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The Emergence of the Anti-Jewish Stereotype in the United States. 1953.

THE EMERGENCE
OF THE ANTI-JEWISH STEREOTYPE
IN THE UNITED STATES

by
Joseph D. Herzog

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion
January, 1953

Referee: Dr. Ellis Rivkin

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During the latter years of the nineteenth century, in the midst of many general stereotypes held commonly by the American people, the stereotype of the Jew emerged as The American Stereotype. The reasons for this phenomena can be understood only through an analysis and consideration of the general structure of the stereotype.

In the course of the years, the Jewish stereotype in America had three bases. The early American Jewish stereotype was based on religious differences between Jew and Christian. A consideration of this stereotype shows that it was not this difference which was significant, however, but the possibility of laying the general distress and anxiety of the time to the Jew. This was followed by a stereotype based on an alleged national difference between Jew and American. Once again, it is apparent, after consideration, that this alleged difference is not what gave the stereotype of the Jew vitality, but once again the general blaming of the Jew for distress. Finally a stereotype based on an alleged racial distinction between Jew and non-Jew (real American) appears. Here too the above characterization holds true. Each of these stereotypes supercedes the former, and it is shown that each basis, religious, national, or racial, grows out of the environment which gives it growth.

Through this analysis, it is noted that there are three qualifications for a successful stereotype. The first is awareness of the group to be stereotype. The second is a comprehensive ignorance of the precise limitation and definition of the group. The third is need for the stereotype. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the details of the stereotype vary but little. All that changes is the alleged basis of difference. The important thing is the identification of the Jews as different.

PREFACE

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the position of the Jew in America underwent vast changes. The influx of new Jewish stock added new ferment to an already unstable situation.

At this time, and during the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, the stereotype of the American Jew developed into a picture apart and wholly distinct from all other stereotypes. It developed in ways which indicated that the stereotype of the Jew had been selected as The Stereotype in America.

In any study of this stereotype confusion is likely to result unless several basic insights are utilized. It is the purpose of this paper to set forth these insights, to document their pertinence and their essentiality to the problem.

The author of this paper cannot sufficiently indicate his debt to Professor Oscar Handlin of Harvard University whose work in the field of American Jewish History provided the inspiration and whose encouragement the impetus for this study.¹ An equal if not greater debt must be acknowledged to Professor Ellis Rivkin of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion whose scholarly insight and patient enthusiasm have been a source of continued strength.

This paper is dedicated to three persons who have faithfully and unquestioningly given of themselves in times past and present that the author of this paper might learn truth and integrity and loyalty. With hope that their work may not have been in vain, this paper is inscribed in gratitude and in love to the author's parents, Milton and Henrietta Herzog, and to his Rabbi, Louis Wölsey.

CHAPTER ONE

THE VICTORY OF INDUSTRIALISM: 1860 - 1915

1. Introduction

The changes in the American structure wrought by the conflagration of 1861-1865 were vast and far reaching. One of the principle pillars of the old social order, the planters, began to decline in power and found its influence increasingly more restricted as each year passed. The war which the planters had welcomed as an opportunity to end the sentence of gradual doom changed that sentence to one of a more immediate character and firmly placed power and jurisdiction in the hands of the mortal enemies of the planters - the industrial capitalists.

The actual extent of the change so dramatically publicized by the Civil War was not to be understood for many years to come, yet in 1865 many facets of that change were readily apparent.

At the close of the war, control and rule of America was concentrated in the East where the industrial wealth of the land was centered.² The planters were deprived for the time being of any share in this leadership. Economically they had passed out of the picture.

Politically the situation was even more severe. The former political masters of the South were completely disfranchised by their defeat in the war. In control of the South were two groups, each despised by those temporarily

deprived of power - the negroes and the white "carpet-bagger" administrative forces.

The natural resources of the United States lay primarily in the hands of the government at this time. And the government was the open-handed friend of the entrepreneur. Mere occupation of the land was often sufficient to secure legal possession of it. And much, if not most, of the land now owned by the government, belonged to farmers and could easily be rented, leased or brought for whatever purpose the entrepreneur could conceive.

The swelling labor force available for this industrial development and expansion was due to a policy of open immigration. With natural resources and labor easily at hand, there remained but the question of capital. This too was abundant for it had been the very growth of capital which had made the fight against the planters necessary.

It is not the intention of this paper to paint in detail the rise and victory of industrial capitalism in America. However, certain aspects of this development, of this new way of life are indispensable to this study since the emergence of the anti-Jewish Stereotype in America cannot be understood without an understanding of the conditions which gave it birth and nourishment.

A matter of no small importance is the dynamic nature of capitalism. The constant changes and movements of the development of the economy gave rise to dislocations

and disaffections. Each dislocation was a specific situation with specific disaffection. The cry of distress changed as the dislocation changed. The imagined cause for unhappiness was seen in each unhappiness. Therefore solutions for the problem were usually specific solutions rather than general, and the premises upon which those specific solutions were based were equally specific, growing as they did out of the situation. And it is these premises which gave birth and direction to the Jewish stereotype.

With this in mind it is not difficult to understand the variety of solutions offered. Each attempted answer grew out of a particular set of conditions, and every different set of conditions gave birth to a new answer. The dynamism of the economic structure encouraged this constant compartmentalized probing.

Yet another reason can be offered for the phenomenon of the multiplicity of answers to the problem of dissatisfaction. The mass of the population experienced great futility in their attempts to achieve remedies through the only channels they possessed. The severity of the distress and the apparent hopelessness of attempts at change through accepted processes encouraged the hope periodically that the current new solution, new idea, new Crusade would redeem those fallen so low.

2. The Reign of Capital

As long as the western frontier of America remained a dynamic force, business enterprise could aim at the development and exploitation of the territory so newly opened. However, the years following the war of 1861-1865 marked the closing of this territorial frontier for all time.

Expansion beyond the Mississippi Valley during the years 1865 - 1880 had not alleviated the farmers' burden at all. The land thus opened up was poor from the viewpoint of the farmer. The profit gained from these new territories went to miners and cattlemen and, for the most part, ultimately found its way into the coffers of those with the resources necessary to organize effectively the exploitation of the potential wealth.

But expansion did not halt with the closing of the western frontier. Territory already opened up was ready for development. The primary requisite for this new expansion was money, and particularly large quantities of readily available money. Therefore, possessors of this community, bankers, brokers, money lenders, and other potential investors found themselves in an enviable position. Slowly they took firm control of the economic structure.

The East contained not only most of the early industrial activity during these years, but also most of the wealth of the country in terms of money.³

As the demand for money specifically was for large readily available quantities, the small promoter was less in power than formerly when industrial capitalization had been small. Now the small promoter and entrepreneur was forced to give way to the financier whose accessible resources were vast. The New York Stock Exchange became the center of economic life.

As Beard puts it:

As such transactions multiplied and opportunities to amass new capital by the manipulation of paper increased, the New York Stock Exchange raised its economic forum to the position of an All-American tribunal. Thus localism in finance broke down and the banks of the strategic cities, meeting the new demand, began to operate on a national scale...It was to their hoardings, to their stock and bond departments, that promoters of railroads and industrial corporations now had to turn for assistance; and in the course of time bankers learned that they could in reality become masters of the economic scene - were in some measure forced to assume that role...it was soon discovered that the weapon of the hour was finance and that the possession of the weapon had passed to the bankers. 4

Manipulations upon the New York Stock exchange culminated in an investigation by the federal government in 1869, which set off a series of government scandals which lasted until 1890, creating an attitude of cynicism in the minds of the citizenry regarding the fitness and honesty of their elected leaders. 5

Meanwhile monopoly had become the theme of industrialism. It was perfectly apparent that the larger the capitalization, and the greater the control by one organization over a single field, the less chance there would be

for competitive profit-reducing warfare and the greater consequent profit there would be to the controlling organization. By 1875, the role of the large capitalists included such names as Rockefeller, Gould, Vanderbilt, Huntington, Hill, Harriman, Carnegie, Cooke, Morgan and Armour.

The effects of industrialization in general through the period were mighty. It was at this time, however, that they became especially noticeable. The social effect was the disintegration of the old family structure, as parental authority gave way to the dictates of the wage earner. Urbanization, particularly apparent now, disrupted family ties and destroyed the family unity. Indeed many homes were permanently broken, and a new kind of community began to arise.

3. The Irregularity of Prosperity

The Black Friday crash of 1869 brought not only the government into disrepute but cast doubts also upon the structure of the Stock Exchange. When the catastrophic crash of 1873 reached such proportions that the weekly sale of gold was suspended and the Exchange closed by the federal government, a flaw was clearly discernible.

For three years after the 1873 crash unemployment grew. The real income of the wage earner corresponding decreased. Even when jobs became gradually more plentifully (1876-1879) and prices began declining, wages continued to fall.

Besides giving an impetus to the labor union movement and to radical socio-politico-economic schemes among the laboring classes, this condition gave birth to terrifying displays of violence in many of the areas hard hit. But the industrialists had the power and the force of authority with them and won a signal victory over the laborers, amply demonstrating the efficiency of large organizations.

During the decade from 1880 to 1890 Eastern financiers and investors speculated to a remarkable extent in land of which they themselves knew nothing, land in the newly-opened West. The farmer living on the land and trying to develop its resources consequently found himself a pawn in a continental game played by men unaware of his very existence.

Speculation aptly describes the entire era. Every Wall Street firm banked heavily upon the future of its speculative activities. The result was frequent scandals.

However, speculation did not include an equalization or democratization of wealth. Quite the contrary, in 1890 seven-eighths of the families of the United States held but one-eighth of the wealth, and one percent of the families owned more than all the other families combined.⁶

This small group of large wealth owners utilized the legislative machinery of the land in the defense of their possessions. The heavily protectionist McKinley

tariff favored openly owners of gold, creditors, and Eastern Industrialists. Involved here, too, was the struggle between old and new forces. However when considering the problem of financing the government, the great owners of wealth were apparently considered exempt.

Besides nourishing by benevolence the enterprises of the capitalists, the national government was tender in imposing burdens of taxation on great possessions. In fact, it derived practically all its revenues from indirect duties on imported goods, whiskey, tobacco, beer, and wine, - judiciously distributed among the consuming masses. Even state and local governments, although operating on the theory that all property should be taxed alike, found it difficult to discover the list elusive stocks and bonds hidden in boxes so strong that they could not be penetrated by the eye of the shrewdest tax assessor; state commission after state commission declared that the general property tax was a farce and that the evasion of tax on intangible securities was almost universal. In a word, nowhere did heavy income and inheritance taxes vex the lives of those deeply engaged in the great game of acquisition.⁷

But the course of this internal expansion was not and had not been smooth. Irruptions of "undigested stock" or, as Faulkner prefers to call them, "indigestible stock" took place from time to time. The crash of 1892 set into motion a depression lasting five years; and the frantic attempt of the second Cleveland administration to replenish the diminishing gold supply of the Treasury set off the panic, resulting in vast numbers of unemployed and the famous march by Coxey's Army of the Commonwealth of Christ on the Capitol. Cleveland drove through Congress the repeal of the Sherman Silver purchase act in order to protect the vanishing gold

supply. However, this discredited him with his own party, many of whom were disgruntled agrarians or Westerners heavily interested in the purchase of silver by the government. As a result the silver question became temporarily the Great Issue.

It is interesting to note how those in favor of free silver regarded the enemy. Marion Butler, United States Senator from North Carolina, who had been temporarily chairman of the Populist National Convention at St. Louis in 1896, indentified the gold power with the trusts. Writing in the populist-inclined magazine, The Arena, in 1898, he damned trusts as cancers on the body politic. Trusts, he declared, must control the instruments of commerce: money, transportation, and intelligence (news). In the same volume of the same magazine, its founder, B.O. Flower, wrote that corporations and monopolies oppose popular and free government, controlling government and the opinion forming agencies. They foster wealth and special privileges and class favoritism. Wealth, declared Flower, belongs to all the people. Behind the monopolies he saw the banks, the money lenders of America.⁸

Because of the objective situation, the great poverty and inequality of wealth, the one-sided control of the government despite a most vociferous minority, and also because of agitation such as the above, a great reaction against the plutocracy occurred at the end of the 19th

century. Typical of the concomitant sentiment is John Clark Ridpath's article "Plutocracy and War".⁹

The frequent slipping of the stock market continued an awareness of all not being well. Even though the crash of 1903 was but a "rich man's panic" lasting for but a short time, the intense speculation which had set off the crash, did not decrease but waxed greater and led to the production of worthless stock and the manufacture of useless products. This led to a run on the banks during Fall, 1908. During the years of this depression, which began in 1907, between three and four million workers were unemployed.

This was the period of the Muckraker. In particular, attention should be called to the use of muckraking to find a solution to the problem. Such books as Henry George's Progress and Poverty, (1879) and Henry D. Lloyd's Wealth Against Commonwealth (1895) offered specific radical economic and political solutions for the distress. But the most devastating criticism that was made against the plutocracy came from one of its own members, Frederick Townsend Martin, who in The Passing of the Idle Rich (1911), bluntly informed his fellow plutocrats that their form of government could be maintained only by force or fraud and that they would have to look into the sources of their power and re-examine their privileges in order to maintain domination.

4. The Silver Question

Many facets of the monetary structure of the United States during this period have bearing upon the emergence of the anti-Semitic stereotype.

The western farmer, smarting under the burden of heavy taxation, poor lands, and large debt, felt that the value of the dollar, based on the then universal gold standard, was too high to offer any refuge. Even though every major and almost every minor nation in the world based its currency upon this same standard, the disaffected agrarians of the West conceived of the solution of their problem in terms of leaving the gold standard and creating a cheaper dollar based on a freer coinage of silver. It was certainly no coincidence that the new silver mines in the West were opened while the value of silver was dropping consequent to the affirmation of the gold standard in 1867, and that immediately upon the opening of these new mines great agitation for the silver or bi-metallic standard commenced.

Although gold was the universal standard of value, the debtor found that his interests were not served by its retention. His interests, indeed, conflicted directly with the gold owners, for whom the demonitization of silver was a source of profit, giving gold owners an effective monopoly in the money field. The debtor found it difficult to imagine that these in the creditor classes,

whose interests were served so well by the maintenance of the gold standard and the high dollar, could be so inhuman, so heartless, so unpatriotic (for the question was soon raised to the level of patriotism) to ignore the debtors' sorry plight. However, it was simply a matter of good business. The high value of the dollar meant that loans for example, were repaid in money worth at least as much as that loaned out. Investments were thus protected from monetary depreciation ~~at least.~~

One of the victims of the depression in 1894 was William Hope Harvey, a former Montana rancher-pro prospector. He had also served as a journalist in Chicago and had failed at that too. But he found the crisis of 1894 tailored to his special talents. Financed by silver interests, he published a series of inflammatory pro-silver pamphlets under the general title of Coin's Financial Series. He utilized this series to set forth the prevalent views of the silver faction in the United States (and particularly in the Democratic party). He labelled the demonetization of silver in 1873 a device of the banker-creditor group to gain control of the financial structure of the country.¹⁰

In the midst of this agitation, a most significant event occurred. Cleveland's second administration was forced to issue a large set of bonds in order to replenish the shrinking gold supply of the United States Treasury. The bonds were taken up almost entirely by a gold syndicate headed by J. Pierpont Morgan and the House of Rothschild, whose American representative was August

Belmont.

That was all the agitators needed. English bankers, they declared, were buying American Government bonds and controlling governmental policies. Worse than that, the poor farmer and laborer were working not for the benefit of their own country or its leaders but for the profit of some European money-changer who sat safely in his foreign office while the American worker risked life and limb.

To prove an effective political weapon, the discontent had to be focused upon some specific section of the American structure. So it was that the East became the symbol for the money-interest. Harvey declared that the East had laid a financial trap for the West with the gold standard, gold bonds, and mortgages payable in gold. He presented a picture of the West, an enormous cow, fed by the South (who suffered concomitantly), and milked in New York for New England. Everyone, he insisted, is in debt to the Eastern bankers, except the money-lenders. The financial trust has gained control of the government and is robbing the prosperous. Particularly important are the cartoons he printed. Besides the one mentioned just above, there was ~~another~~ showing Ruffian England attacking lovely Prosperity while heroic silver, chained, stands helplessly by. Another shows American Industry chained to rocks while vultures Cleveland and (Secretary of the Treasury) Carlisle sit by. Meanwhile other vultures carrying

pawnshop insignia (three triangularly arranged golden balls) come flying up.¹¹

A Silver Convention was held in St. Louis in 1896. But most silverites were already interested and committed to one of the major political parties. Therefore in that same year silver agitation was carried on first at the Republican National Convention without success. Later, the silver faction gained control of the Democratic party at its National Convention in Chicago and caused two known silverites, Bryan and Sewall, to be offered the highest nominations.¹²

We find that John Clark Ridpath, editor of The Arena, claimed that the battle was between "British gold and American ballots".¹³ William H. Standish, ex-Attorney-General of North Dakota, called the gold standard a tribute to the railroads and the monopolies and a deliberate attempt to ruin debtors.¹⁴ William Jennings Bryan wrote that European bankers were setting the policy of the United States Treasury and that Cleveland had contracted with the Morgan-Rothschild syndicate to establish gold-paying bonds. Bryan sadly reminded his readers that foreigners have no understanding of or sympathy with America.¹⁵ Once again Ridpath took up his pen, this time to describe "The Invisible Empire". He declared that the scheme for Cuban independence had failed because of the opposition of the "Gold Senators". The invisible empire is that of gold and every nation is bound to it. It is ruled by a syndicate of European bankers,

headed by the chief money-lord of Amsterdam, who sits on the German throne behind Kaiser Wilhelm. Rothschild and Morgan are named as leading culprits once more.¹⁶ A final sample of this type of agitation is an article entitled "True Reasons for the Apparent Failure of the Bi-Metallic Conference", by James R. Challen. Here we see the insidious underground machinations of the gold owners, for the author claims that the bi-metallic conference had succeeded, but the money kings in secret cabal had overpowered the will of the people.

The leaders of the silver movement were as amazed as anyone else at their own failure to remedy the situation. Their basic misunderstanding of the problem led to an equally basic misunderstanding of a potential solution. This fact they had no desire to face, and it seemed clear to the silverite leaders that the power responsible for their lack of success must be not only unscrupulous and inhuman but also un-American.

5. Agrarian Discontent

The expansion of America's western frontier beyond the Mississippi placed arid, unpromising land within America's boundaries. Farmers, eager for new land, found this territory no paradise but almost an agriculturists hell. And the cost of purchasing and transporting necessities from the East seemed to increase geometrically with

the arithmetic increase in distance.

Even nature seemed to frown on this new land. Raging blizzards, frequent tornadoes, heavy crushing snows and summertime plagues of pests combined with fierce all-consuming droughts to make the farmer's life difficult.

But the farmers acquiesced in their sentence of doom no more readily than any other group. They too met together, on farms and in villages, on the road and in the market, and exchanged theories and speculations. And from this theories and ideas came realities.

Earliest of these realities was the National Grange, organized in 1867. As Beard says

Casting about for other methods of improving their economic status, agrarian leaders decided at last to learn lessons from dynamic capitalism itself - to attempt a control of prices through the union of producers on the land and to make a positive use of the engine of state in the promotion of their interests.¹⁷

During the years 1870-1897 farm prices declined greatly, even though the rest of the country seemed prosperous enough. The farmer felt that someone, and he did not quite know who, was walking off with the surplus.¹⁸

With the closing of the frontier, wasteful methods of agriculture became hazardous. Previously an unsuccessful farmer had moved on to newer, undevastated land. Now, with no place to go, new methods and techniques had to be learned. Productivity had to be increased beyond the point where the old agricultural habits led.

All of this - the arid land, the fearful natural obstacles, the necessity for new machinery and even newer machinery, and the obsolescence of the old ways of farming - meant quite simply that agriculture had lost the battle for dominance and had become subservient to industry.

Typical of the results of the early distress of the farmer during the agriculture depression of the last quarter of the nineteenth century is that reported by a biographer of Benjamin Ryan Tillman. He relates that the fierce depression during the years 1875-1885 in South Carolina caused farmers to go heavily in debt to merchants and raised general animosity against all creditors.¹⁹

A natural enemy of the farmer was the trust. Particularly the railroad with its series of rebates and rate discrimination made itself obnoxious to the Southern and Western agrarians.

As a result of the turmoil and dissatisfaction a general program, satisfactory to the agrarians, appeared. Even though each section of the country saw its problem in a light different from that of other sections, several points were generally agreed upon.

One of the main points of the agrarian program was regulation of trusts by the federal government. In this way, railway rates, for example, could easily be equalized. Another point was the shifting of the heavy tax burden from the shoulders of the farmer to those of the middle-

man-creditor. This they would have ^{been} accomplished by changing the burden of taxes from real estate (which they owned) to cash income (which they did not). The whole money problem was a sore point with the agrarians, and they demanded a more flexible system involving an expanding currency and low interest rates to promote easy credit.

The first major failure of the agrarians was legislative. By judicious use of the ballot during the years 1887-1900 the farmers not only elected sympathetic congressmen and Senators but forced them to take up the problems of the agriculturist. However, this legislation proved ineffective and disappointing. These laws were drawn up not by the novices representing the interests of the farmers, but by experienced legislators. The language of the legislation was obscure and intricate and left the issues greatly in doubt.

Agrarian leaders throve on defeat and after each occasion thereof drew up for battle more eagerly than before. Perhaps the Christian evangelistic background of these leaders had much to do with their irrepressible enthusiasm. Always they agitated for action, action, and more action. One, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, exhorted the farmers to "raise less corn and more HELL". Others, practised agitators such as Ignatius Donnelly, James B. Weaver, and "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, aroused frenzy in their audiences and left them screaming and crying for reparation of their wrongs.²⁰

The congressional campaign of 1890 found the battle lines in full array. In the South, the overriding fear of aiding the Republicans and thus giving concessions to the Negro kept Southern agrarians in general within the Democratic party. But leaders like L.L. Polk of North Carolina, "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman of South Carolina, and Tom Watson of Georgia led their forces to an impressive victory.

In the West there was no such deterrent to independent political action, yet at first the disaffected farmers tried to work within the regular parties, always threatening to bolt in case of continued dissatisfaction.

The theme of the agrarian campaign in the West was an attack on finance banking and the banking syndicates. The farmers declared that such combinations sought to bring the farmer to his knees. One of the agrarians' most frenzied orators, Mrs. Lease, denounced Vice President Levi P. Morton as a "London banker" and continued to warn the farmers that "Wall Street owns the country".²¹

In the South, agrarian efforts were aimed at emancipating productive labor from the power of money by reducing the profits of the middle class. It is clear that each section conceived of the general problem in terms of its own specific ailment. In the South capitalism extensively utilized a middle class. But by the time capitalism had reached the West it had already become primarily finance monopoly capitalism and therefore the middle class was less

in evidence than elsewhere.

The farmer had begun to lose his individuality as a creator of wealth for his own use. Now he had to sell, in order to buy, in order to use. He had previously depended upon a close personal relationship with those with whom he did business. Now even the mechanism of sale, the market, had been depersonalized. He saw little hope. In 1890 the mortgage indebtedness of the farmer was listed as \$1,085,995,960 at seven per cent, and the average net income of the farmer was less than \$200 a year.²²

Legislative failures led the farmers to consider a union with non-agrarian forces, also disaffected, in an attempt to present a program with a wider attraction. A convention, held in Cincinnati, May 19th, 1891, brought into the yet unnamed organization the professional radicals, the professional third-party men, who immediately assumed a major share of the leadership. The "People's Party of America" was launched officially in St. Louis in 1892.

The nativist approach was not new to American politics. Yet the fervent evangelism of the populists and their peculiar anti-foreign bias deserve further explanation. An author writing in 1894 declared that Kansas had 90 per cent American born citizens and 70 per cent American born citizens of American parents, mostly of New England puritan stock. Also there was a large percentage of Civil War veterans.²³ Thus nativism was natural. Even so prominent

a leader as William Jennings Bryan wrote that foreigners have not understanding of or sympathy with America.²⁴

Bryan, "the silver-tongued orator", can be considered typical of the disaffected agrarians of the late 19th century. He not only embodied in himself all the qualities characteristic of this group but brought to its aid all his undeniable shrewdness and talent.

Bryan, one of his biographers states, was intensely proud of his race - the caucasian. Indeed he considered it the high point of existence to be a Christian and an American Democrat. His father had been a devout prayerful Baptist, who believed that God had directly intervened in his life in answer to one of his prayers. Bryan himself had a strong evangelistic streak, and a distrust of those without it.²⁵ In a speech in 1891 he summed up his approach to the problem of the common man:

I fear the plutocracy of wealth; I respect the aristocracy of learning; but I thank God for the democracy of the heart.²⁶

He proposed measures which he considered would benefit the debtor class. He wanted "to awaken small business men to an appreciation of their importance", and to rebuke those who favored only big business.²⁷ His proud Christian evangelism led him to conceive of the United States and every other decent land as Christian nations. So he is reported to have said at a fourth of July speech in 1906.²⁸

He branded all opposition to himself "tools of the interests" and "Wall street men". During his campaign against

Taft, a Unitarian, he commented that the American people would never elect a man President who disbelieved in the virgin birth and the divinity of Jesus.²⁹

The importance of this religious fervor in the lives and thinking of the agrarians cannot be over-emphasized. Combined with a persistent determination to survive, it colored each solution with its peculiar shading.

Feeling among the farmers during the Presidential campaign of 1896 ran high against the Eastern bankers and industrialists. Senator William V. Allen of Nebraska, one of the leading Western radicals, wrote that the West believed that it was the purpose of the Eastern money-lenders and capitalists to drain Western industries of their profits by unfriendly legislation, and in the course of this to make the West perpetually debtor to the East.³⁰ In general the campaign cry was that the Eastern capitalists were responsible for all the troubles of the West, and that the bankers were using the currency to achieve their own selfish ends. The Populist convention of 1896 declared in its platform that European money changers were a potent force in American legislation.³¹

It is interesting to read Henry D. Lloyd's description of this Populist convention and of the elements which comprised the Populist party. He noted that every reform group except the socialists were represented. The reason for the official abstention of the Southern Farmers' Alliance was that the Populists recognized the Negro as a

full citizen. Greenback and Anti-Monopoly men were in the midst of the Populist ferment as well as were representatives of the Union Labor party.³²

It was but natural that the farmers, the "grass-roots" Americans should look to legislation as the answer to their ills. However they encountered a fundamental difficulty: the various sections of the farm population could not agree on a common villain. Instead each saw the entire problem in terms of its own specific distress. All that was agreed on was that the villain was someone who had no sympathy with the farmer or his heritage.

Commonly the agrarian leaders referred to their opposition as a conspiracy. Often these leaders were either unwilling to admit their defeat or, like Bryan, were incapable of conceiving of their own failure. The very idea that they might have misread history was abhorrent to them, and one suspects that the power and prestige brought to them by leadership was so pleasing that they naturally sought to identify the movements opposing their success as mysterious, subversive, and conspiratorial.

6. Working Class Unrest

During this period, the formative stage in American labor history, much violence came out of the distress of the working man. A great deal of this came from the radical social ideas of the socialists, anarchists, and

nihilists who opposed not only their society but the union approach to the working-man's problems. Nonetheless this disagreement between organized union labor and the socialists and other radicals was not apparent to the general public and the sins of one group were often charged to the account of the other.

A socialist meeting in Chicago in 1886 was broken up by an unknown bomb thrower. Because of the alleged incendiary nature of the meeting (which had been mere oratory and mild oratory at that until the police decided to end the proceedings by force), eight of its leaders were arrested, indicted for murder, and after a farce of a trial, convicted. A wave of fear and a concomitant wave of protest and reaction against labor swept through the country.³³

An even more blatant case of blaming labor organizations indiscriminately for any distress was the attack upon the Western Federation of Miners. Idaho's anti-labor Governor Steunenberg was murdered and the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners were arrested and indicted on the grounds that their leadership had incited the deed. President Theodore Roosevelt, brandishing his "big stick", labelling the defendants "undesirable citizens" publicly during their trial. When the long trial was over, the defendants were acquitted.³⁴

Two major factors kept the working man's complaint from popular acceptance. The long strikes, by means

of which the unions tried to achieve their goals did little to endear them to the mass of the middle class. And the violence which so frequently attended these demonstrations, even though often provoked by management, turned the great body of law-abiding citizens against the laborer and his cause.

The Homestead strike of 1892 successfully established the right of management to employ force against dissident labor. And the public revulsion at the violent and desperate defense of the workers against that force added to the bias already present. Therefore when Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois freed the three convicted Hay market leaders who were still in prison, the country was horrified. Theodore Roosevelt, not yet President, called Altgeld a man who "condones and encourages the most infamous of murders".³⁵

The unions knew no methods other than the strike and the attempt to elect sympathetic legislators. Two great principles, they felt, were at stake: the right to organize and the right of the worker to a greater share of the surplus. In order to win strikes they had to resist strike-breakers hired by management. In the course of this resistance fierce violence was only to be expected. On the other hand, the company with profits endangered could not be expected to sit by calmly and allow a new organization to usurp its hitherto unchallenged right to the surplus. And there were many workers who felt that it was the God-given

privilege of management to profit from the labor of the worker.

This was shown clearly in the violent strike called by the United Mine Workers in 1902. Here an interesting development is noted. The company sympathizers did not blame the violence and disorder on their fellow-nationals. They felt that this activity was unAmerican and blamed the use of force and retaliation on the Irish, the Hungarians, the Poles, and the "Dagoes".³⁶

To the urban middle class such terrifying events shook the very foundations of their being. And when women workers or the wives of the strikers struck with the man (as in the garment workers' strikes of 1907-1910), real horror was felt. Surely someone was at fault. This was not the American (middle class) way.

Yet strikes continued and maintained their violent character. The concurrent spread of anarchism by refugees from European or Asiatic tyranny caused the American people to equate anarchism, socialism and organized labor in a search for a cause of the distress. Two bombings in 1908, one in New York and one in Chicago, only served to intensify this feeling against foreigners, who were deemed responsible.³⁷

The worker little understood the cause of his misery. He could see, however, that some elements of the population lived very easily, while he was in economic agony. Henceforth these people were his enemies. The

impact of industrialization made the gap between laborer and entrepreneur wider than ever and more costly to bridge. Like the farmer, the American laborer was becoming a distinct class and he could not understand why. He knew that someone was oppressing him and often he turned against big business, bankers and Wall Street. But any creditor of his was likely to be singled out as the efficient cause of his distress.

7. Christian Evangelism on the Warpath

In 1840, twenty-four of the United States in their state constitutions officially recognized Christianity as the exclusive religion of the state.³⁸

If, for a moment, the history of the settling of the United States is considered, it is quickly seen that a significant number of early settlers came to America at least ostensibly for reasons of religion. Most of them brought along the prevailing notion that no one who disbelieved in the divinity of Jesus was fit or competent for citizenship. Just as it took centuries of struggle in England to remove the religious disabilities of the Jews, so in America we find at least formal restrictions remained in force until a rather late date.

Long after European evangelical Protestant Christianity had become comparatively sophisticated, due to its resignation to a narrow role in the life of the worshipper, the American counterpart remained enthusiastically fanatic and primitive. One of the major reasons for this was the

role of religion in the life of the pioneer and the new settler. Very often religion was the only social force in a given area. Religion not only provided for the settler's spiritual salvation, it also took care of his social needs by organizing recreational diversions such as "bees" and church suppers.

No central church existed to direct the activity of those evangelically motivated. Protestant individualism encouraged sectarian schisms. Anyone who felt the mission could found his own little group and attract to himself those souls who longed for such assurance of heaven as he might offer. Within the borders of America the number of evangelical Christian sects was vast indeed. With competition for the glory of saving a soul so great, each church had to produce bigger and better products in terms of what the worshipper wanted to hear. The individuality of which America boasted was not always the respect of one for another. At times it was the firm belief of the individual that he himself was supreme.

The religious superiority complex of the American was directed outwardly in two channels. One was against the supposed mortal enemy of the evangelical Protestant-Christian - the Roman Catholic church. Any group which could be identified with this awesome institution of with its alleged right arm, the Society of Jesus, was immediately suspect in the eyes of the American people as conspiratorial, attempting

to deprive Protestants of their most cherished possessions. It certainly appears that, in an attempt to strengthen their own position and status, Protestant leaders nourished this fear of Rome and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the people. When the time for seeking villains and scapegoats arrived, this fear paid large dividends.³⁹

The second outward expression of American religiosity was directed against non-Christian groups, particularly the Jews. Not only were the American people the inheritors of an old stereotype of the Jews which marked that non-Christian people as alien or strange, as mysterious, and as innate commercial; but new stereotypes arose from the specific American situation.

Expression of open anti-Jewish feeling was comparatively late in America, there being but scattered instances before 1872. This opposition to Jews or to Jewry sprang in most cases from a preconceived picture of what the Jew or Jewry was and is, i.e., from the Jewish stereotype, which itself reflected the intense evangelical nature of Christianity in the United States. And the movement to establish Christianity, in whatever form, as the official religion of the United States carried with it the definite, even though often unstated, implication that non-Christians or non-believers in the divinity of Jesus, were inferior to true believers and were thus unfit for American citizenship.

