent to any program touching Israel's future as long as Israel does not unitedly deliberate and speak. We owe it to the world to bring into the arena of discussion

those problems the rightful solution of which cannot be attained without the cooperation of the peoples.

It was the genius of Herzl to put an end to the century-old hole-in-the-corner method of considering Jewish questions and to insist upon the world's attention and discussion touching Jewish problems. Secrecy, always futile as a curative method, had proven disastrous in prolonging and intensifying Jewish woes. The world had registered its unspoken decrees while Israel self-pityingly and helplessly listened. The soul of a great Jew ended all that. He bade Israel speak and the nations listened. We now freely discuss our will where aforetime we furtively listened to the edict of others. A Congress means deliberation not agitation, discussion not division, enlightenment not secrecy.

The call to Israel to speak for itself rather than forever to be spoken for comes at a time when the world has been brought to realize the peril which inheres in the conduct of the people's affairs, most especially international affairs, by the powerful and the privileged unamenable to public authority and public control. Out of this era is to come an end of private, professional secret diplomacy and a beginning of the control by the people of their national and international relationships. For these can never be ordered aright save as they have been brought into the arena of public deliberation and untrammelled discussion.

Are we, the people of Israel, to persist in being less democratic than the rest of the world, to insist that we are not competent to pass upon our own problems? Are we forever to suffer men to think and act for us, not because we have chosen and named them, but because they have decreed that we are not fit to be trusted with the power of shaping our own destiny? Among the first of earth's peoples to advocate and to insist upon popular autonomy, shall we be the last to welcome the renewal of the spirit of democracy? Shall we in this democratic land renounce our democratic ideals, and by so much forswear the passionately democratic faith of our fathers?

It is of the essence of the democratic spirit wisely to choose and reasonably to follow high leadership. To hold that we as a people are anarchic in our incapacity for the acceptance of leadership is wholly to misunderstand Israel's veritable passion for leadership if so be that leadership wise and noble. Through the centuries Israel ceaselessly renewed its quest for leadership in the words of our fathers, "*naaseh rosh*," let us choose for ourselves a leader. The leadership which Israel has always rejected has either been im-

posed by outward authority or unendowed with inward authority. To them that express regret at our seemingly ruthless rejection of the policies that have long been in control of the affairs of American Israel, let it be said that, whatever may have been the necessities of the past, the time is come for a leadership by us to be chosen—a leadership that shall democratically and wisely lead rather than autocratically and unwisely command.

We reject the leadership for we have known no leadership. Policies of inaction and aimlessness and timidity have presumed to erect themselves into leadership, tempered always by the grace of beneficence. With the substitution of inchoate purposelessness for the conscious direction of our affairs we have been patient much too long. Accidentally and whimsically adopted policies have been set to do the work of undeviating principle. Such direction as has been has even lacked the merit of wise opportunism. We have had caution in the place of wisdom. We have had inaction erected into a program. This leadership of suffering has persisted so long because of the long suffering patience of our people, which pardons much ineffectiveness in men if they are or are believed to be moved by benevolent purpose. The aimlessness of our so-called leadership has been witnessed during the past year by the rejection of our demand for a program and the naming of our insistence upon a program as token of divisiveness and disloyalty.

The only program acceptable to the men in control of our affairs has been a program of palliation, as if nothing more than temporary relief could be hoped for Israel, wounded and oppressed. Relief, alas, is at times sorely needed, was never more needed than today. But relief is not to be exalted as the policy or program of a people unless these be hopeless beggars and their leaders adopt a program of relief as the only way out. Not relief but redress, not palliation but prevention, not charity but justice, not *Zedakah* but *Zedek* is the only program worthy of a great and proud people.

It is not far from these halls that the father of the Republic spoke unforgettable words to his fellow founders of a new order, words peculiarly applicable to the situation in which we, the sons and daughters of Israel, stand this day. Let us, said Washington, erect a standard to which all men can repair. I say to you, representatives of a great people and of a great cause, Let us erect a standard to which all men can repair—our fellow-Jews all—for we have opened the door of hope and we are resolved to keep that door open! That all men may enter, that all fellow-Jews may stand with

us in restoring the fortunes and renewing the glories of our people Israel! To which all men may repair—yea, all men, our fellow Americans and all peoples, for of them we ask all that it doth become men to ask, their just and even brotherly consideration of the problems of Israel which to solve equitably is to remove their as well as our own reproach! Israel expects every man to do his duty.

The character and content of that duty it remains for us wisely and solemnly, prayerfully and selflessly, to seek to determine. God give it that our deliberations be worthy of this setting, the cradle of American freedom and be equal to the hopes of our people Israel.

I have sought to do no more than as an individual to interpret the mind of Israel. Whether or not I have rightly interpreted the purpose of our people, it is for this Conference and the Jewish Congress now in the process of creation to determine. The event be in the hands of God.



AMERICAN ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

In 1914, Louis Brandeis was elected chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee, a creation of American Zionist groups hoping to centralize Zionist activities in America. He immediately redefined and reshaped American Zionism to fit his liberal, reformist American creed. "The Jewish Problem: How to Solve It" remains the most popular expression of the Brandeis synthesis (it went through dozens of printings for more than three decades) and one of the most important ideological statements of Zionism by an American.

The Jewish "problem" or "question," of course, was how to provide the Jews (Brandeis meant European Jews) with the same rights as non-Jews, i.e. how to combat anti-Semitism. His answer was quite simple: Zionism. Only Zionism was capable of winning for the Jews the respect and admiration of the world. The task, however, was to sell this notion to American Jewry, a community that felt it had already found its "Zion." To accomplish this, Brandeis molded the movement along Progressive lines.

Brandeis expounded the ethical and democratic ideals of Zionism, using phrases and words like "brotherhood of man," "social justice," and "righteousness" to demonstrate the confluence of Americanism and Zionism. He also successfully refuted the idea that Zionism and Americanism were not

compatible, declaring, "Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism." He endorsed the argument of cultural pluralists that "multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent." Indeed, he proclaimed, "loyalty to America demands . . . that each American Jew become a Zionist." In addition, Brandeis rejected the traditional Zionist demand of a personal commitment to go to Zion, pointing out that Zionism was not "a movement to remove all the Jews" or to compel anyone to go to Palestine. Thus, again, Americanism and Zionism were comfortable partners.

Besides ideology, Brandeis called for "action," and to this end demanded that Zionists "organize" for practical tasks, especially fund-raising. He reshaped the organizational structure of the Zionist movement, urging and forcing disorganized chapters to "Organize, Organize, Organize." The goal? To convince "every Jew in America [to] stand up and be counted." While not quite achieving this, within one year Brandeis had more than doubled Zionist membership, revitalizing a near-moribund movement into one of the most significant organizations in the American Jewish community.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM: HOW TO SOLVE IT

What the Problem Is

For us the Jewish Problem means this: How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews? How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?

The problem has two aspects: That of the individual Jew—and that of Jews collectively. Obviously, no individual should be subjected anywhere, by reason of the fact that he is a Jew, to a denial of any common right or opportunity enjoyed by non-Jews. But Jews collectively should likewise enjoy the same right and opportunity to live and develop as do other groups of people. This right of development on the part of the group is essential to the full enjoyment of rights by the individual. For the individual is dependent for his development (and his happiness) in large part upon the development of the group of which he forms a part. We can scarcely conceive of an individual German or Frenchman living and developing without some relation to the contemporary German or French life and culture. And since death is not a solution of the problem of life,

the solution of the Jewish Problem necessarily involves the continued existence of the Jews as Jews.

Councils of Rabbis and others have undertaken at times to prescribe by definition that only those shall be deemed Jews who professedly adhere to the orthodox or reformed faith. But in the connection in which we are considering the term, it is not in the power of any single body of Jews—or indeed of all Jews collectively—to establish the effective definition. The meaning of the word Jewish in the term Jewish Problem must be accepted as co-extensive with the disabilities which it is our problem to remove. It is the non-Jews who create the disabilities and in so doing give definition to the term Jew. Those disabilities extend substantially to all of Jewish blood. The disabilities do not end with a renunciation of faith, however sincere. They do not end with the elimination, however complete, of external Jewish mannerisms. The disabilities do not end ordinarily until the Jewish blood has been so thoroughly diluted by repeated intermarriages as to result in practically obliterating the Jew.

And we Jews, by our own acts, give a like definition to the term Jew. When men and women of Jewish blood suffer—because of that fact—and even if they suffer from quite different causes—our sympathy and our help goes out to them instinctively in whatever country they may live and without inquiring into the shades of their belief or unbelief. When those of Jewish blood exhibit moral or intellectual superiority, genius or special talent, we feel pride in them, even if they have abjured the faith like Spinoza, Marx, Disraeli or Heine. Despite the meditations of pundits or the decrees of council, our own instincts and acts, and those of others, have defined for us the term Jew.

Liberalism and Anti-Semitism

Half a century ago the belief was still general that Jewish disabilities would disappear before growing liberalism. When religious toleration was proclaimed, the solution of the Jewish Problem seemed in sight. When the so-called rights of man became widely recognized, and the equal right of all citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness began to be enacted into positive law, the complete emancipation of the Jew seemed at hand. The concrete gains through liberalism were indeed large. Equality before the law was established throughout the western hemisphere. The Ghetto walls

crumbled; the ball and chain of restraint were removed in central and western Europe. Compared with the cruel discrimination to which Jews are now subjected in Russia and Roumania, their advanced condition in other parts of Europe seems almost ideal.

But Anti-Jewish prejudice was not exterminated even in those countries of Europe in which the triumph of civil liberty and democracy extended fully to Jews "the rights of man." The Anti-Semitic movement arose in Germany a year after the granting of universal suffrage. It broke out violently in France, and culminated in the Dreyfus case, a century after the French Revolution had brought "emancipation." It expressed itself in England through the Aliens Act, within a few years after the last of Jewish disabilities had been there removed by law. And in the United States the Saratoga incident [the refusal of the Grand Union Hotel of Saratoga Springs, New York, to admit the leading financier Joseph Seligman in 1877] reminded us, long ago, that we too have a Jewish question.

The disease is universal and endemic. There is, of course, a wide difference between the Russian disabilities with their Pale of Settlement, their denial of opportunity for education and of choice of occupation, and their recurrent pogroms, and the German disabilities curbing university, bureaucratic and military careers. There is a wide difference also between these German disabilities and the mere social disabilities of other lands. But some of those now suffering from the severe disabilities imposed by Russia and Roumania are descendants of men and women who in centuries before our modern liberalism enjoyed both legal and social equality in Spain and Southern France. The manifestations of the Jewish Problem vary in the different countries, and at different periods in the same country, according to the prevailing degrees of enlightenment and other pertinent conditions. Yet the differences, however wide are merely in degree and not in kind. The Jewish Problem is single and universal. But it is not necessarily eternal. It may be solved.

Democracy and Nationality

Why is it that liberalism has failed to eliminate the Anti-Jewish prejudice? It is because the liberal movement has not yet brought *full* liberty. Enlightened countries grant to the individual equality

before the law; but they fail still to recognize the equality of whole peoples or nationalities. We seek to protect as individuals those constituting a minority; but we fail to realize that protection cannot be complete unless group equality also is recognized.

Deeply imbedded in every people is the desire for full development—the longing, as Mazzini phrased it “to elaborate and express their idea, to contribute their stone also to the pyramid of history.” Nationality like democracy has been one of the potent forces making for man’s advance during the past hundred years. The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in doing so revived and capitalized all that was valuable in their past. The assertion of nationality raised Ireland from the slough of despondency. It roused Southern Slavs to heroic deeds. It created gallant Belgium. It freed Greece. It gave us united Italy. It manifested itself even among the free peoples—like the Welsh—who had no grievance, but who gave expression to their nationality through the revival of the old Cymric tongue. Each of these peoples developed because, as Mazzini said, they were enabled to proclaim “to the world that they also live, think, love and labor for the benefit of all.” . . .

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a people is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has a right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy are generally accepted, will liberty be fully attained, and minorities be secure in their rights. But there is ground for hope that the establishment of these principles will come as one of the compensations of the present war; and with it, the solution of the Jewish Problem. . . .

Jewish Nationality

W. Allison Philips recently defined nationality as “an extensive aggregate of persons, conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences, or qualities which make them feel themselves a distinct

people.” And he adds: “If we examine the composition of the several nationalities we find these elements: Race, language, religion, common habitat, common conditions, mode of life and manners, political association. The elements are, however, never all present at the same time, and none of them is essential.” . . . “A common habitat and common conditions are doubtless powerful influences at times in determining nationality; but what part do they play in that of the Jews or the Greeks, or the Irish in dispersion?”

See how this high authority assumes without question that the Jews are, despite their dispersion, a distinct nationality; and he groups us with the Greeks or the Irish—two other peoples of marked individuality. Can it be doubted that we Jews—aggregating 14,000,000 people—are “an extensive aggregate of persons;” that we are “conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences and qualities which make us *feel* ourselves, a distinct people,” whether we admit it or not? . . .

Assertion of Jewish Nationality

. . . While every other people is striving for development by asserting its nationality, and a great war is making clear the value of small nations, shall we voluntarily yield to anti-Semitism, and instead of solving our “problem” end it by ignoble suicide? Surely this is no time for Jews to despair. Let us make clear to the world that we too are a nationality striving for equal rights, to life and to self-expression. That this should be our course has been recently expressed by high non-Jewish authority. Thus [Hugh] Seton-Watson, speaking of the probable results of the war, said:

“There are good grounds for hoping that it [the war] will also give a new and healthy impetus to Jewish national policy, grant freer play to their splendid qualities, and enable them to shake off the false shame which has led men who ought to be proud of their Jewish race to assume so many alien disguises and to accuse of anti-Semitism those who refuse to be deceived by mere appearances. It is high time that the Jews should realize that few things do more to foster anti-Semitic feeling than this very tendency to sail under false colors and conceal their true identity. The Zionists and the orthodox Jewish Nationalists have long ago won the respect and admiration of the world. No race has ever defied assimilation

so stubbornly and so successfully; and the modern tendency of individual Jews to repudiate what is one of their chief glories suggests an almost comic resolve to fight against the course of nature."

Zionism

Standing upon this broad foundation of nationality, Zionism aims to give it full development. Let us bear clearly in mind what Zionism is, or rather what it is not.

It is not a movement to remove all the Jews of the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place there are 14,000,000 Jews, and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-third of that number. In the second place, it is not a movement to compel anyone to go to Palestine. It is essentially a movement to give to the Jew more, not less freedom,—it aims to enable the Jews to exercise the same right now exercised by practically every other people in the world: To live at their option either in the land of their fathers or in some other country; a right which members of small nations as well as of large,—which Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, or Belgian, may now exercise as fully as Germans or English.

Zionism seeks to establish in Palestine, for such Jews as choose to go and remain there, and for their descendants, a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life, where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we should call home rule. The Zionists seek to establish this home in Palestine because they are convinced that the undying longing of Jews for Palestine is a fact of deepest significance; that it is a manifestation in the struggle for existence by an ancient people which had established its right to live—a people whose three thousand years of civilization has produced a faith culture and individuality which enable them to contribute largely in the future as they had in the past to the advance of civilization and that it is not a right merely but a duty of the Jewish nationality to survive and develop. They believe that there only, can Jewish life be fully protected from the forces of disintegration; that there alone, can the Jewish spirit reach its full and natural development; and that by securing for those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine, the opportunity to do so, not only those Jews,

but all other Jews will be benefited and that the long perplexing Jewish Problem will, at last, find solution.

They believe that to accomplish this, it is not necessary that the Jewish population of Palestine be large as compared with the whole number of Jews in the world; for throughout centuries when the Jewish influence was greatest,—during the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires, only a relatively small part of the Jews lived in Palestine; and only a small part of the Jews returned from Babylon when the Temple was rebuilt.

Since the destruction of the Temple, nearly two thousand years ago, the longing for Palestine has been ever present with the Jew. It was the hope of a return to the land of his fathers that buoyed up the Jew amidst persecution, and for the realization of which the devout ever prayed. Until a generation ago this was a hope merely—a wish piously prayed for, but not worked for. The Zionist movement is idealistic, but it is also essentially practical. It seeks to realize that hope; to make the dream of a Jewish life in a Jewish land come true as other great dreams of the world have been realized—by men working with devotion, intelligence, and self-sacrifice. It was thus that the dream of Italian independence and unity, after centuries of vain hope, came true through the efforts of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour; that the dream of Greek, of Bulgarian and of Serbian independence became facts; that the dream of home rule in Ireland had just been realized.

Zionism a Fact

The rebirth of the Jewish nation is no longer a mere dream. It is in process of accomplishment in a most practical way, and the story is a wonderful one. A generation ago a few Jewish emigrants from Russia and from Roumania, instead of proceeding westward to this hospitable country where they might easily have secured material prosperity, turned eastward for the purpose of settling in the land of their fathers.

To the worldly wise these efforts at colonization appeared very foolish. Nature and man presented obstacles in Palestine which appeared almost insuperable; and the colonists were in fact ill-equipped for their task, save in their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. The land, harassed by centuries of misrule, was treeless and apparently sterile; and it was infested with malaria. The Gov-

ernment offered them no security, either as to life or property. The colonists themselves were not only unfamiliar with the character of the country, but were ignorant of the farmer's life which they proposed to lead; for the Jews of Russia and Roumania had been generally denied the opportunity of owning or working land. Furthermore, these colonists were not inured to the physical hardships to which the life of a pioneer is necessarily subjected. To these hardships and malaria many succumbed. Those who survived were long confronted with failure. But at last success came. Within a generation these Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, and those who followed them, have succeeded in establishing these two fundamental propositions:

First: That Palestine is fit for the modern Jew.

Second: That the modern Jew is fit for Palestine.

Over forty self-governing Jewish colonies attested to this remarkable achievement.

This land, treeless a generation ago, supposed to be sterile and hopelessly arid, has been shown to have been treeless and sterile only because of man's misrule. It has been shown to be capable of becoming again a land of "flowing with milk and honey." Oranges and grapes, olives and almonds, wheat and other cereals are now growing there in profusion.

This material development has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary; a development in education, in health and in social order; and in the character and habits of the population. Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew Language, which has again become a language of the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for nearly 2,000 years, has, in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem, become again the living mother tongue. The effect of this common language in unifying the Jew is, of course, great; for the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, except for the use of Yiddish, the language of the country from which he came, and remaining in the main, almost a stranger to the others. But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew tongue is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit.

Our Jewish Pilgrim Fathers have laid the foundation. It remains for us to build the superstructure.

Zionism and Patriotism

Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state, and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish American who contributed towards advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so.

Note what Seton-Watson says:

“America is full of nationalities which, while accepting with enthusiasm their new American citizenship, nevertheless look to some centre in the old world as the source and inspiration of their natural culture and traditions. The most typical instance is the feeling of the American Jew for Palestine which may well become a focus for his *declassé* kinsmen in other parts of the world.”

There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the Temple have the Jews in spirit and in ideals been so fully in harmony with the noblest aspirations of the country in which they lived.

America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. The brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than twenty-five hundred years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. Their affliction as well as their religion has prepared the Jews for effective democracy. Persecution broadened their sympathies. It trained them in patient endurance, in self-control, and in sacrifice. It made them think as well as suffer. It deepened the passion for righteousness.

Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so that in

America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors.

What America Demands of Its Jews

But we have also an immediate and more pressing duty in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect America and ourselves from demoralization, which has to some extent already set in among American Jews. The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part, from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints by which the Jews were protected in their Ghettos were removed and a new generation left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the other possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of inculcating self-respect,—a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. The sole bulwark against demoralization is to develop in each new generation of Jews in America the sense of “Noblesse oblige.” That spirit can be developed in those who regard their race as destined to live and to live with a bright future. That spirit can best be developed by actively participating in some way in furthering the ideals of the Jewish renaissance; and this can be done effectively only through furthering the Zionist movement.

In the Jewish colonies of Palestine there are no Jewish criminals; because everyone, old and young alike, is led to feel the glory of his race and his obligation to carry forward its ideals. The new Palestinian Jewry produces instead of criminals, great scientists like Aaron Aaronsohn, the discoverer of wild wheat; great pedagogues like David Yellin; craftsmen like Boris Shatz, the founder of the Bezalel; intrepid Shomerim, the Jewish guards of peace, who watch in the night against marauders and doers of violent deeds.

And the Zionist movement has brought like inspiration to the Jews in the Diaspora . . .

Our Duty

Since the Jewish Problem is single and universal, the Jews of every

country should strive for its solution. But the duty resting upon us of America is especially insistent. We number about 3,000,000, which is more than one-fifth of all the Jews in the world:—a number larger than comprised within any other country, except the Russian Empire. We are representative of all the Jews in the world; for we are composed of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants coming from every other country, or district. We include persons from every section of society, and of every shade of religious belief. We are ourselves free from civil or political disabilities; and are relatively prosperous. Our fellow Americans are infused with a high and generous spirit, which insures approval of our struggle to ennoble, liberate, and otherwise improve the condition of an important part of the human race; and their innate manliness makes them sympathize particularly with our efforts at self help. America's detachment from the old world problem relieves us from suspicions and embarrassments frequently attending the activities of Jews of rival European countries. And a conflict between American interests or ambitions and Jewish aims is not conceivable. Our loyalty to America can never be questioned.

Let us therefore lead—earnestly, courageously and joyously in the struggle for liberation. Let us all recognize that we Jews are a distinct nationality of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station or shade of belief is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers.

Organization

The fulfillment of these aspirations is clearly demanded in the interest of mankind, as well as in justice to the Jews. They cannot fail of attainment if we are united and true to ourselves. But we must be united not only in spirit but in action. To this end we must organize. Organize, in the first place, so that the world may have proof of the extent and the intensity of our desire for liberty. Organize in the second place—so that our resources may become known and be made available. But in mobilizing our force it will not be for war. The whole world longs for the solution of the Jewish

Problem. We have but to lead the way, and we may be sure of ample co-operation from non-Jews. In order to lead the way, we need not arms, but men; men with those qualities for which Jews should be peculiarly fitted by reason of their religion and life; men of courage, of high intelligence, of faith and public spirit, of indomitable will and ready self-sacrifice; men who will both think and do; who will devote high abilities to shaping our course, and to overcoming the many obstacles which must from time to time arise. And we need other, many, many other men—officers commissioned and non-commissioned, and common soldiers in the cause of liberty, who will give of their effort and resources, as occasion may demand, in unflinching and ever strengthening support of the measures which may be adopted. Organization, thorough and complete, can alone develop such leaders and the necessary support.

Organize, Organize, Organize,—until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted—counted with us—or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people.



B'NAI B'RITH AND ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Three men, two New York City merchants and the "shamas" of Anshe Chesed synagogue, founded "Bundes Bruder" (League of Brothers) in October 1843 for the mutual support of members and their families in times of sickness and death, as well as for moral and intellectual stimulation. Soon the name was changed to B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant), and a complex, secret ritual, imparted in six degrees (or lessons) and filled with generous illustrations from Jewish history, was adopted. Lodge #1 received its charter one month later, and Lodge #2 in February 1844; by 1851, New York City lodges had over 700 members, almost all German Jews. By the end of the Civil War more than fifty lodges—in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati, as well as in smaller areas of German Jewish settlement—were dominating the associational life of American Jewry.

In October 1913, after three months of intensive preparation, fifteen prominent Chicago B'nai B'rith members convened the first organized meeting of the Anti-Defamation League, the creation of attorney Sigmund Livingston. The Independent Order of B'nai B'rith supplied Livingston

with stationery, a \$200 budget, and a desk in his office, and the ADL began its work. Quickly, 150 leaders from across the nation were invited to join the League, and three major areas of operation were delineated: education, vigilance, and legislation.

The educational efforts included aiding the distribution of worthwhile books about Jews and Judaism, working with publishers and producers and directors to withdraw offensive publications (Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent), films (Oliver Twist), and plays (The Merchant of Venice) from the public arena, and sensitizing the media and the public to Jewish caricatures and stereotypes. The vigilance work concentrated on securing information on defamation (especially by the Ku Klux Klan) by coordinating news clipping bureaus and correspondents in many states. Legislative efforts sought to ban the advertising by public display, newspapers, or the mails of accommodations which discriminate on the basis of religion.

In the early years of the ADL, its primary concern was protecting American Jews from public calumny through the personal intervention of important Jewish personalities who tactfully pleaded the cause of tolerance. This sufficed through most of the League's first two decades, but with the emergence of American fascist groups in the 1930's a broader and more forceful strategy was developed, largely through the professional leadership of Richard E. Gutstadt, who assumed the national directorship in 1931. The ADL expanded its staff and investigations, not only to counter Nazi propaganda but also, as the 1935 report indicates, to eliminate discrimination against Jews, protect the rights and dignity of all peoples, and build understanding among diverse groups in a wide variety of arenas.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, 1935

... The Anti-Defamation League has for over twenty years had representatives in some parts of the country. The purely routine work had, in large measure, been centralized in the offices of the Chairman and the Secretary, through whom most of the correspondence was carried on. It now became necessary to have representatives in order that we might know what was really taking place throughout the nation. It was essential that a nation-wide educational program be undertaken in order to keep our fellow-citizens informed on the truth and that no lie or libel remain unanswered. The office established contact with approximately 500 cities. ... The League recognized the necessity for meeting all types of prop-

aganda by a determined effort to reach the same groups which had been propagandized.

Speakers Bureau

A Speakers Bureau was set up. Several hundred Jews and non-Jews agreed to present messages to important groups throughout the country. . . . We were determined to place the truth by the spoken word, before every audience which had listened to the distortion of fact and the expressions of half-truth uttered by our enemies. The Speakers Bureau has functioned most effectively. Its members have been guests of service clubs, church groups, Chambers of Commerce, university forums, fraternal associations, and assemblies of manifold character. Their efforts have been received with an appreciation truly gratifying, which supports very definitely the philosophy of the League, namely, that to a large extent anti-Semitism is merely the result of misinformation. Particularly is unconscious anti-Semitism due to lack of understanding. In overcoming this type of prejudice, at least, the Speakers Bureau has done a heroic task. Over 3000 addresses have been delivered before groups numbering from 75 to 2500. Many of these addresses were broadcast and reached vast radio audiences. Our speakers appeared in forty-two states of the Union. . . .

In connection with the work of the Speakers Bureau, the League cooperated with the National Conference on Good-Will Between Jews and Christians, in its Brotherhood Day exercises, as well as in its other work. With the earliest effort in this direction and up to the 1935 celebration of Brotherhood Day, the response to this movement has been cumulative. Our brethren have helped to organize the program, arrange the meetings, prepare publicity, provide necessary speakers, and perhaps more important than all, to secure from such meetings the seeds of permanent organization along lines of better understanding. The files of the League contain many folders of laudatory press comments upon the success of this effort. Particular activity was manifested by our representatives in such communities as appeared to lack interest in the promotion of such a program. On many occasions, the League supplied the speakers to represent the Jewish group, in every instance bringing into the community from the outside a rabbi or a layman of outstanding character and ability. In all such instances, naturally, the

expense was borne by the League. In 1935 alone the League was instrumental in arranging such addresses in 59 communities.

Further in connection with the Speakers Bureau, it was possible to cooperate with the Jewish Chautauqua Society. The funds of this organization were extremely limited, and through a special subvention extended by the League, many authoritative speakers who otherwise would not have been able to discharge the usual Chautauqua function, were enabled to carry on their work. . . .

Fact Finding

When our representatives became aware of the growing spirit of anti-Semitism, their alertness increased. In a short time reports came to us of organizations springing up in various parts of the country. The "Silver Shirts", "Black Shirts", "Khaki Shirts", "Homesteaders", "The Vigilantes", the "Ku Klux Klan", "The Defenders", "The Crusader White Shirts", are only a few of the large number about which we soon began to gather information. A determined effort to make America Nazi-minded could not proceed unobserved, and before long, a number of German groups had been reported apparently engaged in a frantic effort to enlist the sympathy of Americans. Information which came into the files from almost every state in the Union was properly assembled, and made available to the proper department of the government and to other agencies which, in our judgment, could make the best use of the material.

. . . Several new organizations have come into being. Some of them cause us considerable concern. Every effort is being made to watch their action closely and to circumvent their efforts to delude, through false representations, responsible citizens into their ranks.

These organizations tried to obtain state charters in at least two American commonwealths. Sufficient information concerning the activities of these groups was made available to the Secretaries of State, and charters were denied. In all instances, the effort was made by such organizations to have all objections overridden.

As an evidence of the vigilance of our brethren everywhere, it may here be stated that a total of several thousand reports upon significant developments have been received, reviewed, and properly collated in the office of the League. These covered every part of the country and were of invaluable aid in establishing the

necessary evidence concerning un-American and anti-American activities. . . .

Reports from many communities indicated that lectures of propagandists for anti-Semitic organizations had been scheduled in school buildings. Information was furnished, enabling our representatives to prove to school authorities the unwisdom of utilizing public buildings for such purposes, as a result of which permits for such lectures were withdrawn.

Some of the producers of anti-Semitic periodicals attempted to arrange for their display upon the reading tables of various public libraries. Our representatives were able to demonstrate the anti-American character of such publications, and in every case reported that the gratuitous subscriptions were rejected by the libraries.

Clipping Bureau

The office of the League contemplated subscriptions to the usual news clipping services. Within two weeks, however, of our first letters to the lodges, clippings from them began to pour into the office. They continued to come in such volume that it was evident we required no official service and that the very substantial amounts of money which would have been involved could be much better used. Press clippings continue to come in great volume. All are systematically arranged, and many bound volumes of important and relevant material are now in the League's possession. The material has been methodically indexed so as to make it available for the readiest reference.

Pamphlets and Leaflets Distributed by the League

Particularly with regard to Nazi propaganda, there was a demand for informative material. Our speakers understood, in a general way, the absurdity of Nazi allegations against German and World Jewry. Likewise did they generally understand the utter falsity of much of the anti-Semitic literature being circulated not only in Germany, but through Nazi agents in America as well. There was desired, however, specific information—the definite and authorita-

tive answers to charges that were made, and likewise the opinion of important people with regard to the whole German situation. The League secured quantities of important leaflets [which] were circulated to members of the Speakers Bureau and to our representatives, and brought to the attention of important people. . . .

. . . On some occasions, it has been extremely important that informative literature be seen by members of Congress. This has been made possible through the personal interest of constituents in the respective districts, many of whom have transmitted to our office copies of commendatory letters which had been subsequently received by them from their Congressmen. . . .

Placement of Books

Apart from the distribution of current literary items intended to deal with an immediate phase of the problem, there have been several books of permanent character which have had the consideration and support of the League. It has been felt that in a large number of libraries, there is a dearth of authoritative literature which ought to be easily accessible to students honestly interested. The lack of proper literature upon many subjects frequently compels recourse to literature which is biased. . . .

Merchant of Venice

The effort to eliminate from elementary and high school curricula the teaching of the "Merchant of Venice" has been unceasing. Mimeographed material giving the opinions of influential educators and the action of important cities in this matter was prepared some time back. This material was made available to every community which requested it, to fortify its own representations to local boards of education.

As a result of our efforts, the "Merchant of Venice" has been eliminated from the public schools of 73 communities additional to those previously reported, of the United States and Canada. . . .

Conspicuous among the accomplishments in this regard was that of one of our Indiana representatives. He took up the matter

with the State Superintendent of Public Education and found little difficulty in so logically presenting his case that a letter was issued to all boards of education throughout the state urging the elimination of the book both for study and as reference work in the grade and elementary schools. . . .

Moving Pictures

Within the last five years 33 motion pictures have had the closest attention of the League. In some instances, the objections were not of major importance. In many instances, however, vital issues were involved. The League office attempts to exercise a nice discrimination with regard to protest and also to keep advised sufficiently in advance of all contemplated motion picture productions, in order that due caution may be used by producers before any financial investment has been made. We are frequently in receipt of objections from hyper-sensitive members of our faith who take exception to every portrayal of a Jew, humorous or otherwise. The office goes to great lengths to educate our people to an understanding that Jewish humor per se should be no more offensive to Jewish groups than typical humor of other groups is offensive to members of such groups. The League is directly concerned with such characterizations as indicate Jewish lack of ethical or moral standards. Particularly is this true of characterizations which, in the popular mind generally, though erroneously, are considered as Jewish traits or practices. With this though in mind, we present the following typical examples:

The comedies of Smith & Dale, such as "Accidents Will Happen," "Real Estaters," "What a Business," etc., were found objectionable. The humor of these two men is particularly vulgar and frequently based upon portrayals of chicanery and fraud. The League has had considerable difficulty in restraining the offensiveness of this team. The strengthened contact between the motion picture industry, the Motion Picture Producers Association of America and the League office gives greater promise of more effective action henceforth.

"The Mad Dog of Europe," a film contemplated for production by an independent producer, came to the attention of the League. The subject was Hitler, and the script indicated a contemplated treatment which, in the judgment of the League, would have aroused the resentment of neutral, right-minded Germans, and

numbers of Americans as well. Conferences were had with the Motion Picture Distributors Association at New York, and with the designated producer at Los Angeles. Plans for production were abandoned, but rights to the script were sold to another "independent" with whom, likewise, there was considerable negotiation. Ultimately, the plan for production was completely nullified.

The film "Power" distributed by Gaumont-British and based upon the historic novel "Jew Suss" by Feuchtwanger, likewise created a considerable difference of opinion. The film was viewed by the Chairman and Director of the League in New York, and subsequently by a specially selected group in Chicago. Considerable footage was eliminated. As finally exhibited, the film still aroused controversy. The position of the League, however, was that it was a fair and honest presentation of the book and that the objectionable characteristics of the principal figure were not exaggerated insofar as Feuchtwanger's original delineation was concerned. It was likewise believed that in its revelation of the flimsy basis upon which medieval Europeans built the horrible allegation of ritual murder, the picture rendered a valuable service.

"The Wandering Jew," a British-made film likewise controlled by Gaumont-British, was brought into the American market by two representatives of this concern who had negotiated contracts for the American distribution with an important motion picture organization of this country. The film is based upon the story by E. Temple Thurston, and was found most objectionable. Several sequences pictured the Jew in an immoral light, others as highly sacrilegious with regard to Christian symbolism. Many alterations were made, but the film could not be rendered acceptable. The effort to prevent its exhibition in New York ultimately failed, but in Chicago it was not granted a permit. It met with great resistance throughout the country, and the office has been given to understand that no reputable distributor would contract for the film in the United States or Canada, and that the original representatives of the British firm are attempting, as individuals, to arrange bookings. . . .

The League has been able to effect congenial relationships with certain state boards of censors, as well as local boards. This has proved of great advantage because through close cooperation, many measures have been taken prior to exhibition of films.

In July 1934, the Secretary conferred with about forty of the outstanding Jewish leaders of the motion picture industry at Hollywood. He presented to them the serious situation in America, and

endeavored to reveal the very important position occupied by the leaders of so important a cultural, esthetic, and entertainment medium as the motion picture. The unwisdom of presenting strictly Jewish types as unethical or unscrupulous professionals or business men was emphasized. The needlessness of casting such roles in any particular national or racial type was made clear. The attitude of the motion picture leaders was highly cooperative. They agreed to take the necessary steps to prevent repetitions of objectionable portrayals in the future. Careful check-up since that time seems to indicate a definite desire on their part to live up to that understanding, only one flagrant violation having been noted.

Employment Discrimination

The danger of discrimination against our people in employment may be easily understood. A policy of nonresistance would tacitly aid reactionary forces. Barring our people from desirable vocations and situations definitely creates a social problem. Young Jews and Jewesses must and will find the means of existence. Hindered from entering decent avenues of employment, it is to be expected that they will find others by which life may be sustained. Only by understanding, and making others understand, the far-reaching implications of employment discrimination, can we hope to attack this problem properly.

Late in 1930 this situation became aggravated. A number of reports had been published indicating the increasing difficulty encountered by our people seeking employment. A conference was called in New York on December 15, 1930, at which representatives of the five major Jewish organizations met. It was called upon the initiative of national officers of B'nai B'rith. The organizations represented were B'nai B'rith, National Council of Jewish Women, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, and the United Hebrew Trades. . . . Proposals for a scientific survey involving a considerable financial outlay were discussed, but in view of the financial stringency, were discarded. A second meeting was held on January 5, 1931, at which a permanent organization was outlined, with an executive committee at its head representing all the organizations. Many other national and local bodies demanded admission to the conference, but only the Workmen's Circle and the Independent Order B'rith Abraham were invited to join. Two

committees were to be created, one to study the situation and the other to coordinate anti-discrimination work of various bodies. The failure to make available the necessary funds resulted in an inactivity which proved most disappointing. The Chairman of the League, however, decided that practical work could nevertheless be done, and immediately set about to establish an organization in the city of Chicago.

A conference of presidents of all leading Jewish organizations in Chicago was called after considerable information had been gathered. This conference was advised of the existing situation, and cooperation was pledged from a large number of groups. A paid secretary was employed, to overcome the handicap to the employment of Jews, and likewise to canvass the many employment agencies of Chicago for the purpose of eliminating, insofar as was possible, those misconceptions which had led to the trouble in the first place. In dignified and tactful manner, the attention of employers guilty of unjust discrimination was directed to the unhappy condition. . . .

The Committee's efforts revealed a striking increase in discrimination. Many Jews had been compelled, in order to get a hearing from prospective employers, to pose as Gentiles. Some employment offices, knowing how futile it was to attempt to secure employment for Jews, had for expediency posted large signs in their offices reading, "If you are a Jew, do not waste your time or ours". It is not believed that there is any complete solution to this problem. By sustained, intelligent effort, however, the condition may be greatly improved. The work must be directed along educational lines. Dignified, reasonable appeals to employers to guard against this social injustice frequently are favorably received. That this is so has been tested by frequent experiment.

In its first year, the Committee was responsible for visits to 101 employment agencies. Ninety-six cases were investigated, and eighty-three employers interviewed. Much valuable data was accumulated as a result. It was necessary first to learn whether employment agencies admitted the unfairness of such discrimination. It was likewise important to know the underlying reasons for it. It was generally admitted that many employers, Jews and non-Jews, refused to employ Jews in office positions and even in factories because of their Jewishness. It is gratifying to be able to report, however, that many good results grew out of interviews with employers and employment agencies. . . .

Hotels and Resorts

In connection with the refusal of many hotels and resorts to accept Jewish patronage, a considerable experience has been had within the last quinquennial period. The specific instances would make a lengthy list and serve no important purpose. This sort of discrimination offers a problem difficult to deal with. Where hotels and resorts openly publish their discriminatory policies, it is frequently possible to effect a change of such advertising. The unfairness of reflecting against a whole people in the public press or by printed circular can easily be made apparent. Experience indicates that by and large proprietors of hotels and resorts are not anxious to indicate an unfriendly attitude. Some have even expressed a willingness to operate their places exclusively for Jews, but have told of their difficulty in catering to a mixed clientele. The primary obstacle to such a policy appears, in the common experience of many such institutions, to be that after a few Jewish patrons have adjusted themselves favorably, there develops a constantly increasing Jewish patronage with the result that the resort becomes a Jewish one and Gentiles no longer return. Particularly has this been found true in many such institutions of Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Virginia, Florida, and other states. Frequently our representations have resulted in the withdrawal of certain types of advertising, all discriminatory phrases being eliminated in subsequent ads. Naturally, proprietors reserve the right to reject Jewish patronage, if objectionable, and there is reason to believe that insofar as some cases at least are concerned, this included all Jews. Some states have laws forbidding discrimination of this character by places of public accommodation. The advisability of action under such laws has been considered, and rejected as not a proper method. [The ADL reversed its position on this issue in the early 1950's.]

Many of the hotels have appeared upon a preferred list of the American Automobile Association. This did not deter them from rejecting Jewish patronage. Considerable correspondence ensued with Mr. Ernest A. Smith of the AAA and his attitude was most reasonable. The desire to cooperate was expressed, but in many instances could not accomplish our purpose.

Upon a visit to Washington, the Director of the League conferred with Mr. Smith. He was very gracious and promised to go into the matter in detail with the directors of his organization. Some time thereafter, a printed report of the minutes of the Directors'

Meeting of the American Automobile Association was received, in which the directors took the stand that, convinced by the logical and fair attitude of the Anti-Defamation League, they had decided that no hotel guilty of a racial discrimination policy should thereafter be included upon their list of recommended hotels.

Anti-Semitic Books

An extensive list of anti-Semitic publications has received the attention of the League office. Some of these were thoroughly anti-Semitic, others contained either an objectionable story or objectionable allusions. Still others were definitely anti-Semitic periodicals of regular circulation. Others were in the form of bulletins, monographs, chain letters, circulars, cards, etc., all of which are deliberate attempts to so misrepresent and discredit the Jew as to incite prejudice and even direct action against our people. . . .

Specific objections to portions of generally circulated books of miscellaneous character have from time to time concerned the League. Efforts to eliminate an objectionable jingle formerly contained in most editions of the Nursery Rhymes, have been made. Within the last several weeks, letters have been received from publishers, indicating that they have eliminated this rhyme and that neither it nor anything of adverse character will be included in any future editions. In an edition of Grimm's Fairy Tales, a volume published by the Garden City Publishing Company of Garden City, New York, there appeared a most objectionable fairy tale entitled, "The Jew in the Bush," a fantastic story which portrays the Jew as the cheat and thief. The attention of the publishers was called to the unhappy effects upon group relationships which would result from the impression of this stereotype of the Jew upon the child or adolescent mind. The publishers responded that our position was unquestionably correct. They are now considering a method by which the objectionable story may be eliminated from the complete new edition, just off the press, and they assure us that if it is not economically feasible to eliminate this story from the book, they will give serious consideration to dropping the whole book and taking a complete financial loss, for the reasons which we have advanced. They have assured us, further, that while they shall guard carefully against any possible repetition of any similar mistake, they would be grateful to us if we would communicate with them whenever our attention is directed to any similar matter in connection with their publications. . . .

The League was advised of the publication a book by Madison Grant entitled "The Conquest of a Continent." The publishers were Scribner & Sons, who in their letter to booksellers commented upon the contents with particular reference to the inability of the United States to absorb the "unassimilable" Jewish mass. A perusal of the book revealed its adherence to the general tenor of previous literature by the same author. In former years the sale of his anti-Semitic books had been aided by the controversy and the advertising given to them in the Jewish press and from the pulpit. The League circularized both press and rabbinate urging that similar mistakes be not made and that the booksellers be compelled to find and finance their own publicity. Considerable favorable comment was received both from the press and from the rabbinate on this warning note sounded by the League.

Attention of the office was directed to the fact that some libraries, despite the retraction by Mr. Henry Ford, still carried the four-volume sets of "The International Jew," originally distributed by him. The office, therefore, issued a letter to its representatives to ascertain how many libraries still had the book available. The responses indicated that while many libraries had destroyed the set, in at least fifty instances the books were still accessible to the public. As a result of the suggested approach by the League, the books were removed in a large majority of cases. Where librarians, however, felt that they had no right to destroy them, it was proposed that a copy of Mr. Ford's retraction be bound into each volume. The disposition of all librarians appears to be extremely fair, and in every case where the books were not destroyed, this latter course has been taken.

Magazines

. . . Amongst the vilest of all publications upon the American continent was the Canadian "Nationalist," for a while, the official organ of the Canadian Nationalist Party. This publication, in one specific issue, carried a full black-face streamer across the top, "The Murdering Jews" with an illustration of the Jew in the most villainous, brutal cartoon which the perverted mind of an artist could draw. The issue was almost completely devoted to an effort to impress all of its readers with the legitimacy and historicity of the ritual murder charges against our people. A law against collective libel having been passed in the legislature of Manitoba, action was brought against the publishers. An injunction was procured to suspend further publication. The defendants attempted to have the injunction vacated, but failed. A vast amount of data proving conclusively how outrageously false were all the charges embraced under the infamous term of "the blood libel" was assembled in the office of the League and transmitted to our representatives at Winnipeg, who had displayed unusual zeal and intel-

ligence in bringing this case to trial. When the trial was finally called, the defense failed to appear or to be represented in court, and a sweeping verdict followed the rendering of a default judgment by the court, which was presided over by the highest magistrate of the Province of Manitoba. The decision scathingly denounced the attempts to breed racial hatred in Canada and forbade the publication thereafter of any material intended to accomplish such a purpose.

It is worthy of comment that among the large number of anti-Semitic pamphlets and circulars which have come to the office of the League, a great many countries are represented, some even as remote as Australia.

No such general sweep of anti-Semitic activity has ever been noted heretofore. Of equal significance is the impetus which has been given to the distribution of the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion." This outrageous forgery, following the accession to power of Hitler in Germany, has been disseminated by many agencies. Nazi organizations, "Silver Shirts" headquarters, Klan headquarters, and various other places have been the centers of widespread distribution. So aggravated has this become that the book has developed into a basis of considerable argument and debate between leaders of the Fundamentalist group within the Christian church. In one instance, at least, a great church organization was marked as the selling agent for a considerable volume of this publication. After representations had been made by the League, officials of this organization admitted its mistaken policy, and refused thereafter to purvey either this book or other anti-Semitic literature. They made an honest effort to undo the wrong. Over its own radio broadcasting station shortly thereafter, a speaker was permitted thirty minutes for the purpose of thoroughly disproving the "Protocols" and of revealing the infamous purpose behind them, a broadcast which, incidentally, aroused considerable comment. The speaker concluded his address by informing interested listeners that they could secure copies of Chairman Livingston's pamphlet on the "Protocols" by applying to the League office. Many requests were received, all of which were promptly complied with.

