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RECENT JEWISH IMMIGRATION
TO THE UNITED STATES

by

SOPHIE HERSCH, A. B.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT AND HISTORY OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

The Immigration Problem is one of vital importance to the American people. "Perhaps no other question has aroused more bitter feelings at times, or has called out more lofty sentiments of altruistic purpose."¹ The problem has called forth criticisms of our legislation. The immigration laws have been considered too lax by some, and a cry has been raised for more restrictions, more laws to protect the American people. "The Immigration Laws of the United States are inadequate properly to protect the people, and year by year the evil results grow more threatening; nor can they be overcome until we realize our danger and properly guard our ports against the degenerate, the pauper, and the criminal with far greater security than at present."²

On the other hand, the existence and continual increase in our cities of ameliorative agencies of all sorts, the efforts of the social worker who devotes his time, and whatever accomplishments he may possess to the task of Americanizing, and often of civilizing the immigrant, the humanitarian tone slowly creeping into our dealings with the immigrant, the earnest attempt of the more progressive,

¹Jenks and Lank, The Immigration Problem, Ch. I, Introduction.

²F. E. Hamilton, Restriction of Immigration, Forum, 42:552-4 D. '09.

broadminded Americans to cope with the situation as impartially as they may, all these attest to the fact that "lofty sentiments of altruistic purpose", have been and are being called forth as frequently at least, as the sentiments generated by the idea that "this country belongs to its own citizens - - - etc."¹

Immigration is as old as the human race. There has probably been no time in human history when people did not wander from place to place. The fundamental assumptions of modern anthropology are the specific unity of all existing human varieties, and the dispersal of their precursors in some very remote times - the pleistocene according to Keane and others.

"It must be obvious that if man is specifically one, though not necessarily sprung of a single pair, he must have had, in homely language, a single cradle-land, from which the peopling of the earth was brought about by migration, not by independent developments from different species in so many independent geographical areas."²

Indeed, the whole history of civilization is nothing but a series of hostile or peaceful migrations, resulting sometimes in the conquest of an inferior by a superior race, often in the conquest of a superior by an inferior race, leading to the assimilation by the less cultured, of the arts,

¹F. E. Hamilton, Restriction of Immigration, Forum, 42:552 - 8, D - '09.

²Keane, Man Past and Present, Ch. I, p. 1.

customs, and manners of the higher race, or to the destruction of that culture through failure of the higher race to gain ascendancy over the lower.

"In many cases, as where the invaders with weapons of bronze or iron conquered neolithic peoples, the higher civilization completely destroyed the lower civilization, or barbarism, with which it came in contact. In other cases, while superiority in culture gave its possessors at the beginning a marked military and governmental superiority over the neighboring peoples, yet sooner or later there accompanied it a certain enervating quality which left the cultured folk at the mercy of the stark and greedy neighboring tribes, in whose savage souls cupidity gradually overcame terror and awe. Then the people that had been struggling upward would be engulfed, and the levelling waves of barbarism wash over them."¹

Strictly speaking, America has had an immigration problem ever since Columbus discovered what to him was the West Indies. Spanish, French, English, and Dutch explorers and settlers, followed in succession, each group actuated by different motives, each taking possession of that part of America that seemed most likely to furnish the means and conditions for the realization of the hopes of the individual members of these groups, or of the sovereign who was in most cases back of these explorations.

¹Roosevelt, African and European Addresses, p. 105.

"Religious enthusiasm, human affection, the pursuit of gain - these three motives account for the peopling of America by men of European stock and Christian faith."¹ This statement may be accepted unqualified for the colonization of America as well as for subsequent immigration down to the present time; though the term "religious enthusiasm" should be changed to "religious persecution" for the Puritans of the early immigration at least. The Jesuit Fathers were filled with religious enthusiasm; so were the Puritans in a measure. But the latter came primarily because of religious persecution, and not because they wished to christianize the Indians. And as will be seen later, religious persecution is responsible for a great part of the Jewish immigration with which this paper proposes to deal.

Similarly, it may be said that the Indian - the original inhabitant of the country that is now the United States - had his immigration problem as the American people today have theirs. With the exception, of course, that whereas the Indian, being found in a semi-civilized state, was driven to the wall, so to speak, because he was unable to assimilate the civilization suddenly thrust upon him, no such danger seems to threaten the American people today.

Moreover, the French, Spanish, and English explorers and settlers, found a people with a much lower civilization than the European, when they came here. There was no question there of conflict between two civilizations; it was rather a

¹Channing, History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 1.

a matter of a relatively advanced civilization being imposed upon a nature people, who, unprepared for it, fell before its onslaught. The immigration problem that confronts the American people today is, therefore, precisely what the immigration problem of the Indian was not. The people who have been and are still coming to the United States are civilized but, unlike the settlers of old, they find a highly developed native civilization in this country. They find a state with all the institutions pertaining to the well developed modern state, and the demand upon them is not to bring the natives to their level or to annihilate them if they prove intractable, but to raise themselves to that of the native Americans with whom they are brought in contact.