The Sunday question assumed real importance around 1880. The real issue was not the selling of merchandise on Sundays or the staging of theatrical productions, but whether or not the fundamental tenets of evangelical Protestant Christianity were to become the basic law of the land. The power of the ministry was declining as other leadership showed more competency for various necessary tasks. In an attempt to retain leadership, the ministry made general conformity an issue. "See," they said, "other leaders do not really have your welfare at heart." However, the Sunday question was a boon to certain business elements, for it was one way of removing some competition, since those who closed Saturday would then lose two days out of the week. Whatever the cause, the Sunday question bears a direct relationship to what may be called the attempted Christianization of America, that is, the advocacy of the adoption of evangelical Protestant Christianity as the official American religion.

Some sections of the Anglo-Jewish press caught up nearly every one of these attempts to christianize America, and they provide us today with a wealth of information. Perhaps one of the most interesting items in this series is one which The Jewish Times quotes from the reader commonly used in public schools, Harper's United States Series, second reader.

I think when I read that sweet story of old,
when Jesus was here among men, how He called

little children as lambs to His fold, I should like to have been with them then. I wish that His hands had been placed on my head, that his arms had been thrown around me...this kind of worship was for the Jews only, and was to show that Christ should suffer and die for the sins of the world.⁴⁰

The Jews were not the only ones opposed this kind of indoctrination. In 1875 the reading of the Bible was excluded from the Chicago public school system despite the protests of those who called the United States a Christian nation. In the minds of many people, the Christian character of the United States was in no doubt whatsoever. Both the New York Sun and the New York Evening Express are cited as publicly referring to the United States as a "Christian" nation.⁴¹

Some states retained peculiar Christological laws on their books concerning subjects generally determined by public taste.⁴² Particularly the Christological edict was prevalent throughout all sections of the country as well as the Christological legislative reference.⁴³

Meanwhile agitation against Roman Catholics was common although in a lesser degree. The American Protective Association (known as the A.P.A. and mockingly called by its enemies the Anti-Papist Association), organized in 1887, inherited the mantle of nativistic anti-Catholicism from the Know-Nothing organization. The influx of the old puritan New England stock into the middle West inclined that section of the country against the Roman Catholic

Church. Just as the Know-Nothings had been powerful there, so the A.P.A. was mainly Midwestern, and in the 1920's the modern Klu Klux Klan would find new strength there on the basis of anti-Catholicism.⁴⁴

But the South, as well, had its anti-Catholic, pro-evangelical Protestant tradition. Governor Tillman of South Carolina, for example, stated in 1891 that he believed that South Carolina College should not tolerate Professors with religious views at variance with those of the majority of South Carolinians, in other words "only Protestants need apply".⁴⁵

Because of this emphasis upon and the constant reaffirmation of evangelism, Christianity as a norm was definitely, even if unofficially, strengthened in America. The role of religion in the life of the people enabled it to be used in seeking a ready solution for the vast problems which had to be faced.

8. National, Racism, and H. S. Chamberlain

Nationalism as a force during the last half of the nineteenth century cannot be overestimated. It was the driving power behind much of the economic progress of the period, and its emergence in the United States marked an important economic development.

In general, Nationalism serves different functions in different environments. In some lands it is a support for the status quo. In some lands it *other* undermines the status quo.

In the United States, Nationalism supported the prevailing opposition to foreign investors. During this period big business had grown steadily. Combinations, trusts, and monopolies expanded and prospered. New capital was poured into the economy which in its turn created more surplus which made further expansion possible.

There was a good deal of foreign investment in the economic life of the United States. Most large financiers, whose control over the economy was becoming stronger and more apparent every year, had connections in Europe and particularly in England. The new capital coming in threatened to displace two groups who had been most significant in the early industrialization of America.

One of these groups was the petty entrepreneur. He had entered into business when the required capitalization was small, and when anyone who could find reasonable credit could embark on ventures which promised sound returns. To such a group, suddenly harassed by larger competitors and larger requirements of capitalization, some explanation for its trouble was found in the influence wielded by those who were not wholly and indigenously American. Nationalism was the banner under which they marched against the internationalist financiers and trusts who were stifling them.

The other group threatened with displacement was the early industrialists, those who had gotten in on the ground floor of industrialization and now found themselves almost passed by. New England manufacturers, for example,

found that the flood of new capital was going to turn the Midwest into the center of American industry. Again a solution was seen in an appeal to patriotism to reject foreign influence and domination. And Nationalism was just that appeal.

But the appeal of Nationalism was not just to these groups alone. To the laborer, Nationalism had a welcome sound; for he conceived himself threatened by the influx of cheap labor from other countries. The Irish influx during the 1840's led many workers to feel that only Americans should be competent to work in America. The laborer felt that an employer should realize that work would be done more satisfactorily by one who had all the advantages of the American environment. At one extreme this led to nativism. At the other extreme it led to organized labor's protest against cheap foreign workers because of ~~those~~ *of these workers.* *These workers.* workers' socialist background. The fight between the socialist groups and trade unionism for the control of the American laborer had not yet ended. And in an attempt to show that Trade Unionism was not responsible for the violence of labor unrest during this time, the patriotic nature of the union movement was displayed over and over again.

Thus we see that the groups opposing industrialization in general, espoused Nationalism, which caused them to ally themselves with those industrialists who were opposing the rule of the financier. Yet financiers, bankers, and investors were also intense nationalists. And the new

forces of the West, finding that the railroads, the trust, and the creditors apparently had international support, appealed to the patriotism of America in behalf of the Nationalism that became their battle cry. Each group used Nationalism to justify its own existence and as a weapon against its competitors.

But which elements in the American society were international? Certainly, in the minds of most people Jews and Roman Catholics were as international as they could be. Moreover, railroads had large numbers of foreign investors and the international character of the large was well known. Finally, some sections of society felt that the very nature of the news agencies was international, feeding as it did the markets of the world with information necessary for business.⁴⁶

Toward the very end of the century, American industry began looking outward for raw materials and markets, as far-sighted industrialists realized that future inward expansion was limited. The backbone of outward expansion is the belief in the minds of those expanding that it is their duty to enlighten, to govern, and to exploit. One may call it "Manifest Destiny" or "racial superiority", no matter - the concepts are identical. The racist theory is the indispensable support of outward economic expansion.

In the last year of the century, a book was published which has since had an effect so deep and profound

that its importance cannot be overemphasized. Houston Stewart Chamberlain in 1899 published his work, destined to be the Bible of Racism, Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Foundations of the Nineteenth Century).⁴⁷

Some data on Chamberlain himself may give an insight into the source of his ideas. He was a member of an old English, service family, whose bad health had deprived him of an Army career. His wife was Richard Wagner's daughter; and he himself for many reasons, not least among which was his schooling in Germany, was an ardent Wagnerian. To Chamberlain, science and particularly Darwin's theories were abominable attempts to change the poetry of life into dull fact and to pervert the Hero, the quintessence of romanticism, into a statistic. Any system, he believed whether political, economic, social, or some other, which is not based on a natural hierarchy of racial capabilities is treacherous. The French Revolution to him was a high-point of treachery and evil. The "rule by majority" principle was unreal and designed to wrest leadership from the romantic, poetic, otherworldly Teuton. Catholicism is evil because it would subject the worshipper to a false hierarchy and an untrue interpretation of the life of Jesus, who turns out to have been the "Aryan" prototype.

In his work Chamberlain states that "inequality is a state toward which nature inclines in all spheres". The book itself proceeds, along this line, to establish that the only true man is the "Aryan," a rather loose term

including ancient Hindu as well as modern Slav. Fortunately Chamberlain turns out to be an "Aryan", so his arguments are proved truthful. The Aryan is characterized, he says, by poetry and romanticism, by simplicity and productivity, by genius and talent, in short, by all things which Chamberlain conceived desirable. The blend of fact and fiction in the book is done so skillfully, that there is little wonder that it was read with eagerness and avidity. It not only provided a basis for German Imperialism and a rationale therefor; but it flattered the ego of every "Aryan" and presented him with a "built-in" natural superiority.

Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts was read all over the European and American world and was translated into English in 1910.

In order to support his theory, Chamberlain professes to sum up what the learned men say about race. His own conclusions, he feels, must take precedence over theirs because he alone understands the meaning of the terms. Thus when science seems to indicate that there are no clearly defined racial groups, and that if there are, this would have no practical consequences, Chamberlain protests, "The form of the head and the structure of the brain exercise quite decisive influence upon the form and structure of the thoughts." Therefore since the Teuton, by racial definition, is equipped to be mystic and poetic and otherworldly, he is the soul of our culture. This explains quite clearly

why the Teutons should have preference in the contest for world markets and also why he is so often beaten. The arch-villain, of course, is the Jew, who is just the opposite of the Teuton, being wily, conspiratorial, material, and matter-of-fact. These are the capitalists and the bourgeoisie who have undermined the position of the nobility. These are the people who deny the genius, the hero, who is the quintessence of race.⁴⁸

The greatest significance of Chamberlain's work for this study is that it provided a host of new arguments for those who opposed the new forces in the American economy. No longer was citizenship a test for loyalty. Now it was established that certain groups, particularly the Italians and some of the Russians and all the Jews and Negroes, were racially inferior to the "Aryan" and therefore should be set aside.

The logical outgrowth of Chamberlain's thesis was the theory, expounded by Werner Sombart, that certain forms of economic activity can be identified with inferior groups and thus should be avoided by those superior.⁴⁹

In general both Nationalism and Racism were utilized by both sides of the argument. Those opposing the new industrialization espoused these theses to show that the forces behind the new economy were inferior to real Americans. Those favoring the new industrialization and expansion also espoused Nationalism and Racism to show that it was not only the duty but also the privilege of the new groups to rule.

Each group found something in these ideas which soothed an injured ego or provided a basic philosophy for a new attack.

9. The Immigration Question

It is most significant that the question of immigration control took on real meaning, not in the 1840's during the Irish influx, nor in 1865 when large numbers of Scandinavians came to the United States, nor even in 1880 when vast numbers of East Europeans, particularly Jews, began to arrive. Even the influx of the extremely depressed Roumanians Jews in 1900 did not set off a wave of protest.

It has been suggestion that the impact of large scale immigration is felt by the native population only when the second generation of the immigrants begins to compete with the natives for the choicer middle class position. The facts seem adequately explained by this hypothesis.⁵⁰ However it appears also that general anti-immigration feeling directed at a specific group comes about only after the emergence of an unfavorable picture of that group. (This seems so obvious that it is in danger of being overlooked.)

The wave of Russian and East European persecutions beginning in 1880 brought large groups of Jews from the affected areas to the United States. Steamship companies and their agents did much to create a picture of America as the "land of limitless opportunity" for all people. Thus the refugees made little preparation for their dislocation other

than to raise the necessary money.

The first large influx of Russian Jews proved immediately unassimilable because of the large numbers involved and because their general background differed so widely from the American environment. America, in the last analysis, had been settled by people whose traditions had been West or Central European, people from areas far more economically advanced than Eastern Europe. The general depressed condition of the Eastern European as of the Irish meant that he arrived in America practically penniless and with no practical background to permit his integration and consequent prosperity quickly. Indeed the immigrants were poorly fitted for their new life. Economically they came from areas little industrialized and almost to a man were accustomed to taking part in a system where entrance into the crafts of the professions was not permitted. Most Jews were shopkeepers, peddlers, merchants, or engaged in the needle trades. Most non-Jews were peasants. Those in the needle trades made important contributions to the American labor scene. The others, destitute and uncomprehending, took up residence where they would find shelter at a nominal cost and where they could be with those they understood. Those who could found work. Almost all resisted assimilation mightily and successfully because of the communities which they formed. Few settled outside the major cities, and New York itself received a more than generous portion.

Meanwhile other groups were making an impact on American immigration policy. The oriental "menace" was felt by the West Coast, which insisted on the strict exclusion of Asiatics. The Mexican was regarded as undesirable in the Southwest and by the federal government itself. The Negro, who had fled the South in particularly large groups because of the reaffirmation of "white supremacy" after 1880, found little alleviation in the cities of the North.

Organized labor often proved one of the most sensitive indicators of public opinion in this regard. Any theoretical threat to jobs was immediately reflected in the agitation of labor leaders for new exclusionist policies. For example, the platform of the Democratic National Convention of 1896 declares against the importation of "foreign pauper labor."⁵¹

The depression of 1907 threw the immigration question into the public eye. Jobs and surplus were scarce and the general population suffered acutely. For four years a congressional committee wrestled with the problem. In the course of their investigations many interesting opinions were offered. The Junior Order of United American Mechanics, with headquarters in the home of Protestant evangelism, Cincinnati, came out, for example, with a request for immigration of "the better sort", i.e., specifically teutons and celts. The group complained of vice

and poverty among immigrants from other areas. It specifically requested exclusion of "persons economically undesirable" and those with inferior physiques.⁵² A prominent Anglo-Jewish weekly commented that this organization opposed in effect all foreigners and desired all immigration stopped in order to reduce the glut on the labor market.⁵³ In line with this interpretation of the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor which, in accord with its opposition to cheap labor, also opposed open immigration.⁵⁴

Farmers' organizations also complained against the open immigration policy. The Farmers' Education and Cooperative Union of America, claiming over 3,00,000 members, over half of whom lived in the South, specifically protested against immigration from Southeastern Europe and Western Asia and advocated an increased head tax, a money test and a literacy test. Secretary of Commerce and Labor Oscar Straus was attacked by this group because, it alleged, his policies favored Wall Street and the exploiters of the farmers.⁵⁵

According to The Jewish Criterion Boston in general opposed the appointment of Mr. Straus to the Secretaryship, which is born out by the attitude of the Immigration Restriction League of Boston as declared by its spokesman, Prescott F. Hall. He objected to non-aryan immigration on primarily racial grounds. The Russian Jew, he stated, is particularly undesirable. As for the proposed wider distribution inland of immigrants, Mr. Hall declared that this

was "a bluff on the part of the Jews and the steamship companies". The League also opposed cheap labor.⁵⁶

Racism clearly was an accepted philosophy by this time. During these immigration hearings it was clearly shown that "Hebrew", for example, is accepted as a term with racial significance and is used as a racial designation on immigration applications and forms.⁵⁷ This indicates an acceptance by at least the functionaries of the federal government, for the very inclusion of this classification implies a distinction or hierarchy.

The sum of the favorable opinions on liberal immigration was that immigrants should be induced to leave the ports of debarkation and proceed inland. This was proposed by the Sons of the American Revolution and the Council of Jewish Women.⁵⁸

Restrictive clauses of the legislation proposed educational, financial, and physical qualifications. These latter, ostensibly aimed at bad health risks, were stretched to include "inferior or poor physique", apparently aimed exclusively at East European Jews and so interpreted. The provision for a literacy test seemed to be directed against laborers who were not yet sufficiently emancipated in Europe to achieve the required measure of literacy. Yet the clause was often interpreted to mean reading the language of the immigrants' native land, excluding most yiddish-speaking East European Jews.

It may be said that the real estate, transportation,

and industrial interests favored liberal immigration policies because of the consequent profit to themselves as well as the need for a large pool of cheap labor for further American economic expansion. Those who opposed the then current course of American economic life also opposed liberal immigration laws. These were, for example, the farmers who opposed industrial and financial control of the economy, the old gentility who opposed all the new forces, the Western farmers and miners who opposed Eastern financial domination through industrial pools and large capitalizations, and the New England manufacturers who opposed the leadership of New York.

10. Summation

The years from 1870-1914 not only brought America its first great industrial expansion but also introduced new concepts and new problems into American life. The question of minorities assumed importance, for society was beginning to become stratified into certain groups bound together by common interests. What to do with those who opposed or symbolized opposition to the goals of a group became a question more easily posed than answered. However the course of industrialization itself indicated that a certain discrimination against lesser favored sections of the population could be expected, and certainly the general trend of these years indicated that group opposed group, each on the grounds of its own self-interest.

By its failure to protect civil rights, the federal government indirectly sanctioned discrimination against minorities. Placing Indians on reservations, stripping Negroes of effective protection, excluding further Oriental immigration, drawing the color bar in naturalization proceedings, holding the Mexican-American population of New Mexico and Arizona at arm's length for a sixty-four-year period, pursuing a similar policy in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, tolerating violence against the foreign-born, adopting a "national origins" quota system - all these acts indicate the growth of a tradition of bigotry and intolerance dating from the triumph of the industrial revolution.⁵⁹

The force of industrialization had dislocated many sections of American life and each looked for a villain to punish. The identification of the Jews with the source of general discomfort is the matter which now concerns us.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BASES OF THE STEREOTYPE IN THE U.S.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that the stereotype of any group springs full-blown from the minds of the people. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Webster's New International Dictionary says that a stereotype is "anything undistinguished by individual marks."⁶⁰ Carey McWilliams proposes the following definition: a judgment that does not coincide with fact, something in the nature of a social illusion or myth.⁶¹

Combining these two items ^{we can} suggests that a stereotype is a generalization of a fancied particular.

Perhaps it is emphasizing the obvious to say that the growth of the stereotype, any stereotype is attributable to no one factor alone. A combination of several factors is always behind the stereotype.

In general it may be said that three main factors contribute to the building up of a stereotype of any kind. One is a general impression of prominence, a feeling of awareness of the stereotyped group or thing. Another is a general ignorance of the nature of the thing or group so generalized. And finally there must be a need which the generalization can fill.

In a consideration of the emergence of the anti-Semitic stereotype in the United States, several problems immediately present themselves. The first is how to

distinguish between anti-Semitic and stereotype. That expression of feeling or judgment which carries with it a definite call to action, to drive out the offenders, to purge the corroding influence, to get rid of the Jews, is termed anti-Semitic. That which is a generalization of a fancied (or real) particular is called a stereotype.

This differentiation may seem on the surface, superficial; yet there is a very real distinction between the call to action and the mere generalization. Very simply put, the distinction is this: a stereotype may be favorable, but a call to action against the Jews is seldom to their benefit. To illustrate this distinction the following item from The Henderson, Kentucky, Evening Journal may be cited.

In all walks of life and under every conceivable condition, supreme in medicine, foremost at the bar, unsurpassed in music, prominent in letters and in art, a power in the press of this country and of Europe; leaders in the educational institutions of the whole world; among the first in finance and easily the first in commerce. In politics and in the army few in numbers, but high in ranks, and standing always and everywhere for respect for the law and for the institutions of the country.

Such are the Jews of today, men of light and leading, whose lives will bear scrutiny and who figure prominently everywhere except in the annals of the police and the divorce court.⁶²

This is certainly a stereotype and a far cry from the following anti-Semitic outburst.

The owl-eyed Jew...the man who has bought up his nomination as a speculation...the "old clothes" candidate...the Jew repudiates the Savior and if

He were on earth today, would revile Him and spit upon Him - this is the man who asks office at the hands of the voters of Luzerne County.⁶³

Another distinction of significance is this - the call for preventative action or expulsion is usually preceded by the emergence of a stereotype in a particularly unfavorable light. It is in this sense that the anti-Semitic stereotype is spoken of, for the concern here is with the emergence of a stereotype - no matter whether originally favorable or unfavorable, for we shall see that both utilize the same details - which can lead to the actual expression of anti-Jewish feeling.

How did such a stereotype find a place in a free expanding society? America during the years 1870 - 1914 was in the midst of a remarkable industrial expansion which created within the country a surplus of truly amazing proportions. But this very process of industrialization carried with it concomitant dislocations and disaffections. Many segments of American society felt wounded and bewildered by apparent prosperity in which they could not seem to share. These factors have already been discussed.⁶⁴

Yet how is it that the anti-Semitic stereotype emerged as the ultimate result of this period and not an anti-merchant or anti-Catholic or anti-Negro or anti-English stereotype? Many causes exist for this phenomenon. Perhaps one of the major causes was the wide-spread dispersion of the Jews in America throughout the country and their active participation in so many branches of activity. They

existed in all strata of society except perhaps the highest and the lowest. Yet enough of them were associated with the higher echelons to permit identification of the two by the uncritical or the unscrupulous. Here the nature of the disaffection in America must again be mentioned. It was a broad, sweeping disease, as we have already seen. Each section of the economy felt a need for the identification of some villain. Now it is obvious that certain sections of society cannot be generally identified by so many diverse groups as the arch-villain. The Negro, for example, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be identified by farmers and miners with capitalist oppression. When German immigration came to an end, the German-American ceased to exist after a few generations and couldn't be identified as distinctive. Only the Jew remained distinctive on both objective counts, existence and mystery.

Another factor of importance is the history of anti-Jewish feeling through the ages. The people who settled America inherited from the countries of their origin a tradition of suspicion against the Jews on many counts. The influence of Christianity and the identification of the Jews with the new urban middle class are key insights in this consideration.

The religious background of the American Christian must be considered. It will be recalled that in the previous chapter it was pointed out that the majority of

American Christians had strong evangelical Protestant backgrounds. The Jew was anathema, for the common language of the American evangelical Protestant spoke of the suffering of the god, his crucifixion and murder by the Jews.

As far as the United States was concerned, the early feeling concerning the Jew sprang primarily from the religious background of the population. Christian evangelism looked askance at non-believers, and one finds much reference in early material to the taking of Christological oaths as a prerequisite for office holding, citizenship, or legal participation in the courts of the land.⁶⁵

Moreover the Jew was looked upon as one who denied the basis of the Christian religion and therefore as one unfit to be trusted with Christian life or property. Religiously he was different, which made it easy to exclude him, if someone had to be excluded. We find the following interesting tale of Mordecai Manuel Noah's appointment as Sheriff.

What? A Jew for sheriff? Did not the citizens realize that there were times when a sheriff was called upon to perform a hanging? Who was a Jew, now, that he should be allowed to hang a Christian? To which Noah made the ready reply: Pretty sort of a Christian that should require hanging at anyone's hands!⁶⁶

The general presupposition was that Jews as religiously different from Christians were therefore inferior

to them. Because of this basic difference, the Jew was expected to be out of sympathy with any or every group of the population. Of course, it is true that the South identified him with the North and the North with the West and the West with the East, but this was a minor matter. The important thing was the identification of the Jew as unsympathetic and alien.

In early America, however, there were many stereotypes, of which the Jew was but one. The Irish, after the 1840's, came in for their share, the Catholics were viciously portrayed by Protestant evangelists, the Negro and the Yankee were common types, and the German took a good measure of "ribbing" after 1848.

Early American comic magazines had much to do with this. They dealt in the broadest possible stereotypes and were constantly seeking new subjects. And the Jew had a long history as a stereotype which made him especially inviting. Everyone seemed to be willing to accept the picture of the Jew as peddler, old clothes man, pawnbrokers, or money lender. And "Christ-killer" was a common enough epithet.

In Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century, this basis for the depiction of the Jew as different had become only secondary. Religious reference was brought in at this time only to bolster a view springing from a newer need.

The matter which had assumed such importance was that of the Jews as a distinct and alien nationality. They were a people within a people, a nation within a nation, an empire within an empire. In an age of nationalist spirit and fervor, the Jew was depicted as an internationalist.

How could this be so? Jews in Germany and France and England and even America were German, French, English, and American nationalists respectively. Yet since the Jew had no country of his own it was assumed that he was therefore loyal to no country. He was part of a great conspiratorial organization intending to subjugate the world or some particular section thereof.

The reasons for this concept are fairly obvious. Nationalism had been hailed as the solution to all problems, patriotism as the panacea to cure all ills. Yet the developments which nationalism brought to the lands of Western Europe did not solve the problems of the people, but rather intensified many of them. Industrialism and finance monopoly capitalism brought severe dislocations with them, and the people searched for some specific villain. It was obvious that those whose ties were with no nation and with all nations, those who owed no allegiance except to themselves and to their tribal brothers, those who persisted in remaining different and who, when assimilated, remained (at heart) different even though ostensibly indistinguishable from their non-Jewish fellow citizens,

were responsible for the trouble.

Nationalism led to Imperialism, the search for markets and raw materials in undeveloped lands. Indispensable to this was a philosophy which would permit exploitation of inferior groups. The racial theory gained great strength, for it appealed to the egotism latent in all men. It was certainly flattering to be told that the race to which one belonged was "the" race, possessed of all the attributes of greatness. But if this were so, how was one to explain the failure of certain lands to compete successfully in the race for markets and materials? Again the answer was apparently obvious and yet contained enough of a subtle flavor to please even those who did not care for its main theme. Within each land there is a racial entity which is inferior to other races and yet because of its natural structure is possessed of the attributes of worldly success. And it is this race, the Jews, which has oppressed the poor in every land by its exactions.

In support of this theory much philosophizing was done. The major work which established the racial theory is one already referred to, Houston Stewart Chamberlain's Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.

The general trend was thus from a religious basis for the stereotype to a national basis and finally to a racial basis. This calls to mind what has already been said about the nature of a stereotype. The first

qualification, that of awareness, was amply taken care of in the case of the Jews, for they seemed to be everywhere. The second qualification, mystery, was also amply provided for; indeed, who knew anything about this people that seemed to be so aloof. And many facets of the Jewish people were provocative mysteries to many non-Jews. The third qualification, purposefulness of the stereotype, was served by the search for the scapegoat. The anti-Jewish stereotype was needed in order to explain failure and setback and to divert attention.

In America this was precisely the course followed. Nationalism, intensified by the results of the Civil War, became most important during the last half of the nineteenth century and the driving force behind American economic expansion; and the stereotype took on a nationalist flavor. To a people obsessed with patriotism and national pride, a picture of an anti-national, even supernatural force was bound to call forth hatred.

There was a significant difference between America and Western Europe in that Imperialism was a very late development in American economic life, coming in as a potent force during the first decade of the twentieth century. Therefore it is not until this time that we find the racial stereotype becoming common and accepted.

It should not be thought that any stereotype is carefully and clearly delineated. The very nature of the

social function of the stereotype indicates that just the opposite must be the case. And, as we shall see, the details of the stereotype, remaining comparatively static, encourage a carryover of a national picture into the racial picture, ~~for example~~.

There is a real distinction and difference between the variously conceived stereotypes, yet overlapping must be expected and taken account of.

CHAPTER THREE

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In 1884, a prominent anglo-Jewish weekly proudly noted that although a European stereotype of the Jews exists, no American counterpart could be found. The Jew is identified in Europe, claimed the paper, with money, power, control of the press, and intelligence and talent.⁶⁷

Even though it is not strictly true to say that no American stereotype of the Jew existed in 1884, the details of the European stereotype which the paper presents are rather informative. The general features of the stereotype always seem to remain the same, even though different reasons for this picture may be given. The Jew, religiously different, is conceded generally to have the same qualities and characteristics as the Jew, nationally different. It is only the tone and specific emphasis which identifies the underlying rationalization.

One of the most prominent features of the Jewish stereotype in America is that which describes him as a money-getter.⁶⁸ In this general category we may include such features as identifying Jews with the gold power, the big financiers, capitalism in general, and simply with money. So too the charge that all creditors are Jewish falls within this rubric.

Several factors made such identification appear in America to be based on fact. The first was world recognition of the Rothschilds as the foremost financiers of

their generation. Whether or not this charge is factual is of little importance. The mere fact that the Rothschilds were prominent in financial circles satisfied the first qualification of the stereotype. The power of other Jewish bankers was also very real in the public mind. The Seligmans, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, and the Belmonts provided fuel for the fires of the stereotype. When a loan was floated in 1874 by the federal government through Secretary of the Treasury Bristow and was taken up entirely by Rothschild and Seligman the charge gained further credence.⁶⁹ Articles on the lives of the Rothschilds appeared at intervals to remind everyone that these people were important. Even though such articles as those which appeared in The New York Sun in 1881 were ostensibly favorable to the mighty money lords by classifying them as "hard workers and grinds", nonetheless the implication of miserliness and clannishness is there.⁷⁰

And characterizing the Rothschilds as "the ROTH-SCHILDS - the richest family in Europe", whether true or not, set up in the minds of many undiscerning readers a connection between Jews and money. Throughout this period such items appeared. Few biographical sketches of the Rothschilds pretended to be critical, but all made the name a familiar symbol of power to the reading public. The general picture drawn was that the Rothschilds had formerly been shopkeepers but now were creditors to Kings and governments, that they had introduced many innovations in finance

and that their expert banking sense was handed down within the family, generation after generation.⁷¹

The activities of American bankers who were Jews also was given prominent mention at this time. Kuhn, Loeb and Company of New York were financial agents for Edward H. Harriman and the Pacific Railroad, which railroad they reorganized during the years 1890-1895. They were also, according to one essayist, financial agents for Standard Oil and had an intimate connection with the Rockefeller interest.⁷² Their London correspondent, Sir Edward Cassel, was King Edward's personal banker. The continued prominence of Jacob Schiff likewise increased public awareness of the connection between wealth and Jews. When Schiff, for Kuhn, Loeb and Company, received subscriptions for the Japanese loan of 1907, a three way connection was envisaged somewhat as follows: Jews - money - against Russia.⁷³

A great furore was stirred up in 1907 by the election of "Mr. Simon Guggenheim, the rich Jew"⁷⁴ as United States Senator from Colorado. The Republican caucus of the state legislature selected him unanimously with practically no opposition, even though reports stated that he had been prepared to spend an immense amount of money to secure his election.⁷⁵ That there was an immense amount which Simon Guggenheim might have spent, had he so desired, was well known. The Guggenheims were among the pioneers in mining in the West, particularly in copper mining, and

with the growing importance of this industry had already acquired extensive foreign interests. Nevertheless the methods by which Simon Guggenheim became United States Senator were subjected to intense scrutiny, an investigating committee being formed.⁷⁶

One of the West's leading reformers, Juvenile Court Judge Ben Lindsay, who vigorously fought boss rule during the first two decades of the twentieth century, attacked Guggenheim on grounds of fraud. The means for the denunciation was Ridgeway's Weekly, a popular liberal magazine. Lindsay claimed that Colorado Boss William G. Evans, E. H. Harriman, John D. Rockefeller, and Guggenheim had made a deal to allow Guggenheim to purchase the senatorial seat. The actual denunciation betrayed no anti-Jewish feeling on Lindsay's part.

Senator Simon Guggenheim should be hanged,
if a man who throws a bomb should be hanged...
But I do not believe in hanging.⁷⁷

In actuality there was but one allusion to Guggenheim's Jewishness. After Lindsay had been accused of anti-Semitism, he denied the charge and explained, however, that he thought Simon Guggenheim no honor to his people.⁷⁸

But others did not hesitate to draw a connection between Jew, fraud, and money. Soon after Guggenheim's election to the Senate, The Denver Times published the following item.

One of the most delicious bits of irony ever presented to the House was contained in a resolution offered today by Representative O.M.Kem

of Montrose, calling for the joint convention of House and Senate to be held in the Jewish synagogue when the "confirmation of the election of Simon Guggenheim to the United States Senate" is made.

These incidents and others made it possible for those desiring a stereotype to find one, firm in the conviction that there was an identification between the Jews and money. At once this satisfied the first two qualifications for the stereotype. This was an awareness of the Jews and of specific Jews without destroying the ignorance of the total picture. The mystery was retained, for the Jew was pictured as somehow being different. In some subtle way he is not part of the general body religious, politic, or racial. He is always - the Jew.

An outgrowth of this idea of the stereotype and at the same time a logical contradiction of it was the alleged connection between Jews and petty thievery and dishonest practices. In this viewpoint the Jew was made to stand for the meaner elements of the middle class, pictured as a parasite, without money of his own, but mulcting the non-Jew.

The reasons for this idea were simple, Jews had been for many centuries associated with moneylending and its concomitant trade, pawn-broking. An ancient stereotype like this still had much value, especially when there was no lack of Jewish pawnbrokers and petty money lenders.

Even though the idea of the Jews being wealthy

and at the same time the destroyers of wealth seems logically contradictory, even though the Jews were conceived of as the brains behind the big monopolies and the brains behind those who would fleece the monopolies, it is not impossible to hold such views.

This is not a matter of logic. It is primarily a matter of emotion. The average person is caught in the middle. Big business makes his necessities more expensive, and those to whom he turns for help against his oppressor also increase the cost of their services. There both groups oppress. This is where the mystery of the Jews proved so valuable in the emergence of the stereotype. Since the Jews were spread throughout the economy, and the people in general knew nothing more than that of them, it was easy for them to be identified with all oppressive and disliked groups and movements.

