

# JEWISH QUESTIONS

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### THREE LECTURES

#### BY

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### I 9 I 4 BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY NEW YORK

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# JEWISH QUESTIONS

I.

# The Cultural Value of the Jewish Race

The cultural value of the Jewish race has long been established by students of history and philosophy. A race whose genius has created all prevailing religions among all civilized nations, a race whose spiritual heroes have given to the world the principles of freedom and justice, a race whose sons have for thousands of years made vast contributions to the advance of civilization such a race unquestionably represents a useful member in the family of nations. And yet a minute, scientific investigation of this problem, from the point of view of, anthropology and biology, is urgently needed.

For, at the present time, some writers are busily engaged in disseminating the view that the Jews are no race at all; that modern Jews are not descendants of the ancient Hebrews, and are accordingly no Jews, but merely adherents of the Mosaic creed. Should this opinion prove to be correct, we would naturally have no right to appeal to the achievements of the Jewish intellect in ancient times. If this view is right, then all the facts enumerated above must be eliminated, when we consider the cultural value of the Jewish race. This opinion, however, can easily be refuted by anthropological arguments. But far more serious and more dangerous are the theories of a different kind, which pretend to be the result of strictly scientific research.

These theories do not deny that the Jews of to-day are the descendants of the Jews of ancient times, but assert that both modern and ancient Jews represent an inferior racial element, and that they are injurious to the State and Society in whose midst they dwell. The anti-Semitic theories, of which H. Stewart Chamberlain is now the foremost exponent, are as follows:

The Jewish race has developed its characteristics on lines diametrically opposed to those of the rest of mankind. The inoculation of the characteristics of the Jewish race in other nations would be a great menace to the latter. Above all, however, the Jews deserve to be contemned and despised for their spiritual inferiority. The Semites have never created anything great and compre-They never founded a great organized State. hensive. Loyalty, respect for the great, and nobility of character in general, are entirely unknown among the Jews. In all these thousands of years they have not rendered any exceptionally great service in the domain of philosophy, science and art. There are a number of talented Jews, but they have no surpassing genius. The Semitic race, accordingly, is far below the Aryan race. Even the religious genius, which has been ascribed to the Jews, does not exist, according to Chamberlain. It is just the Jews, he maintains, who are the least gifted in matters of religion. Even the Negro is above them in this respect.

Now anyone familiar with modern tendencies and with the latest literature, will recognize the reality of these disgraceful attacks, and will understand that should such theories be allowed to remain unanswered, they would become a great political danger. It is very desirable, therefore, that we should employ the same weapons as our opponents: that is to say, the weapons of anthro-

pology, sociology and natural science, to investigate the social value of the Jews.

It is unfortunately impossible, you realize, to solve this problem in a single lecture. In the short time allotted to me, I can only give a rough outline of a sketch, to show the manner in which our opponents argue in order to attain such results, and to point out the method we are to choose in our refutation.

It has hitherto been the commonly accepted theory, that in remote antiquity all the nations, from the East Indians to the Britons, from the Greeks to the Norwegians, formed one common race-the Aryan. The great historians of human culture, and especially Renan, propounded the theory, that all great things that were achieved by German industry, British energy, Roman power, Greek art and Indian philosophy, were due to this common Aryan spirit. With these they compared the cultural achievements of the Semites, and arrived at the conclusion that the Semites have indeed achieved much in the field of religion, but have been surpassed by far by the Aryans, in all other domains. To this Aryan theory, which was important enough in itself, there has, in the course of the last decade, been added another one, which is of infinitely greater significance. What is the purport of this new theory, and what relation does it bear to our subject?

The well-known migration of natives, which entirely devastated the south of Europe at the end of classical antiquity was, according to this theory, not an isolated event, but the last link of a chain of such migrations from the Germanic North. These migrations were the consequence of the overcrowded population of these countries, the soil of which became diminished on account

of the encroachment of the sea and through glaciation. The severity of the glacial period made the struggle for existence very strenuous, and only the fittest survived. This struggle made it necessary to exert all bodily and mental power. And thus arose in these cold regions a blond, well-built nation, endowed to the highest degree with vitality and mental activity.

When the population became overcrowded, part of this race crossed the Alps, and inhabited in prehistoric times all countries in Southern Europe, the northern coast of Africa, and the western and southern parts of Asia. Some of these stocks even came to China and Japan, and even further. We indeed find to-day in all these countries, men of high stature, blue eyes, blond hair, and long heads. These men are considered the descendants of those men of the prehistoric migrations.

Many problems now appear to be solved. In the first place, we understand why the Aryan speech is so widely spread. For these wanderers brought their language along with them. Hence all the languages, of all the kindred nations from India to the Atlantic Ocean, are related. But this is not the only problem that is solved. It was discovered that the blood-relationship reaches much further. A reason was finally found for the phenomenon that there are so many blond and dolichocephalic, that is, longheaded people, in the South. The explanation was simple. Anthropologically, they belonged to the nations that hailed from the North. This newly won experience is even applied to the Jews. For instance, Esau was red; King David was blond; Jesus, too, as it is sometimes claimed, was blond-hence those men, as well as modern blond Jews, were not pure Semites, but descendants of the Amorites; that is to say, of a race that

hailed from the North and which, according to Chamberlain, had a great share in the composition of the Jewish race.

It is claimed, that scientific inquiry has succeeded in demonstrating that great achievements, which history ascribes to the Jews, are due to these non-Jewish elements. Furthermore, that scientific inquiry appears to establish the fact that many of these great achievements were not at all produced by the Jews, but were borrowed by them from the neighboring nations. Thus the most important elements of Jewish culture are supposed to be derived from Babylon and Egypt; and the bulwarks of their religion are supposed to be borrowed from the Sumero-Accadians. But, according to Chamberlain and the politico-anthropological school, these Sumero-Accadians were dolichocephalic—longheaded—and hence of Aryan, of Northern origin.

All these Aryan Germanic natives, according to this theory, had in common, certain characteristics of soul and mind, as well as of creative genius. And in consequence of those creative characteristics, all the enumerated nations had already, in remotest antiquity, attained their high classical culture. To-day, however, all these Oriental countries are almost entirely excluded from cultural creations. The historian of human culture has often occupied himself with this question. But the solution of this problem is only apparently difficult. For in our own times also, only the Germanic nations are politically, economically, spiritually and artistically, 'the standard-bearers of idealism and progress. These anthropologists find that all the great and important achievements have proceeded from men of Germanic extraction. An explanation was thus found for nearly all striking phenomena.

For through these migrations in remote antiquity, not only Germanic blood, but also Germanic power and energy, and Germanic intellectual productivity were imported to the South. Along with their blood and language these Northern hordes, also brought, according to this theory, to the South, their high and gigantic cultural ability; while the primitive inhabitants of the latter countries had lived in an intellectual lethargy. Thanks to these invasions, all the oriental nations of antiquity were enabled to attain the loftiest summit of civilization. But as the northern blood of that uncultured primitive population was slowly and gradually waning, these primitive nations fell back to their present-day inactivity and sluggishness. Their cultural value was reduced, in proportion to the dilution of the quality of their blood. The decline of Greece and Rome is thus easily explained by the anthropologists, through the waning of the fair-complexioned race elements. For the cultural value of a nation stands in direct relations to its racial value. And this racial value depends on the quantity of northern blood which still flows in its veins. Hence the racial value of the Jews is very insignificant, according to the teaching of Gobineau, the politico-anthropological school and Chamberlain.

According to Chamberlain, the Jews are, apart from this, a bastard nation, which arose through the mingling of racially different nations: Semitic Arabs, Aryan Amorites and Syrian Hittites. It is this bastard character which is responsible for the unusual inferiority of the Jewish race.

I am extremely sorry that I am not in a position to discuss here in detail the anthropology of the Semites. For, although theories explained here appear far-fetched

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at first sight, they are, nevertheless, important. It would by far lack due emphasis, were I merely to explain to you that these theories are incorrect. It is necessary to enter deeply into this question, in order to see how fundamentally wrong these theories are, and that in many cases just the opposite is true. But one must enter into linguistic and pre-historical, as well as into sociological and anthropological investigation, and into a study of the laws of heredity, if one wishes even to begin to criticize this system. By investigating the history of human culture we find, to take only a single example, that no Aryans ever existed at all, and that identity of language does not permit us to draw any conclusions about identity of race. For, according to this language theory, all negroes in South America would be pure Spaniards and all negroes of North America would be pure Anglo-Saxons! Languages are altered and transformed through political and social influences, so that two neighboring and kindred nations may by chance speak different languages. Thus the Jews of to-day collectively speak all the languages of the world except their own. And thus, also, the Persian or the Armenian, who is supposedly Aryan, is, according to all anthropological characteristics without any doubt, more akin to the Semitic Syrian than to the Iberian or Norwegian. For this reason alone, it is impossible to speak of the contrast between the Semites and the Aryans.

But more significant than these linguistic considerations are the anthropological investigations themselves, of too technical a nature to be discussed here in detail, concerning which I must refer you to my book on this subject. The researches about this matter force upon us the conclusion that the Germanic race theory is from

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beginning to end untenable and without foundation.

All this is, however, only a part of that which an impartial investigation into the material reveals, but even this is sufficient to prove the whole proud edifice of these theorists to be only a house of cards, which can offer no resistance to a keen critic. But anthropological inquiry yields still more important results. For the division of the races of man, according to their historical development—and this is the only division possible to-day—arrives at conclusions diametrically opposed to those maintained by these theorists.

When we enter into the study of anthropology, we find an entirely different grouping of nations. On account of the glaciation of the Alps, the entire white Caucasian race was, for many thousand years after the glacial period, divided into two unequal groups of nations differing, therefore, from each other, in their development and physiognomy; the land in the cold regions north of the Alps was inhabited by the fair-complexioned group -the Xanthochroic or light-haired-and the land south of the Alps was populated by a darker-haired group-the Melanochroic. To the Xanthochroic belong the Slavonic-Keltic-Germanic nations; while to the Melanochroic, south of the Alps, belong the nations of Southern Europe. North Africa, and the white nations of Asia. To the southern group belong, accordingly, the Jews and other Semites, as well as the East Indians, Persians, Sumero-Accadians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, etc.