So much for the general aspect of the question. As the title indicates, this paper will deal with just one phase of the immigration problem, namely, that of recent Jewish immigration. By recent immigration is meant the Jews coming to America from the countries of southeastern Europe since 1882, when the first great inflow of Jews occurred. It may be said in this connection that the Jews are a considerable factor in the so-called "New Immigration", by which is meant the immigrants from the countries of Southeastern Europe, who first appeared in the immigration-stream in the early eighties of the last century. Few in number at first, they steadily increased until they formed the greater part of immigration to this country in 1896, and about 75% of the total European immigration in the present decade.¹

It was not until 1820, however, that there were more
¹Peter Roberts, The New Immigration, Preface.

than 20,000. Since 1842 there have been no less than 100,000 a year, except during four years, two of which were years of civil war.¹

From 1820 to 1910, 27,918,992 immigrants came to the United States, 92.3% of them coming from European countries.²

From 1820 to 1883 more than 95% of the total European immigration came from the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland.³

Following 1883 there was a rapid change in the ethnical character of European immigration, and in recent years more than 70% of the movement has originated in southern and eastern Europe; and Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia became the chief sources of immigration.⁴

The original settlers of this country were mainly of Teutonic and Celtic stock. The pioneers in the Colonies were practically all British, Irish, Dutch, German, with a few French, Portuguese, and Swedes.

"All the settlers had been subjects of nations which entertained a high degree of civilization, and were at that time the colonizing and commercial nations of the world."⁵

Yet with all this diversity of people, it seems that the civilization of the British was able to produce a rather high degree of uniformity in institutions, habits, and traditions throughout all the colonies of the country.

¹Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, p. 63.

²Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. I, p. 23.

³Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁴Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁵Prescott F. Hall, Immigration, p. 5.

"This process of solidification and assimilation of the different colonies under British influence reached its consummation with the establishing of the Federal Government. With the birth of the United States as a separate nation, colonization in the earlier sense ceased - since European nations could no longer send their own people to form communities subject to their own jurisdiction."¹

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the races contributing the largest number of immigrants to the United States were the Irish, the German, the English and the Scandinavians. The potato famine in Ireland of 1846 sent more than a million and a quarter to the United States between the years 1846 and 1850. The total Irish immigration since 1882 has been over four million.²

The Germans have come in larger number than any other race. Since 1820 - the year official records were taken for the first time - there have come to the United States more than 5,200,000 Germans.³

The character of the new immigration is manifestly different from that of the old immigration, and seems to be due mainly to a shifting of the sources of immigration from northwestern to southeastern Europe. "A line drawn across the continent of Europe from northeast to southwest, separat-

¹Prescott F. Hall, Immigration, p. 6.

²Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, p. 66.

³Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, p. 67.

ing the Scandinavian Peninsula, the British Isles, Germany, and France from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Turkey, separates countries not only of distinct races but also of distinct civilizations. It separates Protestant Europe from Catholic Europe, it separates countries of representative institutions and popular government, from absolute monarchies; it separates lands where education is universal from lands where illiteracy predominates; it separates manufacturing countries, progressive agriculture and skilled labor, from primitive hand industries, backward agriculture, and unskilled labor; it separates an educated and thrifty peasantry from a peasantry scarcely a single generation removed from serfdom; it separates Teutonic races from Latin, Slav, Semitic and Mongolian races."¹

That such a change has really occurred is undeniable. The following table indicates the change in character of immigration by decades:²

COMPOSITION OF IMMIGRATION BY DECADES			
Decades	:From North- :western Europe:	:From South- :western Europe:	: All others
	: Per cent	: Per cent	: Per cent
1821-1830	: 76.5	: 8.0	: 15.5
1831-1840	: 84.3	: 10.0	: 5.7
1841-1850	: 93.4	: 5.0	: 1.5
1851-1860	: 93.3	: 4.3	: 2.4
1861-1870	: 85.5	: 10.9	: 3.6
1871-1880	: 72.0	: 10.5	: 11.5
1881-1890	: 68.0	: 18.9	: 12.1
1891-1900	: 48.2	: 51.0	: 2.8
1901-1910	: 26.1	: 65.9	: 8.0

¹Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, p. 69

²Peter. Roberts, The New Immigration, p. 362.

A comparison of statistics of immigration for the year 1882 with those of 1902 and 1906 also indicates the extent of this change. In 1882 Western Europe furnished 87% of the immigrants, and in 1902 only 22%; while southeastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey immigration increased from 13% in 1882 to 78% in 1902. During twenty years the immigration of those races whose ancestors made American institutions declined more than 75% while the immigrants of eastern and southeastern Europe, untrained in self-government, increased nearly sixfold. The proportions are about the same for 1906.¹

If this were a treatise on the entire subject of the new immigration it would, of course, be necessary to make a detailed study of the immigrants of each nationality that come to our shores. The scope of this work necessarily precludes any such study. It may be stated at the outset, however, that in all the reading the writer has done in connection with this work, there have been found so many contrasting and contradictory opinions regarding the subject of this new immigration, so much "loose talk", as Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger calls most discussions of this nature, that one despairs of being able to reach any conclusion respecting this vast subject. Until recently there has been no real scientific investigation of immigration. The work of the Immigration Commission, though very detailed, and the only more or less accurate source of statistical material, is comparatively new. Yet careful students have been detecting flaws even in the

¹ Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, p. 70.

conclusions reached by the Commission.

"Until quite lately we had to deal only with the generalizations of the professional restrictionists. More recently the unwarranted conclusions of the Immigration Commission have also been brought into play. These conclusions are called unwarranted because they utterly fail to tally with the evidence which has been presented in the forty odd volumes published and to be published, as the result of the Commission's investigation."¹

It is Mr. Sulzberger's opinion that while it is true that the nationality of the immigration has changed, it is not true that the older immigration was desirable and the new is undesirable. "Nor should it be forgotten that at the time the older immigration, the so-called desirable peoples, was coming, the immigration restrictionists of those days considered then as undesirable as the newcomers of today are considered by the same class of critics. Nearly a century ago the same arguments were used regarding the bad habits of the immigrants, their tendency to congest the cities, to reduce wages, and to depreciate the American standard of living."²

The report of the Industrial Commission quotes from Nile's Register of 1817:

"The immigrants should press into the interior. In the present state of the times, we seem too thick on the maritime frontier already."³

¹Cyrus Sulzberger, Is Immigration a Menace? Address delivered Thirty-ninth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, New York.