Newspaper Discrimination

The rule established through the national press agencies many years ago has in the main been closely followed. For many years, it has been unusual to note the term "Jew" in connection with reports of wrong-doers. Within the last few years, however, a number of such cases have come to the attention of the League. In every case, editors and publishers were prompt in disavowing any malicious

intent, and assured the League that no repetitions of the offense would be permitted. . . .

Political Activities

For the last three years effort has been made to inject the racial issue into political campaigns. Reports have come from widely separated places, indicating that local political leaders have from time to time endeavored to emphasize Jewish political influence in the national administration as a basis for apprehension and as an argument against candidates in local and state elections. In some instances circulars were distributed by individuals of high prestige in which circulars there appeared lists of names of Jews in high federal position. Frequently, the names of non-Jews were included in these lists in order to heighten the impression.

Careful attention was given to every instance of this character which came to our attention. Representations were made as to the treacherous implications of this type of political action in America. Attention was directed to the false information incorporated in these circulars. It is gratifying to report that when these facts were made clear to men in authority, almost without exception, distribution of this material ceased and authorities in political organizations insisted that such methods be abjured. . . .

Radio

As can be easily understood, so universal a medium of entertainment as the radio requires careful attention. Without malicious intent, many radio stars would be likely to introduce objectionable characterizations of the Jew. While many radio presentations present humorous Jewish types, no exception can be taken despite the fact that many complaints with regard to these have come to the office.

The League is concerned only with such portrayals as may convey impressions of Jewish ethical delinquencies, and of these there have been many. Some instances contain the elements of gangsterism; others, modernization of the outworn "arson" jokes. In all, some fifty cases of various character have been handled by the League. . . .

In addition to what might be termed the negative aspects of radio activities, the office has been able to enhance many radio programs. By proper representations to the League organization throughout the country and through furnishing exact information of broadcast times and station hookups, very advantageous publicity has been secured in the local press. . . .

Fireside Discussion Groups

The League has for some time been considering plans for helpful activities within the Jewish group. It has recognized that the work of the League to counteract inimical forces from without must be supplemented by constructive work from within. Very substantial sections of the Jewish population, in large cities, are compelled to reside in sections where poverty and economic maladjustment have led to the creation of anti-social activities. Many of our young people have been estranged from Jewish life and have come under the influence of groups with disregard for law or with radical ideas concerning government. The failure to understand vital Jewish principles or to evaluate the disadvantages of other political forms have created situations of considerable potential danger. We believe that educational efforts must be made to counteract the unhealthy influence of such disintegration of Jewish principles or subversive propaganda, in order that intelligent appraisals by our young people may fortify them against the acceptance of specious theories.

The problem is not a simple one. A program has been conceived, however, which has started and is being extended through the Chicago area. A series of Fireside Discussion Groups has been organized among the young people. Parties of a maximum of fifteen or twenty are brought together weekly either at a central point such as the synagogue, or in the private homes of individuals. A basis of discussion is prepared from the office of the League, and considerable factual material furnished. This material requires about fifteen to twenty minutes for presentation, and there then ensues a general discussion in which everyone takes part. No officers or official organization is involved. These are purely informal assemblies of all who can be influenced through a desire to know the facts concerning important situations involving the welfare of our people. Amongst the many subjects prepared for discussion are the following:

1. Jewish Contributions to Germany.
2. Contributions of German Jews During World War.
3. Who is this man Hitler?
4. Some Basic Causes of anti-Semitism.
5. Jews as Nobel Prize Winners and Their Contributions.
6. The Department and Chain Store Problem.
7. National Socialism in the United States.
8. What Part did the Jew Play in the Revolutionary War?
9. The Future of German Jewry if Hitler Fails.—If Hitler Survives.
10. Communism in the U.S.

. . . Our Fireside Discussion Groups are built around the thought of common interest and social intercourse. Participants rapidly form friendships which bring them to first-name relationships. The discussions are provocative and have thus far been sufficiently stimulating to have evoked requests from adult groups who have become acquainted with the program for the provision of similar material for their own circles. . . .



UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

At Carnegie Hall, late in December 1915, the American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War launched the first mass fund-raising campaign in American Jewish history. Its incredible success—\$1,000,000 in cash, jewels, checks, and pledges at the “kickoff” alone—encouraged another campaign one year later, when kickoff contributions and pledges reached \$3,000,000. Two \$100,000 gifts by Jacob Schiff and Julius Rosenwald highlighted the 1916 Carnegie Hall rally.

Of greater importance than the mass meetings were the War Relief Campaigns which followed the rallies. These campaigns—and a \$14,000,000 nationwide emergency drive conducted in 1922, also to raise funds for European Jewish war sufferers—elevated to national principles the businessman’s ideals of efficiency and voluntarism, rewarded businessmen with positions of prominence and leadership, and launched philanthropy into the forefront of American Jewish priorities. The same process affected American society as a whole: nationwide “war chest” drives (intensive, federated, short-term campaigns with elaborate, systematic canvassing machinery) took place in 1,400 American communities during World War I.

The Jewish war chest drive of 1917 enjoyed no less success, and its results caught the sharp eye of Jacob Billikopf:

I venture to say that there is not a city in America where there is a single Jewish inhabitant in which, at one time or another, we have not made an appeal. . . . A large number of individuals with good ratings were approached and asked to become chairmen of the Jewish War Relief Committee in their own towns. No sooner was the War Relief Campaign over, than a great many of the same captains and the same lieutenants . . . threw themselves heart and soul into the Federation campaign.¹

Organized teams, with "captains" appointed by federation leaders and distinguished leaders, were sent on whirlwind campaigns; friendly competition, chronicled in the Anglo-Jewish press, assured maximum collection of monies. These relief drives enhanced the prestige of Jewish philanthropy, created new heroes, and confirmed the emerging thesis that centralized fund-raising could amass more money with less annoyance to givers than several independent drives.

With the coming of worldwide depression and of Nazi terror, the needs of European Jewry again loomed large, and American Jewry was bombarded with public appeals. The United Jewish Appeal, for example, launched its 1935 campaign with a spectacular show at Madison Square Garden at which Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson, and Irving Berlin joined other stars in donating all of the proceeds from the 21,000 persons present to the UJA.

Almost sixty years after the opening drive at Carnegie Hall, with the outbreak of another war directly affecting overseas Jewry, the well-oiled wheels of Jewish philanthropy rolled into motion at accelerated speeds. The Yom Kippur War, which broke out in October 1973, confirmed not only the continued vitality of a sophisticated national network of Jewish philanthropy but also its ability to achieve previously unimagined results.

Although Jewish fund-raising has felt the impact of the mechanization and computerization revolutions during the past fifty years, the basic organization of a fund-raising campaign has not changed much since the 1920's. There are currently more than 250 cities in the United States which maintain a local Jewish federation or welfare fund, and each conducts an annual campaign on behalf of its local, national, and overseas beneficiary agencies. These campaigns, with some local variations, usually occur officially in the late winter and early spring (therefore not conflicting with the fall United Way/United Fund campaigns), and usually last four months. The key to a successful campaign is not the number of contributors. In every

1. Jacob Billikopf, "Campaign Methods," *Jewish Charities* 9, no. 11 (March 1919): n.p.

campaign, a small percentage of givers always accounts for most of the money raised; 5 percent giving 75 percent of the total is not at all unusual. So the essential ingredient of a campaign is enticing the biggest givers ("pace-setters") to make their pledges early and to make them large.

The first selection below, a brief outline of UJA pledge totals, demonstrates how remarkably successful the United Jewish Appeal has been at "making them large." After a peak during the War of Independence, fund-raising declined from 1949 through 1955, as the events of the 1940's lost their impact; 1956-66 was a period of relative stability; and though the national totals flattened out just before the Yom Kippur War, the years after 1973 represented new levels of generosity.

The second and third selections, from 1979 UJA campaign literature appearing in newspapers, emphasize the dominant themes of federated Jewish philanthropy in America. The primary focus is on overseas (i.e., Israel) needs: the "interdependence of Jewish life the world over," the "responsibility of world Jewry" generally, and American Jewry's "lifeline partnership with Israel's people" specifically. The first-person plural is stressed—"our commitment"/"our full share"/"we have helped"—and no matter the sums, the knowledge that "we have never given enough." Furthermore, increased giving to Israel is tied to advantages for each Jew's local community; indeed, the UJA argues that an improved quality of life overseas "can only" be accomplished by an improved quality of life at home. How this is so, is left purposefully vague; what is clear is that American Jewry has not only the opportunity but the "privilege" of participation in Jewish giving.

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS TO UJA

Year	Annual Cash Totals (in millions)
1948	\$150
1949	103
1950	88
1951	80
1952	70
1953	65
1954	60
1955	60
1956	75
1957	82
1958	68
1959	73

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS TO UJA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Annual Cash Totals (in millions)</i>
1960	61
1961	60
1962	64
1963	62
1964	60
1965	62
1966	64
1967	242
1968	146
1969	167
1970	196
1971	239
1972	247
1973	252
1974 [including Yom Kippur War campaign]	504
1975	299
1976	276
1977	273
1978	271
1979	270
1980	269

Source: UJA *Annual Reports*

JEWISH RENEWAL AT HOME: THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

A Definition

Achieving much but falling short . . . difficulties in expanding or even maintaining programs in the face of persistent inflation . . . curtailed and postponed services . . . unmet needs . . .

The words describing what our regular campaigns have done—and failed to do—in support of human needs in Israel can be applied as well to our local services and programs.

As the new era of Jewish Renewal begins, what must also be applied in our communities is the same zeal the people of Israel have shown in:

identifying unmet needs;

determining where and how serious shortcomings in current services are denying needed aid and comfort; and
 formulating realizable goals and achievable programs.

The immediate effect will be to move our campaigns off the dead center of plateau giving to new peaks.

The long-range effect will be to move our communities substantially ahead in our life-renewing work at home.

Interdependence of Jewish Renewal

In naming their vast program of social rehabilitation for 45,000 immigrant families "Project Renewal," the people of Israel have sounded the keynote of our 1979 campaign.

All contributors will have the privilege of participating in that project through capital fund opportunities and special fund giving—the form to be determined by each community. *The privilege will be available only on the basis of an increased pledge to the regular campaign.*

In structuring the 1979 campaign in this way, we acknowledge the interdependence of Jewish life the world over. We recognize that we can only give strength and a heightened quality of life to our fellow Jews overseas on the basis of the strength and quality of life we achieve at home.

In organizing and planning our Jewish Renewal programs, we must also recognize that the structure of our life here is undergoing change, creating new realities, particularly affecting:

Jewish family life;

Our treatment of our aging;

The education, values and opportunities we give our youth;

The way we arrange the resettlement of the newcomers among us.

The Family

Many contemporary pressures are leading to upheaval and attrition in American Jewish family life.

Fifteen percent of households involving parents in the 20–29 year range are now headed by one parent . . .

More than half of the heads of Jewish households have no synagogue affiliation . . .

Inter-city movement of Jewish families is mounting . . .

Mid-career joblessness is affecting many American Jewish providers.

Jewish Renewal at Home means increased regular campaign funding and improved services to stabilize and strengthen Jewish family life:

Family Life Education programs;

Family-based experiences in community centers;

Expanded programs meeting the special needs of single parents;

Special group experiences for the adolescent children of divorced parents;

Big-brother and big-sister programs for children of one-parent families;

Pre-school and day care services in aid of working single parents;

Vocational services geared to families hit by mid-career joblessness;

A full range of personal and family counseling.

The Aging

The Jewish elderly, 65 years of age and over, now comprise almost 13 percent of the national Jewish population. Projections say this proportion will reach 15 percent by 1990.

One out of every five Jewish households is headed by a person of 65 or more . . . the incomes of most do not exceed \$6,000 per year . . . one in every four has some degree of physical or emotional disability requiring supportive services.

Jewish Renewal at Home means increased regular campaign funding and improved services to provide the Jewish elderly with the total at-home and institutional supports they need . . . for the active, productive, self-dependent lives they want to lead:

Expanded therapy services;

Vocational retraining;

Aids to neighborhood stabilization;

New apartments and residential opportunities;

Strengthened "at-home" services: transportation, housekeeping, visiting, counseling, meals-on-wheels;

Augmented recreational, cultural and educational programming;

Modernized institutional care and expanded facilities where needed;

Improved nutritional programs;

Opportunities for volunteer service.

Jewish Education, Youth Programs

Enrollment in Jewish schools at all levels has declined from 600,000 in 1961 to about 400,000 currently.

The search for values by Jewish teenagers and college students *outside the Jewish heritage* continues unabated. Too many of our youngsters remain unaware of the treasures of Judaism.

Community services for Jewish youths in high schools and on college campuses have been largely minimal.

For many young Jews, Israel is another “foreign country”, its role in Jewish destiny unknown or misjudged.

Jewish Renewal at Home means increased regular campaign funding and improved services to make Jewish education a vital force in our communities, Judaism an enduring fountainhead of values and Jewish identity a matter of affirmation:

Increased subsidies and active recruitment programs for greater enrolment in Jewish day schools;

Intensification of the Jewish content of community camp programs;

Enriched Jewish programming in community centers;

Recruitment and training of high-quality teachers for Jewish schools;

Active participation in expanded programs of Jewish studies at universities;

Strengthened college campus programs in Jewish responsibilities for both faculty and students;

Increased community support of youth trips to Israel.

Resettlement of New Immigrants

American Jewish communities have been experiencing—and actively participating in—the first substantial new wave of immigration of Jews to the United States in many decades, largely from the Soviet Union.

Soviet Jewish immigration to North America in the first half of 1978 all but equalled the total of the entire year of 1977. This human flow will increase in 1979.

Jewish Renewal at Home means increased regular campaign funding and improved services to help the Jews of this modern exodus adjust to their new freedom and experience with democracy through expanded programs of:

Social, psychological and practical counseling and orientation;
English language training;
Retraining and employment aid toward swift self-support;
Housing and relocation;
Jewish and general education.

JEWISH RENEWAL IN ISRAEL: THE ROLE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

Action

The people of Israel have acted decisively in issuing in the era of Renewal.

They have committed themselves to the rejuvenation of 300,000 people—200,000 of them children—living in conditions of physical and social distress in 160 neighborhoods.

They have extended free education through high school for every child in the land.

Risking immediately increased hardship and austerity, they have opened up their economy by sharply devaluing the pound, removing or reducing subsidies on most staples, lifting monetary restrictions and curtailing government spending.

Vision

The hoped-for long-range results?

A society based on social justice and equality of opportunity, with every man, woman and child contributing to the fullest.

An end to the social gap between favored and deprived elements of the population.

More foreign investment, revitalized exports, a reduction in the unfavorable balance of trade.

Slowdown in the inflation rate, economic self-sufficiency, fiscal solvency.

Reality

The gap between vision and reality, however, remains large and troubling. On the horizon—a free healthy, growing society and economy. Right now—continuing denial and hardship, most heavily affecting tens of thousands of Israel's marginal immigrant families:

Limited funds for social services in distressed neighborhoods, because of curtailed government budgets.

The threat of continuing school dropouts despite free tuition because economy measures have cut funds for books and supplies, hot lunch programs and special tutoring.

An inflation rate that will far exceed the hoped-for 30 per cent . . . imported goods up a minimum of 25 per cent . . . a balance of trade deficit still hovering around \$3 billion. . . . a rise of up to 40 per cent in the price of basic commodities.

The Jewish Agency Budget for the Year 1978/79 and Reductions from 1977/78

Function	Budget 77/78	Budget 78/79	Reductions
Immigration & Absorption	\$ 77.8 million	\$ 66.5 million	-\$11.3
Social Welfare Service	51.6 million	31.6 million	- 20.0
Health Services	8.7 million	1.7 million	- 7.0
Education	50.0 million	36.3 million	- 13.7
Institutions of Higher Learning	52.4 million	47.4 million	- 5.0
Youth Care & Training	48.8 million	37.9 million	- 10.9
Absorption into Agricultural Settlements	55.6 million	30.0 million	- 25.6
Immigrant Housing	37.0 million	25.6 million	- 11.4
Debt Service	64.0 million	50.0 million	
Other	25.8 million	23.0 million	
Total	\$471.7 million	\$350.0 million	

Vision

Bridging the gap has always been the responsibility of world Jewry, through the programs of the Jewish Agency.

For 30 years, our lifeline partnership with Israel's people has been based on our commitment to assume our full share of the cost of transporting, resettling and absorbing all incoming immigrants.

The achievement has been substantial. We have helped bring more than 1.6 million immigrants to Israel, contributed to the establishment of 540 agricultural settlements and 29 development towns, and provided funds for housing, employment and a wide range of Jewish Agency health, education and welfare services to newcomers.

But we have never truly, totally carried out our partnership responsibility.

Reality

For we have never given enough. Year after year, except in response to war, we have fallen short of providing our expected share of the Jewish Agency budget. This has led to:

Budgets of austerity and desperation. For three successive years, almost every major Jewish Agency budget line—each one a thread of human hope—has had to be cut.

Deficit financing. The money we have not provided has had to be borrowed. More than 14 percent of the current budget is lost to debt repayment.

Curtailed services. Shortage of funds has stretched every Agency program to the thinnest edge—in a year when new immigration is expected to rise by 3,600.

Renewed life postponed. Tens of thousands of immigrant families we helped bring to Israel still live in substandard conditions, unabsorbed.

Action

In 1979, it is up to us to reverse that process, through our campaign for Jewish Renewal.

We must meet our full share of the cost of the Agency's ongoing, life-renewing services—and of our vital community services—through a *substantially increased regular campaign*.



ATTEMPTS AT UNITY: THE MACIVER REPORT AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S RESPONSE, 1951

By the middle of the twentieth century, national Jewish organizations were characterized by an unseemly competition for financial support of their generous budgets, feverish—but often duplicating—activity, and even some jealousy and hostility. Not even the creation of an umbrella organization, the National Community Relations Advisory Council, diminished the internecine quarrels. But immediately after its formation in 1944, the NCRAC began the task of evaluating the duplication of tasks carried out by both national and local Jewish agencies, and by early 1950 the Executive Committee of the NCRAC agreed to engage an independent social scientist to prepare an evaluation report. All six of the national community-relations organizations on the NCRAC—the “Big Three” of the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, and Anti-Defamation League, as well as the Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations—supported the proposal.

Professor Robert MacIver of Columbia University, the unanimous choice of the NCRAC, read voluminous materials, visited fourteen communities himself or through surrogates, and interviewed many lay and professional leaders of the national agencies. MacIver's recommendations were quite practical, differed from area to area, and were closely interwoven with the descriptive and analytical text of his findings. His main points included reassessment of strategy, integration of programs, specific divisions of labor among the agencies in order to eliminate duplication of effort, the primacy of local community-relations councils, the strengthening of the NCRAC, and the need for new mechanisms in financing community relations work.

Reactions to the MacIver Report demonstrated the persistence of forces preventing communal unity and coordination. In the Evaluative Studies Committee, which met several times to discuss the report, the American Jewish Committee and the ADL expressed strong criticism, and at the NCRAC Plenary Session of November 1951 the Committee and the ADL took vigorous exception to the recommendations. Nevertheless, after some compromises, agreement was obtained. This basic agreement, with some minor changes, was submitted to the delegates of the 10th Plenum of the NCRAC which, despite vigorous pre-Plenum lobbying by the American Jewish Committee and the ADL, voted 54–17 to approve MacIver's recommendations for division of labor among the national agencies. With this

vote, the AJC and ADL walked out of the Plenary Session and subsequently quit the NCRAC.

In its "Statement" on the report, the American Jewish Committee vehemently opposed MacIver's recommendations for greater centralization and stressed the importance of maintaining the ideological differences among agencies. The Committee further urged that the process of coordination rest upon "inter-consultation" rather than a "monolithic and totalitarian process" which might threaten agency autonomy.

Not until 1966 had the AJC and ADL rejoined the NCRAC, and then only with guarantees that their autonomy would be protected.

THE MACIVER REPORT ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS AGENCIES

I

Range and Character of the Investigation

This report presents a review, analysis, and evaluation of the comprehensive operation in the promotion of "community relations" carried on by a country-wide network of Jewish organizations. Community relations here refer more specifically to the relations between the Jewish population and the rest of the community, though the expression includes more broadly the area of inter-group relations within which problems of discrimination or prejudice are present. Sometimes in statements made by one or another of the organizations in question the expressions "community relations" and "community participation" are employed to refer to intra-Jewish relations. We are not concerned with community relations in the last-mentioned sense, except to distinguish it from the main subject of our interest. . . .

The network of organizations includes six national agencies together with their regional offices and local chapters or lodges as well as a considerable number of local bodies that under the name of Jewish community councils or community relations councils or committees or some equivalent conduct activities of the same type and are in contact in various ways with the national agencies. The whole system has a common forum, as it were, a means of getting together for the formulation of their common interests, for common policy-making, and for reaching agreements on matters of

controversy regarding their proper relationships to one another—in the organization known as the National Community Relations Advisory Council.

The six national agencies consist of the American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations. They are sometimes called "defense agencies" or "civic protection agencies." These terms, however, properly refer to only a portion of the activities they now conduct, being more appropriate to the earlier phases of agency history, before they became active in the more constructive aspects of community relations.

With one exception the agencies in question do not limit their activities to the field of community relations. Some of them are interested in the status of Jews in Europe and elsewhere, in the rescue and rehabilitation of Jews displaced or otherwise suffering from the effects of the world war and subsequent convulsions in Europe, in international policies that affect these or other matters of Jewish concern, in Jewish cultural life and education, in conditions in the state of Israel, and so forth. Differences of ideology have an important place in the respective attitudes of the various agencies to these issues. But neither these matters nor the ideological differences with respect to them come within our scope, except as they may be related to our examination of the work done in promoting community relations within the United States.

Three of the six agencies have a more specialized character that limits the range of their activities. Two of the specialized agencies have, besides their community relations activities, important fields of other interests defined by the character of their constituencies. These two are the Jewish War Veterans and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. . . .

The terms of the resolution setting up the study assigned as its task "describing and analyzing the areas of activity of each of the member agencies, the objectives which they seek, the assumptions on which they rest, the methods by which they are conducted, and, as far as possible, the results that have been achieved, for the purpose of making evaluative judgements as a guide in program planning." The scope and procedure of the investigation was framed in the light of this directive. . . .

[It was felt that] some broad evaluation of agency activities and agency relations was timely. An outsider might indeed miss some of

the significance of certain aspects of their work and might perhaps be inclined to underestimate the role the several agencies play in Jewish life as exponents of one or another of the ideologies around which so much intra-Jewish controversy rages. We have sought to give due respect to ideological positions but do not believe they should be a screen for lack of cooperation or lack of effectiveness in the performance of the common function of all the agencies, the promotion of community relations. We shall seek to show in due course that over a large area of that field ideological differences are for the most part irrelevant.

We have throughout considered only the nature of the service rendered by the agencies, the manner in which they have fulfilled the mission entrusted to them, in the light of the resources at their disposal. Their mission is no easy one—how means should be related to ends is here a difficult and indeed a perplexing question. We have frequently had doubts whether the agencies themselves realized the difficulties of this task, especially when they ceased to be merely “protective” and set themselves, as some of the larger ones have freely done, to seeking out the roots of prejudice. Indeed it is when we consider the work that has been done in this area that it becomes particularly important to examine the whole question of the relation of strategy and goal.

Our investigation is essentially an evaluative one, and since in fulfilling this task we find it incumbent upon us to be critical of certain agency procedures both in their program-making and in their relationships to one another we desire at the outset to make the following observations, not to blunt the force of these criticisms but to put them in the proper perspective.

In the first place the task the agencies, particularly the national agencies, have undertaken is one fraught with difficulties, and the results are generally hard to assess. In the one area where results are in some sense subject to registration they have shown a readiness to increase their efforts as changing conditions seemed to justify them—viz., in the institutional control of anti-group discrimination.

In the second place, whatever criticisms we may raise, there is good evidence that the agencies have made advances in the conception of their problems and in the quality of their programs, as compared with the situation a number of years ago.

Finally, the upshot of our critical comments is not a judgement that they have no important service to perform; instead, these criti-

cisms are calculated to bring out the conclusion that the service can be bettered and made more valuable alike to the group from which they emanate and to the whole community of the United States, as it moves forward in a new effort to make its democracy a more vital thing, less imperfect, less insecure, more firmly established in the ways and in the thoughts of its citizens.

2

General Characterization of the National Agencies

The six agencies

A summary description and characterization of the six national agencies with which we are concerned will bring out some of the complications an evaluative study must take into account.

There are three general agencies and three specialized ones. The latter are specialized because their membership is defined by a particular occupational or functional interest and they address themselves mainly to the groups in the community that share this interest or some corresponding interest. The latter are accordingly the smaller organizations, alike in the range of their programs and in the scale of their operations in the field of community relations. They are the JLC, JWV, and UAHC, representing respectively labor groups, veteran groups, and the reform congregations.

The three general agencies are Committee, ADL, and Congress. It should be noted that all of the agencies carry on activities that lie beyond the scope of our inquiry, that of community relations activities within the United States. In different degrees they concern themselves with such matters as the situation of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the promotion of Jewish interests or Jewish values, and so forth. But we are here concerned only with their activities in matters of community relations.

Of the general agencies Committee and ADL have considerably larger resources than Congress and carry on a much wider range of programs. Congress is active mainly in the area of civil rights and in research work related to specific problems of Jewish-Gentile relationships. Only incidentally does it conduct programs of a general

inter-group character or programs in the areas that are sometimes referred to as “mass-appeal” or “group appeal.”

Committee and ADL are linked together through the Joint Defense Appeal. They have a “coordinating committee” and presumably work out a cooperative adjustment between their respective projects. How far there is genuine cooperation between them is a matter that will concern us later.

The three general agencies claim to have different “constituencies.” This claim is on the whole well-founded. Committee represents predominantly the upper ranks of men of affairs, though with the increase of its chapters it has been to some extent broadening its base. ADL, as an organization emerging out of, and sponsored by, B’nai B’rith, draws from different social groups, but represents predominantly a middle range. Congress, with its definitely Zionist orientation, is particularly, though by no means exclusively, representative of the later, East European immigration.

One question that would be worth investigating is that of the relation of the “constituencies” to the national agencies. How far are the agencies influenced in their policy-making by the views of their lay members? How far are the local members of various agencies seriously engaged in community relations activities? What does membership actually mean in different cases—take the case of the Jewish War Veterans for example? Or again, does membership in a B’nai B’rith lodge imply any active interest in the particular programs and policies of the Anti-Defamation League? How far do the professional members set the tone and the character of the agencies? What proportion of the Jewish population lies outside of the agencies altogether? These and a number of cognate questions are deserving of study. They bear on some of the problems we shall be discussing in this report, although we have not found it possible to investigate them.

While the larger agencies claim to speak *for* different constituencies the claim to speak *to* different ones—which indeed has much more relevance in the making of programs for community relations—is appropriate only to the three specialized agencies. The latter in fact are specialized in two ways, both as to their own constituencies and as to the constituencies they address. Thus JLC concerns itself mainly with labor groups, JWV with veteran organizations and veterans generally, and UAHC, in its community relations activities, with the clergy of other faiths.

The American Jewish Committee

Committee was for thirty years what its name implies, a committee, with a membership around fifty. For seven years more, up to 1943, it was in effect just an enlarged committee. In the years that followed it broadened out into a major organization, highly professionalized, with many departments and an increasing number of local or regional chapters. Its primary concern was with foreign persecution of Jews, and it operated quietly by using its influence in Washington and elsewhere. In the twenties it became more directly concerned with anti-Semitic manifestations in the United States, an objective much intensified and developed in the Hitler days. After that menace was removed, its programs were expanded in various directions.

Committee maintains some special features that have at least an indirect relevance to community relations. Chief among them are (1) the Library of Jewish Information, which is a comprehensive collection of books and other literary materials on Jewish history and Jewish problems, and (2) the *American Jewish Year Book*, a well-edited compendium of contemporary and background information on Jewish affairs. Committee is distinctive also for its scholarly productions in book and magazine form including (1) the series of volumes on the character and the "dynamics" of prejudice, and (2) *Commentary*, a periodical which, though a somewhat expensive undertaking, can claim to be the only publication dealing primarily with Jewish matters that is read—and appreciated—by members of the more educated public outside of Jewish circles.

Committee is non-Zionist. It combines a philosophy and a diplomacy that looks to the removal of the conditions that engender conflicts and disturbances unfavorable to the free participation of Jews in the general life of American society.

The Anti-Defamation League

ADL differs in structure from the other agencies in two important respects. It is in principle concerned solely with matters of community relations. It does not conduct programs in other fields. It has a parent organization, B'nai B'rith, that does so, but ADL, as such, has no other commitments that might directly influence the

manner in which it fulfils the task for which it was specially designated. Consequently it is not itself a membership organization. It has regional offices and it has professionals in a large number of communities, but the membership behind them is the membership of B'nai B'rith.

As a creation of B'nai B'rith it operates under a National Commission mainly composed of B'nai B'rith officers and members. Since B'nai B'rith has a great network of lodges over the whole country, with members or "key men" even in very small communities, ADL is able to marshal a considerable amount of local influence.

In a sense it is the expansion into a complete organization of an original B'nai B'rith committee set up to combat anti-Semitism. ADL took over this mission. For three decades it carried on in a relatively small way, but with the outbreak of the Hitler peril and the appearance of organized anti-Semitism in the United States it extended its activities in all directions. Its range of programs is about as wide, in the field of community relations, as that of Committee, and over a very large area their activities cover the same ground.

ADL has been more active than any other agency in broad "mass-appeal" activities, and has made rather a specialty of issuing posters, circulars, blotters, bus advertising cards, school-book jackets, films and film-strips, pamphlets, and so forth, containing exhortations to inter-group solidarity and warnings against the evils of prejudice. It has made considerable use of its files and records of anti-Semitic manifestations and has been particularly involved in public protestations against personalities, publications, moving pictures, and so forth, regarded by it as having any kind of anti-Semitic tinge.

ADL thinks of itself as being the vigilant watchdog of Jewish interests, giving warnings at every sign of danger. It claims that it is always fighting at the front, whatever other agencies may be doing.

The American Jewish Congress

Congress, operating on a more limited scale, is organized in a much simpler way than the other two general agencies. Instead of a series of departments it has two main divisions. One of these, its

Commission on Law and Social Action, is concerned with the furtherance of legal, constitutional, judicial, and administrative controls against discrimination. It has been particularly active alike in the study and in the promotion of legislative measures and judicial decisions designed to vindicate civil rights and to curb inter-group discrimination in employment, housing, education, and other areas.

Its second division, the Commission on Community Interrelations, engages primarily in research into methods of counteracting prejudice, methods of dealing with incidents and situations exhibiting inter-group hostility or tension, methods of strengthening the morale of the Jewish group and their resistance to the effects of discriminatory activities, and so forth.

Congress was originally established by a group that felt dissatisfaction with Committee on various counts. The group in question was Zionist and "nationalist." They represented mainly the East European Jewish immigration, and opposed the "aristocratic" character of Committee, representative as it was of the earlier German-Jewish immigration and of the more prosperous elements. This difference of attitude still on the whole persists. Congress is anti-assimilationist, in the sense that it insists on the maintenance of the "group-personality" of the Jewish people. It regards Committee as being excessively careful not to offend the sentiments of the non-Jewish majority. Congress is not interested in good "public relations" as such. It takes a forthright stand, as against attempts to "placate," and therefore is active mainly in the all-out attack on discrimination through legal and other institutional controls.

Congress has generally regarded without much favor the extensive "mass-appeal" and "group-appeal" programs of Committee and ADL. More recently, however, there have been indications that it is not unwilling to adopt one or more programs falling in these categories.

Congress with its nationalist orientation is very largely interested in the Jewish world situation, and in 1936 it promoted the World Jewish Congress, which though constituting a distinct organization, is essentially the expression of the Congress point of view. Congress claims to be a people's movement, but this characterization must be understood not in terms of the size of its membership, but in terms of its ideology. Congress is more outspokenly ideological than the other agencies and represents a point of view that on the whole demarcates it from all the rest.

The Jewish Labor Committee

JLC was founded in 1933 as part of the forces generated to fight the Nazi menace, its original support coming largely from the New York-centered garment trades. Its initial objective was to give succor to the victims of Nazi-ism and to support the European underground movement against it. Much of its interest is still directed to the problems of Jewish rehabilitation abroad, but it has turned increasingly to inter-group work in this country, with the labor movement as its focus of operation. Its priority in the labor field has been admitted by the other agencies. It has the official endorsement of both the CIO and the AFL.

Because of its close association with labor JLC has a particularly "grass roots" quality. In its offices Yiddish is spoken more frequently than English, as its members give aid and advice to Jewish working people. In view of its origin and its orientation it is natural that JLC should be largely concerned with recent labor immigrants, with their needs, their opportunities, and their civil rights. It seeks to establish contacts with all labor organizations—except the few that have a communist tinge—which it vigorously opposes.

The Jewish War Veterans

JWV is the second oldest of the agencies in our group, antedating the twentieth century.¹ Its function, however, as a "defense agency" is somewhat anomalous, in that it has always devoted a very large portion of its energies to the general service of Jewish veterans, with respect to their rights and those of their families, their needs for hospitalization, education, vocational rehabilitation, and so forth. While it has a large number of posts throughout the country—it claims to have served as many as 108,293 veterans in 1948–1949—these posts are relatively inactive in direct community relations programs in the sense in which we are using this term. On the whole it is more adequately geared to general veteran service than to the special problem of inter-group relations. At the same time it does, as a central agency, work for such causes as the establishment of the FEPCs and the combating broadly of prejudice and

1. More strictly, the present JWV stems from a series of Jewish veteran organizations the first of which came into being in 1896.

discrimination. Its chief avenue of influence in these respects, apart from the impact of its own members, lies in its access to the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other veteran organizations. It maintains a number of regional offices: its Washington, D.C. office is prominent in the promotion of civil rights legislation.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations

UAHC is the oldest of the agencies in our list, having existed for more than three-quarters of a century. While it is a member agency of the NCRAC it has stood outside many of the issues that have occupied that body. Representing as it does the liberal or reform movement in Judaism it is essentially devoted to the advancement of that principle. But nevertheless a quite important part of its activity has been the interpretation of Judaism to the outside world, and directly to the Christian clergy. Thus it is very much interested in inter-religious activities. It carries on these activities through its Institutes of Judaism for Christian Clergy, through its Commission on Information about Judaism, and through its Jewish Chautauqua Society, which sends rabbis for this purpose to many educational institutions and conducts a summer Church Camp and Institute program. . . .

The NCRAC and the Six Agencies

To complete the general picture of the national agencies we must briefly characterize the body that exists primarily to maintain and advance a fuller understanding between them, the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Set up as the result of pressures for a unified agency system it was accepted by the agencies—but by no means welcomed.

The acceptance was itself due to two considerations. First, the NCRAC is no more than an *advisory* body: it has no authority to make its decisions binding on any agency that rejects them. Second, the NCRAC has itself a very strong agency representation, with equal voting power in the Executive Committee to that of the community or local agency members. Within these limits it is commissioned to study and evaluate agency activities, national and local, to act as a coordinating body in order to bring about “clear-

ance” and eliminate duplication, and to seek for a consensus on matters of policy, on public pronouncements on issues affecting the Jewish community and so forth.

. . . [The NCRAC] has a small operative staff, quite small in the light of the large-scale objectives it is intended to pursue. One concept of its function is that it serves as the instrument of a self-regulative process conducted by and within the whole agency field. The NCRAC may be viewed, however, in another light, as an instrument of the Jewish community, or more specifically of the local Community Councils, for bringing about, with national agency cooperation, a greater coordination, alike in the making of policy and in the implementation thereof, over the whole area of community relations. This viewpoint seems to us to be implied in the clause attached to the last item in its list of “aims and objectives,” to the following effect:

“It is expected that the affiliated organizations will adhere to such policies (as are once formulated and adopted) and will not engage in any activities in contravention of such policies.”

Historical Development of Agency Activities

The preceding review brings out the fact that the present elaborate network of national agency programs is a quite recent development. No less recent has been the establishment of local agencies of all kinds. On the one hand the central agencies have been busy setting up local offices, regional offices, chapters or lodges. On the other hand Jewish community councils have been appearing in many urban areas, councils that exhibit much variety of structure and function as well as of relationship to welfare fund organizations. Most of these councils have a community relations program, often entrusted to a special community relations committee. In some areas, however, community relations committees (or councils or bureaus) exist as separate organizations. In turn these local agencies have very variant associations or affiliations with the national agencies. The total picture is therefore one of great complexity and it is not surprising that a considerable amount of inter-agency competition, conflict, and confusion should have ensued.

We shall leave aside for the present the situation of the local agencies and take now a first look at the problem of the inter-relationship of the national agencies.

These agencies arose as a result of pressures and conditions that now belong, in part at least, to history. Conditions have changed, and with them the problem of community relations affecting the Jewish people. The agencies have gone their several ways, expanding their programs to the limit of the resources at their command. In the period when their resources were increasing they added new departments, new branches, new activities of many kinds. With the ending of the Hitler persecution they devoted more of their energies to domestic issues. But all this expansion was done without any concerted attempt to examine the implications of the general objective or the strategy of its attainment.

In the earlier years the issue was conceived mainly as one of "defense," defense against threats to the well-being or, in the extreme case, the very existence of the Jewish people, threats arising from discrimination and the other overt consequences of anti-Jewish prejudice. Hence, "community relations" were understood in a narrow sense. As the agencies expanded, they entered into competition for funds. They began to take credit for all sorts of services and achievements in order to stimulate the dispensers of the funds from which they drew. There was much rivalry and little cooperation.

With the change of situation that ended the Hitler peril the concept of mere "defense" lost some of its meaning and much of its urgency. In the appeals for agency funds attempts were still made to represent the defense need as no less imperative than before. One agency was particularly active in stirring up the sense of "clear and present danger." This was a very questionable proceeding and had undesirable repercussions. What was needed instead was a realistic effort to face the issues of effective Jewish participation in the community life. The new emphasis on civil rights programs was entirely appropriate and in keeping with the trend of the times. But this activity was still only a relatively small proportion of the total program of the two largest agencies.

What then were the objectives of the rest of the program in the area of community relations? And what was the function of the agencies in the service of the various local bodies to which they were related? Was it to guard against potential, if not actual threats? Or to strengthen Jewish morale from the inside, as it were? Or to develop Jewish participation in the larger community?

It seemed to be something of all these, but without sufficient definition of any. The tendency to put organizational prestige

ahead of concerted endeavor became more obvious. Instead of getting together for the sake of their common interest the agencies have been kept apart by mutual jealousies and suspicions, not merely by their differences in ideology. There has been a scrambling for membership, an insistence on the merits of independence, and, on the part of certain agencies, an exaggerated bid for exclusive credit in advancing the cause in which they are all enlisted.

In consequence, the national agencies do not undertake any common planning of programs, and otherwise show little tendency toward cooperation in meeting the problems of community relations. The Plenary Sessions of the NCRAC are too often arenas of interminable controversies and inconclusive rivalries. The degree of harmonious cooperation attained in a number of community relations committees or community councils, on which local members of the various national agencies are represented, is too rarely attained by these agencies themselves.

These developments have created in some members of the Jewish community a feeling of uneasiness. They have become conscious of the lack of cooperation between the agencies. There has been questioning whether the considerable funds expended between them were utilized to the best advantage. Various attempts to secure some degree of integration have been made, but ineffectually—a subject we discuss elsewhere. The one constructive development has been the establishment of the NCRAC. But the NCRAC, in spite of the services rendered in other respects has no authority over agency programs. Furthermore, not only do the agencies not cooperate with one another in any meaningful sense but they do not cooperate within the NCRAC when it comes to any issue that touches on the exclusive sovereignty each jealously guards.

Certain of the agencies profess to make self-evaluations applying not only to individual programs but also to their program policies, but no rigorous or searching scrutiny has been made by them and indeed they have been more inclined to self-vindication than to genuine self-examination. Unquestionably the agencies have important achievements to their credit. But our concern here is with the major strategy of the whole structure of the “defense agencies,” the strategy that is needed but cannot be provided so long as each goes its own way, thinking of itself as an independent force, and not as the member of a team within which it has a particular role to play.

Some changes of emphasis have been taking place. The stress laid on programs directly devoted to combating expressions of anti-Semitic prejudice has tended to diminish, partly because overt anti-Semitic activity has lost ground, and partly because the direct counterattack is now often regarded as the wrong way to deal with it. Most of the agencies now give less weight to broad "mass appeals." Again, there has been an increasing concentration on programs directed to the vindication of civil rights and the promotion of legal and other institutional controls on various forms of discrimination. This last change has not, however, made for greater cooperation among the agencies.

One further preliminary point should be made. All the agencies have developed departments of research and evaluation. In view of the nature of the problems to be faced this was a highly desirable development. But, as we shall see later, the activities of these departments have been on the whole too circumscribed. They have had little, if any, effect on major strategy, having been too much engrossed in a variety of minor duties connected with the elaboration of programs adopted independently of any broad review of the total situation. Indeed, one major agency seems to have regarded its department of research and evaluation as a kind of luxury, since with the curtailment of its funds it decided that this department could be dispensed with more easily than any other—except for one quite small "area."

Overtures for Unity

. . . So we come to the days of the NCRAC. We shall give its work full consideration in due course. Here we need merely say that the activity of this body since its birth in 1944, however highly we may evaluate it in other respects, in no way has brought about the unity or even the cooperation in program-making that was hoped for, if perhaps not expected. The limitations set upon it prevented it from doing so. The demand for more concerted activity remained as strong as ever, indeed, became stronger. As Henry Epstein, ex-chairman of the NCRAC, said before the Seventh Plenary Session of that body:

"The needs which gave rise in 1944 to the demand for integration and coordination in the field of community relations, and

which was responsible for the creation of the NCRAC, have not diminished during the past five years. On the contrary, the situation is potentially more explosive today than it was in 1944.”

There is then, in the first place, the question of a basis for some kind of unified or at least cooperative system behind the community relations programs of the six national agencies. And with this question certain others are closely bound, questions of economy and of efficiency, questions concerning the whole strategy that does or should underlie the work of the national agencies, questions concerning the proper relation of the national agencies to the local agencies and questions of the relative priority to be assigned to different types of programs, questions of conflict over jurisdiction and of frictional competition between the agencies, a question concerning the proper role of the NCRAC, and finally a question that has generally been too much overlooked, that of the proper division of labor between the Jewish agencies and the many other non-sectarian organizations that in recent years have arisen with the general objective of combating the prejudices, tensions, and discriminations that divide group from group.

Conspectus of Major Recommendations

The major recommendations put forward in this report are concerned broadly with two subjects:

- I the character and content of national agency programs and program areas;
- II the inter-relationships of the various constituent members of the total agency structure.

The second of these subjects may again be divided as follows:

- (1) relations of the six national agencies directly with one another;
- (2) relations between national agencies, including their regional offices and local branches, and the CRCs;
- (3) relations of national and local agencies to and within the NCRAC.

I Our recommendations under this head do not apply so much to specific programs as to a whole field of program-making, one that is of basic importance to the whole "defense" movement. We may say this movement has two primary objectives: one, to combat inter-group discrimination and the other to overcome or mitigate inter-group prejudice. The former is directed to the vindication of civil rights and liberties, the latter to the promotion of constructive community relations while at the same time it seeks to remove the fundamental obstruction to the attainment also of civil rights.

We have pointed out that the second of these two objectives can be effectively pursued only after careful research preparation and with the application of well-thought-out strategy. This is or should be for the agencies the realm of high policy. Much too little attention has been given to these considerations and, so far as program areas are concerned, there has been no serious interconsultation between them on the subject. In particular, practically no attempt has been made to identify the particular nature and conditions of anti-Jewish prejudice as distinct from other forms of inter-group prejudice and to adapt programs accordingly. . . .

- II(1) With respect to the direct inter-relations of the national agencies we offer a series of recommendations as follows:
- II(1a) Recommendations to end needless jurisdictional disputes—we characterize the disputes that have arisen between the general agencies and the specialized agencies as needless because, as we seek to show, the specialized agencies either are or can be equipped to carry on the work of their particular areas without separate departments devoted to the same work in the general agencies. Hence we recommend:
- II(1a1) *That JLC become the exclusive agent in the field of labor;*
- II(1a2) *That Committee and ADL relinquish their veterans departments and appoint a liaison officer to link the work of JWV with that of the other agencies and to enable it the better to use the services of the other agencies;*

II(1a3) *That UAHC have provisional exclusive charge of the inter-faith area, as that is defined in the text, on the understanding that it will join with the NCRAC in taking steps for the representation in agency inter-religious activities of the other branches of the Jewish faith.*

All these recommendations assume that the programs and policies of the specialized agencies may come up for review in the NCRAC in accordance with NCRAC procedures.