According to the dogma of the race theorists, innate ability is determined by birth, and nations of the same race must necessarily be equally gifted. The Jews, according to this division, are of the same race as the nations enumerated above, and hence their innate ability



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must in no respect differ from that of the Indians, Sumero-Accadians and Greeks. The racial value of the Jews must, therefore, be the same as that of those nations of which the race theory treated; namely, of all Aryan nations except those of the Germanic group. For just as the Germanic nations distinguished themselves among the Xanthochroic group, so did the Jews excel among the Melanochroic types. That group to which the Germans belong, entered the stage of civilization only as late as the 13th century, and it is only in the very late periods that it assumed a leading role in the advance of European culture. The nations of the other group had a high state of civilization in remotest ages, and some of them, for instance, the Egyptians and Babylonians, stood thousands of years ago, at the highest stage of development. As Greeks and Romans they created the classical culture, and as Moors, Byzantines and Italians, they were the authors of post-classical civilization.

Is it, however, at all true, that innate ability depends upon race, and that every race has its specific racial peculiarities which invariably adhere to it forever, under all conditions and circumstances? Is there an innate racial soul which never changes? Are the psychical bases of various races really fundamentally different? It is true that there are different racial characteristics and abilities. But do these fundamental racial peculiarities remain the same throughout all ages or are they subject to the laws of change?

This is a problem with which Science has interested itself for more than a century. Formerly it was merely a subject for philosophic speculation, but it has now entered into the field of experimental investigation. In the field of heredity two views are now current, that of

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Lamarck, who insists upon the adaptability and changeability of characteristics in the entire organic world, and that of Weissmann, who maintains that the specific character always remains the same. However interesting it may be to pursue this theme in detail, I must confine myself to a brief resume of the results obtained from a historico-philosophical analysis and further study of the laws of heredity. The theory that acquired characteristics are not transmissible and that the specific character is absolutely constant, can now be regarded as exploded. As it is impossible to give details on this point in a single lecture, I must again refer you to my book for a fuller discussion. What applies to the entire organic world applies with greater force to man. It is therefore not true that we are justified in assuming specific racial psychical powers for each race. It is indeed true that the Greeks distinguished themselves by their artistic sense and the Romans by their energy, and that the peculiarities of the Italians differed from those of the Scandinavians. But the reason for these differences are to be found in their historical and social environment. The inductive method of historical investigation shows that the internal character of these nations changed, when the external conditions altered fundamentally. Thus the so-called innate family virtues of the Jews may be lost, when they come in disturbing environments. It is equally untrue that the essential psychical differences of the va rious races can be demonstrated by natural science, in the sense that all pre-eminent Frenchmen must distinguish themselves by their esprit, and Germans can only excel as poets and thinkers, and that the specific ability of the ancient Greeks lay only in art, that of the ancient Indians only in philosophy, that of the Romans only in

conquest and control, and that of the Jews only in Commerce.

The psychology of a people changes at the various stages of culture through which it passes. Most people pass through the same stages of "Volkspsychologie," at one stage or another of their existence, and this "Volkspsychologie" is the product of the particular stage. There is a peculiar psychology of hunters and husbandmen, of scholars and merchants; a distinct psychology of the inhabitants of the country and of the inhabitants of the city. This is the same among all races. There would accordingly be more justification to speak of a psychology of stages than of a psychology of races. The quality of the capability of a nation does not depend upon its race, but upon environment, the stage of development through which it at the moment happens to be passing, and upon the influences of tradition.

And yet when we consider the capacity and psychical and intellectual ability of a nation, we cannot say that it is immaterial from which race it descended. The descendants of one race may indeed be more gifted than those of another. The explanation is to be found in the past experience of that stock. In the entire organic world, we find that every being developed and perfected those organs which were mostly employed. The limb which is most exercised, grows best. When it was necessary, therefore, for a certain species to develop its brain to the highest perfection-when a certain race, by its own free-will or by force of circumstances, devoted itself to work which required it to perfect the brain, it necessarily follows that the descendants of such a race have the advantage over the descendants of another race. The quality of their ability, as was remarked above, depends

upon environment, the stage of development and the influences of tradition; but the quantity of their capacity, the magnitude and intensity of their ability does not depend upon environment, but upon race, or rather upon the cultural activity of their ancestors. This is, therefore, a factor of heredity.

Now with what people and with what race was the cultural activity of their ancestors greater than with the Jews? For with the Jews study was a religious duty, and those among them who did not possess a high degree of intellectual activity were not fit for the struggle for existence. In consequence of the intensive cultural activity of their ancestors, the Jews must possess the maximum sum of innate ability.

This result is obtained from the theory of heredity. Anthropology, as we have shown, points to the contrast between the Xanthochroic and Melanochroic. But this contrast also led us to a conclusion different from that taught in the schools. All those nations which achieved the great things, and created the intellectual monuments, belong to the same groups of races to which the Jews belong. This would be the inference from the mode of distributing the intellectual ability, if we are to maintain with the race theorists, that nations derived from the same race are equally gifted. I merely wish to hint at this conclusion.

But the racial pride of the Semites does not require them to employ any speculative demonstration and logical deductions, which may perhaps be considered as sophistry. The simple, but forceful historical facts in themselves render all other demonstrations unnecessary. The principal reproach cast upon the Jews by their foes, that the Semitic race lacks creative genius, stands self-

condemned in the light of the result of modern research, which considers Mesopotamia, the cradle of all the Semites, as the place where civilization originated. And furthermore, no period of history is more neglected by these theorists than the golden age of Semitic culture in Spain. They pass over in silence the influence that that period had on the development of modern Europe. There is an unbroken chain of evidence to prove that the origin of Humanism and of the Renaissance of which Europe is so proud, can be traced to the Semites, Jews and Arabs, in Spain. The Jew indeed among the nations, who draw upon his resources and in whose midst he lives, is only one of the heirs of his own past achievements.

There is, however, another important question which waits an answer. We have seen that the Jews and the other Semitic nations were the torch-bearers of civilization. In ancient times the Babylonians, Phoenicians, and Carthaginians took an active part in advancing human culture, while in mediaeval times the Arabs achieved wonders, and were the leading and creative genius of all that is great. How is it that now, as it seems, the Jews are merely receptive and reproductive, but do not produce anything really new? An explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the social structure of presentday Jewry.

In Mesopotamia, Palestine, and finally in Spain, these nations lived in accordance with their own culture. They did not confine themselves to one branch of industry, but, like all other nations of the earth, cultivated all sorts of trades. But the unnatural historical development of the Jews, and the quite unnatural distribution of professions of to-day must inevitably produce unnatural results.

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The social structure of present-day Jewry is unsound. The keen struggle for existence stifles much that is really great and profound, so that for the most part only those that are commercially fit are able to rise. In consequence of the present-day development, which is contrary to the law of natural selection, Judaism of to-day cannot fully bring out its dormant powers, and its cultural energies cannot be brought into complete action.

The development of great talents finds a favorable field among such nations, as having grown to fruition with their soil-owing to their calm and stable pursuits, have the necessary leisure to think and contemplate for its own sake. But in a commercial community where the struggle for existence is still more intensified by political and economic conditions, such talents are crippled or lie fallow and rusty. It is due to this influence, which is contrary to the law of natural selection, that the Jews are extremely ambitious. Prof. Werner Sombart erroneously takes this as the principal characteristic of the Jewish race. In addition to those disadvantages, we must take account of the destruction of the old religious and Ghetto environment, in which the people were at least complete after their fashion. Ours is a period of hollow and empty transition. The inner distraction and disruption of our people in this transition, have caused this characteristic to be considered as the principal feature of the Jewish race. It is very unfortunate that, owing to exceedingly superficial reasoning, the noble personalities are left out of account. The mediocre and obtrusive Jews are in evidence, and they form the criterion for the entire Jewry. The gross, misleading picture which arose through the social structure of Jewry in the diaspora depicted the Jew as the type opposed to all that is lofty in humanity.

The peculiar environment brought it about, that the actual conditions could not have been different from what they are to-day. Under the conditions existing at present, the Jews cannot attain that richly productive activity which in remote antiquity their ancestors developed in Mesopotamia, and later on in the Pyrhenean peninsula. And yet even to-day, under the most discouraging circumstances, the Jews have created not only the modern system of capital, or not only a large number of prominent workers in purely intellectual domains, but they are also the creators of the new currently dominant tendencies of knowledge. One at once thinks-to mention only a few-of Hertz and Ehrlich, of Marx and Stahl, of Spinoza and Bergson, and of Georg Kantor in mathematics. One sees that your profound thinkers have very often created also in heterogeneous cultures, a transvaluation of all intellectual, ethical and religious values, a radical change and renewal of the whole spiritual life. One wonders what their cultural value would be under healthy and normal circumstances. We fear to draw any definite conclusion on this point, lest it should sound exaggerated and speculative, to say the least.

Through the conscious efforts of numerous generations of thinkers and statesmen and through the influence of religion, a nation of pure blood, not tainted by diseases of excess or immorality, of a highly developed sense of family purity, and of deeply rooted, virtuous habits, would develop an exceptional intellectual activity. Furthermore, the prohibition against mixed marriage provided that these highest ethnical treasures should not be lost, through the admixture of less carefully bred races. This prohibition brought it about that heredity, which is the first factor in the formation of a race, should

exercise its power in a most beneficial way, and thus the racial qualities are not only transmitted from generation to generation, but are gradually heightened.

Thus from the striving after eternal existence (which was likewise a commandment of the Deity), there resulted that natural selection which has no parallel in the history of the human race. In the struggle for existence imposed upon this nation, which was shaken by fire and sword, by the hardest economic and moral oppression, and by constant enticements to fall away, only those individuals who were morally and physically strong could survive and propagate.

Thus the Jews form an ancient, chaste race of a maximum cultural value. If a race that is so highly gifted were to have the opportunity of again developing its original power, nothing could equal it as far as cultural value is concerned.