²Cyrus Sulzberger, Is Immigration a Menace? Address delivered Thirty-ninth National Conference of Charities and Corrections

³Cyrus Sulzberger, etc.

The same document quotes from the Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in New York City, 1819:

"As to the immigrants from foreign countries, the managers are compelled to speak of them in language of astonishment and apprehension. Through this inlet pauperism threatens us with the most overwhelming consequences. An almost innumerable population beyond the ocean is out of employment and this has the effect of increasing the usual want of employment. This country is the resort of vast numbers of those needy and wretched beings. -----and we lament to say that they are too often led by want, by vice, and by habit to form a phalanx of plunder and depredation, rendering our city more liable to increase of crime, and our houses of correction more crowded with convicts and felons."¹

"In 1835 it would seem that the doleful predictions made in 1819 had not materialized and the restrictionists then regarded the earlier immigrants as desirable but the then-incoming foreigners as a menace."²

"In a paper entitled Imminent Dangers to the Institutions of the United States of America through Foreign Immigration, etc., published in 1835, the author speaks of the immigration of the previous years as compared with that of the day and says:"

¹ Cyrus Sulzberger, Is Immigration a Menace? Address delivered Thirty-ninth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, New York.

² Cyrus Sulzberger, Is Immigration a Menace? Address delivered Thirty-ninth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, New York.

"Then we were few, feeble and scattered. Now we are numerous, strong, and concentrated. Then our accessions of immigration were real accessions of strength from the ranks of the learned and the good, from enlightened mechanic and artisan and intelligent husbandman. Now, immigration is the accession of weakness, from the ignorant and vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany, or the out-cast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe."¹

Mr. Sulzberger contends that immigration as a whole has been beneficial to the United States; though I am certain he would exclude the pauper - if it could be proved that paupers could ever amass enough money to pay their passage here, - the criminal, the diseased, and others of that stamp from our shores.

Similar conclusions are reached by Dr. Hourwich regarding the work of the Immigration Commission.

"Yet while the root of all evil is now sought in the racial makeup of the new immigration, as contrasted with the old, every objection to the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe is but an echo of the complaints which were made at an earlier day against the then new immigration from Ireland, Germany, and even from England. Three quarters of a century ago, as today, the only good immigrants were the dead immigrants."²

¹Cyrus Sulzberger, Is Immigration a Menace? Address delivered Thirty-ninth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, New York.

²Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 2.

"Fifty, even thirty years ago, (said Gen. F. A. Walker in 1896), there was a rightful presumption regarding the average immigrant, that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous of the community from which he came. It requires no small energy, prudence, forthought, and pains to conduct the inquiries relating to his immigration, to accumulate the necessary means, and to find his way across the Atlantic."¹

"The immigrants of those happy days did not come because they were assisted by others, they did not come because some one paid their passage to get them out of the old country, but they came because they wanted to be free. They came not at the behest of steamship lines or the agent of the large American industries, sent over to buy labor as by auction in the market. ---no, they came at their own behest, and did not all settle down in the centres of American life to congest it, but struck out into the prairies and forest to build homes for themselves and families."²

But as Dr. Hourwich points out, history disproves the above statements. From a paper read before the Social Science Association of New York City, in 1869, by the State Commissioner of Immigration, he quotes the following:

"The great majority of immigrants to this country were so poor that they could not buy their passage, and in or-

¹ Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 61.

² Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 61

der to meet the obligations incurred by them for passage money and other advances, they were sold, after their arrival, into servitude."¹

"The ship owners and ship merchants derived enormous profits from the sale of bodies of immigrants, as they charged very high rates for the passage to which they added a heavy percentage - often more than a hundred per cent - for their risks. -----old people, widows, and cripples, would not sell well, while healthy parents with healthy children and young people of both sexes always found a ready market. If the parents were too old to work, their children had to serve so much longer to make up the difference. -----adults had to serve from three to six years; children from ten to fifteen years till they became of age; smaller children were, without charge, surrendered to masters, who had to raise and board them. As all servants signed indentures they were called "indentured servants." Whenever a vessel arrived at Philadelphia or New York, its passengers were offered at public sale. The ship was the market-place, and the servants were struck off to the highest bidder. -----If the master did not want to keep his servant he could sell him for the unexpired time of his term of servitude."²

"The newspapers of the time regularly contain advertisements of the arrival of ships with "indentured servants" to be sold. In case no buyers came to the ship the passen-

¹Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 62.

²Isaac Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 62

gers were sold to agents, who chained them together and peddled them through the towns and villages."¹

Regarding the standard of living of the Irish peasantry at the beginning of the Irish exodus to America, when, according to general Walker's "rightful presumption", the average immigrant was thrifty and had accumulated the necessary means to pay his way, we have the following description.²

"The conditions under which they had been brought up were generally of the most squalid and degrading character. Their wretched hovels, thatched with rotting straw, scantily furnished with light, hardly ventilated at all, frequently with no floor but the clay on which they were built, were crowded beyond the bounds of comfort, health, or as it would seem to us, of simple social decency; their beds were heaps of straw or rags, their food consisted mainly of buttermilk and potatoes, often of the worst, and commonly inadequate in amount; their clothing was scanty and shabby."³

Congestion also seems to have been a common evil in those days. Says Dr. Kate H. Claghorn, comparing the old immigration with the new:

"No account of filth in daily surroundings among Italians and Hebrews can outmatch the pictures drawn by observers of the habits of immigrants - Irish and even Germans."⁴

¹ Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 63
² Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 64
³ Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 64
⁴ Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 65