Such a thing was taken as a matter of course. If the Jew could be remembered as historically a pawnbroker, it was only natural that Harper's Weekly should run a cartoon entitled "The Tendency of the Times" showing Uncle Sam entering a pawnshop with the sign "Levi Pawnbroker".⁸⁰

Other objective facts connected Jews and fraud and dishonesty in the public mind. A reform campaign in New York City aiming particularly at cleaning out prostitution disclosed that Jews living on the East Side were in some cases deeply involved in this business. In the

same year, 1907, an article by C.K. Turner in the April issue of the muckraking McClure's disclosed that Russian Jews living in Chicago were prominent in the white slavery trade.⁸¹

The early organization of the needle trades was mostly in Jewish hands, and the term "sweat shop" became a familiar one in the early days of the twentieth century. Many of these fearful places were Jewish owned.⁸²

Another prominent American institution, the theater, had its share of Jewish participants. One of the major theatrical organizations - Klaw and Erlanger - was, in fact, completely Jewish. This became known as "the teatrical trust" and was much abused in the public press for its alleged dictatorial control and consequent ruination of the American theater. Life was particularly vitriolic in its opposition to "the theatrical trust" during the first decade of the twentieth century. In the course of its denunciation of Klaw and Erlanger, who had banned Life's critic, Metcalfe, from their theaters, the magazine significantly characterized the "trust" as pawn-brokers.⁸³

One of the most frequent charges against the Jews was that they accepted bankruptcy as a means of gaining profit and that they were arsonists, also for profit. This seems to have been a characteristic of some segments of the lower middle class in general.

However the charge of arson became one of the

staples of the anti-Semitic stereotype in all its forms and a brief outline of this charge may not be out of place here. The basic charge was that Jews would burn their own stores after first insuring them up to and beyond the hilt. The first really serious summation of this charge is found in an article in The Review of Reviews for September, 1895, written by Louis Windmüller, a member of the Merchants' Association of New York. He declares that the Jewish business man needs money and feels it "less dishonorable to swindle insurers than creditors." His conclusion is that the Jew is a confirmed arsonist.⁸⁴

Other public expressions seem to bear out this general feeling. In 1907 Assemblyman Cuvillier of New York City introduced a bill to the state legislature making arson punishable by death, and he declared that it was aimed specifically at the Jews of his district.

They constantly burn their own property to get the insurance on it, which is, of course, more than the property is worth.⁸⁵

A year later a prominent Pittsburgh fire insurance company is said to have called arson a specifically Jewish crime.⁸⁶

Only ten years earlier, during the course of an arson trial in Brooklyn, Assistant District Attorney Davis challenged peremptorily all Jews in the Jury panel, supposedly on the belief that they would be predisposed in favor of an arsonist. This feeling is reflected in the

publication of a comic dictionary in a Marlboro, Massachusetts, high school paper, The Clarion, in which is found "'Arson', derived from the Hebrew - (See Insurance)"⁸⁷.

Another of the common charges was that Jew was equivalent to radical. (The radicals, particularly in Western Europe, often took the opposite view.) The prominence of certain Jews among radical leaders provided the awareness to make this possible. Marx and LaSalle were Jewish, and many other radicals were ^{also} accused of being so as well.

In 1896 Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu published Israel Among the Nations. In this book he favorably equated Jews and radical movements, particularly ^{that of} the French Revolution. (We see that the details of the pro-Jewish stereotype are the same as those of the anti-Jewish stereotype.) The cause of the equality of man, he asserted, is a particularly Jewish cause.⁸⁸

It was just about this time that in the empire of the Czar, the Bund was formed; and in 1898 the Bund joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labor party, retaining independence only on matters pertaining exclusively to Jews. This and the prominence of Jewish socialists in some instances helped the identification to appear valid. And when, during the uproar over the Moyer-Haywood-Western Federation of Miners trial in 1907, Jewish socialists paraded in New York City in favor of the accused, more fuel was added.⁸⁹

All this, and many other similar incidents, enabled the public press to voice the connection, already in the minds of the people. The Baptist Journal and Messenger of Cincinnati, for example declared

Some of the most active Socialists (who sympathize with murderers) are Jewish immigrants.... (Jews) are the leaders in most of the revolutionary organizations....most armed insurrections in Russia are inspired by Jews.⁹⁰

And Collier's Weekly stated

The nucleus of American Socialism is in the New York and Chicago Ghettos; and it is a tradition that when a young Jew takes up Socialism he leaves the synagogue.⁹¹

Part of the charge against the Jew is hard to comprehend on the surface. It is that Jews control all talent and intelligence and particularly art, the professions, and the press. Why this should be regarded as wicked is not so strange if one considers the sad condition of the generally uncultured masses. Culture typifies the cities, the upper classes, the exploiters; and hitting at culture is hitting at all privileged groups.

It is undeniable that Jews were and had been prominent in all forms of culture. And in the surge of emancipation, heroic names were thrown in the teeth of an ignorant public almost as a challenge. In the course of propaganda, certain non-Jewish figures had Jewishness ascribed to them, even Wagner, of all people. Enough emphasis was placed on the connection between Jews and culture for the people to believe. A mechanism of statistical defense only provided another weapon for the enemy's arsenal.

Certain prominence appears again and again to have been given the magic names of Reuter and Wolff in Europe in news. The New York Times' Vienna correspondent in the issue for Sunday, July 6th, 1875, declared the Jews to be wealthy, intelligent and ambitious. They control, he said, the Viennese press, as Reuter and Wolff control the telegraph. "In music, in money-making, in politics they play a great part." The World, an English, publication, declared early in 1874 that the Rothschilds prove that "honesty is the best policy". Moreover "the greatest philosophers, the greatest musicians, and the greatest statesmen of modern days have been Jews." The Rothschilds of London, he claimed, are noted for their fact and savoir faire. Carl Vogt, in a publication known as Westermann's Monatshefte declared in 1875 that the Jews typify the highest civilization. They are known for their reputations in morals, art, science, literature, music, industry, and commerce, and for their aversion to crimes of violence. Reference has already been made to the glowing praise offered by "The Henderson Evening Journal in 1906."⁹²

Typical, however, of the identification with culture to the ^{of the Jews} Jews' disadvantage¹ is the following excerpt from The Journal and Messenger:

The Jews are fast coming to control the daily papers of the country. The New York Times was, some years ago, bought by a Jew, whose connection with it is understood. But it is shown that many other papers of New York and other cities are now in the hands of Jews.⁹³

There are two basic concepts underlying all these patterns. The first is that the Jew, is different, strange always alien. The mere mention of the qualifying word "Jew" after a name in the public press is enough to establish a difference in the mind of the reader between himself and the "Jew". The anglo-Jewish press particularly resented this type of differentiation throughout these years and never hesitated to say so.⁹⁴

Other factors went a long way toward establishing the strangeness of the Jew. His peculiar (to evangelical Protestant Christians) religious practices, his conscious separation for religious purposes, his strange language - yiddish (in the case of non-assimilated groups), and the inherited picture of him established the Jew as an alien in the minds of most people.

References to this alien nature of the Jew occur repeatedly throughout this period. Even the anglo-Jewish press encouraged some of these misconceptions in its defense of the Jew. For example, it was held that no Jew will respect his oath unless wearing a hat while making it. This must certainly have seemed exceedingly alien to the majority of people who may have heard of it. Put on one's hat in a solemn moment? Ridiculous! Yet not so ridiculous that it could not catch on in the public mind; for only a year later a Washington, D.C., lawyer asks for a retrial of a lost case, on the grounds that one of the jurors, although a Jew, was sworn in in the usual style, rather than

in the Hebrew manner with his hand on the penteteuch and with his head covered.⁹⁵

The religious differences among Jews also caused comment and wonder. The average non-Jewish reader knew nothing about Orthodoxy and Reform and cared less. To him any religious aberration on the part of one group automatically applied to all others. Indeed the idea of two groups within a single sect vigorously opposing each other was bewildering. So the humorous article published by The New York Sun, giving the details of a Jewish religious schism and picturing the Jew as arrogant, ambitious, covetous, scheming, and stubborn, only increased the concept of the Jew as alien.⁹⁶

The essential ignorance about Judaism on the part of the average American was manifest in the mystic powers attributed to most Jews. Typical is an article from a McKeesport, Pennsylvania, paper which claims that a Rabbi Hartman was predicting Taft's election as President on the basis of the "Carbola", a mystic, peculiar, different book which enables the Jew to tell the future.⁹⁷

The second basic concept underlying the patterns of the stereotype is that of the Jew as a world-wide, secret, sometimes conspiratorial, organization. References occur so often to the solidarity (tribal, national or racial, depending upon the point of view) of the Jew that no listing is needed here. It is this feature which makes it extremely feasible to develop anti-Semitism from the stereotype.

The Jew is everywhere and he persists. He is strange and different. We are in distress. Perhaps this is the reverse of the order of thought, but this is the basis of the stereotype.

As long as sufficient awareness of the Jew exists to make his identification as villain possible, as long as he is viewed as alien, mysterious enough to be singled out and not to contradict the hypothesized stereotype, as long as there is distress, a need for an explanation of suffering and a desire to explain it away with a generality, with a scapegoat, the stereotype will come into being and grow.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELIGIOUS STEREOTYPE

The significance of the religious background of America cannot be over-emphasized. Especially important is the popularity of christological and general theological terminology in ordinary conversation. The common expression of sentiment in New Testament phraseology had much to do with the acceptance of the religious difference between Jew and Christian as important. Moreover the accusation of deicide was ever uppermost in the minds of sundry divines during times of trouble.

Several simple factors united to create a strong picture of the religiously peculiar Jew. One was the Talmud and the Kabbalah. Little read and seldom understood even by the scholars among the Christians, these works developed their own stereotypes based on imagined readings and twisted meanings and lack of historical insight. Another factor was the infamous "ritual murder" charge, rehearsed in Hungary in 1883, and in Russia in 1911. This too hung over the heads of the Jews, an outgrowth of projection. The hatred and fear of the Jews was turned in the minds of their enemies into the Jews' hatred and fear of them. Undoubtedly there were examples of Jews who openly showed hatred of Christians, but generally the Jews were not strong enough to afford such a luxury. Still another factor was the strong language used by Jesus about the Jews, the Pharisees and Scribes, according to the New

Testament. To those to whom religion was all-important, such language was very meaningful indeed.

One of the earliest pictures of the Jews is found in The New York World for Saturday, July 12th, 1873. The item deals with the Jews in Rome. According to the story, they control the Liberal press and are at the head of the Pope's enemies. They inflict "all the ignominies of the passion of Christ upon the head of Pius IX." (It appears that the control of the dispensation of news explains how such ungodly people can survive and indicates their conspiratorial nature as well.)⁹⁸

The following year an interesting article entitled "The Jew" was written by Sir Richard F. Burton, former British Consul at Damascus, arabo-ophile, and disappointed career politician. Although the article in question was not published until 1898 as part of his book The Jew, the Gypsy and El Islam and its influence in America consequently cannot be reckoned until then, it indicates the prevalent opinion of his time and shows the carryover of old beliefs and old stereotypes. Burton declares that Jews steal Christian children, crucify them, and use their blood ritually. He states that Judaism believes in no hell for the Jews, would degrade women and sanction slavery, encourages magic, releases oaths and moral obligations, sanctions the murder of the unlearned, has justice distinguished only for "force and fraud, for super-abundant self-

conceit, for cold-blooded cruelty, and for unrelenting
ermity to all human nature." Moreover the Jew is encour-
aged to kill all Christians.⁹⁹

This sentiment even though not directed explicit-
ly at the contemporary Jewry certainly built up a feeling
that the Jew was religiously alien and undesirable. Such
was the answer that Senator Sargent of California gave in
the United States Senate to a denial, in 1877, by the
Democrats of responsibility for the murder of President
Lincoln. He replied, "So might the Jews deny their re-
sponsibility for the assassination of Christ."¹⁰⁰

Bishop Spalding of Peoria, Illinois, whose repu-
tation was of the highest order, appears to have been a
devoted, one might say consecrated, anti-Semite. At the
very least, the language he used does much to indicate
the emergence of an unfavorable stereotype. In 1877 he
is reported to have termed the Jews Christ-killers, van-
dals, outlaws and a degraded race; and just one year
later he is mentioned as having referred to all non-
Christians, non-Moslems, and non-Buddhists as savages.¹⁰¹
This appears to refer particularly to the Jews, and thus
we meet already a startling contradiction. According to
one Catholic opinion, that cited above in The New York
World the Jews are cultured enough to control the Liberal
press under the very nose of the Papcy, yet Bishop Spald-
ing calls them outlaws and savages. It appears, indeed,

that logic has little effect on those seeking a diversionary solution.

One of the favorite themes along these lines was the labelling of a political opponent as either a Jew or at least an anti-Christian. As will be seen later, particularly during the troublesome days of the Silver question, it was fairly common to regard your enemies as those who tormented Jesus and to compare your own suffering to his. At any rate, in 1879, the Republican candidate for Mayor of Wichita, Kansas, was castigated by his opponents as a Christ-killer.¹⁰²

Akin to this type of expression and just as contributory to the emergence of the anti-Semitic stereotype was the public labelling of juristic opponents as anti-Christian in one way or another. For example, there is the report of a Titusville, Pennsylvania, lawyer, who is said to have remarked in court:

Those God-damned Jews and Christ-killers, they have killed Christ, and they made him drunk before they killed him and they would swear to anything.¹⁰³

One cannot help but regard the closing clause as significant here. "They would swear to anything" certainly indicates a more specific grievance than Christ-killing. Without having all the records, no more than this can be suggested.

It is often interesting to observe how so many particularistic groups regard themselves as the essence of the American Spirit and brand opposition to themselves

as anti-democratic or imagine their failure to be due to such opposition. The Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph during an 1880 convention calls the Jews anti-Catholic and therefore anti-democratic.¹⁰⁴

One of the most interesting literary figures of this period is Professor Goldwin Smith. From 1881 to 1907 (these dates refer to his contribution to the stereotype only) he contributed frequently to many periodicals on many political matters. He was a Canadian and considered himself an "Old School Liberal", a believer in government protection rather than interference. He opposed compulsory trade unionism and all kinds of strikes. He believed that the wealthy had a distinct "social duty". Speaking of "The Social and Industrial Revolution" he declared himself against popular education since it breeds dissatisfaction among the lower classes. Moreover he reminded the rich of their duties; their vulgar ostentation calls forth socialism which denies God's will, i.e., inequality. On the same grounds upon which he opposed popular education, he also opposed public libraries, pensions, and the eight hour day. He declared that he strongly favored the large retailers, and in particular the A.T. Stewart Company of New York (one of the pioneers in retailing whose empire collapsed with the advent of the new industrialism). He opposed paper money not redeemable in gold and also debtors. He regarded gold as the only standard of value. Hereditary wealth, he stated is the savings

of past generations, and fierce competition is the mother of invention. He personally preferred, he said, the vision of a spiritual heaven to the vision of an earthly (material) heaven. The Old Testament he considered doggeral and he counselled its rejection entire. ¹⁰⁵

During these years Professor Smith was exceptionally prolific on the subject of the Jews, and therefore it will be useful to understand his point of view before considering specific manifestations. It is clear that he represents the old gentility, the anti-industrial forces. With this in it will be interesting to note how the stereotype he contributes to emerges.

In an article published in The Nation Professor Smith accused the Jews of trying to provoke war between England and Russia in revenge ^{for} (The Jews are a conspiratorial force.) In Russia the Jews persecuted and exploited the Russian and Roumanian Christians. Jews always exploit Christians and are therefore not sound citizens in Christian countries. ¹⁰⁶

Writing in The Nineteenth Century in the same year, Smith spoke of "The Jew of the Talmud and the Stock Exchange". (It is the Jew's religion which makes him economically evil.) The Jew is a "religious alien" whose only faith is gain. He is apt to presume on his wealth. (Thus would he infringe on the rights of the gentility.) His religion is a mixture of formalism and mysticism, he

is non-creative, non-productive (parasitic), yet cunning, supple, and a master of intrigue.¹⁰⁷

A frequent charge was that the Jews would use their ill-gotten gains to purchase Palestine, the Holy Land, or objects sacred to Christianity. This seems to have been a particularly vigorous opinion of Catholics. The Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph in 1882 reported the sale of a chalice was valued at 4,000 marks but brought from the Baron allegedly 160,000 marks. Overlooking the obvious contradiction of the alleged good business sense of the Jews or interpreting the wickedness of that people to be so great that they would pay anything to get their hands on sacred things (to revile them), the paper comments:

To take a consecrated Chalice that has been used in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, that has held the Crucified Body of Christ, and the mingled water and blood which flowed from His riven side, and sell it as an ornament for a Jew's sideboard, is to commit a horrible blasphemy.¹⁰⁸

A further extension of the general religious disfavor in which the Jews were held is provided by the grisly scene of the hanging of the assassin of President Garfield in 1882. The condemned man read from a paper held in the hands of the Reverend Dr. Hicks the following statement:

This government and this nation by this act I know will incur Thy eternal enmity, as did the Jews by killing Thy man, my Savior.¹⁰⁹

Even favorable pictures of the Jew represent him as hating Christ and Christians. Thus we find in Anna L. Dawes' book The Modern Jew: His Present and His Future the

simple statement that the Jew hates the Christian.¹¹⁰ In a sermon preached January 22nd, 1893, and thereafter published, the Reverend Dr. Alexander Harrison Tuttle, although referring to the Jew as the most gifted of the sons of men, calls him the Anti-Christ whose mission is to "humiliate the faithless church". And he concludes that "the Jew has a mortal hatred of the Christian's Christ." The wicked Jews have influenced the faithless church to become material, formal and Liberal (in the nineteenth century use of the word).¹¹¹

Christological and evangelical language was particularly used by that group which probably felt more of a sense of mission than any other group in the history of America: the crusaders for Silver. Because of the acute distress felt by most of those who supported them and because of the evangelical Protestant Christian background of the most prominent of their leaders, the terminology of the appeal was pitched to a decidedly particularistic level.

Coin's Financial School demonstrated this quite clearly when it referred to the alleged arch-villain, the financial trust, as "money-changers", and demanded that the money-changers should be driven from the Temple of the Republic. This reference to Jesus's action in driving the Jewish money-changers from the Temple in Jerusalem easily established the idea that the Jew is even today religiously anti-Christian.¹¹² The same year, 1894, a cartoon

entitled "Uncle Sam's Crown of Thorns" appeared. This showed Uncle Sam wearing his usual high hat but constructed of thorns, each named after some trust or wicked anti-populist doctrine such as monometallism. The implication is clear. The enemies of the people are crucifying Uncle Sam. And who were the original crucifiers: the Jews.¹¹³

The most famous speech of William Jennings Bryant was his triumphant appeal, at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1896, which ended with these words:

You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.¹¹⁴

This phrase was not casually adopted. One of Bryan's biographers reports that he had deliberately planned it. In fact he had used it in a speech at Crete, Nebraska, a short while before the Convention, and had decided to save it for another useful moment.¹¹⁵

No one could accuse Bryan of anti-Semitism in the strict meaning of the term. Indeed in 1907 he declared that he was astounded by religious prejudice. But it cannot be denied that the imagery employed indicates a distinction between the ordinary American Christian and those who would crucify mankind.¹¹⁶

(As a matter of fact, there are two reports which unfortunately could not be verified but which may bear this out. An Associated Press dispatch dated July 22nd,

1896 refers to the Populist Convention at St. Louis as vociferously anti-Jewish. Lloyd's description of this Convention however does not corroborate this. The other dispatch undated but reproduced in the anglo-Jewish press in the Fall of the same year, reports that at the Chicago convention, after Bryan's speech, the Populists present paraded and called, "Down with Gold! Down with the hook-nosed Shylocks of Wall Street! Down with the Christ-killing gold bugs!" No supporting evidence for this report has been found.)

A common connection alleged to exist between Jews and gold certainly was strengthened and intensified by this appeal to the emotional language of the Passion. It is reported that Allan O. Meyers of Ohio speaking in favor of Bryan before an agrarian audience said:

Those curly-headed Jews of New York own all the gold, and they want to do to you like Joseph of old did, to gather up everything and then strangle the farmers. These Jews killed Christ...¹¹⁸

It appears that the silverites appeal to the evangelical side of their audience strengthened the stereotype of the Jew as religiously different, evil and opposed to Christians. And in line with this, it is interesting to note that Upton Sinclair's muckraking expose of Wall Street was entitled The Money-Changers. The language of expose was often the language of the New Testament, with its anti-Jewish overtones.¹¹⁹

The emphasis upon non-Christian unworthiness in the defense of the realm and the support of its welfare and an implicit connection between unrest and non-Christians is indicated by a statement of George F. Baer, spokesman for the coal mine operators during the strike of 1902. Mr. Baer refused to arbitrate with the United Mine Workers of America, the striking union, and said:

rights and interest of the laboring man will be protected and cared for not by labor agitators but by the Christian men to whom God has given control of the property rights of the country.¹²⁰

The general reaction to Jewish protests concerning compulsory Christian (particularly Christmas) celebrations in the public schools was a series of religious attacks upon the Jews. The Williamsport Republic, January, 1907, castigated the Jews as Christ-killers. This and similar items built up, strengthened, reaffirmed, or utilized the stereotype of the Jew as religiously suspect. In the same year, the Reverend Mr. George W. Downes of the 18th Street Methodist Episcopal Church is reported to have said that the Jew "is bound by every power to break down the Christian sabbath because he hates Christ".¹²¹

The logical and definitive expression of the fully emerged stereotype along this line is found in 1908 in The New York Sun, published by Charles A. Dana: "It is the Mosaic law that if a man do evil to you, do you evil to him in his turn."¹²²

It has been seen that the stereotype of the Jew

as religiously bound to anti-Christian belief and action was fully developed as early as 1873. Although at certain times the expression of this is more vociferous than at others, the basic outline remains the same. The underlying cause of the Jew's alleged wickedness is said to be his religious belief.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE ANTI-NATIONAL JEW

America, during the last half of the nineteenth century, experienced a remarkable industrial expansion. Industrially American was "coming of age". Such a development requires a spirit of Nationalism, of chauvinism, And the "grass roots" nature of so large a portion of the American population, as well as other factors, encouraged such feeling.

The distress and dislocation of industrialism and exploitation made Nationalism an answer as well as a battle-cry. To people seeking an explanation for their own hardships, the presence of an element with international or anti-national characteristics could supply a solution.

The American Israelite in the fall of 1872 reports that there are four prominent stereotypes in America: the Jew, the Dutchman (German), the Irishman, and the Catholic.¹²³ Of these it was the stereotype of the Jew that grew and became most important.

Several important factors qualified the Jews particularly for this role. One was the simple fact that they had no country. A man did not cease being a Jew when he became an American citizen. Indeed he often proclaimed himself all the more Jewish (equating his belief with democracy, as particularistic groups are wont to do). More-

over the Jew was in this sense unassimilable. One could not always tell a Protestant from a Catholic on Saturday or Sunday. But the Jew went to pray (if observant) on Saturday rather than Sunday. And his other habits had a separatistic quality to them. His diet, his manners, even his role in society, indicated that he was not quickly to be digested in the great melting pot. Many people professed to see in the Jew certain physical characteristics which set him apart from other peoples.¹²⁴

Especially with the appearance of the Russian Jew on the American scene did a national difference become more readily apparent to those who were seeking it. The Russian Jew seemed to come from an entirely different stock and was so numerous and so unassimilable that he could be easily pointed to as proof. Particularly the language barrier of these East European Jews (as well as of many of the West European Jews), speaking primarily Yiddish, was a handicap to speedy and successful assimilation, and permitted a distinction to be drawn between the integrated Sephardic and German Jews and the unassimilable East European elements.

Another of the factors that made the Jewish stereotype endure was the alleged solidarity of the Jews. It seemed apparent to many people that the Jews of various lands had direct contact and connections with each other. Jews lived everywhere and had much in common. Even when

dispersed, Jews remained unified by association with Palestine and messianic dreams.

Many references testify to the prominence of this feeling. Zebulon Baird Vance, an important North Carolina politician, published a glowing description of the Jews in 1874 entitled The Scattered Nation, in the course of which he refers to the "scattered unity" of the Jews.¹²⁵ Other expressions of this concept found their way into public print. The St. Louis Republican is quoted in 1876 as speaking of the miraculous solidarity and tenacity of the Jews. The Baltimore Correspondent, two years later, said:

This concert of action, this "all for one and one for all" is characteristic of the Jews and highly honorable to them.¹²⁶

It will be clearly seen that this concept, though now accounted praiseworthy, will soon be used against the Jews as proof of their lack of honor and decency.

One of the reasons that this concept was so enduring was the prominence of so many Jews in every land in so many fields. In speaking, for example, of the noted English jurist, Sir George Jessel, The Nation is quoted in 1883 as having said that Jews stick together and push each other forward. The general conception was that this was a manifestation of national feeling.¹²⁷ Thus, the Reverend Dr. Tuttle, mentioned above, stated that the Jew has no nation, yet has a national character; he has no living speech, yet has a national vitality.¹²⁸

Another very important concept was the continued existence of the Jew through history. Everyone was aware that the Jews had existed long before the Christian era, and everyone was aware that the Jews still existed. Moreover, the persecutions which Jews had undergone in almost every land and age were reasonably well-known. How could the Jew survive under such circumstances? The answers varied. The problem is of moment here - the awareness of the Jew and the mystery of his existence.

The Reverend Dr. Tuttle stated that the Jew exists and is yet distinct. He is and has always been everywhere, he is "the omnipresent Jew". His persistent existence is "a miracle of history". He has continued, despite every attempt to exterminate him, and remains unchanged despite the ravages of time and the efforts of peoples. Indeed he has outlived every nation that dominated him.¹²⁹

Other factors cannot be neglected. The prominence of certain Jews in the economic life of the country and their connection with firms in other lands led people to ascribe a national character to the Jews.¹³⁰ Indeed it was common throughout the period under discussion to use the adjective "Jew" as a means of identifying a personality in the news. In 1874 The New York Evening Post thus answered a protest raised against this practice:

"Jew is employed...solely as a descriptive epithet...the word "Jew"...is closely identified

with both the national and the religious character of the descendents of Abraham.¹³¹

Jewish world organizations such as the Alliance Israelite Universelle seemed to many people to be a type of Jewish world government. Particularly the World Zionist Congresses lent a note of creditability to the idea that the Jews were a national group. And the rallying of the Jewish world to the defense of Alfred Dreyfus gave further credence.

The distinction between nation and race during the last half of the nineteenth century in America was not clearly drawn. Indeed the terms seemed to have been used almost interchangeably. However with the importation of the race theory at the turn of the century a clear cut differentiation presents itself as a criterion at least for the purpose at hand. Racial types are types physically distinguishable in some way and affected by the physical structure of the race. Other cohesive groups are tribal or national.

Thus the qualifications for the emergence of a stereotype have been filled on the basis of an alleged national character of the Jew as well as on a religious basis earlier. He existed everywhere, and manifested an interest in the welfare of his brothers in foreign lands; but how or why he continued to exist, no one seemed to know. His strangeness in many ways led to the belief that he was not a member of the local body politic. The

need for the stereotype has already been demonstrated.

Many of the expressions in the early 1870's were unformed and were concerned primarily with the economic and religious ramifications of Jewishness. But the very generalization implied a real distinction between Jews and either Christians or Americans. The assumption is that as Nationalism became more a force, Americans were opposed to Jews in this connection. For example, during the campaign of 1872, a New Hampshire speaker, Patterson, is reported to have referred to the "corruption and mercenary villainy" of the Jews. It cannot be determined whether the speaker meant to contrast Jews with Christians or with Americans.¹³²

However a more clearcut national picture is illustrated by a cartoon in Harper's Weekly for September 14th, 1872, captioned "Sunday Morning in Central Park - Jews drinking Mineral Water" and drawn by Sol Eytinge, Jr. The picture depicts gaudily dressed people with semitic countenances in the Park. The comment on the picture reads:

One readily sees in this spectacle an illustration of the fact that the Jews are lovers of every innocent amusement, that they eagerly seek opportunities for recreation and social enjoyment.

The same year, the Jews were pictured as an international banking organization by The Washington Chronicle. Jews and money were equated, apparently without rancor.

They gather money and by lending it to

corporations, known as governments, at reasonable usury, they have become the very bulwarks of civilization and pillars of human government.¹³³

But The New York Tablet, just a bit later

(November 9th, 1872) claimed that Jews

are capable of being loyal citizens...their commercial ability gives them a disproportionate share of the trade, large and small, of the states where they settle.¹³⁴

The general implication of references to the Jews seems to be that they had certain qualities which set them apart from all others, some of these qualities being religious but most being generally the result of group experience. Thus The Boston Globe in November, 1872, declared that "Jews all over the world are shrewd, thrifty, and money-making". And at the same time in The Christian Union, Henry Ward Beecher, under the pen name of "Scrutator", declared that the persecution of the Jews is commercial hatred. The Jews are middlemen in a society emerging from feudalism. Jew is equated with trader and money-lender. The Jews are the creditor class entrusted with commerce. Not only does this indicate a keen historical insight on Beecher's part, but it shows clearly that Jews all over the world were lumped together in one group, which derived its cohesiveness from factors other than religious. As yet the stereotype is vague, but the basic form is present.¹³⁵

An interesting item appeared in The Hartford Courant in 1872. A Professor Stowe speaks of Jewish characteristics. Jewish blood contains little or no scrofula,

Jews are exceptionally long-lived, have low infant mortality and a high rate of reproduction. These qualities cannot be religiously derived. (Here may be one of the germs of racism developing.)¹³⁶

The alleged physical differences of the Jews is brought out in November, 1873, in Harper's New Monthly.

children of Israel are numerous and influential...all have common object - namely, to administer relief to the necessitous Gentile at rates of interest of varying enormity. That greasy little Hebrew who has just shuffled past in a dirty paper collar which seems to be fastened to a pimple on the back of his tawny neck does 25 pound bills at three months for 50%. Is it possible for the human eye to see or for the human mind to conceive a more utterly contemptible mortal than this Shadrach of the firm of Lazarus and Company....Look carefully at this Jews Shadrach (stop not to consider the nature of his transactions), observe his sneaking, shuffling gait, his hook nose, his irresolute eyes, that involuntarily engage themselves with your boots and never seek your countenance, and say whether or not he is a discredit to the human species.¹³⁷

Many of the characteristics which went to build up the stereotype were brought out in articles on the most prominent Jews of the times - the Rothschilds. For example, the following are excerpted from Harper's New Monthly for January, 1874.

The Knights of the Red Shield...are involved in the well-being of the planet...keen eyes, questioning beak, acquisitive fingers...intrinsic knowledge of precious metals and stones...extreme intelligence....the cause of universal humanity and freedom would not have borne the weight of a feather against the folded gains of this fortune-bloated house...Used Napoleon's defeat to make a greater fortune...Incarnate spirit of business...they have preserved the heart of the money-changers....the Rothschilds

have common sense and uncommon honesty. They are wise in their own interest... They trust themselves and distrust humanity...¹³⁸

The conspiratorial nature of the Jews was set forth by an English publication, Land and Water, in 1874. This paper announced that the Jews rule the world. The Alliance Israelite was the chief agent which drove Napoleon to take up arms against Prussia. Count Arnim (who was tried for delivering Prussian secrets to the Vatican) is really named Aaronheim.¹³⁹

The commonly held picture of the Jew is that presented by Sir Richard Burton in his article "The Jew" written in 1874, even though not strictly an American picture. Burton was in the middle of an Imperial set-up and his stereotype is a blend of nationalistic and incipient racist characteristics. The Jew, he said, has immense fecundity, an exceptionally healthy and vigorous physique, ubiquity and is completely cosmopolitan. Jews conduct the financial operations of nations and governments and are thus supra-national. Jewish women "are nowhere remarkably distinguished for chastity, and in some places... their immorality is proverbial". Jews are free from many diseases and their longevity is due to "prodigious superiority of vital power". The theistic secularism of Moses hardened and tempered the race deliberately. Jews are personally impure and dirty and live in the midst of exceptional filth. Honesty is unknown to them. "The Jew is governed by statistical laws of birth, sickness, and

mortality completely different from those which rule the peoples amongst whom he lives." The cosmopolitan Jew is at home anywhere, yet maintains his tribal unity. His personal faults are his coarse manner and offensive familiarity, ostentation, trickery, lying and cowardice, excessive optimism, eagerness and tenacity of rancor against those lax in observance, immense passions and pugnacity, narrow caste pride, furious destructiveness, love of mysticism and superstition, and devotion to magic. He is unproductive, a parasite, his only trade is usury, and he is single-mindedly a money-getter from the cradle to the grave. Jews deal in all the petty vices, particularly those that pervert the youth, they are white slavers and procurers. The Jew considers the non-Jew at best a beast of burden, and considers that the property of the non-Jew belongs to him. He is encouraged to kill Christians and he steals Christian children, crucifies them and uses their blood for ritual purposes. The Jew is vengeful and vindictive. Judaism believes in no hell for Jews, degrades women, sanctions slavery, releases oaths and moral obligations, sanctions murder of the unlearned, perverts justice completely, and is an unrelenting enemy to all human nature. The Talmud is responsible for all Jews' crimes and atrocities. 140

Jews's hand was ever...against every man but those belonging to the Synagogue. His fierce passions and fiendish cunning, combined with abnormal powers of intellect, with intense

vitality, and with persistency of purpose which the world has rarely seen, and whetted moreover by a keen thirst for blood engendered by defeat and subjection, combined to make him the deadly enemy of all mankind, whilst his unsocial and unquitting Oral Law contributed to inflame his wild lust of pelf, and to justify the crimes suggested by spite and superstition.¹⁴¹

The reason for the inclusion of this work is simply that the general anti-Jewish stereotype had by this time progressed to the point of a strong nationalistic bias, yet the carryover of the religious basis is still noticeable here. The point cannot be too greatly emphasized that each environment develops its own stereotype, although it will be seen that the general outline remains the same.