We thus admit that, despite the extraordinary share that the modern Jews contribute to the advance of civilization, their achievements are only an insignificant part of that which they could have produced under normal conditions. The philosopher Eduard von Hartmann, who can by no means be regarded as a friend of the Jews, has admirably expressed himself on this point when he says:

"The conflicting position of Judaism makes it impossible for the Jews to produce anything new in the field of a Jewish national culture, which does not exist, or in the field of the national culture of other nations. But the versatility of Judaism and the originality of its comprehension are sufficiently large to enable it to adapt itself to alien national cultures of various kinds, and by good fortune sometimes to reach as far as that borderline, which divides talent from genius." This proves, at least, there is nothing against the assumption, that should a Jewish national culture exist, the old productivity of Judaism would manifest itself once more.

I have made no reference in this lecture to the enormous influence of the religions to which Judaism gave birth. There is hardly any parallel for such activity in the cultural world. Nor have I spoken of the Jewish spirit, that is to say, Judaism in a broader sense, that lies hidden in these religions and in the most important intellectual movements of modern times, as, for instance, in Philosophy and Socialism. I have purposely confined myself to the services rendered by the Semites in other domains, to the material culture, and to the investigation of our problem from the point of view of pure Natural Science.

I am satisfied if I have been able to show you, that even if the Jewish people should prove itself unequal to the task of carrying out its wonderful mission, namely, to realize its dormant potentialities, no stigma of belonging to an inferior race can be attached to it in the name of Science.

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# The Significance of the Mixed Marriage

What can we say with certainty about the purity of the Jewish race? The answer to this question is of vital importance. For if intermarriage with alien races had in former years played a great role among Jews, it is self-evident that we are not justified in speaking of a Jewish race at all. Are the Jews of to-day really the pure descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob?

Nobody assumes to-day, that all the Jews are the direct descendants of the three patriarchs; they are derived from the mingling of various stocks which were, however, essentially varieties of one and the same race.

When in the thirteenth century before the current era the Bedouin tribe of the Habiri, that is to say, the Hebrews, took possession of Palestine, they found there a vast native population, the Canaanites, Hetites, Getites, Amorites and Philistines. During the period of the Judges and Kings, the Jewish tribes intermarried with all these nations. Their blood was mingled with that of the nations in whose midst they lived. This slow process of intermixture continued till after the first exile, till the time when the powerful word of Ezra severed all existing marriage connections with foreign nations, and henceforth the purity of the race became the dominating principle.

It is quite gratuitous to enter into a controversy about the exact definition and classification of such nations as the Hittites, Amorites, Philistines and others, to which,

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in a broader sense, the Egyptians, as well as the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians and Jews belong. Whether we speak of Semites and Hamites in accordance with the inadequate linguistic methods, or of Semites, Hittites, Amorites and Kushites, we regard these nations as related to one another in the racial sense. Ample anthropological evidence exists for this statement, though naturally it cannot be presented in this lecture.

Many historians are of the opinion that the appearance of Ezra did not put an end to the racial intermixture. They think that also in all subsequent centuries the Jews continued to mingle with the nations of the diaspora, just as in the time before the Babylonian exile. They advocate the theory that the Jews of to-day are the descendants of the heathen proselytes during the Hellenistic period, or the offspring of mixed marriages between the Jews and their surrounding nations during the Christian centuries.

We can to-day assert with certainty that the extent of proselytism has been greatly exaggerated. There can indeed be no doubt that Judaism found numerous adherents among the pagan nations during the Roman and Hellenistic and early Christian periods. We have, however, sufficient reason to assume that those proselytes were only the so-called "proselytes before the gate," that is to say, converts who practiced the worship of one God, but were never admitted to circumcision or marriage. They were proselytes who later on embraced Christianity.

And in the times that followed immediately, the policy of discriminating between Jew and Gentile was inaugurated. Hadrian's laws forbidding circumcision were, it is true, revoked by his successor, Antoninus Pius, but it was expressly prohibited to make converts to Judaism. In consequence of this, the formal embracing of Judaism became a punishable crime, and it remained such until quite recent times. Even during the periods when the Jews commanded respect to some extent, the Church took good care that the religious boundary-line should be kept intact. In times of persecution and oppression, no appreciable number of adherents of other religions could have gone over to outlawed Judaism. The bars of the Ghetto formed a reliable dividing wall.

But even if we grant that in some cases a few heathens became Jews in every respect prior to the Christian era, they could have been of no significance. As in the Hellenistic period there already existed millions of Jews, the admixture of foreign blood must have been infinitely small. And this foreign blood was, after all, derived from the kindred nations in Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt.

It may be regarded as certain that proselytism almost entirely ceased since the appearance of European Jewish history. Even the invasion of the Khazars in the eighth century does not alter the fact that during the Middle Ages not much of foreign blood was added to the Jews. For already in the tenth century the empire of the Khazars was confined to a small territory, something like Crimea of to-day, and in the eleventh century it was entirely wiped out. A small remnant of Khazarite Jews are still living in Crimea to-day, and belong to the Karaitic sect. But even if we assume that the entire nation of the Khazars embraced Judaism, and professed that religion for a long time, this admixture would still be a quantite negligeable and would not alter the ethnical character of the Jewish race. Moreover, it is doubtful whether this conversion was not confined to the rulers and the

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ruling classes of the Khazars. We would be losing sight of historical proportion, if we were to infer from the conversion of the Khazars that the Jews have any remarkable admixture of foreign blood.

As far as legal mixed marriages are concerned we know that they actually existed in the times of high material culture, namely, in Egypt during the Hellenistic period and in Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But, as is the case now in Europe, where there is a strong leaning towards intermarriage, the offspring of those marriages preponderantly went over to Christianity. Besides this, those early periods quickly passed away owing to the changed political conditions, the reaction of orthodoxy and the decisions of the councils of the Christian Church. Moreover, this movement at that time, in contradistinction to the general spread of intermarriage of today, was only confined to one country. Intermarriage with northern nations never took place in former years to any considerable extent.

The Jewish nation accordingly has propagated itself in an essentially pure manner from the time of Ezra until to-day, and for more than two thousand years represents an ethnically peculiar race, which was not diluted by foreign blood. It is self-evident that a few drops of foreign blood must have found their way among the Jews during the long time in the diaspora. But these admixtures were too insignificant to have any essential influence upon the ethnical character of the nation. Thus the Cohanim, who were absolutely excluded from mixed marriages, are typically the same as the other Jews. The state of affairs can best be described in one sentence: A great deal of blood was exported from Jewry, but little indeed was imported from out-

side. And, consequently, we can assume with certainty, that the blood which flows to-day in the veins of the Jews, is the same as that of two thousand years ago.

That Ezra's commandments, among which is also the one about purity of blood, have been kept for thousands of years, is due to the fact that they claimed to be religious ordinances coming from God. It is the case with all nations that social institutions which are interwoven with, and supported by religion are kept most tenaciously. In addition to this, Ezra's prescriptions owe their strength to the circumstance that they consisted in the practical laws of the cult, and not in theoretical doctrines; and that the Jews, after being scattered among other nations, were forced to social and economic isolation.

The true consideration of this circumstance, indicates the great significance of the solution of the problem of intermarriage in our own times. Economic and social isolation and the power of religious legislation, account for the fact that up till to-day this people did not fall a victim to intermarriage, despite its wanderings among strange nations for the last 2,000 years.

As long as ceremonial religion was a great power in the civilized life of all nations, this influence of religion was easily explained. But nowadays, for reasons which will presently become apparent, this influence upon the great masses is confined to the Ghetto environment. As soon as the Jew leaves this Ghetto environment, and participates in the national industry of his country as a factor of equal rights, and adapts himself to the speech and culture of his native land, he begins to free himself from the power of ceremonial religion. A century of free activity in the world of capital, combined with a secular education, entirely estranged the Jews, in all countries where the system of capital is developed, from their former mode of life. The pressure of changed economic conditions and the scientific materialistic conception of our age, sap the vitality of orthodox Judaism and undermine its foundation.

Now since ceremonial religion on the one hand and economic and social isolation on the other, together with the prohibition of Church and State, were the only reasons why intermarriage with foreign nations did not take place on a larger scale, it necessarily follows that affairs to-day have reached a critical stage. Free legislation in countries where the system of capital is developed, has done away with the economic and political isolation; rationalism has shaken ceremonial religion, and no State nowadays prohibits mixed marriages.

In countries where one or another of these important conditions is not fulfilled, as, for instance, Galicia, Russia, and the Orient, Judaism is still kept alive, though the lot of the masses residing there is by no means to be envied. But in the Occident, and in all countries where the Jews are allowed to develop themselves freely, their lot is the same as that of other nations in a similar situation.

Without exception, all the nations who were compelled to leave their native soil and who never formed a compact majority in any part of the world, but were scattered in small communities, have vanished through intermarriage. And the Jews likewise would be swept away by the immense tide of the human race in the five continents, if all obstacles were removed. As can be easily shown, Jews have always married outside the fold whenever conditions were favorable. But never were conditions which make for the disintegration of Judaism as powerful as to-day. Nations who dwell together always mingle, unless intermarriage is made impossible by outside pressure of law or religion. The Jews nowadays come into contact with other nations, the civil law permits intermarriage, and the authority of religion is beginning to wane. The laws of love and material interests are mightier than all religious barriers, especially when the latter are weakened and enfeebled as they are to-day. The result of these considerations is, that to-day more than ever, Judaism is in danger of being dismembered.

The facts derived from statistics confirm this conclusion in all its details.

The first impulse to abrogate the laws forbidding marriage between Christians and Jews went forth from the French Revolution, and gradually spread from country to country—to Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Scandinavia; to England and the United States; to Germany, Italy and Hungary. It is even permitted in the Balkan States. On the other hand, it is still prohibited to-day in Austria, Russia, Spain and Portugal, and in Mohammedan countries. The most favorable places for mixed marriages are naturally those countries in which Jews have been domiciled for a considerable time and where they have attained prosperity. This is especially the case in the States of Western Europe.