In 1878, when immigration was only Irish and German, we have the following picture of the moral effects of bad housing conditions in the foreign sections of New York City, in a report of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor:

"In many quarters of the city, family life and the feeling of home are almost unknown; people live in great caravansaries, which are hot and stifling in summer, disagreeable in winter, and where children associate together in the worst way. In many rooms privacy and purity are unattainable, and young girls grow up accustomed to immodesty from their earliest years. Boys herd together in gangs, and learn the practice of crime and vice before they are out of childhood. Even the laborers' families who occupy separate rooms in these buildings have no sense of home."¹

The question of assimilation, too, had as prominent a place in early discussions regarding immigration as it has now. Thus, Benjamin Franklin writes in a personal letter, in 1753 of the Pennsylvania Germans:

"Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation. Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make modest use of it. I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling with our elections; but now they come in droves and carry all before them except one or two counties."

"Few of their children know English. They import only books from Germany. -----They begin, of late, to make

¹Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 66.

all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed in our courts, where the German business so increases that there is continued need of interpreters, and I suppose in a few years they will also be necessary in the assembly to tell one half of our legislators what the other half says. In short, unless the stream of importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon outnumber us, that all the advantages we will have will in my opinion be not able to preserve our language and even our government will become precarious."¹

In reports of the Immigration Commission are found statements which indicate that the Commission considers the old immigration more desirable than the new immigration.

"They mingled freely with the native Americans and were quickly assimilated, though a large proportion of them, particularly in later years, belonged to non-English speaking races. This natural bar to assimilation, however, was soon overcome by them, while the racial identity of their children was almost entirely lost and forgotten."²

On the other hand, the new immigration is considered by the Commission a movement of unskilled laborers, part of whom come here temporarily, who show a tendency to mass in large cities, and industrial centres, apart from native Americans and older immigrants, thereby rendering the process of

¹Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, p. 76.

²Immigration Commission, abstracts of Reports, Vol. I, p. 13.

assimilation a much slower one than has been that of the earlier non-English speaking immigrants.

The general intelligence of the new immigrants is also questioned. "Approximately one-third of all those over 14 years of age when admitted being illiterate."¹

It is to be noted that here too are found ideas similar to those developed in the preceding pages as to the general feeling that was dominant among the native population in regard to what is now called the old and desirable immigration.

"The old immigration movement, in earlier days was the subject of much discussion and the cause of no little apprehension among the people of the country."²

The Commission further states that the same feeling is prevalent regarding immigration in our own day. "The new immigration, coming in such large numbers has provoked a widespread feeling of apprehension as to its effects on the economic and social welfare of the country."³ As a matter of fact, it was really due to this "widespread feeling of apprehension", that the Immigration Commission was created by section 39 of the immigration act of Feb. 20, 1907.

"New York having been peopled by relays of immigrants of different nationalities, each relay in turn, as it became americanized, looked down upon the next, as has already been said. So it is at the present day. The grandchildren of the Germans and Irish, to whom such strenuous objection

¹Immigration Commission, Abstract of Reports, Vol. I, p. 14.

²Immigration Commission, Abstract of Reports, Vol. I, p. 14

³Immigration Commission, Abstract of Reports, Vol. I, p. 24.

was made sixty years ago, now in turn protest against the shoals of latter-day Slavonic and Italian newcomers. Race and religious antipathy has caused not a few riots during the present century, in New York; and this was especially the case during the period covered by the forty years preceding the Civil War."¹

All these different opinions and conclusions have not been quoted here for the purpose of proving anything. The writer is aware that the mere fact that the same complaints were hurled against immigration in the past as are issued against immigration at the present time, does not change the situation in any way. Because the old predictions did not materialize in the past, it does not necessarily follow that those of our own day may not come true. On the other hand, the friends of immigration may legitimately assume that the situations are identical, that the restrictionists' fears to-day have as little real foundation as did those of the early restrictionists.

As a matter of fact, however, we cannot tell just exactly what this new immigration is likely to result in. The American nation was not completed before the new immigration began. It was in the making before the year 1882; it has been in the making since. Due to greater numbers, different nationalities composing it, and to changed conditions in the United States itself, the new immigration has merely augmented the process.

¹Roosevelt, Historic Towns, New York, pp. 190-191.

The problem this paper is to deal with, namely, that of Jewish immigration to this country, presents certain inherent difficulties, in addition to those found in the larger question of the new immigration as a whole. There is in the first place, not enough material on the subject, whatever has been written in the past being, with a few exceptions, either in the form of invectives against this new immigration, or apologetic and humanitarian sentiments in favor of it. Both are equally bad from the standpoint of one who is trying to arrive at the truth. When the particular question of Jewish immigration is touched upon it usually consists either of bold unscientific conclusions as to the undesirability of Jewish immigration, or of apologies for the very existence of the Jew. The question of assimilation coming up year after year, has been applied more to Jews than to any other white people. In other words, people have become alarmed at this modern exodus of the Jews.

Indeed the problem has of late been given official recognition in Anglo-Saxon countries. When bills were introduced in Parliaments aiming at the exclusion of Asiatic immigration, it was questioned whether the Jews might not be considered Asiatics under the law; and in the United States, a bill was recently introduced in Congress specifically declaring that the law prohibiting immigration and naturalization of Asiatics does not refer to Jews, Armenians, and Syrians.¹

Certain peculiarities of the Jews incident to their

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, Preface.

past history, the persecutions they have endured for centuries and their manner of withstanding these persecutions, renders them a unique people in the midst of whatever civilization they may find themselves. And as such, their problem differs from that of other immigrant peoples.