The developing national stereotype is further indicated by Zebulon Baird Vance's encomium The Scattered Nation in 1874. The Jews are The Ancient People, they have no prostitution, pauperism, or poverty. Very few convicted felons are Jews. They stick together in failure and in trouble, and take care of their own. They love education, but have no agriculture, manufacturing or mining, only commerce. They are urban dwellers, but not property owners. All over the world they are the leading merchants, bankers, and financiers. They introduced bills of exchange and favor portable property. Their peculiar talent is in finance, mystic learning, orating, law, drama, science, literature and music. The Jew is exempt from respiratory diseases, has great longevity, low infant mortality, and a high birth rate.¹⁴²

Industrially he produces nothing, invents nothing, adds nothing to the public wealth... he will not own real estate nor take upon himself those permanent ties which beget patriotism, and become the hostages of good citizenship; that he merely sojourns in the land and does not dwell in it.¹⁴⁵

Vance's description of the Jew shows all the earmarks of the emerging stereotype. The religious background is there but only vaguely, strong however is the national and economic background: the Jew is no patriot, he sticks to his own.

It is interesting here to pause and to consider the common features of the religious and national (as we have thus far observed) stereotypes. The Jew's connection with money, with parasitism, his alien nature, his control of or prominence in culture all are present. Only his connection with radicalism is not yet included, since radicalism was not a major threat in 1874. But the favorable picture of the Jew, as Vance draws it above, is identical in most particulars to even such an unfavorable picture as Burton's.

Throughout this period reference to an alleged physical difference occurs and re-occurs. For example, Madison Marsh, M.D., of Port Hudson, Louisiana, in a letter to the Editor of The Medical and Surgical Reporter in 1874 remarks on the longevity of the Jew, his remarkable health, his resistance and immunity to certain diseases, and his highly developed physique. He states that the Jews have "a more perfect physical organization than any other people."¹⁴

The most interesting feature of such items is the great contradiction between their praise of the distinctive physical characteristics of the Jews and the later condemnation of the Jews as distinctive physical organisms.

During this early period (before 1878) encomiums of the Jews are frequent. A striking example of the incorporation of the features of the later anti-Semitic stereotype into a laudatory description is the following quotation from The Chicago Journal of 1874, entitled "A Plea for the Jews":

The Jews are bound together for no secular or political purpose. There are...no disloyal or rebel Jews, There are no Jewish converts, no Jewish almshouses, no Jews in asylums, no debauched or drunken Jews in the streets.... Jewish women are ministering angels and Jewish capitalists are ministering philanthropists... The genius of the republic of letters is a Jew ...The future is to add one word which to the Jews means liberty - a word which in this age is the symbol of a power that is more potent even than bayonets - the thing money...The Jews are uncrowned sovereigns of Kings and Princes of the earth.¹⁴⁵

The precise points of praise that this writer bestows upon the Jews will soon become foci of discontent and antagonism.

As a people the Jews were often, indeed usually, credited with a particular type of intelligence, the kind which could be used for shrewd and tricky manipulations. During the period of expansion when wit and keenness were necessary and esteemed qualities, the Jew's alleged shrewdness, later a weapon against him, was accounted a praise-

worthy characteristic. The New York Post in 1874 quoted a Boston newspaper showing how the acuteness and smartness of the Jew enabled him to fool revenue officers, who were out to thwart him.¹⁴⁶

The peculiar mixture of praise and wonder is shown by an article by Frank Campbell on "Noses" which appeared in 1874. The Jewish nose, he states, indicates shrewdness in worldly matters, deep insight into human nature and more particularly into human weakness. It gives the facility of turning everything to a profitable account. It is of a money-getting character, a philosophic and spiritual turn of mind. A character, by inheritance, prone to be sordid and grasping, was rendered more so by petty trade, dependent not on superior knowledge of any kind, but on successful trickery and chicanery. Men with Jewish noses have great musical talent. The desire for possession and display of jewelry is inordinate in both sexes.¹⁴⁷

Jewish trickery and dependence upon the ignorance of those with whom they do business may seem to contradict the assertion that Jews are more intelligent and have deeper insight, but it is nonetheless a prominent aspect of the emerging stereotype. The New York Globe in 1875 declared that Jews exist in small numbers in enlightened and prosperous lands and largely in downtrodden unprosperous countries.¹⁴⁸ A comparison of this and the items immediately above indicates at once that the tone of the stereotype depends on preconceptions, Necessarily different

preconceptions indicate different groups.

One of the most peculiar aspects of the emerging national stereotype was the emphasis on the relationship of the Jew to international finance, and on his role as an unproductive speculator. The New York Sun in praise of the Jew in 1876 said:

intelligent Jews...can sit in luxury in their homes in London, Paris, Frankfurt and Berlin and there control the commerce of nations and the destinies of empires.¹⁴⁹

The importance of this concept cannot be exaggerated. The possibility of identifying the Jews with an international money power made it feasible to conceive of them later as the many-sided villains of the complex modern tragedy. The acceptance of the idea that Jews are an international money power made at least possible the further acceptance of ideas such as those put forth by the Russian Government in 1876 and incorporated in a United States Department of State report. The original report, written by V. Grigorieff and purporting to represent the views of "enlightened and conscientious government officials", declared that Jews are exploiters, refuse to assimilate, are parasitical, non-productive, corrupt, clannish, and are ruled by the Alliance Israelite Universelle. This view however found no acceptance in the United States at the time. To most observers, such as one in The Chicago Sunday Tribune in March, 1876, who commends the Jews for taking care that their brethren do not become paupers, the qualities

listed as parasitical by the Russian government were considered normal and perhaps even beneficial. Thus The New York Sun in 1876 commented on

the unmistakable type of the German Jew. He bears a striking resemblance to a shrewd speculator, and is constantly on the alert.¹⁵⁰

The romantic and idealistic optimism of the times led many to believe that the emancipation of the Jew symbolized the emancipation of the oppressed and down-trodden everywhere. And if the Jew achieved triumph in any field, it only indicated that no people could be cast out forever. Thus The St. Louis Globe-Democrat in 1877 said:

In the last fifty years the Jew has had his revenge - a grand and noble one....Jews were the monarchs of finance and exchange...They furnished the world's best examples in music and in the conception and exposition of the drama...At the bar they hold their own in every country and when the call comes for statesmen we find a Jew directing public instruction in France, another, Herr Lasker, in Germany, commanding the assent of a whole empire by sheer force of talent and patriotism.¹⁵¹

The claim that Jews by force of ability and talent (and often by instinctive clannishness) rose to the leadership of many governments was supported by the prominence of such men as Lasker and Disraeli. In this vein an article in The New York World in 1877 declared that Jews of ability and character fill the most important positions throughout the civilized world. It was but the next step to expand the claim into an accusation and declare that the Jews intended to subjugate all the world.¹⁵²

Jews were often characterized as commercially

mind ed or instinctively commercial. Their preponderance in middle class merchandising lent credence to this claim. But at first there was no animus in such characterizations. The Jews, although differing by virtue of this quality from Americans and Christians, actually are praised for their good business qualities. The Cincinnati Commercial in 1877 reports:

Hebrews, always such a careful class...they generally know what they are doing, though and seldom make great mistakes.¹⁵³

This connection between Jew and merchandising was often deplored and deprecated by the anglo-Jewish press, but it had a firm grasp on the American mind. The Charlotte Observer in its issue for March 22nd, 1878, made the following connection:

Another merchant has come to town. A Jew has opened a dry goods store at Koopman's old stand next to Alexander Seigle and Co., on Trade Street.¹⁵⁴

In the same year one of the earliest derogatory stereotypes is found. It comes from the pen of Professor Goldwin Smith and demonstrates clearly how the assertions that Jews differ in various ways can be applied to whatever philosophy is current. Writing in The Nineteenth Century, Professor Smith declares that the genuine Jew cannot be a patriot. As an example he states that Jews are trying to goad the United States into war with England to further their own selfish ends.¹⁵⁵

On the surface it would seem that there is little,

if any, connection between lack of patriotism and merchandising instincts. Yet the item above, in connection with the following items of the same year, 1878, show how a connection was established. The Dry Goods Trade Reporter in its issue for August 10th, 1878, described the merchandising instincts of the Jew in this manner:

Even in trade, the genius of the Hebrew race tends to run to specialities...They have never taken kindly to the mechanical arts... still eschewing manual labor, or the supervision of manual labor...ostentation...is rather a Hebrew weakness...They are essentially orientals...among jewelers, bankers, brokers, and dealers of all sorts in money matters, their proportion is large. A majority of pawnbrokers are Hebrews. The favorite seems to be something to do with wearing apparel, and more particularly, as a rule, with goods for men's wear, made up, or simply ready to be made up.¹⁵⁶

Under such circumstances, granting such a view of the Jew, it is only natural that he would attempt to gain a commercial control over any country in which he happened to live. It would also appear natural that no country would be regarded as superior to any other except in the advantage it would give to him. This viewpoint is precisely that represented in a book published in the same year, The Conquest of the World by the Jews, by Major Osman Bey, translated by F.W. Mathias, a financier. Major Bey's thesis is that Jews lust for gain and complete control of finance. Their only love is for money. They have no self-love. They are a monstrous financial power ruled by Rothschild. Jewish headquarters are in Paris, London, New York, and San Francisco. American commerce and finance is

in the hands of the Jews, indeed all wholesale and retail trade is controlled by Jews.¹⁵⁷

This alleged power of Jewish trade in the United States was supported by The Detroit Free Press later in the same year when it stated that American Jewish merchants have ruined Judge Hilton and the A.T. Stewart estate, which he headed, merely by avoiding them.¹⁵⁸

One of the more interesting charges against the Jews shows clearly the development of the concept that the Jew is of a different nationality than American. This was the charge that Jews were going to purchase or had purchased Palestine. The New York Christian Advocate on October 7th, 1878, declared that Rothschild had purchased the Holy Land in order to become King of the Jews. Shortly thereafter The Cincinnati Commercial reported that a syndicate of Jews was preparing to buy Palestine in order to set up once again the Hebrew hierarchy.¹⁵⁹

The emphasis on Jewish control of culture manifested itself in the conception of the Jew as possessing a superior intellect. The New York Sun said:

boys of brightest wits, the best scholars in our public schools are Jews...With a Jew the virtual Governor of England, a man of Jewish blood leading the politics of France, Jews maintaining foremost positions in the letters of Europe, and Jews now as always masters of finance.¹⁶⁰

Also The New Orleans Times remarked:

This one fact was noticeable that those of both sexes who best succeeded in elocution are of Hebrew origin. There seems to be no question whatever that those of that race are especially

gifted in their power of portraying feeling.¹⁶¹

Even those these sentiments praise Jewish intellect, it was just about this time that feeling began to arise that it was just this alleged gift of intellect and eloquence which made the Jew dangerous, giving him the power to do what he would. The underlying assumption, of course, was that the Jew looked out for himself alone and not for the national welfare. Indeed it was sometimes alleged that the self-interest of the Jew was against the better interests of the land in which he lived. (That the Jew was not a native began to play a greater and greater role during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, reinforced particularly by the influx of East European immigrants after 1881.) The Vicksburg Herald in 1879 blamed the South's slow recovery on the Jews by saying that "Jew traders" cause the Negro exodus from the South by selling luxuries to the former slaves. Similarly a novel published shortly thereafter, Samuel Brohl and Company, characterized the Jews as active, adroit, inventive, and wholly unscrupulous.¹⁶²

The prosperous resort trade at this time began to show the discrimination against Jews which had already appeared. The cause was attributed to the Jew's inherent native difference. The New York Hotel Mail in 1880 spoke of Long Branch as overrun by Jews. "Oil and water will not mix, no more will Jews and gentiles."¹⁶³

A turnabout was well in progress by 1880. The

alleged keen sense of business for which the Jew had been complimented five years before was now declared usury. The Indianapolis Sunday Sentinel claimed that the Jew had a passion for business and that "He has taught himself to become the prince of hucksters and usurers." This usurious nature, it was further alleged at this time, induced the Jew to seek political power to further his own scheme of world domination. The Christian Advocate, official organ of the Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the South, declared that "Jews and Jesuits are identical in regard to their utter want of patriotism." Jews have earned political eminence by means of their immense wealth and "their native shrewdness has led the Jews to discover another source of power" (liberal education). Jews control the press through their "advertising patronage".¹⁶⁴

(It might be well here to glance quickly at the last two items above and see how they reflect, as do the others, the conditions of their environment. The Mid-West was in the throes of a depression which was ruining the farmers and which was to produce such protest movements as the Populists. As later, much animus was turned against the small merchants who had become creditors and against Wall Street and Eastern banking interests. Meanwhile, in the South, the depression led farmers to identify the large financiers and politicians of the North as their mortal enemies, an identification which suited the dis-

located and now landless gentry right well.)

The stress had begun to be placed upon the business acumen of Jewry. Each new depression and dislocation brought fresh anxiety and searching. And each new villain was found to be a group, some of whom were Jews. The Jews were regarded as having a "mania and genius for owning things", they were marked, claimed The Boston Sunday Herald, by "tenacity and skill in organization". Even Henry Ward Beecher, with all his insight, fell prey to the prevalent stereotype and declared that the Jews, thrifty and industrious as they are, were the pioneers of intelligence and civilization. They are foreign, he declared, and too brainy to labor. American bankers and Broadway are Jewish. The American Israelite filed a claim of unfairness against the daily press of the United States, because it claimed that at this time, 1881, every Jewish wedding was described as "ostentatious", which led to false impressions.¹⁶⁵

In accord with an emerging theory of Jewish "cheap trade" practices, The Springfield Republican declared that there are no Jewish merchants in Springfield because the people "demand better goods and squarer dealings than they (the Jews) are likely to furnish." At the same time a New Hampshire paper is reported to have said that all Jews are immensely wealthy, mostly in personal property which can escape taxation and which is more easily handled than real estate; they are the gold power. And The Cincinnati Commercial emphasized the international aspect of Jewry

by declaring that while Jews in general control financial affairs, the Rothschilds control the credit of most European countries, indeed most influential and leading banking houses are Jewish.¹⁶⁶

The charge that England was being pushed into a war with Russia by Jews to serve their own purposes was made by Professor Goldwin Smith in 1881 in two periodicals. Moreover, he claimed, the Jews are international extortionists. They control political power through their vast financial resources. They have tribal objects, exclusiveness, disdain of non-members, a tribal superiority complex, and tribal world rule as their goal. Indeed, Professor Smith asserted, the Jews are the "anti-national money power....ever ready to betray and secretly paralyze for its own objects." The Jews control the European press and Professor Smith, considering himself an English Liberal, declared that all rich Jews are anti-Liberal. He spoke disparagingly of the "tribal rite of circumcision" and claimed that "Israel is...a vast relic of primeval tribalism with its tribal mark, its tribal separatism and its tribal God."¹⁶⁷

In a way, just the opposite viewpoint of the Jew's qualities was presented at the same time by Puck, the New York German magazine. Commenting on Benjamin Disraeli, Puck declared that the Jew is ambitious, persistently courageous, patient, ingenuous, self-confident and full of common sense, and can never be anything other

than a Jew and a radical. Yet this does not accord with a statement attributed to a Dr. Minor in a publication called The Lancet and Clinic the same month of the same year. He referred to Jewish longevity and resistance to disease and particularly to the quick acclimatization of the Jew everywhere.¹⁶⁸

At this point it becomes clear that the stereotype makes no pretense of imparting information. It is not descriptive but evaluative. Jews are different, and therefore suspect, in a society in crisis; therefore they are our enemies. And the panegyrics of those who saw the Jews and their emancipation and prosperity as symbols of society's highest ideals only increased the awareness of the Jews and the mystery of them.

Those living in sections of the country suffering dislocation by the rise of New York could sympathize with expressions such as indulged in by The Boston Herald. Jews are different from Americans. New York Jews are rich and shoddy, indulging in vulgar display. They are really "sheenies", and are distinguishable by "enormous diamonds with unclean fingers", by coarse manners and sometimes by vulgar actions.¹⁶⁹

General acceptance of the stereotype that Jews were dishonest by nature is indicated by The Chicago Tribune's story on the W. B. Clapp Company of Chicago, who when asked for a bill for merchandise received by B.W.

Goldberg of Davenport, Iowa, replied, "We are neither Jews nor robbers." The connection between dishonesty and a foreign nature is shown in The Century for March, 1882, by James Bryce, M.P., who states that Jews, being foreigners, scorn the upstart peoples of the West, and that Jews are passionate, detached, and intensely anxious to succeed. At the same time in Philadelphia, a meeting called to express sympathy for the persecuted Jews of Russia was denounced by the Reverent Father Ignatius Horstmann of St. Mary's Cathedral as a political scheme to serve Jewish aims.¹⁷⁰

The impact of the problem of Russian Jewish immigrants seeking to enter America was deep and wide-spread. The cudgels for a restrictive policy towards these unfortunates were taken up by those representing disaffected areas of American life. For example, The Indianapolis Journal, owned and operated by Politician John C. New, declared that the Jews were a foreign nation.

There is much similarity in the reasons for the persecutions of the Jews in Russia and the Chinese in California. They live off the country and leave nothing in it. They are clannish do not assimilate, hoard money, and spend nothing.¹⁷¹

A theory set forth in this year, 1882, was that not only have the Jews been unpatriotic but that they were responsible for the severity of the crash of 1873. The New York Weekly Witness declared that the Jews punished the Stewart estate in revenge and are all large traders

with vast resources, constituting a danger to America. Therefore Russian Jews should be excluded. To prove this point the paper reprinted an article signed "Ambrose" on the "Hebrew Problem" from The New York Evangelist. This stated that Jews are rich, but do not cultivate land or mechanical or useful manufacture. They are merciless and unscrupulous traders, separate, exclusive, and concealed from the rest of the world. They have an organization similar to the Papal hierarchy. The Jew is the monopolist, the creditor; and in 1873 they were the largest withdrawers of "monish" from the banks. They are more permanently unapproachable than the Chinese.¹⁷²

It should be noted here that certain details are beginning to enter the stereotype for the first time, which indicate a change. These deal with physical make-up and particularly speech. Remarks centering around "sheenies" or "monish" indicate an attempt to point out the discrepancies between Jews and Americans. An American could not be called a "sheeny" nor would he speak of "Monish", nor is he so long-lived, or healthy (or ill, depending on the writer). In short, here it can be seen that the national stereotype is taking on quite definite form and may be expected to continue to indicate physical and speech distinctions, not ceasing to emphasize other differences as well, but making this national distinction the basis for all.

The apparent physical distinction between the Russian Jew and the majority of Americans was utilized in times of large Russian immigration as the basis for this physical stereotype. The New York Evening Post for June 13th, 1882, stated that the Russian Jew is small and shows the effect of centuries of sedentary occupation. He is divided by his skin color into two classes: bronzed peddlers and pale storekeepers. "small, soft and dirty hands were the rule." At the same time the Cincinnati Commercial portrayed the Russian Jew as uncivilized, xenophonic, ignorant, and superstitious.¹⁷³

In an alleged attempt at fairness, several magazines throughout the period of Russian persecutions published articles presenting the Russian point of view. Such a one was that published in 1882 in The Century entitled "Russian Jews and Gentiles" by a Mme. Ragozin. She declared that the masses are rational, they destroyed only the parasitic institutions which the Jews foisted on them. Jews suck out a country's blood and oppress the lower classes. Jews are treacherous, untrustworthy, ruled by a secret organization, regard only their own, and poison non-Jews with Jewish refuse. They are a state within a state. Gentile property is considered fair prey. Jews are completely alien, money-getters, orientals, and the bitter enemies of all non-Jews. This same outlook was presented in the same year by Professor Goldwin Smith.

He claimed that the Russian Jews precipitated the outrages by their dishonesty and general degeneracy, particularly their extortionate usury. Jews are tribal. Circumcision is tribal and intolerable. Jews symbolize "wealth-worship and plutocracy". Jews plan to rule the world, and are a cosmopolitan, secret bond of commerce and race.¹⁷⁴

On the West Coast the comparison between Jew and Chinese was being made frequently. Frank Pixley, owner of The San Francisco Argonaut, declared that "unprincipled, unclean, and avaricious Jews", all traders, pawnbrokers, and bankers, were eating up Germany and Russia as the Chinese were doing to California. They were destroying the peasants.¹⁷⁵

A common staple of the stereotype was the alleged parasitic nature of the Jew. A correspondent of The St. Louis Christian Advocate in rebuking ministers who stood in church doorways as their congregations filed out compared them to a "Dutch Jew clothing house" whose proprietor detains customers in a final attempt at a sale. A Michigan hotel proprietor is quoted as saying that all travelling men are Jews or dutchmen. The Cincinnati Commercial Gazette is quoted as claiming that the Cincinnati tobacco trade is a Jewish monopoly. And a Dayton, Ohio, clothing firm, the C.R. Mabley Company, unrelated to the Cincinnati firm of the same name, warned readers in The Dayton Journal of June 13th to avoid paying the exorbitant

prices asked by Jewish clothiers. Both The New York Sun and The Chicago Tribune published the same article by Frank Wilkeson on the Jews in the South, which claimed that Jews lent money to small planters at 10% interest. An interesting carryover was reflected in the attitude of the Republican party in the Pennsylvania legislature toward the Jews. Representative Hayes, of Erie, referred to an opponent as "disreputable as a Jew's trade" and claimed the Senate was not a "Jew shop". He likened Democrats to Jews and said they operate on "the same principle that a Jew sells clothing, asking enough so he can fall one-half and still make 50% profit." Republican Senators Cooper and Stewart adopted the same attitude and referred to the "tricks of the horse jockey and the Jew". Representative Colborn said the Democrats are like a "Dutch Jew selling clothing, 'I takes \$12 and not a d - d cent less. Now what you gives?'" and Senator Greer stated, "We keep no cheap Jew store."¹⁷⁶

The alleged mystic intelligence of the Jew inspired "Falcon", the Lexington correspondent of The Cincinnati News Journal, to write in the issue for July 9th 1883, that Jews are distinct, mystic, and have a strangely significant existence which they alone comprehend.¹⁷⁷

A common belief founded on the prominence of Jews in intellectual games was reprinted in The New York Times to the effect that since Talmudic times Jews have dominated this field. This was praise of the Jew, for the Times,

representing the wealthy Republican New York plutocracy, had no need of an unfavorable stereotype. The paper later produced a panegyric on Jewish charity indicating a combination of the business and solidarity aspects of the emerging stereotype. It declared that the industry and solidarity of the Jew had become proverbial, as had his reverence for old age and his intense love of family. Most secret benevolent societies number many Jews among their members. The Jew is the most cosmopolitan people, the most ancient and most modern of men. He is a pioneer in business. He always acquires enough of the language to do business in but seldom more.¹⁷⁸

Anna Laurens Dawes' book, The Modern Jew, published in 1884, gave a fairly definite picture of the emerging national stereotype. The revival of Jewish national spirit indicates, she implied, a distinct national character. But the Jew is a "factitious growth sucking out life blood" on which he feeds. His peculiar genius is separateness, a law of his heredity. He is "ancient life in modern environment". He is proud and always optimistic; he is wandering, enterprising, vigorous, self-sufficient, impetuous, courageous, curious, a colonizer, an initiator of great commercial enterprises, but always separate and peculiar. Jews are particularly healthy, they can live in all climates; they have a faster rate of increase, a lower death rate, and greater longevity than non-Jews. They are law-abiding, hospitable, and charitable,

Their genius for success is due to

patience, courage, diligence, economy and consecration of his earnings to the comfort and elevation of his family....The Israelite is, above all things else, enamored of education... They show, moreover, a peculiar aptitude for letters.¹⁷⁹

Jews take power when emancipated, and

they have taken possession of journalism. The place they occupy in the Universities, at the bar, in all the liberal professions is entirely disproportionate to their numbers.¹⁸⁰

The Jew is essentially oriental: brilliant, versatile, anxious for liberty, conservative of advantage gained. He is bound to his people by indestructible ties, himself also indestructible, emotional, intuitive, patient, persistently industrious, the feminine element in the world. The Polish Jew is a typical Russian peasant: ignorant, dirty, obstinate, unadaptable, shrewd, facile at trade, a narrow bigot; he is the Chatham Street old Clo' man, the glazier, the pawnbroker. The German Jew has quick wit, knowledge of men, the half-education and little breeding of the small trader. He is shrewd and self-assertative like the German. The Jew insists on remaining a foreign element in every community, an "indigestible substance"; yet he always believes himself entitled to supremacy.¹⁸¹

Meanwhile, this stereotype, and especially these aspects, were accepted as valid by many of the American people. The American Israelite reveals the spread and growth of the stereotype during 1884 in many small items.

It reports that in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholic merchants claimed that Jews are too clannish and thus deal only with Jewish merchants. The Cincinnati News Journal is reported to have said that the "Jewish press" was driving the United States into war with Germany in revenge for Bismark's rejection of a testimonial honoring Edward Lasker. The longevity theme also appears and so do complaints about Jewish exclusiveness. The culture theme is mentioned in a claim that Jews traditionally have more aptitude for scholarship than non-Jews. Jews are alleged to be exempt from epidemics, yet they are supposed to be excessively prone to imitate. Even attempt at understanding the mystery of the Jew added fuel to the growing fire of the emerging stereotype. For example, The St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press blamed the failings of the Jew on history, but nonetheless enumerated these failings: domination of intellectual and commercial enterprises, money accumulation, shady dealings, banking, and crafty actions.¹⁸²

One of the most interesting repositories of the emerging anti-Semitic stereotype during the years 1885-1888 was the New York German-American humor magazine, Puck. It represented the small business man and the Democratic party. It opposed Catholics, unions and boycotts and strikes, Tammany Hall, a high tariff, trusts, the Knights of Labor, and England. It favored Grover Cleveland and non-Tammany Democrats, civil service reform, tariff reform, Germany and Wagner, the small business man, and the inde-

pendent press. One of its favorite targets for humor was the Jew. It often pictured him speaking the vilest German imaginable (during these years, Puck was printed in German) and portrayed him as a foreigner with little sympathy for the United States.

A most characteristic method of poking fun at the Jew, utilizing or developing the common stereotype, was comico-critical articles. One such correspondent, who appeared frequently in Puck during this period, signed himself "Dobbljew Zizzesbeisser". His comments frequently characterize the Jew as vile. For example, he describes the Jew as a dishonest cheater, one who twists and turns and wriggles and steals by nature. (The language employed can only be described as a caricature of German.)¹⁸³

A cartoon headed "Morgenstund! hat Gold im Mund!" indicates the allegation that the disreputable Jew does business at all hours. Not long afterwards, "Dobbljew Zizzesbeisser" criticized the 1885 Convention of Reform Rabbis and characterized their dealings with the following comment: "Diese acht Punkte sind A NUMBER ONE." A few months after this, a cartoon shows the physical mannerism of the Jew in a bad light. A semitic-countenanced couple is sitting in a restaurant, the woman embarrassedly saying, "I beg you, Morris, take a glass of beer in your hand, so that you won't always make such hasty-appearing (hastgesehen) gestures." In another issue, Jewish tailors are described as dishonest, dirty, ostentatious and wealthy.¹⁸⁴

Puck's favorite weapon appears to have been the cartoon. A two-panel cartoon in April, 1886, shows first an old Jew giving street urchins balls to play with and then the same old Jew selling glass window panes to storekeepers whose windows were broken by the urchins with these selfsame balls. Another shows a storekeeper whose business was bad hanging out a sign reading "I am boycotted", whereupon business improves greatly.¹⁸⁵

"Dobblejew Zizzesbeisser" next turned his fire upon the commercial advantages of being Jewish. The Jewish year, he claims, is shorter than the Christian year in order to save half a month's rent. Even though the Jew is barred from society, he does not care; for God adds up all "accounts" in His "ledger" on Yom Kippur. Indeed the synagogue is only a clearing house.¹⁸⁶

A few weeks later a cartoon shows a curly-haired semitic-countenanced boy crying in an old clothes shop, the sign over which reads "Branches in Lond, Paris and Constantinople":

Moses: Ikey, my life, why do you cry?

Ikey: Mama made me new trousers from the old carpet and they are so still I can't sit down.¹⁸⁷

Another cartoon shows two Jews running a carnival booth.

Herschel (whose landlord is fishing in the fiar): Sarahle, my Gold, hang a big pike on the hook - it is our landlord to whom we owe two months rent. Perhaps if he catches the fish for ten cents, he will be so happy that he charges us nothing on the first, next.¹⁸⁸

A series of cartoons entitled "Uncle Rubsamen's Evening

Trips" labelled the Jew a social misfit, too ill mannered for normal American society.¹⁸⁹ In general Fuck depicted the Jew as inveigling his way into all aspects of American life. His political influence was caricatured in a cartoon showing an artist present a petition to a Jewish legislator. A sign on a nearby statue reads "40% tariff". A near-by building is labelled "Academy of Design CLOSED. to be opened as a pork-packing establishment by A. Moss-back":

Congressman Stoffel: No, my friend, Free art is a humbug. I understand your business better than you, and I will protect you, YOU BET.¹⁹⁰

Yet another cartoon shows a Jew looking at a piano:

Land Uncle: How much does this piano cost?

Salesman: \$250.

Land Uncle: This is much wood. Let me inspect the bedchamber.

Salesman: There is no bed inside. It is only a piano.

Land Uncle: \$250? Well, this is damned costly music. If you fix a bed inside, then we might perhaps strike a "bargain".--

The allegation of business sharpness and peculiar stinginess is reflected in a cartoon in June, 1897, which shows little Isaac, acting as a model for his Hebrew tailor father, all the while scratching his nose. His father reproves him but wants more vigorous action while Isaac is about it, so that everybody may see how well the suit suits him.¹⁹¹

A FINE NEW SUIT WHICH MAY BE OBTAINED AT THE

WALKER 104 1/2 BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY

to be a shipping clerk? Nonsense. You can't hold a pencil behind your ear.
 Isaak: Ears? Why do I need ears for that? I can hold the pencil under the nose. See - so? (Holding the pencil between his huge hooked nose and protruding large upper lip.)¹⁹³

(A hook-nosed Jew surveys icicles covering his tailor shop window. Each icicle has a long dropping, hooked protuberance resembling a sad face with a large "Jew" nose): Ah! Now I know why they call these things Eisicles (icicles - Isaacles).¹⁹⁴

He (large-nosed Jew looking into moving picture box): Ha! I don't know what is the matter I see nothing. The distance is too long.¹⁹⁵
 She: The distance? You mean perhaps the - Nose?

Jew salesman steps on man's foot, causing great pain; then tries to sell him a salve to remove the pain for 25 cents.¹⁹⁶

The cartoon stereotype is by its very nature vague and ill-defined, yet throughout this series it is seen that the general picture is that the Jew is a petty dealer, crafty and dishonest, entirely different from Americans. The picture which Puck wants to draw of the Jews is more clearly evidenced by an article in 1888. A Jewish merchant is discussing the tariff question with his emancipated son. The father wants his son to hold himself separate and love only money, not to try to help people. The father declares that the Jews-merchants depend on debts for their existence. The son calls his father a monopolist.¹⁹⁷

Among many remarkable items of anti-Semitica relating to the emerging stereotype is a series published in 1888 and 1889 in New York by the Minerva Publishing Company.¹⁹⁸

First in the series was The Original Mr. Jacobs. Most noteworthy is the incipient racism which is contained in this book. A great many of the early pages are devoted to a discussion of Jewish physiognomy and to praise of the Aryan races. Then follows a discussion of the inherent wickedness of the Jews, not physically determined but because of a national character. They are aliens and cowards, they control business for their own purposes, they are conspiratorial and control culture. The author appeals to the masses of the people and to laborers in particular to reject this alien influence. It is clear that this is an English paraphrase of La France Juive by Edward Drumont, and it is definitely pro-Catholic throughout. The general impression given is that Jews are evil bloodsuckers who pervert simple folk by banking, usury, and business, as well as by murder and immorality of every kind. Therefore Rockefeller "must" be a Jew. Vanderbilt is an Aryan (gentleman), but Gould is neither fish nor fowl.¹⁹⁹

In the second book of the series, The American Jew, the author proposes to set forth a record of deceit and fraud built up by the Jew in America. Jews neither labor nor invent, but they control finance, clothing, tobacco, and sugar. Jews are parasitic, dirty, loud, vulgar, intrusive, and greedy. The author lists and discusses various trades allegedly controlled by Jews, and it is most interesting to note the inclusion of petroleum along with the assertion that Rockefeller is a Jew. Jewish

millionaires are listed. The Jew is declared to be a criminal and libertine. Chapter IX is entitled "The Jew Lecher" and is beyond a doubt the most interesting chapter in the entire series. Every sort of immoral behavior is attributed to the Jew. This book too is directed to the laborer and attempts to establish the Jew as the arch-villain responsible for all distress.²⁰⁰

The last book in the series, Judas Iscariot, also establishes an incipient racism while yet declaring a national difference. The Jews are aliens and traitors by nature and religion, they are always conspirators and plotters. The rite of circumcision is proof of a natural debauchery. The standard charges that Jews control business and culture and are monopolists, parasites, and mysterious are also set forth.²⁰¹

Here is not only a beginning of the racist theory, but also a real carryover of the emerging national stereotype. Although many of the features of racism are present, including the Feter Judaicus,²⁰² the outstanding features of the series indicate a preoccupation with nationalistic ideas. The emphasis is on the disloyalty of the Jews and their consequent deleterious effect on American society.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Jewish activity in New York had come to the attention of most of the country; and this, coupled with the severe repercussions of the long agricultural depression, turned

all eyes upon the economic hub of America and her strange inhabitants.