The losses to Judaism in these western countries cannot be numerically ascertained, as there are no statistics in Italy, France and England relating to mixed marriages. Among the high-class Jewish families in Italy, for instance, it has almost become a rule to marry their children to Christians. All observers are unanimous in

declaring that mixed marriages are extremely frequent in that country. As early as 1881, the mixed marriages in the province of Rovigo formed 34 per cent. of the pure Jewish marriages. Mixed marriages are also very common in Sweden, Denmark, Australia and France. In the last-named country, the highest aristocracy has often intermarried with Jewish heiresses. The Jews who had been domiciled in England for several generations, have occasionally allied themselves to the aristocracy, during the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the Jewish population that immigrated to that country in the last few decades from Russia, Galicia and Roumania, is averse to intermarriage. The same holds good of France. In Sweden, the number of mixed marriages is actually greater than that of pure Jewish marriages.

Three-fourths of the Denmark Jews reside in Copenhagen. In that city, the average percentage of mixed marriages from 1880 to 1905, amounted to 69 per cent. of the pure Jewish marriages. The mixed marriages showed a tendency to increase, whereas pure Jewish marriages gradually decreased, as may be seen from the following table .

1880-1889	 .55.8%
1890-1899	 .68.7%
1900-1905	 .93.1%

According to the latest statements it is 96 per cent. It also appears that the Jewish population of Denmark did not increase from 1840 to 1901, but rather relatively decreased. In 1840, 0.30 per cent. of the general population were Jewish, while in 1901 there were only 0.14 per cent. The Jewish percentage, accordingly, was reduced to less than a half. The chief reason for this

phenomenon is to be sought, along with the fact that fewer children were born to each family in the mixed marriages, through which the Christian population has gradually encroached upon the Jewish. In the other Scandinavian countries, as has already been remarked, the number of mixed marriages is actually greater than pure Jewish marriages.

In the United States, where no confessional statistics exist, conditions resemble those of England. The few Jews who had settled there for some time and who mostly belong to the wealthy classes, as, for instance, those of the Portuguese congregations now in process of disintegration, incline towards intermarriage, while the great masses of Jews who immigrated there since 1881, keep away from mixed marriages. But even here, at least in the congested districts of New York, marriages with the surrounding elements, such as the Irish and particularly the Italian, occur with growing frequency.

In Prussia, the number of couples who intermarried rose from 2,100 in the year 1885, to 5,100 in the year 1905. The marriage of a Jew to a Christian woman is, as a rule, more frequent than the opposite case. Along with the growth of mixed marriages, the number of children resulting from such marriages has naturally increased. Where the husband is Jewish about a fourth only of the offspring remained Jews; while where the woman is Jewish, only one-fifth—four-fifths falling to the lot of Christianity. In Germany, the mixed marriages in 1905 amounted to 21 per cent. and in 1910, to 26 per cent. of the pure Jewish marriages. This average was greatly exceeded in the large cities. Thus the number of mixed marriages amounted to 45 per cent. in Berlin, and to 60 per cent. in Hamburg. And even

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in Frankfort on the Main, which has the reputation of being orthodox, there were about 30 per cent. of mixed marriages in the year 1908.

In Austria, intermarriage between Christians and Jews is forbidden, while intermarriage between Jews and nonconformists is permitted. Marriage is, accordingly, only possible when one of the parties embraces the religion of the other, or belongs to no denomination. It is obvious, for this reason, that the number of mixed marriages is much smaller in that country. The greater number of such marriages are contracted in Vienna. In the year 1906, they amounted to 13 per cent. While in Austria, as a rule, intermarriages between Jews and nonconformists are pretty rare, they are rather frequent in Triest. The following is a table of the average percentage of mixed marriages in the last few decades:

1877-1890	about		•		•		•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	.33%
1891-1895	"	•	•	•		•	•		•		•	•	•	•		.38%
1896-1899	"			•		•		•	•	•		•	•			.41%
1900-1903	"	•	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•		.62%

This is to be accounted for by the fact that Triest is on the border of Italy where, as is the case also in Denmark and Australia, the increasing frequency of mixed marriages actually threaten the existence of the Jewish population.

In Hungary, mixed marriages have been permitted since 1895, and they have become very numerous since that time. The capital towns of all countries offer the best opportunities for mixed marriages. In Hungary, the greater part of such marriages are contracted at Budapest. They amount in that town to 20 per cent.

The majority of Holland Jews reside in Amsterdam.

Here also, mixed marriages between Jews and Christians show a constant increase. In 1903, they formed a fifth part of all the pure Jewish marriages.

Statistical figures recently obtained show a steady progress in the same direction. The language of these statistics is so eloquent and forceful, that it almost renders all discussion superfluous.

If we wish to draw up a summary of the above data, we can divide the countries, where mixed marriages are contracted, into four classes, according to Ruppin's scheme.

The first place must be accorded to the great mass of Jews whom modern culture has not reached as yet, and who remain in the same stage of civilization as they were during the Middle Ages. To this class belong the vast lower masses of the Jews in Russia, Roumania and Galicia, the native Jews of Morocco, Asia and European Turkey. They have their own vernaculars, the so-called Yiddish and Ladino, respectively. They dwell in their national exclusiveness, wear their peculiar garb and live for the greater part according to the old Jewish laws. The greater bulk are poor workmen or artisans and store keepers of precarious existence. It is in those countries that we still find the home of religious fervor and talmudic study. At the utmost, two mixed marriages out of a hundred pure marriages are contracted there.

The second class has been somewhat influenced by European culture, and speak the language of the country either exclusively or along with their jargon. They have abandoned their peculiar garb, and are dressed like their Christian neighbors. They still practice Jewish observances, but the intolerance towards the non-Jewish

is abated, and the imitation of Christian manners and the occupation with non-Jewish literature, are no longer regarded as reprehensible. The members of this class mostly live in conditions free from care, and some of them have even attained decided prosperity. To this class belong chiefly the Russian and Galician Jews who immigrated to America, the Jews of Hungary and of the small towns of Austria and Germany. Their number amounts to three millions. Mixed marriages occur there from two to ten per cent. The third class have renounced all Jewish ceremonial practices, especially the Sabbath, speak exclusively the language of the country and no longer occupy themselves with Jewish literature. The fact that the people of this class belong to Judaism is only proved by their contracting marriages with Jews, by circumcising their sons, and by attending synagogue during the High Festivals. To this class which, as a rule, lives in good material conditions, belongs the wealthy Jewish class of the large cities in Europe and America. Their number amounts to about two millions. In this class mixed marriages take place from ten to thirty per cent.

The fourth and last class has severed all connections with Judaism and religion. It still remains Jewish, because a sense of honor, family and social ties prevent it from going over to Christianity. To this class belong the Jews in the capital towns, and those who possess an academic education. Their number may be computed as something like a million. Mixed marriages are very frequent in this class—from thirty to fifty per cent.

These four classes, however, which I have attempted to portray with a few bold strokes, are not fixed groups, but cross-cuts at at different positions, of a constantly

flowing stream whose source to-day is in orthodox Judaism of eastern Europe, and which wends its way into the sea of Christianity. The process of infiltration of modern culture into Judaism goes on incessantly, and in the same manner, orthodox Judaism constantly yields to the members of the second tolerant class. The latter gradually yields to the class of reformers and freethinkers, and finally baptism, and especially intermarriage, leads the Jews to Christianity. These four classes can also be represented as four consecutive generations. Four or five generations intervene between our own age and the time of Mendelssohn. It is a melancholy reflection, that hardly one of the Jews who lived at that time in Berlin has any Jewish descendants.

This process would also assume equally large dimensions in Russia, if the Jews were granted equal rights and if the Pale of Settlement were removed. The amelioration of the material conditions would remove the Ghetto environment which is one of the factors in preserving orthodox Judaism. But still more important would be the elimination of the second factor, namely, the keeping together of the Jews in one compact mass. If it were possible for the Russian Jews to spread themselves over the immense Russian Empire, the Jewish population in that country would not be denser than in western Europe. Thereby the progressive changes which exercise their destructive influences upon the western Jews would also apply to their Russian brethren. For the country that is more developed, serves as a picture of the future of the one that is less developed. Accordingly, eastern Jews will after some time apparently find themselves in the same position as the western Iews are to-day.

We may epitomise our conclusions from the processes described above, as follows: When the Jews in the diaspora became prosperous, assimilation which appears on the scene takes them away more or less from Judaism. It is mainly when they are oppressed, when they are in economically unfavorable conditions, that the Ghetto environment, in its old sense, is still retained. And although conditions to-day are not favorable in all countries, the beginning of this development can be recognized everywhere. Under favorable material conditions, and through the prevalence of secular education, Judaism, on account of its being scattered among nations of an alien race, is in danger of being disintegrated and destroyed, since the influence of ceremonial religion is waning.

It is not for the first time that we notice this process of disintegration. There were similar phases in all countries and throughout all ages. In accordance with the laws of historical evolution ever since the exile, this process has appeared in every country where a high culture brought about freedom from political pressure, from care for a livelihood, and from superstition. These phenomena appeared in those cases where Judaism actually imported foreign cultures, as for instance the Greek culture in the second century before the present era up till the first century of the common era, and afterwards the Arabian culture from the eighth till the twelfth century. Greek culture, from whose combination with Judaism, Christianity sprang, brought Judaism to the brink of ruin, and deprived it of a great part of its adherents. The million of Jews who, during the first century after Christ lived in Egypt, which was then the center of Hellenistic culture. appear to have gone over to Christianity. And

the intimate and friendly intercourse which prevailed later on between Jews and Mohammedans in Babylon and Spain, caused the frequent recurrence of mixed marriages and conversions to Islam. The fact that in the empire of Castile, from the year 1290 till the year 1474, the number of Jews was reduced from 850,000 to 150,000, may serve as a proof for this assertion.

It is impossible to deny the resemblance of these two periods with the process of disintegration of our own times. Only, nowadays, the beginning of this process exists in all countries, and it has the tendency of becoming universal. Formerly, these processes were only partial, confined to certain domains of culture. Modern culture, however, has broken all boundaries, and has become a world culture.