There are about 12,000,000 of Jews in the world today. Of these, 500,000 live in Asia, about 25,000 in their original homes, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia. Three-fourths of the total amount today, or about 9,000,000 live in Europe. The largest number of Jews are found in Russia. At the census of 1897 - the first complete enumeration of the population in that country,-there were 5,110,548 Jews of whom 3,518,229 lived in the "Pale of Settlement" consisting of fifteen provinces in the West of European Russia, where Jews are permitted to live; 1,321,100 in Poland and the rest of European Russia. In the "Pale" they constitute only 10.8%, and in Poland 14.01% of the total population.

After Russia comes Austria with 1,224,896 Jews according to the census of 1900. In Hungary there were, according to the 1900 census, 851,378 Jews. The census of 1899 showed about 266,652 Jews in Roumania, or about 4.5% of the total population.

On the Western Continent the majority of Jews are found in the United States. There are probably more Jews in America than in any other single country in the world, excepting Russia.

The following table shows the distribution of the Jews on the five continents:¹

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 10.

Europe.....	9,000,000...	or 74.87%
America.....	2,110,000...	or 17.66%
Asia.....	500,000...	or 4.16%
Africa.....	380,000...	or 3.17%
Australasia.	17,000...	or 0.14%

As has already been indicated, Jews did not come to the United States in sufficiently large numbers to create a problem until the year 1882 when conditions in European countries, especially in Russia, became intolerable and emigration offered itself as the only solution of the problem. So that while, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, Jews began to come to this country with the very first settlements of the American Continent, the most momentous wave of immigration is that from Russia beginning in 1882. At the partition of Poland the Jews were regarded as a legacy from that unhappy country and were confined mainly to that region. A few Jews, however, had settled in other parts of the Empire; and against these there were promulgated in 1882 a series of the most proscriptive laws ever passed anywhere against Jews, the famous "May laws". The Jews were by these laws forbidden residence outside of the "Pale of Settlements" of which I have spoken before. Not only that, but higher and secondary Jewish education was restricted, as were most of the mercantile and professional pursuits, leaving open no course but emigration. A small proportion of this emigration was directed by Baron de Hirsch to the Argentine Republic and Canada, but the great bulk of those able to emigrate, as if impelled by a natural impulse, came to the United States.¹

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, article America.

According to reports of the Immigration Commission, the total Jewish immigration to this country, during the years 1899 and 1900, was 1,074,442. Of these 607,822 were male, and 466,620 female immigrants, or 56.6% male and 43.4% female.¹

Earlier data could not be obtained from that source because the Bureau of Immigration only began to compile its data on immigration both by race and country of birth since 1899. It is evident that unless the race and country of origin are given in a table, there is no way of determining the exact number of immigrants of each nationality admitted to this country within a specified number of years.

The following figures taken from Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, indicate the Jewish immigration to the United States for the years 1907-1912 inclusive.

Country	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Austria-Hungary	18,885	15,293	8,431	10,104	12,785	8,535
Roumania	3,605	4,455	1,390	1,701	2,188	2,222
Russia	114,932	71,978	39,150	59,824	65,472	58,389

The following table shows the number of Jews from the different European countries and their distribution in America by states:²

¹Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 7, p. 500.

²The Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910.

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS BY DIVISIONS: 1910

UNITED STATES GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

Country of birth and mother tongue	Number	Percent	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
Austria	124,588	10.6	3,172	113,961	5,241	694	484	183	252	173	417
Germany	7,910	0.3	805	4,215	1,740	365	305	69	91	64	256
Hungary	19,896	4.0	351	16,842	2,265	211	74	24	12	45	72
Russia	838,193	52.3	97,292	560,949	100,782	30,880	24,498	4,602	4,023	4,807	10,700

This would give about 1,000,000 recent Jewish immigrants in round numbers. To go further in our estimate, we get the following figures of the children of foreign-born Jews, on the basis of the ratio of foreign born Jewish parents to the total number of children of foreign born parents:

CHILDREN OF FOREIGN-BORN JEWS

Russia.....	530,400
Austria.....	82,663
Hungary.....	8,184
Germany.....	5,000
Total.....	626,247

If we add to the result obtained above our estimate of 1,000,000, and the approximate number of 300,000 Jews, plus their children, who have arrived here since 1910, -assuming that they have been coming at the rate of about 100,000 a year,

we have about 2,000,000 recent Jewish immigrants in this country plus their descendants.

This estimate must, of course, be accepted very critically. It is very difficult to obtain accurate figures where there is continual flux as is the case in immigration. Besides, in the tables just given there are no figures for the Jews coming from Roumania, because such figures were not available. Yet on the whole, the tables give some idea of the number of recent Jewish immigrant stock and their descendants in the United States. The significance of their distribution will be discussed in a later chapter.

All the data available in these reports and those of the Immigration Commission has been and will be used freely in this paper. The reason for this is obvious. The statistics compiled by the Immigration Commission are original primary investigations, and as such, are more apt to be accurate than are some statistics found in various articles and books on the subject. Having been undertaken under government supervision, and the experts, so far as we know, carefully chosen, the statistics and conclusions presented are also more apt to be free from personal bias.

The writer fully appreciates the difficulties encountered by the Commission in its undertaking. And if some of the conclusions reached do not seem to accord with the facts as others have found them, it is probably due to the difficulty of obtaining data. Moreover, the changing character of immigration makes it increasingly difficult to keep

abreast of the problem. What is true of immigration today may not hold true two years hence; and the conclusions reached this year may have to be entirely revised the next. But there having been no more accurate and scientific study made of the problem, and on such a large scale as that of the Immigration Commission, we may, I think, unhesitatingly accept its data and some of its conclusions until, as we hope, a more extensive and detailed study of the immigration problem shall have been made.