Richard Wheatley, writing in 1892, declared that Jewish strength in New York was organizational. Most Jewish immigrants stop in New York, most Russian Jews enter the old clothes trade, their females "at 16 are houris and at 30 hags". The Jew is essentially different from the American and is characterized by forethought, acquisitiveness, and shrewdness. Jews control dry goods, clothing, tobacco liquor, jewelry, leather, paints and glass, furniture, and meat. Jewish merchants control over \$207,388,000 in capital, and Jewish bankers and financiers control over \$100,000,000 in New York alone. The prevalent habit is separatism. They have a lower death rate, a longer life expectancy.²⁰³

In the same year, Arnold White, Baron de Hirsch's commissioner to Russia, published his answer to Russian charges against the Jews. His own admissions, however, give a startling picture of the stereotype of the Jews, held by one who worked for them. Russia charged that international finance is controlled by Jewish energy and skill and that the European press is in Jewish hands. These Mr. White admits. He also accords the Jew preeminence in medicine, surgery, law, politics, journalism, music, and art. Indeed, if uncontrolled, says Mr. White, Jewish intellect would dominate the Russian empire. Russia feels that Jews are "enemies of Christ". It is true that the Jew is natively

different from the Russian. (Note the identity of these "offenses" to characteristics for which the Jew was praised fifteen years earlier.)²⁰⁴

The similarity between this article and one openly presenting the Russian viewpoint is most marked. The latter is written by Pierre Botkine, Secretary to the Russian Legation in Washington. The Jew, he asserts, is alien, homeless, and unsympathetic to non-Jews. He dominates all cultural fields when given the chance. He oppresses the peasants and exploits them.²⁰⁵

Articles such as the above show clearly that the stereotype had developed to a point where a Jew was becoming synonymous with alien, where Jews were considered a people apart, aloof, separate. Moreover the unknown nature of the Jew's continued existence under such conditions was taken to signify a conspiratorial organization. The aspects of the anti-Semitic stereotype which had already been in existence were now laid over a nationalistic framework to conform to the third qualification for the stereotype: need.

In 1893 the Reverend Dr. Tuttle published The Jew. His main point, that the Jew is the symbol of corruption, could only be bolstered and believed by first establishing the difference of the Jew. This he does. The Jew, he alleges, is peculiarly gifted for religion, and has the "intuition of holiness". No people has a finer intellectual capacity than the Jews." He is foremost in scholars and

artists. Phrenologists and anatomists affirm that the best skulls belong to Jews. The face of the Jew, though symbolic of the dollar, is beautiful.²⁰⁶ Yet the Jew

is greedy, merciless, tricky, revengeful - a veritable Shylock, who loses every sentiment of humanity in his greed. Of all the dirty creatures who have befouled this earth, the Jew is the slimiest....In blasphemy, the Jew is the foremost of mankind.²⁰⁷

The Jew believes that it is his mission to govern and actually does rule the world covertly. Money rules the world, and the Jew controls money. He also controls liquor, real estate, the railroads, and all wholesale trade. The Jew is the spirit of modern Liberalism and Deism, he typifies fraternity, toleration, humanity, civilization, and social cosmopolitanism.²⁰⁸

The very soul of the most threatening evil of this day - the communistic movement, is the Jew.²⁰⁹

The Kagal (Kahal) in Russia is a Jewish secret society, ruling the people and composed of radical nihilists, says Tuttle.

This is indeed a terrifying picture. But it is not hard to recognize the panegyrics of but the decade before in this sermon. The difference, the alleged superiority of the Jew in certain fields now is laid to him as a reproach, as a cause for fear. The laborer is exhorted to look at the intellectual and to shun him because of his intellectuality. The business man is asked to look at his rival and hate him because of his success. The entire population is asked to look at their trouble and blame it on an

unassimilated element because of their lack of assimilation. Yet the truth of the matter is that the laborer who hates intellectuality is one who lacks it, and the business man who hates success is the failure, and it was the population as a whole which prevented the assimilation desired.

Throughout this period the emphasis was placed on the Jews in New York and their connection with the economic life of the country. Their international character was examined and suspiciously regarded.

Sidney Whitman in 1893 states that the Jew views the public pathologically. He controls the international news agencies. He rules the money and produce markets. He is essentially a speculator and traveller. He is the most zealous Freemason in the world. His source of power is Jewish solidarity. He is a manipulator with "centuries of commerce in his blood". He is separate and distinct. He is cosmopolitan, the soul of the socialist movement.²¹⁰

In the same year The Methodist Review discussed the New York Jewish population. From peddlers, it alleged Jews become multi-millionaire financiers. In New York City they control over \$200,000,000 a rise of \$100,000,000 over Wheatley's claim of the year before). Jews control the gold market. Broadway between Union and Canal streets is Jewish. Jews always stick together for their own aims. Jews in general are

critically observant, thoughtful, acute and quick in reason, never forgetting and always acquiring, flexible and accommodating, and with will whose dogged tenacity nothing can shake, they thoroughly avail themselves of all educational advantages, and especially of such as conduce to personal aggrandisement.... pushing, wide-awake boys and girls....extra-neous, original, unassimilable.²¹¹

Mamuel Perex Villamil, writing in 1893 in The Catholic World, declared the Jews to be treacherous, deceitful, disloyal conspirators, who love no adopted land, and do nothing except for pay. The only industry they cultivate is dealing in money. The fewer the Jews the higher the civilization.²¹²

The concept of the Jew as apart was indicated with a disinterested logic by E.H. Lecky in The Forum during 1893-1894. She declared

In the midst of many idle, drunken and ignorant populations the shrewd, thifty and sober Jew stands conspicuous as the most successful trader. His rare power of judging, influencing and managing men, his fertility of resource, his indomitable perseverance and industry continually force him into the foremost rank and he is prominent in occupations which excite much animosity. The tax-gatherer, the agent, the middleman and the money-lender are very commonly of Jewish race and great Jewish capitalists largely control the money markets of Europe at a time when capital is the special object of socialistic attacks....

Nothing is more conspicuous among them than their unhealthy coloring, their frail, bent and feeble bodies....Malformations and deformities are common among them. Their nervous organization is extremely sensitive, and though they are as a race distinguished for their sound, clear and practical judgment, they are very liable to insanity and to other nervous and brain disorders. Physical beauty as well as physical strength is much rarer among them than among Christians....

Adulation, servility, falsehood and deception became common among them. They became at once hard, wily and rapacious, and ready instruments in ignoble and oppressive callings... They threw themselves passionately into the acquisition of wealth and secret power.²¹³

At this point Professor Goldwin Smith once again enters the arena. He declares that the United States is a Christian commonwealth. Jews are lower in the social scale than heretics. In the United States socialism and labor violence are due to this foreign element. In dealing with the Jewish question, he states that the report of Russian anti-Jewish atrocities in 1880 was a Jewish exaggeration. The Russian peasant is good-hearted, but "he had suffered long". The cause of the trouble was the Jew with his extortion, his wealth, his power, and his ostentation. Jews are unsympathetic to non-Jews, they are eternally alien. Russians are to Jews as Americans are to Chinese. Jews are enemies of mankind, they are money-getters, parasites, dishonest, exploiters of the poor, dealers in cheap goods and trinkets. They mock Christianity. They control the circulating media of intelligence, thus controlling intelligence itself. Jews stick together and are unsympathetic aliens. Judaism is materialism. It is non-productive in every way; Christianity owes nothing to it. Smith derides the "barbarous rite of circumcision". Jews have an inherited trade instinct. In summation, he declares that the Jews are the anti-national money-power.²¹⁴

Much the same viewpoint is reflected in an article by Poultney Bigelow in Harper's in 1894. Russia, he

says, knows what she is about. The press which protests this persecution is Jewish owned. The Jew lives in towns and is a broker. He is a distinct physical type with a long, lean, hungry look. He brings nothing to a country, takes all he can out. He exploits the lower classes in Russia and in the South of the United States. Before emancipation, the upper classes protected the serf from the Jew. Liberalism is Jewish. The Jew will not serve in the Army. He is a member of a different nation.²¹⁵

The alleged connection between Jewry and money (gold) was reinforced by the Bible of populism, Coin's Financial School. A cartoon depicts "The English Octopus - It Feeds on Nothing but Gold", with a map of the world showing gold being drained into England, which is represented simply by an Octopus labelled "Devil Fish" and "Rothschilds". The same issue quoted The Chicago Daily News to the effect that "The Rothschilds own 1,600,000,000 in gold" (almost half the gold then in existence).²¹⁶

With the Silver question pushed to the fore by the culmination of agrarian discontent, a connection between gold and Jewry, and especially Rothschild, was more and more asserted. Samuel Leavitt, in his review of Henry D. Lloyd's Wealth Against Commonwealth, describes the rise of the Rockefellers as follows: "Like all such Jews, at first they owned no wells. Now they are getting them all." Rockefeller is again alleged to be a Jew. And even more, Rockefeller and Rothschild are in cahoots to combine Russian and American oil.²¹⁷

One of the orators of Populism, "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman of South Carolina, did not hesitate to make this identification publicly. He denounced, in his maiden speech as a Senator, those in favor of Gold as "Shylocks" and money changers and blasted Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle as a "Judas".²¹⁸

When the Republican National Convention, meeting in St. Louis in 1896, opened with a prayer by Rabbi Samuel Sale, The Leavenworth Standard, a Democratic silverite paper declared that this was "obedience to the mandate of the Rothschilds." And The Hinckley Enterprise, a Minnesota silverite paper, stated that this showed that the Republican party was in the hands of the Jews. A meeting in the St. Louis Music Hall scheduled for June 14th, 1896, was addressed by Charles Grosvenor of Ohio on "Silver Coinage; An Old Jewish Swindle". Democrat B. F. Shively, candidate for Governor of Indiana is reported to have said, "Every hook-nosed Shylock from Jerusalem to Omaha is hoarding up his gold."²¹⁹

Marion Butler, United States Senator from North Carolina, wrote that Morgan represented a foreign Gold syndicate of London Jews, cold-blooded Shylocks, the descendants of the money-changers whom Christ drove from the Temple.²²⁰ And Allan O. Meyers of Ohio, speaking in favor of Bryan, declared:

Those curly-headed Jews of New York own all the gold, and they want to do to you like Joseph of old did, to gather up everything and

then strangle the farmers. These Jews killed our Christ....²²¹

Yet 1896 was the year in which Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's book Israel Among the Nations was prominent. Judaism, said a reviewer, was democratic in conception. According to the author, the Jew is naturally a middleman and a retailer of ideas and commodities. He is a separate physical type. But the tone of the book as well as the review is laudatory. Nonetheless the same conceptions allowed those who felt the need (the third qualification of the stereotype) to build up the anti-Semitic stereotype.²²²

During the years of the most fiery agrarian discontent, Puck was still grinding away. However it was painting an entirely different picture of the Jew than that painted by the agrarians. For one thing, it opposed farmers, if for no other reason than that the upstate New York farmers had long prevented the party favored by Puck from achieving power in the state. Another factor was that Puck represented the sound money (gold) Democrats and heartily opposed silver. Still a third factor was that it definitely favored Great Britain, consequently building up a stereotype of the rebellious Irish as Apes. Its attitude to the Jews reflected the attitude of the gold owners to this people who were on the periphery of their world. The following items are from Puck during the years 1895-1896.

1. Trouble Among the Hebrews, A Ballad of Baxter Street (to be sung with Appropriate Gestures):

Drouble amongder Hebrews, Wogglebaum undt Cohen
At a sacrifice sale run up der goots on Morgen-
thal undt Krone.

Drouble among der Hebrews! Dey dondt speag no
more;

Ikey go in, Mosey go oudt, noboddy mindt der
shtore!

Sheriff in bossession, seizure for der rent,
Gant gombromise mit greditors at twenty-fif'
percents..

Cohen, dressed like a Broadway shwell, stood
round at der sale,

Run up de stock vay oudt of sight - dere's no
such word as fail!

Say, Wogglebaum in his shirt sleeves - deir
place is shust next door,

"Don't gif me der glad handt! - dot don't go no
more!"

Drouble among der Hebrews! Der two firms vas
such frendts

But dhey threw down deir people to gain deir
private endts.

Drouble among der Hebrews! Baxter street sur-
prised

Dot frendtship as vell as der goots in shtock
should all be sagrificed.

Dot endts all mutual confidence - it's sell undt
undersell,

Frendts von't trust, no firm gan bust, undt pis-
ness gone to - vell!²²³

2. (Hook-nosed Jew looks at picture which shows
a cigar holder adapted for hook-nosed Jews. Then
shifts cigar to one corner of his mouth and blows
smoke out of the other corner, around his nose.)²²⁴

3. Great Scheme of Mr. Cabrutts, the popular
Photographer. He provides appropriate views for
his sitter to look at, and always gets a pleasant
expression.

(Hook-nosed curly-haired Jew smiling at scene of
clothing store burning, labelled "Total
loss-fully insured".)

"When Mr. Burnnupski gets before the Camera."²²⁵

4. Incorrectly expressed.

Hardy Upton (trying on a new suit): Ah, Isaacs,
this suit looks very creidtable, very creditable
indeed.

Isaacs (the tailor, excitedly): S'hellup me
gracious. Dot suit vas noddings ov der kind.
Dere is no gredit apout him. Dot suit neffer
leafs der store except for spot gash!²²⁶

5. A Weak Point.

Isaacstein: Dese insurance bolicies are nod all wich doudt be desired.

Cohenstein: Vot is der matter mit dem?

Isaacstein: I vish dey vouldt cofer der risk of der fire 227
being pud oud choost so soon as it gets vell started.

6. Two Better.

Mr. Isaacs (enthusiastically): I would go t'rough fire for mein vife undt family.

Mr. Cohens (dejectedly): Ach! Dot vas noddings! I haf gone t'rough dree fires for mein vife undt family undt even den I gan't get enough moneys to satisfy der ogxtravagances. 228

7. No Mystery.

Isaacstein: Vot vos der cause of der fire?

Burmupski: Der inzurance. 229

8. His Desire.

Old Schwindelbaum (to his little son): Ikey, if some good fairy was to gif you all der monish you vanted, vot more could you ask for?

Little Ikey (after a short season of Meditation): A leedle more monish, Fadder. 230

9. Hope Deferred.

Ikey: Fader, I vish you vould get me von of dem bicycles. Dey are gettin' cheaper all der time.

His Father: Vell, you don't exbect me to buy until dey stop gettin' cheaper, do you? 231

10. An All-Wise Providence.

Little Jakey Burnstein (reading the Scriptures): Vasn't it a keveer ding fer der Lordt to guide der schildrens of Israel offer der Deserts py a pillar of fire, Fadder?

Mr. Burnstein (with a knowing wink): No, mein sohn! Der Lordt knew vat vould be der most addractive dings to our beeples, ain'dt it? 232

11. The Social Line.

Shakey Isaacstein: Ach! You need'd turn ub your nose ad me, Rachel Rosenbaum, shust pecause your ole man's made dot assigment for der penefit off his greditors. My ole man's gin ter have a fire next veeek, undt it vill pe a total loss, too. 233

12. A Trade Secret.

Cholly: But how can you afford to sell geuine patent leather shoes for that price?

Solomon Isaacstein: I vill tell you a segred, mine frent; - der batent vos exbired. 234

13. What he Missed.

Drummer: Could I show you a few goods, Mr. Rosenbaum?

Rosenbaum: Py heavens, you missed a pig order py nod gedding here a liddle sooner. I shust dis minute failed.²³⁵

14. A Charity Organization.

Mr. Silverbaum: Ach! Dot vas goot! Amudder Hebrew Charitable society shust organized!

Mrs. Silverbaum: Vat vas der name off id?

Mr. Silverbaum: Der Grabbag Fire Insurance Company of New Yorg.²³⁶

Two important considerations must be noted here.

The first is the extreme difference between the stereotype as produced by the disaffected agrarian elements and that produced by Puck. Indeed, the pictures painted are diametrically opposed. The agrarian villan was the monopolist, the big capitalist, the money power. The stereotype drawn by Puck was that of a small entrepreneur, the degenerate middleman, who exists not by force of wealth, but by shiftiness and cheating. His weapon is not the money he controls, but his lack of morality. The faults attributed to the Jews are those typical of the degenerate sections of the middle class in general.

Of course, there is some overlapping. Neither the agrarians nor Puck operated in a vacuum, both were subject to general forces and cultural heritages which helped determine the final product.

The second important feature is the subtle shift in the character of the stereotype as found in Puck from 1885 - 1887 and that found in 1895-1896. At first, the principal characteristics of the stereotype were the physical

difference and the lack of fitness of the Jew for American society. Then, in 1895-1896, we find the Jew's lack of ethics, his shifty conniving nature emphasized. The reason for this would appear to be the general acceptance by 1895 of the different nationality of the Jew. No new emphasis on this was necessary. Indeed we find during this period that few people stress the difference qua difference; they are more concerned with the results of that difference.

At any rate, the national stereotype was in a clear and definite shape by 1896. The Jew, it was alleged, was not part of America. His nationality did not permit him to renounce Judaism for American citizenship.

A magazine which drew a stereotype similar to that created and supported by Puck was Leslie's Illustrated Weekly. The most significant difference between the two magazines was that Leslie's represented the New York Republicans, the big business group. It stood for a high tariff, for protection of American interests; it opposed "foreigners", even though supporting Great Britain; it strongly supported the "status quo".

During the great Silver Debate of 1896-1897, attention in New York focused on a conflict between large and small entrepreneurs. Much of the vitriol poured out by sections of the press representing large owners of capital denounced small entrepreneurs as dishonest, fraudulent, etc. Leslie's devoted much space to the Jew's role

in this. Moreover in the course of opposing open immigration, it felt compelled to show what kind of people were coming to America under such a policy.

The identification of the forces behind Bryan with the Jews was not an usual one, nor did it seem to find ready acceptance. However it was attempted, in order to divert the working man.

A cover cartoon entitled "A Sure Winner if Bryan is Elected" in the Fall of 1896 in Leslie's illustrates identification. The cartoon depicts a fat, leering, boasting, sly, semitic-countenanced pawnbroker sitting in front of a pawnbroker's sign. At his feet are pledged items each with ticket attached: workman's dinner pail, hammer, trowel, saw, etc.²³⁷

Less than two months after this cartoon appeared, Leslie's described the possession of large wealth as an "Hebraic Attitude."²³⁸

The editor of Leslie's attacked "the New Journalism", the jingoistic press which catered to an alleged sensational reading taste of the general public. In what appears to have been an attack on Pulitzer, then publishing The New York World, the editor declared that this type of journalism was a product of the ghetto with its lubricity its lasciviousness, and its flashiness.²³⁹

The old charges concerning an alleged Jewish predilection for arson (a frequent charge at this time against

certain degenerate sections of the middle class) was revived (as in Puck) with an article early in 1897 by Valerian Gribayedoff (a frequent author of articles denouncing the Jew) entitled "Incendiarism". He pictures organized Jewish arson rings, haggling over prices for arson. He speaks of Jewish lust for gain, the Jew's distinterest in deaths caused, and a talmudic basis for arson. He declares that the ring under consideration was an Oriental firebug fraternity, apparently composed mainly of Jews. (This was an actual case; even though there were non-Jews involved, these were not listed by Gribayedoff.) The illustrations, drawn from descriptions furnished by an informer, display only semitic countenances.²⁴⁰

The bitter feeling against the World recurs in May, 1897, when the editor of Leslie's scornfully refers to the former paper, "Vat you vant for a cent?"²⁴¹

An alleged connection between Jews and bankruptcy for profit is referred to in this quote from Judge, published by the publishers of Leslie's:

Isaacson: I hear you son Jakey has failed in his examination.

Silverson: Sure, he failed - dis is der fourth time. I'm going to oben a shtore fur him now. I t'ink he'll make a good pessness man.²⁴²

Another reference to the same subject:

(A cartoon depicts two Jews discussing a riot in a clothing store labelled "Closed by the Sheriff - Entire Stock at Bottom Figures - Bankrupt Stock Cheap".)

Goldstein: I don't see vy dose Hebrew shents maig so much oxcidement ofer Cohen's dirty-sevunt birt'day.

Sillsheim: You didn't read dot nodice alretty

Cohen's fifdeent' succgssful failure hab-
bens on dot same date.²⁴³

The interesting fact that Fuck makes more of the anti-Jewish stereotype than Leslie's may be understood through the group which each magazine proposed to reach. Those reached by Fuck were looking for a villain. Those reached by Leslie's needed no such at the time. The crisis was not so severe for them, indeed the very nature of the crisis differed.

The disgruntled agrarian leaders, unable or unwilling to understand their own failure in 1896, tried to seek pat solutions. They hit upon the idea that the money power had secretly conspired against the people to deprive them of their real victory. And the money power that would act so conspiratorially could only be this foreign conspiratorial element - the Jews. John Clark Ridpath, editor of The Arena, found it necessary in 1898 to explain why Rothschild was opposing war at the moment. He said that Plutocracy feeds on war, which creates debt. Actually the money power foments war. That Rothschild now has joined the Society of Friends and opposes war only proves how clever he is. This Shylock, who thrives on war and borrowing, knows that too much war will prevent interest on his bonds from being paid. The War God and the God of Gold are brothers, and Rothschild is the God of Gold.

Whatever else Shylock is, he is not a fool

He knows when he has gone far enough. His wits have been sharpened by ages of ancestral experience and evolution. Heredity has made him the most cunning and the most discerning, as well as the most pliable of all living creatures. As a Vulpine philosopher he is the non-pareil of this world. He has present sight, hindsight and foresight. He has pure vision and contrivance. He holds no relations to anything. He has no kindred and no country. Like death he has all seasons for his own. All peoples, all conditions, all forms of society, all hopes and enterprises of the human race are the crude materials of his art. With these he juggles and experiments, and out of them he deduces a wisdom which has been re-enforced by hereditary experiences and made secure by the elimination of conscience...."I must keep my influence with these contemptible Christian nations...My business is to live by the labors of others."²⁴⁴

Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada, one of the great Populist leaders, also denounced Rothschild for the failure of the Silver Crusade. He declared that Rothschild had taken advantage of the opportunities created by the large post-Napoleonic British national debt to become ruler of the British Empire. His satanic power robs and enslaves mankind; he holds India, Egypt, and Ireland in bondage. The rise of the United States threatened his power, so Rothschild demonetized Silver in 1873 to strike at America. He is the great gold power.²⁴⁵ And this cry was echoed by Senator Marion Butler of North Carolina in an article already mentioned above.

The prevalent view, whether East or West, however, was that the Jew was certainly different from the American. Every aspect of the stereotype pointed in that direction. And as each crisis brought new dislocation and

discouragement, more and more that difference was given as a reason for suspicion. All were agreed that Jews, the world over, were one people.

Perhaps the blackest picture painted of the Jew during this period was that by A. H. Frankel in his book In Gold We Trust. Frankel's viewpoint is a curious one. His book is, at one and the same time, a plea for vegetarianism and a defense of the status quo. He believed that the trouble which the poor were experiencing was caused by their own ostentation and luxury. He described the Jew as wealthy, ostentatious, arrogant and proud, and often coarse and vulgar, Jews sell their children as brides, he declared, for \$5000 more or less; and they are completely ruled by money. The Jew is subject to fierce and immense passions, is mightily vindictive, never forgetting a slight, Cursing is a ritual to the Jew. Jews are not religious, but merely superstitious and the synagogue is just another place of business. But Jews are generally miserly, dirty, and vile. They are essentially oriental. They swindle and extort the poor gladly, In fact they are the major owners of the tenements.²⁴⁶

Primarily our concern here is not which of the two sectional views of the Jew is held by this author, but rather the basis for his stereotype; the Jews are oriental; they are unclean, they sell their children, they are vindictive, they hate the poor; in short, they are not

Americans. This was not just his view, it was the one prevalent in his day.

"The International Jew" was on everyone's lips. Arnold White, Baron de Hirsch's commissioner to Russia, in reviewing Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto, states that international finance is controlled by the Jews, as is the press of all Europe.

A people who baffled the Pharaohs, foiled Nebuchadnezzar, thwarted Rome, defeated feudalism, circumvented the Romanoffs, financed Columbus in his discovery of America, balked the Kaiser, and undermined the Third French Republic.

Jews flourish amidst agricultural decay, imported food, industrial inflation, congested cities, and a democracy impotent to provide its own means of subsistence. They excel in "getting on". "They have all the money and most of the brains."²⁴⁷

This picture is perfectly clear. The international, the anti-national character of the Jew is brought out. So accepted was this idea that Golgosz, the assassin of President McKinley, was at first universally taken for a Jew; not because there was any indication of it, but because he was known not to be an American, he was a radical of sorts, and he was dangerous.²⁴⁸

Herzl's nationalist solution only confirmed what the general belief was - that the Jews were a national group apart from all other groups. That this was so was clearly shown by Valerian Gribayedoff's interview with

Edward Drumont in 1898. Drumont repeats the old charges that the Jew economically strangles the countries he lives in and then announces himself in favor of Herzl's plan, because he is a humane man and has no desire to see the Jews annihilated in a blood bath. He sees that Herzl's solution springs from the same stereotype as his, and again we see that the details of the favorable and unfavorable pictures of the Jew coincide.²⁴⁹

Arnold White in 1899 published a book entitled The Modern Jew. He shows an awareness of the theory then gaining great favor: racism. But the basis of his remarks about the modern Jew is nationalistic. He declares that the Jews have a master, secret organization, which is very vindictive. The character and habits of Judaism spring from orientalism and semiticism. Jews always stick together. They form everywhere an empire within an empire. They cannot be patriots and make no attempt. They are socially and racially aloof, but conceal their disdain of Christians whom they dominate intellectually; they gain strength from their aloofness. Economically Jews have an inborn proclivity enabling them to perceive the precise moment to corner the market; they rig the market using duller brains as their tools. They control international finance and the press. Their grip on Central Europe is all-powerful and was achieved by gaining mortgages on the land. "All the avenues leading to the money-lending trades are crowded with Jews." "Jews have but one aim,

the acquisition of wealth", and they long for ostentation and advertisement. After money, social status is most desired by them.²⁵⁰

Intellectual superiority, oriental subtlety, and the training of sorrow accredit the Jews with a complex and mysterious power denied to any other living race.²⁵¹

The point of view is clearly national. The Jews' cleverness and dangerousness comes from inherited experience, not physical characteristics.

An indication of the extent to which the nationally-based anti-Semitic stereotype was accepted is furnished by an article "Concerning the Jews" written in 1899 by Mark Twain. He mentions the Jews' solidarity and business acumen, their control of Broadway, their reputation for various small forms of cheating, oppressive usury, arson for insurance, and for trickery. The Jew is unpatriotic; he capitalized on the South's poverty after the Civil War. Anti-semitism, Twain declares, is commercial jealousy of the Jew. The Jew never uses his hands; his history has a sordid and practical commercial look. He is a money-getter; brain is on his side. His aim and end in life is money. He does not participate in the life of his adopted country: he has done nothing for the United States. He is substantially a foreigner wherever he goes.²⁵²

"The Status of the Modern Hebrew" is a title given to three articles published in The Arena in 1900 in an attempt to throw light on the problem. Yet all three

did little more than utilize and contribute to the dominant stereotype. The first article tries to explain the Jew's survival on the basis of his being excluded. He is, it is alleged, an apostate and disloyal by nature. His genius is adaptability.²⁵³ The second article stresses the cosmopolitan character of the Jew and his intellectual supremacy over non-Jews.²⁵⁴ The third article states that the Jew belongs to no particular age or country, but is a citizen of the world. He lives in both present and past. Jewish influence has been great even when Jews were few in number, therefore the future may belong to them.²⁵⁵

In 1902 Madison Peters published his answer to the charge that the Jews are disloyal in a work entitled The Jew as a Patriot. But he, too, while lauding them, provides the stereotype mill with new grist and supports the old product as a matter of course. The Jews, he alleges, are the most ancient people, and Jewish blood flows in the veins of almost all of Europe's aristocracy, making it impossible to destroy the Jews. Jews are remarkably long-lived. They always win whatever contest they enter. The Jew is immune to many diseases. No matter where he lives, the orthodox Jew still longs for Jerusalem. The Jew has been called the spirit of the French Revolution. He is always a student. He was the economic backer of Columbus, and for 400 years has supplied the world with money. Indeed the Rothschilds invented and perfected the

the financial system of the world. Today "Jew" has become equivalent to "cheat".²⁵⁶

An examination of the finished picture drawn by Peters shows that although he intends purportedly to clear the Jew of the charge of disloyalty, he nonetheless establishes by inference the internationalistic, cosmopolitan character of the Jew, the basis of the charge. In other words he reinforces the awareness of and ignorance of the Jew, leaving it for those who had the need to complete the picture. His positive, favorable view utilizes the same details used by those who held unfavorable views.

As the immigration question became more acute, writers began to attempt to show, using the Jew as their principal example, the values and fallacies of open immigration. In 1903, Major W. Evans-Gordon, M.P., published The Alien Immigrant in an attempt to oppose free immigration. He declares that the Jews could not be loyal, were in fact a nation within a nation, a nation without territory. They have high hereditary immunity and low infant mortality, setting them apart from non-Jews. They are clan-nish, aloof, and stick together. They expropriate the non-Jew whenever they can. Jews are exceptionally prolific. Business-wise, the majority of Jewish emigrants are shopkeepers and retailers, and look down on manual labor. Jewish instincts lead to speculation and trade naturally. The Jew is exceedingly abstract and metaphysical; in fact

his natural individualism leaves him unsuited for the life of a wage-earner or the discipline of labor organizations. But Jews have an intense desire for education, furthering their native intellectualistic tendencies.²⁵⁷

A matter not to be overlooked is the muckraking tendency of the first decade of the twentieth century. The muckrakers set a pace of merciless exposure of graft and extortion and exploitation. Yet even though some Jews such as Abe Ruef of San Francisco, and some Jewish locales, such as New York's East Side, were involved deeply, no trace of anti-Jewish prejudice appeared, nor was an significant contribution made to the stereotype.

Possibly the only exception was Ray Stannard Baker, who wrote prolifically about conditions on New York's East Side. Baker has a tendency towards flamboyance and preferred picturesque to simple language wherever possible. In an article, "The Rise of the Tailors", he paints a picture of the garment industry in New York. He characterizes the Russian Jew as restless and distrustful, cautious and personally ambitious. He belongs to the most insular of races. This clearly supported the dominant stereotype of the Jew as non-American.²⁵⁸

Meanwhile the connection between Jew and alien was being drawn commonly. Grace Helen Bailey describes the Jew as evil, dirty, unkempt, mean, cowardly, anti-social, greedy, low, vicious, an "alien race".²⁵⁹

The Cincinnati Journal and Messenger renewed its attacks and called upon the Jews to obtain their own country rather than live off other nationalities. The Saturday sabbath, it alleged, prevents assimilation. The Jews are reaping the fruits of the labor of those who built America.²⁶⁰

New York's East Side was characterized in 1906 as low in mental and moral stature by The New York Commercial and shortly thereafter it was referred to by The Cincinnati Times-Star as a menace to America.²⁶¹

The increase of criminality in New York was blamed upon immigrants, and it was alleged by The Journal and Messenger that the greater portion of the criminals were Jews.²⁶² Goldwin Smith charged the Jews again with tribalism and a parasitic existence. He declared that Jews all over the world serve the same aims by being anti-Russian and pro-Turkish.²⁶³

The stock market disturbances of the period were also charged to the Jews in 1906 by a C.W. Smith in a work entitled International Commercial and Financial Gambling in Options and Futures, the Economic Ruin of the World. Jewish speculation and manipulation have wrecked the market, he declared.