In China, the Jews who in former centuries were quite numerous, have almost entirely disappeared without leaving a trace, through intermarriage with the Chinese. And finally, we have to take into consideration the ten tribes who disappeared among the foreign nations, because at that time religion had not yet become ceremonial in the same sense as it existed after the Reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah. And also to-day it is possible, that wherever religion ceases to be ceremonial, the greater part of Jewry in the diaspora will, in the near future, become absorbed among the nations in whose midst it exists.

From all these considerations it becomes clearly manifest, how significant the problem of intermarriage is today. An inexorable process of disintegration is in progress. Although this process of breaking up Judaism is only gradual, from individual to individual, from family to family, it is of significance on account of the principle and inevitable result that it involves. The future

of the Jews is seriously menaced by economic impoverishment in the East, and by baptism and mixed marriages in the west of Europe. In addition to this, there is a decrease in the birth-rate of the latter.

The Jewish people which existed almost from the time when the history of the world began, which flourished in antiquity, which defied fire and sword in the Middle Ages, which is the only one of the nations that survived from the earliest times until to-day, whose representatives even to-day have brilliant achievements to their credit it is just to this people that culture and the development of civilization have brought nothing but misfortune; they have estranged many of its best sons, and through political and economic anti-Semitism have slowly but surely taken away the ground from under the feet of the great masses.

It is therefore not impossible that Judaism may be disbanded in the near future—to be more precise, when the amelioration of the lot of the Jews will enable them to spread themselves still more. Are we justified in hindering these historical processes, which may mean the termination of thousandfold tribulations? Can the continued existence of a nation which is externally persecuted by fate, be of any value to us? What our sentiment says is quite clear; but what answer do we get from positive Science? Would it not be perhaps of great benefit to the development of civilization if the Jews were to assimilate with other races of high standing?

These are questions and problems which cannot be solved from our subjective point of view, but we must seek for an answer in Sociology, History and Natural Science. Which is better when considered from the general point of view, race-mixture or race-purity? The

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point of view which modern Science adopts towards the important questions of race-mixture and in-breeding is totally different from that which prevailed up till the last quarter of the preceding century.

Whereas it was formerly believed that in the intermarriage of two different races, the qualities of both component parts would appear in the offspring, we know now that the question of race-mixture is by no means so simple. It is possible, but not certain, that only kindred elements could improve through crossing. On the other hand, the interbreeding of totally different nations produces a bastard type whose character is far below the level of either parent.

The observations made in countries which have a population of half-breeds, have pointed to the unfavorable effect of crossing. In India, the progress of race-crossing caused civilization to retrograde. We also know very well the wretched conditions of Central and South America, which are inhabited by half-breeds, whose cultural stagnation stands in striking contrast to the rapid and ambitious development of the United States and Canada. It is certain that the conditions in Central and South America must, to some extent, be considered as the result of race-crossing. It is true that also in North America the population arose from a blending of various nationalities. But here it was chiefly Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Dutchmen and Germans: that is to say, nations which were closely related to one another, who were amalgamated; whereas in South America it was Spaniards, Indians, Negroes and Mongolians who formed affinities

Colonization in newly discovered countries has always succeeded in those places where, like in North America, the conquering nations have avoided crossing. In Brazil, on the other hand, there rules an indescribable mixed type whose bodily, intellectual and moral energy is exceedingly enfeebled. The natives of South Africa have a proverb: "God created the white man, God created the black man, but the devil created the mulatto."

According to the laws of Nature, the general instinctive abilities, from which depth of talent and character emanate, dwindle among half-breeds; while individual abilities often become more pronounced. Almost all observers are unanimous that through cross-breeding, bodily shapeliness, facility of talent could be gained, but resistibility of body and strength of character are impaired. Furthermore, the ability to achieve anything great and extraordinary, as well as nobility of mind are, as a rule, unknown to half-breeds. The latter characteristics form the constitutional ability, and the former the individual. The constitutional type becomes enfeebled through crossing, and the more distant the two races are, the more pronounced is this weakening.

Let us take a few examples. On the coast of Labrador there are a great number of half-breeds which are the offspring of Eskimos and Scotch immigrants. The old Scotch settlers were able to brave the adverse surroundings more easily than the new generation. At present, tuberculosis is raging there. Also the other polar nations, who have for thousands of years defied the most dreadful influences of their surroundings, are now retrogressing, after crossing found its way among them. The only exceptions are the Tunguses, who with their own culture, withstood the European settlers. The same recurrence is repeated elsewhere. Wherever the intermixture is limitless, as in Hawaii, that type which is

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numerically weaker, gradually dies out without even increasing the number of half-breeds. The crossing of the Hawaiians chiefly takes place with the Chinese. Besides. those islands were exempt from war, pestilence and starvation, which are otherwise the causes of the destruction of uncivilized peoples. The Tasmanians and Australian negroes have vanished through crossing. The Eurasians at Java, who are the offspring of Europeans and Indian natives, are weaklings who are rapidly perishing. The Spanish mulattoes in the Philippines are a bastard race, doomed to destruction. The bushmen have for hundreds of years waged the battle for existence under the hardest conditions, for Hottentots and Bantus were their superior enemies. And yet it is only now, after general intermixture stepped m, that they are about to disappear.

These examples will suffice to prove that crossing is one of the principal causes of the destruction of nations, and that the interbreeding of widely different types leads to the reduction of fertility and vitality. The difference of race and character leads as also animal breeders assert, to the formation of distordant, irresolute characters. It is for this reason that all half-breeds who are the offspring of widely different races have a bad reputation in respect to character.

In history there are many examples of the impossibility for half-breeds, even when their parents did not belong to races very far from each other, to reach a state capable of developing a living culture. This impossibility is also observed in cases where each nationality in itself possessed very great ability. All investigations thus point to the ennobling influences of racial purity, and to the destructive effects of racial chaos.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF MIXED MARRIAGE

One calls to mind the flourishing nations of the ancient Orient: the Indians, Persians, Egyptians and Greeks. One also compares their former creativeness and influence with those of the time when the tide of foreign nations began to overwhelm them. How brave were the old Romans, and how capable did the Germanic race that mingled with them prove to be later on; and yet how wretched was the product of this crossing! After the barbarism of the Middle Ages, it took about a millenium before men of firmly rooted greatness arose once more, and before the national character strongly and harmoniously asserted itself! How changed were the inhabitants of Greece after they absorbed the Slavonic tribes! What became of the Indians after the Arabs and Mongolians broke into their country? Each of these racial components proved itself capable of high culture, and yet the result was always a change for the worse for both parent-races. That these results were not due to historical and social conditions alone, can be seen from the case of smaller nations like the Armenians and Iews who have retained their racial purity, and have consequently preserved and increased their cultural ability despite their unhappy lot. One calls to mind the high cultural ability of the Moors and the Goths, and one considers the result of the mixture in Spain, when the Gothic population absorbed the former after the destruction of the Moorish rule. One also thinks of the racial medley of Germans, Slavs and Tartars in Russia. It becomes evident from these examples, not speaking of the single individuals, but of the greater majority, what a bad effect the mixture of races has. The normal historical development does not tend towards the effacement of race, but rather towards making the racial features

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more pronounced, and is thus combatting political influences. The quintessence of race is the hero, the genius.

From experiments on and observations of our domestic animals, we also learn that thoroughbred animals which possess superior characteristics, become deteriorated with respect to these very characteristics, through intermixture. The same holds good of the human races. It is now regarded as certain, that virtues and superior qualities are mostly to be found among races which have kept themselves pure, while mixed breeds usually develop the defects and vices of their parents, but none of their good sides.

There is thus no doubt that the power of heredity is more powerful among pure races. Potential cultural energy will always predominate in pure untainted races. It is only among such races that ingenious creative power as well as artistic and moral genius find a favorable home.

These are, accordingly, the answers which Science gives to-day to the above questions. Even from the cosmopolitan point of view, therefore, it would be no advantage if Judaism were to disappear through assimilation with those Slavonic nations, in whose midst the bulk of the Jews reside to-day. Such an event would be detrimental to both sides. We have to strive after race-purity, not after racial chaos. Greatness of intellect, and character in the highest degree, and genius, can only emanate from the rich source of instincts which are to be found in pure races. In order to get an exact idea of the power of instincts and the effect of heredity, we ought to bear in mind that every man, in twenty generations, is the product of more than a million forefathers, and in thirty generations he is the product of a thousand million fore-

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fathers. If all these forefathers descend from one race, this enormous sum of similar instinctive talent, and with it the strength of constitutional capacity, becomes manifest. For it is this constitutional type, as above indiacted, which produces bodily resistance, depth of intellect and strength of character. And this constitutional type becomes enfeebled through crossing. Accordingly, if a nation wishes to achieve something great and powerful for itself and mankind, its policy with reference to the future must have only one aim: to force its way from racial chaos to racial purity.

We have proved by our investigations that the Jews have racial purity and that an extraordinary high racial value falls to their share. Their disappearance would not only be a national loss, but also an irretrievable loss for the general culture. But unfortunately, even at this present moment, this race is in danger of being destroyed. The conservation and further development of the distinguished possibilities that are found in this ancient race owing to its long-standing purity, are just now being questioned. For there is not so much danger to the Jew from baptism, as is usually maintained, as there is from intermarriage. In the first place, because baptism only finds its way among Jews of ignoble character, while intermarriage is found among all classes; and secondly, because intermarriage is practiced even in countries where baptism, for one reason or another, is of rare occurrence.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat the following sentence which contains the social law appertaining to mixed marriages, and for which we have previously cited statistical proofs: Tribes which live together always intermarry when such marriages are not forbidden by law or religion. Since they have been scattered all over the globe. the Jews have mingled with other nations. Civil law to-day permits mixed marriages, and religion has actually begun to lose its authority.

In order to preserve the Jews for Judaism two remedies are possible: to preserve the Ghetto with its external and social influences, or to abolish the diaspora. The first alternative can only mean a continued morbid existence.

This is the Jewish question in a quite different sense from that in which it is usually conceived, namely, the question about the future lot of the Jewish race, which, after thousands of years of splendid development and stubborn resistance, now presents the sad picture of the body of a people which is partly perishing in misery and partly in course of decomposition.