CHAPTER II

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE MODERN JEWS

For fear that the somewhat pretentious title of this chapter may lead the reader to expect too much, I wish to emphasize at the outset the impossibility of an exhaustive study of Jewish anthropology. We have in the first place to contend here, as in every science dealing with man, with a division of opinion. There are many theories as to the origin of the Semitic race, its original home, and its subsequent distribution. There there is the more important question as to the purity of the Jewish race. Fishberg calls this "the crucial point",¹ in the anthropology of the Jews. I should also consider it the crucial point in the whole problem of Jewish immigration. For it is evident that Jewish immigration to the United States assumes one aspect when we consider the Jewish race as a pure race; one that has kept itself aloof from contact with other peoples, one whose traits, both good and bad, have been perpetuated through heredity. The question, on the other hand, assumes a totally different aspect when the Jewish race is considered a social product, or a product of artificial selection. The immigration problem becomes increasingly difficult of solution if we accept the former view which means in substance that the Jews wherever found present a separate unit in the midst of the native population. In other words, assimilation of any sort -

¹Maurice Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 179.

cultural or ethnic is impossible.

It is of vital importance to the Jews, as well as to the people among whom they live, whether they really differ radically, whether they are of different race stocks when compared with the "Homo Europeans", and whether their prepotency is so strong that they can never be assimilated by people of different origin.¹

In the second place, owing to a repugnance to embalming their dead, the ancient Hebrews have left scarcely any remains at all. And the difficulty of obtaining sufficient data from living types is too well known to need amplification.

Those who uphold the theory that the Jewish race is culturally a product of the environment, and that there is no Jewish race ethnically, base their claims on Biblical references of early intermarriages between Hebrews and surrounding tribes. Historically, they point to frequent references to proselytism in early christian literature, frequent prohibitions against intermarriage, between christians and Jews, in the early church councils, the conversion to Judiasm of the Chozars, a Turanian tribe of Southern Russia, and the marked differences in type to be observed among contemporary Jews.²

To this the upholder of the purity of the Jewish race reply that the intermarriages referred to were few in number and with cognate tribes; that proselytes were the chief source of membership of the early christian church, that the

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 505.

²Jewish Encyclopedia, Jews.

severe punishment attacked by the church to intermarriage must have kept the rate low, that the conversion of the Chozars was only nominal. Moreover, the Cohanium, members of the priestly caste, were not and are not allowed to marry a proselyte; hence they must have preserved their purity of descent. As a biological test of race-purity they point to the marked resemblance of Jewesses throughout the world, since the female organism is said to show less variation than the male, and to the alleged infertility of mixed marriages which is said to reduce their influence in an increasing geometrical ratio.¹

In the light of modern anthropology we may safely say that there are no pure races among nations today. Migrations, wars, and conquests, have been in operation for ages, and it is well known that they are always accompanied by intermingling and assimilation of different races. The Jewish race, however, has been held up as an exception to this rule. Thus, Ripley considers the Jews unique in this respect: that they have maintained their social consciousness and solidarity "almost at the level of of nationality" despite the fact that of the three factors necessary for social solidarity, unity of language, common heritage of tradition and belief and a definite territory, two - unity of language and a definite territory are wholly absent from the Jewish race.² He likens the Jews to the gypsies in that both are a people without a country. Yet while the former have never disbanded, but

¹Jewish Encyclopedia, Jews.

²Ripley, Races of Europe, p. 368.

always wander in tribes, the Jews who have not wandered since the days of the Patriarchs perhaps, and who often do not even wander in families have been able to preserve their social solidarity even in individual isolation.

The comparison, however, I think is unfair for the reason that the Jews are a civilized people, theirs having been one of the oldest civilizations, while the gypsies are nothing but a tribe of nomads. They have no religion, no written language, no tribal organization of any kind. People so unlike in character cannot be compared to any advantage.

"That the Jews have preserved their individuality despite all mutations of environment goes without saying. They have done more. They have accomplished this without absolute unity of language."¹

How then have the Jews of the world preserved their individuality, bereft as they are of a common language and of contiguous territory? Has tradition alone sufficed as a bond of unity, or has the element of physical unity or race entered here and made the Jews what they are? This, anthropology alone can answer, so far, of course, as our knowledge has advanced.

The question of the purity of the Jewish race has been answered, in a measure, by studies of the racial characteristics of the Jews. It has been shown that in spite of cultural changes that have occurred in mankind, the various

¹Ripley, Races of Europe, p. 369.

racess of mankind have remained practically the same physically.¹

The morphological traits which differentiate man from the anthropoids have not changed since the neolithic period - i. e., for about eight or ten thousand years.²

Observations made on skeletons of pre-historic man which have been unearthed in various parts of the world show the shape and form of the human skull, the proportion of the limbs, etc., to be about the same as found among modern people. These traits seem to have been transmitted from generation to generation. This persistence is seen, for instance, in the fact that the white people of Europe in the course of three hundred years' sojourn in America have produced no new race though they had beentransplanted to a different climate and to different conditions of life. In other words, though some mental and physical changes have probably occurred, the environment has not changed the white people to anything else.

In studying the anthropology of a people, the stature, size and form of the head, the complexion, and the shape of the nose are usually considered as among the more important physical criteria of race.

Though less stable than other traits, the stature is yet an important trait showing, as it does, the influence of both heredity and environment.³ Biblical evidence tends

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 24

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 27

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 27

to show that the Jews were not as tall as the indigenous population. "And we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight."¹ Ripley considers this a Jewish trait noticed everywhere.