II(1b) Recommendations to end the sheer duplication of services—by sheer duplication we mean the performance separately by two or more agencies of a service that could be provided by one alone without a double staff and without limiting its range or, broadly speaking, its efficacy.

Specifically we recommend:

II(1b1) *That a single system of general fact-finding on all matters related to anti-Semitism and other “subversive” activities be set up in place of the two departments conducted respectively by Committee and ADL.*

II(1b2) *That, in all situations where a particular task of expert legal service is called for, one agency alone shall be assigned to perform this task in accordance with some agreed-upon procedure. Such tasks include the drafting of model FEPC bills, the preparing of briefs amicus, and the providing of service on legal issues to CRCs.*

II(1b3) *That Committee and ADL specifically apportion between themselves the responsibility for all informational bulletins and other reports—other than reports on their individual operations, house organs, and so forth—concerning all matters of general interest in the community relations field, aside from these matters that fall directly within the areas of the specialized agencies and aside also from matters pertaining to the legal and legislative field, where we advocate that the responsibility be assigned to Congress.*

It is understood that the carrying out of all such assignments or allocations shall be subject to review in accordance with NCRAC procedures. . . .

**STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ON THE MACIVER REPORT**

... We support Dr. MacIver's view as to the necessity for strengthening the cooperative processes in the Jewish community relations field.

In the previous pages we have tried to point out some of the facts which must be taken into account as we attempt to do this. We have pointed out that the agencies involved often have conflicting philosophies; that each tends to have its own body of theory and practice growing out of its particular assumptions and objectives; that each has its loyal constituents supporting its objectives; and that each applies its own criteria and judgments to its work and evaluates it accordingly.

We have also pointed out that the character of community relations activity is such that these agencies are daily confronted with the most difficult, complex, and far-reaching types of social problems, in the handling of which there is only now beginning to be built up an organized body of knowledge. They are problems that may and usually do extend beyond any one community, but almost all of them have local aspects and many of them have local origins.

Despite these difficulties we have recognized the need for more planful cooperation among the agencies in the areas where a significant measure of agreement *can* be reached, and we have stated our belief that as we gain more experience in this field so, concomitantly, will we arrive at increasing areas of agreement.

Like Dr. MacIver we feel that the approach to this problem must be on a fundamental level to avoid insofar as possible the intermittent breakdowns, the lags and difficulties that have often characterized the present system. But we are not in agreement with many of Dr. MacIver's specific proposals to correct these difficulties, nor are we in accord with his analysis of them.

One reason for this in our view, is that Dr. MacIver persistently minimizes the irrefutable fact that *each of the national agencies is rooted in and exists because of its fundamental ideology or philosophy*. No one of the organizations claims that its ideology is shared by all Jews. In fact each knows it is not. We do claim, however, that because of our particular philosophy, our respective constituencies have developed.

We further maintain that it is natural and right that there exist a number of agencies in the community relations field and that each

of these agencies should act as the channel for expression of the convictions of its constituents. The social experience of Jews in America has run the same essential course as that of other religio-ethnic groups and they like others, can be expected to support, or even to create, organizations which reflect their interests and concerns.

To be sure, Dr. MacIver stops short of recommending that the autonomy of the national agencies be impaired in matters involving "basic philosophy." He states unequivocally that agencies must have complete freedom of action in such matters. In other matters, however, those which he calls "procedural," he proposes that a majority vote be binding.

... [We] believe it impractical to attempt any such clear-cut distinction because of the interdependency of philosophy and "procedures." In this connection Dr. MacIver could have made a most important contribution to the entire problem of coordination had he taken time to study some of the issues around which the national agencies are experiencing what he would characterize as "procedural" differences. The varying approaches to problems relating to church-state issues, to the question of censorship of works of art, to the matter of cooperation with the American Legion in its sponsorship of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, are but a few examples.

It is for these reasons that coordination in this field is incomparably more difficult to achieve than in any other communal area, for the existence of underlying differences among the agencies must be clearly comprehended and provided for.

We do not believe that Dr. MacIver does this in his proposals. In our view his recommendations for enlarging the role of the NCRAC would make of it much more than a coordinating agency. His proposals would take a long step toward the creation of a single agency representing, and actually conducting community relations work in behalf of, American Jewry.

We cannot accept this. For we do not believe that such a step is either in the interest of a healthy American Jewry or of effective planning in the community relations field.

It is our firm conviction that however successfully a monolithic structure may have answered the needs of Jews historically in other parts of the world, it has no place whatsoever in American life. We do not believe that American Jews should give up the right to dissent from the view of the majority. We believe that however

strong the urge for unity among American Jews, equally strong is the urge to maintain the values of diversity and to support the instrumentalities that express them.

We place no premium on unity *per se* in the community relations field. On the contrary, it is our belief that progress in this infant area will grow out of diverse experiences which in turn provide insight that should ultimately result in unified approaches in an increasing number of areas.

2 RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS



THE URGE FOR REFORM

In the early 1820's, Charleston contained the young nation's second-largest Jewish community and boasted of being the cultural and commercial center of America. On November 21, 1824, a group of members of Congregation Beth Elohim met to petition the leaders of the synagogue; they sent their "Memorial" to the president of Beth Elohim on December 23. It was returned to them on January 10, 1825, with a letter noting that since it was contrary to the constitution of the congregation it was undebatable. On January 16, the petitioners established a Reformed Society of Israelites; they drew up a constitution a month later, and set about to carry out the details of the petition.

To an extent, this petition continued a pattern that had already emerged in Europe. When the petitioners made mention of a "reformation which has been recently adopted by our brethren in Holland, Germany, and Prussia," they surely had in mind the founding, and liturgical reforms, of Amsterdam's Adath Jeshurun (1796), Westphalia's Seesen Temple (1810), Berlin's Beer Temple (1815), and the Hamburg Temple (1818). With their introduction to European culture, many Jews had already concluded that traditional Judaism was, as the petitioners expressed it, without "decency . . . beauty . . . dignity . . . intelligibility . . . reason . . . enlightenment . . . [and] understanding," and that Judaism must offer a "more rational means of worshipping the true God."

The petition was also a response to American Protestantism. The context of the Charleston petition is the eager expectancy, unbridled enthusiasm, and restless ferment of the period. "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform," Emerson wrote to Carlyle in 1840. The American environment—with its absence of tradition and its sense of individualism, nonconformity, and pregnant possibility—encouraged a spirit of experimentation. Successive waves of revivals and open rebellions against the Protestant ecclesiastical establishment by Shakers, Transcendentalists, Mormons, Unitarians, members of the Oneida community, Millerites, Spiritualists, and the like left many torn by a sense of anxiety and disunity.

Not only the challenges to traditional theological formulations, which shook the churches, but also the attraction of Protestant simplicity, brevity, dignity, and decorum, and, most immediately, the local upheavals in Charleston churches provided the impetus for the petition. The Second Independent Church of Charleston broke off from the First Independent Church in 1817 over a doctrinal dispute; the church's minister, himself a Unitarian, had cordial relations with Charleston Jewry. Such upheavals undoubtedly gave the petitioners courage to present their own demands.

THE PETITION OF FORTY-SEVEN MEMBERS OF CHARLESTON'S BETH ELOHIM SYNAGOGUE, 1824

To the President and Members of the Adjunta of Kaal Kadosh
Beth Elohim of Charleston, South Carolina

Gentlemen,

The memorial of the undersigned, showeth unto your honourable body, that they have witnessed with deep regret, the apathy and neglect which have been manifested towards our holy religion. As inheritors of the true faith, and always proud to be considered by the world as a portion of "God's chosen people," they have been pained to perceive the gradual decay of that system of worship, which, for ages past, peculiarly distinguished us from among the nations of the earth. Not unmindful, however, of the various causes which regulate human conduct; and at the same time, unwilling to shield themselves from any censure to which their actions may justly entitle them, they have ingenuously investigated the reasons which may have led them from the Synagogue, and are now seriously impressed with the belief, that certain defects which are ap-

parent in the present system of worship, are the sole causes of the evils complained of.

In pointing out these defects, however, your memorialists seek no other end, than the future welfare and respectability of the nation. As members of the great family of Israel, they cannot consent to place before their children examples which are only calculated to darken the mind, and withhold from the rising generation the more rational means of worshipping the true God.

It is to this, therefore, your memorialists would, in the first place, invite the serious attention of your honourable body. By causing the *Hasan*, or reader, to repeat in English such part of the Hebrew prayers as may be deemed necessary, it is confidently believed that the congregation generally would be more forcibly impressed with the necessity of Divine Worship, and the moral obligations which they owe to themselves and their Creator; while such a course, would lead to more decency and decorum during the time they are engaged in the performance of religious duties. It is not every one who has the means, and many have not the time, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language, and consequently to become enlightened in the principles of Judaism. What then is the course pursued in all religious societies for the purpose of disseminating the peculiar tenets of their faith among the poor and uninformed? The principles of their religion are expounded to them from the pulpit in the language that they understand; for instance, in the Catholic, the German and the French Protestant Churches: by this means the ignorant part of mankind attend their places of worship with some profit to their morals, and even improvement to their minds; they return from them with hearts turned to piety, and with feelings elevated by their sacred character. In this consists the beauty of religion,—when men are invoked by its divine spirit, to the practice of virtue and morality.

These results, it is respectfully submitted, would be sufficient of themselves to induce the alterations requested. But your memorialists cannot fail to impress upon the minds of your honourable body, the singular advantages this practice would produce upon the habits and attention of the younger branches of the congregation; besides the necessity of good behaviour, which the solemnity of the service should impose, they would become gradually better acquainted with the nature of our creed, the principal features which distinguish the Jew from every other religious denomination, and the meaning, and the reason, of our various forms

and ceremonies. Believing, at the same time, that the above views of what is indispensable to the preservation of our faith, will meet with the approbation of every reflecting and liberal mind—they repeat, that they are actuated by no other motive, than to see our Synagogue in a better, a more wholesome, and a more respectable state of discipline; to see it elicit that regard from Jew and Gentile, which its great character deserves, and should always commend; and finally, not to destroy long standing institutions, but to accommodate them to the progress of time, and change of situation and circumstances.

With regard to such parts of the service as it is desired should undergo this change, your memorialists would strenuously recommend that the most solemn portions be retained, and everything superfluous excluded; and that the principal parts, and if possible all that is read in *Hebrew*, should also be read in *English*, (that being the language of the country,) so as to enable every member of the congregation fully to understand each part of the service. In submitting this article of our memorial to the consideration of your honourable body, your memorialists are well aware of the difficulties with which they must contend, before they will be enabled to accomplish this desirable end; but while they would respectfully invite the attention of your honourable body to this part of their memorial, they desire to rest the propriety and expediency of such a measure, solely upon the *reason* by which it may be maintained. Your memorialists would further submit to your honourable body whether, in the history of the civilized world, there can be found a single parallel of a people, addressing the *Creator* in a language not understood *by that people*? It is indeed surprising, that heretofore no innovation has ever been *attempted*, although it is readily admitted your honourable body may boast of many very enlightened liberal and intelligent members.

Your memorialists would next call the particular attention of your honourable body to the absolute necessity of abridging the service generally. They have reflected seriously upon its present length, and are confident that this is one of the principal causes why so much of it is hastily and improperly hurried over. This must be evident to every reflecting mind, when it is seen, that notwithstanding the evil complained of, the service of the Sabbath, for instance, continues until *twelve* o'clock, although usually commencing at *nine*. It is therefore manifest, that, according to the prayer of your memorialists, should the service be in the future conducted

with due solemnity, and in a slow, distinct, and impressive tone, its length would certainly occupy the attention of the congregation, until two o'clock, if not later.

The *Offerings* will next command the attention of your honourable body; and upon this part of our memorial, we would respectfully crave the favour of a patient hearing, while we clearly set forth the entire uselessness and impropriety of this custom. In the first place, your memorialists earnestly protest against the unwise and absurd practice of rendering in the Spanish language, any offerings which may be intended to benefit the Synagogue, or which may be otherwise identified with our holy religion. Besides the free scope which the practice of offering in a language understood by few, affords to mischievous, and designing men to pollute the holy altars by gratifying their evil intentions—we certainly think it highly inconsistent to select for this very purpose, the language of a people from whom we have suffered, and continue to suffer, so much persecution. But forgetting for a moment this consideration, your memorialists would further suggest to your honourable body, whether the arrangement recently made in the financial transactions of the congregation, would not altogether supercede the necessity of any offerings whatever? This is most seriously and strenuously desired by your memorialists, because they are prepared to show, by an act of your own body, that the practice of offering is not the result of any imperious necessity, but merely intended as an idle and absurd indulgence. By the 11th Article of the Constitution of your honourable body, it is provided, that such offerings as are made by any member of the congregation, shall, at the end of the year, be deducted out of the amount of his annual subscription, as well as that of his wife, if he be a married man. According to this part of the Constitution, a revenue is created independent of the offerings which are subsequently made and deducted out of the amount of subscription at the end of the year. Your memorialists would, therefore, inquire, wherein exists the necessity, under this arrangement, of any offerings whatever? How, and in what manner, the support of the congregation depends upon them? and, in a word, whether the above article is not a tacit admission by your Constitution, that so much of the offerings as may amount to the annual subscription of a member, was never intended as a means of supporting the congregation, inasmuch as the whole amount is already anticipated long before a single offering is made! In fact, many persons, when their amount of assess-

ment is exhausted in offerings, are induced to go out and remain in the Synagogue yard, to prevent being compelled to offer against their will,—a practice irregular, indecorous, and highly to be censured,—because it sets an ill example to our children, and draws upon us the eyes of strangers.

Your memorialists are aware, it may be said, that some few subscribers offer more than the amount of their annual subscription. But to this it may be answered, that it is certainly not difficult for the general body, in their wisdom and discretion, to devise some means equally profitable to the congregation, and at the same time, as well calculated to meet the views of the liberal, without resorting to a practice, which only interrupts the worship of God, and is productive of so little good. Your memorialists therefore respectfully suggest, that the addition in numbers to your body, which it is expected will shortly take place, will greatly aid in the funds, and serve as an additional reason why the offerings should be abolished; but as a further inducement for their entire abolishment, your memorialists would respectfully recommend, the propriety and expediency of addressing to the understanding of the people, and more particularly to the younger branches of the congregation, appropriate discourses, *in the place and at the very time the offerings are usually made.*

According to the present mode of reading the Parasa, it affords to the hearer neither instruction nor entertainment, unless he be competent to read as well as comprehend the Hebrew language. But if, like all other ministers, our reader would make a chapter or verse the subject of an English discourse once a week, at the expiration of the year the people would, at all events, know something of that religion which at present they so little regard.

It is also worthy of observation, that a number of Israelites, whom it should be the special care of your honourable body to bring back under your immediate protection and influence, are now wandering gradually from the true God, and daily losing those strong ties which bind every pious man to the faith of his fathers! In these individuals, your honourable body have fair subjects for the holy work of reformation; by moulding your present form of worship to suit their comprehensions, you will instantly receive them among you; they will collect under your especial care and guardianship; they will aid in the pecuniary resources of your holy institution; and if, from among the whole number now scattered about our city and state, either through irreligion, through dis-

abilities imposed, or any other cause, you are enabled to make but one convert, it will add much to those laudable ends which it should be the principal desire of your honourable body to accomplish. It should also be remembered that while other sects are extending the means of Divine Worship to the remotest quarters of the habitable globe—while they are making the most zealous efforts to bring together the scattered of their flock, offering the most flattering inducements to *all denominations*—we, who may be termed the mere remnant of a great nation, are totally disregarding the fairest opportunities of increasing our own numbers, and at the same time neglecting the brightest prospects of enlarging our resources, and effectually perpetuating our national character.

Your memorialists trust, that they have been perfectly understood by the foregoing observations, that they entirely disclaim any idea of wishing to abolish such ceremonies as are considered land-marks to distinguish the *Jew* from the *Gentile*; they are wholly influenced by a warm zeal to preserve and perpetuate the principles of Judaism in their utmost purity and vigour, and to see the present and the future generations of Israelites enlightened on the subject of their holy religion, so as by understanding, they may learn the nature of its Divine source, and appreciate its holy precepts; that they would not wish to shake the firmness of any man's faith, or take from his devotion towards it; that they will always fervently and zealously support it as the first and most ancient of religions.

The alterations above submitted, being all your memorialists can in reason and moderation require, they would beg leave, in concluding, to bring to the notice of your honourable body, the reformation which has been recently adopted by our brethren in Holland, Germany and Prussia. The following is an extract from a German paper entitled the "*Frankfort Journal*."

"The functions relative to Divine Service, such as the rite of taking the Law out of the Ark, the promulgation of the Law, etc., shall no longer be sold by auction in the Synagogue. The Rabbis, and the Elders of the Synagogue, (the first in their discourses) must endeavor to put an end to the custom of *see-sawing* during the prayers, and to that of repeating the prayers in too loud a voice; all profane tunes during Divine Service are prohibited. The ceremony of striking the *impious Haman* at the festival of Purim, is most strictly prohibited. Children below the age of five years are not to be taken to the Synagogue. All unsuitable pleasantries, in which the

young people sometimes indulge in the Synagogues on the eve of some festivals, or on the festivals themselves, as well as the distribution of sweetmeats by the women to each in the Synagogues, are strictly forbidden. Some of the religious ceremonies must be accompanied by a German discourse (that being the vernacular) on a Hebrew text, in which the meaning of these solemnities shall be explained, and on the Sabbath a discourse shall be held in German in every Synagogue after the reading of the prescribed passage of the Law, and a chapter of the Prophets."

Thus, from the above extract, it appears, that no climes, nor even tyranny itself, can forever fetter or control the human mind; and that even amidst the intolerance of Europe, our brethren have anticipated the free citizens of America in the glorious work of reformation; let us then hasten to the task with harmony and good fellowship. We wish not to *overthrow*, but to *rebuild*; we wish not to *destroy*, but to *reform* and *revise* the evils complained of; we wish not to *abandon* the institutions of Moses, but to *understand and observe them*; in fine, we wish to worship God, not *as slaves of bigotry and priestcraft*, but as the enlightened descendants of that chosen race, whose blessings have been scattered throughout the land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.



AN EARLY ATTEMPT AT UNITY: THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE, 1855

By the 1840's, with nearly a hundred synagogues in the United States, disunity and the "deplorable state of confusion" had become a matter of serious discussion among some American Jews. "Here," Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise noted, "everyone does as he chooses, preaches as he thinks fit, and expounds the Law as he understands it." To avert social, moral, and religious "anarchy," some leaders began to call for a greater stress on the value of institutions and the acknowledgment of an intellectual elite that would provide leadership.

Among the first and most articulate advocates of closer contact, greater cooperation, and better understanding among diverse rabbis, synagogues, and programs of religious instruction, as well as of some form of religious unity, was "Reverend" Isaac Leeser, reader of Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia. The Occident and American Jewish Advocate, founded by Leeser in 1843, began its very first number with an appeal for

religious union. Subsequently, Leiser advocated conferences to secure such union—in some type of federated synagogue pattern roughly paralleling American constitutional government—with an emphasis on unity of traditional religious observance and a strong ecclesiastical structure under a universally accepted religious law. “There is no other authority,” he wrote, “than the Talmud and Shulchan Aruch.”

Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise also used the newspaper he edited, the *American Israelite*, to advocate union, not along traditional grounds but along moderate Reform religious lines. “Our divine privilege [is] to bring the message of truth to mankind,” he wrote, “and to this end we must remain united all over the world.” Already in 1848 he published in the *Occident* an endorsement of Leiser’s plea for a grand association of “Israelitish” congregations in America, and hoped that German rabbis—exposed to European reform and serving in America—would initiate the unity. Leiser endorsed Wise’s call, though he clearly stood opposed to unity on the basis of religious reforms and imagined that political unity was possible.

Shortly after accepting the rabbinate of powerful B’nai Jeshurun in Cincinnati, Wise moved dramatically toward detailed plans for a national conference in order to establish “articles of union for American Israel.” The conference did convene in Cleveland on October 17, 1855. Nevertheless, there are several reasons to doubt Wise’s claims in the *Israelite* that he wanted peace and union so fervently.¹

Wise announced in his “Appeal” of March 2, 1855, that the conference should establish a synod—meeting perhaps triennially—which should have the right to suspend rabbinical or even biblical laws, and to repeal customs or laws whose original reasons were no longer relevant or which were no longer practiced by most Jews. “We all knew,” Wise was later to note, “we could gain the consent of a synod to any reform we wanted. Through the influence of a synod we expected to obtain general acceptance of reforms.”²

In the same month that this “Appeal” appeared, Wise’s new congregation installed an organ at his suggestion. When pressed by an Orthodox colleague to answer whether he would remove the organ if requested to do so by the synod, he replied that an organ was “no reform which requires the sanction of a conference or a synod.” He continued:

The Bible positively commands to have music in the House of God. The Talmud did nowhere forbid it . . . The largest synagogues of Germany and

1. *American Israelite*, February 9, 1855, p. 224; March 2, 1855, p. 268, August 17, 1855, p. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1857, p. 69.

*France . . . had organs. . . [For] this we need no conference and no synod.*³

Finally, in the same month in which he issued his call for the Cleveland Conference, Wise declared the traditional biblical ceremony of halitzah not binding under certain conditions, and gave the Orthodox one month to demonstrate his unilateral decision was wrong or "we shall carry it into practice."⁴

It seems that the Orthodox rabbis were correct to "mistrust his basic intention," and hence to boycott the Cleveland Conference. Leeser's early admiration for Wise's position on the Bible ("revealed word of God given to us by divine inspiration") and Talmud ("its decisions must bind us in all matters of practice and duty") did not last long. Soon Leeser joined others who, disappointed with the Cleveland Conference, launched a series of derogatory attacks on it as nothing more than a platform for Reform. Wise, claimed Leeser, used the Conference as a thinly disguised attempt to get unity on his terms only and had no intention of ever compromising on Reform.⁵

APPEAL BY ISAAC MAYER WISE

We must have peace and union, at any hazard or sacrifice, principles excepted. And we shall shout for this great principle, until the cry is re-echoed by every heart yet beating for the welfare of Judaism. In order to effect this end, it is necessary to lay down a platform upon which the contending parties may, and can meet. We propose the following articles of peace:—

1st, Let us have a regular synod, composed of representatives of every Jewish congregation, charitable or scholastic societies of this and any other country, to meet at least once every three years, and consider this body the highest authority of the oral law. . . .

2d, Let the officers elected of each synod be a standing committee to carry out the resolutions of the synod, watch over communal institutions, examine the paid officers of the congregations and

3. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1856, p. 212

4. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1855, p. 308.

5. *Occident and American Jewish Advocate* 14 (February 1857):505–8.

schools, and decide on questions laid before them by Jewish congregations or other Jewish societies.

3d, The Synod and its standing committee shall pass no laws or regulations, make no provisions, create no institutions, and give no decisions contrary, or in any way opposed to the laws and principles of the Bible, the Talmud, and the constitution and laws of these United States.

We expect that these articles of peace must satisfy even the ultra-Orthodox, and we were going to say, every one who reasons on the subject of Judaism.

THE ARTICLES OF UNION

The conference of the rabbis and congregational delegates, assembled in Cleveland, actuated by the earnest drive to preserve the union of Israel and its religion by a mutual understanding and union, and convinced that the organization of a Synod is the most efficient means to attain this sacred aim, and whose legality and utility is taught in the Bible, Talmud, and history—consider it their duty

To convene a synod, and call upon the American Jewish congregations in an extra circular, to send their ministers and delegates to the said synod.

The Conference also feels obliged to give utterance to the following points on which they unanimously agree to be the leading principles of the future synods,

- 1) The Bible as delivered to us by our fathers and as now in our possession is of immediate divine origin and the standard of our religion.
 - 2) The Talmud contains the traditional, legal, and logical exposition of the biblical laws which must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud.
 - 3) The resolutions of a Synod in accordance with the above principles are legally valid.
 - 4) Statutes and ordinances contrary to the laws of the land are invalid.
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ISAAC LEESER'S ACCOUNT OF THE CONFERENCE

In accordance with the resolution previously expressed, I left Philadelphia on Sunday, the 14th of October, at 3½ P.M., via Buffalo, for Cleveland, and I arrived there on Tuesday afternoon. . . .

After reaching there I heard that several ministers had arrived, but I saw none that evening; I met however, one of the gentlemen appointed as a delegate from the Tifereth Israel congregation of Cleveland, from whom I learnt that the meeting would take place on Wednesday, the 17th, at 9 o'clock in the morning, at the Medical College, in Eric Street, which I believed had been offered gratuitously by the faculty for the meeting of the conference. I was rather surprised at the little interest which seemed to pervade the community with regard to the expected meeting; but it was no doubt owing to the same cause which had kept the Orthodox ministers to the southern and eastern cities away, the uncertainty of the views of the gentlemen who had called the meeting. At the hour appointed I repaired, accompanied by Mr. F. I. Cohen, to the college building, but we found no delegates or ministers present. But about eleven o'clock I was called on by several gentlemen, among whom were Rev. B. H. Gotthelf, of Louisville, and Rev. Lipman Adler, of Detroit, who gave me the information that the conference would open at 2 P.M. Accordingly at that hour Rev. Dr. Maximilian Lilienthal called the conference to order, and Rev. Isidor Kalisch, of Cleveland, was then appointed chairman pro tem., who thereupon opened the meeting with a metrical prayer in the Hebrew language. Dr. Lilienthal was appointed Secretary pro tem. It was then resolved, after some discussion, that the proceedings should be held exclusively in the German language, as this was understood by all the members, whereas one or more of the ministers and one of the lay delegates could not express themselves fluently in English. I did not observe that the gentlemen present exhibited their credentials; but they proceeded to business without this formality, so necessary in all strictly parliamentary transactions. A discussion then sprung up as to the rights of the various delegations, some of which consisted of one, others of two, for the various bodies represented; when at last it was settled that one delegate representing a congregation should have two votes, to counterbalance those who were represented by two. Although I would never have given my sanction to such an improper proceeding, since one man would thus give two undivided votes, while two delegates might be di-

vided, and therefore mutually balance each other, I did not say a syllable, because I had not yet resolved to take any part in the transactions, until I had learned whether I could do so with safety; since I had not any prospect of being supported by a sufficient number of ministers with whose sentiments I was acquainted, as they had all declined to attend, or at least were not present. The ministers and delegates, therefore, who voted were—

Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, minister of the congregation Bnai Jeshurun, of Cincinnati;

Mr. J. L. Miller, delegate of the same;

Rev. Dr. Maximilian Lilienthal, minister of the congregation B'nai Israel, of Cincinnati;

Mr. Charles Kahn, delegate of the congregation Ahabath Achim, of Cincinnati;

Rev. Lipman Adler, minister and delegate of the Detroit (Michigan) congregation;

Rev. Benedict H. Gotthelf, minister and delegate of the congregation Adas Israel, of Louisville, Kentucky;

Rev. B. L. Fould, minister, and Rabbi Joseph Levi and Mr. Asher Lehman, delegates of the congregation Anshé Chesed, of Cleveland;

Rev. Isidor Kalisch, and Messrs. F. I. Cohen and Alexander Schwab, delegates of the congregation Tifereth Israel, of Cleveland;

Rev. Dr. Elkan Cohn, minister of the congregation Anshe Emeth, of Albany, New York;

Rev. Dr. Rothenheim, of Cincinnati.

A motion having been made to proceed to the election of a President. Dr. Wise was elected by thirteen votes. I did not hear for whom the others were cast. Dr. Cohn was next chosen Vice-President, and Dr. Lilienthal, Secretary. All the gentlemen elected returned thanks. Rev. B. H. Gotthelf was appointed with Dr. Wise a committee to translate the proceedings into English.

It having been observed that I had not voted, Dr. Cohn rose and moved that the President should demand of me to state whether I considered myself a member of the conference or not. I proceeded, therefore, to say that "I was not yet certain what part I should take; I was certainly present in a three-fold capacity: first, as a delegate of the Portuguese congregation of Richmond; secondly, as the oldest minister in standing in the country; and thirdly, as the editor of the oldest American or English Jewish journal. Thus far I had only

witnessed the proceedings as a spectator or reporter, but I felt not disposed to answer definitely the question of the gentleman, which I considered quite improper. I had not voted; but I might change my opinion, if the proceedings were of such a nature that I could without compromising myself take a part in them. As far as I could judge, I was almost unsupported by the countenance of ministers whose sentiments I shared, and as those I saw near me belonged nearly all to the Reform portion"—. Here I was interrupted by the President as being out of order, whereupon I took my seat again without attempting to proceed; first, I had already sufficiently indicated my course; and secondly, I did not wish to create any confusion. The whole proceedings had been somewhat unparliamentary, in their having transacted business before the election of President, and legitimatizing the delegates; but, although I thought I had the right to explain, I had no inclination to consume time by a useless argument on a point of order, especially as it might be probable that I should be merely a silent listener thereafter.

This subject being thus abruptly disposed of, a motion was made to appoint a committee who should prepare business for the action of the conference. Dr. Wise requested permission to offer some remarks before the question was put, which being granted, he expatiated on the impolicy of denying to anyone the right and title of Jew, whether he read many or few prayers, whether he had an organ in Synagogue or not, or whether he did or not keep the second holy-days. Judaism consisted in high and eternal principles, and it was the duty of the conference to lay down such fundamental rules as would appear right and proper to all Israel. After proceeding in this strain for some time, he produced a paper, which he read, and much to my gratification the first clause of the platform which he proposed was about in these words: "The first conference of American Rabbis acknowledge the Bible which we have received from our fathers as the revealed word of God given to us by divine inspiration." The second then affirmed that the "Talmud contains the logical and legal development of the Holy Scriptures, and that its decisions must guide us in all matters of practice and duty." The third clause asserts that "this conference and all future Synods will act according to these principles." The fourth maintains that "the illiberal assertions contained in the Talmud are not of the kind referred to, and have no binding force on us." I took no notes; consequently I cannot say that I have conveyed, especially in the latter, the precise words used; but the reader may depend on the

general accuracy of this statement. When Dr. Wise had resumed his seat, Dr. Lilienthal arose and spoke feelingly of the deplorable state of confusion, disunion, and absence of religion observable among us, and that every effort ought to be made to counteract such an unfortunate condition of things; and that the platform just read would contribute to produce a unity of action among congregations, and lead ultimately to an improvement of the evils which we all had to deplore.—A motion having been made that the resolutions offered by Dr. Wise be read by sections and separately acted on, I deemed it my duty to offer my views, as there was now something before the meeting to which I could assent. I then said, “that had the Orthodox ministers and congregations known on what principles those who had called the conference meant to act, no doubt many more would have been present. But the people had feared them, and dreaded that they might propose measures subversive of our religion. I myself had dreaded them, wherefore I had hitherto kept aloof. But the platform read by the President was, taking it altogether, such as would demand my approbation; and it would therefore be well to let the world know what sentiments influenced the conference, in case the platform be adopted, and then adjourn at once till next summer, to some central eastern city; and there expect the co-operation of those who had been kept away now by the uncertainty which had been referred to. For my part, I would consider the 17th of October a day of joy for Israel, if all Jews would adopt in sincerity the Bible as the inspired word of God and the Talmud as indicating the rule of life by which they would be governed.” Dr. Lilienthal replied in a friendly manner, to which I rejoined similarly, after which the first clause of the platform was of course unanimously adopted. The second clause having been read again, Rabbi Joseph Levi, not deeming the wording explicit enough, moved that the farther consideration be postponed till the following morning, which was done, and the conference adjourned about 5 P.M. till 10 o'clock of Thursday, A.M. Rev. Dr. Cohn thereupon read the Mincha and evening service, as the day was the anniversary of the death of one of his parents. I was pleased that a Reform Rabbi should observe this custom, and use exactly the form of prayer contained in the old books, including the hopes of the *coming of the Messiah* and the *Resurrection*. The members of the conference then retired to their various homes, evidently satisfied with the first step at union thus happily consummated.

Pursuant to adjournment the members met again at the time

appointed, when the Rev. Dr. Merzbacher, of New York, also appeared and took his seat. After the journal of the first day had been read, together with several letters regretting the inability of the writers to attend, and some other unimportant matters having been discussed, the unfinished business of the preceding day was called up, and all the progress made during the session was to strike out the word "development" and insert "exposition"; so as to read "logical and legal exposition of the sacred Scriptures." Still several members did not think the phrase definite enough, as not expressing the binding authority of the traditions embraced in the Talmud. The conference therefore adjourned till 3 P.M., at which time the discussion having been resumed, Dr. Wise moved the appointment of a committee to whom the matter should be referred. I moved a postponement of Dr. Wise's resolution, that I might offer one of my own. This was carried upon division, when I offered the following: "That it is the opinion and conviction of this conference, that the Talmud contains the divine tradition given to Moses, and that all Israelites must decide all questions according to its decision." In explanation I urged "that, however unpleasant the words *Orthodox* and *Reformers* might sound, and to no ears harsher than to mine, it was a deplorable fact that we were now divided into two parties; and that unless something were done, and that speedily; it was to be dreaded that we should be hopelessly alienated from each other, and that we should then present *catholic* and *reformed* Israelites. I felt convinced that the members of the conference would think it their duty to endeavor to heal the breach which is threatened, and offer the world such a basis of action (not of faith or belief, for this was not the object of Judaism) as would unite all Israelites who could thus offer each other sincerely the hand of brotherhood and fellowship. It is not admissible that we should explain the Bible, which is the acknowledged word of God, as we individually or collectively please. Where then should we go for a system of interpretation? Shall we go for it to the fathers of the Christian church? or shall we seek it in the Karaitic tradition branching off with Saul and Anan? All this would be evidently absurd; hence it is at last the Talmud to which we must refer. It would therefore be only proper to acknowledge at once that, if we are to seek for the traditions of God anywhere, it must be in the Talmud; and with this all Israelites would be satisfied, and have a common ground for elucidating our religion in all future conferences, in which, as I had said the preceding day, many more con-

gregations than now represented would hereafter take part, when they see that the principles on which all our actions must be based are such as to challenge their hearty approbation." After a long discussion, in which Mr. F. I. Cohn, Mr. Levi, Mr. Adler, Dr. Wise, Dr. Cohen, Dr. Lilienthal, and Dr. Merzbacher took part, a compromise was at length adopted, asserting "the Talmud to contain the traditional, logical and legal exposition of the sacred Scriptures," &c., with which, I think, all the members were satisfied, as the *word traditional necessarily embraces a divine communication*, which having been preserved as the Talmud, has come down to our own time. This being accomplished, I stated to the meeting that I meant to return homeward that night; and as we had accomplished a good work thus far, I would move that when we adjourn to-day, we adjourn to meet at New York the second Sunday in August next ensuing. But no notice was taken of this proposition, and on motion of Dr. Lilienthal the conference adjourned to the following morning. In parting I was promised that the official proceedings should be duly communicated to the *Occident*, but while writing this (midnight of Thursday to Friday, October 26th, having returned home in the afternoon previous), I have only received a Cleveland paper of the 23d, from which it appears that the conference was yet in session on Monday, and had resolved on laying before the congregation a scheme to constitute a regular Synod, and a committee was appointed to draw up a scheme of a constitution to this effect. The proposition for the establishment of a uniform liturgy was referred to two committees, with instructions to report the sketch of such a liturgy to the next Synod, with an explanation of the principles leading in the composition of their sketch. Religious schools only were recommended, deeming the public ones good enough for general education, and as regard the high-school, Dr. Wise's plan to organize Zion Collegiate Associations in all cities of the United States was approved of, and the delegates were requested to establish such associations in their respective cities.

I doubt very much whether I should have assented to a single one of all these propositions; but what would my individual efforts have availed, if I had remained and made ever so many exertions in opposition? The whole series of measures acted on, there is every reason to believe, was concocted by Drs. Lilienthal, Wise and Rothenheim before they left Cincinnati; and unless a powerful counter-influence could have been brought to bear, all they had resolved on would have received the sanction of the conference as

it was composed, with perhaps the dissent of Mr. Adler and three delegates of Cleveland. But it is premature to judge of the resolutions passed till they are officially announced, when the *Occident* may be relied on to speak out with candor and fearlessness. This much, however, I must say, that if the gentlemen I met last week are honest in their attachment to the Bible and Talmud, their reform must be harmless, since they can thus introduce nothing for which they cannot present to the world reasons based upon authority and then they must not lose sight of one important fact and rule of action, that ancient customs are part of the character of a people, and must be well weighed in all matters of public interest. With this I must close this month, and invite the attention of ministers and congregations to the whole subject for reflection and discussion.



REFORM JUDAISM

The ideology of American Reform Judaism in the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth is best articulated in the 1885 statement of principles by Reform rabbis assembled in Pittsburgh. According to the Pittsburgh Platform, Reform Judaism is an evolutionary faith, a "progressive religion," constantly changing in accordance with its understanding of the "postulates of reason" in each generation. Rejecting all customs, rituals, and ceremonies not in accord with "modern civilization," it seeks the enduring core of Judaism in the "God-idea"—a highly intellectualized notion of the personal God of the Jewish tradition. Finally, Reform Judaism rejects Jewish nationalism and bodily resurrection, rigorously avoids words such as Covenant, Torah, Messiah, and Revelation, embraces a vigorous program of social justice, and tries very hard to present itself as a religion among other religions, a faith among other faiths.

More than fifty years after the Pittsburgh Platform, a series of events caused the Reform movement to reformulate its ideology in Columbus, Ohio. The Nazis had made the need for a Jewish homeland strikingly immediate; the need to compete with Conservative Jewish congregations had made certain emphases harmful; a growing awareness within Reform of its sense of history and connection with the past had led to other changes in its ideology; and the need to seek some kind of synthesis with Zionism had altered other doctrines as well. The 1937 statement of principles known as the Columbus Platform seeks continuously to find the enduring elements of

Judaism in a synthesis of the particular ("Torah," "historical religious experience," "unique insight," "use of Hebrew," "retention . . . of customs, symbols and ceremonies") and the universal ("Judaism welcomes all truth"). Diplomatically adroit, the document reformulates enough of the 1885 position to embrace some elements of Zionism, clearly reversing Reform's previous direction.

The 1976 "perspective" on Reform Judaism, a carefully worded document, represents another explicit synthesis. Again one notices the tension between the particular and the universal, the individual and the community, religious practice and religious ethics. The first half of the statement focuses upon three religious principles, while the second half deals with three problems in the realm of obligation. The "perspective" begins with a statement about God—no longer the abstraction of 1885 but a living reality. The rationalism of Pittsburgh now yields to existentialism—God is not merely conceived but met and "experienced." The enduring core of Judaism, its uniqueness, is now presented as the "involvement" of the Jewish people with God, and at the conjunction of the matrix of the human and the divine is the Torah. In addition to these principles, there are also—in contrast to the documents of 1885 and 1937—obligations and expectations. And these are not merely in the realm of the ethical but in a great many areas of practice, observance, and celebration.

THE PITTSBURGH PLATFORM, 1885

1. "We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite, and in every mode, source, or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea, as taught in our Holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers, in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended amidst continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation, this God-idea as the central religious truth for the human race."

2. "We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as the priest of the one God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific research in the

domain of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, or the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age, and at times clothing its conception of divine Providence and Justice dealing with man in miraculous narratives.”

3. “We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only its moral laws, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.

4. “We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress, originated in ages, and under the influence of ideas, entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.”

5. “We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel’s great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.”

6. “We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and therefore we extend the hand of fellowship to all who cooperate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.”

7. “We reassert the doctrine of Judaism that the soul is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject as ideas not rooted in Judaism the beliefs both in

bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for everlasting punishment and reward.”

8. “In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problem presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society.”

THE COLUMBUS PLATFORM, 1937

In view of the changes that have taken place in the modern world and the consequent need of stating anew the teachings of Reform Judaism, the Central Conference of American Rabbis makes the following declaration of principles. It presents them not as a fixed creed but as a guide for the progressive elements of Jewry.

1. Judaism and Its Foundations

1. Nature of Judaism. Judaism is the historical religious experience of the Jewish people. Though growing out of Jewish life, its message is universal, aiming at the union and perfection of mankind under the sovereignty of God. Reform Judaism recognizes the principle of progressive development in religion and consciously applies this principle to spiritual as well as to cultural and social life.

Judaism welcomes all truth, whether written in the pages of scripture or deciphered from the records of nature. The new discoveries of science, while replacing the older scientific views underlying our sacred literature, do not conflict with the essential spirit of religion as manifested in the consecration of man's will, heart and mind to the service of God and of humanity.

2. God. The heart of Judaism and its chief contribution to religion is the doctrine of the One, living God, who rules the world through law and love. In Him all existence has its creative source and mankind its ideal of conduct. Through transcending time and space, He is the indwelling Presence of the world. We worship Him as the Lord of the universe and as our merciful Father.

3. *Man*. Judaism affirms that man is created in the Divine image. His spirit is immortal. He is an active co-worker with God. As a child of God, he is endowed with moral freedom and is charged with the responsibility of overcoming evil and striving after ideal ends.

4. *Torah*. God reveals Himself not only in the majesty, beauty and orderliness of nature, but also in the vision and moral striving of the human spirit. Revelation is a continuous process, confined to no one group and to no one age. Yet the people of Israel, through its prophets and sages, achieved unique insight in the realm of religious truth. The *Torah*, both written and oral, enshrines Israel's ever-growing consciousness of God and of the moral law. It preserves the historical precedents, sanctions and norms of Jewish life, and seeks to mould it in the patterns of goodness and of holiness. Being products of historical processes, certain of its laws have lost their binding force with the passing of the conditions that called them forth. But as a depository of permanent spiritual ideals, the *Torah* remains the dynamic source of the life of Israel. Each age has the obligation to adapt the teachings of the *Torah* to its basic needs in consonance with the genius of Judaism.

5. *Israel*. Judaism is the soul of which Israel is the body. Living in all parts of the world, Israel has been held together by the ties of a common history, and above all, by the heritage of faith. Though we recognize in the group-loyalty of Jews who have become estranged from our religious tradition, a bond which still unites them with us, we maintain that it is by its religion and for its religion that the Jewish people has lived. The non-Jew who accepts our faith is welcomed as a full member of the Jewish community.

In all lands where our people live, they assume and seek to share loyally the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and to create seats of Jewish knowledge and religion. In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life.

Throughout the ages it has been Israel's mission to witness to the Divine in the face of every form of paganism and materialism. We regard it as our historic task to cooperate with all men in the establishment of the kingdom of God, of universal brotherhood, justice, truth and peace on earth. This is our Messianic goal.

2. *Ethics*

6. *Ethics and Religion.* In Judaism religion and morality blend into an indissoluble unity. Seeking God means to strive after holiness, righteousness and goodness. The love of God is incomplete without the love of one's fellowmen. Judaism emphasizes the kinship of the human race, the sanctity and worth of human life and personality and the right of the individual to freedom and to the pursuit of his chosen vocation. Justice to all, irrespective of race, sect or class is the inalienable right and the inescapable obligation of all. The state and organized government exist in order to further these ends.

7. *Social Justice.* Judaism seeks the attainment of a just society by the application of its teachings to the economic order, to industry and commerce, and to national and international affairs. It aims at the elimination of man-made misery and suffering, of poverty and degradation, of tyranny and slavery, of social inequality and prejudice, of ill-will and strife. It advocates the promotion of harmonious relations between warring classes on the basis of equity and justice, and the creation of conditions under which human personality may flourish. It pleads for the safeguarding of childhood against exploitation. It champions the cause of all who work and of their right to an adequate standard of living, as prior to the rights of property. Judaism emphasizes the duty of charity, and strives for a social order which will protect men against the material disabilities of old age, sickness and unemployment.

8. *Peace.* Judaism, from the days of the prophets, has proclaimed to mankind the ideal of universal peace. The spiritual and physical disarmament of all nations has been one of its essential teachings. It abhors all violence and relies upon moral education, love and sympathy to secure human progress. It regards justice as the foundation of the well-being of nations and the condition of enduring peace. It urges organized international action for disarmament, collective security and world peace.

3. *Religious Practice*

9. *The Religious Life.* Jewish life is marked by consecration to these ideals of Judaism. It calls for faithful participation in the life of the Jewish community as it finds expression in home, synagog and

school and in all other agencies that enrich Jewish life and promote its welfare.

The *Home* has been and must continue to be a stronghold of Jewish life, hallowed by the spirit of love and reverence, by moral discipline and religious observance and worship.

The *Synagog* is the oldest and most democratic institution in Jewish life. It is the prime communal agency by which Judaism is fostered and preserved. It links the Jews of each community and unites them with all Israel.

The perpetuation of Judaism as a living force depends upon religious knowledge and upon the *Education* of each new generation in our rich cultural and spiritual heritage.

Prayer is the voice of religion, the language of faith and aspiration. It directs man's heart and mind Godward, voices the needs and hopes of the community, and reaches out after goals which invest life with supreme value. To deepen the spiritual life of our people, we must cultivate the traditional habit of communion with God through prayer in both home and synagog.

Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction.