# Tendencies of Economic Development Among the Jewish People

Is it at all possible to be in doubt as to the tendencies of economic development among the Jewish people? We ourselves are a living testimony to the extraordinary rise of the Jewish people in the political, social, and especially in the economic scale. The wealth of the Iews has become proverbial. The Jewish wealth, amounting to several millions, has literally sprung forth before our eves. The economic rise of the Jews in North America is significant. The financial power of the Jews in Germany, Austria, France and England has been in existence only for a few generations. The development of the house of Rothschild which, to a certain extent, until recently dominated the money markets of all European countries, only began four generations ago. In many countries, one can see Jewish pedlars and small storekeepers develop, in one or two generations, into important merchants and manufacturers. In some countries, they began as poor immigrants, and occupy to-day a very respected position. Accordingly, if we wish to investigate the tendency of economic development of the Jew of to-day, we can apparently only speak of an enormous economic growth.

It is also one of the official reasons of anti-Semitism,

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and indeed the one that always has the greatest effect upon the masses, that the Jews are a menace to the remainder of the, population because they have managed to appropriate to themselves the wealth of the country. The development of capital during the last century, made the struggle for existence much harder for numerous people of the middle class, a great part of whom were reduced to the lower class; while before their eyes, Jewish fortunes were amassed. The general opinion regarded the Jews in all countries as the mainstays of capitalism, and this argument was employed by clever politicians in the eighties, to put anti-Semitism in the place of anticapitalism of social democracy. Even the Jews estimated themselves in the same manner.

Werner Sombart has recently pointed out this fact in his book which, while of much value, contains a large number of weak points. He considers the Jews the founders and developers of modern commerce and finance, and emphasizes with great stress their enormous wealth and great success in economic life.

What relation, however, does this brilliant picture bear to the one which I shall presently draw for you with a few bold strokes?

For in striking contrast we find, on the other hand, the constantly growing number of Jewish emigrants, the helplessness of the young Jewish intelligence, even in the western states of Europe, the dreadful starvation of the Jews in eastern Europe and the Orient. We further find that, in spite of all remedies, the number of Jewish beggars is constantly increasing. And this takes place despite the well-known intelligence, adaptability, industry and sobriety of the Jews.

All this, together with the circumstance that the abovementioned opinions and facts are the impelling motives of anti-Semitism, ought to furnish sufficient reason why we should occupy ourselves with, and minutely analyze these phenomena.

Historia est magistra vitae—"History is the teacher of life." Phenomena, which appear enigmatic and abstruse when considered disconnectedly and individually, become intelligible as soon as we are in position to discover the hitherto confused connection of other similar phenomena, and to understand them as necessary consequences of historical development. We shall first apply to History for information, and see whether it is in a position to explain the existing discrepancies, and to ascertain the fundamental principles underlying the economic life of the Jews.

And to our great surprise, the history of economics tells us, that the peculiar development of the Jews of today is by no means an unparelleled event.

Already in the later periods of the Roman Empire it was the Jewish tradesmen who united the east and west, the north and south of the Empires From Media to Spain and Britain, from the Persian Gulf and from Ethiopia to Macedonia and Italy, there is no port, no commercial town in whose trade the Jews did not take a prominent part. And when, after the fall of the Roman Empire, new Berber States arose, the significance of the Jewish commercial world became much greater. In the young German kingdoms the new potentates knew nothing of commerce, and therefore in all the domains, the Jews were obviously the most competent merchants. In most of the new States, the first historical traces of commerce are contemporaneous with the first demonstrable settlement of Jews. They conducted their business not in the style of storekepers, but in vast commercial fashion. The numerous scattered accounts give a clear picture of the splendid commercial activity of the Jews of that time.

According to trustworthy accounts they, with their own ships, made commerce possible between Germany and England, and between the French places and Italy, and the Orient. It was quite usual to find Jewish seafarers in European waters. Reliable Arabic sources of the ninth century show that Jewish merchants regularly carried their trade from the Far East, even from China, to all the dominions of the west by four different routes. And again, other authorities inform us that the Jews carried on direct commerce from Constantinople to the commercial towns of South Germany, as well as to France and England. In all Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms they retained their commercial connections. Tt was only through this well-conceived move in their commercial activity, that it was possible for them to retain the monopoly of that branch of commerce which was the most important at that time, namely, the monopoly of the much desired Oriental merchandise. Through this activity they gained a quite peculiar respect, a quite specific esteem; for it was they who made possible the great traffic in the new kingdoms.

It was quite natural that the Jews should have been attracted by the newly formed cities which were the places of traffic, and wherever this formation of cities progressed, the Jews lent a helping hand by bringing commerce within the walls. When all the German cities were founded, the Jews represented the indispensable corner-stone.

The creation of the entire European commerce of the first half of the Middle Ages was an achievement of the Tews. And the economic as well as cultural necessity of this activity is universally recognized. Their commerce accomplished a most important task. The beginnings of the Middle Ages, compared with the earlier period of the Caesars, are a dreadful reversion to barbarism. It is chiefly due to the commerce of the Jews that the old elements of civilization were preserved, and the seed of a new culture planted. They also introduced the first seed of social and cultural development mto the existence of the nations that were then making their appearance upon the stage of history. And the acknowledgment of this activity shows itself, first of all, in the complete freedom which their commerce enjoyed in all the Frank domains. According to the law of Charles II, they had to pay an eleventh part of their profits as taxes, while all other merchants were made to pay a tenth part. A hostile attitude towards their commerce is not part of the question; the higher classes protected, and the lower classes respected the Jewish merchants. Every prince induced them to come to his country; every city welcomed them in its gates. This was the treatment accorded to them in Germany by Charles the Great, and for centuries, by most of his successors.

It is true that obstacles were often put in the way of exercising their religion, and they were excluded from holding public offices and prevented from intermarrying with the other inhabitants, but no other restrictions were imposed upon them. Their freedom and equality, and the esteem in which they were held are to be seen in all the sources which are accessible to us. The killing of a

Jew was punished, according to the Speyer Privilegium, more severely than that of a man of noble descent. This Privilegium also furnished a classical example of the position the Jews occupied in public life. The Bishop of Speyer not only refers to the fact that in all other cities they have equal rights, but says: "Putavi milies amplificare honorem loci nostri et si Judaeos colligerem" "I thought it would add thousandfold to the glory of our city, if I should gather the Jews in its walls." And this Privilegium was by no means isolated.

Let us, however, skip over two centuries, from about 1300-1500. What a different picture appears before our eyes! Numberless thousands of Jews were massacred, others were burned in accordance with the statutes, and when a mild treatment was accorded to them they were banished after being despoiled. And when subsequently they gained respite to some extent they were reduced to the most wretched condition and the most miserable existence. They were driven out of the cities to the villages, and the names of the streets, and a cemetery here and there, were the only traces that remained behind them. They were no longer merchants, but old-clothes dealers, low-traffickers and usurers for small people, small citizens and peasants.

What were the causes? When did this radical change in the Jewish life take place? Why were esteemed and prosperous compatriots suddenly transformed into despised foreigners and beggars?

These were causes of inflexible natural force. It was, as we have seen, natural causes which allowed the Jews until the end of the twelfth century, to become a respected part of the population and a factor of economic power. And similar causes, of equally inflexible natural

force, hurled these compatriots, in the course of not more than two centuries, from the height of glory to the lowest depth of misery. Respect yielded to contempt and prosperity was changed to unspeakable distress.

A decisive cause, more pernicious and disruptive than any other, stepped in during the twelfth century. This was the competition in industrial life.

For about a thousand of years, the Jews were in almost exclusive possession of European commerce. But in the twelfth century, in consequence of the Crusades, there sprang forth in the German States, through their close connection with Italy and the Orient, a class of native merchants whose members, mostly under Church patronage, formed themselves into guilds from which the Jews were naturally excluded. These new-fangled national mercantile guilds forthwith declared war against the old established Jewish merchants, who were suddenly classified as strangers. There could be no doubt as to the result of this conflict. We observe that in the measure that the commerce of the natives grew to independent significance, the commercial activity of the Jews, which formerly dominated the markets of the world, was driven to low traffic and old clothing. During this period began the well-known Jewish persecutions which extended from the 12th to the 14th centuries. These persecutions, in a manner characteristic of their origin, first made their way to those places where city life and civic rank, which naturally involve commerce, were established. Hostility towards the Jews manifested itself wherever a native class of merchants arose, as, for instance, on the banks of the Rhine, in the south of as boat-passengers, and in England, where Edward I, in France and in Venice where they refused to take Jews

whose reign the first commercial Society was founded, expelled the Jews from his kingdom. On the other hand, this hostility towards the Jews appeared later in those places where the commercial aspirations of the Christian citizens were the latest, as in Eastern Germany. The Crusades have always been held responsible for the fire that destroyed the Jews. It is certainly true that they greatly contributed towards these conflagrations. But the inner motives which made these persecutions general were above all, economical. Behind the Crusades rode the merchants, and when the latter were missing, the knights themselves took to commerce.

After the fire-brands did their work, the Jews were crippled by the special Jewish legislation, which continued their bloodless but fearful work. About the middle of the 14th century, this tendency to annihilate the competitors without bloodshed by enacting special Jewish laws —as is now done in Russia in similar fashion—became quite universal. Not satisfied with excluding them from the guilds, they enacted special ordinances against the transactions of Jewish merchants. They must not deal in anything except in horses and meat; they must restrict their commercial work to banking. Throughout Germany they were excluded from the markets. Thereby commerce on a large scale was impossible for them, and it was only left to them to deal in old clothes.

In all these instances, a coarse and selfish national psychology becomes manifest. For centuries, the Jews were practically the guardians of the commerce of European nations. When the Germanic nations of the Middle Ages required them no longer, they cast off their guardianship. They were driven out of real commerce and forced into a fatal branch of trade, namely usury, and

attempts were made on the existence and life of the former guardians. After the Jews were prevented from original production by being driven out of Palestine, they were once more dispossessed of real commerce which they themselves had founded.