"The European Jews are all undersized. Not only this, they are more often absolutely stunted. In London they are about three inches shorter than the average for the city. Whether they were always so as in the days when the Book of Numbers (XIII, 33) described them 'as grasshoppers in their own sight', as compared with the Amorites, sons of Anal, we leave an open question. We are certain, however, as to the modern Jew."²

Measurements taken of Jewish conscripts in various countries show that their stature is not a homogenous trait. Wide limits of variation are also found in measurements of adult Jews. These may be considered more reliable since, in order to escape military service, the Jewish youth frequently present themselves for measurement before they are twenty; and it has been shown that the Jew has at that age not yet reached his full height.³

To sum up all the investigations that have been made with respect to the stature of the Jews both in Eastern Europe and America, we find for instance that, to some extent, their stature is conditioned by their environment. For reasons

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 27

²Ripley, Races of Europe, p.

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 30

which we will discuss later, it is well known that the Jews are mostly town-dwellers. That, of course, may have some effect on their physical development. "The general rule in Europe seems to be that the urban type is physically degenerate."¹

"Beddoe considers it as proved that the stature of men in large towns of Britain is lowered considerably below the standard of the nation and that such degradation is progressive and hereditary."²

The social, economic and sanitary disabilities under which the Jews in Eastern Europe live probably accounts for their deficiency in bodily height. "As a matter of fact, in Galicia and Lithuania, where they find themselves under the worst circumstances materially, they are shorter than in any other country."³

"It must be emphasized that social misery with the concomitant defective nutrition may cause a retardation or even an arrest of growth, and thus lower the average stature of a people."⁴

Fishberg finds in New York City, that among 1,528 individuals investigated, the tallest were the professional men who averaged 169.6 cm. in height; clerks and merchants were second averaging 169.2 cm., pedlars were shorter being only 164.3 cm. on the average. In general, Jews engaged in

¹Ripley, Races of Europe, p. 95

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 33.

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 33.

⁴Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 512.

outdoor work were found to be taller, (166.4 cm.) than the average for the Jews which was 164.5 cm.,

Fishberg has also observed a process of selection among immigrants to the United States. The following table shows a comparison of the measurements of 1,681 Jews in Poland, Russia, and Galicia, with 1,528 Jews who had emigrated to New York City.¹

	Eastern Europe	New York
Persons of short stature.....	35.46%	23.30%
Persons below the average.....	32.48%	30.10%
Persons above the average.....	21.41%	27.40%
Tall persons.....	10.65%	19.11%

And when we add the factors favorable for the development of the body which enter into the life of the children of immigrants, such as the modern public school as opposed to the European "cheder" or Jewish religious school where the Jewish child spends the period of most active growth, outdoor exercise, playgrounds, games, etc., we can readily see how the American Jew would have an advantage over his coreligionist in Europe.²

But while the social and economic environment does influence their stature and general physical condition to some extent, the most important part of the problem is yet to be cleared up. It has been observed that Jews in different European countries vary as to their height. Thus Jews in Poland are shorter than those in Roumania, though their social and economic conditions are about the same; Jews in Southern Russia

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 37
²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 38

and Bukowina are taller than those in Bavaria or Turin, Italy, though the latter are more prosperous socially and economically. Similarly, the Jews in northern Africa, Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and the Spagnouli in Jerusalem despite their poverty and the crowded and insanitary surroundings in which they live, are taller than the native Jews of Germany, France, and Italy.¹

When a comparison of the average stature of Jews and non-Jews in various countries is considered, it is found that where the indigenous population is tall the Jews are also of superior height, and where the non-Jewish population is short the Jews are also deficient in height. In Russia, and Austrian Poland where a large number of measurements have been taken, the shortest Jews average 161-162 cm. in height, the non-Jewish population 161-164 cm. In Galicia the Jews are of the same average stature as the native Poles. In other words, the Jews in Poland approach the average height of the non-Jewish population of that country. The Jews who live among the Southern and Little Russians whose height is 164-167 cm. are taller than the Polish Jews. In Roumania and Bukowina where the Slavonic population is tall the Jews are also tall, being 165.4 cm. in height, while the indigenous Ruthenians average 167.3 cm. The same phenomenon has been observed in Hungary. In Italy, the Jews in Turin measured by Lombroso gave an average stature of 163.3 cm. and the Catholic population of that city 155.1 cm. In England the native Jews are almost as tall as the average

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 39.

Englishman being 171.4 cm. in height.¹

It seems that wherever Jewish and non-Jewish populations in the same places have been compared they have been found to approach each other in stature. Or, stated differently, the stature of the Jews varies with that of the non-Jewish populations among which they live.

Coming to the more important criterion of race - the head-form - we are confronted with great difficulties. As has been indicated before, the Hebrews did not embalm their dead, hence no skeletons have been preserved. That, of course, makes it very difficult for scientists to determine the head-form of the ancient Hebrews. Some skulls have been found, but these are so few in number that no conclusions can be drawn from that source. It is, therefore, necessary to rely on measurements taken on living Jews for information on the subject.

Fishberg gives the following comparative table of the cephalic index of the Jewish and non-Jewish populations in different European countries:²

Average Cephalic Index of Jews
and non-Jews.

Country	Jews	Non-Jews
Lithuania.....	81.05	81.88
Roumania.....	81.82	82.91
Hungary.....	82.45	81.40
Poland.....	81.91	82.13
Little Russia.....	82.45	82.31
Galicia.....	83.33	84.40

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 41

²Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p.52

From this table we find that the average cephalic index of the Jews in the countries mentioned above approaches that of the non-Jewish races among which they live. In Lithuania the Jews are dolicho-cephalic like the Lithuanians; where the Poles are characterized by rounder heads the Jews are about the same.