These timeless aims and ideals of our faith we present anew to a confused and troubled world. We call upon our fellow Jews to rededicate themselves to them, and, in harmony with all men, hopefully and courageously to continue Israel's eternal quest after God and His kingdom.

THE SAN FRANCISCO PLATFORM, 1976

The Central Conference of American Rabbis has on special occasions described the spiritual state of Reform Judaism. The centenaries of the founding of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion seem an appropriate time for another such effort. We therefore record our sense of the unity of our movement today.

One Hundred Years: what we have taught

We celebrate the role of Reform Judaism in North America, the growth of our movement on this free ground, the great contributions of our membership to the dreams and achievements of this society. We also feel great satisfaction at how much of our pioneering conception of Judaism has been accepted by the Household of Israel. It now seems self-evident to most Jews: that our tradition should interact with modern culture; that its forms ought to reflect a contemporary esthetic; that its scholarship needs to be conducted by modern, critical methods; and that change has been and must continue to be a fundamental reality in Jewish life. Moreover, though some still disagree, substantial numbers have also accepted our teachings: that the ethics of universalism implicit in traditional Judaism must be an explicit part of our Jewish duty; that women should have full rights to practice Judaism; and that Jewish obligations begins with the informed will of every individual. Most modern Jews, within their various religious movements, are embracing Reform Jewish perspectives. We see this past century as having confirmed the essential wisdom of our movement.

One Hundred Years: what we have learned

Obviously, much else has changed in the past century. We continue to probe the extraordinary events of the past generation, seeking to understand their meaning and to incorporate their significance in our lives. The Holocaust shattered our easy optimism about humanity and its inevitable progress. The State of Israel, through its many accomplishments, raised our sense of the Jews as a people to new heights of aspiration and devotion. The widespread threats to freedom, the problems inherent in the explosion of new knowledge and of ever more powerful technologies, and the spiritual emptiness of much of Western culture, have taught us to be less dependent on the values of our society and to reassert what remains perennially valid in Judaism's teaching. We have learned again that the survival of the Jewish people is of highest priority and that in carrying out our Jewish responsibilities we help move humanity toward its messianic fulfillment.

Diversity Within Unity, the hallmark of Reform

Reform Jews respond to change in various ways according to the Reform principle of the autonomy of the individual. However, Reform Judaism does more than tolerate diversity; it engenders it. In our uncertain historical situation we must expect to have far greater diversity than previous generations knew. How we shall live with diversity without stifling dissent and without paralyzing our ability to take action will test our character and our principles. We stand open to any position thoughtfully and conscientiously advocated in the spirit of Reform Jewish beliefs. While we may differ in our interpretation and application of the ideas enunciated here, we accept such differences as precious and see in them Judaism's best hope for confronting whatever the future holds for us. Yet in all our diversity we perceive a certain unity and we shall not allow our differences in some particulars to obscure what binds us together.

I. God

The affirmation of God has always been essential to our people's will to survive. In our struggle through the centuries to preserve our faith we have experienced and conceived of God in many ways. The trials of our own time and the challenges of modern culture have made steady belief and clear understanding difficult for some. Nevertheless, we ground our lives, personally and communally, on God's reality and remain open to new experiences and conceptions of the Divine. Amid the mystery we call life, we affirm that human beings, created in God's image, share in God's eternity despite the mystery we call death.

II. The People Israel

The Jewish people and Judaism defy precise definition because both are in the process of becoming. Jews, by birth or conversion, constitute an uncommon union of faith and peoplehood. Born as Hebrews in the ancient Near East, we are bound together like all ethnic groups by language, land, history, culture and institutions. But the people of Israel is unique because of its involvement with God and its resulting perception of the human condition.

Throughout our long history our people has been inseparable from its religion with its messianic hope that humanity will be redeemed.

III. Torah

Torah results from the relationship between God and the Jewish people. The records of our earliest confrontations are uniquely important to us. Lawgivers and prophets, historians and poets gave us a heritage whose study is a religious imperative and whose practice is our chief means to holiness. Rabbis and teachers, philosophers and mystics, gifted Jews in every age amplified the Torah tradition. For millennia, the creation of Torah has not ceased and Jewish creativity in our time is adding to the chain of tradition.

IV. Our Obligations: religious practice

Judaism emphasizes action rather than creed as the primary expression of a religious life, the means by which we strive to achieve universal justice and peace. Reform Judaism shares this emphasis on duty and obligation. Our founders stressed that the Jew's ethical responsibilities, personal and social, are enjoined by God. The past century has taught us that the claims made upon us may begin with our ethical obligations but they extend to many other aspects of Jewish living, including: creating a Jewish home centered on family devotion; life-long study; private prayer and public worship; daily religious observance; keeping the Sabbath and the holy days; celebrating the major events of life; involvement with the synagogue community; and other activities which promote the survival of the Jewish people and enhance its existence. Within each area of Jewish observance Reform Jews are called upon to confront the claims of Jewish tradition, however differently perceived, and to exercise their individual autonomy, choosing and creating on the basis of commitment and knowledge.

V. Our Obligations: the State of Israel and the Diaspora

We are privileged to live in an extraordinary time, one in which a

third Jewish commonwealth has been established in our people's ancient homeland. We are bound to that land and to the newly reborn State of Israel by innumerable religious and ethnic ties. We have been enriched by its culture and ennobled by its indomitable spirit. We see it providing unique opportunities for Jewish self-expression. We have both a stake and a responsibility in building the State of Israel, assuring its security and defining its Jewish character. We encourage *aliyah* for those who wish to find maximum personal fulfillment in the cause of Zion. We demand that Reform Judaism be unconditionally legitimized in the State of Israel.

At the same time that we consider the State of Israel vital to the welfare of Judaism everywhere, we reaffirm the mandate of our tradition to create strong Jewish communities wherever we live. A genuine Jewish life is possible in any land, each community developing its own particular character and determining its Jewish responsibilities. The foundation of Jewish community life is the synagogue. It leads us beyond itself to cooperate with other Jews, to share their concerns, and to assume leadership in communal affairs. We are therefore committed to the full democratization of the Jewish community and to its hallowing in terms of Jewish values.

The State of Israel and the diaspora, in fruitful dialogue, can show how a people transcends nationalism even as it affirms it, thereby setting an example for humanity which remains largely concerned with dangerously parochial goals.

VI. Our Obligations: survival and service

Early Reform Jews, newly admitted to general society and seeing in this the evidence of a growing universalism, regularly spoke of Jewish purpose in terms of Jewry's service to humanity. In recent years we have become freshly conscious of the virtues of pluralism and the values of particularism. The Jewish people in its unique way of life validates its own worth while working toward the fulfillment of its messianic expectations.

Until the recent past our obligations to the Jewish people and to all humanity seemed congruent. At times now these two imperatives appear to conflict. We know of no simple way to resolve such tensions. We must, however, confront them without abandoning either of our commitments. A universal concern for humanity un-

accompanied by a devotion to our particular people is self-destructive; a passion for our people without involvement in humankind contradicts what the prophets have meant to us. Judaism calls us simultaneously to universal and particular obligations.

Hope: our Jewish obligation

Previous generations of Reform Jews had unbounded confidence in humanity's potential for good. We have lived through terrible tragedy and been compelled to reappropriate our tradition's realism about the human capacity for evil. Yet our people has always refused to despair. The survivors of the Holocaust, on being granted life, seized it, nurtured it, and, rising above catastrophe, showed humankind that the human spirit is indomitable. The State of Israel, established and maintained by the Jewish will to live, demonstrates what a united people can accomplish in history. The existence of the Jew is an argument against despair; Jewish survival is warrant for human hope.

We remain God's witness that history is not meaningless. We affirm that with God's help people are not powerless to affect their destiny. We dedicate ourselves as did the generations of Jews who went before us, to work and wait for that day when "They shall not hurt or destroy in all My holy mountain for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."



CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

There can be little doubt that variety of principles characterizes the Conservative movement. Among contemporary rabbis who write on biblical revelation in Conservative Judaism, for example, views range from an outright rejection of the supernatural origin of the Torah, to a reinterpretation of the concept with emphasis on its human, subjective elements, to a reaffirmation of revelation, by a leap of faith, as a divine incursion into history. Attempts to render Jewish Law (halacha) normative in the life of the Conservative Jew include such approaches as "common consensus," arrived at not by formal deliberation and decision but by a natural unconscious process combining

*tradition and accommodation to the environment (e.g., family pews); "deliberate interpretation and enactment" (takanah) by the Conservative movement's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (e.g., driving to the synagogue on the Sabbath is permitted when the distance is beyond walking); and acceptance of traditional Jewish Law as viable enough to meet the changed situation of American Jewish life, evident, for example, in the refusal of all Conservative rabbis to officiate at intermarriages.*¹

*Louis Finkelstein's 1927 statement of the agenda of Conservative Judaism was overwhelmingly accepted by the Conservative movement.*² *He acknowledged the fundamental importance of God and Torah, the emphasis on respect and reverence for the historical and religio-legal character of Judaism (later called "vertical democracy"), together with the recognition of Judaism's historic changing nature and the continual need for changes and adjustments. Finkelstein spoke also of Klal Yisrael—the totality of the Jewish people—and the powerful national sentiment of Judaism which compels strong appreciation of, and support for, Zionism. He spoke too of Hebrew, acknowledging that not all Jews understand it but optimistic that emphasizing it as a binding force in Conservative Judaism and Jewish life would lead to its revitalization. Thus, Finkelstein attempted—in a manner characteristic of Conservative Judaism—to balance the past and future with the present.*

THE THINGS THAT UNITE US, 1927

We are all, members of the Rabbinical Assembly, vaguely aware of our fundamental unity of aim and point of view. We have our differences but, even without analyzing them, we know that they are slight in comparison with our basic agreement in essentials. Taking this agreement for granted, we prefer to discuss, when we meet, those aspects of our work and faith which divide us. This is stimulating to the mind and it emphasizes our individuality, but may tend to obscure in our own minds our basic unity. We are apt to develop the psychology of brothers in a large family, who to all outsiders look and act alike, and yet are continually bickering with one another about their minute differences of taste and manner.

1. "Travel on the Sabbath," *Conservative Judaism* (Spring 1960): 50; "A Responsum on the Sabbath," in *Tradition and Change: The Development of Conservative Judaism*, ed. Mordechai Waxman (New York, 1958), pp. 351–74.

2. Waxman, pp. 209–312.

Who know better than we rabbis how frequently families are disrupted because a husband or wife suddenly discovers an affinity with some stranger with whom only a few casual commonplaces have been exchanged? It is only later when the harm has been done and cannot be remedied, that the realization comes that "then was it better with me than now."

As I have been listening to the papers read at our Convention and following the activities of our members I have been profoundly impressed with the need of analyzing and reducing to a rational basis our indefinite consciousness of unity. In this paper I could attempt nothing more than to take the first steps toward such an analysis. Only the more obvious truisms about our relations are pointed out; the more difficult task of studying them and clarifying them must be left to further discussion. Hence you must not expect to hear what you do not already know; the purpose of this paper is not to reveal the hidden but to summarize the known.

The subject inevitably divides itself into a number of headings regarding each of which there is among us fundamental agreement as well as difference in shade of opinion. I shall point out under each title as clearly as I can the extent of likeness as well as of disagreement.

I. The Conception of God

So far as I can see we all agree that the visible world of which man is a part is but an island in a sea of truth which transcends it, and which is most clearly reflected in the human mind and conscience. The evils and cruelty which form an integral part of the material world are for us not the final reality; behind them and giving them meaning is the Ultimate Good, whose validity is testified to by the human mind though not dependent on it. The spiritual truths which have always been associated with the name of God are valid independently of man's knowledge or practice of them. The prophets and lawgivers of Israel were men who more clearly than any others felt the presence of God and came most directly in contact with His spiritual being. They knew less than we about the actions and movements of physical being, but incomparably more about the laws that govern spiritual life. They felt constantly in their daily lives the presence of God that we sense only in moments of ecstasy and under particularly favorable conditions. They knew what was right by intuition, by metalegic if you will. Their works

are therefore inspired in the sense in which no other literature, no matter how great or how beautiful, is inspired. To see the beauty of the world as Homer or Dante or Shakespeare saw it, is an approach to an understanding of its deeper meaning; but it is not the whole of it. The prophet was not merely a poet, he was also a man of God.

God thus revealed himself to Israel through the Torah and the prophets. We say He chose Israel in the sense that Israel was more keenly aware of his Being than other people. In Israel's recognition of God we become aware of the Divine selection of Israel. It is therefore literally true that the inspiration of the Torah and the Prophets is the expression of God's choice of Israel as His people.

For the God who revealed Himself to us through the Torah and the prophets we have the same love that the prophets and the sages felt for Him. Our heart yearns for Him like that of the psalmist whose soul "thirsted for God." We are not talking empty metaphors when we say that we feel the presence of God in the synagogue, especially on the High Holidays like Yom Kippur when our people are assembled there in greatest numbers; that at times when our minds are properly attuned we feel the exaltation of His inspiration when we read the Bible or study the Talmud or recite the prayers. But on the other hand, with all the great Jewish thinkers of the past from the writer of the Book of Chronicles, the authors of the Septuagint, and the Targumim, and with the authorities of the Talmud to Maimonides and Jehuda Ha-Levi, we feel that if God is to be made intelligible to men of intelligence as well as to others, the conception of Him must be stripped of its anthropomorphisms which satisfy only the needs of the uninitiate. We fear that the last three or four centuries have produced in Israel a deterioration of the conception of God just as they resulted in a deadening of the feeling for the Torah. And we must teach our children and our following to feel the presence of God and, at the same time, not to think of Him merely in human terms. We can as little reconcile ourselves to reducing Judaism to a cold and dispassionate doctrine as we can hope to maintain in an age of widespread education a conception of God that marks a definite retrogression from that attained by Judah Ha-Levi and Joseph Albo. We are thus a unit even in our understanding of the ultimate basis of all religious life and insist that only in our faith, which is frankly based on our emotions and intuition, but which we seek to formulate with proper recognition of the scientific facts that have been established, is there room for the conception of God that can remain living and effective in our children's minds.

II. Our Attitude Toward the Torah

Our attitude toward the Torah differs from that of other schools in our application to the practical life of religion of the principles and feelings which find their theoretical expression in the historical school of Jewish studies. The fundamental premises of this school may be summed up in two statements: (1) that Judaism is a developing religion, which has undergone an historical and definable change through the periods of the prophets and the rabbis; (2) that this change was not one of deterioration and ossification but of growth, self-expression, and foliation.

No student of history can fail to see that the Judaism of the Second Commonwealth developed, particularly toward the end, a new and widespread affection for the ceremonial observance of the Torah as well as for its study and exposition. It is in vain that we search the prophets, especially those who lived before the exile, for anything like Hillel's or R. Akiba's devotion to study for its own sake, or their readiness to sacrifice everything in order to observe the commandments. The leaders of Jewish thought in the Second Commonwealth were legalists and legislators; those who had prepared the way for them were primarily poets, prophets, visionaries, and critics of the existing order.

Even in the First Commonwealth the legislator and prophet were closely associated. The codes of law in Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, though expressed in prosaic form, are so far above all contemporary codes that they can only be recognized as prophetic and divine, in the same sense that the fiery words of Isaiah and Jeremiah are prophetic and divine. But there was a change of emphasis from the First Commonwealth to the Second, and perhaps it can be best summarized by saying that in prophecy Judaism was in its twenties, and in Rabbinism it had reached its forties. This change does not warrant the use of a different terminology for the two periods. We regard it as preposterous and unscientific to distinguish the Judaism of the Second Commonwealth from that of the First by calling the faith of the prophets the religion of Israel rather than Judaism. It would be just as fair and correct to call America before 1860 by some other name, say Columbia or Indiana, because during the Civil War American opinion underwent a profound change. Pharisaism and Rabbinism are for us the legitimate and natural outgrowth of prophetic Judaism; they are more—they are its fullest expression.

Because on the one hand we regard the laws of the Torah as

prophetically inspired, and because on the other we regard the legalism of the rabbis as the finest and highest expression of human ethics, we accept both the written and oral Law as binding and authoritative on ourselves and on our children after us. The Torah is for us the way of life, and Rabbinism merely the fruit into which the blossoms of prophecy ripened.

But, and here our modern outlook asserts itself, we do not regard the observance of either the written or oral Torah as an alternative to eternal perdition. The punishments with which our fathers threatened us for deviating from the ways of the Torah, seem to us too naive and unsophisticated. The conception of God that lies at their basis is too immature for us and for our children. We are rather prepared to accept the dictum of the rabbis that "the punishment for a transgression is the transgression itself." If by salvation is meant spiritual peace, the satisfaction of living a worthy and good life, certainly salvation can be attained only through the observance of the commandments. But we are entirely unwilling to cajole or intimidate our following or our children into being loyal to the Torah through threats and the fear of punishment.

We are drawn to the Torah with the bonds of love for it and for its norms. We love its ceremonies, its commandments, its rules, and its spirit. We delight in its study, and find in it comfort and consolation, discipline and guidance. And it is this response to it that we want to hand down to our children. We owe our affection for it to our ancestors who have guarded it through 2000 years of suffering, and we feel that it would be a betrayal of them to yield in our adhesion to it now when we have at last attained freedom and emancipation.

These were doubtless the forces that kept our ancestors loyal to the Torah. Their fear of punishment was merely a rationalization of what was essentially emotional. We are conscious of the real urge that animates us and we are unwilling to deceive ourselves as to its essential quality. We certainly dare not, even for the sake of the Torah, establish its observance on the basis of what has come to seem to us a false rationale.

Our love for the Torah is only in part rationalistic; in the main, we need not be ashamed to confess it, it is emotional, intuitive and mystic. We find much in the Torah of which the validity can be established by science and logic. But we do not base our observance of it on mere intellectualism. We can give no mathematical reason for the joy which the Sabbath brings us. If our neighbor does not

feel it he lacks the *Neshamah Yeterah* which he can better obtain by living our life than by listening to our arguments. Doubtless had we been born Hottentots, we could not have discovered the Torah of our own will and accord. But we are not Hottentots, and have behind us our Jewish individual and racial memories. It is these memories that are part and parcel of us and that bind us to the Torah with ties which we have no desire to sever.

III. Our Attitude Toward Change in Ceremonial

The Torah is for us not merely a joy; it is Israel's most effective protection from disintegration and assimilation. With this fact in mind, we cannot overlook the multitudes of our people who regard what are for us garlands of roses and chains of love as shackles of steel and iron. With an effort they break themselves free of these fetters, and like Spintho in Shaw's play run straight into the mouth of the lion.

In order to hold these men within the comity of Judaism it has been proposed to lighten their burden. Obviously if a breach is to be made in the levee it is better to make it deliberately, thoughtfully, intentionally, and intelligently so that we may control the waters. Far better that than to permit the flood to carry away home and farm, hamlet and village. Such voluntary breaches in the wall of Judaism have been made heretofore, but always their utility was first demonstrated to the satisfaction of the scholars and leaders. Today there is such a lack of authority in Judaism and the rabbis are so hopelessly divided, that it appears impossible to convince even an appreciable fraction of them of the necessity of concerted action. Some of our number have felt that these conditions demand urgent and immediate steps. They simply could not wait for the "blind mouths" to become seers and feeders and they have taken matters into their own hands.

To change the established law, even by interpretation, without concerted action of wisely recognized authorities is admittedly a revolutionary process. Yet the purpose that fills the minds of all of us is to maintain the Torah. None proposes to yield the marriage law or the Sabbath; the most rash among us have suggested only the abrogation of some customs, ceremonies and prohibitions that have arisen in the course of time, and of which the value is no longer evident to all. After all, Resh Lakish did say, "Sometimes the

transgression of part of the law is the saving of the whole of it." There is all the difference in the world between proposing a change in a single law for the sake of saving the Torah and disregarding the whole of the Torah.

Still, it cannot be denied that the attitude of permitting changes in the usage of Israel by individual congregations and rabbis is untraditional and revolutionary. Revolutions can be justified in only one way—by being successful. It was revolutionary for the Babylonian Amoraim to set themselves up as judges and rabbis without the traditional Palestinian Semicha; it was revolutionary for R. Gershom to gather a synod for the purpose of making new enactments; it was revolutionary to write down the prayers and codify the law. All of these changes, of which the least is far more radical than any proposed among us, were justified by the fact that they helped to save Judaism in crucial periods. The necessity was recognized by *Klal Yisrael*, and what had been a break with tradition became itself tradition. The American Declaration of Independence was adopted in violation of the established political order, but that did not prevent it from becoming the basis of a new order in whose tradition it is the most precious document. The will of the American people made regular what was essentially irregular, and so the living will of the Jewish people has often made proper what was a first and in essence improperly done.

If the shifting of values and the introduction of new devices will actually bring Jews back to God, to the Torah, and to the synagogue, they will doubtless be accepted. They will then take their place besides the Maccabean innovation which permitted war in self-defense on the Sabbath day; beside the Tosafistic leniencies in regard to the wine of Gentiles; besides R. Isaac Elhanan's new interpretation permitting the remarriage of a woman whose husband was drowned at sea.

But pending such proof of the value of these changes, and pending their acceptance by all Israel, some of us prefer to stand aside and watch like Eliezer at the well "steadfastly, holding our peace, to know whether the Lord hath made their way successful or not."

As to the proposed innovations and new interpretations, there is none of us so bigoted as to refuse to cooperate with those who are attempting them, provided always that the ultimate purpose of the change is to strengthen the attachment of Israel to the whole of the Torah, and that it does not defeat its own end by striking at the fundamentals of Judaism. We could not countenance, for instance,

the substitution of Sunday for the Sabbath as the main day of worship, although most of us have acquiesced in the alteration of our school curricula so as to place primary emphasis on conversational Hebrew rather than on prayers and mechanical reading, and have in one form or another accepted the late Friday evening synagogue assembly, which frankly aims to meet the religious needs of those who do not attend on Sabbath morning. To permit Sunday to supersede the Sabbath would be such a clear break with all of our past that no gain could justify it, but Judaism is definitely strengthened in this land whenever Jews who do not attend the traditional service, do come to some Sabbath gathering.

We are a unit in opposition to any attempt to put Judaism in a strait-jacket. Many, through ignorance or lack of vision, do not hesitate to insist that a practice once established shall always be retained. One is reminded of the retort made to a group of such bigoted stereotypists by the famous saint and scholar, R. Israel Lipkin-Salant, half a century ago. The synagogue in Kovno which had been built a century earlier had like all Lithuanian synagogues never had a stove. When someone proposed to install some heating apparatus, opposition was raised on the ground that it would be untraditional, "It has never been done," the intransigents argued. "Why depart from the ways of our fathers?" R. Israel overwhelmed them in a moment. "Do you mean to say," he asked those who preferred to shiver traditionally rather than be comfortable in a new way, "do you think, that because our ancestors have done a foolish thing for a hundred years, we must continue their folly forever?" And the stove was installed.

IV. Our Attitude Toward Israel

Much of the difficulty about change in the law is due to a lack of faith on the part of the Jews whose lives were narrowed by persecution. The study of Jewish history has been much neglected, and thus it has occurred that even students have grown up unaware of the accomplishments of Israel in the past. To us the development of prophecy, of the Talmud with its system of law, its codes and commentaries, of mediaeval philosophy and of Jewish poetry, are all evidences of the creative spirit of Israel. We believe with Hillel, that if the children of Israel are "not themselves prophets, they are

descendants of prophets," and have in themselves potentialities of return to their ancient exalted state.

What future creations lie latent in the still growing mind of Israel we do not know. But we would encourage every attempt to create the new, provided it is not positively self-destructive. Jewish art, Jewish music, the renaissance of the Hebrew language as medium of daily intercourse, and above all the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland, have all our enthusiastic support. We cannot accept the formula that Israel lives only for the sake of its mission of monotheism; we believe that great as monotheism is, and greater still as are the ethics of Israel, there may be yet other creations in the spirit of this people. In this we disagree also with those, who, while exalting God and the Torah, deny the power of Israel's creativity. Does not the Talmud say that Elijah was rejected as a prophet because he sought the honor of God but had neither faith nor patience with Israel?

On the other hand, we cannot agree with the various secularist groups even in the conception of Israel which they hold in common with us. We cannot, with our knowledge of anthropology and sociology, and our awareness of the infinite harm that such claims have done to other peoples insist or even admit that the Jewish people has a superior germplasm. We refuse to be jingoistic, chauvinistic, or bigoted in weighing our own personality. Israel is a great and ancient people; it has done great things and there is no reason for doubting its ability to create further. We love it as our people. We recognize that it has weaknesses of which we are aware, and may have more of which we are unconscious. In any event, our loyalty to it does not depend on our belief in its singular excellence. We decry any attempt to establish loyalty to it on such basis, firstly, because it is building on quicksand, and secondly, because it is like the exaggerated and preposterous claims of Teutonic and Nordic superiority.

V. Our Attitude Toward Palestine

From what has been said, it is evident how closely we are related to each other, in opposition to other groups, in our attitude toward Palestine. We want to see Palestine rebuilt; we have for it too an intuitional, unreasoning, and mystic love. We want to see Palestine rebuilt as the spiritual center of Israel, for in that way it can serve

our people best and help solve some of our pressing problems. But aside from its help in maintaining the spiritual integrity of our dispersed communities, we look on Palestine as we do on the Torah—as an ultimate, a thing that is good in itself, whose welfare we seek for its own sake. Our formula therefore may be expressed thus: We want Erez Israel established as a Jewish community; if possible as an autonomous one. We should like to persuade its present generation of colonists and workers that the interests of their people demand their observance of the Torah, and the interests of Truth their recognition of God. And yet if our arguments should prove of no avail, we, unlike all other religious groups who accept Zionism, are willing to trust the future to God and to His people.

VI. Our Attitude Toward the Hebrew Language

Every Jewish renaissance from that of the Maccabees until our own time has been accompanied by a revival of interest in Hebrew as a language. The Book of Jubilees, written in the first half century of Maccabean independence, stresses again and again the fact that Hebrew was the language of creation and of the patriarchs. One of the effects of the Revolution of 70, and also of the Bar Kokba rebellion, was to stimulate the use of Hebrew so that in the household of Rabbi Hebrew was the vernacular. R. Meir insisted that just as one must teach one's child the Shema, so must one teach it to speak Hebrew. We are therefore entirely sympathetic to the establishment of Hebrew as the language of conversation, Jewish literature and learning. We wish to encourage it in every way, again as a means of maintaining the integrity of the Jewish people and the Jewish spirit, and also because, like the Torah, Israel, and Palestine, Hebrew is an end in itself. We find ourselves in opposition to those who have permitted the excision of Hebrew from their prayer book, and have dropped it as a subject for instruction in their schools. A Hebrewless Judaism we conceive to be an impossibility, or, rather, as Dr. Hertz states in his recent work, "A Hebrew-less Judaism has no future because it cannot be justly said to have a present."

On the other hand we feel that Hebrew will always remain a holy language—that is to say, its use ought to be a religious duty rather than a chauvinistic whim. Nor can we agree with those Hebrew

writers who neglect the literature of the last 1800 years from the Mishna to our own times, and prefer phrases constructed on the basis of modern Arabic to those of traditional Hebrew. We regard some of the modern Hebraisms as sterile mongrels and oppose them because they desecrate the language which is to us as sacred as the books which were written in it. We desire in every part of our spirituality to keep alive the traditions of our people.

VII. The Seminary

We thus find ourselves united in a number of important conceptions in which we all believe. Within our ranks there [are] wide differences of opinion as to the exact meaning of some of them, and the relative emphasis to be placed on each of them. And yet one cannot believe that these slight differences among us would justify any separation in our ranks, in view of our substantial unity of outlook and the difficulty of serving our cause even when we are together. After all, to put the whole matter in a word, we are the only group in Israel who have a modern mind and a Jewish heart, prophetic passion and western science. It is because we have all these that we see Judaism so broadly, that we can agree with almost all elements in the constructive suggestions proposed by them, but break away from them in their arrogance and lack of foresight. And it is because we are alone in combining the two elements that can make a rational religion, that we may rest convinced that, given due sacrifice and willingness on our part, the Judaism of the next generation will be saved by us. Certainly it can be saved by no other group. We have then before us both the highest of challenges and the greatest of opportunities. It is the knowledge of this, above all, that unites us and makes us one.

Our unity is symbolized for us by the Seminary, that institution of which we are all either the natural or adopted children. In its diversified faculty, we find our own differences ably reflected. As our Alma Mater we all owe it loyalty and gratitude, and these we give the more willingly because it serves as a source of encouragement for us when sometimes we falter, and as a center around which we can always gather.

Through it we become not only comrades in arms, but also brothers. After we have said everything about our similarities and likenesses, there remains but one thing to be said, and that is we are all of us "Seminary men."



RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM

The Reconstructionist movement was founded by Mordecai M. Kaplan during the 1920's, and arose out of the Conservative movement. Kaplan challenged the idea of God as Being, preferring to present a naturalist theology that understands the Deity as a power or force in man and nature which makes for salvation in the form of freedom, justice, love, and truth. He also challenged the idea of Scripture as a divine document of the Jews as a divinely chosen people, of a personal Messiah, and of bodily resurrection. Further, Kaplan questioned the concept of Judaism as a religious philosophy, preferring to understand it as a "religious civilization," and urging the synagogue to incorporate social, educational, philanthropic, Zionist, cultural, spiritual, ritual, and historical components together side by side ("organicity").

Kaplan formed the Society for the Advancement of Judaism in 1922 to promote this "reconstruction" of Judaic civilization. Although he retired from his position as "Leader" (preferring this term to "rabbi") at the end of 1944, he was immediately thereafter catapulted into greater national debate than ever before with the publication of the SAJ's new, or "reconstructed," Sabbath Prayer Book. It contained a complete service for the Sabbath and abundant additional prayers and readings, and was first used at the SAJ's Sabbath services on May 5, 1945. By June 15, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada had excommunicated Kaplan (although he was not a member of the Union!) for "expressing atheism, heresy and disbelief in the basic tenets of Judaism," and had then burned the Sabbath Prayer Book. The Union's president, the New York Times reported, objected particularly to the book's introduction, which he alleged to be "contrary to the spirit and law of Judaism." Time magazine chronicled the event at length in its religion section that same month. Kaplan noted "what a shattering effect this exhibition of moral degeneracy on the part of men who call themselves rabbis" had upon him, and was most saddened by what he called "rabbinical gangsters resorting to Nazi methods in order to retain their authority."¹

The controversy produced an unprecedented demand for the Sabbath Prayerbook and a renewed interest in Reconstructionist Judaism.

1. Mordecai M. Kaplan, *Journals* 13-146.

INTRODUCTION TO THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST SABBATH PRAYERBOOK, 1945

On presenting this revised prayer book, we wish to indicate what impelled us to undertake its preparation. We are well aware that great numbers of our people are attached to the traditional prayer book by sentiments of deep and sincere piety and deplore any deviation from its time-honored text. In their opinion, such deviation impairs the spiritual unity of the Jewish people and the continuity of its sacred tradition. We too are eager to preserve the Jewish worshiper's sense of oneness with Israel and to maintain the common memories and the feeling of a common destiny, which the services of the traditional synagogue have always fostered. But due regard must be paid to certain other considerations besides the unity of Israel and the continuity of its spiritual tradition. Otherwise, Jewish worship is in danger of disintegrating, and Israel's spiritual heritage of being dissipated.

Many modern Jews have lost, or all but lost, their sense of need for worship and prayer. They rarely attend religious services, and even when they do, their participation is perfunctory. The motions survive; the emotions have fled. The lips move, but the heart is unmoved. Unless this apathy to synagogue services is overcome, it will spell the end of worship among Jews; and the end of worship means the decay of all spiritual values and the vulgarization of human life. Since the traditional service has not sufficed to preserve the spirit of worship among Jews, we have found it necessary to suggest new forms of Jewish liturgical expression. To be sure, this need has been recognized for over a century, and various attempts have been made to satisfy it. All such attempts have been worthy efforts to revitalize Jewish worship. But we have felt that, by reason of their theology and their conception of the Jewish people, they have failed to rekindle in the Jew the spirit of worship.

That spirit depends upon experiencing the reality of God and having a sense of oneness with Israel. The profound changes, however, in life and thought during the last century-and-a-half have made it necessary to restate what these experiences mean in terms of the thinking of our day. Only such a restatement can awaken in the heart of the modern-minded Jew the desire to worship.

Experiencing the Reality of God

If prayer is to be genuine and not merely a recital of words, the

worshiper must, of course, believe in God. He must be able to sense the reality of God vividly, as an intense personal experience. Our ancestors possessed such a sense of the reality of God, and could, without hesitation, say with the Psalmist, "I set the Lord before me continually." The modern Jew, however, is disturbed by the current conception of nature. Nature is generally viewed as blind, mechanical and unresponsive to man's prayers. This view of nature leaves in his mind no room for God or for worship. Therefore it is necessary for the modern Jew to strive to formulate his idea of God in terms which can serve to inspire him with faith and courage, and which at the same time conform to his knowledge of the world. Just how each Jew will conceive God will vary according to temperament and outlook. For purposes of common worship, however, it is essential to arrive at an idea of God, broad enough to bridge the differences in individual outlook and capable of resolving the inner conflicts which paralyze the impulse to pray. The following idea of God may serve as the basis of a common faith for the Jews of our day:

Reality—the sum of all that is—should not be regarded as entirely subject to forces operating mechanically. Such forces exist. Science has identified them for us and justified our confidence that they apply universally and without exception. We believe in natural law. But natural law does not account for everything. We know, for example, that, as persons, we are more than bodies acting like mechanical robots. To be sure, everything that we think, feel or do takes place through the instrumentality of our bodies and in conformity with natural law. Nevertheless, our bodies and the laws governing them do not account for all that we are. They tell us nothing of what life means for us, of our yearnings, our desires, our hopes and fears, our loves and hates. So, too, the world about us cannot be wholly explained in terms of nature. There is a universal Spirit that transcends and uses nature in some such way as the human spirit transcends and uses the bodily organs of men. Science, which concerns itself with nature's laws, answers only the question: How? It does not answer the question: Why? It cannot tell us to what end or purpose we should direct our lives. The answer to that question, or rather the very question itself, implies a Power both in and beyond nature which moves men to seek value and meaning in life. That Power is God. . . .

Each of us should learn to think of himself as though he were a cell in some living organism—which, in a sense, he actually is—in his relation to the universe or cosmos. What we think of as a coher-

ent universe or cosmos is more than nature; it is nature with a soul. That soul is God. As each cell in the body depends for its health and proper functioning upon the whole body, so each of us depends upon God. Were each cell in us capable of being aware of its dependence upon the whole of us, and were it to express that awareness, each expression would for it constitute worship. Each time we hail and glorify the "Thou" in "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe," we enter, in however infinitesimal a degree, into communion with the Spirit that maintains the unity of life and directs that unity toward our salvation. Such communion should normally elevate our will to God's will. Our will is to make the most of life; God's will is that we utilize all of life's possibilities for our salvation. This is the nearest we can get to translating the belief in God into living experience. . . .

Having a Sense of Oneness with Israel

The prayers of the Synagogue imply the will of the worshiper to become one with the collective being of the Jewish people and its spiritual aims. The worshiper must, therefore, have a definite idea of what such oneness involves. It must mean that we are conscious of being members of the Jewish people, that we sense our kinship with it, that we accept a personal share in its history and destiny. It must mean that we recognize the unity of Israel, past, present and future, in all parts of the world. It must mean that we strive to understand Israel's hopes and aspirations and to make them our very own. Communal worship should be the occasion for thus immersing ourselves in the living reality of *kelal yisrael*, the totality of Israel. . . .

In order that the religious services should help the worshiper achieve oneness with the Jewish people, they should, as far as possible, be carried on in Hebrew. It must, however, be a Hebrew that is understood and appreciated, and not one that is repeated by rote. Throughout this book, in addition to the traditional prayers and the readings written originally in Hebrew, the new material written originally in English appears, wherever feasible, also in a Hebrew translation.

Another means of achieving oneness with Israel is awareness of our relation to Palestine. The immemorial hope of the Jewish people to rebuild its ancient homeland is reflected throughout the

text. But, in addition, much attention is given to the great contemporary enterprise of rebuilding Eretz Yisrael, as the most significant common effort of the Jewish people to realize its ideals in the modern world. The faith, the courage, the vision and the strength of the resurgent Jewish spirit are articulated in those prayers and readings which touch upon the Zionist striving. Perhaps no other cause is as potent as Zionism to kindle the feeling of oneness with the Jewish people.

Still another means towards the same end is the intimate contact with the rich cultural heritage of Israel, which spans the centuries and the vast distances that separate the modern Jew from the generations that preceded him. With that end in view, there have been brought together in this text the words of Jewish prophet and sage, philosopher and ethical teacher, poet and mystic, from many periods and many lands. Though their thoughts are couched in an idiom different from that of our day, we find expressed in them the abiding need to experience the worthwhileness of life and to achieve salvation. Since they speak the common language of the heart, they strike a responsive chord in us.

Modification of Traditional Doctrine

In order to retain the continuity of Judaism and, at the same time, to satisfy the spiritual demands of our day, it is necessary to make changes in the content of the prayer book. To preserve the authority of Jewish tradition, it is necessary to retain the classical framework of the service and to adhere to the fundamental teachings of that tradition concerning God, man and the world. However, ideas or beliefs in conflict with what have come to be regarded as true or right should be eliminated.

Some have attempted to obviate the need for change in the traditional prayers by reading into them meanings completely at variance with what they meant to those who framed them. This practice is fraught with danger. To read those new meanings into the traditional text by way of translation is to violate the principle of forthrightness. To assume that the average worshiper will arrive at them of his own accord is to expect the unattainable. Our prayers must meet the needs of simple and literal-minded people, even of the young and immature. We dare not take the chance of conveying meanings which do not conform with the best in our reli-

gious thinking and feeling. Not that prayers need be prosaic in their literalness, but their figures of speech must have clear and true meanings. People expect a Jewish prayer book to express what a Jew should believe about God, Israel and the Torah, and about the meaning of human life and the destiny of mankind. We must not disappoint them in that expectation. But, unless we eliminate from the traditional text statements of beliefs that are untenable and of desires which we do not or should not cherish, we mislead the simple and alienate the sophisticated. The simple will accept the false with the true, to the detriment of their spiritual growth. The sophisticated will feel that a Jewish service has little value for people of modern mentality. Rather than leaving such questionable passages to reinterpretation, we should omit or revise them.

In keeping with the foregoing, the text of the traditional prayers has been modified to bring it in line with the following changes in doctrine:

The Doctrine of the Chosen People:

Modern-minded Jews can no longer believe, as did their fathers, that the Jews constitute a divinely chosen nation. That belief carried for them the implication that the history of mankind revolved about Israel. It is not difficult to understand how they came to hold such an Israel-centered view of history. Belief in God's choice of Israel arose at a time when all the surrounding nations were idolaters and polytheists. It expressed for our fathers their intense experience of the reality of God and their intense awareness that their people was the only nation which recognized its responsibility to the God of all mankind. This belief was later fortified by the fact that the Christian and the Moslem peoples, among whom the Jews then lived, also accepted it. They insisted however, that God had subsequently rejected the Jewish people. It became all the more necessary, therefore, for the Jews to reiterate the doctrine of Israel as the Chosen People.

In the modern world, all this has been changed by a number of political and cultural developments—the rise of democratic nationalism, the separation of church and state, the admission of Jews to citizenship and the waning belief in supernatural revelation. Thus the basis of the belief that the history of all mankind revolves about our people has been destroyed. However, even

without that belief, we can and should continue as a people dedicated to the purpose of testifying to the reality of God and of serving Him. But we must acknowledge that other peoples can and should be dedicated to the same purpose.

We should, therefore, not retain the traditional text of those prayers which make invidious comparisons between Israel and the other nations. Our prayers should express a more modest conception of our role in history. The present text affirms the aspiration of Israel to make its own distinctive contribution to the enhancement of human life, but assumes the equal right and obligation of other peoples and communities to make theirs. It exhorts Israel to live up to the best of which it is capable, but avoids comparison of Israel's achievements and capacities with those of other groups.

The Doctrine of Revelation:

Tradition affirms that God supernaturally revealed the Torah, in its present text, to Moses on Mount Sinai. But the critical analysis of the text by modern scholars and the scientific outlook on history render this belief no longer tenable. We now know that the Torah is a human document, recording the experience of our people in its quest for God during the formative period of its history. The sacredness of the Torah does not depend upon its having been supernaturally revealed. The truth is not that God revealed the Torah to Israel, but that the Torah has, in every successive generation, revealed God to Israel. It can still reveal God to us. Though we no longer assume that every word in the text is literally or even figuratively true, the reading of the Torah enables us to relive, in imagination, the experiences of our fathers in seeking to make life conform to the will of God, as they understood it. We thus make this purpose of theirs our own and are inspired to seek God also in our own experiences. And those who seek God find Him. Our discovery of religious truth is God's revelation to us.

The study of Torah in this spirit is properly the central act of worship. It is, moreover, indispensable to our survival and growth as a people. The Torah so conceived is indeed a "tree of life" everlasting, planted within us. But it cannot serve this purpose as long as the Synagogue bases the authority of the Torah on the dogma of supernatural revelation, which the modern mind rejects. We have, accordingly, deemed it necessary to stress the sacredness

of the Torah in other ways than by affirming that it was supernaturally revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai.

The Doctrine of the Personal Messiah:

Modern-minded Jews no longer look forward to the advent of a personal Messiah, who, by supernatural intervention, will redeem Israel from exile, and usher in an era of universal justice and peace. Certainly, there is still every reason to believe, as our ancestors did, that the Golden Age of mankind lies in the future, that history is morally determined, that the Kingdom of God can and will be attained in time. But we must now think in terms of universal redemption through the struggles, hopes, vision and will of all good men. Our prayer must henceforth be that Israel may contribute its share to the universal effort in behalf of a world of freedom, justice and peace.

While the prayers for the restoration of Israel's national home are retained and even elaborated, they are not to be construed as implying the return of all Jews to Palestine. Our prayerful concern should include those who will continue to live in the lands of their nativity, and should voice the hope that they be permitted to do so in peace and freedom.

The Doctrine of the Restoration of the Sacrificial Cult:

The institution of animal sacrifice was in ancient times the accepted mode of worship, and for centuries Jews prayed for the opportunity to reinstate that mode of worship in a rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem. Instead of the prayers which express that hope, the present text contains the prayer that we may learn to make sacrifices of our resources and energies in behalf of worthy causes, and that a restored Eretz Yisrael may once again inspire us to serve God.

Since the distinctions between *Kohen*, *Levi* and *Israelite* have always been associated with their respective functions in the Temple cult, these distinctions are no longer cogent. All references to them as still playing a part in Jewish life are omitted.

The Doctrine of Retribution:

Our ancestors believed that obedience to the moral and ritual laws of the Torah resulted in favorable rainfalls; and that disobedience caused the rain to be withheld. This was undoubtedly an aspect of their intuition that the moral law was an integral to the structure of the universe as natural law, and that both kinds of law were interwoven in the destinies of men. To the extent that obedience to the moral law spells happiness and peace for mankind, and disobedience spells disaster and war, that intuition was correct. But that the very rainfall is influenced by human conduct, we know, is not true. The present text, therefore, is so modified as to emphasize the ever timely truth that the material prosperity and well-being of society depend on its conforming to the Divine law of justice and righteousness.

The Doctrine of Resurrection:

Men and women brought up in the atmosphere of modern science no longer accept the doctrine that the dead will one day come to life. To equate that doctrine with the belief in the immortality of the soul is to read into the text a meaning which the words do not express. That the soul is immortal in the sense that death cannot defeat it, that the human spirit, cleaving to God, transcends the brief span of the individual life and shares in the eternity of the Divine Life can and should be expressed in our prayers. But we do not need for this purpose to use a traditional text which requires a forced interpretation. This prayer book, therefore, omits the references to the resurrection of the body, but affirms the immortality of the soul, in terms that are in keeping with what modern-minded men can accept as true.

The revision of the traditional prayers to conform to the foregoing changes of doctrine should advance the major purposes of this prayer book. That revision should help the worshiper to experience the presence of God in his personal and communal life. And it should so unite the worshiper with Israel as put him in possession of the living truth which Israel has learned concerning man's task on earth. . . .



ORTHODOX JUDAISM

Samuel Belkin, a long-time president of Yeshiva University, noted in 1954 that American Orthodoxy was not really "more than twenty-five years old." He was quite accurate, for this newest of the denominations—or, in Joseph Blau's phrase, "a congeries of fragmentary sectarian groups"—was created during the second and third decades of the twentieth century by the children of East European Jewish immigrants. Its spokesmen insist that it "represents the one authentic Judaism," but, in truth, they are well aware that there have "always been, and still are, different modes of Orthodox Jewish thought and practice, and that Orthodoxy has always admitted a great measure of innovation."¹

There exists, in the writings and speeches of the leaders of organized and institutionalized American Orthodoxy, great latitude in formulating doctrines, interpreting biblical passages, and understanding commandments. Nevertheless, as Belkin clearly points out, they all start from the same a priori concept: the principles and laws came from God at Sinai. And not only the Sinaitic Covenant but the whole body of Jewish law, as it was hammered out in centuries of interpretation, is literally God-given. In short, American Orthodox spokesmen agree that God gave the Written and Oral Law to His people.