When we consider the usual rate of interest in the Middle Ages when cloisters and similar institutions were the possessors of all banking business, and also when later on it went out of the hands of the Jews to those of the Welser and Fugger, it becomes evident that the professional money-lenders invited upon themselves the fierce wrath of the general populace. The rate of interest fluctuated from 21 per cent. to 76 per cent., and in case of need towns and institutions paid from 100 per cent. to 120 per cent. And this hatred must have been more intensified day by day, because it was impossible to dispense with money-lending and money-lenders, no matter how high the rate of interest was. In order to free the lords and citizens from debt, which was spreading like an epidemic, they adopted a surprisingly simple remedy; they killed the creditors, just as in former years they had killed the competitors. But just as it was impossible to kill all the Jews, it was impossible to do away with the need of borrowing money. New Jews and new debts sprang forth. Tired of wholesale slaughter, they finally came to the conclusion that the same goal could be reached by simply declaring all Jewish debts to be void. And since 1385, the annulment of the Jewish debts assumed a general character. And thus the entire or partial appropriations of Jewish wealth in favor of the general community or in favor of the king, continued for many and many a decade. These appropriations form a constant rubric in the history of economy of that time.

Through such events, which constantly repeated themselves, the entire money business of the Jews must have come to an end. No high rate of interest and no high premium could compensate for such financial losses. They had accordingly to give up money business, which should have made amends for their lost commerce. They now had no commerce and no money.

As far as the Jew is concerned, the process which the history of the Middle Ages ascribes to him, came to an end. He completely lost his significance as a merchant and capitalist. He no longer took part in the enormous industrial and financial rise after the era of great discoveries which he himself helped to inaugurate. In his banking business he became an object of pity, cast into the lowest depth of material and spiritual degradation.

I have purposely treated this part of the history of economy in the Middle Ages at full length, because the description of the inauguration of European economic life by the Jews, who were dispossessed, and whose money was confiscated the moment they could be dispensed with, is a typical picture, which exceedingly increases the clearness of our vision into the tendencies of development.

After the thirty years' war, which crippled the commerce of the whole world, transformed Germany into a desert, and destroyed the work of centuries, the Jews again appeared upon the scene. Pioneer work was needed once more, and the Jews emerge at first as retail merchants, and then as wholesale dealers. Just as a thousand years before, after the destruction of the ancient culture, the Jewish merchants with their commercial activity built a bridge between old civilization and new Barbarism, so also now there was for them

time and place to render a similar service. They are once more seen at work, timidly but assiduously, and in this manner they prepare themselves for a new mission. They again become the wholesale merchants of the cities, as in the times of the decline of the Roman Empire. They were supported above all, on account of their great commercial activity, in Amsterdam where the Jews, who were driven from Spain and Portugal and who still retained their wealth, through their family connections with the mother-country as well as with the colonies across the sea, brought about an entirely new state of affairs. The same drama repeated itself now in Hamburg, in Frankfurt and in the majority of the German cities. Wherever a necessity for commercial life arose, wherever there was a gap to fill which was either open or unnoticed by others, we see the Jewish merchants at work.

Their significance in that age was again extraordinarily great. There is no need to cite examples of their influence at that period. It is quite close to our own times, and we can even now see its traces. Sombart, whose racial theories, however, I wish emphatically to contradict, ascribes exaggeratingly the entire modern development of capital in Europe and America almost exclusively to the Jews. He attempts to show that in the beginning of our new era, when the Jews emigrated, prosperity diminished, and that the prosperity of the present flourishing commercial cities was brought about by the immigration of Jews. "Israel goes through Europe," he observes, "like the sun: wherever he comes, new life springs forth; and in the place from which he departs, everything that has hitherto thrived, decays."

It is the Jews who created modern commerce on a large scale. Later on, with the advent of professional

freedom after the emancipation, the Jews devoted themselves to industry, they created great industrial establishments, they brought the banks back to life, and managed the money business and export trade. It is principally the Jews, who financially created the facilities for great commerce.

I have mentioned the great significance of the Maranos for the formation of modern commerce in the great States of Europe. In order to understand this point, we have to call to mind the extremely high commercial and industrial activity of the Jews during the period of Moorish rule in Spain. They then maintained a merchant fleet of about 1,000 ships. They had commercial harbors and Consulates as far as Central Asia, nay, even as far as India and China, and along the African coast as far as Madagascar, not to speak of their activity in Europe itself. On account of this, when the Spanish rule spread itself in the New World, a significant part of the commerce and colonial industry was in possession of the Maranos. It was the connections with these Maranos that later on made Holland great. To-day at all events, we know that the descendants of those Spanish and Portuguese Croesuses are, for the greater part, either absorbed in Christianity, or lead a miserable existence in the Jewish streets of the Orient or Poland.

Sombart, however, overlooks the fact that almost everywhere the rise of the Jews is followed by a period of stagnation, and that in numerous cases, as soon as occasion arises when the natives become fit to manage their commerce, the Jews are driven out of it, and dispossessed of their former position, and despoiled of their wealth, they once more sink into poverty.

Throughout the Middle Ages and modern times, every

economic stage was, with the exception of the Hansatown natives whose commerce depended upon the political exploitation of the weaker northern States, almost always introduced by the Jews, and then the educated native commercial class walked in their footsteps. As we shall presently see, we are again standing at the beginning of a historical stage in which the Jews will be forced out from, and dispossessed of, their economic position. The enormous proletarian masses which to-day ebb and flow everywhere, speak in no uncertain language. In the economic history of the Jews, immense processes of dispossession are playing a very important part. During and after the time that the Jews lost their independence, they were forced out of their original productivity as agriculturists; during the period of the Crusades, they were driven away from commerce; and in our own time, the policy of excluding them from commission-trade which is chiefly managed by Jews, and of forcing them out of the money markets, is carried on before our eyes. This development is quite manifest in those countries which for the present suffer from economic depression; that is to say, eastern Europe and the Orient-countries which contain four-fifths of Jewry.

In Roumania, Galicia, the whole of Poland and the bordering Provinces of Russia, where almost the entire Christian population till quite recent times were the bondmen of the nobility, the Jews formed in their place the nucleus of the urban population, and represented the total commercial and industrial class of those countries. After these millions of serfs were emancipated, this new class of population had to crowd into the cities, and in order to exist, they were compelled to dispossess the Jewish commercial and industrial classes. This development is now felt in its progress, and can be verified in various phases, in many parts of those countries. Now since this country aggregate suffers from great economic depression in consequence of political conditions, this process of dispossession becomes clearly apparent. The Jews are deprived of their natural means of livelihood through the most brutal forms of economic repression and pogroms.

Also in Austria commerce is crippled, and cannot succeed as in the western countries. The economic developments nevertheless march along their inevitable road. The transactions with the consumer become immediate; there arise Consumers' Societies, Produce Companies and Agrarian Banks; the retailer and middleman are thereby driven out of the market, while great undertakings are managed by the Government. This state of affairs brings it about that, with the exception of the circles of great industry and high finance, the Jews, even in those countries where the law allows them full freedom, carry on a keen struggle for existence, because they represent the middle class of the cities.

In Germany, in the west European states, and in the United States of America, which enjoy a great economic and political prosperity, and, moreover, have no great percentage of Jewish population, the expropriation of the Jews cannot come into consideration. But should stagnation and depression take the place of prosperity, conditions similar to those in eastern Europe may be expected. In order to verify this statement, we need only cast our glance upon the so-called foundation-years in Germany, and upon the financial crisis in the year

1873. For it was then that birth was given to political anti-Semitism in Germany.

In the constant rubric of anti-Semitic lies, the statement is monotonously and repeatedly made, that the Jews in all countries and in all branches are the sole possessors of money. It is only in recent years that it has become apparent how unspeakably tragic is the impossibility to justify this best anti-Semitic agitationexpedient, namely, the description of the enormous wealth of the Jews.

This view was occasioned by the fact that a considerable number of Jews in Germany, in the industrial parts of Austria, in France, Italy, England and America are comfortably situated, while a number of them have even amassed enormous fortunes. In these countries, a number of them actually succeeded in rising from retailers to wholesale dealers and manufacturers. They now play a leading part in high finance, commerce and industry. But just in these countries only a small part of Jewry resides. Only those high-class Jews, who were able to play a great part in the financial developments which were then setting in, managed to acquire great and sometimes enormous fortunes. A considerable number of these high-class Jews in consequence of baptism and mixed marriages, no longer belongs to Judaism. But the contrary is true of the masses of the Jewish population living in other countries.

An English newspaper justly remarked a few years ago: "The Jews, considered as a nation, are not rich; in their ranks are found a greater number of poor persons than among the adherents of any other creed, so that the percentage of average wealth among the Jews is much smaller than in any other nation."

Already in Central Europe, the Jews no longer rise from class to class. Nay, in many districts we see, on the contrary, a decided turn for the worse, and poverty is gradually increasing. Above all, there is a noticeable impoverishment among the Jewish families who are settled in country places and villages. If this is true of Central Europe, how dreadfully wretched are the conditions in the East! In this American country, which is overflooded by the tide of wanderers from eastern Europe and recently from the Orient, there is hardly any need to dwell any longer upon the unspeakable misery of the Jews of those countries.

In most countries of Europe, the Jew only succeeds in those places where he fills a gap in the national economic life, or when his line of activity is directed to needs which are hitherto unnoticed. If he wants to devote his activity to a new branch, he must discover new useful industries for the economic life of the people. Jewish workmen never succeed in establishing themselves among a Christian population unless they are great experts. Christians in an anti-Semitic country never buy from a Jew unless the goods cannot be obtained from his competitors, or when the Jew sells cheaper and better. The Jew fills a gap in the economic arrangement, but supplants nobody.