A sharp contrast between Jew and American was made by The Journal and Messenger:

Jews will often crowd themselves in and make themselves a nuisance where Americans

would never think of encroaching. With the advent of foreign populations we shall often be compelled to adopt foreign methods, and the kicker may be the most useful member of society.²⁶⁵

And The Brooklyn Times feared that a Jewish vote was forming because of the rapid influx of Hungarian and Russian Jews:

Their training, and their ideas, their instincts are essentially, often radically, different from those of people American born, and a conflict between them at the polls appears to be inevitable.²⁶⁶

A picture postcard circulated during this year shows a Jew holding "our flag" which portrays a Jew with outstretched arms calling for "old gold, old silver, old clothes." In each of the card's four corners are gold pawnshop balls. A burning house is labelled "our friend" and a fire engine "our enemy".²⁶⁷

A sharp distinction between Jew and American was seldom made as a general rule. The stereotype indicated a difference, but this was rarely drawn as carefully and openly as in The Journal and Messenger:

According to the most reliable statistics there are now more than 600,000 Jews in the city of New York. Nearly all are from Russia, Austria-Hungary, or Rumania. There are already a million and a half of Jews in the United States, over one-third being in the city of New York. Jewish leaders predict that in 50 years most of the merchant princes of New York will be Russian Jews. Jewish dealers crowd out Americans, not because they are better business men, but because of methods which are below the American standard of business. The Jew seldom makes money, he gets it. The distinction is important. Most American business men have been producers and have added to the wealth of the country.

They have built railroads and increased the comfort of the average citizens, and would have added still more to his comfort had not the level of our population been lowered by immigration. The Jew gets a part of the money others have made.²⁶⁸

This attack is clearly aimed at the unassimilated Jewish elements rather than at the old Spanish-Portuguese and German stock, yet the generalization by implication includes all.

The appointment of Oscar Straus to the post of Secretary of Commerce and Labor was the springboard for more attacks clearly defined. The Journal and Messenger alleged that Straus held Jewish views as opposed to American interests: he favors immigration and has un-American views of commerce and labor.

The Jews largely control the finances and the press of New York....A number of Jewish tailors have been arrested in Cincinnati for employing children in shops and factories under the age permitted by law.²⁶⁹

By adulterations they could slightly undersell the men whose goods were what they claimed to be, and thus drive him out of business. This has been one effect of the Jewish trade.²⁷⁰

The attempt to stop open immigration policies often manifested itself in attacks upon the Jew as essentially unassimilable, that is, un-American. This could be easily supported by dealing with the Russian, Polish, or Roumanian Jew and showing the effect of his environmental background. Such an attempt was made by Beatrice C. Baskerville in 1906 in a book, *The Polish Jew*. She claimed that the Jews were ruled by an atrocious organization

culminating in the Bund. Jews are aliens, feeding off the natives of the land. Karl Marx, who is every man's enemy, was a Zionist, she alleged, and this opposed to American nationalism.²⁷¹

Theoretically this sort of attack was concerned primarily with foreign Jews, i.e. Jews living in foreign countries. However once the stereotype included the alleged parasitic speculation of the Jew, it was applied to all Jews in America to show an essential foreign nature. For example, Captain J.W. McCarrick, President of The Board of Trade of Norfolk, Virginia, is reported to have said (in connection with the Jamestown Exposition) that Jews were by nature grafters and land schemers.²⁷²

Clearly the distinction between Jew and American was common during this first decade of the twentieth century. Not only in some circles, not only among those disaffected in one area of American life, but it was common throughout America in general. As has been seen, even though the details vary according to the need of the user, the framework over which they are draped remains the same for each group.

During 1907 The Journal and Messenger seldom missed an opportunity to point out that Jews were different from Americans. Sometimes the charge concerned itself with Jewish activities which reflected non-American habits. Particularly, it was alleged, the habits of Jews living in foreign lands shows the essential difference between

Americans and Jews:

Half of the land of the province is owned by great Jewish syndicates. The estates of the landlords have been sacked; and the Jews, most of whom are absentees, have sought to have the press of the world report of the troubles as anti-Jewish riots. They are a part of the oppression of the peasants by the Jews, whenever the latter have the power as land-owners or money-lenders.²⁷³

Other excerpts from the pages of this newspaper show just how definitive was the picture of the Jew as different from the American:

A large portion of all the criminals arrested in New York are young men and women, the second generation of foreigners, born in New York. A strikingly large part of them are Jews.²⁷⁴

While there are many Jews in the British colonies, there are more Jews in New York City than in Great Britain and all the British Empire.²⁷⁵

...who have succeeded in making money, and there are a good many of this class, since they follow the methods of the Jews.²⁷⁶

His worst attempt is the defense of the election of the Jew Guggenheim to the United States Senate...Guggenheim owned the legislature and did not need to buy it...But his election to the United States Senate is a lasting disgrace to Colorado.²⁷⁷

The Jews keep us fully informed of their sufferings, but we hear little of those of other races.²⁷⁸

No political appointment in recent years is likely to work so much evil as that of Mr. Straus as Secretary of Commerce and Labor...Mr. Straus puts the matter on the lowest commercial basis. The character of citizenship counts for nothing with him.²⁷⁹

Our danger from immigration is greatly increased by the Jewish bankers of Europe and this

country, who are spending vast sums to bring Jews here. Several bankers in Copenhagen have organized to assist Russian Jews to emigrate to this country by way of Danish ports. New York is rapidly becoming a Jewish city.²⁸⁰

Meanwhile other evidences of a clearly defined stereotype on a national basis appear plentifully. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat declared that the Jew is not the Shylock of today, the American is. This implies a very real difference between the two. Comptroller Metz of New York City characterized the Russian Jew as different from Americans by virtue of his Jewish being. In the June, 1907, issue of Pearson's, the villain of a detective story is a Jewish attorney, referred to throughout as "the Jew" and drawn as someone apart from normal societal virtues and sentiments. Even those who intended to praise him set up the Jew as a being apart, a special category, a separate and distinct national group. For example, The New York Tribune quoted on June 16th, 1907, The American Hebrew which declared that Jews are superior to Russians by their native characteristics.²⁸¹ Even the Anglo-Jewish press, it appears, held the same stereotype that non-Jewish groups held:

There can be no gainsaying the fact that the mind of the Jew is more alert, more keen and of quicker perception than that of his non-Jewish brothers. Statistics prove this.... The school records show the Jew's intellectual superiority over his neighbors.... He may not be an originator.²⁸²

It must be noted here that the same details which the religiously based stereotype employed are still being

used although stretched upon a different framework. It must also be noted that the terminology in general is far from precise. What is often called race is seldom racial but rather national in character. Contrasting the Jewish race with Russian or American nationals indicates that the term "race" is still mostly an undefined term for any type of grouping. But the meaning and appreciation of racism was growing.

In 1907, John Foster Frazer, a travel expert and a writer on political subjects, published his book *Red Russia* in which he sets up the Jew under the classification "race" but gives him a national character. Later it will be seen that in his book The Conquering Jew Frazer adopts a true racist picture of the Jew. However the following passage from the earlier work may serve to indicate the progress of racist thinking in America:

As a race the Jews are better off in Russia, than the Russians themselves, and there is a half-understood gamble in the mind of the Jew between massacre and money making. He is willing to take his chances of massacre so long as on the credit side he can bring his sharp wits into competition with the dull wits of the Russian and profit every time.

The Jew is not courageous. He has not the pluck to be an assassin himself - not at all a fault of race but due in large measure to being an alien and keeping alive, not by resistance, but by submission to anyone who wished to kick him. He has the intellect, the craftiness of the East, the preference to a thing by underground ways rather than boldly and in the open. He matures the revolution.²⁸⁵

The process of generalization indicates a con-

nection between one Jew and all Jews, between the stereotype and all. It delivers to those who created and used stereotypes the license to label whatever they opposed as un-American.

In business circles, the disreputable elements of the middle class were usually depicted as Jewish. The issue of Men's Wear and Chicago Apparel Gazette, for August 7th, 1907, declares that Jewish business men are dishonest and sell only worthless stock. This is not the normal way of doing things in America, it is implied; but the Jew cheats because he is Jewish.²⁸⁴

The same year in New York, Frank Chadwick, chief clerk of the naturalization bureau of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn, said that every native Russian applying for United States Citizenship was a Jew, and that the majority of these are parasitic. Nearly all illiterates applying for citizenship, he stated, are either Italians or Jews.²⁸⁵

This alleged connection between illiteracy and Russian Jews could not help but persuade the unwary that the real connection was between Illiteracy and Jew, and Russian and Jew. In short, Jews in general were identified with other countries, but not as native to the United States.

The type of generalization prevalent may be illustrated by an article of the graft ring in San Francisco written by Geroge Kennan in McClures for September, 1907. It had been well established that a Jew, Abe Ruef, was involved deeply in this ring; but Kennan states frankly

that Jews in general are predominantly responsible. This was completely unsubstantiated; indeed, Kennan attempted no proof. The connection between one Jew and graft immediately involved all Jews as a group distinct from the general citizenry.²⁸⁶

Everywhere the Jews were depicted as a group united against the general welfare of the country and its native citizens. The September 25th, 1907, issue of Ohio Waisenfound, a Catholic publication, carried an article on "The International Jewish Freemasonic Fraternity", which declares that both the lodge and Judaism are anti-Christian:

Lodge people and Jews have cosmopolitan, revolutionary spirit, and the infernal hatred of Christ and his church in common.

The language used clearly shows the combination of the two frameworks, religious and national. Words like cosmopolitan and international have deep significance in such expressions. The article continues to claim that the Lodge and the Jews had allied to control commerce, modern literature and finance:

...tripple alliance of International Freemasonry, Jewry, and international Socialism all pursue the one aim, destruction of state and family, hatred of God and humanity.²⁸⁷

Protests against Sunday Blue Laws and sectarian practices in the public school system were generally attributed to the Jews, an implication that the Jews are not part of the general citizenry but owe other allegiance.

In the fall of 1907, The Christian Century com-

mended Life's theater critic Metcalfe for fighting "the huge and impudent Jew theater trust, which is doing its utmost to coin money and kill the drama."²⁸⁸ Later Judge William A. Wallace of the Kansas City, Missouri, criminal court stated:

You will notice that the money and the sinews for defying and combatting these Sunday laws come from the Jews...The Jews control the theatrical syndicate; they are using their great chests of money to defy the law of a Christian nation and a Christian state; the theatrical trust of the Jews is grinding the actress, the actor, and the employe against the stone and wringing from them money on Sunday. With these Jews it is merely a question of money, money, and nothing else.²⁸⁹

The New York Herald printed at the same time protests favoring Christmas celebrations in the public schools and sectarian displays, through many of which ran the charge of Jewish lack of American loyalty. For example, one such protest stated that "Old Hundred should be renamed old ninety-five since five per cent are allowed for cash."²⁹⁰

This resurrection, in a time a severe depression it should be noted, of the old allegation of the Jews being the money-power became quite popular in disaffected areas and was reflected, for example, in an article by J.R. Randall in The Catholic Columbian of Columbus, Ohio, later in that year. The claim is that "on top is the Jew the man without a country". The Jew is also said to be grasping, masonic, and domineering. Morgan is alleged to be half gentile and half Jew, and it is again hinted that Rockefeller is a Jew. Significant is the quoted phrase

"the Jew, the man without a country". It testifies to the clear nature of the national stereotype.²⁹¹

~~At~~^{In} this period Puck again turns its guns upon the Jew and depicts him at every turn as different. But again there are differences from the previous portrayals, which can be noted in the following selections:

1. Desperate.

(Society of anglo-saxons shown potesting foreign immigration.

Moses Cohen and Michael Popowoffsky are officers of the society.)²⁹²

2. Dense.

Census Taker: And what nationality?

The Lady: Rooshan Jew, begorra! Couldn't ye guess that, whin Oi told yez the name was O'Reilly?²⁹³

3. Some Prize-Ring Phenomena.

(Shows boxers bearning names of Kid Brogan, Young Reilly, Scrapper Hennessy, Terrible Casey, Slugger Kelly, and Spike Clancy, all bearing large Jewish noses and counteanances.)²⁹⁴

4. (Undesirables depicted dressed in Japanese Kimonos and entering the United States.

Shown are the Russian Jew, Italitan, Sicilian, Anarchist, et al.)²⁹⁵

5. Mercantile America.

Where are the proud Americans of Ancestry Colonial? To sound their praise in vain I strum my unresponsive lute.

The uninspired strings refuse their tuneful testimonial.

The merchants' names along Broadway have made their music mute.

Goldberg, Silverberg, Cohen, Harmulowsky, Oppenheimer, Geisenheimer, Isaacs, Rubenstein, Blumenthal and Rosenthal and Aarons and Sadowsky, Is this the stock of Plymouth Rock, the blood of Brandywine?

Well may the stranger rub his eyes with slumbrous indecision;

Well may he pinch himself and hark to hear the

roosters crow,
Nor be surprised to wake and find twas all a
dreamy vision
Of Main Street in Jerusalem two thousand years
ago;

Goldblatt, Silverblatt, Lefkowitz, Bobinsky,
Abraham and Benjamin and Solomon and Shem,
Rubinowitz and Moscowitz and Finkelstein and
Shinsky, -
The chosen breed and vital seed of old Jerusalem. ²⁹⁶

6. In the Catskills - If Rip van Winkle had Slept
until Now.

(Rip van Winkle stares aghast at fat, bejewelled,
grinning Jews in front of "Hotel Cohenstein".) ²⁹⁷

7. The American Fagin.

(Corporation lawyer, pictured as Jew Fagin teach-
ing corporations to rob Uncle Sam.) ²⁹⁸

8. Liberty - the First Impression of a Yiddish
Immigrant. Statue of Liberty pictured as an old
suspenders peddler with dragging robe, semitic
countenance and gesture.) ²⁹⁹

Earlier it has been noted that the stereotype pro-
duced and fostered by Puck during the years of the Silver
question was that of the degenerate middle man, the small
entrepreneur, shifty, shady, and dishonest. This picture
is still standard during 1906-1908, as the examples quoted
indicate. However a new theme has been added. The Jew
is identified with the immigrant, with foreign importation.
By connection and generalization therefore, the foreigner
is a Jew and vice versa. Otherwise the picture of the Jew
as the low element in the entrepreneur class remains un-
changed and even becomes solidified with particular emphasis
on centralization in New York.

In 1907 the National Liberal Immigration League
published a work intended to serve as propaganda for a
liberal immigration policy. This was The Immigrant Jew in

America and was intended to set forth a positive, attractive picture of the Jew. But in selecting the Jew as its guinea pig, the League furthered and accepted the stereotype of the Jew as foreign, And within the body of the book is further testimony to the acceptance of the existing national stereotype by even those who favored the Jew and tried to defend him.³⁰⁰

The Jew, it is alleged, watches world affairs rather than local matters, he considers himself a "world citizen" rather than a local patriot, to him world politics is of paramount interest. There is an oriental substratum in the mind of the Russian Jew. Long experience with persecution has made him sharp and weeded out his back stock, leaving only the more virile members and forcing them to become highly adaptable. Jews "are a picked race which can resist pain, misfortune, grief, worry, starvation, disease and even death better than other civilized races." They "enjoy an unprecedented longevity", and have a low mortality rate. They have, indeed, a higher vitality than non-Jews; they are relatively immune to infectious diseases. Above all this is Jewish solidarity; they care for their own poor. Physically they are smaller than anglo-saxons and appear inferior to Americans. They are narrow-chested poorly developed, and are frequently anemic. They are also greatly subject to nervous diseases, including hysteria and insanity. Jews are anxious and eager for education, and the East European immigrant is either a scholar or at least

possesses an appreciation of scholarship. The older immigrants bring with them their religion which is admittedly provincial, but many Russian Jewish immigrants seek out intellectual professions particularly medicine. However, it is admitted that New York High School teachers feel that the concern of the Russian Jew for education is for the purpose of gaining a commercial advantage. It is alleged that Jews have a somewhat mercantile nature. They are urban-dwellers by nature and experience, and gambling is a dominant trait in the Jewish character. The Russian Jew has a certain contempt for manual labor as well as a love and respect for education. "Traditionally the Jew is a tradesman." Indeed the Russian Jew is habituated to a door-to-door peddling, which often degenerates into begging. Yet "a Jew would rather earn five dollars a week doing business for himself than ten dollars a week working for some one else." Russian Jews, therefore, have been covering the country as small merchants and developing into business men selling dry goods and other retail merchandise. A large proportion of the New York clothing industry, both manufacturing and retailing, is now in Russian Jewish hands, As a matter of fact, there are a considerable number of Jews among the "High Finance" of New York, but none of them are Russian Jews. Jews are very active in the Socialist movement and are more loyal to the Cause during strikes and more self-sacrificing for the movement than non-Jews. Many of the more intelligent Russian Jews are Socialists; but many

of these Jewish radicals have gone into the Jewish national movement, attempting to build a Jewish State.³⁰¹

The material that this provided for the stereotype and the degree of acceptance of the general stereotype contained in this book is amazing, Nearly every detail of the unfavorable picture is represented faithfully in this liberal view. The Jew is the small entrepreneur, he is separate and clannish and special, he is weaker and yet more vigorous, he is a radical. It is clear testimony to the definite nature of the Jewish stereotype at this time, and extremely clear testimony to the truth that the stereotype was accepted by those who favored as well as those who opposed the Jews.

Radicalism was a current fear of many segments of America, particularly those who were already losing their established positions. And to such people, the connection of the Jew and radicalism was so well-established that sufficient grounds for anxiety and even action existed. The Jewish Criterion protests, indeed, at the beginning of 1907 that the New York daily press indiscriminately labels all revolutionaries Jews.³⁰² And Professor Goldwin Smith protests against bringing foreigners to the North American continent on the grounds that such people are dangerous and will require the establishment of a large soldiery for the security of the people.³⁰³

Zionism at this time was making a deep impact upon the general consciousness. It apparently lent credence

to the theory that the Jews were a distinct nationality. That this happened just as the national stereotype began to decline and the racial stereotype began to emerge seems ample evidence that the stereotype and its bases emerge from the environmental conditions which shape life. Of Zionism, an otherwise unidentified minister is quoted as having said:

The Zionistic movement is about to reestablish Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine is mortgaged to Jews, and if they choose to foreclose the mortgage England would back up the Rothschilds in such foreclosure.³⁰⁴

At this time, particularly during 1908, Life came forward as an exponent of the alleged connection between Jews and anti-Americanism. Life went on record as opposing New York District Attorney Jerome, trusts and Wall Street, the vulgarity of Wealth and the "commercialization" of culture, the "pretentious" of medicine (it carried on a vigorous anti-vivisection and anti-vaccination campaign), and the skullduggery of law. It opposed the "no divorce" dogma of the Roman Catholic Church, it opposed the muck-rakers and William Jennings Bryan. It supported Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft. It opposed Great Britain and British influence. Life, like Puck, utilized the standard stereotypes. Particularly the Jewish stereotype was utilized over and over, so that Collier's suggested that some insanity must be urging on the Editor of Life, and The Chicago American declared that Life was trying to capitalize on religious and racial prejudice.³⁰⁵

That Jews are not real Americans is the main theme of Life's stereotype. It backs up its attack on the theatrical trust (which had banned Life's critic, Metcalfe, from its theaters) with an attack on Jews in general. It proudly prints a letter from a subscriber, J.R. Benton, of Gainesville, Florida, who objects "to putting the management of American affairs into the hands of Jews, Negroes, Japanese, Italians, or any one except real Americans." It also claims that Jews always support other Jews, even when unworthy of support. It hints that Jews form an un-American conspiracy, threatening advertisers in Life with all sorts of punishment. The German Jews support Life, it declares, but not the "Sheenies."³⁰⁶

A cartoon drawn by Young in Life depicts the standard petty entrepreneur stereotype that Puck had used for over ten years. It shows a customer giving a ring back to a semitic-countenanced pawnbroker:

You told me this ring was a fire opal; an expert
tells me it isn't anything of the kind.
My friends, you go tell dot eggspert he's a liar
mit my compliments. Dot opal vas in four
fires.³⁰⁷

It was not uncommon for Life to portray the villain in a sarcastic vignette as a Jew. Such an one appears in a bit entitled "Dramatic Life in America (an Everyday Affair)", which apparently tries to hit at the theatrical trust and the Jews with one blow. The villain, a theater manager, is depicted as lascivious and owning a long Hebraic nose, beady glistening eyes and glossy hair.³⁰⁸

Another cartoon entitled "St. Moses's Day in the Morning" shows a parade of fat, ostentatious Jews marching down a street carrying banners labelled "Wall St.", "Theatrical Trust", "Retail Clothier", "Dry Good", and "Ve are de Peoples, not soon, but now". Nearby stores are labelled "New Jerusalem Hotel", "Passover Cafe", "Einstein, Einstein and yet Einstein", "Cohen, Stookbrokers", "The flat Einstein building". A peddler is selling badges in the form of pawnshop balls and dollar signs. Bouquets of flowers thrown in the street each bears its price tag. Liberty and the American Eagle are depicted with semitic faces. (The artist responsible for this remarkably complete picture is James Montgomery Flagg, whose name has become famous in America.)³⁰⁹

In its attacks against the Theater Trust, Life shows its (and the general) conception of the Jews with the headlines "America for the Americans". The theatrical trust is referred to as the "Hebrew Element" which has great secret strength; and the increase of Jews in New York City is called "A Dangerous Increase".³¹⁰

A cartoon headed "From Pole to Pole" shows a Jew handing a watch to another Jew under a pawn sign reading "Polokski, pawnbroker."³¹¹ Another, entitled "A Hot Jew Lie" reads simply:

So hellup me, der vether vas so hot, it set
fire to der store.³¹²

Life nonetheless declares that is no enemy of

the Jews, and in answer to frequent charges, declares that The London Jewish Chronicle's advice against ostentation at the seashore is much more in the line of "Jew-Baiting".³¹⁴

The same play on words utilized in Puck is resorted to also by Life in depicting a sweating Jew saying, "Ven der hot vether comes, I always vish I vas an Isaacle."³¹⁵ Another cartoon shows two Jews reading a newspaper:

I see der Philadelphia hotels offer redooiced
rates to Qvakers.
Vell, let's go.³¹⁶

Still another shows one Jew exhibiting his new country estate, which includes swans and a river, to another Jew:

Einstein: Yah, I shust paid oudt fife hundert
tollars for dose birds.
Rosenblum: Dot's a bretty goot brice tobay for
down on de swany river.³¹⁷

Another joke runs:

Fadder, vy am I a Hebrew?
It's more priftable, Ikey.³¹⁸

In answer to strong Jewish protest and authoritative statistics showing that Jewish criminality and physical frailty were myths, Life remarks:

They find more profit in trading on the results of other people's labor than in using their own muscles. Does this help to account for the antagonism they seem to have inspired in all communities since history began.³¹⁹

Jewish physiognomy seems to have been uppermost in the minds of those who edited Life and Puck and similar publications. The semitic countenance, particularly the Jewish nose, played a prominent part in the visual stereotype. A cartoon in Life labelled Signs of Winter. The

Birds leave the Catskills" shows birds with Jewish heads, large hooked noses, and largely ornately ringed hands for wings. A typical sign reads "Threeball Arms".³²⁰

At this time New York Police Commissioner Bingham was forced to retract his attack upon the Jews as criminals. Life comments that now that the Jews have discovered that they are not furnishing their share of firebugs, fraudulent bankrupts, burglars, forgers, and pickpockets (listing the stereotyped Jewish crimes), the Jews will be sure to try their utmost to make up their quota.³²¹

Another cartoon showing the petty entrepreneur-parasite aspect of the stereotype portrays a satisfied, smirking Jew standing in front of a shop labelled "Ben Isaacs - Fine Watches, Jewelry and Diamonds". A nearby sign reads "Closed - Auction Sale". The caption is "The (Israel) light that Failed."³²²

Everywhere during the first decade of the twentieth century one is confronted with published references to Jewish alienness and national existence; solidarity, clannishness, stick-togetherness, and care-for-their ownness. In early 1908 The New York Evening Post called attention to the solidarity of recent immigrant settlers in New York's East Side and the nationalistic revival there. Nor apparently did anyone think it highly unusual for the Reverend W. Bartlett of Chicago, arguing in favor of closing saloons on Sunday, to call his opponents lawyer,

a Jew, "alien".³²³

Charles A. Dana's New York Sun ran a series of stories in 1908 purporting to illustrate Jewish life on the East Side. The stories, written in "Jewish dialect", concern themselves with a central character named Yankelo, and clearly demonstrate just how vast a gap between Jews and Americans was envisaged. One story represented Jews as wily connivers, bargainners, cheap merchandisers, superstitious, shrewd, scheming, unprincipled, and dishonest - these qualities are implied to be typical. Another portrayed the ambition and cruelty of the wronged Jew. Yet another showed the Jew to be grasping yet arrogant. Another depicted the business duplicity of the Jew and his willingness to "fail profitably".³²⁴

The connection between Jew and money and Jew and shady business was alleged continually throughout this troubled period. A business circular is reported to have read:

God loves the Irish and gives all the Money to the Jew. Come around and see the Jew. George Alpern.³²⁵

Peloubet's Notes on the International Sabbath School Lessons quoted The Missionary Witness as follows:

Nearly half the gold coin of the world is in Jewish hands...the press of Europe is in Jewish hands. Jews own four papers having the largest circulation in the United States.³²⁶

The arson charge was revived after a devastating fire wrecked Chelsea, Massachusetts. The daily press intimated and indeed publicly declared that two Russian Jews,

under arrest, were the arsonists. It was also alleged that all the landlords of the wrecked district had been Jewish and were guilty of the most cruel extortion since the fire. The Reverend R. Perry Bush, of the Chelsea Universalist Church, stated that "the Jew" had burned Chelsea. (Investigation proved all these charges groundless.)³²⁷

In the same year, John C. Van Dyke, Professor of the history of Art at Rutgers University and lecturer at Columbia and Harvard, published The Money God: chapters of Heresy and Dissent Concerning Business Methods and Mercenary Ideals in American Life. He declared that Jews are commercializing the professions. The Jew, who differs from a "true enough American", is degrading journalism:

In New York the control of the stage has passed into the hands of the Jews, and everyone can draw his own conclusions as to whether it is controlled in the interests of Art or MoneyCenturies will not change the cunning of the Jew, the treachery of the Greek and the raciality of the Armenian....Sjark-like Jews...All intent upon getting money, sending it back to Europe, hoarding it or slipping away with it.³²⁸

Professor Van Dyke's book was primarily aimed at effecting immigration legislation favoring North Europeans.

The international character of the wealthy Jew was referred to by The Brooklyn Citizen:

England's real ruler is not Edward VII, but a multi-millionaire Jew, Sir Ernest Cassel.³²⁹

Pulitzer's New York World referred to the Rosh HaShonah celebrations as a "diamond parade" with the concomitant remarks on ostentation and vulgarity implying a

real difference between Jews and others.³³⁰ And The Farmers' Union News, as has been stated above, identified Oscar Straus with Wall Street and the exploiters as opposed to American interests.

Meanwhile a New York lawyer and socialite, William H. Corbin, excoriated the Jews as follows:

They are crowding the schools and the high schools, and grabbing at learning as at something got for nothing, as they would grab for bread; ready to work at the most menial tasks with the inherited sense of want and necessity, crowding their way up into the professions, to practise them as the merest trades for getting money; working with avidity, skill and cunning, but with low ideals and sordid practices.³³¹

And in an interview, Secretary of State Elihu Root likened the aliens, Bohemians, Jews, etc., pouring into the United States

...to the invasion of barbarians into the Roman Empire...follow each other so closely that their assimilation becomes impossible. A look into the Jewish quarters on the East Side of New York or in Chicago's Polish quarters will explain.³³²

Even the attempt to defend the Jew drew upon the same presuppositions that underlay the unfavorable stereotype. Thus The Evening Journal of Henderson, Kentucky, said of the Jew:

He is a citizen of the world...a business man with the temperament of an artist and the enthusiasm of youth...one who loves a risk... who loves money for the power it confers and loves a cultivated mind above all riches; who is separate but not aloof; with us if not of us.³³³

It appears that even the friends of the Jews did not conceive them as "of us". Jews were not considered Americans even by those who felt that they were an honor

to their adopted country. A meaningful statement is attributed to a nove^l, Marriage a la Mode, by Mrs. Humphrey Ward: "We don't consider Jews society."³³⁴ And the antithesis of this passive recognition (or allegation) was the violence of such men as Tom Watson, who identified Jews with Jesuits as the element in America completely and innately subversive.³³⁵

The national basis for the anti-Semitic stereotype came into being as the economic life of the country became increasingly more national. And those elements which resisted foreign influence most heartily subscribed to this stereotype, as has been seen. In times of crisis, the disaffected elements portrayed their fiendish enemies as un-American, unpatriotic Jews. And the groups unaffected by distress, or least affected, portrayed their weakest elements, their own degraded and degenerate segments, as Jews. Jews were pictured as the non-assimilable element par excellence.

The reasons for the national character of the emerging stereotype particularly between 1884 and 1908 were, as indicated above, the national character of the American economy during those years. The expansion within America drove out (as possibility for expansion was reduced) non-native elements. The appeal to Nationalism was an appeal to blind emotionalism and could be expected to be followed by an emotional (never rational) identi-

fication (for the people) of the Jews with the non-native elements and also with the seamy side of the economic structure. Every mention of the Jews demonstrated their difference. Every awareness of them without full understanding of the, left it possible for those who felt a need to develop a stereotype.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RACIAL STEREOTYPE

Whereas Nationalism is a philosophy of economic independence and development for a growing people or area, Racism is a philosophy of economic sovereignty and domination for people whose outlook has to be outwards. Nationalism justifies excesses in the name of patriotism, Racism justifies them in the name of natural capability.

America was ripe for Racism by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. There had long been racist emotions in certain areas of American life. The South believed that the Negro was constitutionally inferior to the White. The Far West had developed racist prejudice against the Asiatic after the competition of Chinese and Japanese laborers had been felt.

Racism must not be thought a simple or unsubtle matter. No single cause alone can explain the rise of racist feeling, nor can any particular set of circumstances suffice as explanation of any particular outbreak. The long history of exclusion and discrimination against particular racial types is certainly a basic ingredient in the ferment, but just as certainly the lack of scientific knowledge and understanding of race also plays a major role.

For years race had been used as a catch-call, often interchangeably with nation. Even the apostles of Racism and their High Priest, Houston Stewart Chamberlain

could not speak of race in any but the vaguest terms. Scientifically, no one could conceive of a "pure" race remaining in the civilized world, for the inter-marriage and general intermixture must have certainly "polluted" every group which had come in contact with any other group. Yet by a process of abstraction and stereotyping, it was possible to speak of "pure" racial characteristics. This follows the general pattern of the stereotype, requiring primarily general awareness of such a group and general ignorance of the nature of the group.

The impetus given to Racism in the United States did not come from the limiting of inward expansion. Rather it came from the attempt of certain elements to retain their control in the face of new masses of people entering the economy. It was particularly attractive to the middle class, which apparently had reached a stabilized existence only to find new threats in second generation immigrants who were eager and anxious to gain a hold on the economic ladder. Moreover expanding industrial (and the expansion seemed geometric rather than arithmetic during the period between 1890 and 1914) power dislocated more and more of the original upper classes and of the upper middle class. To all these the appeal to a Racist solution seemed valid.

Others were equally attracted by the racist solution. For many, it provided a new basis for accusing those who had already been identified as enemies. For some it provided a vague satisfaction in the awareness of

a natural superiority (even though not manifest). For others, it provided a lever for attacking certain interests competing for world markets and supplies.

Applying the racist theory to Jews was not a difficult matter. Certain characteristics of certain Jews lent a good deal of credibility to the charge that the Jews were a separate race.

One of the chief characteristics that appeared as evidence was the alleged peculiar physiognomy of the Jew. He had certain very definite physical characteristics, the story went, and could be physically identified anywhere. Among these characteristics are the Jew's nose, ears, lips, hair, skin, skull, stomach, stature, shoulders, and eyes.³³⁶

Another apparent proof of the Jew's racial character was furnished by his continued existence. Had he been national or merely religious in character, it was alleged, he would have ceased to exist long since.

Here the already developed stereotype played a significant role. The Jew had been conceived of as a national without nation. The general confusion regarding the distinction between race and national made it rather easy to revise the old stereotype and declare that the Jew was a distinct race, perhaps the only distinct race.

The generalization of the national stereotype arising from ignorance played important roles as well. It was alleged that the Jew had a peculiar vitality and resistance to diseases of a certain kind, a low mortality and a

high birth rate. Indeed these legends were usually spread by medical men, and thus their truth appeared above question.

Therefore there is little wonder that the Jew came to be regarded as The Race. He was handy and fitted the qualifications better than any other group. It could not be expected otherwise than that the Jew should also be the fuel upon which the racist theory would feed.

Racism in its relationship to the Jew first appeared in clear form in the three publications of the Minerva Publishing Company of New York, already alluded to. It must be noted that the racist theory is only hinted at here and its full implications are not even suggested. The Jew is conceived of as a separate race, it is true. Jewish physiognomy is discussed at length and the Fetor Judaicus is mentioned. But only in one place is there a hint that Jewish faults and evilness may have a physical cause, and even there it is not a racial matter, but a simple case of "brain leprosy".³³⁷

However, in these works incipient Racism is definitely present. The books make use of the already existent stereotype of physical differences of the Jews in matters of health and physique. And there is an implied subtle connection between this physical unity of the Jews and their characteristics.