With this notion in hand, Belkin leaves no doubt that Orthodoxy—no less than Reform and Conservative Judaism—must prove its relevance to, not its separation from, America. Indeed, Belkin openly embraces "the American way of life, which is in itself deeply rooted in Hebraic spiritual values."

AN AFFIRMATION OF AMERICAN ORTHODOXY, 1956

What is the central principle which underlies Orthodoxy or traditional Judaism?

In my opinion, the essence of traditional Judaism is the undisputable faith that the Torah, the revealed word of God, is not a

1. Samuel Belkin, *Essays in Traditional Jewish Thought* (New York, 1956), p. 59; Joseph L. Blau, *Judaism in America* (Chicago, 1976), p. 67; Emanuel Rackman, "What is Orthodox Judaism?" *Jewish Heritage* 2, no. 3 (Winter 1959–60), 5; Rackman, "American Orthodoxy," in *Jewish Life in America*, ed. T. Friedman and Robert Gordis (New York, 1955), p. 33.

mere constitution or code, but that, as the law of God, it represents divine authority and contains the highest wisdom and loftiest truths, and that as such, the divine law is sufficient for all time and should control and guide the entire life and destiny of our people.

As divine and perfect law, the Torah cannot be understood only in its simple sense and literal meaning, like any other man-made law. Its words have deeper meaning, and if properly interpreted in accordance with the rules of the Masorah, it can furnish decisions for all possible cases and give answers to all logical questions. In addition, traditional Judaism accepts the Oral Law as part of the Torah—not merely as the decision of a king, a priest or any other authority, but as an integral and organic part of the Torah itself. The whole mode of Jewish living and thinking was, and is, in no way secular in character. It is of divine inspiration. . . .

I believe that Orthodoxy or traditional Judaism needs to develop a greater sense of organization. If we organize all our forces which stand for a positive approach to Jewish life, we can determine the essence of American Judaism for many generations to come. I believe that young, modern American Orthodoxy must not create a new party within Orthodoxy, a party which is often called by the ambiguous name of "Neo-Orthodoxy." What should be accomplished is not the creation of something new but the consolidation and sharpening of an old force which has always existed in this country but which was never conscious of its own importance and never realized its need to organize. The orthodoxy of the American-born Jewry is not new. It is a serious mistake to assume that an observant Jew who has taken a degree in a college is a new phenomenon representing a paradoxical personality. That was the normal practice of the rabbinate, and for that matter of Jews in general, in Spain, Italy, England and Holland. A narrow-minded man may sometimes characterize American Orthodoxy as un-American, only to discover suddenly that real Americanism means reverence for the Bible as the word of God, and obedience to the authority of Scripture—concepts which lie at the foundation of this country. . . .

As the American Jewish community has grown in the last fifty years and religious and cultural institutions of many types have come into existence, I see religious Jewish life on this continent divided into three parts.

One segment of the community argues that it is impossible for the Jew to continue to live the same kind of spiritual life in the

United States as he had lived for centuries on the European continent. . . .

The only way, in accordance with their thinking, that the Jew can survive on this continent is to develop an easygoing *translated Judaism*, a Judaism which requires no great sacrifices, a Judaism which may be acquired with little effort. . . .

It is our firm belief that a translated and reconstructed Judaism will not succeed in transmitting even a semblance of our sacred heritage to future generations.

On the other hand, there exists today a small segment of the Jewish community, which is extremely pious in theory and practice. This particular group feels that it can best live within the sacred heritage of Judaism if it ignores completely the contemporary environment, and *transfers*, without the slightest change, the traditional Jewish way of life that their forefathers lived for centuries on the European continent. They refuse to conform to any modern standards, even when such standards are not directly, or even indirectly, in conflict with the precepts of the Torah and our sacred traditions. This group is known not only for its extreme piety, but also for its extreme isolation from the larger part of the Jewish community.

While we may not fully agree with their methods and may justifiably doubt their eventual influence on the American Jewish community, nonetheless we admire their devoutness and uncompromising devotion to our sacred heritage. They may often be our severest critics and look upon us as "enlightened orthodoxy;" nonetheless, we have deep and genuine appreciation for their way of life.

The Yeshiva as the fountainhead of Torah learning in America, follows in the traditions of the Torah academies which functioned for centuries on the European continent. It has been, however, the main aim of the Yeshiva throughout its existence, not merely to *transfer* that tree of knowledge to the American soil. . . .

Our philosophy is one of integration and we firmly deny that our integration in the American community in any way implies the abrogation of even one iota of our sacred tradition. More than two generations of our people have been lost to us because of the erroneous belief that there exists a serious conflict between our spiritual heritage and the American way of life, which is in itself deeply rooted in Hebraic spiritual values. . . .

It is, therefore, the aim of the Yeshiva to transplant in the Ameri-

can cultural and social democratic climate the tree of Torah knowledge and practice, which shall continue the Torah learning of ancient academies and, at the same time, be a particularly American product. . . .



NEW TRENDS: HAVUROT

During the past two decades, a number of American Jewish religious institutions have come under criticism for being overly centralized and impersonal. One remedy that has been advanced is the havurah (pl. havurot), a small independent fellowship "grouping." Havurot began to make their appearance in the Reconstructionist movement in the early 1960's, a spread on and around college campuses in the Northeast and West in the late 1960's, and eventually made their way into synagogues all over the nation. A havurah generally consists of a small number of multi-generational families that come together, often in living rooms, for prayer, study, holiday, and life-cycle celebration, as well as socializing and eating together.

Within the havurah, members strive to create an autonomous community where the rabbi need not serve as a surrogate for the congregation. The sense of autonomy increases the motivation to become involved, and the conscious attempt to break down the generational subdivisions of contemporary synagogue life is meant to expand opportunities for inter-generational activities and communication.¹

Since 1970, when Rabbi Harold Schulweis introduced the havurah idea, synagogues, in significant numbers, have been encouraging havurot.

1. On the earliest *havurot* in the 1960's, see *Reconstructionist*, December 16, 1960, and January 27, 1961; Arthur Green, "Havurat Shalom: A Proposal" in *Contemporary Judaic Fellowship in Theory and In Practice*, ed. Jacob Neusner (New York, 1972), pp. 149-54 and *passim*; Jon Groner, "The 1973 Phenomenon—Jewish Residences," *Sh'ma*, May 11, 1973; Linda Weltner, "An Alternative Religious Community: Searching for a New Way to Worship," *The Boston Globe Magazine*, April 21, 1974; Sydney J. Greenberg et al., "Havurot Noar of Los Angeles," *Pedagogic Reporter* 25 (Fall 1973):8-10.

On synagogue *havurot* in the 1970's, see Steven B. Jacobs, "Transforming Rabbi and Congregant," *CCAR Journal* (Winter 1975):37-40; George E. Johnson, "Synagogue Survival Strategies in the Rootless Society: A Case Study," *Analysis* 45, Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research, Washington, D.C., April 15, 1974; Lawrence Kushner, "The Post-Synagogue Synagogue," *CCAR Journal* (Spring 1975):45-55; Arnold Jacob Wolf, "Three Havurot," in *ibid.*, 33-36.

They have offered their resources (physical facilities and personnel) for havurot-related activities while retaining their status as the main institutional tie to the greater Jewish community. Within a decade of Rabbi Schulweis's restructuring of his own congregation, 20–25 percent of Reform and Conservative synagogues had introduced havurot.

RESTRUCTURING THE SYNAGOGUE

We are confronted with a new character ideal, with a radically different kind of Jew, the newest sociological phenomenon in our history. We face the emerging “psychological Jew.” Our rhetoric, our allusions, our claims presuppose a set of experiences, values and basic categories which, in fact, belong to another Jewish typology. We appeal to “God, Torah and Israel” and experience the shock of non-recognition when the triadic sancta are addressed to our new audience. We sense vaguely that we have lost the power to bind and to loosen, to move our people, to seriously affect their behavior. . . .

The Psychological Jew

The psychological Jew is “sui generis.” He is radically different from the other familiar types. He is on principle a privatist. For this post-religious, post-ideological Jew, all community is suspect. He may not have read Freud or Marcuse or Norman O. Brown, but a meta-psychology has filtered down to warn him that civilization is repressive. Psychological wisdom counsels that community, whether in the shape of religious faith or political ideology, robs him of his private satisfactions, his privacy and individualism. In our times, the danger to ourselves comes from the suffocating demands of community. And while community in part is useful, it must be kept at a safe distance lest it drain our energies and desiccate our joys.

Consider the religious community. It holds claims on what we eat, where we eat, when we eat; when we fast and when we feast; when and who and where and how we marry; when and who and where and how we mourn. Consider the secular community. Its ideology calls for sacrifices in the name of “classless society,” “the

proletariat," "the ingathering of the people," "redemption of the land." The ideological community, no less than the religious community, presses for commitment. And commitment is precisely what the psychological Jew, the special case of the psychological man, seeks to escape. . . .

The Psychological Jew and the Synagogue

He may join the synagogue. But his affiliation is not motivated by religious or ideological faith. There are "psychological" advantages in joining. It is good for the child to celebrate his rites of passage. It is wise for him to identify with a group. The psychological Jew of the seventies is not the assimilationist Jew of the thirties. His reality principle accepts the fact of anti-Semitism, and he knows that all efforts to cut his nose to spite his fate are wasteful. The fear of being discovered is too enervating.

Psychological wisdom, not communal loyalty, leads him to join a negative community. For even in affiliation, he is a Jew by double negation, i.e., he is not not a Jew. He is not a believer and not an atheist. He is not a Zionist and not an assimilationist. He is neither a Jewish loyalist nor is he vulnerable to conversion. His style is that of deconversion. He defuses all passionate attachments. His peculiar toleration of all is a consequence of his refusal to take any single option seriously enough to live it out "with all your heart and all your soul and all your might." Passion for communal causes, religious or secular, is anathema.

Sigmund Freud, the paradigmatic psychological Jew, considered conversion from Judaism in order to avoid the "cumbersome" Jewish wedding ceremony. He was dissuaded from such an act by his friend Breuer with two major words out of the vocabulary of privatism: *zu kompliziert* (Too complicated). One must somehow disentangle oneself from the web of communal commitments while living within society. There is an art of disrelating even in the heart of the institutions of community.

Privatizing the Synagogue

Inadvertently, for he is no passionate champion of causes, the psychological Jew manages to privatize the synagogue. Ineluctably,

the character of the synagogue, its programs, educational philosophy, ethical action, the role of its professional leaders are shaped in the image of the psychological Jew. Illustrative of that transformation is the modern phenomenon of the Shabbat *minchah* Bar Mitzvah. The request to have the Bar Mitzvah at five P.M. is not motivated by the parent's affection for the plaintive melody of *atah echad v'shimcha echad*. He knows that his son will have no *haftarah* to chant, but more important to him he knows that it will be "his" Bar Mitzvah. The congregation will not attend, only "his" guests. Who needs the witness of the community at this private affair? Who needs the expense of a Kiddush for the "free-loaders?" He will have "his" rabbi and "his" cantor all to himself, and this private use of the *klay kodesh* (Jewish religious professionals) is of paramount import to the congregant. The psychological Jew is reluctant to share the rabbi with others. . . .

Whatever the psychological Jew touches falls apart into private pieces. He will be indignant at the synagogue's public stand on almost all social issues. Whether the stand is endorsed by boards of rabbis, synagogue councils, Jewish committees and congresses, his argument echoes the depth of his privatist outlook: "no one can speak for me." And he can speak for no one. He recognizes no collective wisdom or corporate voice, because he has rejected community. He may insist that taking a public stand will split the congregation. From my perspective, however, the psychological Jew is fragmenting the Jewish community into unrelated, unrelating entities.

The rabbi then is addressing not a Jewish congregation but an audience of Jews. He commits "a fallacy of composition" who assumes that an assembly of Jews is a Jewish assembly. A congregation is made up of people who share experiences and values which transcend their private perceptions. An audience is comprised of separate egos who have come together for reasons of their own and dissolve into discrete bodies after the event is over.

The rabbi is faced with a profound *mechitza* between one affiliate and another. The empirical test of the segregated pew is tragicomically witnessed on the Day of Reconciliation. To sit in a seat which is ticketed to another, to pick up a synagogue Mahzor from another's lectern is to experience the primal howl of the "territorial imperative."

The complaint that the synagogue is cold and irrelevant will not be answered from the pulpit and not from the seminary. We are at

a station of Jewish life, faced with an emerging character ideal, in which needed theological reconstruction, ritual innovation and liturgical creativity are nevertheless embarrassingly premature. Without the matrix of community, one cannot speak of peoplehood or of the wisdom, ethics and aspirations of that people. Without the concreteness of inter-personal relationship, the rhetoric of I-thou dialogue between man and man and between God and man is vacuous. At best, Judaism turns into a meta-language, a way of speaking.

The Task of the New Synagogue

The primary task on the agenda of the synagogue is the humanization and personalization of the temple. To overcome the inter-personal irrelevance of synagogue affiliation is a task prior to believing and ritual behaving. To experience true belonging is an imperative prerequisite for the cultivation of religious and moral sensibilities. To read in Professor Leonard Fein's two and a half year study of Reform congregations that "friendship patterns do not appear to play a leading part in the determination of temple membership" is a tragic condition which cannot be compensated for by the most relevant of sermons and services. That sixty per cent of the adult respondents in the study reported that they have very few friends, if any, in the temple, is a sobering revelation.

The Gerer Rebbe was appalled at his Hasidim who did not know what had happened to one of their peers. "You study together, and pray together, and celebrate your festivals together and you don't know if he is sick or well?" To adapt the Gerer's concern to our own—if our congregants do not know each other, mean little to each other—can we expect them to pray together, to learn together, to act together?

The Shadow of the Psychological Jew

The psychological Jew, like the religious and ideological Jew, does not exist in a vacuum. Each typology has his non-Jewish counterpart. The general literature abounds with the cries of loneliness, anomie and alienation which haunt the footsteps of the psychological man. Psychological man has outshrewded himself. Privatism has

soured into isolation; individualism into a cage of solitary confinement; cool, analytic detachment into numb affectlessness. The children of the psychological man have begun to openly reject the insularity of the privatist and to search for some sense of community. The hidden hunger for relationship, for the celebratory and affective is shyly repressed by the psychological man. But here and again, in the flirtations with encounter and sensitivity groups, one discovers evidence of a deeply felt need for community.

If the exhaustion of the life style of psychological man is correctly read, we have a new opportunity to restructure the synagogue and to offer the searching Jew a community which yet does not ignore his autonomy. For he will not return to the pseudo-community of the establishment synagogue. He will not be bound by mailing lists, raffles, public lectures, pulpit-centered services or professional-centered celebrations of the *gesellschaft*.

We are challenged to decentralize the synagogue and deprofessionalize Jewish living so that the individual Jew is brought back into a circle of shared Jewish experience. My experience with the *havurazation* of the synagogue strengthens my conviction that we can help the psychological Jew meet his genuine needs for autonomy and help overcome his depersonalization by providing a way towards authentic community. I see one of the major functions of the synagogue to be that of the *shadchan*—bringing together separate, lonely parties into *havurot*. In our congregation, a *havurah* is comprised of a minyan of families who have agreed to meet together at least once a month to learn together, to celebrate together and hopefully to form some surrogate for the eroded extended family.

Philosophy and Method in Forming Havurot

The how, where and when of *havurah* formation is not simply a matter of mechanics. They are informed by a philosophy. The questionnaire which is sent to each member seeks to determine such matters as the interests of the family and the age and number of the children. While our philosophy of pluralism encourages each group to discover its own chemistry, its own pace, we set as ideal a *havurah* with a balance of social, cultural and celebratory ingredients. We have found that children are flesh and blood ties which, in many instances, shape the character and concerns of the *havurah*.

Where shall the *havurah* meet? Location is important. We forever meet in board rooms, conference rooms, classrooms, social halls. But our homes are off-limits, the private domain not to be penetrated by others. Members of synagogue committees, men and women who have worked and worshipped together for decades, have never entered each others' homes. The ethic of privatism has erected tall fences to keep all others out. Yet it is within the ambience of the home that we gain personal insight into the personality and uniqueness of the other.

What shall we discuss? Who will be our teacher? The synagogue, ever responding to the demands of the psychological Jew, has become a caterer in all things. It provides him with topics, lectures, books and lecturers. Consequently, the congregants have become increasingly passive and dependent upon the professional in all things. They are helpless without experts. But after attending hundreds of lectures, symposia, sermons, panel discussions, forums—how is it that so little seems to stick?

Seals are fed by caretakers who throw out fish which are gulped down whole. Nothing is chewed, assimilated, digested. Men and women are not seals. They will not learn by being fed. They will not learn until they themselves teach. In the *havurah*, each family takes it upon himself to prepare to lead a discussion on some matter of concern which the group has decided upon.

We lift a page from Franz Rosenzweig's *freies judisches lehrhaus* in Frankfurt. He knew Jewish learning, for most modern Jews, cannot start from a knowledge of Torah and then lead from there into life. The direction is the other way around. From life as it is experienced, with all its doubts and fears, back to the center. For such learning "he is most apt who brings with him the maximum of what is alien . . . not the mere specializing in Jewish matters . . . [but] the one who is groping his way home."

What shall the *havurah* study? Let them begin with themselves; with their uncertainties and disbeliefs and dreams of Judiasm. Let them pierce through the false outer conformity in which all believe, all practice and all enjoy Judaism. Such external compliance is no blessing. Theirs is a satisfaction borne of small expectation.

Rosenzweig did not take Jewish experts to teach at the Free Jewish School. He asked physicians and lawyers, businessmen and artists to form the faculty on the grounds that "Jewish learning includes Jewish teaching." The *havurah*, on a rotating basis, learns and teaches itself. To reach this end requires a struggle against a variety of fears. People are afraid of revealing their not knowing or

their not believing or their not behaving. They choose muteness and revel in the experts' articulateness. Such diffidence must be overcome. The motto of the *havurah* must be the obverse of the instruction of the Hagadah: "Though we, all of us, are not all wise and do not know, and do not understand the entire Torah, it is our Mitzvah to start learning." I can testify to some remarkable self discoveries of insight and intelligence by *haverim* consequent to breaking down the obstacles of false shyness by the group.

The stone of fear and shame has dammed up all kinds of sensitivities and intuitions in our laymen. The rabbi may release that lay energy by refusing to play the part of the ubiquitous, omniscient authority. He will provide the group with bibliographies, essays, articles, propose themes for discussion but he will not be their cultural vicar. We will see later that the same resistance to their initial calls for the rabbi to be the ritual vicar can be better managed within the context of the *havurah*.

The involvement of the *havurah* in self-growth brings them to the rabbi with different requests. They have been discussing abortion or capital punishment, the Bible or the rites of passage, and have come up against certain obdurate problems. Here is where the rabbi's sermon may become a contemporary responsum. The sermon need no longer be the Rabbi's mind-reading of questions the congregant may be asking but a dialogic response to *havurah* inquiries seriously posed.

The adult education program similarly promises to be more than a smorgasbord of speakers. It can reflect the needs and wants of the *havurot*. The author invited to speak will have his book studied by the *havurah* so that when he lectures they will listen differently and he, if he is informed beforehand that he has been read, will lecture differently.

The Celebratory Havurah

The *havurah* is no book club. Cerebration must not eclipse celebration. The *havurah* must be encouraged to celebrate the rhythm of the Jewish calendar. From the pulpit I have never succeeded in getting many of my congregants to build a Succah. The *havurah* has succeeded. One needs the encouragement and help of other families and the goal of a family dinner in the Succah to motivate such activity. I know what it means for children to see ten Jewish

males with hammers and nails and saws helping to build a Succah; for children to see their mothers gather flowers and fruit to decorate the Succah; to see Jews celebrating life without the rabbi and outside the synagogue but in one's own backyard.

These past Passovers since the formation of the *havurot*, have further demonstrated to me that theological seriousness requires an existential matrix. Formerly, it was I who planned the Seder for others, I who decided which Haggadah to use, to include or delete the ten plagues or the narration of Moses' life or "Pour out Thy wrath upon the nations." They, the laity only came and sat and ate and listened. And even when they came to the synagogue to hear me discuss the theological issues at stake in preparing for a Seder, Passover was my problem and the excitement of making a decision was all mine. These past years, when many of the *havurot* plan their own Sedarim, they began to wrestle with the Haggadah and with the decision to add and delete. Out of the need to know the songs of the Seder, there emerged the professional preparation of a Passover cassette of songs and commentary. The *havurah* has taught itself to sing. *At p'tach lo*. The cantor's task is to open their mouths in song.

The Personal Dimension Within the Havurah

A member of the *havurah* has moved into a new home. Who will officiate at the *hanukat ha-bayit*? The omnipresent rabbi, of course. With the emergence of the *havurah*, the joy of such Mitzvah is shared by the *havurah*. Each family brings something to the home: salt, honey, *hallah*, wine—and they recite a psalm or write a poem of good wishes. Not the rabbi, but the new owners of the home compose a statement in which they explain to what end they wish their home to be dedicated. The rabbi may be more eloquent, but nothing can substitute for a statement which comes out of the natural and personal sentiment of the participants.

Is the rabbinate rendered superfluous? Is the rabbi needed less with the rise of the *havurah*? On the contrary. The rabbi becomes important to the community only when the community itself shares his interests and participates in the sancta of our tradition. The "Jewish distance" between the rabbi and the psychological Jew made the rabbi indispensable as a functionary, but insignificant as a guide. He is needed everywhere but only to do that which others

cannot or care not to do for themselves. It is a noble saying which declares that nine rabbis do not make up a minyan, but ten laymen do. But we who have often arrived at the crowded homes of mourners have painfully observed the muteness of the assembly of Jews who come to life only with the rabbi's presence and ritual competence; de facto, ten laymen do not necessarily comprise a minyan.

The Extended Family

It is by now axiomatic that the modern family has shrivelled to a nucleus of two plus a child or children. In increasing numbers, the *havurot* have begun to share personal experiences and to demonstrate the kind of concern for each other once associated with the extended family. I think, for example, of the Bar Mitzvah which one *havurah* catered itself. They were discontented with the impersonalism of the commercial maitre d', the canned "traditional" candlelight ceremonies conducted by the hired band leader, and the like. They resolved to help celebrate the Bar Mitzvah of one of their *havurah* families. They brought the dishes of food, the wines and flowers; and on the Shabbat, the two families of the *havurah* participated in the service, shared the pulpit and were very much an extended *mishpacha*.

There was a death in the *havurah*. The widow had few members of the family around her; most were back East. I saw who was at the funeral who took care of the children during the black week of the *shivah*. The widow remained within the *havurah* and it is the *havurah* who "made the widow's heart to leap with joy."

We can no longer depend alone upon temple committees to visit the sick or comfort the bereaved. With the best of intentions, committee members of *bikkur holim* and *nichum avelim* rarely know the sick they visit or the bereaved they mean to comfort. It is different with the members of your *havurah*. The burden of pastoral visitations falls upon the rabbi alone. I recall visiting a woman in the hospital who complained that though she had been affiliated with the temple for over a decade, no one had visited her throughout her three week stay at the hospital. "But I am here," I answered. "I mean no disrespect, rabbi," she replied, "but you are not the con-

gregation." She would, I am certain, have had no cause for her justifiable complaint had the *havurah* been in existence and had she been part of a *havurah*.

Since the creation of the *havurot*, now three years in existence, our people are offered opportunities to express their Jewishness in a more natural and personal setting. During the recent economic depression in the aero-space industry, a number of engineers found themselves quite suddenly without employment. I know of *havurot* which drew together to help their *haverim*, making contacts for them with employers in related fields, assisting them in the writing of résumés, offering counsel and support to the families involved.

The *havurah* offers the synagogue member a community small enough to enable personal relationships to develop. It enables families to express their Jewishness without dependence upon experts, without the faceless relationship of the lecture hall. Hopefully the synagogue itself will gradually be transformed into a *havurat ha-havurot*, a Jewish assembly in which *havurot* meet for prayer, study and celebration, not as isolated men and women who have never experienced godliness, nor the joy of shared learning, nor the sense of community. One cannot continue talking about God, Torah and Israel to those who have no opportunity to experience elements of that sacred triad. The rabbi and cantor and educator cannot continue to serve as surrogates for the congregant. No one can feel for him, or think for him; no one can cry his tears or sing his songs.

My grandfather came to the synagogue because he was a Jew. His grandchildren come to the synagogue to become Jewish. My grandfather's synagogue and his rabbi had a function different from ours.

The synagogue whose audience is the psychological Jew is no longer the consequence of his Jewishness; it must become the cause of his Jewishness. Sabbath services will not celebrate his fidelities until he has labored six days outside the synagogue. When he enters the synagogue, having begun to taste the joys of Jewish growth with other families, he may understand what it is that rabbi is talking about. He will be prepared for creativity in Jewish theory and practice. Having experienced the warmth of *havurah*, he will heat up the synagogue from below.

PART THREE



ANTI-SEMITISM

INTRODUCTION



SIGNIFICANT LEVELS OF DISCRIMINATION against Jews first appear in the 1870's, after relatively harmless caricatures and a scattering of anti-Semitic incidents during the first two centuries of American Jewish life, including the Civil War.¹ The broad freedom and social acceptance of American Jews were now, for the first time, threatened by exclusion from upper-level social circles. This social discrimination, the result of the formation of fixed social groupings and the rapid rise to affluence of the first generation of German Jews, was a defensive reaction on the part of wealthy non-Jews, who began to create exclusive domains, especially in leisure-time facilities. With the appearance of ads in New York newspapers announcing that certain resort hotels were barring Jews, and the refusal of the fashionable Grand Union Hotel at Saratoga Springs to admit the prominent Jewish banker Joseph Seligman in 1877, we enter upon a period in which Jews were increasingly excluded from summer resort areas, social clubs, private schools, and other associations where membership conferred prestige and status.²

Behind this social discrimination lay the profound social changes of the Gilded Age. Older social elites found themselves faced with a growing struggle for place and power as rapid industrialization

threatened both their security and their prestige. Social discrimination served the dual purpose of keeping Jews “in their place” and enhancing and defining the social status of the older elites and the newer non-Jewish wealthy.³

Concomitantly, and continuing for three and a half decades, Jewish immigrants arrived from Eastern Europe. The presence of these (along with other) alien masses of new arrivals, the competition engendered by their rapid rise in economic status, and their feverish desire to achieve social integration led to the development of anti-Jewish stereotypes that featured a distinctive physiognomy, dress, vocabulary, and penchant for business. Buttressed by misapplied sociological and anthropological theories holding that the Jews were a “race” (as distinct from the Aryan “race”), this ideological anti-Semitism was a by-product of American nativism and xenophobia.⁴

It was also a response to the perceptible cultural gap between the older population and the new masses. Brahmins from New England and agrarians from the Midwest, the former suffering a loss of status and prestige and the latter hard-pressed and often debt-ridden, developed a view of the Jew as conniving and grasping, both the cause and symbol of their discontent. This portrait included elements of earlier Christian and anti-Semitism, the Shylock image, the fear that “Jewish bankers” were manipulating the gold market in order to keep money dear and hold American farm families in chronic debt, and an identification of Jews with the hated and feared city.⁵ As all of these fears and beliefs coalesced, the result was the beginning of serious and widespread anti-Semitism in immigration, employment agencies,⁶ corporations,⁷ city and suburban housing,⁸ and colleges and universities.⁹

The convergence of post-World War I disillusionment, isolationism, and xenophobia, as well as a sense of imminent danger from internal and external subversion forces, made a severe impact on war-weary Americans. The war dealt a profound shock to the traditional belief in the beneficence of a pluralistic society, and elicited a significant disapproval of diversity, both trends producing a new wave of nativist nationalism. As Oscar Handlin had noted, “numerous hatreds began to take form in economic and social discrimination and even in political action.”¹⁰

Most noticeably, the economic anti-Semitism that had emerged in the Populist Midwest a generation earlier was given a new vigor, as protests against monopoly capitalism, financial manipulation, and

“international bankers” were sounded by spokesmen for religious fundamentalists, farmers, other rural Americans, and small businessmen.¹¹ Jews, who comprised as much as 15 to 20 percent of Communist Party membership in the 1920’s, were easily linked to the international Bolshevik conspiracy, and the appearance of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a vicious anti-Semitic forgery which claimed, among other things, that the gold standard was a tool of Jewish world domination, provided further ammunition for malevolent economic stereotypes.

Henry Ford made the most of both themes. He ingeniously yoked the economic and political stereotypes together in his *Dear-born Independent* and launched an intensive campaign against the “Jewish menace” throughout much of the 1920’s. His publication of more than a million copies of *The International Jew*, a series of books based on the *Protocols*, “probably did more than any other work to make the *Protocols* world-famous.”¹²

While Ford was issuing his newspapers and books, discrimination in prestigious eastern colleges and universities sought to stem the rapid rise of the immigrant Jews. A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard’s president, brought the issue to national attention when he proposed at the 1922 commencement a quota system for Jewish students applying to Harvard. Despite Lowell’s desire “to preserve the representative character of the institution,” and despite abundant student support, a specially appointed faculty committee voted to oppose this overt discrimination. Informal quotas, nevertheless, became commonplace at leading undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools for another generation.¹³

With the Great Depression and the rise of Nazism, anti-Semitic groups and individuals in the United States repeated the now familiar accusations as a defense against Roosevelt’s social reforms. Groups like the Silver Shirts, Khaki Shirts, Green Mountain Boys, and others appealed to religious hatred, while an especially dangerous demagogue, Charles E. Coughlin, utilized the airwaves to bring his increasingly anti-Semitic message to millions of Americans. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest with a large lower-middle-class, urban Catholic following, buttressed his radio appeals with a magazine (*Social Justice*) that reprinted the *Protocols* and an organization (the Christian Front) which sponsored anti-Jewish rallies, protests, and merchant boycotts.¹⁴

Step by step, however, the New Deal provided a realistic basis of hope for working-class, farming, and unemployed sectors of the

economy. As the measures taken to seal the cracks in the societal structure began to bear fruit, the appeal of demagogues such as Coughlin had less and less impact. As World War II erupted, negative perceptions of Jews receded into the background.

Indeed, anti-Semitism was conspicuously absent from the post-World War II American scene. An analysis, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, of public opinion polls concerning attitudes toward Jews between 1937 and 1962 revealed that "anti-Semitism in all its forms massively declined in the United States between the prewar or war years and the early 1960's."¹⁵ While certain patterns of social discrimination persisted, especially in upper-level social and business institutions, these trends were clearly subordinated to a general affinity for Jews and Judaism in postwar America.

An exception came with the break in the long-established black-Jewish alliance in the middle and late 1960's. A growing disenchantment with the white "establishment," of which Jews were now a part, and a growing extremism in the rhetoric, and then the actions, of black militants, led to the exclusion of whites from the civil-rights movement. Jews, heavily represented among white activists, were vehemently rejected. As black separatism intensified, its leaders denounced exploiting landlords, gouging storekeepers, and patronizing teachers—occupational areas in which Jews figured conspicuously.¹⁶

The recent period has also seen the occasional emergence of an anti-Semitic fringe group of individuals. *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Arthur R. Butz, an associate professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, may serve as an example. Butz's book, published in England in 1976 and distributed by Noontide Press in Los Angeles, claims that the Nazi extermination of 6,000,000 European Jews did not take place; it was nothing more than a Zionist-inspired myth to create sympathy for the creation of a Jewish state.¹⁷

Isaac Deutscher once argued that the Jews were and would remain an identifiable group united only by the negative bond of anti-Semitism. He was not the first to contend that, in the final analysis, anti-Semitism is the major force making for Jewish survival. But with the decline of anti-Semitism as a major social and political factor, students of the life of Jews and Judaism in America are beginning to turn to alternative explanations for Jewish survival and vitality.¹⁸

The Jewish response to anti-Semitism, especially since the rise of

the Nazis, has been neither united nor consistent. Public resolutions from important organizations, pronouncements bearing the signatures of groups of prominent persons, and statements of eminent individuals, all protesting the Nazi persecution of the Jews, were already widespread in America by March 27, 1933, when the American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights announced a mass protest meeting in Madison Square Garden. The German Foreign Office informed the U.S. State Department that if the meeting were canceled, and if there were no more talk about atrocity stories, Berlin would moderate its treatment of German Jews. The organizers refused to yield, however, even in the face of quiet pressure from the American Jewish Committee and Anti-Defamation League, which regarded the protest as "excessive."

The rally led to the establishment of a Merchandising Council and, with the support of organized labor, to a boycott of German goods and services which began simultaneously in more than a dozen countries at the end of March. Although both the Committee and the B'nai B'rith publicly condemned the U.S. boycott in a joint statement on April 28, several Jewish organizations, led by the Jewish War Veterans and then the Congress and Jewish Labor Committee, actively supported this form of protest. The boycott was part of an overall program of mass demonstrations, processions, meetings, and rallies, a program that was neither "intelligent" nor "reasonable" according to the joint Committee-B'nai B'rith statement. The question of how best to deal with the Nazi rise to power aroused considerable controversy in the Jewish community.¹⁹

Typical actions of the boycott organizers included attempting to convince department stores (especially Jewish-owned outlets) not to sell German goods, urging leading universities not to purchase German-made books, and pressuring American buyers to find alternatives to their regular purchases of famous-name German goods.²⁰ The Jewish Labor Committee, formed in February 1934 specifically to unify the anti-Nazi activities of the various Jewish labor organizations in the United States—especially the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, Workmen's Circle, and United Hebrew Trades—represented the largely Yiddish-speaking, East European Jewish working masses. It expended much energy in successfully winning the support of non-Jewish leaders of organized labor, as well as Jewish laborers, to the anti-Nazi boycott movement.²¹

In the late 1960's a particularly vigorous response to a perceived

rise in anti-Semitism in America and to anti-Jewish activity in the Soviet Union was undertaken by a newly formed organization, the Jewish Defense League. The League, led by the charismatic Rabbi Meir Kahane of Rochdale Village Traditional Synagogue in Jamaica, Queens, surfaced in New York City in the fall of 1968, as JDL members escorted Jewish schoolteachers to and from their jobs during the black-Jewish tensions generated by the New York City school strike of 1968–69. The JDL then turned its attention to antiwhite and anti-Jewish crime committed by blacks in Passaic, N.J., which League members likened to *Kristallnacht*, when the Nazis smashed Jewish stores and destroyed synagogues. Thus the League's motto: "Never Again!"

Kahane initiated a program of karate, street patrols, rifle practice, and self-defense for Jews still remaining in the inner city environs in order, he stated, to change the image of the Jew as a "patsy" to one in which Jews would dish out revenge on the basis of "an eye for an eye." The Six Day War of 1967, in which Israel scored a lightning victory, gave some impetus to this new militancy. When black-Jewish tensions subsided, the JDL turned to demonstrations, disruptions, and sporadic violence against Soviet offices and agencies in the United States in an effort to "punish" the Soviet Union for its treatment of Jews.

The Jewish Defense League was consistently and vehemently denounced for its lawless activities by all the established Jewish agencies.²² Still, there can be no doubt Kahane struck a responsive chord among American Jewry, especially the Orthodox and the poor. His organization established branches in many cities, and significant crowds poured into synagogues across the nation to hear his message in the late 1960's and early 1970's. But by the mid-1970's the JDL phenomenon was largely over. The organization had failed to articulate a coherent program; the U.S. government was opposing its policy of taking the law into its own hands; and Kahane was encountering difficulties in Israel, where he was both violating the law and vociferously condemning the government for passivity vis-à-vis the Arabs and Soviets.

Today, many in the Jewish community look back on the JDL as a catalyst which sparked moderate Jews into action on vital concerns of American and overseas Jewry. Jews who may have boycotted South African dance troupes but attended performances by the Bolshoi Ballet were sensitized to the possibilities of small acts of protest and demonstration. The JDL also made Jews aware, a dec-

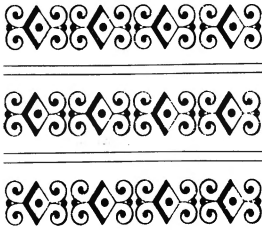
ade before the “Andrew Young affair,” that American blacks and Jews do harbor deep suspicions of each other. Finally, the JDL may even have given an impetus to Jewish organizations to become less busy serving other people’s causes and to devote more attention to their own people’s needs. This, at least, appeared to be one thrust of the Jewish “establishment” as the 1980’s dawned.

NOTES

1. On discrimination during the Civil War, see Joseph Lebowick, “General Ulysses S. Grant and the Jews,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 17 (1909):71–79, and Morris U. Schappes, ed., *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654–1875*, 3d ed., rev. (New York, 1971), pp. 462–64, 493–95.
2. Carey McWilliams, *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America* (Boston, 1948), pp. 3–7; Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, *Danger in Discord: Origins of Anti-Semitism in the United States* (New York, 1948), pp. 13–23.
3. John Higham, “Anti-Semitism Historically Reconsidered,” in Charles H. Stember et al., *Jews in the Mind of America* (New York, 1966), pp. 237–58.
4. Higham, “Social Discrimination Against Jews in America, 1830–1930,” *PAJHS* 47 (1957):1–33.
5. Arnold Rose, “Anti-Semitism’s Root in City Hatred,” *Commentary* 6 (1948):374–78.
6. Heywood Broun and George Britt, *Christians Only: A study in Prejudice* (New York, 1931), pp. 188–245.
7. E. Digby Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy and Caste in America* (New York, 1964).
8. Broun and Britt, pp. 246–67.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–187.
10. Oscar Handlin, “American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century,” *PAJHS* 40 (1951):323–44.
11. See “Papers on Populism,” *Agricultural History* 39 (1965):59–85.
12. Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the World Jewish Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (New York, 1967), p. 159. See also *The International Jew*; vol. 1, *The World’s Foremost Problem* (Dearborn, 1920); vol. 2 *Jewish Activities in the United States* (Dearborn, n.d.); vol. 3, *Jewish Influences in American Life* (Dearborn, n.d.); vol. 4, *Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States* (Dearborn, n.d.).
13. McWilliams, *Mask for Privilege*, pp. 132–41; *The American Scholar* 15 (1946):267–76.
14. Charles E. Coughlin, *I Take My Stand* (Detroit, 1940); Sheldon Marcus, *Father Coughlin* (Boston, 1973).
15. Stember et al., *Jews in the Mind of America*, p. 208.
16. Roi Ottley’s analysis of similar tensions during World War II are also

- helpful for understanding the 1960's; see "Jews in Negro Life" in *New World A-Coming: Inside Black America* (Boston, 1943), pp. 122–36.
17. Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, distributed by Noon-tide Press, 1976. Among the many neo-Nazi publications distributed in the United States during the 1970's is Richard Hardwood's *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*.
 18. Arthur Hertzberg, *Being Jewish in America: The Modern Experience* (New York, 1978).
 19. *Tog*, March 23, May 8, 13, 14, and August 9, 1933; *New Palestine*, February 8, 1935; *New York World Telegram*, February 5, 1935; Joseph M. Proskauer, *A Segment of My Times* (New York, 1950), pp. 196ff and 273ff.
 20. *New York Times*, June 4, 1933; *New Palestine*, February 7, 1936; Samuel Untermyer, *The Boycott Is Our Only Weapon Against Nazi Germany* (New York, 1933).
 21. "The Jewish Labor Committee, 1938." In the archives of the Jewish Labor Committee, New York.
 22. *Congress Bi-Weekly*, May 22, 1970, pp. 6–8; *New York Times Magazine*, November 27, 1971, pp. 32–33+; *Playboy* (October 1972), pp. 69–70+.

1 EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM



THE GILDED AGE

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the German Jews had come of age in America. Ambition and drive had propelled them quickly upward, and their wealth—as well as their discomfort with it—became conspicuous. The result was that social anti-Semitism, or “polite discrimination,” spread like wildfire through the summer resorts of New York and New Jersey. The resorts, as Alice Rhine pointed out in her 1887 Forum article, combined indiscriminate social mingling with vigorous social aspirations, and discrimination became a potent weapon for those convinced that the Jews were trying to rise a bit too fast. The actual arguments of a representative beach resort owner, offer a glimpse into the mentality that justified discrimination.

Far more ominous was the emergence of racial anti-Semitism in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century. The book that inaugurated racial anti-Semitism in American was Telemachus Timayeneis’ The American Jew. His first anti-Semitic publication, The Original Mr. Jacobs: A Startling Expose (1888), portrayed the Jews as economic manipulators bent on using their financial acumen to topple Aryan civilization. Timayeneis, A Greek immigrant, modeled this first effort on Drumont’s La France Juive, and his The American Jew also owes a great deal to European anti-Semitic publications of the 1880’s. This second volume set

the pattern for the numerous racist works to emerge in America during the 1920's and 1930's.

One thrust of such literature, and a prominent argument in *The American Jew*, is the ease with which this clearly identifiable "race" is able to destroy the foundations of Aryan civilization. The portrait drawn of them by Timayeneis emphasizes their physical appearance ("hooked noses," for example) and genetic inferiority, and portrays them as evil and purposeful parasites whose "poisonous work" would cause the "deterioration and destruction" of Christian values, the American economy, and Aryan civilization generally. Such racist arguments ultimately helped close the doors to immigrants in the 1920's.

Economic distress, agrarian crises, and urban strikes provided the impetus for Timayeneis' stereotypes of "blood sucking Shylocks." He not only portrayed the Jew as having a distinctive occupation ("a dealer, jobber [and] trader" who "despise[s] manual labor") and a "pervasive concern with money," but also claims that the unusual drive and ambition of the Jews (only recently a people with "no resources") has propelled them upward both rapidly ("within a few years . . . prominent positions in the financial world") and conspicuously. This "desire to more rapidly save and accumulate," he argues, is accompanied by "social ambition, ostentation, [and] impudence," as some Jews rise too quickly to acquire the discipline of culture. Although their "success in the business world [is] simply phenomenal," it is "display[ed] with vulgar effrontery."

Finally the author invokes the shadow of the emerging metropolitan centers. The squalid conditions of the urban centers—so much feared in the 1890's—are linked with the Jews, the urban people par excellence. The "Jewish Ghetto" is illuminated as a center of "physical degradation, squalor, misery and dirt," and the "Jew alone, impoverished, undernourished and dirty," is pictured as the cause of this degradation.

THE JEWS AND CONEY ISLAND, 1879

Reviving a Prejudice.

Jewish Patronage Not Welcomed at Manhattan Beach.—Mr. Corbin's Denunciation.—The Distinctions of a Past Saratoga Season Re-made.

The war against the Jews, which was carried on at Saratoga two years ago [1877] is apparently to be revived at Coney Island. This

time it is in a quarter where the Jewish residents of New York City are particularly aimed at. Several days ago a rumor was circulated to the effect that Austin Corbin, the President of the Manhattan Beach Company, had taken an open stand against admitting Jews to the beach or hotel. This report was on Sunday strengthened by a statement from Mr. P. S. Gilmore, the leader of the Manhattan Beach band, who said that Mr. Corbin told him he was going to oppose the Jews, and that he would rather "sink" the two millions invested in the railway and hotel than have a single Israelite take advantage of its attractions. A representative of the *Herald* called upon Mr. Corbin at his banking establishment in the new Trinity building, No. 115 Broadway, yesterday, to ascertain what foundation there was for these most extraordinary rumors. Mr. Corbin at first exhibited some timidity about talking on the subject, but finally invited the reporter into his private office, where he was joined by his brother and partner, Daniel C. Corbin.

"You see," he began, "I don't want to speak too strongly, as it might be mistaken for something entirely different from its intended sense. Personally I am opposed to Jews. They are a pretentious class, who expect three times as much for their money as other people. They give us more trouble on our road and in our hotel than we can stand. Another thing is, that they are driving away the class of people who are beginning to make Coney Island the most fashionable and magnificent watering place in the world."

"Of course, this must affect business?"

"Why, they are hurting us in every way, and we do not want them. We cannot bring the highest social element to Manhattan Beach if the Jews persist in coming. They won't associate with Jews, and that's all there is about it."

"Do you intend to make an open stand against them?"

"Yes, I do. They are contemptible as a class, and I never knew but one 'white' Jew in my life. The rest I found were not safe people to deal with in business. Now, I feel pretty warm over this matter, and I will write a statement which you can publish."

Mr. Corbin sat down at his desk and wrote a few sentences on a slip of paper, as follows:—

"We do not like the Jews as a class. There are some well behaved people among them, but as a rule they make themselves offensive to the kind of people who principally patronize our road and hotel, and I am satisfied we should be better off without than with their custom."

"There," said he, handing the statement to the reporter, "that is my opinion, and I am prepared to follow up the matter. It is a question that has to be handled without gloves. It stands this way:—We must have a good place for society to patronize. I say that we cannot do so and have Jews. They are a detestable and vulgar people. What do you say, eh, Dan?"

This last sentence was addressed to his brother, Mr. Daniel Corbin, who had taken an active part in the conversation. "Dan" said, with great emphasis, "Vulgar? I can only find one term for them, and that is nasty. It describes the Jews perfectly."

Mr. Austin Corbin then spoke warmly of the loss sustained by the Manhattan Beach Company in consequence of Israelitish patronage.