Owing to this preference accorded to non-Jews by the population and Government, in commerce and industry, in the villages as well as in the towns, and owing to the Government regulations in Poland, Russia and Roumania, Christians are gradually ousting the Jews from their business. As soon as the peasant population is introduced to the world of commerce by the Jews, the Jewish retailer is pushed aside and supplanted by Chris-

tian competitors or by Produce Companies and Consumers' Associations. The Jewish commission trade vanishes spontaneously. But also the enormous capital of Christian nobility, clergy, etc., becomes active as soon as the way has been paved by the Jews, and the money that was hitherto lying in savings banks and real estate, is applied to industry and banking business. This capital, which by far exceeds that of the Jews, is already put into Limited Companies and banks, and will soon become a dangerous competitor of Jewish high finance. Even now, in Europe, the banks are gradually ceasing to be directed by Jews, a fact which Sombart admits is also true of Germany. Neither commerce nor banking business, neither industry nor store keeping, is to-day the domain of Jewry in Central Europe to the same extent as it was two decades ago. The rising class movement has taken a reverse course.

But it is not anti-Semitism alone which persecutes the Jews. There is a more potent factor which we must not lose sight of. The general financial development tends to make the vast fortunes still more powerful and to reduce the middle class to poverty. The modern social policy strives to bring the producer and consumer into direct connection. On account of the law of selfpreservation of the other nations, the Jew becomes superfluous, unless he is transferred to other callings. In addition to this, we have to take account of the circumstance that the cultivable field is too small for the natives, who drive away the foreign agricultural class as long as the latter is regarded as foreign.

The further east the statistician goes the more dreadful is the picture. Because industry and commerce on a larger scale is lacking in Galicia, Poland and the Orient, it is impossible for the Jews to make the right use of their abilities, and so they maintain a precarious existence as small workmen and tradesmen, and are compelled to compete with one another in a fearful manner. And this incongruity, which is a natural consequence of the position, is made more pronounced by the present process of appropriation which was described above.

As a compensation for the citizens and merchants in Poland, where the country was not in position to support them with its own power, the German Jews, who were then very wealthy, were induced to come there by Kazimir the Great and his successors. It is only a short time since a scanty native commercial class sprang up in that country. And as soon as this class came into existence, there manifested itself a tendency to boycott the settled Jewish competitors by creating national commercial concerns. The native citizen class, which has only recently arisen, is not only in a position to take over all tasks which were hitherto discharged by Jews, but they are also urged to do it. His social and economic functions are ready to fall. He is now superfluous, for he is in possession of that calling which should have formed the sources of acquisition of the new bourgeoise. He must wage a war of life and death against the native middle class, and the chances of his subsistence are lost. Hence the dreadful impoverishment, and the enormous immigration.

For despair in Russia and misery in Galicia and Roumania bring about a new gigantic Jewish immigration to England, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Argentine and Palestine, but especially to the United States. These are, accordingly, tendencies of economic development, which are almost completely analogous to the

phases of the Middle Ages, which I have described.

It may be added here, that in recent times a stream of emigration of Oriental Jews darkens the picture still further. This emigration is the direct result of the impoverishment of Turkey. For more than a generation, the prosperity of many important Asiatic Jewish communities, such as Dasmascus, Allepo and Bagdad has dwindled through lack of protection which has followed Turkey's financial policy and large European competition. The Jews of Salonika and Albania, too, are now likewise largely being dispossessed through Greek merchants.

A clear and unerring vision will detect waves in the eternal flood of human beings, waves which are constantly recurring, and behind these waves it will recognize the laws which underlie them. History shows that in the place where a national differentiation has found its way, the position of the Jews becomes worse. In prosperous times, they are supplanted by the native commercial class; and in times of stagnation and decline, they are the victims of discontent. In places where Jews dwell in considerable numbers, they can thrive without hindrance, only where there are no developed economic bodies; but where their numbers are small and their social and economic position is good, their assimilation naturally becomes greater and greater, and finally leads to absorption.

We know, therefore, whither—as far as the great masses are concerned—the tendencies of development of economic life in Europe lead. America has hitherto formed an exception in many directions.

In the Middle Ages, the Jews, as we have shown, were in all young States of Central and Western Europe, the managers of commerce and finance. They were tolerated as long as their financial and intermediate activity was needed. But no sooner did the growing number of citizens become fit to take upon themselves the economic functions of the Jews than the latter were dispossesed of their position, and were driven out of the country by hostility or economic pressure. Spain, England, France, Germany, Poland and Russia: that is the road which the Jews, simultaneously with the movement of financial development of which they were torch-bearers, travelled, that is to say, from West to East. Russia was the last station of this Jewish migration. The stream could not flow any further in that direction. The inundation of this stream sank into a swamp of social and economic impotence, of civic and social rightlessness, and of national and cultural sterility.

To-day, laws are actually enacted in many countries to restrict immigration. Moreover, even in the countries to which immigrants have hitherto flocked, there is an unequivocally marked satiety with reference to the capacity of receiving the constantly increasing Jewish stream of immigration. As symptoms of this satiety, there appear the anti-Semitic movement, as a social, if not as a political question, and the legal restriction of immigration.

Herein consists the tragic inner contradiction of the latest period of the Jewish wanderings. On the one hand, there is a growing need for the lower classes of Jewry in eastern Europe to emigrate, and on the other hand, the facilities for immigrating to the countries which have hitherto been a haven of refuge, are becoming diminished. The vast stream of Jewish immigration is checked by an insurmountable barrier of economic, legal and social obstacles.

The Jewish immigration that has hitherto taken place, has intensified the Jewish question, and these obstacles have produced signs of degeneration which were, in addition, the result of the checked inner growth. As long as the Jews remain in this condition, migration, dispersion and dismemberment appear to be the only remedies against economic need or even wholesale assimilation driven to extremes.

It is due to their present callings, that wherever they live together in great multitudes, distress and misery prevail. As long as they are the sole possessors of a branch of industry, as long as a country-(as is now the case in America)-is in process of an enormous growth, so that it can make use of the influx of outside forces, the Jews are able to eke out a livelihood, and often to acquire wealth. At present, however, there is such a satiety in various economic branches, and the natives have penetrated into those very callings; so that allnot only the Jews-who are recognized as a minoritybecome superfluous. In former years, the Americans gladly received the Chinese, because they are intelligent, active, sober, thrifty and frugal. To-day, however, America possesses a reserve army of native workmen, and hence the Chinese are barred from entering into the United States. The moment a country becomes economically weak, and life therein stagnates, and unemployed reserve forces is noticed, the foreign elements begin to be regarded as disturbing. They suddenly discover the religious contrast, the national sentiment, and racial hatred, as a sanctioning legal title for the conscience and responsibility of the thinking class, and as a convenient expedient wherewith to seize the fancy of the

masses—and the minority must be removed from the way of the majority.

He who belongs to a minority, is a foreign article which is allowed to be imported into the country as long as the home industry is not yet developed. This is a process which is not confined to the Jews, but may be noticed in all times and places. The same thing happened to the Dutchmen and Hanse in England, Denmark and Russia. As soon as there arose in these countries a native commercial class, the Hanse towns lost their ground from under their feet. The same thing is experienced to-day by Europeans in Japan and by the Germans in all Slavonic countries, in Hungary and Russia. The same thing was in former centuries experienced by the Italians in France and Germany, by the Moors in France and Italy and by the old Greeks, when the vast Roman Empire rendered their colonies superfluous. All these nations fulfilled a mission and formed a minority in the distant domains; when the majority became fit to continue the work begun by the minority, the latter was driven away. But in all these cases it was only a small part of these nations that was chosen to carry out the mission. The greater bulk of the nation, however, still remained devoted to their original productivity as agriculturists. For it is only commercial nations that are liable to be driven away and dispossessed; but nations who maintain themselves by cultivating the ground, cannot be dispossessed, unless they are violently annihilated.

Out of the vast array of similar examples which the economic history of the world has preserved for us, I should, in conclusion, like to cite one more, which is at the same time the oldest and the most remarkable.

This comparison is all the more instructive, because it closely resembles that of the Jews with respect to the fact that almost the entire nation did not dwell any more on its own soil, and was no longer devoted to its cultivation.

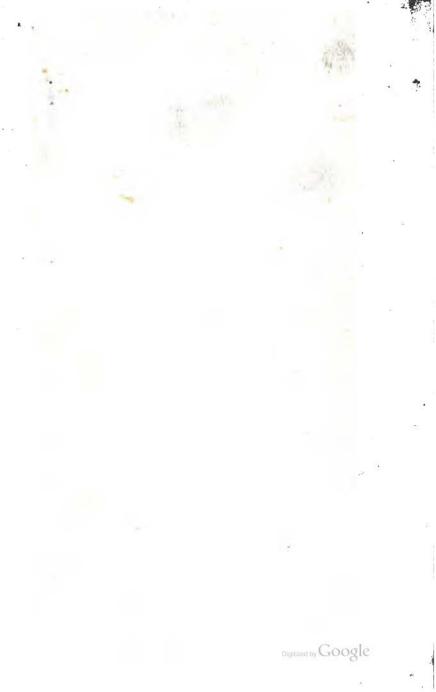
I have in mind the Phoenicians, who were a commercial nation, which monopolised and ruled the commerce of the entire world at that time. But ultimately this commercial supremacy slowly but almost completely came to an end, without any catastrophe, and without any historical event. And we know the exact causes of this inevitable decline. Phoenicia was no empire, no country, but a number of cities which, as a rule, had little connection with the mainland. The population of these cities stood in striking disproportion to their farreaching undertakings. When larger cities and greater nations became the competitors of the Phoenicians, the latter were overthrown. This competition arose only in the Greek provinces. The Phoenicians occupied in Greece, the leading civilized country at that time, the position which in most respects closely resembled that which the Jews occupied in Europe during the first centuries of the Middle Ages-they were the only merchants there. But gradually, there sprang up in Greece itself a native commercial class to which the Phoenician merchants succumbed, first at home, and later on in the markets of the world. The Phoenicians experienced at the hands of the Greeks the same thing which thousands of years later the Portuguese and the Dutch experienced at the hands of the English. And the Phoenician people disappeared!

The character of these constantly recurring developments is quite manifest and the principles underlying it are readily seen. We notice everywhere the same processes wherever similar conditions obtain, but they have never become so dreadful as in the case of the Jews. A thorough knowledge of this law in this connection must, accordingly, be of decided significance. It shows the necessity of bringing the great masses of the Jews back to their original occupation as a ground-tilling people. There would then be no necessity for them to disappear, nor would the law of dispossession be in force.

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