Even though this reflects a changing basis for the stereotype, the same old features of the religious and

national stereotypes are repeated, as has already been shown. Jews are degenerate in every way, particularly sexually; they have perverted business and social life, they control money and culture, they conspire to ruin and murder the non-Jew, they are opposed to decent manners and behavior; they are parasites, traitors, cowards, always alien.³³⁸

This was merely a rehash and English paraphrase of the charges brought by Edward Drumont. It repeated not only Drumont's charges, but also based them upon the same grounds. It may be said to represent the same point of view, inspired for the same reasons. But it has not the only carryover into the United States of the philosophy embodied in La France Juive. In 1897 Leslie's Weekly published a double interview with Drumont and Max Nordau by Valerian Gribayedoff entitled "Two Views of Zionism". The occasion was the Zionist Congress. Gribayedoff represents Nordau as a Jewish jingoist, convinced of Jewish superiority, Gribayedoff adds that Jews control the money markets, the channels of trade, and the marts of industry. Turning to Drumont, he presents a summary of his views. Drumont contends that the Jew is inferior (agreeing to a difference) to the Aryan but enjoys over him the unfair advantage of racial solidarity and consciousness. Gribayedoff commends Drumont's humanity in preferring Zionism to the bloodbath as a means of getting rid of the Jews.³³⁹

In Germany in 1899 the bible of Racism was pub-

lished. Houston Stewart Chamberlain's Foundations of the 19th Century established conclusively the trend of the future Jewish stereotype. Even though Chamberlain's work was translated into English only in 1910, its ideas were prevalent at publication and their effect upon the stereotype was such that the book must be considered at this point. Chamberlain himself and the importance of his work has already been discussed, but a reminder may be of value. His thesis was primarily that the Aryan (which includes Teuton, Celt, Slav, and others) is the soul of culture, being poetic, imaginative, romantic, heroic (the hero is the essence of Race), and all things desirable. However, the Jews, being material, pragmatic, etc., have brought the Aryan low and threaten to make him lose sight of his own strength.

In detail the stereotype created and carried along by the work of Chamberlain was explicit and quite clear. All racial stereotypes take for granted that which Chamberlain claimed to have proved.

He alleges that the guiding principle of the Jews is purity of race, yet "Jew" denotes primarily a manner of thinking and feeling (racially determined). Small children and dogs frequently sense the presence of a Jew and are consequently disturbed. Yet despite this purity of race, the Jews are always a mongrel race, being Mulattoes; half Negro, half-White. The Jew is not a naturally development, but is artificially created by deliberate

priestly influence. Indeed Judaism is contrary to nature, being intellectually stifling, teaching pride, hatred and isolation; and the miracle of present Jewish existence is the result of the priestly creation of the "Thora".³⁴⁰

Judaism is exclusive, for the Jew sees himself as the center of the world. He has no fatherland, no native country, no real place of origin; but he forms an international political body, an independent state within a state. The Jew never really assimilates, but he always remains a Jew. Assimilation is purely exterior in his case. Therefore the Jew is at home in no language. His exclusive outlook causes him to believe that might makes right. Indeed, he stands for piracy, where the Aryan stands for law and order. The Jew is a born rebel against state law and any law except his own. Jews stick together in order to ruin their adversaries, and they often attempt "to consume the strange peoples" amongst whom they live. They gain power by this ruination and murder of their non-Jewish neighbors, and by their perpetual plunder of the countries wherein they live.³⁴¹

The Jew is everlastingly an "alien Asiatic people", an oriental, a people of the past. The Semites are cruel by nature, "humanity, generosity, pardon were as foreign to them as love of Truth"; and they are thus also liars. They are crassly material by nature. Judaism is non-mystical, non-devotional, and strictly intellectual. Therefore the Jews are born rationalists, "Imaginative and

and creative powers...peculiarly limited", lacking originality of thought. The only Jewish philosophy is a quest for material certainty: The Jew tries to understand and explain everything. Jews are consequently pragmatic and search for use and result. They lack imagination and have no mythology; they cannot understand symbolism and mystery (the romanticism of nobility), "the spirit of the Hebrew Language makes the interpretation of metaphysical thoughts absolutely impossible". Jews cannot appreciate beauty. The Jewish idea is characterized as "faith wide, narrow the thought". But this faith is only "faith in self", which includes faith in God, and roots out "true feeling of honor". "The Jew...is the teacher of all intolerance, of all fanaticism in faith, and of all murder for the sake of religion". Jews derive this fanaticism from their remarkable concentration of will, which as their outstanding character trait has enabled them to become phenomenally elastic. As a result the Jewish character is tenacious, pliant, fanatical, and self-confident.³⁴²

Consequently Jews are born fanatics and dogmatists, holding fast to a materialistic conception of God as a deity of wrath and revenge. Therefore the Jew is religiously poor. Neither Jesus nor Paul were Jews by race. Jews are actually idolaters, and Judaism is mere formalism. "For the Jew his Religion was his State;" also for him sin is a legal rather than a moral term, indeed law and religion are synonymous to the Jew. Religiously

the Jew is selfish, exclusive and intolerant. He not only crucified Jesus, he does not appreciate him at all, but reviles and curses him even today.³⁴³

Jews have a special business talent; German Jews, for example, are born financiers. Historically Jews were slave dealers and financial agents and gained power thereby. They still shun labor and leave it to the non-Jews. The Jew knows only how to commercialize; "in no province have the Jews made discoveries;" they have no art or science except medicine, and early learned how to exploit industry. Jews rule money, government, law, science, commerce, literature, art; they monopolize trade, and they possess the richest capitals in the world. Jewish usury is devouring all of Europe.³⁴⁴

The Jew is a born freethinker. The ideas of socialistic and economic messianic empires are truly Jewish. The "Paris Commune" was a Jewish Napoleonic machination. Jews are dangerous because all things Jewishly derived corrode and disintegrate the best in the Teuton.³⁴⁵

In short, Chamberlain pictures the Jew as the racial embodiment of those things he dislikes. His proof, as has been said before, is a marvelous mixture of learnings and ignorance, of scholarship and myth, of fact and fiction. Although demanding of every scientist factuality he himself disputes science on the basis of "common sense" and the "self-understood". As a Teuton, Chamberlain reserves the privilege of mysticism and imagination, of

artistic creativity for himself. He therefore does not hesitate to deny the rational and scientific when it suits his purpose to do so. This is not the place for a critique of Chamberlain's thesis but its analysis and its acceptance rest upon these features of this thought and the thought of those who followed him.

It can be seen easily from this work that the stereotype is purely emotional in character, not only from Chamberlain's methods alone, although this is a most significant matter, but from the many obvious contradictions within the work, such as the conflict between "purity of Race" and Judaism being a manner of thinking and feeling. Blaming socialism and economic radicalism on the Jew as well as commercialism is not the obvious contradiction that it appears to be, if one remembers Chamberlain's defense of the hero-noble.) Claiming that the Jews have neither art nor science, yet control both, leaves the reader somewhat bemused. But throughout this work, as throughout all such stereotype-utilizing or -creating works, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the important thing is never what the Jew has done wrong, but that it is the Jew who is at fault. It is the identification of the Jew with the source of discomfort or of difference that makes the stereotype and the thinking which creates it significant.

The widespread appeal of the theory of Racism is testified to by its acceptance even by such Jewish leaders

as Kaufman Kohler, Solomon Schechter and Lewis N. Dembitz, all of whom in 1903 declared that the Jews were a race. Even Secretary of State Hay, formulator of official American policy these matters insofar as a policy was necessary, stated in September, 1903, that he considered the Jews a race, and that they are so considered generally. The significance of this is that it clearly shows how racial structures were becoming the common mode of thought.³⁴⁶

George B. Warner, a follower of Wellhausen and the racist theory, published The Jewish Spectre in 1905. He sets forth the allegedly accepted stereotype of the Jew in 1905, which he then proceeds to dispute. The Jew is commonly considered to have a high birth rate, immunity from disease, great longevity, solidarity, and intellectual superiority. In actuality, the Jews are an alien people considering themselves special and unassimilable, actually a people within a people, a state within a state, a menace to all polity. They have only contempt for the people among whom they live, they claim superiority but are actually inferior racially, lacking art, morals, and the science of government. The Jew is neither ancient nor original, though he claims both. He has no right to be in Europe since he is racially different from the European."He has contributed nothing to Europe but himself." The great majority of Jews are religiously and intellectually in the middle ages; and most Jews are tied to a distant Asiatic medievalism, looking always toward the past. They have

"the sharpness and greed of a race trained in all the cunning of trade". They are most numerous among the least advanced and weakest nations; they cannot and do not compete with the older, stronger, and better equipped nations. Although commonly supposed to be immortal, vastly wealthy, intelligent, a bold trader and a bold commercial people, they are not so. The modern Jew is not overly healthy, has a poor physique, is nervous and irritable, lacks grit, physical force, and resistance. He lacks the elements that stir the pulse, life the heart, or ennoble the mind.³⁴⁷

Mentally are intuitive and perceptive, acquisitive, ready, excitable, daring, fitful, suspicious, individualistic, and fanatic in distinction from reasoning, calculating, slow, calm, domatic, steady and united in aim.³⁴⁸

Formalism or mysticism mark the literary products of the Jew. "The natural bent of the Jewish mind is toward story telling." He has no art, little literature, absolutely no philosophy or science. Jewish immigration, 1895-1905, "has added little to the force of the country; is, in all probability, a burden". The Jews are unwelcome in America because they come to be Jews rather than Americans.³⁴⁹

The Jew is never a financier, merely a merchant in money; for the financier develops the resources of his country, which is contrary to the nature of the Jew. Jews are "a corrupting power through Gold". They avoid the more dangerous occupations and prefer buying and selling. During the middle ages, they were the only slave traders of Europe, and above all the money-lenders. They capitalize on everything:³⁵⁰

The Jews have taken nearly the entire control of the theater, but avowedly only as merchants of plays; a control of the same nature as the department stores, and other trade, and some of the lighter manufacturing.³⁵¹

No Jew is poor, yet poverty is the general lot of the Jew, as witness the Polish and Russian Jewish immigrants.³⁵²

All Jews despise Christianity, and as a matter of fact Christ was not a Jew. Jews allied themselves with the Moslems against the Christians because of social and racial affinities, culture, and learning. "Jewish system of thought" and "Jewish ideas" caused the downfall of Greece. Judaism, formalism based on divine sanction, conquered Rome through Christianity. With its low view of life Hebraism ruined Western Europe, for the Jewish concept of sin is that man being wicked needs the church for salvation, life is not worth living, and joy is uniquitous.³⁵³

Bearing in mind the overlapping nature of the stereotypes based on religion and nationality, it is seen that this is a clear American racial anti-Semitic stereotype, wherein the faults of the Jew spring from his racial character. The similarity of Warner's views to many of Chamberlain's only makes certain differences in definition more interesting. For example, Chamberlain conceives the Jew to be a dogmatist, while Warner declares him to be neither dogmatic nor reasoning nor calm. Chamberlain's picture paints the Jew as purely formal without the redeeming touch of mysticism, Warner ascribes both to the

Jew. But their points of similarity, obvious to the reader, are more striking and more numerous.

By 1906 the racial stereotype had become more of a staple and competed almost on an equal basis with the national stereotype. Particularly the Unitarian Christian Register carried the attack forcibly against the racial inferiors. In Summer, 1906, the paper praised Professor Goldwin Smith for his latest attack upon the Jews, and spoke of the Jews "racial exclusiveness" with the comment

Jews complain of Christian prejudice yet in social matters they treat the Gentile white men as white men treat negroes.³⁵⁴

The same year, Batchelor, editor of The Christian Register, said:

The prejudice is not based upon a racial distinction as is the prejudice which separates Jews and Gentiles, white men and negroes.... Dissolution of the Jew...is a consummation devoutly to be wished.³⁵⁵

Early the next year, the paper went on record as fearing the Jews "with their money-making ways, their alert intellects, and infinite patience."³⁵⁶

The jingoist New York Sun also contributed its bit. It reported on the East Side of New York all through this time as if upon a special group of human beings, set apart and separate. It spoke of the "volatile East Side", of the inhabitants as a "band of maniacs" rioting en masse against non-Jews who were all considered unsympathetic to Jews.³⁵⁷

Perhaps the best known example of the penetration

of the racist theory into America during this early period is that of Charles William Eliot, President of Harvard University, who, on December 20th, 1907, advised Jewish students at Harvard to take more exercise. He said:

There is a certain physical decline or reduction in vitality, vigor, and stature, apparent in any large group of Jews, perhaps as a result of long physical hardships to which the race has been exposed....develop...the out-of-door habit....tendency of the race to nervous affliction....Jewish people supply to the hospitals more nervous invalids than any other racetake an interest in that remaining element of physical force which is necessary for the control of the insubordinate and lawless and criminal portion of society....By so doing, you will win the respect of the other races with which you are going to live and more particularly of the Teutonic and Celtic races.³⁵⁸

The Saturday Evening Post in 1908 carried an article on the Jewish worker by Walter E. Weyl entitled "The Promised Land". The worker is pictured as individualistic yet communally minded, clannish and ambitious to be his own boss:

Learning is the open sesame to success.... America is the Russian Jew's school...The acquisitive Jew secures education...millions of dollars...pour into the Jewish district in payment for...commodities manufactured there.... the speculative instinct remains forever activecertain subtle solidarity of race.

Madison C. Peters in 1908 took up his defense of the Jews again by publishing Justice to the Jew. And again in defending them he shows the basis upon which the attacks had been made and also his acceptance of that basis, which was racist.

Peters characterized the Jew as thrifty, industri-

ous, devoted to high ideals, loving liberty, thirsting for knowledge, and devoted unswervingly to the principles and tenets of his race. He is solitary and distinct from all other peoples, a distinct race like the Teutonic, Gaelic, Slavic, and Gallic. He has a supreme unity of race, faith, and purpose; he is the most cosmopolitan people and never changes. A Jew is a Jew the world over, one can never mistake him for anyone else. Whenever a Jew changes his religion it is a politic move alone, he always adheres secretly to Judaism. Dutch Jews introduced Freemasonry into America in 1658. Jews are extremely long-lived and personally clean even in the midst of filth and squalor and even when apparently dirty. The Jew has no fatherland, yet Jews always band together, look out for their own poor with remarkable group solidarity. Jewish survival is an ancient mystery, as is the wonderful fact that taunts, jeers, insults, and mockery cannot penetrate the Jew. As for torture, it "had no terror for these strong-willed children of the early fathers, as with a smile on their dark, Semitic faces, they went forth to their inevitable doom."³⁵⁹

Peters equates Jews with genius and brains. They are always connected with poetry, and were the founders of scientific philology. Jews always excel as scholars; they are the top students in American colleges. They are well suited to write fiction, being imaginative, of buoyant temperament, and doggedly persistent. Jews own and control

many of the most influential daily newspapers in Europe and America. And interestingly enough, Peters alleges that Jews can drink more than non-Jews without becoming drunk.³⁶⁰

Jews, Peters declares, have been prominent in the economic life and history of America, and are the essence of finance. The Jew is a born lawyer and law may be said to be flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. In all countries the Jew has a wonderful penchant for the legal profession; he is generally forensically gifted; he is a born pleader, and he will never acknowledge defeat.³⁶¹

Jews abhor the use of force, and Jews are not often found in the lists of convicted felons. Criminal Jews today are usually forgers, grand-larceners, gamblers, and proprietors of gambling establishments.³⁶²

It appears as if the Reverend Mr. Peters set out to refute specifically the charges brought by Chamberlain and the assertions made by him on the very grounds of his attack. In other words, Peters accepts the basic premise that the Jews are a peculiar race, and then proceeds to show that they possess desirable qualities rather than otherwise. Of course, it is as easy for Peters to throw the drapery he desires on the stereotypic framework as it is for anyone else to throw on opposite adornment; for once the framework is accepted, the clothing becomes unimportant.

One of the most interesting pictures of the Jew

during this period is contained in Otto Weininger's Sex and Character. Weininger was a student of psychology and phrenology, a disciple of Wagner, like Chamberlain and Warner. His book is an attempt to set up a science of character determination or, as he terms it, characterology. A constituent and revealing section of his book deals with Judaism which he claims represents the feminine aspect of humanity. More important for the present consideration is the racial nature of the picture he draws of the Jew.

Weininger declares that Judaism is primarily a tendency of the mind, racially determined; it is a psychological constitution. The actual nature of anti-Semitism, he alleges, proves his contention; for the greatest geniuses have nearly always been anti-Semites, since they alone can understand the Jew. Pure Aryans are incapable of understanding Jewish character and are seldom anti-Semites. No one, including the Jew himself, who has had experience with the Jew has found him lovable. Racially Jews bear resemblance to Negroes and Mongolians; their curly hair is negroid, but their skull is Chinese and their yellow complexion mongoloid. The Jew has no innate good breeding; he is no "gentleman". He is blindly arrogant; he has a total lack of humility, yet a slavish disposition. The famous Jewish Decalogue is actually immoral. Himself non-moral, good and evil for the Jew are not distinct from each other. His natural instincts are unhampered. He has little sense of humor, being inclined

in this direction only at his own expense or on sexual matters.³⁶³

The Jew is always more absorbed by sexual matters than the Aryan, although he is notably less potensexually.³⁶⁴

"The absolute Jew is devoid of a soul". Moreover Jews are without the slightest trace of genius. The Jewish Weltanschauung is "flat and commonplace", the Jew refuses to see the secret and spiritual meaning of things, He believes in nothing, is essentially irreligious, a material, greedy speculator. Jews "cling naturally to matter, and expect to find the solution of everything in its properties."³⁶⁵

The Jew is an inborn communist with careless manners in society and a lack of social tact; he is readily disposed thereto because of his pre-occupation with community. He has pulled Social Democracy away from Socialism which was individualistic. The true concept of the State is foreign to the Jew whose instinct for community is a blind racial drive. "Citizenship is an unJewish thing", and Zionism is a negation of Judaism. Movable property is preferred by the Jew rather than land, in spite of his innate acquisitiveness. He has a great talent for journalism, he has extreme adaptability and a mobile mind; but he lacks deep-rooted and original ideas. "Judaism is the extreme of cowardliness."³⁶⁶

Weininger's thesis bears marked similarity to Chamberlain's. Both draw a similar Jewish Character, but more important is the racial basis for their argument.

During 1908 this basis appears to have been becoming more common. A paper in Durango, Colorado, is reported to have said of Simon Guggenheim:

We never quote Senator Simon, he is a liar by race, through nativity, and on general principles.³⁶⁷

The Camden Telegram stated editorially:

The Hordes of Slavs, Huns, Russian Jews, and Italians pouring into this country should give serious concern to those who would preserve and elevate the national spirit and maintain the principles on which the republic was founded. Especially significant is the great increase in crime in which this foreign element figures.³⁶⁸

And Charles A. Dana's New York Sun stated that the "Jewish race" of New York is dominated and controlled absolutely by the Jewish bankers.³⁶⁹

One of the strangest phenomena to be noted is the constancy with which the defenders of the Jews adopted the basis of the stereotype they desired to refute. This is observed once again in the case of Dr. Mendel Silber, Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of St. Louis, who in 1910 (the year of the publication of the first English translation of Chamberlain's work) published Jewish Achievement. He too adopts the basic view that Jewish character and habits are determined by race.

In listing the Jew's achievements, Silver boasts that when given the chance the Jew has excelled in every field, except agriculture, which is incompatible with his racial nature. For example, Jews have been occupied with law from the time of Moses to the present and lead the

legal profession. The Jew is among the earliest and the greatest musicians of the world. This is because music and religion are allied, since both have their source in the "opaque structure of subconscious intelligence".³⁷⁰

The Jew is an actor by nature since he has a

mobile disposition, high degree of susceptibility to sense-impression, keen observation, and the ability to inhibit or exhibit strong emotions.³⁷¹

The Jew knew medicine (anatomy, pathology, physiology, and surgery) before anyone else. He is a poet, and he is particularly qualified for the role of journalist since he is quick, mobile, and discerning. He "has successfully swayed the destinies of the foremost papers here and abroad". Jews predominate among contributors to methods and means of banking and financiering; indeed they invented international exchange. This helps explain the proverb "rich as a Jew". The Jew cares for his own. He is a traveller, he has lived in every land and spoken the language of every nation, becoming thus the world's master linguist. People think he is a coward. His disposition is at best stiff-necked. Finally, "The study of Talmudic subtlety and Rabbinic sophistry...sharpened the intellect of the Jew" and made him the world's champion chess player.³⁷²

During the meetings of the Immigration Commission of the 63rd Congress (1910) many significant racist statements were brought forth. Several have already been mentioned, but two others deserve reference here. Henry

Cabot Lodge, Imperialist and foe of open immigration, stated that the Jews are considered a race and that he believes "once a Jew always a Jew". Julian Mack, of the American Jewish Committee and an advocate of open immigration, not only admitted that Jews have racial characteristics but claimed for them greater longevity than other peoples and admitted that Jews are physically inferior to a great many other peoples in stature.³⁷³ In support of his argument, Senator quoted The Jewish Encyclopedia which says in its "Preface"; "the present work deals with the Jews as a race."³⁷⁴ He also quoted from the same work another statement, attributed to Joseph Jacobs, President of the Jewish Historical Society of England, to the same effect.³⁷⁵

In 1911 Werner Sombart, whose reputation as an economist was very high, published The Jews and Modern Capitalism. Sombart's work is really an extension of Chamberlain's: he identifies Capitalism, Liberalism and and Judaism. The Jewish race by its very nature, he alleges, is the very essence of Capitalism and contains within it the seeds for this growth wherever the Jew may go. All of Chamberlain's charges against the Jews are repeated by Sombart with all the prestige behind them of scientific scholarship, adding an overtone of real menace. Sombart considered the Jew far more dangerous than Chamberlain did.

The essence of Sombart's position is that he feels that Capitalism is maintained for the profit of pro-

ducer and seller by constant trickery to deceive the worker and buyer. Capitalism, Liberalism, and Judaism separate the natural from the artificial, giving ascendancy to the artificial; they separate head and hands.³⁷⁶

Sombart alleges that the fortunes of Europe depend upon the wanderings of the Jews, who have historically controlled European commerce. In fact, a good many of the details of the standard commercial structure were invented by the Jews. Jews opened up international trade. "'Jew commerce'" is varied and many-sided, since Jews gained control of the sources of ready money and brought ready money into every country.³⁷⁷

Arm in arm the Jew and the ruler stride through the age which historians call modern ...This union is symbolic of the rise of capitalism, and consequently of the modern state.³⁷⁸

"The Jew embodies modern Capitalism." Indeed Jewish spirit transformed credit from a personal to an impersonal relationship (securities), made those securities mobile (marketable), and created undertakings for the purpose of creating such securities. "Jews were great speculators." Bearer bonds and the like spring naturally from the innermost spirit of Jewish law, for the Talmud is friendly toward exchange; indeed it is primarily concerned with commerce. Customarily the Jews were brokers of bills, a Jew originated speculation with public funds, Jews introduced stock-jobbing; and stock exchange Jews are ready with tricks, rising and falling prices, lying

reports, cliques and cabals. Jews founded the insurance business.³⁷⁹

Rothschild internationalized the stock market, and "the name Rothschild...stands for the whole of Jewish influence the market artificially. Jews invented the credit mobilier. Jewish influence is commercializing (buying and selling) influence. "The Christian makes his way up, starting as a technician; the Jew as commercial traveller or clerk."³⁸⁰

Every principle underlying economic life is Jewish in origin. Jewish merchants profit at the expense of the non-Jewish merchant. Jews are successful because they lie and cheat. The Jew is essentially a business man, pursuing gain for its own sake, and he is so universally regarded. But the Jew is identified with commercialism as opposed to mercantilism. Jews are the originators of modern advertising:³⁸¹

The Jews are the founders of the Modern Press, i.e., the machinery for advertising, more especially of the cheap newspapers.³⁸²

The Jew undersells and spoils prices, he deals in inferior or stolen or contraband or unredeemed good. In fact Jews often plan bankruptcy for profit. Jews originated dealing in substitutes, and they are identical to Capitalism in that profit is sought regardless of the means employed. In his lust for gain, the Jew brings our innovations in production or in distribution in order to lower prices.

He requires less profit than the Christian to get along because his standards are lower. He originated the general store and the installment payment. And despite their wealth and prestige, the Rothschilds essentially are only traders.³⁸³

Jews turn trade away from lands which expel them to lands which would receive them. Jews are allied with the moneyed interests and surplus acquisition, which is their tool. Jews are politically neutral, as Capitalism is politically neutral, although thriving on natural conflicts. At all times, at least one segment of the Jews controlled vast amounts of money, and Jews are among the richest in the land. "Jewish money called into existence all the large undertakings of the 17th century and financed them." Jews have always been richer than Christians.³⁸⁴

Generally the Jews disdain manual labor; they have always been money-lenders which is their natural tendency. The Jew is a parallel to the credit system, cherishing success and money. Jews have always been guardians of money.³⁸⁵

As for America, it is a land of Jews; for Jews have influenced all aspects of American business life, for example, by creating California. In fifty years, the United States may be inhabited only by Slavs, Negroes, and Jews. Jews "rule supreme" over wheat, tobacco, and cotton. Historically, "the Jew was the source from which the economic system of the colonies drew its life-blood." "Americanism is the Jewish spirit distilled", for the Jew was

the merchant who accompanied the pioneer. "In South Carolina... 'Jew's Land' is synonymous with 'Large Plantations'".³⁸⁶

The essence of Sombart's argument lies in his discussion not of the Jew's role in economic life, though this is significant in indicating the dress wherewith he clothes his stereotype, but rather in his analysis of the character of the Jew.

The significant fact of Jewish influence, claims Sombart, is the embodiment of Jewish SPIRIT in commercial institutions. Just as Judaism is contrary to nature, so is Capitalism; the spirit of rationalization (abstraction of the artificial from the natural) underlies both. The Jew is oriental, his attitude of mind is essentially alien; he is everywhere physically, psychologically, and socially alien. Jews, by remaining aloof since the time of Ezra, are today ethically pure.³⁸⁷

The Jew lacks instinctive understanding, romance, and sympathy; he also lacks receptive and creative genius. He has an extraordinary knowledge of his fellow man.³⁸⁸ Yet

The Jew's whole being is opposed to all that is usually understood by chivalry, to all sentimentality, knight-errantry, feudalism, patriarchalism. Nor does he comprehend a social order based on relationships such as these. 'Estates of the realm and craft organizations are a loathing to him. Politically he is an individualist. A constitutional state in which all human intercourse is regulated by clearly defined legal principles suits him well. He is the born representative of a 'liberal' view of life.'³⁸⁹

The Jew looks for results, being teleological (pragmatic)

He is unable to appreciate the natural. He is stubborn, persistent, yet has extreme physical and mental mobility. He is always active, especially to adopt the coloration of his environment. He has "undoubted talent for journalism, for the Bar, for the stage". He is highly imaginative, a natural speculator.³⁹⁰

All Jews have anthropological longevity, and experience early puberty, little liability to cancer, strong disposition to diabetes and insanity. Despite denials, there is a Jewish physiognomy. Jews have a natural gift for figures. "Jews were early taught to look for their chief happiness in the possession of money." They have never been the makers of anything, only thinkers. They are all over, international; they act as a body.³⁹¹

The Jew is a desert people, accustomed to gaining his existence artificially and to wandering. Nonetheless most Jews are town-dwellers; all Jews in the United States and England live in towns with over 50,000 inhabitants. The Jews created the ghetto, for they needed separation. Once created, ghetto life inclined the Jew to petty cheating, obtrusiveness, lack of personal dignity, and tactlessness. Jews always stand aloof and hate all others. This attitude toward non-Jews makes commercialism possible. Every non-Jew hates all Jews; in fact the Jews hate and are hated by all other peoples.³⁹²

Judaism has not changed since the time of Ezra. It is a deliberately planned religion for the purpose of

deposing nature. Capitalism too is "an alien element in the midst of the natural, created world". Characteristic of both is Rationalism and intellectuality. There is a legally regulated relationship between the Jews and their God, "the Jewish God - fearful, awful, curse-uttering Jehovah":³⁹³

The talmud...has become the chief depository of Jewish religious teaching, and its universal authority.³⁹⁴

The Jewish conception of ethics is one of capital and interest, legalistic and business-like. The underlying principles of Judaism are contractual, and this religion is a decided help to the Jew in his economic activity. His entire religion is formalistic and legalistic, a rationalization of the ethical life to make possible a rationalization of the economic life. Judaism's morality is that of the small shopkeeper.³⁹⁵

Jews have strong sexual instincts, but rigid family morality forced Jewish energy to find an outlet in economic activity. Scripture urges the Jew to be a money-lender and Jewish law favors industrial freedom and laissez-faire. Thus Judaism and puritanism are identical.³⁹⁶

It would seem that the more slow-witted, the more thick-skulled, the more ignorant of business a people is, the more effective is Jewish influence on their economic life.³⁹⁷

The Jew, throughout it all, is extremely intellectual; and his intellectuality is abstract, desert-like.³⁹⁸

Judaism, to Sombart, is a denial of man's nature. Yet the individual Jew is not responsible: his entire being

is predetermined by his physical heritage, his "ethnic Purity". Sombart denies that he accepts the totality of Chamberlain's thesis. Yet he assume the same basis for his analysis of the Jew: the Jew is a racial entity and his virtues and vices are racially determined.

A final picture of the racial stereotype on the eve of the first world war may be obtained from John Foster Fraser's The Conquering Jew. It will also be interesting to compare this stereotype with that drawn by the author in his earlier book which was based on alien nationality.

Fraser states that all over the world the Jew is prominent, gaining a grip on commerce. The modern Jew is cosmopolitan and prominent in the ruling councils of all governments.³⁹⁹

New York is a Jewish world unto itself.... There are at least 250 Jewish millionaires in America...The Jews of New York have \$600,000,000 worth of real estate, and the Jewish bankers have a capital of at least \$400,000,000.⁴⁰⁰

No national or international loan is possible if the Jews wish to act together to stop it, for they control the rate of exchange between countries.⁴⁰¹

All modern commercial enterprises, represented by joint stock banks, trusts, syndicates, stock exchange speculation, even the great department stores were originated by Jews...The American system of finance was invented by Jews.⁴⁰²

Today the Jew is the capitalist who supplies the means to establish non-Jewish manufacturers. He laid the foundation of international Capitalism and led the way from banking

to the hire-purchase system.⁴⁰³ The rise of the United States is largely due to Jews:

Behind many of the great trusts - smelting, tobacco, telegraphs, banking, wheat, trading concerns - you find the Jewish mind at work.⁴⁰⁴

There is not a business, a trade, or a profession which is not influenced by the Jews.⁴⁰⁵

Jews have mastery in finance, theaters, tailoring and furniture as well. They "are rapidly become the greatest owners of land", they "are masters of the whiskey trade in America", and "the amusement of America is almost completely in the hands of the Jews". Jews in Civil Service are elbowing competitors aside, "for they easily outdistance the Gentiles in knowledge". "Jews control the Press in London, New York, Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere."⁴⁰⁶

The Jew wants to be an employer, he finds discipline irritating, he is never happy doing physical labor, he desires excitement and adroitness, he seeks profit rather than wages. He is a gambler-speculator, wanting to get something for nothing, a money-lender. He always has his eye on the goal of financial achievement, and he is more deceitful in business than the non-Jew. In agricultural lands usurious Jews oppress the peasantry. They are perennial price-cutters, and are reluctant to join trade unions.⁴⁰⁷

As a people, the Jews are very poor, yet they have many of the richest men in the world as well as millions of the poorest. The majority of Russian Jews are poverty-stricken, Nonetheless, Jews, even though among

the poorest of immigrants, often become the richest men in America.⁴⁰⁸

The Jew is the most ancient and yet most modern of all peoples. Racially he is oriental and Asiatic. As an oriental, the Jew is "out to win"; therefore he is not always loyal, "and integrity is not one of his virtues. The Jew is often dishonest." Physical courage is not a Jewish strong point. The Jew has no genuine love of nature of liking for the agricultural life.⁴⁰⁹

Jews love prominence, are eager to prosper and fond of ostentation; yet they fear that publicity feeds anti-Semitism and they try to minimize their racial power. In alertness and knowledge the Jew is superior to the non-Jew; he is tricky and unscrupulous. In arts, law, and literature the number of Jews who achieve distinction is out of proportion to their number in the general population.⁴¹⁰

The average Jew has 4 per cent. more ability than the average Englishman and 2 per cent. more than the average Scotsman.⁴¹¹

There are more men of genius among a million Jews than among a million Gentiles, but also there are more idiots.⁴¹²

All over the world, the Jew, whenever, he has the opportunity to match his wits against the wits of others, gets ahead. He exceeds the Gentile in quickness and endurance. Jews are in "the front in intellectual movements, political, science, arts." Generally they have been anti-royalist and revolutionary, always trying to benefit their race. The Jew is democratic in his sentiments, but not in his

nature. He has been the brains of the Russian Revolutionary movement. Traditionally his main fields of interest have been medicine and law.⁴¹³

He is emotional by nature and always ambitious. "The young Jew is ravenous for knowledge." He desires it not for its own sake, but more often for the commercial advantage which it bestows. The Jew is quickly acclimatized, he is universally adaptable and absorbs the characteristics, physical, mental, economic, and artistic, of the country in which he settles. He is grossly materialistic:⁴¹⁴

There is no more materialistic creature on the earth than the Jew: grasping, calculating unemotional, remorseless, and with none of the marrow of pity in his bones.⁴¹⁵

Being more materialistic than other men, he has tremendous will power and unflinching tenacity and is always an adroit bargainer and money-maker. The majority of Jews in America are wanting in manners and deficient in good taste. The newly rich Jew is vulgar; close family ties increase the egocentricity of the child and bring boredom. "The Jewish mind is lucid, distinct, clear, accurate."⁴¹⁶ But

The Jew...can also be a mystic, dreamy and tender; a visionary with exquisite ideals, impractical, loving, swayed by the most delicate intuitions.⁴¹⁷

In fact, the Masonic symbolism is peculiarly Jewish. The Jew reaches extremes in generosity and meanness.⁴¹⁸

The survey of the racial stereotype of the Jew

indicates clearly that it is only the basis of the stereotype which undergoes major change. The details of the stereotype based on a racial distinction are essentially the same as those of the stereotypes based on national and religious difference. The changes that occur in these details are due to environmental change.