"Do you mean, Mr. Corbin, that the presence of Jews attracts the elements of ruffianism?" asked the reporter.

"Not always. But the thing is this. The Jews drive off the people whose places are filled by a less particular class. The latter are not rich enough to have any preference in the matter. Even they, in my opinion, bear with them only because they can't help it. It is not the Jew's religion I object to; it is the offensiveness which they possess as a sect or nationality. I would not oppose any man because of his creed."

"Will the other members of the Manhattan Beach Company support you in your position?"

"I expect them to. They know just as much about it as I do, and no reasonable man can deny that the Jews will creep in a place just as it is about to become a grand success and spoil everything. They are not wanted at the Beach, and that settles it."

"Have you spoken to any other members about it?"

"No; But I guess they know my opinions."

Mr. Corbin rose from the chair he had been sitting in and paced the floor. "I tell you," said he, running his fingers through his hair, "if I had had my way and there was no one to consult in the matter but myself, I would have stopped the Jews from coming long ago. You just publish my statement. It covers the whole ground, and I mean every word of it."

Mr. Corbin concluded the conversation by telling the reporter to be sure and not give the impression that he was warring against the Jewish religion, but he stigmatized the Jews as having no place in first-class society.

The publication of this article created a great local excitement, not only among the Jews, but throughout the community.

Mr. Corbin subsequently denied the correctness of the *Herald* report, but the *Herald* has vehemently insisted upon its accuracy.

The Hebrews of New York were indignant. The middle and lower classes of Jews considered themselves more directly aimed at. Violent expressions were freely indulged in, and a public "indignation meeting" was talked of—but only talked of.

The question of religions and race prejudice and intolerance being also regarded as involved in the matter, the subject was elaborately and excitedly discussed pro and con in general circles, entirely outside of the Hebrew lines.

The *Herald*, naturally enough, for its own newspaper purposes, made the most of its own sensation, and ere the end of the week all classes and sections of the city and community were exercised upon the theme of "The Jews and Coney Island."

RACE PREJUDICE AT SUMMER RESORTS, 1887

When the words "race prejudice" are heard in connection with "summer resorts," society knows at once that allusion is made to that feeling of antagonism to the Jews which has taken the form of ostracizing them from American watering-places. This prejudice, in its outward expression at least, is a new feature in the New World. Only within the present decade has there been an anti-Jewish sentiment openly displayed in the United States. The unenviable notoriety of having brought into publicity this prejudice against the Jews attaches to Mr. Hilton of New York. From the founding of the colonies in America until his announcement, excluding Jews from his hotel, so little distinction had been made between the representatives of the two races that fears were seriously entertained by orthodox Jews that their people, being so small a minority, might become absorbed in the Christian population. There seemed no reason why any difference should be made; the Jew was among the best of citizens; intellectually and morally he was the equal of the Christian; in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the country he had taken quite as active a part. He had fought by the side of the Christian in the wars by which the States had won independence and by which popular government had been vindicated. No better patriots were in the nation, none had risked their lives more generously, none had sacrificed wealth more freely. In Jewish homes, made desolate, Jewish wives and

mothers mourned their dead left on battle-fields and in prisons. No citizens were prouder of the country they lived in. The more grievous, therefore, was the affront offered them in the edict of discrimination. In a country less large than America Mr. Hilton's manifesto, by itself, would have been unworthy of notice; but experience had taught the Hebrews to see in this first sharply defined distinction against them the possibility of others. They knew that one overt act of persecution was likely to lead to another.

According to the newspapers of the time, public opinion was entirely with the Jews. Mr. Hilton's action was denounced as detrimental to his own interests, and opposed to the feelings of the whole Christian community. There was no necessity, it was said, to hold public meetings expressive of disapprobation, because Christian sympathy was manifestly with the outraged Hebrews. The assertion was made that although Mr. Hilton had the undoubted right to do as he pleased with his own property, he would find no one disposed to imitate his example. Many men of eminence, among them William Cullen Bryant, expressed the opinion that a prejudice so opposed to the spirit of American institutions could have only a momentary existence. Editors of standing had only terms of disdain for what they called "Mr. Hilton's revelation of religious bigotry and race hatred." It was contended by them that any movement in the nineteenth century tending to injure the Jews was an anachronism, and that "the Jews ought to view with scientific curiosity, rather than with personal annoyance, the survival, in such a remnant, of a mediaeval prejudice."

These predictions have not been verified. A host of hotel and boarding-house proprietors throughout the State of New York have followed the example set at Saratoga. Instead of being avoided, these places are filled with Christian patrons, and both the hosts and the guests, in copying Mr. Hilton, have imagined themselves to be doing "the genteel thing;" the one in refusing to receive Jews into their houses, the other to associate with Jews. In the Catskills, especially, this proscription has increased year by year, until at the present time more than half the Jewish applicants for board are refused accommodation. It is remarked that this prejudice against the Jews is most pronounced among the patrons of cheap board-houses, where the charges are from five to ten dollars a week. During the past few years the larger hotels have, in a great measure, nullified edict, and accommodate almost all who apply to them. Still the singular spectacle is to be observed, in the

Catskills, of a nearly equal division of the cottages into two classes, those whose occupants are all Jews, and those which shelter only Christians.

In seeking reasons for this sweeping ostracism, it is found that the Gentiles charge the Hebrews with being "too numerous;" "they swarm everywhere," and, like the Egyptian locusts, eat up the produce of the land. More specifically, it is alleged that "the Jew as a race lack social refinement." It is said of them that their ill-breeding shows itself in an ignorance of the canons of good taste in dress, which causes them to affect "patent leather boots, showy trousers, and conspicuous and vulgar jewelry." It is charged against them that they display a disregard of table etiquette, and ignorance of the courtesies of the drawing-room; also, that they show a marked disrespect for the Christian Sabbath, by playing cards in their rooms with doors ajar, so that passing boarders may see. Hotel-keepers complain that the Jews make close bargains for their rooms. Bar-keepers, and purveyors of pleasures and amusements of whatever kind, say that Israelites spend less money at the watering-places than Christians. At the same time it is charged that as a race "they attract public attention by a vulgar ostentation." It is said of them that "they have a tendency to get the best rooms, to the exclusion of the Christian." A common grievance is, that as soon as a Jew can afford it he will try to get into society that is above him, rather than remain where he is best fitted by education to stay. This species of Boswellism is considered a peculiarly Jewish characteristic. In other ways, too, the ignorant and ill-bred among the Israelites are said to resemble Johnson's satellite; they have been likened to "that vain, heedless blabber in whom the sycophant alternated with the braggadocio and coxcomb; who gloried when the tailor made a new man of him by a court suit; and who endured being snubbed, laughed at, and contradicted, so that he might be in society he considered above him." Some people assert that the Jews are afflicted with "a general obtrusiveness that is frequently disgusting and always objectionable to the well-bred." Others insist that they are "too exclusive," and that they shun the Christians when thrown into contact with them at the summer resorts.

Regarding the first of these charges, it is to a degree hyperbolic to affirm that "the Jews swarm everywhere." In America, according to the latest statistics, the whole number of Israelites, in a population of fifty-five millions, is two hundred and fifty thousand. There are, therefore, two hundred Christians in the United States to one

Jew. These two hundred and fifty thousand Jews are scattered all over the country. They are to be met with from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico; from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Not a distant fort, not a frontier town, scarcely a village in the most sparsely settled Territories but contains one or more Jewish families. To say that such a minority so scattered, must be boycotted for being too numerous, is ridiculous in the extreme.

In assigning grounds for the prejudice against this minority, no vices are charged to the Jews. It is not asserted that they do not pay their bills promptly, or that they are drunkards, or are in anywise immoral in their behavior; indeed, they are praised as being the reverse of all this. What they are accused of is a vulgarity so great as to counterbalance their virtue. This charge of vulgarity as a cause for social ostracism is scarcely better sustained than that of undue numbers. The picture which is painted of Jewish ill-breeding represents the newly enriched of all creeds and of every race. It does not image a whole people, but simply part of a class. It portrays the characteristics of the great Snob family, that family whose branches ramify through all nations.

In New York the Jewish population scarcely numbers 2 per cent of the whole. This body, like every other analogous section of the general population, comprises three more or less clearly defined classes, or elements: the poor, or those who depend absolutely on each day's labor for each day's necessities; those in easier circumstances, including those who, once poor, have achieved large fortunes—the *nouveaux riches*, who, of whatever race they may be, are proverbial for vulgarity and self-assertion; and the leisured class, consisting mostly of those who have inherited wealth, with its accompanying advantages. The offenders against the social proprieties are obviously to be found chiefly among the *nouveaux riches*, in the rather technical sense of "self-made men who are too loud in praise of their maker." Now, of this particular element, or sub-element, it is doubtful if it exists in larger proportion among the Jews than in the rest of the population. No; Jews are not, beyond all other men, offenders against the canons of correct taste in dress, of table etiquette, or of social courtesy. The reputation of bad manners has come to the Hebrews from those whom Emerson calls "the Mercuries of society"—those who regulate what shall be approved and what condemned; and when these "chamberlains of the lesser gods" condemn the Jews, there are three chances out of four that it is the habits of foreigners, not of Jews alone, which call down their animadversions.

It is known that on the European continent people are more social and unrestrained in their habits and pleasures than in England. While Americans copy more and more the cold reserve practiced by their English cousins, Germans, wherever they may be, prefer their native sociability. In Germany stranger speaks to stranger in the railway carriage, in the public gardens, at the *table d'hôte*. A German, therefore, be he Jew or Christian, does not think when he is at an American watering-place, that he is committing an intrusion when he attempts to open a conversation with people among whom he is thrown.

He is also equally ignorant of his transgressions on Sunday, for in Europe, outside of England, Sunday laws are unknown. Bismarck's description is still fresh in the people's minds, of the disgust with which he witnessed the observance of Sunday in England, the terrible *ennui* he felt at the restraint imposed upon him by the Puritan Sabbath. To the German, Sunday means a day of pleasure, and rest from accustomed toil. It is everywhere the happiest day of the week; and any American who has spent a season at one of the many famous watering-places in Germany will testify to the fact that, with the exception of a visit to church, Sunday is passed in much the same manner as the preceding days. Now, most of the Jews who are accused of violating the Christian Sabbath by playing cards and indulging in other amusements are foreigners, who are only doing what they have always been accustomed to do, and to see done, in their native land. That they devote the day of rest to enjoyment, and do this with open doors, is not through lack of consideration for Christian feeling in regard to Sunday, but because they are not aware that such a feeling exists. Besides, even in America, Christians are not agreed as to the manner of spending a Sunday in the country. Many sincere Christians take part in sports and amusements on that day without scruple, thus disproving the imputation of a special and peculiar contempt on the part of the Jews for the Christian Sabbath.

But more curious than this charge of irreverence is the double accusation made against the Jews, of being at once ostentatious and parsimonious. How is it possible that people shall both parade their wealth and be penurious? If they obtain the best rooms at hotels, must not the Hebrews pay more for the accommodation? Or, perchance, do the hotel-keepers favor Jews by giving them the best at lower rates than their Christian competitors? Evidently those Jews cannot be miserly who desire to get the best rooms at the best hotels, who purchase expensive clothes, and who buy and wear

costly jewelry. The charge of being "close" has come in great measure from the circumstance that Jews, as a rule, care not for the excitements of the gaming-table or the pleasures of the bar-room—both very facile ways of parting with money. An inherent disposition on the part of Jews toward temperance and morality does little to commend them in the eyes of landlords who expect to make large gains from bar-rooms and gambling-hells, or whose prosperity depends on the patronage of the frequenters of horse-races and the like.

The existing state of acute antipathy owes its origin in part to a prevailing Christian ignorance concerning the Jews; partly, again, to the idle lives led during the summer season by the frequenters of seaside and mountain resorts. In the absence of more entertaining topics, personalities are the staple of conversation. An inborn prejudice against the Jews brings the brunt of criticism to bear upon them. Their pronounced racial characteristics betray them wherever they go. There is no disguising their features, for these are the same whether their possessors are born in Oriental or in western lands. The accidents of climate or of condition in life are powerless to change them as they do men of other races. Children of German Lutherans, in the second or third American generation, cannot be distinguished from typical New Englanders; the Jew, after centuries of residence, retains in every place the peculiar physiognomy seen on the early Egyptian monuments.

In the majority of cases the prejudice against the Jew has its root far deeper than any dislike of his external or adventitious qualities. The Christian dislike has its remoter historic cause in the obstinacy with which Jews deny the Messiahship of Jesus. It is said that "the only sin which we never forgive is difference of opinion." So the refusal of the Jews to accept the divinity of Christ, with their terrible responsibility for the crucifixion, is an ever-present ground of dislike in the Christian mind. The antipathy felt toward the Jews as deicides is hardly less strong to-day than it was in the times when the Hebrew was formally *exlex*, and under the ban of state and church. Hatred and contempt for the Jew the infant imbibes with its mother's milk, and it is intensified by the teachings of governesses, Sunday-schools, and church.

While these inherited and acquired antipathies are the common property of the common people, Christians of open and cultivated minds in every land have endeavored to combat them. In our own country many writers have risen in defense of the Jews. . . . It has

been said that the Jew is seldom vile. The statistics of crime afford impressive though negative evidence of the civic worth and virtue of this race. Although Jewish citizens pay liberal taxes to build and support prisons and eleemosynary institutions, they are seldom occupants of either. Charged with devoting themselves entirely to the service of Mammon, the imputation is disproved by the circumstance that the money kings of America, the great monopolists, the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Russell Sages, are Christians, not Jews. Greed for gold has seldom led them, after the fashion of defaulting bank cashiers, to betray trusts reposed in them. Nor are sharp practice in finance and fraudulent schemes for gaining wealth chargeable in any large proportion to Jews. The ministers who bring disgrace and scandal upon religion are Christian clergymen, not Jewish rabbis. While they are a people with "Oriental sunlight in their blood," moving them to passionate impulses, the energies of the Hebrews tend generally to the higher emotions. . . . They are also among the foremost of the advanced thinkers of the age. In all lands, they champion the right of humanity to an equal enjoyment of human liberty. The kindest of all the nations of the earth, they bear no malice for the wrongs inflicted on them, either in the past, which were great enough to have exterminated them or reduced them to a nation of idiots, or in the present, which are intended to humiliate them. Their paramount kindness expends itself further in charities, which, like those related of the Sultan Osman, "are bestowed on all alike who are needy, regardless of creeds." But so far the proof of Jewish worth and virtue has been made in vain. Society refuses to tolerate the Jews upon any such ground as a superior morality. Mrs. Potiphar declares, with Mrs. Grundy, that she goes abroad in the summer, not to be moral, but to be amused by being with congenial people; and she finds the Hebrew race not only not amusing, but unpleasant. It matters not that her idea of the Jews may be founded solely on the fact that she once "knew a Mr. Jacobson who was very unpleasant;" society will accept her verdict as conclusive.

On their part, the Israelites are too sensible to show any signs of displeasure of these manifestations of prejudice. Injured as they must feel themselves to be, they accept the situation and do the best they can. They console themselves in modern as in ancient times for Christian contempt, by clinging more closely in their isolation to the affections of home; by cultivating to a greater degree, for the pleasures of the social circle, whatever artistic and intellectual

abilities they possess. To the Jew more than to the man of any other race is home a sanctuary, an asylum, the one place on earth where, if anywhere, happiness is for him attainable. It were, indeed, strange if the Hebrews had learned nothing of the theory and practice of domestic life during the long series of miserable years when, shut up in Ghettos, Judenstrassen, Giudeccas, and Jewries, they were thrown entirely upon the home for their pleasures. Denied all share in the public amusements common to the rest of the world, the home had to supply to the Hebrews the pleasures and relaxations they needed; the family circle was to them, during those bitter ages of oppression, what tilts, tournaments, balls, theaters, and clubs were to their tormentors.

“To a high-spirited race, persecution, when there is a hope of overcoming it, is a spur to action.” With that versatility which enables them to imbibe the spirit of the people among whom they live, with their capacity to assimilate new cultures, such of the Jewish people as may now be ignorant of social conventionalities will acquire “refinements of dress,” “modulated tones of voice,” and “table and drawing-room etiquette.” When in the future the most perfect development in this direction has been effected, is it likely that a superior amount of refinement will cause the Jews to be looked on with more favor by their fellow-citizens? Will an extraordinary knowledge of fashions and etiquette be an “Open, Sesame!” to mountain, valley, and seaside hotels, now hedged in with the sign “No Hebrews need apply”? Alas, it is to be feared, no! In all civilizations, it has been said, “the Jew must be of gold to pass for silver,” but when he is of thrice refined gold he is still “only a Jew.” For centuries it has been impossible to say a man is a Jew without the intention to reproach him for being a Jew. For the obliteration of a prejudice so unjust the Israelite can only look forward with hope to a time when a broader culture shall prevail among his Christian fellow-men.

“THE AMERICAN JEW”: AN ANTI-SEMITIC TRACT OF THE 1880’S

Chapter I.

“The Jew is the stain in the picture of civilization, the bad genius of the earth.” —GUSTAVE TRIDON.

Toward the close of the year 1825 a band of Polish Jews, about one

hundred in number, landed in New York. Previously there were hardly any Jews in this country. This band was under the leadership of one Gugenheim; and as they travelled through Europe to the land of their destination, they reminded one of those patriarchal families so often mentioned in the Old Testament. They were bound together, not only by the ties of common religion, but by those of common misfortune; for they had suffered persecution at the hands of the Russians, which persecution, however, they fully merited.

These Jews, when first seen by the people of this country, presented a type different from any of the other immigrants that ever have landed upon our hospitable shores. They attracted unusual attention by their hooked noses, restless eyes, elongated ears, square nails, flat feet, round knees, and soft hands.

Myriads of parasites could be seen by the naked eye, nestling upon their dirty heads. They wore long coats dripping with filth, while their faces and beards looked suety with sluttishness.

The above description of this batch of Jew emigrants is not in the least exaggerated.

Not one among them had with him any other wearing apparel than the scanty garments he wore. When they landed they had no friends to welcome them; they had no resources; they were ignorant of the language of the country; and it was doubtful whether one among them had sufficient money to pay for a night's rest in the cheapest Bowery lodging-house of to-day. But within a few years after their arrival we find the greater part of these Jews occupying prominent positions in the financial world of the metropolis. Later on we find their descendants prominent as bankers in New York, prominent as bankers in Chicago, in St. Louis, and in other leading cities in the United States. It is the descendants of the above described Jew immigrants, who to-day display with vulgar effrontery their wealth, who control the clothing business, the tobacco business, the sugar business, of this great country, and who establish newspapers that cast a stigma upon American journalism, and who seek to direct and mould public opinion.

How have these Jews accomplished all this? Is it by their surpassing intelligence? No. There is no race of men more intelligent than the Aryan. Is it by any useful invention on their part, or by devoting themselves to mechanical pursuits? No, certainly not.

Again, the most diligent inquiry fails to discover any considerable number of Jew farmers throughout the territory of the United

States. One will look long before he finds a Jew laborer among the workmen who build our railroads, work our mines, or develop the resources of this country.

The Jew's soft hands and curved fingers grasp only the values that others have produced. Wherever the Jew is allowed to establish himself, dishonesty takes the place of honesty; immorality, of virtue; disease, of health; sluttishness, of cleanliness; anarchy, of order. One has but to study the social and political history of the different nations in Europe, during the last fifty years, to discover the poisonous work of the Jew. He has sapped the foundations of every government. He has reduced France from a nation of first rank to a second-class power. He has made Russia to writhe under incessant internal revolutions. He has ruined Turkey. He has so thoroughly impregnated England with his own Jewish cowardice, that England's martial spirit has sadly deteriorated. He is now carrying out his work of deterioration and destruction in the United States. From the time when the Jew first appeared upon the face of the earth, to this day, history does not record a single invention that can be claimed by the Jews.

They have never founded a state of any magnitude, though they have always been more numerous than the Romans, who conquered the world, and now exceed in numbers any of the minor peoples in Europe. With a momentary exception in Moorish Spain, they have never dominated any people, or conciliated any people, even in the East, where they have had fair chances, or founded any great city. They have never produced a great soldier, and we cannot yet credit them with a statesman of the first class. Lord Beaconsfield [Benjamin Disraeli] was hardly more than a great party leader in politics, though he had a certain genius for apprehending the passing waves of emotion in the British people. Herr Lasker has never overthrown a government; M. Fould was only a clear-headed banker; and Sir H. Drummond Wolff has scarcely made a mark.

The peculiar way the Jew has of accomplishing his diabolical work, or of "getting along," to use his own expression, can be best illustrated by studying the early history of the little band of Jew immigrants above referred to.

They began life in the New World as itinerant venders of cheap notions. For their petty stock in trade, consisting of pencils, pens, stockings, pocketbooks, and of all manner of odds and ends, they were trusted; but every night they were obliged to make returns of

sales made to the one who had supplied them with the goods. Gradually they increased their little capital, and next they became receivers of stolen goods; and, to this day, it is the Jews who control this peculiar industry in all our cities. They established pawnshops, made advances for which an exorbitant rate of interest was charged, exercised every manner of usury, and introduced crookedness and theft in all transactions. They established petty stores, stocked them with an insignificant amount of cheap goods, insured them far beyond their actual value, and shortly afterward set fire to them, collected the insurance, and repeated this crime from time to time throughout the country. Thus they grew rich.

This crime of incendiarism, previous to the advent of the Jews, was with us, comparatively speaking, unknown. The Jews mulcted the insurance-companies of vast sums of money before the companies became aware of the fraud practised upon them. It is a matter of record, that many of the leading insurance-companies to-day hesitate, and often refuse, to insure the stock of any one having a Jewish countenance or a Jewish name. Recently the president of a large insurance-company telegraphed to his agent in Chicago, "Look carefully before taking any risks offered by men whose name end in *ein, ky, or kie.*" Good advice, indeed!

It has been said that the Jews despise manual labor. Who has ever heard of a Jew miner? Still, no sooner is the mining-camp established than it is followed by Jew vampires, who rob the sturdy miner of his hard-earned wages, by every kind of deceit. The Irishman, the German, the Italian, in a word, the immigrant from every part of the world, has contributed, and still contributes, more or less to the prosperity of our country. The Jew, we repeat it, has never done any thing tending to increase the national prosperity. He only seeks the fat of the land. He only thrives upon what others produce.

We have been accused of being Jew-baiters, of wishing "to create a revolution" against the Jews. This is not true. We despise only villany, and our aim is to direct the attention of Americans to the danger that lurks in the Jew.

Chapter II.

What is worshipped in a Ghetto is not the God of Moses; it is the frightful Semitic Moloch, who claims as victims children and virgins.—THE ORIGINAL MR. JACOBS.

New York, like Rome, has its Ghetto, or low Jewish quarter. And it is safe to most emphatically declare that in physical degradation, squalor, misery, and dirt, the New-York Ghetto is unsurpassed by that of the Eternal City, or of any great metropolis on the face of the earth.

The New-York Ghetto—and that is the name by which it is duly styled by the officials of the board of health, and of police headquarters—is situated in those narrow thoroughfares on the East Side, lying between Grand and Catherine and Ludlow and Division Streets. The houses in the Ghetto are all tall, narrow, noisome tenements, packed from basement to roof with swarming, unwashed humanity. The locality is practically given over exclusively to the descendants of Israel, the disgusting habits and extreme filth of the latter being such as to drive away from the immediate vicinage even the most miserable and lowest representatives of other races.

Enter one of these frightful tenements given over to the sons and daughters of Israel, and the nostrils are instantly assailed on the very threshold by fearful stench, which can best be compared to the odor arising from vegetables in a highly advanced state of decomposition. Pass a little farther along the hallway, and the malodorous atmosphere becomes so thick with putrescent exhalations as to suggest the idea that you could cut it with a knife. The walls are disfigured with great streaks and blotches of foul moisture and dirt; and vermin—those faithful little companions of the Jews, even to the wealthiest—are to be detected at not infrequent intervals.

Turn into the apartments branching off from these ghastly hallways, and you will find them ill-ventilated, pestilential, and filthy in the extreme. So overcrowded are they as to suggest the worst portions of the Chinese colony in San Francisco. In many instances a father, mother, grown-up daughter and son, and several little olive-branches of Israel, big-bellied, big-nosed, and in more or less advanced stages of development and dirt, are to be found occupying the same sleeping apartment. Only a Jew could live in such an atmosphere of moral and physical debasement, and survive.

And yet poverty cannot be ascribed as the cause of the Jew of the Ghetto living in this way. He lives—yes, and thrives—in this wretchedness and filth, partly because filth is congenial to him, and partly from a desire to more rapidly save and accumulate the only thing in this world he cares for,—dollars and cents. Many of these Jews of the Ghetto are far better off than Gentiles living in neat and

well-appointed flats on the West Side. Some of them are, in fact, quite well-to-do. Later on, perhaps, they will branch out as merchants in leading thoroughfares, with social ambitions, and the regulation amount of Jewish ostentation, impudence, and arrogance. Their sons will figure at Delmonico's, and at the swell summer resorts, and clamor for admission at the fashionable clubs. But launch out as they may, array themselves in broadcloth and fine linen as they will, the stink of the Ghetto, and mayhap some of its vermin, will cling to them still.

No matter how wretched or how low he may be, the Jew rarely becomes a workman,—a creator, speaking in a political-economy sense, of wealth. On the contrary, he almost invariably figures as a dealer, a jobber, a trader. Thus none of the Jews of the Ghetto are laborers or artisans, but are to a unit street salesmen, peddlers, and petty traders. One of the chief forms of avocation in the Ghetto is the peddling of fish, fruit, poultry, and meat.

And what fish, what fruit, what meat! In his greed to acquire gain, the Jew does not hesitate at poisoning an entire community. The fish he sells is decayed, the fruit rotten, the meat putrid. Thousands of human beings are sickened and sent down to their graves every year, in New York, by the fruit, the fish, the poultry, and the meat peddled by the Jew of the Ghetto.

And how does it happen that the food peddled by these miserable wretches is in this shocking condition?

Happen! It is not a question of happening: it is a matter of design, for the Jew drags the four corners of the city to secure this putrid food. He haunts the markets of the city, buying up food which has become stale on the dealers' hands, and is either on the point of becoming decayed, or has already passed into a state of putrescence. He hangs round the docks at which vessels have arrived, and buys up remnants of stores which remain unconsumed after the voyage. The more rotten the food, the better it pleases the Jew, for it is so much the cheaper.

Having thus collected this filthy food, the Jew takes it to his dirty quarters in the Ghetto, where it is pawed over by the unwashed fingers of the other members of the household; and after its cost has been duly quibbled over and discussed, it is fixed up in the best shape possible for sale. The Jew of the Ghetto has, of course, no storing-place; and, consequently, the food is kept in the overcrowded dwelling apartments, until such time as it can be hawked in the streets.

Imagine a couple of filthy rooms occupied by two, perhaps four,

unwashed adults, and half a dozen dirt-bedaubed brats; the ceiling damp with slimy moisture; cockroaches and vermin crawling over the furniture; and great lines of decaying fruit, or fish, or meat, strung across from wall to wall,—imagine such a scene, and you have a picture of a Jew tenement in the Ghetto.

The day after making his purchase of the refuse of the markets, the Jew sallies forth with his hand-truck, or cart, to sell his unwholesome supply. He is usually accompanied by his wife, or by one of the elder olive-branches of Israel. He stations himself on some street-corner in a poor but populous thoroughfare, and by his cheap prices tempts the unwary to buy. He sells his wares, laden down as they are with the germs of disease, alike to the unsophisticated housewife, and to the innocent child, without one touch of pity, without one sting of remorse. He is as a grinning skeleton, a figure of evil, standing by the wayside and scattering the fetid germs of disease and death among wayfarers, young and old, as they pass him by. . . .

Chapter XIV

. . . Let the Jews of this country understand, that the American people do not want, and will not receive, the dregs of a race which has won only scorn and contempt from the people of Europe.

But it is not enough to stop here. We want no Jews in this country; we want no parasites on our industrial organism; we are ourselves capable of consuming all the wealth we produce. We want no festering cancer in the body politic; it is not healthy, it must be eradicated. If the American people must be ruled by, or have to struggle against, the threatened dominance of an oligarchy, in Heaven's name! let it be an oligarchy of our peers, of men of kindred race with like sentiments, like sympathies, as ourselves,—men to whose sense of justice we can appeal, knowing that their abstract sentiment of justice is grounded on the same basis as our own; an oligarchy which, if it draw the sword and crush us into submission, will still remember that we are brethren, and be magnanimous. But let not our nation,—this great nation whose industrial aptitudes, intellectual powers, and natural resources are sufficient to raise it to the highest pinnacle of human greatness,—let not our nation be humbled to the dust by armies of our brethren, raised with the gold of conquering Israel. Let not the Ameri-

can people incur the passionate hate, the vindictive vengeance, of a race which for ages has treasured up in its bosom the memory of the well-merited but bitterly resented scorn and contempt with which Christendom has treated it; of a race merciless and cruel as hell; of a race that never spared a foeman; of a haughty, insolent, vindictive race, that will recognize in their triumph abundant evidence of their own superiority, and of Jehovah's favor.

And they would be in great part right. It is well said, that "whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad;" and the American people would earn the fate inevitably in store for them, if, their eyes opened to the character of the Jews, to their grasping accumulation of wealth, to their dream of final domination over the hateful Christian peoples, they continue to tolerate their presence.

On this point but one sentiment should animate the American people, and this should find expression in the one curt but emphatic cry, "The Jew must go!"

Let there be no angry denunciation, no unseemly haste, no injustice, but calm, deliberate, and firm resolve. By our silence we gave sanction to their settlement among us, and they are entitled to the protection of our laws as long as they remain. Let them go with all their ill-gotten gain, and let us forget that it was ill gotten—but let them go.

The blame of their admission rests on us, for we knew that they were deservedly hated and scorned by all the higher races of men. Give them time to convert all their wealth into gold and bills, and let them go whither they list. To Europe if the European people will still consent to be preyed on by them, and if not, to their own country where they are assured of protection by the Turkish Empire. Let the people of the United States ponder this matter calmly and deliberately, and decide how we may purge ourselves of a race of parasites, and in self-defence guard against the threatened and already impending danger, that the nation will be subjected to the dominant rule of a powerful oligarchy, the majority of whose members will be men of an alien race, who hate us with an intensity of hatred, nurtured by the memory of the scorn and contempt with which they have been regarded for centuries.

Let the people ponder this problem, let reflection beget resolve, and let resolve be transferred into action, while there is yet time. We want no parasites among us; we will not have them; our social health demands that we purge ourselves of them. The Jew must go. Let the nation assert itself to this effect, not passionately, not bit-

terly, not vindictively; but from Maine to Louisiana, from New York to the Golden Horn, let the American people rise as one man, and assert in deep tones of calm, unwavering resolve, "We want no parasitic race among us: THE JEW MUST GO!"



THE 1920's: HENRY FORD AND A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

The source of Henry Ford's anti-Semitism still puzzles scholars, but its manifestations are quite clear. Ford established a combined research bureau and detective agency in New York City to investigate Jewish influence and report its findings to his headquarters in Michigan. In addition to preposterous reports (e.g., President Wilson took orders from Justice Brandeis over a private telephone line), sometime in 1919 the agents sent Ford a translation of the notorious Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and he immediately sought to publish it in his newspaper, the Dearborn Independent. The editor resigned rather than agree to the publication. Ford's public relations agent, William Cameron, then agreed to use the Protocols as the basis for "The International Jew," which first appeared on May 22, 1920.

The Dearborn Independent accused Jews of economic exploitation and control ("Jew finance"), and also of sponsoring revolutions (Communism was a "carefully groomed investment of Hebrew financiers") and "everywhere" exercising power. This power was said to be so extensive that in America it controlled presidents. The goal of the Jews, a direct challenge to a "Christian America," was to destroy the "Anglo-Saxon Celtic race."

The Dearborn Independent continued its anti-Semitic series for ninety-one weeks (until early 1922), despite protests from distinguished individuals (including Presidents Taft and Wilson) and groups throughout America. Curiously, the paper combined this assault on Jews with characteristic Progressive motifs, including "scientific study" of the "Jewish Question" by experts and a willingness to judge Jews as individuals rather than as a race. Thus, an anti-Semite like Henry Ford could call his friend Rabbi Leo Franklin one of his "good Jews," could speak fondly of baseball slugger Hank Greenberg, and could proclaim that hatred of persons was "neither American nor Christian." The series came to an end only because Ford was threatened with a million-dollar libel suit and a boycott of his automobiles. Five years after the series concluded, Ford publicly apologized.

Not all forms of anti-Semitism were so blatant. After World War I, *sub rosa* discrimination of various kinds against Jews was increasingly practiced at select eastern colleges and universities. The most prevalent forms of discrimination were alumni screening committees and "character" tests. As the Jewish percentage crept steadily upward (at Columbia, for example, more than 40 percent of the 1919 freshman class consisted of Jews), university officials expressed concern, and initiated secret—and therefore successful—discriminatory admission procedures.

At Harvard, the proportion of Jews rose steadily from 6 per cent in 1908 to 20 per cent by the early 1920's. Alarmed at the prospect of ambitious immigrant Jews threatening the respectability and standing of an upper-class "gentlemanly" Protestant institution, university officials began to express public alarm at the "mass of pushing young men with a foreign accent." Convinced that Jews were changing the complexion of undergraduate life ("no one objects to the best Jews," one Harvard man noted, "but the others make much trouble especially in the library"), Harvard became in June 1922 the first university to announce publicly the desirability of a discriminatory admissions policy to control "the proportion of Jews at the College."¹

A Cleveland attorney and Harvard alumnus, A. A. Benesch, wrote to Harvard president Abbott Lawrence Lowell expressing his objection to this policy. Lowell's fascinating and humiliating reply offers the argument that discriminating against Jews in admission selection, and hence reducing Jewish enrollment, will reduce anti-Semitism at Harvard and other universities! Quotas, he argued, are actually in the Jews' best interests. Benesch's retort, that carried to its logical extreme such thinking would solve the problem of anti-Semitism by eliminating Jews entirely, only led Lowell to reiterate his position and establish a thirteen-man faculty committee (including three Jews) to consider how to "make a more effective sifting of candidates for admission."²

Jewish students, faculty, and alumni reacted angrily to the attempt to limit Jewish enrollment. They were joined by Catholic politicians in Massachusetts (anxious to blast this Protestant bastion), many distinguished non-

1. Claris E. Silcox and Galem M. Fisher, *Catholics, Jews and Protestants: A Study of Relationships in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1937, pp. 228–31 and *The School Review*, June, 1922.
2. *Literary Digest*, June 24, 1922; *School and Society*, July 1, 1922. Ernest Hopkins, president of Dartmouth, justified its Jewish quotas twenty years later by explaining that the Holocaust would never have taken place if Jews had not been so heavily represented in the professions, see *American Scholar* 15 (July 1946): 267–76.

Jewish Americans, numerous Harvard alumni, and the Anglo-Jewish and the general press (especially the Springfield Republican, Providence News, Boston Post, and New York Tribune). On the other side, sizable numbers of students supported a policy of "race-limitation," arguing that Jewish students were too poor, too bookish, too cliquish, and too individual. When the debate ended and the committee submitted its report (April 1923), it had rejected Lowell's suggestions. Harvard went ahead anyway and instituted various informal discriminatory admission procedures (including two new questions on admission applications—religious preference and family name change), which steadily eroded Jewish enrollments. The significance of all these measures, from the opening salvo of Lowell onward, lay in the fact that they were introduced by presumably the least intolerant segment of society, the community of learning.³

THE INTERNATIONAL JEW

"Among the distinguishing mental and moral traits of the Jews may be mentioned: distaste for hard or violent physical labor; a strong family sense and philoprogenitiveness; a marked religious instinct; the courage of the prophet and martyr rather than of the pioneer and soldier; remarkable power to survive in adverse environments, combined with great ability to retain racial solidarity; capacity for exploitation, both individual and social; shrewdness and astuteness in speculation and money matters generally; an Oriental love of display and a full appreciation of the power and pleasure of social position; a very high average of intellectual ability."

—The New International Encyclopedia.

The Jew in Character and Business

The Jew is again being singled out for critical attention throughout the world. His emergence in the financial, political and social spheres has been so complete and spectacular since the war, that his place, power and purpose in the world are being given a new scrutiny, much of it unfriendly. Persecution is not a new experience to the Jew, but intensive scrutiny of his nature and super-nationality is. He has suffered for more than 2,000 years from what

3. *Nation*, September 2, 1922; *School and Society*, September 30, 1922, and April 2, 1923 (the latter issue has the committee's report in full). See also *Literary Digest*, May 5, 1923; *School Review*, June 1923.

may be called the instinctive anti-Semitism of the other races, but this antagonism has never been intelligent nor has it been able to make itself intelligible. Nowadays, however, the Jew is being placed, as it were, under the microscope of economic observation that the reasons for his power, the reasons for his separateness, the reasons for his suffering may be defined and understood.

In Russia he is charged with being the source of Bolshevism, an accusation which is serious or not according to the circle in which it is made; we in America, hearing the fervid eloquence and perceiving the prophetic ardor of young Jewish apostles of social and industrial reform, can calmly estimate how it may be. In Germany he is charged with being the cause of the Empire's collapse and a very considerable literature has sprung up, bearing with it a mass of circumstantial evidence that gives the thinker pause. In England he is charged with being the real world ruler, who rules as a supernational over the nations, rules by the power of gold, and who plays nation against nation for his own purposes, remaining himself discreetly in the background. In America it is pointed out to what extent the elder Jews of wealth and the younger Jews of ambition swarmed through the war organizations—principally those departments which dealt with the commercial and industrial business of war, and also the extent to which they have clung to the advantage which their experience as agents of the government gave them.

In simple words, the question of the Jew has come to the fore, but like other questions which lend themselves to prejudice, efforts will be made to hush it up as impolitic for open discussion. If, however, experience has taught us anything it is that questions thus suppressed will sooner or later break out in undesirable and unprofitable forms.

The Jew is the world's enigma. Poor in his masses, he yet controls the world's finances. Scattered abroad without country or government, he yet presents a unity of race continuity which no other people has achieved. Living under legal disabilities in almost every land, he has become the power behind many a throne. There are ancient prophecies to the effect that the Jew will return to his own land and from that center rule the world, though not until he has undergone an assault by the united nations of mankind.

The single description which will include a larger percentage of Jews than members of any other race is this: he is in business. It may be only gathering rags and selling them, but he is in business.

From the sale of old clothes to the control of international trade and finance, the Jew is supremely gifted for business. More than any other race he exhibits a decided aversion to industrial employment, which he balances by an equally decided adaptability to trade. The Gentile boy works his way up, taking employment in the productive or technical departments; but the Jewish boy prefers to begin as messenger, salesman or clerk—anything—so long as it is connected with the commercial side of the business. An early Prussian census illustrates this characteristic: of a total population of 269,400, the Jews comprised 6 per cent or 16,164. Of these, 12,000 were traders and 4,164 were workmen. Of the Gentile population, the other 94 per cent, or 153,236 people, there were only 17,000 traders.

A modern census would show a large professional and literary class added to the traders, but no diminution of the percentage of traders and not much if any increase in the number of wage toilers. In America alone most of the big business, the trusts and the banks, the natural resources and the chief agricultural products, especially tobacco, cotton and sugar, are in the control of Jewish financiers or their agents. Jewish journalists are a large and powerful group here. "Large numbers of department stores are held by Jewish firms," says the Jewish Encyclopedia, and many if not most of them are run under Gentile names. Jews are the largest and most numerous landlords of residence property in the country. They are supreme in the theatrical world. They absolutely control the circulation of publications throughout the country. Fewer than any race whose presence among us is noticeable, they receive daily an amount of favorable publicity which would be impossible did they not have the facilities for creating and distributing it themselves. Werner Sombart, in his "Jew and Modern Capitalism" says, "If the conditions in America continue to develop along the same lines as in the last generation, if the immigration statistics and the proportion of births among all the nationalities remain the same, our imagination may picture the United States of fifty or a hundred years hence as a land inhabited only by Slavs, Negroes and Jews, wherein the Jews will naturally occupy the position of economic leadership." Sombart is a pro-Jewish writer.

The question is, If the Jew is in control, how did it happen? This is a free country. The Jew comprises only about 3 per cent of the population; to every Jew there are ninety-seven Gentiles; to the 3,000,000 Jews in the United States there are 97,000,000 Gentiles.

If the Jew is in control, is it because of his superior ability, or is it because of the inferiority and don't-care attitude of the Gentiles?

It would be very simple to answer that the Jews came to America, took their chances like other people and proved more successful in the competitive struggle. But that would not include all the facts. And before a more adequate answer can be given, two points should be made clear. The first is this: all Jews are not rich controllers of wealth. There are poor Jews aplenty, though most of them even in their poverty are their own masters. While it may be true that the chief financial controllers of the country are Jews, it is not true that every Jew is one of the financial controllers of the country. The classes must be kept distinct for a reason which will appear when the methods of the rich Jews and the methods of the poor Jews to gain power are differentiated. Secondly, the fact of Jewish solidarity renders it difficult to measure Gentile and Jewish achievements by the same standard. When a great block of wealth in America was made possible by the lavish use of another block of wealth from across the seas; that is to say, when certain Jewish immigrants came to the United States with the financial backing of European Jewry behind them, it would be unfair to explain the rise of that class of immigration by the same rules which account for the rise of, say, the Germans or the Poles who came here with no resource but their ambition and strength. To be sure, many individual Jews come in that way, too, with no dependence but themselves, but it would not be true to say that the massive control of affairs which is exercised by Jewish wealth was won by individual initiative; it was rather the extension of financial control across the sea.

That, indeed, is where any explanation of Jewish control must begin. Here is a race whose entire period of national history saw them peasants on the land, whose ancient genius was spiritual rather than material, bucolic rather than commercial, yet today, when they have no country, no government, and are persecuted in one way or another everywhere they go, they are declared to be the principal though unofficial rulers of the earth. How does so strange a charge arise, and why do so many circumstances seem to justify it?

Begin at the beginning. During the formative period of their national character the Jews lived under a law which made plutocracy and pauperism equally impossible among them. Modern reformers who are constructing model social systems on paper would

do well to look into the social system under which the early Jews were organized. The Law of Moses made a "money aristocracy," such as Jewish financiers form today, impossible because it forbade the taking of interest. It made impossible also the continuous enjoyment of profit wrung out of another's distress. Profiteering and sheer speculation were not favored under the Jewish system. There could be no land-hogging; the land was apportioned among the people, and though it might be lost by debt or sold under stress, it was returned every 50 years to its original family ownership, at which time, called "The Year of Jubilee," there was practically a new social beginning. The rise of great landlords and a moneyed class was impossible under such a system, although the interim of 50 years gave ample scope for individual initiative to assert itself under fair competitive conditions.

If, therefore, the Jews had retained their status as a nation, and had remained in Palestine under the Law of Moses, they would hardly have achieved the financial distinction which they have since won. Jews never got rich out of one another. Even in modern times they have not become rich out of each other but out of the nations among whom they dwelt. Jewish law permitted the Jew to do business with a Gentile on a different basis than that on which he did business with a brother Jew. What is called "the Law of the Stranger" was defined thus: "unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury."

Being dispersed among the nations, but never merging themselves with the nations and never losing a very distinctive identity, the Jew has had the opportunity to practice "the ethics of the stranger" for many centuries. Being strangers among strangers, and often among cruelly hostile strangers, they have found this law a compensating advantage. Still, this alone would not account for the Jew's preeminence in finance. The explanation of that must be sought in the Jew himself, his vigor, resourcefulness and special proclivities.

Very early in the Jewish story we discover the tendency of Israel to be a master nation, with other nations as its vassals. Notwithstanding the fact that the whole prophetic purpose with reference to Israel seems to have been the moral enlightenment of the world through its agency, Israel's "will to mastery" apparently hindered that purpose. At least such would seem to be the tone of the Old Testament. Divinely ordered to drive out the Canaanites that their corrupt ideas might not contaminate Israel, the Jews did not

obey, according to the old record. They looked over the Canaanitish people and perceived what great amount of man-power would be wasted if they were expelled, and so Israel enslaved them—"And it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out." It was this form of disobedience, this preference of material mastery over spiritual leadership, that marked the beginning of Israel's age-long disciplinary distress.

The Jew's dispersion among the nations temporarily (that is, for more than 25 centuries now) changed the program which their scriptures declare was divinely planned, and that dispersion continues until today. There are spiritual leaders in modern Judaism who still claim that Israel's mission to the nations is spiritual, but their assertions that Israel is today fulfilling that mission are not as convincing as they might be if accompanied by more evidence. Israel throughout the modern centuries is still looking at the Gentile world and estimating what its man-power can be made to yield. But the discipline upon Israel still holds; he is an exile from his own land, condemned to be discriminated against wherever he goes, until the time when exile and homelessness shall end in a reestablished Palestine, and Jerusalem again become the moral center of the earth, even as the older prophets have declared.

Had the Jew become an employe, a worker for other men, his dispersion would not probably have been so wide. But becoming a trader, his instincts drew him round the habitable earth. There were Jews in China at an early date. They appeared as traders in England at the time of the Saxons. Jewish traders were in South American 100 years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Jews established the sugar industry in the Island of St. Thomas in 1492. They were well established in Brazil when only a few villages dotted the eastern coast of what is now the United States. And how far they penetrated when once they came here is indicated by the fact that the first white child born in Georgia was a Jew—Isaac Minis. The Jew's presence round the earth, his clan-nishness with his own people, made him a nation scattered among the nations, a corporation with agents everywhere.

Another talent, however, contributed greatly to his rise in financial power—his ability to invent new devices for doing business. Until the Jew was pitted against the world, business was very crudely done. And when we trace the origins of many of the business methods which simplify and facilitate trade today, more likely

than not we find a Jewish name at the end of the clue. Many of the indispensable instruments of credit and exchange were thought out by Jewish merchants, not only for use between themselves, but to check and hold the Gentiles with whom they dealt. The oldest bill of exchange extant was drawn by a Jew—one Simon Rubens. The promissory note was a Jewish invention, as was also the check “payable to bearer.”

An interesting bit of history attaches to the “payable to bearer” instrument. The Jews’ enemies were always stripping them of their last ounce of wealth, yet strangely, the Jews recovered very quickly and were soon rich again. How this sudden recovery from looting and poverty? Their assets were concealed under “bearer” and so a goodly portion was always saved. In an age when it was lawful for any pirate to seize goods consigned to Jews, the Jews were able to protect themselves by consigning goods on policies that bore no names.

The influence of the Jew was to center business around goods instead of persons. Previously all claims had been against persons; the Jew knew that the goods were more reliable than the persons with whom he dealt, and so he contrived to have claims laid against goods. Besides, this device enabled him to keep himself out of sight as much as possible. This introduced an element of hardness into business, inasmuch as it was goods which were being dealt in rather than men being dealt with, and this hardness remains. Another tendency which survives and which is of advantage in veiling the very large control which Jews have attained, is of the same origin as “bearer” bills; it permits a business dominated by Jewish capital to appear under a name that gives no hint of Jewish control.

The Jew is the only and original international capitalist, but as a rule he prefers not to emblazon that fact upon the skies; he prefers to use Gentile banks and trust companies as his agents and instruments. The suggestive term “Gentile front” often appears in connection with this practice.

The invention of the stock exchange is also credited to Jewish financial talent. In Berlin, Paris, London, Frankfort and Hamburg, Jews were in control of the first stock exchanges, while Venice and Genoa were openly referred to in the talk of the day as “Jew cities” where great trading and banking facilities might be found. The Bank of England was established upon the counsel and assistance of Jewish emigrants from Holland. The Bank of Amsterdam and the Bank of Hamburg both arose through Jewish influence.

There is a curious fact to be noted in connection with the persecution and consequent wanderings of the Jews about Europe and that is: wherever they wandered, the center of business seemed to go with them. When the Jews were free in Spain, there was the world's gold center. When Spain drove out the Jews, Spain lost financial leadership and has never regained it. Students of the economic history of Europe have always been puzzled to discover why the center of trade should have shifted from Spain, Portugal and Italy, up to the northern countries of Holland, Germany and England. They have sought for the cause in many things, but none has proved completely explanatory. When, however, it is known that the change was coincident with the expulsion of the Jews from the South and their flight to the North, when it is known that upon the Jews' arrival the northern countries began a commercial life which has flourished until our day, the explanation does not seem difficult. Time and again it has proved to be the fact that when the Jews were forced to move, the center of the world's precious metals moved with them.

This distribution of the Jews over Europe and the world, each Jewish community linked in a fellowship of blood, faith and suffering with every other group, made it possible for the Jew to be international in the sense that no other race or group of merchants could be at that time. Not only were they everywhere (Americans and Russians are everywhere, too) but they were in touch. They were organized before the days of conscious international commercial organizations, they were bound together by the sinews of a common life. It was observed by many writers in the Middle Ages that the Jews knew more of what was transpiring in Europe than the governments did. They also had better knowledge of what was likely to occur. They knew more about conditions than the statesmen did. This information they imparted by letter from group to group, country to country. Indeed, they may be said thus to have originated unconsciously the financial news-letter. Certainly the information they were able to obtain and thus distribute was invaluable to them in their speculative enterprises. Advance knowledge was an immense advantage in days when news was scarce, slow and unreliable.

This enabled Jewish financiers to become the agents of national loans, a form of business which they encouraged wherever possible. The Jew has always desired to have nations for his customers. National loans were facilitated by the presence of members of the

same family of financiers in various countries, thus making an interlocking directorate by which king could be played against king, government against government, and the shrewdest use made of national prejudices and fears, all to the no small profit of the fiscal agent.

One of the charges most commonly made against Jewish financiers today is that they still favor this larger field of finance. Indeed, in all the criticism that is heard regarding the Jew as a business man, there is comparatively little said against him as an individual merchant serving individual customers. Thousands of small Jewish merchants are highly respected by their trade, just as tens of thousands of Jewish families are respected as our neighbors. The criticism, insofar as it respects the more important financiers, is not racial at all. Unfortunately the element of race, which so easily lends itself to misinterpretation as racial prejudice, is injected into the question by the mere fact that the chain of international finance as it is traced around the world discloses at every link a Jewish capitalist, financial family, or a Jewish-controlled banking system. Many have professed to see in this circumstance a conscious organization of Jewish power for Gentile control, while others have attributed the circumstances to Jewish racial sympathies, to the continuity of their family affairs down the line of descent, and to the increase of collateral branches. In the old Scriptural phrase, Israel grows as the vine grows, ever shooting out new branches and deepening old roots, but always part of the one vine.

The Jew's aptitude for dealing with governments may also be traced to the years of his persecution. He early learned the power of gold in dealing with mercenary enemies. Wherever he went there followed him like a curse the aroused antipathy of other peoples. The Jew was never popular as a race; even the most fervid Jew will not deny that, howsoever he may explain it. Individuals have been popular, of course; many phases of Jewish nature are found to be very lovable when known; but nevertheless one of the burdens the Jews have had to bear as a race is this burden of racial unpopularity. Even in modern times, in civilized countries, in conditions which render persecution absolutely impossible, this unpopularity exists. And what is more, the Jew has not seemed to care to cultivate the friendship of the Gentile masses, due perhaps to the failures of experience, but due more likely to his inborn persuasion that he belongs to the superior race. Whatever the true reason, he always placed his main dependence on cultivating friendship with

kings and nobles. What cared the Jew if the people gnashed their teeth against him, so long as the king and the court were his friends? Thus there was always, even through most of the severely trying times, "a court Jew," one who had bought by loans and held by the strangle-hold of debt an entrance to the king's chamber. The policy of the Jews has always been to "go to headquarters." They never tried to placate the Russian people, but they did endeavor to enlist the Russian court. They never tried to placate the German people, but they did succeed in permeating the German court. In England they shrug their shoulders at the outspoken anti-Jew reactions of the British populace—what care they? Have they not all of lorddom at their heels, do they not hold the strings of Britain's purse?

Through this ability of theirs to "go to headquarters" it is possible to account for the stronghold they got upon various governments and nations. Added to this ability was, of course, the ability to produce what the governments wanted. If a government wanted a loan, the Jew at court could arrange it through Jews at other financial centers and political capitals. If one government wanted to pay another government a debt without risking the precious metal to a mule train through a robber-infested country, the Jew at court arranged that too. He transferred a piece of paper and the debt was paid by the banking house at the foreign capital. The first time an army was ever fed in the modern commissary way, it was done by a Jew—he had the capital and he had the system; moreover he had the delight of having a nation for his customer.

And this tendency, which served the race so well throughout the troublous centuries, shows no sign of abatement. Certainly, seeing to what an extent a race numerically so unimportant influences the various governments of the world today, the Jew who reflects upon the disparity between his people's numbers and their power may be pardoned if he sees in that fact a proof of their racial superiority.

It may be said also that Jewish inventiveness in business devices continues to the present time, as well as Jewish adaptability to changing conditions. The Jew is credited with being the first to establish branch houses in foreign countries in order that responsible representatives of the home office might be on the ground taking instant advantage of every opening. During the war a great deal was said about the "peaceful penetration" which the "German Government" had effected in the United States by establishing here branch offices and factories of German firms. The fact that there

were many German branch houses here is unquestionable. It should be known, however, that they were not the evidence of German enterprise but of Jewish enterprise. The old German business houses were too conservative to "run after customers" even in the hustling United States, but the Jewish firms were not, and they came straight to America and hustled. In due time the competition forced the more conservative German firms to follow suit. But the idea was Jewish in its origin, not German.

Another modern business method whose origin is credited to Jewish financiers is that by which related industries are brought together, as for example, if an electrical power company is acquired, then the street railway company using the electricity would be acquired too, one purpose being in this way to conserve all the profit accruing along the line, from the origination of the power down to the delivery of the street car ride; but perhaps the main purpose being that, by the control of the power house the price of current could be increased to the car company, and by the control of the car company the cost of a ride could be increased to the public, the controllers thus receiving an additional profit all down the line. There is much of this going on in the world today, and in the United States particularly. The portion of the business immediately next to the ultimate consumer explains that its costs have risen, but it does not explain that the costs were increased by the owners and not by outsiders who were forced to do so by economic pressure.

There is apparently in the world today a central financial force which is playing a vast and closely organized game, with the world for its table and universal control for its stakes. The people of civilized countries have lost all confidence in the explanation that "economic conditions" are responsible for all the changes that occur. Under the camouflage of "economic law" a great many phenomena have been accounted for which were not due to any law whatever except the law of the selfish human will as operated by a few men who have the purpose and the power to work on a wide scale with nations as their vassals.

Whatever else may be national, no one today believes that finance is national. Finance is international. Nobody today believes that international finance is in any way competitive. There are some independent banking houses, but few strong independent ones. The great masters, the few whose minds see clearly the entire play of the plan, control numerous banking houses and trust com-

panies, and one is used for this while another is used for that, but there is no disharmony between them, no correction of each other's methods, no competition in the interests of the business world. There is as much unity of policy between the principal banking houses of every country as there is between the various branches of the United States Post Office—and for the same reason, namely, they are all operated from the same source and for the same purpose.

Just before the war Germany bought very heavily in American cotton and had huge quantities of it tied up here for export. When war came, the ownership of that mountainous mass of cotton wealth changed in one night from Jewish names in Hamburg to Jewish names in London. At this writing cotton is selling in England for less than it is selling in the United States, and the effect of that is to lower the American price. When the price lowers sufficiently, the market is cleared of cotton by buyers previously prepared, and then the price soars to high figures again. In the meantime, the same powers that have engineered the apparently causeless strengthening and weakening of the cotton market, have seized upon stricken Germany to be the sweatshop of the world. Certain groups control the cotton, lend it to Germany to be manufactured, leave a pittance of it there in payment for the labor that was used, and then profiteer the length and breadth of the world on the lie that "cotton is scarce." And when, tracing all these anti-social and colossally unfair methods to their source, it is found that the responsible parties all have a common characteristic, is it any wonder that the warning which comes across the sea—"Wait until America becomes awake to the Jew!"—has a new meaning?

Certainly, economic reasons no longer explain the condition in which the world finds itself today. Neither does the ordinary explanation of "the heartlessness of capital." Capital has endeavored as never before to meet the demands of labor, and labor has gone to extremes in leading capital to new concessions—but what has it advantaged either of them? Labor has heretofore thought that capital was the sky over it, and it made the sky yield, but behold, there was yet an higher sky which neither capital nor labor had seen in their struggles one with another. That sky is so far unyielding.

That which we call capital here in America is usually money used in production, and we mistakenly refer to the manufacturer, the manager of work, the provider of tools and jobs—we refer to him as the "capitalist." Oh, no. He is not the capitalist in the real sense.

Why, he himself must go to capitalists for the money with which to finance his plans. There is a power yet above him—a power which treats him far more callously and holds him in a more ruthless hand than he would ever dare display to labor. That, indeed, is one of the tragedies of these times, that “labor” and “capital” are fighting each other, when the conditions against which each one of them protests, and from which each one of them suffers, is not within their power to remedy at all, unless they find a way to wrest world control from that group of international financiers who create and control both these conditions.

There is a super-capitalism which is supported wholly by the fiction that gold is wealth. There is a super-government which is allied to no government, which is free from them all, and yet which has its hand in them all. There is a race, a part of humanity, which has never yet been received as a welcome part, and which has succeeded in raising itself to a power that the proudest Gentile race has never claimed—not even Rome in the days of her proudest power. It is becoming more and more the conviction of men all over the world that the labor question, the wage question, the land question cannot be settled until first of all this matter of an international super-capitalistic government is settled.

“To the victor belongs the spoils” is an old saying. And in a sense it is true that if all this power of control has been gained and held by a few men of a long-despised race, then either they are super-men whom it is powerless to resist, or they are ordinary men whom the rest of the world has permitted to obtain an undue and unsafe degree of power. Unless the Jews are super-men, the Gentiles will have themselves to blame for what has transpired, and they can look for rectification in a new scrutiny of the situation and a candid examination of the experiences of other countries.

JEWISH QUOTAS IN THE UNIVERSITIES

LOWELL WRITES OF LIMIT ON JEWS

CLEVELAND, June 16—The text of correspondence between President Lowell of Harvard and A. A. Benesch, a local attorney, on the question of race discrimination was made public today. On June 7 Mr. Benesch wrote to President Lowell as follows:

“My Dear Dr. Lowell: In common with other Jewish graduates of Harvard, I was astounded at the official statement issued last week with reference to the restriction of enrollment. Even had the statement made no special mention of students of the Jewish race, it would have been objectionable because of the undoubted implication. Containing, as it did, however, particular reference to the Jews, it is tenfold more objectionable because of the direct suggestion made to those who might not otherwise perceive its purpose.

“It is utterly impossible for me to comprehend how an institution of learning which has throughout its history received contributions from men of all religious faiths, and which has enjoyed an enviable reputation for non-sectarianism, can even contemplate the adoption of a regulation obviously designed to discriminate against the Jews. The late Jacob H. Schiff for years maintained a deep interest in Harvard and was loyal to Harvard’s traditions. Do you think that he would remain silent, were he alive today, in the face of such action on the part of the university authorities?

“Felix Warburg and other eminent Jews of New York City and elsewhere were liberal contributors to the Harvard Endowment Fund. Are their feelings not to be considered?

“I am a graduate of more than twenty years’ standing. I have contributed to the Endowment Fund and am contributing now annually to the Scholarship Fund established by my class, the class of 1900. You would criticise me with poor grace, were I to withhold any further contributions under the existing circumstances.

“Shortly after my graduation I wrote an article entitled, ‘The Jew at Harvard,’ in which, I think, I successfully combated the notion then prevalent that Harvard was anti-Semitic. I hope that I shall not be under the necessity of writing a similar article with a changed point of view. I hope, too, that the regulation which has unhappily stirred up so much unpleasant publicity for Harvard does not find its origin in the fact that Jewish students, numbering perhaps 10 per cent of the student population at Harvard, are the successful contestants for perhaps 50 per cent of the prizes and scholarships.

“Students of the Jewish faith neither demand nor expect any favors at the hands of the university; but they do expect, and have a right to demand, that they be admitted upon equal terms with

students of other faiths, and that scholarship and character be the only standards for admission.

“I am still hopeful that the newspaper reports are not based entirely upon fact and that I may hear from you soon a true statement of the situation.

“Very respectfully yours,

“Alfred A. Benesch.”

Dr. Lowell's reply follows:

“Dear Mr. Benesch: There is no need of cautioning you not to believe all that you see in the newspapers. As a colleague said to me yesterday, there is perhaps no body of men in the United States, mostly Gentiles, with so little anti-Semitic feelings as the instructing staff at Harvard University. But the problem that confronts this country and its educational institutions is a difficult one, and one about which I should very much like to talk with you. It is one that involves the best interests both of the college and of the Jews, for I should feel very badly to think that these did not coincide.

There is, most unfortunately, a rapidly growing anti-Semitic feeling in this country, causing—and no doubt in part caused by—a strong race feeling on the part of the Jews themselves. In many cities of the country Gentile Clubs are excluding Jews altogether, who are forming separate clubs of their own. Private schools are excluding Jews, I believe, and so, we know, are hotels. All this seems to me fraught with very great evils for the Jews, and very great perils for the community. The question did not originate here, but has been brought over from Europe—especially from those countries where it has existed for centuries.

“The question for those of us who deplore such a state of things is how it can be combated, and especially for those of us who are connected with colleges, how it can be combated there—how we can cause the Jews to feel and be regarded as an integral part of the student body. The anti-Semitic feeling among the students is increasing, and it grows in proportion to the increase in the number of Jews.

“If their number should become 40 per cent of the student body, the race feeling would become intense. When, on the other hand,

the number of Jews was small, the race antagonism was small also. Any such race feeling among the students tends to prevent the personal intimacies on which we must rely to soften anti-Semitic feeling.

“If every college in the country would take a limited proportion of Jews, I suspect we should go along toward eliminating race feeling among the students, and as these students passed out into the world, eliminating it in the community.

“This question is with us. We cannot solve it by forgetting or ignoring it. If we do nothing about the matter the prejudice is likely to increase. Some colleges appear to have met the question by indirect methods, which we do not want to adopt. It cannot be solved except by a co-operation between the college authorities and the Jews themselves. Would not the Jews be willing to help us in finding the steps best adapted for preventing the growth of race feeling among our students, and hence in the world?

“The first thing to recognize is that there is a problem—a new problem, which we have never had to face before, but which has come over with the immigration from the Old World. After the nature of that problem is fairly understood, the next question is how to solve it in the interest of the Jews, as well as of every one else.

“Very truly yours,

“A. Lawrence Lowell”

In answer to this Mr. Benesch sent the following letter:

“My dear Mr. Lowell: I find myself in complete harmony with some of the statements in your letter of June 9, but in complete disagreement with others.

“I hope and believe it is true that the instructing staff of Harvard University is not anti-Semitic at heart. I am apprehensive, however, that the wave of anti-Semitism which has been inundating the country during the last year or more has not left the members of the staff untouched. I am apprehensive, too that some members of the Harvard alumni have not been inactive in expressing and making felt their anti-Jewish and unsocial proclivities.

“Although I agree with you that, unhappily, there is a rapidly growing anti-Semitic feeling in this country, I must take issue with you upon the proposition that this feeling is caused in part by a strong race feeling on the part of the Jews. Is not the strong race feeling on the part of the Jews the result rather than the cause? In other words, has not the strong race feeling been developed as a measure of self-defense?

“You throw out the suggestion that ‘If every college in the country would take a limited proportion of Jews, I suspect that we should go a long way toward eliminating race feeling among the students, and, as the students passed out into the world, eliminating it in the community.’

“Carrying your suggestion to its logical conclusion would inevitably mean that a complete prohibition against Jewish students in the colleges would solve the problem of anti-Semitism. Moreover, it might lead to the establishment of a distinctively Jewish university, a consummation most sincerely to be deplored.

“If it be true—and I have no doubt that it is true—that the anti-Semitic feeling among the students is increasing, should it not be the function of an institution of learning to discourage rather than to encourage such a spirit? If certain members of the student body foster so un-American a spirit, Harvard University, which has always stood for true democracy and liberalism, should be the first to condemn such a spirit, and exert every effort to prevent its growth.

“If it is at all possible for you to call a meeting of a group of Jewish graduates, together with the members of the corporation and such other graduates as are interested in this vital problem, such meeting to be called within the next ten days or two weeks, I shall be very glad personally to make the sacrifice of time and money to attend such meeting. I believe, as you do, that a matter of this character can best be discussed by word of mouth.

“Respectfully yours,

“Alfred A. Benesch”

President Lowell's final letter to Mr. Benesch, received today, said:

“Dear Mr. Benesch: You are quite right—it is the function of an institution of learning to discourage anti-Semitic feeling, and the

question is, how is it to be done? It does not seem to me that we shall reach such a result by ignoring the problem of race. It exists in the Old World and it is rapidly coming here. The first step, it seems to me, is to recognize that it is a problem and then try to discover what its causes and its cures may be. It is just the result that you point out that I wish to avoid—that of distinctly Jewish and distinctly Gentile universities. We want exactly the opposite. We want to have both Gentiles and Jews in all colleges and universities and strive to bring the two races together.

“A committee to consider this subject will be appointed in a few days, and one of their first duties will be to get into communication with the thoughtful Jews in this country.

“Very truly yours,

“A. Lawrence Lowell”



THE 1930'S: DEMAGOGUES IN THE DEPRESSION

European Fascism spawned several American hate groups that seemed to thrive in the turbulence of the Depression decade. In the long run, the “lunatic fringe” aroused no deep apprehension among the mass of Americans. Nevertheless, a gathering at which thousands of hysterical people raised their arms in Nazi-style salutes and screamed in delight as an orator lashed out against the “Jew Deal” bore an uncomfortable similarity to Hitler’s hate orgies. These right-wing religio-political movements reached a peak in the winter of 1938–39, when there was a marked upsurge of anti-Semitism throughout the United States, even in western towns where Jews were few and even in the behavior of men and women who had no use for Hitler. Father Coughlin’s anti-Semitic broadcasts did much to accelerate this sort of uneasy scapegoat hunting. But there were many others to lend a hand.

The Silver Shirts drew primarily upon middle-class Protestants and rallied around their leader, William Dudley Pelley. Pelley, following Roosevelt’s 1936 victory, urged Americans to “overthrow the Jew-Communist usurpers who have seized the American government and bethought themselves to make it a branch office of Moscow.” His viciously pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic propaganda sought to disfranchise Jews and allow only Protestant Christians to lead the “Christian Commonwealth.”

*"The New Deal—the Jew Deal—is the last straw," he wrote. "Violence is on the way. But for Jew-administered poison, most of the prominent Aryans who died in the last ten years would still be living."*¹

Gerald Winrod, a Baptist evangelist, militant premillennialist, and founder of the *Defenders of the Christian Faith*, loomed large in the Midwest. He reached, through his *Defender Magazine*, a hundred thousand homes where he waged war against the "Jewish New Deal" and "Jewish Bolshevism." Winrod's friend George Deatherage, a St. Albans (Va.) house painter and Ku Klux Klan veteran, served as Grand Commander of the *Knights of the White Camellia*. In 1939, he pointed out to one reporter, "I made a bet that within ninety days the pogrom would be on in New York City. When it does watch out for my boys."²

Bundfuehrer, Fritz Kuhn, who claimed to lead a uniformed storm trooper force of nearly 10,000, held Nazi-style rallies and meetings from coast to coast. Some 22,000 German-American Bundists and their sympathizers held a mass rally in 1939 at Madison Square Garden; there Kuhn urged his followers to break "the dictatorship of a small, racially and ethnically alien Jewish-international minority, to which the mind of the entire nation is rapidly being subjected."³

Charles E. Coughlin, the renowned Catholic priest with a radio audience exceeding 30,000,000 on forty-seven stations, used attacks on Jews and atheistic Communists to forge his huge following of impoverished rural Protestants and discontented urban Catholics. Already by 1936 his listeners were so numerous that it took 145 clerks to handle the mail and money which poured in to the "radio priest." In mid-decade, Coughlin changed his emphasis from "the New Deal is God's deal" to "Jewish gold vs. gentile silver." During FDR's second term he organized the *Christian Front* (an alliance of ultraconservative and anti-Semitic elements), disseminated verbatim reports of Nazi speeches, denounced democracy, and launched an all-out anti-Semitic campaign. Coughlin attacked everyone with a Jewish name, and printed the *Protocols* in his weekly newspaper (*Social Justice*); moreover, he charged Jews with inventing Communism, starting the French Revolution, destroying medieval Christendom, and covering up Roosevelt's Jewish ancestry, and he urged Americans in 1938–39 to boycott Jewish merchants.

1. *Saturday Evening Post*, May 27, 1939, and William Dudley Pelley, *No More Hunger* (Nobelsville, Ind., 1933).
2. Gerald B. Winrod, *Mussolini and the Second Coming of Christ* (Wichita, Kan., 1928); *Time*, May 29, 1939; *Saturday Evening Post*, May 27, 1939.
3. Donald Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America: The Rise of Group Prejudice During the Decade 1930–1940* (Washington, D.C., 1941).

A Gallup Poll in 1939 and 1940 revealed that an average of 37 percent of his weekly listeners generally agreed with what he said.⁴

Despite the exceedingly militant and vociferous pro-Hitler minority, Fascist groups failed to win wide support from their potential following, even at the Depression's depths. One reason may have been their inability to provide an ideology, such as that in Hitler's Mein Kampf. Their leaders offered scapegoats, especially "Communistic Jews," but they were weak in positive economic and political programs, and offered no blueprint for an alternative to democratic society. Whatever the reason for their failure, however, they had won long- and short-term success. Together with the rise of the Third Reich, they brought to American Jews a more complete sense of solidarity than they had ever known before.

FROM "THE WORLD HOAX," BY ERNEST F. ELMHURST

Try an experiment! Walk up to the average American today and ask him to tell you what Communism is.

"Everybody knows what Communism is!" he responds, surprised and not a little nettled at having a question so childish put to him.

"Well, what is it?"

"It's a world-wide political party, originating in Russia, that's fighting by revolutionary methods to destroy predatory Capitalism. It invites the workers of the world to enjoy the same rights that have always been enjoyed by the aristocratic classes with influence and money!"

"No more?"

"Whatta you mean, more?"

"But where do the Jews come in?"

"What Jews?"

"All Jews! All over the world. You know that Communism with its ghastly bloodglut, wherever you find it, is confessedly Jewish, don't you?"

"That's Jew-baiting Nazism—and I don't believe in Nazism. I believe every race has the right to worship God as it pleases."

"What's worshipping God got to do with it?"

4. Charles Coughlin, *Eight Lectures on Labor, Capital, and Justice* (Royal Oak, Mich., 1934); *Am I an Anti-Semite?* (Detroit, Mich., 1939); Opinion Research Corporation, 105-D, 105-E (September 1939–April 1940).

“Well, Jews are persecuted because of the way they worship God, aren’t they? And that’s against the Constitution. It’s un-American. Besides, it’s race prejudice.”

“But from what you’ve seen of Communism here in the United States, you’ll agree it’s mostly Jew-financed and Jew-led, won’t you?”

“Well, the Jews have always been downtrodden and persecuted for their religion—just like the downtrodden in mass production. It’s not to be wondered at, that as a race they make common cause with all enemies of Gentile capitalism.”

“Then you believe in sticking up for Jews, regardless of whether or not they are making ‘common cause’ with a ‘political party’ that is seeking to overthrow all governments by violence?”

Your average American suddenly becomes disgruntled then and warily angry. “Well, they’re God’s Chosen People, aren’t they? The Bible says so.”

“The Bible’s been rewritten about seven times since the Ascension of Christ. How much investigating have you done, to find out whether the Jews are God’s Chosen People or not—or whether that’s something they’ve put forward themselves to gain a religious edge over Christians?”

“I see. You *are* one of them Nazis!”

“What’s being a Nazi got to do with the facts behind this business of bogus claims by Jews, so they have an excuse to overthrow all governments by violence?”

“I dunno. And I don’t care. But I’m an American and against race prejudice. You asked me what Communism is, and I answered you.”

“No, you didn’t answer me. You said Communism was merely a political party.”

“Well, What else is it?”

“Karl Mordecai didn’t say so. And he should have known.”

“Who’s Karl Mordecai?”

“The person you know as Karl Marx. Marx wasn’t his real name, you understand. It was only an alias he used to cover up the fact that he was a Jew—the same as this ‘Russian’ Finkelstein gets himself accepted under the bogus name of Litvinoff.”

“I never knew Marx’s real name was Mordecai. What of it?”

“Mordecai—or Marx—never claimed that Communism was political. He had other ideas and said so frankly.”

“What did he say?”

“He said that his Theory of ‘Scientific’ Socialism—that later became Communism in practice—was simply a means of smashing all Gentile governments so that the Jews might become ‘emancipated’—and supreme over Gentiles.”

“Marx said that!”

“It was the premise of his whole career. It resulted in Communism as you know it.”

“The newspapers never put it so. I don’t find it anywhere in the Communist literature.”

“So you’re familiar with Communist literature?”

“I try to keep up with what’s going on.”

“Then why haven’t you kept up with what’s going on in Germany? If you keep up with what’s going on, and read Communist literature, why don’t you read a bit of ‘Nazi’ literature to balance up and give you both sides?”

“I told you before, I’m against race prejudice.”

“You believe in class prejudice?”

“Who said I did?”

“Well, you don’t express the same angry opinion about the Communists’ setting class against class. You don’t say *that* is un-American.”

“I didn’t aim to start no argument. You asked me to tell you what I understood by Communism. I let you have it, and now you try to sell me on becoming a Nazi. Well, I couldn’t be one if I thought you were right. I do business with Jews, and I owe ‘em a lot o’ money. The Jews get sore if you don’t fall in with this panning of Hitler. And besides, I’ve got two boys and a brother on PWA. If the Administration heard I was anti-Jewish, it might make my relatives a lotta grief.”

And determined to put a halt to your “Nazi Jew-baiting,” Mr. Average Citizen stalks off and will have no more to do with you. His colossal ignorance about what is going on is not only tragic, it is heartbreakingly pathetic.

All that he has expressed in this conversation is a parroting of what he has had dinned into his ears so long and so insistently by America’s kept press, tinctured with its “progressive” doctrines of “liberalism,” that he actually believes he has been expressing his honest convictions—that on the whole you were disposed to sell him on substituting some Fascist form of government for Constitutionalism.

Henceforth he recalls you as an exceedingly dangerous person to

have running around loose in the Body Politic. Jews, in the aforesaid kept press, have contrived to create that conviction in him also.

To agitate for the overthrow of Constitutionalism by violence—or even through New-Deal legislation in the name of “liberalism”—makes no one particularly dangerous. But to imply that international Judah may have picked up and promoted the anti-Gentile system of Karl Mordecai, alias Marx, in order to pull down Christian culture and substitute the Jewish, exempting itself from any possible retributions by charging up the whole bloody business to the proletariat-of-the-world fighting for its “rights,” converts you into a Public Enemy Number One. And the LaFollette Committee in the Senate, or the Dies Committee in the House of Representatives, should “investigate” you pronto. You are engaged in preaching Fascism in this nation, and Fascism—holy horrors!—might succeed Constitutionalism!

Now America is filled with millions of the foregoing average citizens—whose attitudes on Communism, Fascism, and Nazism, are dictated by the fact that they do business with Jews daily, or owe them money, or concede that this current Administration is Yiddish else a possible losing of their jobs on PWA would not be the implied penalty for talking against Jews openly. The nation is likewise filled with other millions of more erudite Gentiles, not beholden to PWA for any jobs, who are commencing to note the Jewishness of Communism, the Jewishness of our Federal government and its crack-pot schemes for rescuing the country, and the well-nigh disgusting Jewishness of the representative daily press. These two classes are clashing hourly, with growing bellicosity, in every section of the public domain. Sooner or later this sort of thing is heard—

“You say Communism is Jewish?” challenges the Liberal-Minded Gullible.

“I certainly do!” the wiser man affirms.

“Well, *how can you prove it*, aside from the fact that great numbers of persecuted Jews flock into it to get them their rights the same as the workingman?”

In nine cases out of ten, the more educated Gentile is immediately nettled and at a slight loss. He knows that there are a hundred instances where Jews themselves have boasted of the Jewish character of Communism and its sponsorship, but where and how to put

his hands on such statements, or fetch forth documentary proof to support his contentions, is at the instant beyond him.

Truth to tell, he actually must search the press of the nation—and perhaps the politico-economic literature of the last generation—for the devastating weapons to show his scouring correctness of position.

Well, the time has come when such plight may be remedied.

“Why has no one written a book to date,” exclaims the sincere critic of Communistic Jewry, “presenting the admitted hook-ups between Judah and Bolshevism?”

The demand is a fair one.

In response to its persistence, *this volume in your hand has found literal expression!*

Communism, as you will now be shown, was hatched by a Jew—and a particularly disgusting one at that—kept alive by Jews, financed by them at the close of the world war, is staffed by them, installed by them in every country wherein it has taken its blood-toll, and at the present moment is being promoted to a lecherous “victory” in our Christian land by certain especially rapacious Sons of Judah, whilst thousands of other Jews brag openly of its “success” and readily concede its Jewish character and purpose from hide to marrow.

The only way to convince the Gentile gullible that such statements are by no means Fascist propaganda, birthed in race prejudice or serving the execrations of religious persecution, is to give him the simple but devastating life-stories of the Jewish gentlemen who have been Communism’s patrons from the first.

Who was Karl Mordecai Marx and how did he come to project Communism at the start? Who were Lenin, Trotsky, Bela Kun, the whole devil’s spawn of apostate Jews—276 of them from New York’s East Side—who swarmed into Russia at the birth of the Bolsheviki and clapped machine guns to the heads of White Russian Christians? What hook-ups has Stalin, the present Red Dictator, with officious world Jewry as we behold it today?

This volume puts the whole documented narrative into your hands *at last*, for instant reference henceforth when the enlightened non-Jew is challenged by his critics.

Endorse it or don’t endorse it, as you prefer, but the Jew or non-Jew is not alive today who can refute the ensuing *facts!*



THE 1960's AND BEYOND: JEWS AND BLACKS

It may have been true, as Kenneth Clark noted in 1946, that "antagonism toward the 'Jewish landlord' is so common as to have become almost an integral aspect of the folk culture of the northern urban Negro . . . and all his obvious housing ills are attributed to the greed and avarice of the Jewish landlord." Two decades later, public discussions raged over the extent of anti-Semitism among blacks, with some observers certain that it existed in abundance among the ghetto masses. Yet interviews with blacks in the early 1960's did not reveal significant levels of anti-Semitism (though this was soon to change). One investigator, who utilized National Opinion Research Center interviews of nearly 500 Negroes in random metropolitan areas outside the South, and of nearly 700 Negroes in the cities of Chicago, New York, Atlanta, and Birmingham, concluded that "Jews are by and large not singled out as being worse than other whites."¹

A report of a 1965 riot in Philadelphia, where many Jewish-owned stores were attacked, came to the same conclusion. There "not one eyewitness to the riot recalls the mobs shouting anti-Semitic slogans, although anti-white epithets abounded." Similarly, of Los Angeles, where a large number of Jewish-owned businesses were destroyed in the Watts riots that same year, Paul Jacobs wrote that the "Jews are not the primary target of the Negroes' frustration. Instead the order of hate runs about as follows: white people, merchants, and the Jews, as a separate group, last."²

The conclusion of the available studies is that the destruction of Jewish-owned stores during the ghetto riots of 1965 did not reflect Negro anti-Semitism so much as the normal conflict between landlord and tenant, seller and buyer, creditor and borrower.³ By the late 1960's and early 1970's, however, as the racial atmosphere became much more heated, an unmistakably anti-Jewish element entered into the picture, and some observers began to wonder whether these earlier reports of little or no black anti-Semitism might

1. "Candor on Negro-Jewish Relations," *Commentary* (February 1946):8; and Gary T. Marx, *Protest and Prejudice* (New York, 1967), 138—italics in text.
2. Lenora E. Benson, *Case Study of a Riot: The Philadelphia Story* (New York, 1966), 46; Paul Jacobs, "Negro-Jewish Relations in America," *Midstream* (December 1966):53; Paul Jacobs, *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom* (New York, 1968); David O. Sears and John B. McConahay, *The Los Angeles Riot Study—The Politics of Discontent: Blocked Mechanisms of Grievance Redress and the Psychology of the New Urban Black Man* (Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 33–47.
3. David Caplovits, "The Merchant and the Low-Income Consumer," *Jewish Social Studies* 27, no. 1 (1965):45–53.

not have reflected a degree of wishful thinking on the part of the investigators. In any event, the change, if it was a change, pointed to the inherent uncertainty and delicacy involved in the task of measuring anti-Semitism.⁴

The issue of black anti-Semitism came to the forefront when, for 36 of the first 48 days of the 1968–69 school year, a series of teachers' strikes closed the public schools of New York City. Almost immediately, these strikes became a center of national attention, as charges of Jewish racism and black anti-Semitism subordinated issues of labor relations, due process, and local school autonomy. In fact, the crisis centered on a black demand for community control of schools, including the right to hire personnel, a demand that threatened basic trade-union and civil-service principles (tenure, due process, etc.). This conflict soon became an ethnic confrontation. Blacks, who resented the "Jewish" role in their lives—many of the individual teachers involved in a proposed transfer happened to be Jews—sometimes resorted to outbursts against the Jews as a group. For its part, the United Federation of Teachers, which reprinted some 500,000 copies of explicitly anti-Semitic literature spawned by the school strike, encouraged a strong reaction by the Jewish community.⁵

On December 26, 1968, a black teacher and leader in the Ocean Hill school district read a poem by a fifteen-year-old black female student on a listener-sponsored FM radio show. The poem began, "Hey, Jew boy, with that yarmulka on your head/You pale-faced Jew boy—I wish you were dead." Four weeks later, on the same show, another black student remarked that "Hüler didn't make enough lampshades out of them."⁶

Thus, whatever one's final verdict on the extent of anti-Semitism implicit in the urban riots and the black "revolution" of the mid-1960's, certain explicit expressions of black anti-Semitism were widely familiar to American Jews by the end of the decade. Overt anti-Semitism, emerging most dramatically in the teachers' strike, reappeared in 1970–71 in New York in a controversy over a public-housing project in the Forest Hills section of Queens.

Some black intellectuals and some black radicals also began to express open hostility to Jews during the last years of the 1960's. Harold Cruse, for example, in *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, urged blacks to "seri-

4. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "Can Anti-Semitism Be Measured?" *Commentary* (July 1970):36–43.

5. For a history of the strike, see M. Mayer, "The Full and Sometimes Very Surprising Story of Ocean Hill, the Teachers' Union, and the Teachers' Strike of 1968," *New York Times Magazine* (February 2, 1969):18–23.

6. Jay Kaufman, "Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor," in *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism*, ed. Nat Hentoff, (New York, 1969), p. 56; and Julius Lester, "A response," in *Ibid.*, p. 229.

ously reassess [their] relationships with American Jews," and asserted that blacks were no longer "going to buy the propaganda that Negroes and Jews are 'brother-sufferers' in the same boat."⁷ In such sentiments Cruse was implicitly in tune with a general movement on the American left during the 1960's that went beyond the specific issue of Negro-Jewish conflict and was tied on the international scene to a new hostility to Israel and Zionism.

How to assess these developments was another matter. As Earl Raab pointed out in the January 1969 issue of *Commentary*, enough anti-Semitism was still buried in the American psyche to put Jews perpetually on their guard. Moreover, it was not always easy to distinguish between an aggressive and militant black leadership and the feelings and attitudes of the black community as a whole. To complicate matters, responsible black leaders rarely rejected explicit expressions of anti-Semitism among black activists, despite pleas from Jewish and white Christian leaders to do so.

At any rate, it is interesting to note a distinction between New York Jews and American Jewry in general on the question of attitudes toward blacks. According to a 1969 Harris poll, 59 per cent of New York City's Jews felt blacks were moving too fast toward racial equality, but in a nationwide Harris poll a few months later (March 1970) only 22 per cent of American Jews shared this feeling. The majority of American Jews, not threatened by confrontation, remained more or less true to the old liberal idea of a permanent coalition of interests between blacks and Jews.⁸

That idea was put to an even more severe test by the emergence of a new issue, quotas, or "affirmative action," during the 1970's. Norman Podhoretz contended early in the decade that quotas were "the most serious threat to Jews since World War II."⁹ The threat issued from the pursuit by the federal government of "equity" through a demand that public and private institutions receiving federal funds make a demonstrable effort to ensure that blacks and other designated minorities be represented in employment and admissions statistics in a proportion roughly equal to their percentage of the general population.

7. Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York, 1967), pp. 480, 483. See also LeRoi Jones, "Black art," in *Black Fire: An Anthology of Afro-American Writing*, ed. LeRoi Jones and Larry Neal (New York, 1966) p. 302; Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew* (Westport, Conn., 1970), pp. 111-32; Nathan Glazer, "Blacks, Jews and the Intellectuals," in *Commentary* (April 1969): 33-39.

8. The Lou Harris surveys are "Sources of racial and religious tensions in New York City," July 1969, p. 98, and "National survey," March 1970. See also E. Raab, "The Deadly Innocences of American Jews," *Commentary* (December 1970, p. 37).

9. Quoted in Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews in American Politics* (New York, 1974), p.168.

The Jewish community was not unequivocal about whether its own (and society's) long-range interests were best furthered by continuing to press, in the liberal tradition, for "color-blindness" in employment and admissions decisions, or by urging an emphasis on ethnic identification in these areas. Some of the Jewish organizations discussed in Part Two of this volume did, however, come to the conclusion that a society based on the principle of ethnic representation was not only potentially dangerous for Jews (who make up less than 3 per cent of the U.S. population, and are thus "overrepresented" in some professions and economic sectors) but also contrary to the American ideal of equal opportunity for all. Several of these organizations filed amicus briefs in the case of the University of California (Davis) medical school, which had set aside a designated number of places for minority students and had refused admission to a white (non-Jewish) applicant, Allan Bakke, even though his test scores were higher. The filing of these briefs on Bakke's behalf served again to heighten tensions between blacks and Jews.

Such controversies and confrontations may account, in part, for the increase in black anti-Semitism between 1964 (the National Opinion Research Center poll sponsored by the University of California at Berkeley) and 1978. A 1974 Harris poll revealed that blacks, especially blacks outside the South, tended to be much more anti-Semitic than the rest of the population (this was not true ten years earlier). Other surveys conducted between 1970 and 1977 showed "black support for Israel was . . . lower than that of whites at every level of education and at every age level."¹⁰ Finally, late in 1978, another Harris poll demonstrated that black anti-Semitism rose both relatively and absolutely from 1974 to 1978, as negative stereotypes about Jews were strongly supported even among national black leaders.

What the response of the organized Jewish community should be to these and other related developments was a matter of intense debate, a fuller discussion of which can be found in Section 2 below.

RIOTING IN PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 1965

The major victims of the August riots were the small businessmen of North Central Philadelphia. In all, 726 stores and offices were damaged—523 within the official riot zone, 203 in adjoining neighborhoods and a few several miles removed.

10. Seymour Martin Lipset and William Schneider, "Carter Versus Israel: What the Polls Reveal," *Commentary* (November 1977):27.

Judging by the number of stores ransacked, the prime targets appeared to be food stores (69), bars and other liquor outlets (67), clothing stores (67), and furniture and appliance stores (44). At the suggestion of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia, Mayor Tate quickly appointed a special committee to work on restitution claims. Damage claims upon the city ranged from \$500 to \$25,000; reimbursements from \$65 to \$2,000. The destruction was heaviest along Columbia and Ridge Avenues, the two major arteries of the district.

Some civil-rights workers and Negro civic leaders have theorized that most of the stores that were hit had earned the enmity of the area's residents, while merchants with good neighborhood relations were passed over. Actually, this theory has little basis in fact. An analysis of the riot pattern shows that in the two areas of greatest damage, west of Broad Street, the violence was wholesale, the stores clearly identified as Negro-owned being virtually the only exceptions. In a third, minor storm center east of Broad, and other areas that were less thoroughly devastated, indications are that the rioters were motivated more by the desire for loot than for revenge.

A food store belonging to the most chronic scofflaw in the annals of the Health Department was not molested, while retailers known to have good neighborhood relations suffered severe losses. In fact, David Kronick, assistant director of the Milk and Food Section of the Environmental Health Division of the Department of Health, reported later that in none of the riot areas did the department "find any correlation between the number of violations incurred by a store and the treatment it received during the riots."

The first outbreak, on Friday night, was more destructive than any that followed. Within a five-block radius of "riot ground zero," where the Bradford incident took place, only 54 properties out of 170 escaped damage. All but two were easily identified as Negro-owned or -operated; most had window signs to that effect. Of the two properties that came through unscathed, one was a Chinese restaurant which bore a sign reading, "We are colored too"; the other belonged to an osteopath who was indicted as an abortionist a year later.

Negro proprietors who lived some distance from their establishments and were unable to get to their stores in time to put identifying signs in their windows did not fare as well as their resident neighbors; the few Negro stores that were ransacked had no iden-

tifying insignia. Clearly the enemy was not all merchants, or even all bad merchants, but the white merchants; not all owners of property, but the *white* establishment, most visible, best symbolized and most vulnerable behind the plate glass windows in the black ghetto.

The second hardest hit section was Strawberry Mansion in the northwest corner of the riot area—the last of the North Central Philadelphia Jewish neighborhoods to turn Negro and still a district with a higher percentage of homeowners, a higher annual income and a higher level of education than other sections of the riot zone.

Two of North Philadelphia's three newspapers are based in Strawberry Mansion. One is a conventional neighborhood weekly; the other, *Nite Life*, is a booster of blackness which many white businessmen look upon as a "hate sheet." It devotes the third page in each of its weekly issues to attacks against unidentified "dishonest merchants," and to ads for neighborhood stores, most of which are unmistakably identified by pictures of their Negro proprietors. A streamer above these ads reads: "These Merchants are Part of You and Your Community. Spend Your Dollar with Them, because They Respect You and Your Dollar. These Merchants are for Advancement of Our Community." Some of the white merchants are convinced that such "buy-black" appeals helped fan the riot flames.