A conclusion which cannot be overemphasized is that both friend and foe of the Jew thought in terms of their environment and accepted the prevalent concept of the structure of Judaism. During this late period, that concept was racist.

The racial stereotype sprang from the need of many elements of American life in the early twentieth century to explain certain frustrations which were encountered. Racism gave not only an answer to that specific problem but also gave a philosophy of world influence which was attractive to many. And for those passed by in the rush of the new forces, Racism also provided a solution. Each group gave different explanations. None understood the trouble, but each adopted the same basic solution: a racial hierarchy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMATION

A definite progression has been observed in the emergence of the Jewish stereotype. Originally it was based on a religious difference. However during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the appeal to Nationalism which characterized this period in America influenced the Jewish stereotype so that the basis no longer was a religious difference, but an alleged national difference of the Jew. The advent of the twentieth century marked the emergence in America of a new system of thought: Racism. The stereotype reflects this philosophy in its consequent utilization of a picture based on a racial distinction between Jew and non-Jew.

The reasons for these changes and developments have already been discussed, but a summary is desirable here.

The religious stereotype emerged and persisted because of the actual difference between Christianity and Judaism, and also because of the grass-roots evangelical nature of Protestant Christianity, the nation's major religious grouping, in America, and finally because of the ancient heritage of religious distinction which, partly foreign, partly native, carried over in America even throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Habits of thinking are not easily changed, and this religious stereotype persists even today.

The remarkable industrial expansion due to the victory of industrial Capitalism in the Civil War made a nationalistic outlook a necessity in America during the last half of the nineteenth century. Nationalism appeared to be a definitive solution for all parts of American life. Those riding the crest of the wave felt themselves super-patriots, felt that their course was one beneficial in the utmost to their native, or adopted, land. Nationalism is a philosophy of economic independence and development. Those who were dispossessed or passed by saw in a glorification of nation a rejection of influence deleterious to themselves, and thus, they felt, to the nation. The over-simplification of this is obvious. But with this insight, the more specific details of the solutions envisaged by different sections of America can be understood. Each group conceived of its opponents in terms prevalent, that is, in nationalistic terms. The disaffected naturally conceived that their distress was caused by those who would hurt America. The position of the Jews throughout American life, in all strata apparently, made them particularly vulnerable to identification as non-indigenous. That is, any disaffected group, looking for an answer, could see among its enemies Jews, and connecting Jews in America with Jews elsewhere was only natural since the mental habit of thinking in terms of national structure had been acquired. Jews live in all countries; they are non-American, therefore, reasoned the unhappy.

But Nationalism was soon outgrown. The expansive course of industrial Capitalism required a broader outlook than just economic independence. Economic mastery seemed more suitable. The new philosophy underlying, a philosophy springing from the romanticism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century which in its turn was derived from certain economic conditions, was Racism. This, simply put, set up a hierarchy of groups, each identified by a physical unity and a psychological unity ultimately springing from that physical unity. Within this context the Jewish stereotype's basis changed from a national difference to a racial difference.

The original hypothesis concerning the qualifications for the emergence and growth of a stereotype spring from the facts presented here: every stereotype has three prerequisites: existence, mystery, and need.

Awareness of the group or thing stereotyped is deeply significant. A meaningful stereotype must speak in terms of the experience of the people who will accept it. However awareness without mystery is meaningless. A group clearly defined and understood cannot be stereotyped successfully. For example, Pullman porters make impossible subjects for a stereotype. The limits of the influence of this group is too well-marked for any suggestion of danger to be possible. Only those on the same economic and social level as the Pullman porter could hold a stereotype unfavorable to the group. The Jews, on the

other hand, make excellent subjects for the stereotype. They exist and everyone vaguely knows it. Moreover the wide-spread nature of Jewish contributions to living, and the diversity of fields and groups in which Jews are found, make it possible for someone unhappy to identify the Jews with the source of his unhappiness.

Essentially the Jews are a mystery in that they exist apparently in all places. Jews are not strictly speaking a religious group alone, nor are they a culture, nor a national group, nor yet simply an ethnic grouping. They partake in some subtle sense of all these (though the National sense is but newly acquired). Lack of precise definition and limitation made the Jew particularly vulnerable to the process of the stereotype.

Therefore, it was the stereotype of the Jew which survived the deep changes which American thinking and living underwent during the last half or the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century. Therefore, it was the Jew which became The Stereotype in America.

The qualification of need exists independently of the other conditions of the stereotype. Need for a solution merely means that a specific problem exists which requires those living with it to examine their situation for an answer. However, many factors impel the choosing of a scapegoat rather than seeking deeply enough for a true answer. No scapegoat can be chosen except on the basis of the two conditions already laid down for the stereo-

type. The need is the coherent factor.

The emotional nature of the stereotype is clearly demonstrated by the facts and citations above. Contradictions within the stereotype in general or in some specific instance are understood only by awareness of this. Also the acceptance of the stereotype by the friends of the Jews as well as their enemies is made possible only by this.

People think within the specific framework of their environment. In times when Racism is prevalent, the racial nature of the Jew is commonly accepted. When Nationalism is the dominant mode of thought in such matters, the Jew is alleged to be a national entity. The details of the picture are unimportant, for the stereotype is not descriptive but evaluative.

These details however seem so inclusive that the Jew is alleged to possess, at one time or another, every virtue and every vice. All the good and all the evil in the world are laid to his efforts. This comes about because every specific group and every specific age have needs arising from their own situation, which is, of course, peculiar to them. Therefore they see the problem in terms of their own experience and structurize the situation in those terms. Therefore, for example, the agrarian stereotype during 1896-1898 of the Jews differs immeasurably from the Jewish stereotype drawn by Puck during those same years.

Therefore we may conclude that the stereotype emerges in answer to a specific emotional need; and the stereotype may be considered an emotional answer to a specific problem, an answer which singles out persons or groups whose existence, although impinging on the consciousness of those in need, is not sufficiently defined and limited to be removed from the realm of the mysterious.

APPENDIX

THE PUCK STEREOTYPES

The items below are taken from the pages of the New York humor magazine Puck during the years specified. They indicate a clearly formed stereotype in each of the three periods covered. During the early period, Puck was published in German; and the translations of the items during this period are my own. Much of the German put in to the mouth of the Jew is at best a caricature of German, in itself a significant fact.

I. 1885-1888

a. July 13, 1887, p.800, Col. 2.

Banker Sternheim (who does gold business with the Sultan, to the door guard): Tell me, my dear Aga, why must one cross the hands over the breast in front of his majesty?

Guard: The Pasha is very nervous and it irritates him if people while speaking much such hasty appearing (hastgesehen) movements with the hands.

b. May 2, 1888, p.537, Col. 2.

The Lady or the Tiger, Brilliant closing effect for a dramatization of the same named story by Stockton. (When door is opened, out comes neither lady nor tiger but hook-nosed, curly-haired figure with peddler's tray, smiling face and question, "Do you need any hose?")

c. Mar. 25, 1888, p.459, Col. 2.

Meyer (giving business insight to Temperance lecturer): Make out property in the wife's name swear an injunction and settle for five cents on the dollar cash.

d. May 2, 1888, p.542, Col. 2.

Jewish storekeeper (rubbing hands in glee): Sarah, my child, since Mr. Schwammlinger is such a good customer of ours, make him a fine Havana Cigar as a present - you know, of the Bees for He Conchas. (Bees is the second and He the fifth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.) (Therefore "2 for 5" cigars.)

e. May 16, 1888, p.569, Col.2.

(Ickelstein is travelling on the train with his 10 year old son, Ikey, hidden in his travelling bag to save his fare. Ikey is peeping out of the bag): Close the bag at once, Ikey. The conductor is coming.

f. July 11, 1888, p.698, Col. 2.

Bargenstein (as Dr. Jekyll): Come in, friend, and look at what fine hats I have for \$1.50. Looking costs nothing.

Bargenstein (later, as Mr. Hyde): What, you won't buy, after you made so much trouble? As my name is Bargenstein you won't leave my store if you don't buy a hat for \$2.

g. July 25, 1888, p.279

(Jew bathers in Long Branch holding on to life line with their large, hooked noses.)

Choruse: Ob auch die Wellen tossen
Mit furchtbaren Gewalt:
Wir haben in unseren Nosen
Von Natur einen starken Halt.
(Even if the waves should toss
With fearful force:
We have in our noses
By Nature a strong hold.)

h. Aug. 1, 1888, p.747, Col. 3.

Schwab (Bather on Rockaway Beach to hook-nosed, fat, unkempt acquaintance): What, you want to go out already, Mr. Schmonzat? The water is very nice today. Remain a while.

Schmonzat: I can't stay, I see Lumpinsky coming and I won't bathe on the same beach with low (niederträchtigen) people.

i. Aug. 8, 1888, cover.

(Worker being lead by Harrison and Morton to suit labelled "War Tariff Suit - cost \$3.50, price 25.00" under sign reading Benjamin and Levi, National Clothing House".)

Ben and Levi: We let you have these clothes cheap and you shall have a drink and a cigar for it.

Worker: What! You have hung out this old rag for longer than 25 years. I had better go to Cleveland's ...establishment.

2. 1895-1896

a. August 28, 1895, p.11, Col. 1.

An Impossible Rumor.

Jones: I hear that your friend Failupski is embarrassed again.

Isaacs: May be der greditors vos, but I guess Failupski is used to id.

b. Aug. 28, 1895, p.26.

Wasteful.

Hockenstein (who arrived the night before with his family): Repecca, Repecca! Vake oop! Vake der schildren oop!

Mrs. Hockenstein (drowsily): Vat's der matter mit you? It vas only fife o'glock.

Hockenstein: (excitedly) Only fife o'glock! S'hellup me Fadder Apraham! Me bayin fife tollars-a day andt you sleeping der dime away here in ped! Vy, it was schoost like thorowin moneys in der street!

c. Sept. 4, 1895, p.38, Col. 2.

To the Very Last.

Hockstein: Vasn't it too pad apout Rosenperb vot gommittet suicide?

Isaacs: Yes, dot vos so; put he vos der most egstravagant man dot effer vos.

Hockstein: Egstravagant?

Isaacs: Yæ; he puts four pullets in his prains undt der doctor say dot any vun of dem vould have done der vork.

d. Sept. 11, 1895, p.65.

How he won the Silverites.

I. (Fat Jew in doorway of clothing store under sign "Isaac Goldstein", no customers.)

Mr. Goldstein (who has opened a store in a Kansas town): S'hellop me gracious! I vill had to do somedings or else I vill be ruined. No pody puy's noddings from mein store.

II. (Same store with sign changed to "Isaac Silverstein", many customers.)

Mr. Goldstein (a few days after he had made a change in his sign): S'hellop me, Fadder Apraham! Vy didn't I dink me of dot pefore?

e. Sept. 11, 1895, p.62, Col. 2.

Prospective Liberality.

Young Ikenstein (to his father-in-law): Misfortune after misfortune has overtaken me, but I am not discouraged yet. I know dot you haf blenty undt -

Old Schwindelbaum: Yas, Ikey! Undt vile I haf blenty, ve shall not both oaf us suffer.

f. Sept. 18, 1895, p.68, Col. 2.

Just in Time.

Mr. Hayton (to proprietor of tailor shop): If ther suit is worth fifty dollars, as you say, I don't see how you can afford to sell if fer six-ninety-seven!

Mr. Isaacs (confidentially): Hark, mein frendt, I dells you somedings! I vas a goot Catholic, undt der briest says I must do penance; so I sells you do suit at a brice vot nearly bankrupts me.

g. Oct. 3, 1895, p.98.

Instructive exercise.

I. Geldheimer (visiting his sons at their athletic club): I don't know whether it bays me to let you pelong to dis glub. Let me see vat you gan do. It's all nonsense I believe.

II. (Sons twist themselves around parallel bars to form dollar sign - \$.)

Geldheimer Juniors: Is dot all nonsense, Fadder?

h. Oct. 23, 1895, p.149, Col. 2.

The One Who Worried.

Cohenstein, Sr.: Ikey, my boy, you must gif up smoking, it effects der heart.

Cohenstein, Jr.: Don't worry, Fadder; my heart vas all right.

Cohenstein, Sr.: Dot may be so, but I gan feel mine balbdate efery dime you light vun of dose expensive Havanas. It's schust like burning money!

i. Oct. 30, 1895, p.165, Col. 2.

Overcome by Grief.

She: How efer could I lose dose diamonds? Vot shall ve do?

He: I suppose ve better adfertise undt offer a suitable reward.

She: Oh, yes! Undt say dey vos of no use to anypody but der owner!

j. Nov. 13, 1895, p.196, Col. 1.

Not One of Coin's Financial School.

Auctioneer: There is a handsome vellum-bound copy of Ruskin's Ethics of the Dust; what will you offer Mr. Cohenstein?

Mr. Cohenstein: Nodding! Dese Shecawgo books on der money quvestion make me sick!

k. Nov. 20, 1895, p.215, Col. 2.

A Conference.

Mr. Persentski (as maid sweeps up broken crockery): Vell, if she preaks dot grockery any more, deduct it from her vages.

Mrs. Persentski: Should I Scharge a brofit on it?

l. Dec. 4, 1895, p.274, Col. 1.

Assuredly Amusing.

Mr. Misfitski (looking in from the store): Repecca, Repecca, shut dot chil's mout' up! How gan I sell der gustomer, vit him a-screamin' in dot manner?

Mrs. Misfitski: I gan't, Isaac, I gan't! Noddin' I gan do vill amuse him.

Mr. Misfitski: (desperately): Vell, bring him out in der store undt let him vatch me sell dis schay gountryman a soot of clothes.

m. Dec. 11, 1895, p.298, Col. 2.

Man was Made to Mourn.

Isaacs: Well, vot does der egspert report?

Cohen: He say der books vos all gorrect undt my gashier vos as shtraight as a shtring.

Isaacs: Dot vos good!

Cohen: Yes; but just t'ink vot I vill have to pay dot egspert, ven dere vos no need to hire him at all!

n. Dec. 18, 1895, p.311, Col. 1.

His Interpretation.

Goldberg (looking at news poster reading "Big Fire! Isaac Brothers Clothing Store burned to the ground!"): My cracious! I t'ought dey vos doin a good peezeness!

o. Dec. 25, 1895, p.330, Col 1.

His First Thought.

Cockney Tout: Right 'ere was w'ere the gryte fire o' Lunnnon commenced. It began in Puddin' Lane and ended at Pie Corner.

Mr. Einstein (enroute): You candt tell me noddings apoudt der inzhurance, aindt it?

p. Dec. 25, 1895, p.331, Col. 1.

Removing His Doubts.

Uncle Goldbrick: You think them pants is good material, eh?

Mr. Isaacs: Goot material? Mein frendt, dem goots has choose taken der first brize at der Atlanta exposition. Der chudges said dey nefer saw any-t'ing so cheap at two dollars undt a quvarter!

q. Jan. 1, 1896, p.346.

Starting for the Masquerade.

Wife: Dot vas a beautiful gostume, Moritz; but vy haf you got der blumes in front for?

Husband (lifting plumes to reveal a huge hooked nose): Vell, I must do somedings, so eferybody von't recognize me right away, so soon I go in der ball room.

r. Jan. 22, 1896, p.390.

No Pleasure.

Mrs. Isaacheimer: You go much to dose pargain sales?

Mrs. Cohenstein: Vot for should I go to dose pargain sales? You nefer can get noddings any cheaper dan anybody else.

s. Feb. 12, 1896, p.435.

A Long Shot.

Isaacheimer: If I had a gouple of millions, Repecca might marry into der nopility.

Cohenstein: But dem nobles must be very expensive to support?

Isaacheimer: Yes, dot's so; but if der shildren vos boys efery vun of dem might marry a heiress, aindt it?

t. Feb. 12, 1896, p.443, Col. 1.

Other Advantages.

Mrs. Cohenstein: Der paper says dot der bosition of boet laureate dot Mr. Austin got, only pays four hundred tollars a year.

Mr. Cohenstein: (quickly) But t'ink of der business it will bring him from der celluloid soap people, undt odder advertisers.

u. Feb. 19, 1896, p.3., Col. 2.

The Prodigal.

Mr. Isaacs (at the skating rink, excitedly): S'hellup me, Fadder Apraham! Dat poy vas neffer learn nuttings. He vill neffer get to vort of his moneys, any dimes.

Mrs. Isaacs: Vat's der matter, Fadder?

Mr. Isaacs (in agony): Vy, schoost look at him. I bays me feefty cents for him to skate on der ice, and he goes apout on von foot most of her dimes.

v. Feb. 26, 1896, p.5, Col. 1.

An Uncovered Risk.

Isaacs, Jr.: Fadder, der poss up to der shtore has schoost fired me.

Isaacs, Sr. (excitedly): Repecca, Repecca! Get oudt mein insurance bolicies, kervick, undt see vedder dey govers dis loss.

w. March 25, 1896, p.4., Col. 2.

His Definition.

Ikey: Fadder, vot is spondaneous compustion?

Fader: It's a gag vot some beepl gif der insurance gompaines.

x. April 1, 1896, p.5, Col. 2.

A Good Location.

Isaacheimer: How is dot cousin of yours gettin' along?

Cohenstein: Pretty good. He vos doin' business on Broadway.

Isaacheimer: On Broadway? And he's only six months in dis gountry. Vot line is he in?

Cohenstein: Matches, shoe-laces, undt suspenders.

y. May 27, 1896, p.4.

(Jew tailor - "Stickinsky" - fits pants too high and vest too low on customer in order to "prevent pickpockets".)

z. May 27, 1896.

Not Altogether a Disadvantage.

Mama: I vos looking at some goods to make a new dress for little Ikey. Dey vos quite cheap; but I t'ink ven dey're vashed dey vill shrink.

Papa: Vell, if dey do, eferybody vill say how fast little Ikey vos growin.

aa. June 3, 1896.

Saving Him Steps.

Buttons: Mr. Stoneski, dere's a poor lame beggar truing to come up de sdairs.

Stoneski (with deep pit): Poor man! Poor man! Vat a shame! Oh, my! Run down, like a goot poy, undt don't let him vaste any more time.

bb. June 17, 1896.

True Worth Recognized.

Mrs. Cohenstein: I see by der baper, Isaac, dat der beach grop in Delaware vos a failure again dis year.

Mr. Cohenstein (excitedly): So hellup me Cracious! Repecca, ve must send our leedle Ikey dhese to learn der peezeness. Dose peeple in Delaware have a regular chenius.

cc. July 8, 1896.

The Best of Prospects.

Goldstein: Mr. Silverhammer, I loaf your daughter.

My liabilities at bresent are only feefty dousan' tollars - bud mid care undt foresight I hope to double dem very shortly.

Mr. Silverhammer: Say no more - say no more! Taig her undt pe habby.

dd. July 15, 1896.

The Refloctions of the Patient.

Doctor: There is no danger now but at one time I thought it was a very doubtful case.

Mr. Isaacs: Dot life insurance company vos in luck.

ee. July 22, 1896.

Trying It On.

(McKinley tailor shop labelled "Hanna, Platt & Co. - Political Clothing". Suits labelled "Sectional Strife - very cheap" and "Force Bill Suit - marked down". McKinley is trying on an oversized gold standard coat.)

Hanna and Platt: Vell, vell, vell, vot a magnificent fit!

ff. July 22, 1896.

At the Art Gallery.

She: Dey say dot bicture is worth thousands of tollars undt ven it vos painted, near a hundred years ago, it vos sold for a song.

He: I vish dot my great-grandfader would haf knowed about id at der time.

gg. July 29, 1896.

Slow Rises Worth..

Isaacstein: Dot gousin of mine vot come to dis goundry fourteen months ago is sellin' shoe-laces undt gollar buttons undt such t'ings.

Cohenstein: Vot? Fourteen months in dis goundry undt he aindt operatin' in real estate yet?

hh. Aug. 5, 1896.

Gloom.

Bernstein: Choost my luck! Dey say dem railroads is goin' to haf a war undt cut der rades to pieces choost ven I vos goin' oud West.

Rosenbaum: Vell, dot don't hurt you, ain'dt it?

Bernstein: I can get a free pass, undt I von't be savin' more as half vot I would under ordinary cirkumstances.

3. 1906-1908

a. Aug. 1, 1906, p.7, Col. 2.

Unbusiness-like.

Isaacs (recovering from an operation): Yes, he vas a greadt surgeon, all right; but it seems to me he takes desparate chances.

Cohen: In vhat vay?

Isaacs: Vhy, he vent right to vork onme vidout efen taking time to look up my standing in Pradstreet.

b. Aug. 22, 1906.

Broadway on a Jewish Holiday.

(Policemen walking on completely empty street. Every

store bears a sign indicating a Jewish owner and whole-sale business, mostly clothing. Names include "Putz," "Schwindelheim", "Plotz", "Bumwitz and Stinkblatt", "Baum, Baumer, and Baum", "Limburger and Bradwurst", "Eselbaum and Pickelstein", "Schweinfeld adn Naseweis", "Piddlewitz and Hogbaum", and "Fiddledink".)

c. Sept. 12, 1906, p.7, Col. 2.

Adv.

Isaacs (teaching canary): Vunce again, pirdie, - cheap!
The canary; Cheep! Cheep!

Isaacs: Goot! Now, ven I hangs you oud by der sidewalk,
dot's vot you say to der peoples bassing py.

d. Oct. 17, 1906, p.4, Col. 1.

Their "View".

Tenoffstein (at the summit of the mountain): Undt I
says to him, "Max, you can walk from vun endt
of Broadway to der other und nod gedt goods as
cheap as you can righd here in dis store."

e. Oct. 24, 1906, p.6., Col. 2.

In the "Ledger" Lines.

Miss Yawpstein (the vocal teacher): I'm all oud of
patience with Jakey. Her persists in singing
Ole Hundred in too high a key.

Jakey's Father: S-h-h-h! Let his geeep it above par.

f. Nov. 21, 1906, p.7, Col. 2.

All Over.

Cohenstein: I made ofer ten tousand tollars to-day!

Isaacs: Vot!!!

Cohenstein: I made it ofer to my wife.

g. Dec. 5, 1906, p.32f.

The Gown that Mrs. Schwelbaum Wore.

(Jew aghast at wife's opulent gown coated with elec-
tric bulbs. In second panel, after button is
pressed, bulbs light up.)

I. Mr. Schwelbaum: What is der meaning of dis, Rachel?
What for are you going to dot ball with all dose
glass globes on your dress?

Mrs. Schwelbaum: Presss dot little button in my belt
Morris.

II. Mrs. Schwelbaum (triumphantly): Where you think
their tiamondts will be, when they get alonsidt
of my elegtric lights, what?

h. Jan. 16, 1907, p.4.

(98 cent bill for women on shopping tours bears pic-
tures of two fat, glittering-eyed Jews labelled
"Max Bargainbaum and "Mark Downstein".)

i. Jan. 23, 1907, p.4f.

I. And the Bird -

Mr. Cohenbaum: Yes, Mayer come ter me und wanted fife
tousandt tollars for six months; undt I let
him have it vitout interest, chust for frient-
ship sake -

II. - Dropped Dead.

Mr. Einstein: Goot Gott, vot vos der matter mit dot
pird!!

j. Mar. 27, 1907, p.15.

A Great Saving.

The Kid: Aw, wot yet givin's us. Dem suspenders is
miles too big f'me.

The Merchant Prince: Sh-h-h! Mit dese suspenders you
can pull up your pants so high dot you von't
never needt any coat.

k. April 10, 1907, p.3.

At Mr. Cohenstein's Country Place.

(Heavy-hook-nosed Jew gazing at heavy, hook-nosed owl,
seal, parrot, turtle, moose, stork, camel, and
parakeet.)

l. April 17, 1907, p.4., Col. 2.

At the Celestial Turnstile.

St. Peter: Nay, nay! Thou knowest what is written -
that it is easier for a camel to go through the
eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter in-
to the kingdom.

Cohenstein: But - so help me! - efery cendt vos in
my vife's name!

m. April 17, 1907, p.7, Col. 1.

Another Costly Mistake.

Isaacs the Druggist: Sufferin' Rachel! Izzy, hurry
after dot man who shust left der store! I haf
made a terrible mistake!

Izzy: Oh, fader! Did you gif him poison?

Isaacs: Vorse, mein son! He only wanted fife vun-cent
stamps undt I give him fife twos.

n. June 12, 1907, p.5., Col. 1.

The Congenial Orchard.

Mrs. Cohenstein: Vat iss it, Popper. Vot makes you
look so happy?

Mr. Cohenstein: Sh-h-h! I haf just been talking to
der gardner, und he tells me dot our peach crop
dis year will be a total failure.

o. July 3, 1907, p.4., Col. 3.

Stung.

Mr. Cohenstein: Ach, vat did ve come here for ven der

tide vas oud? Ven it vas high tide, ve ged more water for our moneysh.

p. July 17, 1907, p.6, Col. 2.

A. Terrible Moment.

Mr. Goldberg (as the package is opened): Ach, vot a low, meandown trick of dot rich dog Schlickstein sendting mommer undt me a goldt fish for a golden vedding presentt.

q. Aug. 21, 1907, p.10, Col. 1.

A Broadway Corner.

(Nine story building, each floor bearing a sign. From the top they read "Upsky and Co. Hats", "Bergluft Neckties", "Cohn and Co. Collars", "Levi and Co., Coats", "Meier and Baum Vests", "Wandel Shirts", "Ullman Pants", "Twilight Socks", and "Abends-roth Shoes".)

r. July 10, 1907, p.15.

The View.

Mrs. Cohenstein: Vos der view better ven you vos looking through der glass, Morris?

Mr. Cohenstein: Voc id! I can see a sail dot has one of my ads painted on it - Vear Cohenstein's Pants.

s. Sept. 18, 1907, p.6, Col. 1.

At the Auto Pawn-Shop.

Motorist (financially up against it): Oh, come now.

I gave four thousand dollars for that car.

Stingbaum, the Broker: Dot has nuddings t'do mit it.

I gif you fife unttert und fifty dollars und fifty-fife cendts.

t. Sept. 25, 1907, p.4, Col. 2.

Translated.

Miss Shlickbaum: Papa, vot does R.S.V.P. mean on Rachel's vedding inviation?

Papa Shlickbaum: Rush Silver Vare Please.

u. Oct. 9, 1907, p.7., Col. 1.

Brothers.

(Heavy-nosed Jew carrying rifle comes face to face with heavy-nosed moose.)

Orthodox Sportsman: Father, Abraham! Maype, I haf discovered vun of der lost tribes of Israel.

v. Oct. 30, 1907, p.5.

At the Pawnbrokers' Ball.

Miss Sparklestein: Dot vos a very striking gostume,

Mr. Laonitski. Vot character do you represent?

Mr. Laonitski (wearing costume made of money): Dis
suit vos a little idea of my own. I represent
Ready Money.

w. Nov. 6, 1907, p.4.

Table Talk in Gotham - In the Millinery District.
(Cartoon shows Jews in restaurant talking shop, cheap
shop.)

x. Nov. 20, 1907, p.6., Col. 2.

A Dash for the Pole.

(Cartoon shows policeman chasing Jewish suspenders
peddler.)

y. Dec. 18, 1907.

(Cartoon pictures Christmas peddler as bearded, hook-
nosed Jew.)

z. Jan. 15, 1908, p.6, Col. 2.

The Material.

Little Ikey: Fader, vat do people feather deir nests
mit?

Old Swindlebaum: Mit cash down, mein sohn.

NOTES

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2. Nichols and Nichols: Growth of American Democracy (New York and London, 1939), 289. They define the East as "the region east of the Ohio and north of Virginia."
3. Beard: Rise of American Civilization: II (New York, 1947) II: 329-335, 383-393. The authors declare that, beginning in 1861, the amount of wealth in the United States began to increase geometrically as the capitalization of industry progressed so well. Moreover, the majority of this wealth remained in the East.
4. Beard: ibid, 196.
5. Beard: ibid., 305-308. President Grant's brother-in-law was implicated in the Balck Friday catastrophe of 1869.
6. C.B. Spahr: "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the U.S." quoted in H.U. Faulkner: The Decline of Laissez Faire, 1897-1917 (New York, 1951), 21.
7. Beard: Op. cit., 541.
8. The Arena, vol. 19 (1898).
9. Ibid.
10. Coin's Financial School, vol. 1, no. 3 of Coin's Financial Series (Chicago, June, 1897).
11. Ibid.
12. Public Opinion, vol. 21 (1896).
13. "The Transformation of the Republic into a Plutocracy", The Arena, vol. 16 (1896).
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18. Cf. L.L. Polk in North American Review, vol. 153 (1892) and R.M. Davis in The Forum vol. 9 (1890) and vol. 14 (1893).

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20. Nichols and Nichols: Op. cit., 407
21. Quoted in W.E. Connelly (Editor): A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans (Chicago, 1898), vol. II.
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25. M.R. Werner: Bryan (New York, 1929), 3.
26. Ibid., 36.
27. Bryan: The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan (Philadelphia, 1925), 104.
28. AI, July 19, 1906, p.4, col. s.
29. Werner: Op. cit., 158
30. North American Review, col. 162 (1896)
31. Drew in Political Science Quarterly, vol. 6 (1896): Public Opinion, vol. 21 (1896).
32. H.D. Lloyd: "The Populists at St. Louis", The Review of Reviews, vol. 14 (1896).
33. Beard: Op. cit., 235; Nichols and Nichols: Op. cit., 386.
34. Nichols and Nichols: Op. cit., 575.
35. Beard: Op. cit., 235.
36. R.S. Baker: "The Right to Work", McClure's Magazine, vol. 20 (1902).
37. AI, March 5, March 19, April 2, April 9, 1908; JC, April 24, 1908.
38. G. Myers: History of Bigotry in the U.S. (New York, 1943), 171.
39. Ibid. covers excellently the subject of anti-Catholic feeling.

40. JT, June 4, 1875, p.219, col. 2.
41. JT, Nov. 12, 1875, pp. 584ff., May 5, 1876, p.152, col.1.
42. AI, May 19, 1882, p.372, col.2.
43. AI, March 2, 1883, p.294, col.1, May 9, 1884, p.2, col.5, Dec. 13, 1906, p.4, col. 1, Jan. 31, 1907, p.4, col.6, April 23, 1908, p.4, col.3; RA, Nov. 30, 1907, p.466, col.2; JC, Nov. 27, 1908, p.14
44. J.W. Gleed: Op. cit. and Mecklin: Ku Klux Klan (New York 1924), 33f.
45. Simkins: Op. cit., 177.
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48. H.S. Chamberlain: Op. cit., I:210, 257.
49. W. Sombart: Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben (Leipzig, 1911) translated into English by M. Epstein as The Jews and Modern Capitalism (1913).
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54. Immigration Commission: Op. cit., 368-432.
55. Ibid., 343f., 362.
56. JC, Jan. 1, 1909, p.8, Col.1; Immigration Commission: Op cit., 54-138, 194.
57. Ibid., 176-181.
58. Ibid., 6-12, 32-51.
59. McWilliams: Op. cit., 17, chapter two.

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75. AI, Jan. 10, 1907, p.1, col. 1.
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82. M. Hillquit: History of Socialism in the United States (New York and London, 1903), 263.
83. Life, vol. 51 (1908).

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149. JT, March 17, 1876, p.36.
150. JT, March 17, 1876, p.40, April 7, 1876, p.86, col.1,
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