Although looting accompanied most of the attacks on stores and property, few would argue that this was the sole motivation for the onslaughts. When the fury of the riots had subsided, some civil-rights leaders suggested that resentment against the practices of some merchants and other economic pressures on the poor had contributed to the holocaust.

Cash and Credit

Negroes, like everybody else, tend to shop in their own neighborhood because it is at hand and because they feel more comfortable there. This tendency is reinforced by the clothing store's "lay-away" plans and the furniture appliance dealer's "easy-credit" offers.

Even when they buy for cash, poor Negroes are ready prey for sharp practice. Often illiterate and largely ignorant of their lawful rights, they are tempting subjects for overcharging, shortchanging and misrepresentation. And the further away Negro consumers move from cash transactions, the more opportunities they open for their own financial defeat.

Lay-away plans invite buyers to reserve an item for which they have insufficient ready cash by making a small deposit and a promise of payments that will eventually make the merchandise theirs. If the merchandise is clearly price-tagged and the lay-away purchase properly receipted—and if the customer keeps a careful record of all his payments—his only penalty may be the higher price often charged for merchandise in the area. If the purchase is not properly receipted, or the customer keeps no record, and the proprietor is unscrupulous, the transaction can become very expensive indeed.

But even more costly to the Negro consumer is the practice of buying goods on credit, a method of financing employed by some clothing stores and most furniture and appliance dealers in North Philadelphia as in other poor neighborhoods, Negro and white, in all parts of the country.

The “easy-credit” system need not involve higher than lawful interest rates in order to spell trouble for poor buyers. Bait advertising lures customers into the stores and high-pressure salesmen push untagged merchandise at whatever price the traffic will bear, with the tempting notion of paying a little bit down and enjoying the use of the merchandise while the balance is paid off, a little each week. People who start out with the intention of paying cash for a moderately priced item often find themselves buying much more luxurious—or simply much higher priced—merchandise than they had originally intended.

“Bait advertising and high-pressure techniques are used on everybody,” explains the Reverend William Gray, “but Negroes are more likely to succumb. People tell me—I don’t know how many times I’ve heard it—that they see a TV advertised on sale for \$120 and that they end up buying a color set for \$700.”

The result is that many families in North Philadelphia are saddled with heavy credit obligations which reach crisis proportions when income is suddenly reduced by illness or unemployment. . . . When the financially disabled buyer is unable to meet the regular payments to which he has committed himself—or the added burdens of late penalties and constable and court fees—his purchase is “repossessed” by the merchant or the loan company to whom the latter has discounted the credit contract. All that has already been paid—often as much as 50 or 60 per cent of the total cost—is lost. It’s all quite legal, of course, but it makes the man who has lost both his money and his television set sullen and angry. And if, as some-

times happens, he later sees, or thinks he sees, the same television set or window fan or kitchen range in the home of his sister or his cousin or his aunt, who has started payments anew, repossession looks suspiciously like confiscation and sullen anger turns to seething rage.

Even buyers with the ability to pay frequently find themselves with merely the fiction of possession because the products they have purchased break down before their payments are completed. Lacking any information about legal recourse available to them, some buyers resignedly continue payment on the faulty merchandise; others simply stop payments only to discover that in these circumstances they, and not the merchant who cheated them, are on the wrong side of the law.

Food

Food stores, with few exceptions, sell for cash; hence, there are no credit entanglements behind the North Philadelphians' resentment of the food merchants. Nor does the resentment stem primarily from price policies, although a random check of standard food items in a Columbia Avenue supermarket and one in center city indicated that North Central Philadelphia food prices were about 5 per cent higher than downtown. (Independent grocery stores are more expensive in both areas but comparable to each other.) Nevertheless, the rioters reserved some of their wildest ravages for the 69 food stores they invaded.

Some observers believe that the food stores attracted many rioters simply because their goods are portable and of universal value. Others, however, are convinced that the rioters were reacting to the food merchants' reputation for underweighing, shortchanging and selling stale or rotten food.

According to City Commissioner Maurice Osser, the food merchants are guilty of proportionately more offenses with respect to underweighing and shortchanging than other proprietors in the area. The charge that food merchants sell rotten food is for the most part not true, but there has been evidence of the practice in the past.

"Up until six or seven years ago," Health Department official David Kronick acknowledged, a "fast trade in salvaged food" brought tons of burnt-out and train-wrecked stock to the shelves

of North Philadelphia stores. But in recent years, he declared, "Columbia Avenue has been average in regard to the number of violations."

Perhaps the most important fact about consumer relations in North Philadelphia is that most people are either unaware that there are agencies to help them or have no faith in their desire to do so. They rarely call upon the services of private and quasi-public organizations like the Better Business Bureau and the Legal Aid Society. And, not unlike the vast majority of consumers, they have virtually no contact with the Bureau of Weights and Measures, whose job it is to enforce state and Federal standardization laws, insure the use of accurate measuring devices and uncover unfair merchandising practices.

It can be questioned whether the Bureau of Weights and Measures in Philadelphia displays the maximum concern for its most abused wards. "Let them holler," declared one high official to a researcher. "Who listens?"

The Columbia Avenue shopping area," acknowledged City Commissioner Osser, is one of the worst in the city for violations like shortweighing and overpricing. But," he added, "we make more routine visits there. More charges are made there than in any other area of the city."

Deputy Commissioner Anthony Sadowski, in charge of the Bureau, confirmed the commissioner's appraisal. "Certainly, Columbia Avenue is a problem area," he admitted. "But every merchant who is cited is brought before a magistrate." However, the Bureau has consistently refused to open its records of complaints and convictions to the public.

Despite charges of sharp practice, the merchants of the Columbia Avenue area are not making inordinate profits. Columbia Avenue is not the place to get rich quick. (A high rate of credit default and an excessive amount of stealing are the merchants' most frequent complaints.)

Almost all of the members of the Columbia Avenue Businessmen's Association have been on the street between 20 and 30 years. Few new businesses have been added in the past five years. The bankruptcy rate is 50 per cent during the first year; 50 per cent of the remaining businesses go under by the fifth year. "Nowadays," commented longtime resident and civic leader, Robert Alexander, Negro manager of Milady's Shoe Store, "when a business closes up, the place stays empty. It is very hard to get new

business here. And every time a store goes, some jobs go for the people who live here. We need these jobs.”

Negroes and Jews

Since the overwhelming majority of the white businessmen in the riot zone are Jewish, the question has been raised whether the merchants were attacked because they were white or because they were Jewish. The residents of the area are very much aware of ethnic and religious differences, and there is, in fact, some anti-Jewish sentiment, which grows, in part, out of the economic facts of life. But not one eyewitness to the riot recalls the mobs shouting anti-Semitic slogans, although anti-white epithets abounded. Nor is there anything to suggest that the results would have been appreciably different had the majority of the white merchants been of Italian, Swedish or German background.

The history of the Jews and of North Philadelphia combined to make the Jewish merchants the major representatives of the white establishment in the area. But it was as whites and as merchants and realtors rather than as Jews *per se* that they bore the brunt of the Negroes' attack. Anti-Semitism was not a primary factor in the rioting.

Nevertheless, the Jews do have a special and ambiguous position in the Negro ghetto. In every large city, Jewish organizations and individuals have long been in the forefront of the civil-rights campaign. In Philadelphia, two white board members of the NAACP are Jews, as is the only white elected official from North Central Philadelphia, State Senator Charles Weiner. The two Negro-oriented radio stations in the city are owned by Jews. It is likely that many, if not most, of North Philadelphia's residents are treated by Jewish doctors, advised by Jewish lawyers and served by Jewish community agencies.

But the landlord, too, is likely to be Jewish, as is the grocer and the man who owns the appliance store on the corner. All too often the Negro sees himself as a victim of their exploitation, and the contrast between himself and the more affluent businessmen of the community generates bitterness and resentment.

And finally, there is a widespread feeling among Negroes that Jews, as members of a group so often victimized by prejudice, owe a special solidarity to the Negro people. The demand, conscious or

unconscious, is that Jews behave better than other whites in their dealings with Negroes. Whenever this expectation fails to materialize, there is an added feeling of disappointment and betrayal. The result is often a particularly irrational Negro anti-Semitism, which responsible elements in the community, both Negro and white, work hard to combat.

“HEY, JEW BOY”

Hey, Jew boy, with that yarmulka on your head
 You pale-faced Jew boy—I wish you were dead;
 I can see you Jew boy—no you can't hide,
 I got a scoop on you—yeh—you gonna die.

* * *

When the U.N. made Israel a free independent state
 Little four- and five-year-old boys threw hand grenades
 They hated the black Arabs with all their might
 And you, Jew boy, said it was all right.

Then you came to America, land of the free,
 And took over the school system to perpetuate white supremacy;
 Guess you know, Jew boy, there's only one reason you made it—
 You had a clean white face, colorless and faded.
 I hated you Jew boy, because your hang-up was the Torah,
 And my only hang-up was my color.

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS: NEW YORK CITY, 1969

	<i>Total Non-Jew, Whites</i>	<i>Black</i>
NEGATIVE:		
<i>Most slum lords are Jewish</i>		
Agree	34%	73%
Disagree	21	8
Not sure	45	19
<i>Jews are richer than other people</i>		
Agree	36	69
Disagree	44	16
Not sure	20	15
<i>Jews more a race than a religion</i>		
Agree	32	57
Disagree	53	26
Not sure	15	17

<i>Jews are irritating because too aggressive</i>		
Agree	21	49
Disagree	59	28
Not sure	20	23
<i>Between money and people, Jews will choose money</i>		
Agree	23	71
Disagree	51	11
Not sure	26	18
<i>Jewish businessmen will try to put over a shady deal on you</i>		
Agree	17	62
Disagree	66	17
Not sure	17	21
<i>Too ambitious for their own good</i>		
Agree	11	39
Disagree	72	37
Not sure	17	24
<i>Feel superior to other groups</i>		
Agree	27	53
Disagree	50	22
Not sure	23	25
<i>Stick to their own and never give outsiders a break</i>		
Agree	20	49
Disagree	67	31
Not sure	13	20
<i>More loyal to Israel than to America</i>		
Agree	18	52
Disagree	57	21
Not sure	25	27

Note: The total sample of blacks was 1,041.

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS: UNITED STATES, 1978

Q.: Do you tend to agree or disagree with the following statements made about Jews?

	Total Public	Total Blacks	Total Whites
<i>Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries</i>			
Agree	75%	61%	76%
Disagree	15	17	15
Not sure	10	22	9
<i>The same people who would like to keep the Jews down would also like to keep other minorities down</i>			
Agree	62	67	62
Disagree	19	10	20
Not sure	19	23	18

<i>When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money</i>			
Agree	34	56	32
Disagree	42	14	45
Not sure	24	30	23
<i>Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people</i>			
Agree	29	38	28
Disagree	36	25	37
Not sure	35	37	35
<i>Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America</i>			
Agree	29	37	28
Disagree	42	14	45
Not sure	29	49	27
<i>Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive</i>			
Agree	27	29	27
Disagree	55	37	57
Not sure	18	34	16
<i>Jews have to work harder because they're discriminated against in so many places</i>			
Agree	27	37	25
Disagree	55	37	57
Not sure	18	26	18
<i>Most of the slumlords are Jewish</i>			
Agree	20	41	17
Disagree	36	19	38
Not sure	44	40	45



THE 1970'S: THE HOLOCAUST "HOAX"

*The precipitous decline in many forms of anti-Semitism in the decades after World War II did not put an end to the publication and distribution of literature insulting or defaming Jews. Perhaps the most notorious, and certainly the most publicized, was Arnold R. Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976).¹ Butz, an associate professor of electrical*

1. Butz's book was published by the Historical Review Press of London, publishers of Richard E. Harwood's *Did Six Million Really Die?* It was distributed by the Noontide Press of Los Angeles, publishers of the anonymous *The Myth of the Six Million* (1969) and distributors of J. S. Drummond's *The Twentieth Century Hoax* (London, 1961).

engineering at Northwestern University, contends that "the story of Jewish extermination in World War II is a propaganda hoax," for "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

How was this "propaganda hoax" created? Butz attributes the "extermination charge" to a combination of a "frame-up constructed by Washington" and a "Zionist concoction." Zionists and "United States propagandists" coordinated their "hysterical yapping about the Six Million" to invent "alleged Nazi brutalities . . . gas chamber nonsense . . .," and "obviously idiotic tall tales." "Survivors" have attempted to give this hoax credibility with their "endless raving about exterminations."²

The reaction of Northwestern University administrative officials, when news of the book's publication came to light, was at first hesitant and tentative. University president Robert H. Strotz declared, "As a private citizen, Butz can say what he wants," while the provost, Raymond W. Mack, felt Butz "has the same rights as any other person to get published."³

These views were vigorously contested by a coalition of Jewish-led students and faculty at the university. A full-page advertisement in the *Daily Northwestern* was signed by about 160 professors and staff, who noted their disappointment with the administration's response, which made "no reference to any personal sense of outrage at the contents of these allegations." The administration was further embarrassed by a campus-wide boycott of Butz's two courses, a strong petition from 50 Evanston clergymen, telegrams demanding "immediate action" from the administration by three Illinois state senators, and intense alumni and civic criticism. In response, the provost issued a strong statement, and the university at President Strotz's request, sponsored a lecture series ("The Dimensions of the Holocaust") to answer "the prejudice, misrepresentation and confusion perpetrated by those who traffic in untruth" by setting "good scholarship against bad so that everyone can judge the evidence for himself."⁴

FROM "THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY"

We now consider the specific Auschwitz "extermination" story that we are offered.

2. See also the interviews with Butz in the *Daily Northwestern*, January 14, 1977, and *Deutsche National Zeitung*, March 18, 1977.

3. *Daily Northwestern*, January 17, 1977, *New York Times*, January 28, 1977.

4. *Daily Northwestern*, January 20–21, 24–27, 1977; *Dimensions of the Holocaust: Lectures at Northwestern University* (Evanston, 1977), p. 1.

The trials which generated the evidence on which the extermination claims are based took place in a prostrate, starving Germany whose people were in no position to do any but that which the occupying powers wished. This was the political reality of the situation. By the record, it was the "Zionist International" which organized the specific extermination claims that were made, and which were given no credence by high and knowledgeable Washington officials. The leading personality in the setting up of the legal system of the war crimes trials was none other than the American prosecutor at the IMT [International Military Tribunal] trial. At that trial the judges had previously expressed themselves on the obvious guilt of the defendants, and the findings of the trial were formal legal constraints on the subsequent trials. The most important of the subsequent trials were those organized by the arch-Zionist [David D.] Marcus [head of War Crimes Branch, U.S. Army, 1945–1947] future hero of Israel and then head of the U.S. War Crimes Branch, an agency which had engaged in torture of witnesses in connection with certain trials. The "honor" of the states conducting the trials was committed to the thesis of extraordinary Nazi brutality. Under such conditions it is difficult to see how one could fail to expect a frame-up; this and the following chapter show that the Auschwitz charges are what one should expect.

It must first be asked; what is the essential attribute, the "trademark" of a hoax on this scale? No sane author of such a thing would present a story which is untrue in every or in most details; ninety nine per cent valid fact can be present in a story whose major claim has no truth whatever to it and recognition of this leads the author of the hoax to the maximally safe approach to his deed: distort the meanings of valid facts.

This is the basic structure of the Auschwitz extermination legend. It is shown here that every real fact contained in the story had (not could have had, but had) a relatively routine significance, having nothing to do with exterminations of people. Thus those who claim extermination must advance a thesis involving a dual interpretation of the facts, but by then the impartial reader, in consideration of what has just been noted, should be on my side; the need for a dual interpretation of fact, the trademark of the hoax, has emerged. . . .

2 RESPONSES TO ANTI-SEMITISM



THE ANTI-NAZI BOYCOTT, 1933-38

American Jewish organizations responded to the emergence of the Nazi threat in Germany in early 1933 in four broad forms: protest movements and mass rallies, propaganda, rehabilitation efforts, and defense actions. The first major protest rally took place in New York's Madison Square Garden on March 27, 1933; 22,000 people packed the Garden, while the estimated overflow of 35,000 held rallies nearby. Jews in at least 80 cities organized simultaneous rallies. Six weeks later, Jewish organizations arranged a "Parade of Protest" in New York, with about 500,000 persons participating. In addition to mass rallies, Jewish organizations arranged for nationally known Jewish and Christian leaders to address smaller gatherings, and began a drive to place vigorous pressure on the International Olympic Committee to move the games from Germany if Jews were barred from competition.

Many of the same religious leaders who were asked to address rallies were also utilized in the mass media. Jewish organizations attempted to sensitize the American public to Nazi activities by sponsoring radio broadcasts, spot announcements, newspaper ads, and magazine articles. They sought to

document Nazi outrages in Germany not only in the Anglo-Jewish, Yiddish, and American press, but in Christian publications and with a barrage of "true fact" news releases. At the same time, Jewish organizations continued to investigate and report on Nazi activities in the United States.

Rehabilitation efforts were made primarily on behalf of German Jewish children, but most attempts to settle them in the United States met with failure. Much more successful was American Jewry's most significant defense activity—the boycott of German goods.

The boycott began in the spring of 1933 as a response to the German boycott of Jewish businesses in Germany; the Jewish War Veterans became the first Jewish organization to declare a boycott. The American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights followed with its support, and by late summer the American Jewish Congress had put its weight publicly behind the movement by organizing its own boycott committees and by joining other groups in organizing both a nationwide boycott campaign and, in 1934, an international ban on German-made goods.

Together with the Jewish War Veterans and the Jewish Labor Committee (which supported the boycott from its own creation in early 1934), the American Jewish Congress' Boycott Bureau spearheaded the drive. A variety of committees, including the Committee on Imports, Women's Division, and, especially, the Vigilance Committee, sought to maintain public sentiment in favor of the anti-Nazi boycott, bring moral pressure on merchandisers to support it, provide reliable information about equivalents and substitutes for German goods and about the status of American affiliates of German corporations, and create effective boycott machinery.

In the first three months of its existence (1934), the Bureau secured declarations of firm support from a large number of department stores, including R. H. Macy & Co., Bloomingdales, Lord & Taylor, and Saks; it also brought several suits in federal court against firms which engaged in such deceit as gluing felt strips to the base of statues imported from Germany in order to cover their mark of origin. Success was immediate: whereas 95 percent of all cotton gloves imported into the United States in 1933 were German, 75 percent of the cotton glove shipments by mid-1934 were coming from Czechoslovakia—a diversion of more than \$3,000,000 in trade away from Germany. Indeed, the Bureau noted that all German exports in 1933–34 were only half those of 1932–33.

The boycott movement grew in strength during the next several years. Germany's share of U.S. imports was 5.6 percent in 1932 (the last pre-Hitler year), but only 3 percent in 1938. The value of German toys imported into the United States fell from \$1,200,000 in 1932 to \$483,000 in 1937 and \$317,000 in 1938, while during those same years leather

*gloves, furs, and rabbit skins imported from Germany declined by 80, 90, and 91 percent respectively. By 1938 the German government reported "a strong contraction of trade . . . caused by the increasing difficulty of selling goods in the U.S.A. due to the devaluation of the dollar as well as the anti-German boycott."*¹

The boycott of German goods was organized and supported largely by first- and second-generation immigrant Jews (especially the Zionists and the Orthodox) and their organizations—most notably by those Jews who still maintained contact with European co-religionists. It was strongly opposed, however, by more "established" Jewish individuals and organizations, hindering development of a unified strategy. The American Jewish Committee, for example, never joined the boycott, arguing that (a) the U.S. government was already applying quiet diplomatic pressure; (b) public protests and organized boycotts would only worsen the situation of German Jewry and feed American anti-Semitism by pleading on behalf of one small group; (c) The German nation was fundamentally civilized and would soon treat Jews more reasonably; and (d) the accounts of German atrocities might even have been exaggerated. Judge Joseph M. Proskauer's letter to Samuel Untermyer exemplifies several of these arguments. Proskauer, an active Committee man, was its president from 1943 to 1949.

THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS PROPOSE AN ANTI-NAZI BOYCOTT, 1933

By Boycott we mean the refusal and incitement to refusal to have commercial and social dealings with anyone on whom it is wished to bring pressure.

It is obvious that the German Nazis organized an economic and social boycott of the Jewish population of Germany. In this action the Nazis limited their activity to German Jews only because the foreign Jews are out of their physical or legal power. In the boycott action the Nazis make use of their capture of the German government and are systematically pressing legislation and public opinion in the direction of the destruction of the Jews in Germany. The facts are known and do not need to be repeated.

1. Quoted in *Jubilee Volume to Curt C. Silberman*, ed. Herbert A. Strauss and H. G. Reissner (New York, 1969), p. 69.

The German Jewry is psychologically and physically unable to resist the physical and legislative machine applied by the Nazis. But spontaneously and simultaneously a vigorous movement originated all over the world insisting on the organization of counter pressure on the Hitler Government in the form of an economic boycott of Germany. It is not a boycott, but an answer to the German anti-Jewish boycott. The feeling of the world is the spiritual father of this movement. All over Europe, China, Africa, and South America, the boycott started overnight.

The Idea is not a new one. The boycott was an essential part of the Irish Nationalists Plan of campaign in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. We remember in recent times the numerous boycott movements of the war time—the Anti-British boycott in China, The Anti-Japanese boycott in China, The Anti-British boycott in India, and the most recent, “one day,” anti-Jewish boycott in Germany.

The economic boycott became in recent times officially recognized in international law and is a part of the machinery of the League of Nations, in case of disobedience to the decisions of the League. We remember the recent discussions dealing with an eventual economic boycott of Japan by the members of the League of Nations.

A realistic investigation of the previous economic boycott movements proves that boycott is usually the weapon of the weak. Ireland, China, India, the League of Nations—all of them are and were weaker than the boycotted party. Does this hold true of the present situation? It seems to us, that if the movement should be organized on a world scale, (and not as a purely Jewish one) and be enlarged to include the social sphere of life (social boycott of the Germans abroad) and that if the economic boycott should not be limited to the field of trade, but should include the financial sphere as well, then the movement might reasonably be expected to succeed.

Jewry has many allies in the war against Hitler's Germany. We may count on all the political foes of Hitler in Europe. If wisely approached, they will support the boycott. In the United States, the boycott movement has to be presented to the Administration as a part of its recovery activity. The elimination of German goods from the domestic market would result in the enlargement of the market for national production, reemployment, improvement of the balance of trade, etc. Even if it should be necessary to adopt substitutes of German goods from other foreign countries, the boycott of

German goods would lead to better economic and political relations with other European states. The standpoint *laissez Germany vivre* and export in order to enable the country to fulfill her international obligations cannot reasonably be argued at present as Nazi Germany has stopped the payments even of entirely private obligations. The overthrow of Hitler's regime would be in the interest of the American investor and of the American man-in-the-street.

Even the American merchants in German goods have to understand that a temporary sacrifice (if any) is preferable to the constant danger that the Germans will transfer their business to the Nazis' representatives in the United States. The anti-Hitler boycott is economically a patriotic act for the United States citizens. Washington has to take in consideration the fact that Germany does not fulfill her treaty and contract obligations, does not pay her war debts, her commercial and private debts, and moreover endangers the life and property of American citizens. The German Terror is more systematically organized than the Soviet Cheka ever was. If the Department of State will decide to open its eyes, it would welcome the boycott movement and join the anti-Nazi front, which has been established in Paris, London, Brussels, Prague, and Warsaw.

On the other side Germany is dependent on foreign trade and foreign capital, and she cannot resist an organized, joint boycott pressure. There are already results to this spontaneous boycott movement, but, organization is required. What handicaps the boycott movement at present?

1. Some economic and psychological conflicts among World Jewry, and especially in the United States.

2. Lack of data and information.

The Economic Research Bureau recently organized by the Jewish War Veterans considers as a part of its work the organization of preliminary studies in this field.

Under the order of the Commander-in-Chief the following program of study has been elaborated and a special commission put in charge of its preparation for presentation to the World Economic Jewish Congress in Geneva and to the League of Nations. The names of contributors and details will be announced later.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS JOINS THE BOYCOTT, 1933

The American Jewish Congress, having resorted to the boycott of

German-made goods and German services as the only effective weapon at its disposal to protest against the inhuman treatment accorded to German citizens who are Jews, Catholics, liberals or, for other reasons, hated by the Nazi regime, wishes to make clear the following points:

1. The boycott is directed first and last only against the present German rule, and on behalf of the great masses of liberty-loving Germans who are the victims of this rule, as well as in defense of democratic ideals and principles of decency and justice.

2. The boycott is directed against all German products sold to and imported by the United States, through calling attention to American or non-German equivalents, not substitutes; and to alternative sources of supply.

3. The boycott is aimed at destroying or at least impairing seriously the economic and fiscal structure of Germany, by means of:

- a) A campaign designed to lead to the liquidation of: American holdings of German issues, that is, bonds, and shares of the German government, states, cities, and corporations, bearing, however, in mind at all times that liquidation will not be advocated or effected, unless this can be done to the advantage or rather without disadvantage to the American holder of such internal securities. It is erroneous to feel that the sale of German obligations held by foreign, notably American, investors would bring about a change in the attitude of present-day Germany. As a matter of fact, the sole or, at least a great number of the buyers today of these obligations are the German debtors themselves, so that selling them would merely be equivalent to playing into the hands of Germany, enabling her to repatriate her external securities at purely nominal values.

4. The boycott is directed against Germany's shipping industry, the income from which constitutes an important item in the country's international balance of payments, as exports of merchandise represent a most important part of the country's balance of trade.

5. The boycott is directed against tourist travel in Germany, with a view to destroying or impairing most seriously another important item in the Reich's international balance of payments.

6. The boycott is *not* directed against American firms which act as distributors of German goods, but only against such goods. American firms are already learning to divert their customers from

German to American producers or, where there are no American producers, to other non-German ones. Therefore, the boycott is not intended to apply to such German goods as are known already to have been purchased and paid for, and are part of the present inventory of American establishments handling them.

The above is an attempt briefly to set forth the chief aims of the boycott, as approved by the National Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress.

It is apparent that, in order to accomplish our aim, it will be necessary to enlist the cooperation of the widest possible groups, including among others labor, the professional classes, the religious organizations, capital, and the war veterans. It is suggested that each community take steps at once to organize a Local Boycott Committee on which will be represented the key men and women of the above classes, regardless of race or creed. The Central Committee, with headquarters in New York, will keep in constant touch with the local groups, advising them in detail in regard to the various products which are being imported into the United States.

Since the law requires specifically that all imported merchandise bear a label indicating the origin, it might not be difficult for the boycott committees to ascertain in their local establishments whether, and to what extent, German merchandise is imported. Failure properly to label foreign products is a violation of existing laws, and should be reported to the Central Office without delay. While labels should read "Made in Germany," one occasionally encounters merchandise bearing labels to the effect that the article in question has been manufactured in one of the political subdivisions of the Reich, notably "Saxony," "Bavaria," "Baden," and "Wuerttemberg." Whenever in doubt, communicate with Central Office.

The Central Boycott Committee will be glad to assist the local Groups in their efforts to enlighten the various communities, by supplying competent speakers who will explain the objective of the boycott, who will point out that it is not aimed at the German people but against the barbaric and brutal methods of the Nazi regime; and that it is as much, if not more, in the interest of the German people as it is of all mankind, to combat the Nazi menace, under whose yoke the good name, the sanity, and the welfare of the German people, as well as the most cherished interests of humanity, have been so grievously wronged and jeopardized.

Above all, remember that it will be considered unworthy for any freedom-loving man or woman, Jew or non-Jew, to purchase a

German-made product, or to patronize German shipping, so long as the cruel, hideous and fiendish persecution continues.

Let each committee undertake to appeal, in the name of humanity, to all citizens within the respective community, and enlist the cooperation of local organizations, groups, and individuals, irrespective of race, creed and partisanship, with a view to making the boycott of German goods and services effective in all essential details.

There is presented hereunder a list of the more important German raw materials and manufactured goods imported into the United States:

Chemicals and related products, including raw potash salts, potash muriate and sulphate;

Colors, dyes and varnishes, and coal tar dyes;

Textile manufactures, including laces and embroideries, hosiery, gloves, and hair nets;

Flax, hemp and jute;

Wool and wool fabrics, silk and rayon;

Printing paper, chemical wood pulp, and paper base stock;

Furs, raw and dressed;

Cattle hides and calfskins, goat and kid leather, uppers for boots, shoes and slippers, all kinds of leather manufactures;

Rayon and floss silk;

Earthenware and porcelain, glass and glassware;

Copper, brass, and bronze manufactures;

Crude aluminum and crude tin;

Electrical machinery;

Coal tar and oils;

Camphor;

Expressed vegetable oils and fats;

Motion picture films not sensitized;

Musical instruments;

Watches and clocks; and

Toys.

A BOYCOTT PLEDGE FORM

Inasmuch as the Nazi persecution of Jews and Christians violates and threatens every principle which as Americans and Christians we hold most dear, we feel we must protest, not only by word but by deed.

We therefore pledge ourselves to do nothing, either directly or indirectly, which can aid the German Government as long as it maintains three principles which lie at the very heart of Nazi doctrine: First, violation of religious freedom; second, racial persecution; third, glorification of war and inculcation of race hatred into the minds of little children.

As long as these doctrines prevail, we pledge ourselves not to travel on German ships, knowingly buy German goods or set foot on the territory of the Third Reich.

We pledge this not in hatred of the German people, but because since we are not allowed to communicate with them by word, we can only open their eyes by letting our actions speak for us.

* * *

Some people who wish to sign feel that a grave emergency might make it impossible to keep the pledge, so we have agreed that it may be waived in case of necessity, such as that of visiting some sick relation in Germany, or using some German medicine, or in the case of an employee ordered to Germany by his employer. The conscience of the signer must be the judge. We renounce all coercion in carrying out the boycott or attacks on German-Americans who refuse to join. We sympathize with them deeply in their dilemma.

JEWISH OPPOSITION TO THE EMERGING BOYCOTT, 1933

Joseph M. Proskauer to Samuel Untermyer, June 26, 1933

. . . The prime consideration for us must be the continuance and upbuilding of Christian sentiment in our favor. I find an overwhelming objection among my Christian friends to action by Jews which may adversely affect the interests of this country. It crystallizes in the thought that if there be a breaking up of endeavor to reach an international agreement, and that be accompanied by an organized Jewish boycott, the blame for it will inevitably be placed upon the Jews, whether justly or unjustly. The expressions of a few men to the contrary are in my view wholly exceptional. I can conceive of nothing that would foment anti-Semitism here in this country more than organized boycott. Nor is it any answer to suggest that this is a counsel of cowardice. It is not. I would gladly risk harm

to myself by adding increase of anti-Semitism here if that would help the German Jews. However that will not help them, but hurt them, because our only hope here—and I say this after long conferences in Washington with the Secretary of State and many Senators—is to consolidate our Christian opinion in its impact on Germany.

When we organize a boycott we are doing what [Hendrik] Van Loon properly characterized last night as fighting Hitlerism with Hitlerism and to no effect. We put ourselves in the position, by concerted action, of endeavoring to inflict harm on thousands of people, including indeed Jewish German manufacturers themselves, who have no responsibility personally for this Nazi menace. I like to keep our fight on the plane of moral rectitude, not only because that is morally right, but because I think it is good tactics.

Finally, we are today getting without organization and the evil of concerted action everything that we could get through an organized boycott. You know perfectly well that there is a widespread disinclination to purchase German merchandise. Nobody can criticize the individual for this attitude. Thousands will criticize an organization of individuals to foment this attitude.

THE BOYCOTT IN ACTION, 1937-38

After repeated violations of the Anti-Nazi Boycott, the Mills Sales Company, 901 Broadway, of which David Jacoby is the proprietor, has been picketed by the Joint Boycott Council. The daily mass-picketing was started after investigation proved that the company had violated Mr. Jacoby's oath of March 3, 1936, when he promised the American Jewish Congress that "from now on, we solemnly swear not to buy any German merchandise whatsoever."

The Boycott Council also took steps to bring the matter to the attention of the Board of Trustees of the Jewish Community Center of Brooklyn, of which Mr. Jacoby is a member. Mr. I. Posnansky, Executive Secretary of the Joint Boycott Council, appeared before the Grievance Committee of the Brooklyn Jewish Center with evidence to prove the contention of the Council that Mr. Jacoby is a Boycott violator.

The Grievance Committee has submitted a report to the Jewish

Center's Board of Trustees and their decision as to whether Mr. Jacoby is to be expelled from membership is awaited.

The evidence submitted to the Grievance Committee by Mr. Posnansky stated that on July 23, 1937, he visited the establishment of the Mills Sales Co., at 901 Broadway, with Rabbi Robert S. Marcus, Associate to the Chairman of the Joint Boycott Council. He stated that while in the establishment both he and Rabbi Marcus noticed that "Varsity" Bobby-Pins were in stock in spite of the fact that Mr. Jacoby under date of March 4, 1936, had written to the Joint Boycott Council that he did not handle these pins, since according to the findings of the Federal Trade Commission "Varsity" Bobby-Pins are manufactured in Germany. He further declared that on Wednesday, July 28, 1937, in the presence of Mr. I. Minkoff, Executive Secretary of the Jewish Labor Committee, Rabbi Marcus and Nathan Gross, attorney for Mr. Jacoby, that he found a large quantity of German merchandise. Some of this merchandise was in cases marked: "Arrived November, 1936." Mr. Jacoby contended that these cases contained old German merchandise, but when requested to produce invoices covering the lots involved, he could submit no written evidence to substantiate his contention. It was because of these repeated violations by a firm that had sworn to uphold the Boycott that the Joint Boycott Council placed the Mills Sales Co. on its Boycott list and decided to make every effort to have Mr. Jacoby ostracized from the social life of the Jewish community.

Meanwhile the pickets of the Council continue to proclaim to the world that David Jacoby and the Mills Sales Co. are renegade Jews who persist in the handling of Nazi merchandise. Besides his main office at 901 Broadway, the Joint Boycott Council has sponsored mass picketing at his branch office, 85 Orchard Street, and at his home, 329-A Crown Street. In this regard, Mr. Mills enjoys the peculiar distinction of being the only boycott violator to have been picketed at his home, his case having been regarded as particularly reprehensible.



THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

In 1971, partly in response to what he felt were the lessons of the 1930's,

Rabbi Meir Kahane published Never Again!: A Program for Survival as a vigorous response to anti-Semitism.

Kahane argues, repeatedly, that what is good for the Jews is, by definition, "good." Jews must come first—this is the meaning of ahavat yisrael (love of Jews)—and any Jew in distress knows he can call upon the Jewish Defense League and be certain of a response. Kahane excoriates the "established" Jewish defense organizations for failing to protect American Jews from anti-Semitism, especially black anti-Semitism.

Kahane's book contains serious distortions and simplifications. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the book—which articulates the JDL program—and the JDL itself served as a spur to American Jewish organizations to examine their own failures and the new mood of disenchantment with organizational life. Out of this questioning of the 1970's appears to have come a more vigorous challenge by American Jewry to the U.S. urban crisis and the plight of Soviet Jews.

The Jew, with his persistent image of weakness, unwillingness and inability to fight back is open to constant physical attacks on the part of non-Jews. A youngster wearing a skull cap and returning from a yeshiva is fair game. Jews walking in a park or playing ball in a playground are open to attacks. Such things must be met in the one way that is most effective—a feeling on the part of the attacker that he stands an excellent chance of being severely beaten himself. Jews must be taught to defend themselves physically. This is the surest deterrent to attacks upon them.

Not only is the Jew who knows how to fight back hard and expertly saved from a beating, but his smashing of the hoodlum who attacked him will guarantee that the latter will think much more carefully about attacking a Jew the next time. But, more important, is the cumulative effect of a large number of Jews fighting back and pummeling their attackers—the changing of the image of the Jew.

There is no surer guarantee that the Jew will be the subject of attacks than the feeling that Jews do not fight back or cannot fight back. The implementing of a major, well-publicized program of Jewish strength-building and a professional program of self-defense training (karate, street fighting, etc.) will go a long way toward burying that image.

Every Jewish Day School and synagogue must begin such a program without falling victim to the tired and nonsensical cliché that such things will create tension. No anti-Semite has ever been

created because Jews fight back. Jewish strength . . . is indeed a Jewish concept. It always has been and always will be so long as we live in a world where the Jew is an object of attack. Those Jews who differ with this concept are, generally, those who are not under attack. By their persistence in opposing Jewish self-defense, they perpetuate the image of the Jewish lemming. They gain nothing but non-Jewish contempt and guarantee further attacks upon Jews—all Jews, including themselves.

The mass program of Jewish physical defense must include not only strengthening bodies and learning the various means of self-defense, but also a well-financed and professionally supervised program of proficiency in firearms with every Jew having a legal weapon in his home.

Why? To ask that question of a people which lost so many of its number a short while ago because it failed to acquire or learn how to use firearms; to ask that question of Jews who live in neighborhoods that are cesspools of crime and violence; to ask that of us who are threatened by a myriad of groups with all manner of horrors; to ask that of Jews who know that every other group does not hesitate to buy and know how to use firearms—is difficult to understand. We cannot repeat ourselves too often. We pray that we may never have to use such weapons. Should we have to, however, it is better to know how. Indeed, this well-publicized Jewish program will help to bury that past image of the Jew as one easily feasted upon. A Jewish home with a firearm is a safer home. A Jewish neighborhood filled with weapons and people who know how to use them will give the hooligan pause. Jewish rifle clubs, sponsored by the proper rifle associations, should be organized and Jewish schools should enroll their students in them. We know that we will not use the weapons in anger or in offense. Are we so sure that others will exercise the same caution against us?



THE ANDREW YOUNG–JESSE JACKSON AFFAIR

In August 1979, Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and the most prominent black in the government, resigned from his position after secretly (Young said “accidentally”) meeting with a Palestine Libera-

tion Organization representative (without the government's authorization) and then lying—or at least “misleading” the State Department—about his meeting. High administration officials explained that Young's original false version of his PLO contact damaged U.S. credibility and undercut U.S. Middle East policy.

Despite formal expressions of regret over Young's resignation by American Jewish leaders, some American black leaders joined U.N. PLO representative Zehdi Labib Terzi in stating that the U.S. had succumbed to “Zionist pressure,” i.e., Jewish organizational interference. Immediately after Young's resignation, NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks, Southern Christian Leadership Conference president Rev. Joseph Lowery, and SCLC chairman Walter Fauntroy, Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, and other prominent black leaders, in what they termed a major shift in policy, announced their support of Palestinian human rights, including self-determination; voiced the hope that they might aid the Middle East situation by contacts with the PLO; and asserted that blacks have a special stake in Middle East peace because higher prices for oil would be felt most severely by them. A delegation of ten black leaders, representing the SCLC and including Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, head of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), arrived in the Middle East in late September and met with PLO officials, including Yasir Arafat. They pronounced themselves committed to the cause of the PLO and proposed a civil-rights movement advocating statehood for the PLO.

After a period of extreme rhetoric, including slurs against American Jews, the nature of their ties to Israel, and their attitudes toward blacks, a number of prominent black leaders sought to defuse the situation. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., president of the National Urban League, spoke of “ill-considered flirtations with terrorist groups devoted to the extermination of Israel,” while Benjamin Hooks directed his 1,700 branches of the NAACP to pursue continuous dialogue between blacks and Jews.¹

Voices in the Jewish community demanded a vigorous response to Jackson and Lowery. “We have been questioning here editorially,” wrote the *Jewish Post and Opinion*, “the response of the Jewish community which seems to have been to lie down and let itself be trampled into the ground.”² But most Jewish organizations refrained from responding directly to Jackson's inflammatory rhetoric. The NJCRAC, the umbrella organization of Jewish defense agencies, proposed a policy of stressing the areas of agreement that

1. *Jewish Post and Opinion*, October 19, 1979.

2. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1979.

united Jews and blacks, while, concomitantly, respecting their differences.³ In time, the *Jewish Post and Opinion*, which had called for a vigorous verbal response, noted that "the ties with the Black community which have been slowly eroding now are being restored and a more mature approach is leading to a restoration of the traditional alliance—there is some good fallout to the Andrew Young case."⁴ But what the final repercussions of this episode would be—in the field of black-Jewish relations, in the posture of American Jews vis-à-vis the government in Washington, in the traditional commitment of American Jews to the norms of American liberalism—would not be fully felt for some time to come.

BACKGROUND PAPERS PREPARED FOR NJCRAC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OCTOBER 21, 1979

Justin J. Finger, Director, National Civil Rights Division, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith:

... The Jewish community has been bewildered, angered and apprehensive about some of the things that have happened. It is disturbed by the anti-Semitism and by the crescendo of pro-PLO, anti-Israel rhetoric and activity. It is perhaps also somewhat apprehensive that if this is what can spring from the black community, the general white community could also slide toward these positions.

Surveying the situation up to this date, we have developed a few preliminary propositions and suggested courses of action:

1. We must use care that our fight against the anti-Semitism of some certain Blacks not lead to anti-Black feelings in the Jewish community.
2. We must not allow the excesses of rhetoric displayed by a few so-called leaders of the Black community divert us from any urgent programs—particularly those devoted to ensuring the survival of Israel, including especially the campaign against the PLO.

3. "An Assessment of Black-Jewish Relationships," National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council Report from the Executive Committee Meeting, Los Angeles, October 21, 1979.

4. *Jewish Post and Opinion*, October 26, 1979.

3. We should of course seek to find sympathetic friends in the Black community and to meet with them when appropriate. At the same time, we must be cautious not to put them in a position of being too out front in support of the Jewish community, lest they be subject to attack or suffer a loss of credibility or effectiveness.

4. Experience over the past two months establishes clearly that the most profitable meetings between Blacks and Jews would take place in local communities rather than on a national level. Here, we should try to center discussions on local issues of common concern rather than diverting ourselves into tackling the fundamental and staggering problems of society in which we could find easy agreement but little accomplishment.

5. If at all possible these meetings in local communities should be private—public forums at this time being avoided. It might, however, be helpful in certain situations that a joint statement be issued after such a meeting—that is, if this can be done without any question of wrangling or one-upmanship.

We must look for every reasonable and appropriate opening to lessen the friction between the two communities. . . .

Stuart Handmaker, Louisville, Chairman, NJCRAC Commission on Equal Opportunity:

. . . The means of reducing interpersonal and intergroup friction on the local level are at hand. Here, it seems clear that the needs are two: to communicate and to educate. Both of these are relatively low-key. Communication can be established—and in some cases has been established—by the creation of Black-Jewish dialogue groups at various levels. Even if we are totally at odds vis-à-vis the PLO we can and should open channels of talking. Most Blacks are totally unaware of who and how many the Jews in their community are, what Jews believe and do *as Jews*, and what individual Jews and Jewish organizations do and have done. . . .

In these areas, the manner of serving the need is clear. It doesn't matter if the totally erroneous Black perception of the role of the Jew in civil rights came about by accident or as a result of a concerted sub-rosa propaganda effort on the part of those who would injure us. It needs to be met. It needs to be met by face-to-face and group-to-group meetings on the local level. Further, it could be helped by the availability of printed material on the mass com-

munication level telling what we have done and are doing. This is an area for prompt action by NJCRAC and its constituent national agencies and Community Relations Councils.

If the most concerned among us are right in suggesting that it was no accident that this non-sequitur of firing Andy Young, ergo non-support on civil rights or anything else, became so prominent so quickly, then it is only by treating on an ad hoc basis each issue as it arises—school desegregation, housing rehabilitation, etc.—that an overall coalition can be rebuilt.

Earl D. Raab, Executive Director, San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council:

. . . Discussions with Blacks in many communities, after the Young resignation, led to the conclusion that very few Black middle class local leaders, much less the underprivileged, were very concerned about the PLO or the Middle East situation in general. (Nor very taken with the abstract arguments about the loss of oil affecting Black jobs.) They were concerned about Andrew Young, as a symbol. And for many of them the circumstances of his resignation now served as a symbol of how the Jews generally block the advancement of upwardly-mobile Blacks. It fit and released the disaffections that had been brewing before. It is significant that at local discussions, the first item laid on the table by Black participants was still the "quota issue," symbolic of their economic concerns. . . .

Some suggest that we declare war on the Blacks, or at least their leadership. After all, they are a minority. That would be a disastrous course for Israel, and for the American Jewish community. We need Black support on both counts; and we *don't* need to help unify an anti-Semitic ideological force in America.

Others suggest that we pull back on some of our positions (e.g. quotas), and make friends again. But we won't make friends that way (e.g. the quota issue is only a symbolic issue. And that kind of weakness and backing-off from principle never works). . . .

The center is where we belong, and what we have to strengthen. We *still* have a stake in the economic advancement of the Black population in America. We *still* have a stake in having the Blacks in the anti-bigotry, anti-repression circle with us. Our problem will be the tendency of the Black population to be attracted to "left" influences in their aspirations. Our challenge is to try to keep a significant Black segment attracted to centrist movements as much as possible; and to maintain a centrist movement which is attractive in those terms, and effective.

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