"The uniformity of crainal type of the Jews in Eastern Europe is observed only to the same extent as that of the non-Jewish populations of that region. Neither can claim racial purity on this score."¹

Thus the question of the head-form of the ancient Hebrews becomes a matter of decreasing importance. It is evident that the modern Jews are not everywhere of the same type. In Africa and Arabia, for instance, where the native population is dolichocephalic the Jews are of the same type. If we assume that these Jews have maintained the crainal type of the ancient Hebrews, then all the rest of the Jews of Europe have diverged from the original; while if we assume, as some have, that originally the Hebrews were brachycephalic then only a few thousand now in Caucasia and the small percentage of brachycephalic Jews now in Europe have preserved the type, and all the others have diverged from the original. In the present state of our knowledge, such a diversity of crainal type can only be ascribed to heredity. That is, as far as we know now physical, economic and racial environment is powerless to change the head-form.

¹ Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 53

"If the ancient Hebrews were a pure race", says Dr. Fishberg, "then we can explain the diversity of type in the modern Jews only by racial intermixture. And even assuming them to have been a mixed race originally, it must be acknowledged that the modern Jews are the product of further mixture during their migrations after their dispersion; for the following reasons:- It can not be conceived that all the bracycephalic Jews emigrated to Caucasia, the dolichocephalic to Africa, etc. It is more in agreement with our present state of knowledge to explain the diversity of the cranial type of the Jews today by fusion with their non-Jewish neighbors."¹

Ripley arrives at the same conclusion practically with respect to the purity of the Jewish race as indicated by the head-form. He gives a summary of the results obtained by measuring about twenty-five hundred Jews from the great Russian and Polish branch, and a more limited number from Southern Europe. In a rather complicated table which we need not reproduce here, he finds that in head-form the Jews approach the people among whom they reside. "Thus in Russia and Poland scarcely an appreciable difference exists in this respect between Jews and Christians. The same is true in Turin, while in the direction of Asia our Jews are as bullet-headed as even the most Armenians and Caucasians round about them."²

The best living representative of the Semitic peoples, the Arab, is of the dolichocephalic type. Considering that the Arab, though nomadic, is still uniform in type, Ripley

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 56.

²Ripley, Races of Europe, pp. 388-389.

concludes that the original Semitic stock must have been dolichocephalic as the Arabs are today, and that the Jews, except a few living in Africa, have diverged from the parent stock.

"Which", he asks, "would be more likely to vary - the wandering Jew, ever driven from place to place by constant persecution, and constantly exposed to the vicissitudes of life in densely populated cities, the natural habitat of the people, as we have said; or the equally nomadic Arab, who, however, seems to be invariable in type whether in Algeria, Morocco, or Arabia Felix itself?"¹ And we must admit that so far as it goes, the evidence points in favor of intermixture.

As far as we can judge from Biblical data, it seems that the ideal Jewish type was dark, dark hair and complexion. In modern times also we find black and brown hair and eyes to be in the majority. Yet the presence of many blondes among the Jews has resulted in some very important investigations, and, as may be surmised, disputes as to the origin of the blonde element among the Jews.

In an extensive investigation made by Professor Virchow of over 75,000 Jewish school children in Germany, it was found that only 66% had dark hair, 52% had dark eyes, 32% had fair hair and 46% fair eyes.²

Other investigations show that blonde Jews are found everywhere. Thus, the 60,000 Jewish school children examined in Austria and reported by Schimmer, revealed 27% had blonde

¹Ripley, Races of Europe, p. 390.

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 63.

hair, and 54% had blue eyes. In Hungary 24% of Jewish children had fair hair and 42% fair eyes. And even in Bulgaria 22% and 61% respectively were found.¹

Examinations of adult Jews show the same conditions. The following table shows that there are fair-haired Jews in almost every country:²

Percentage of fair		
<u>Country</u>	<u>Hair</u>	<u>Eyes</u>
England.....	25.5	41.2
Galicia.....	20.03	52.12
Little Russia.....	17.74	53.68
Roumania.....	14.67	51.33
Lithuania.....	14.09	37.81
South Russia.....	13.00	33.00
Baden, Germany.....	12.80	51.20
United States.....	71.29	44.35
Hungary.....	17.86	50.71
Poland.....	7.16	43.89
Caucasia.....	2.00	15.69
Daghestan, Caucasia.....	0.05	4.38

Another table shows the percentage of pure blondes, and brunettes, and mixed types among 4,235 Jews observed by Dr. Fishberg in New York City:³

	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Jewesses</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Brunette type.....	52.62	56.94
Blonde ".....	10.42	10.27
Mixed types.....	36.96	32.79

This table reduces considerably the percentage of pure brunettes both among Jews and Jewesses.

Two theories have been advanced as to the origin of the blonde Jews. One is that they have originated in inter-

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 63

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 64

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 64

mixture with northern European races. The other theory holds that since there were blonde Jews in Biblical times, the modern Jews may be their descendants. Professor Von Lurichan in fact, sees in the modern blonde Jews the descendants of the Amorites, who are said to have been blonde, and with whom the Hebrews intermarried to a great extent.¹ But, as Fishberg points out, "if all were the descendants of the ancient blonde element, they ought to be found in about the same proportion in all countries."² As a matter of fact, however, most of the blonde Jews are found in the countries where the native population is blonde in a considerable degree. Thus there are found more blonde Jews in England and Germany^{than} in Italy where only about 5% of the Jews are blonde. This, and the fact that fair-complexioned Jews possess other physical traits in common with their non-Jewish neighbors, wherever they live, is strong proof, according to Fishberg and others, that blonde Jews are a product of intermarriage with non-Jews."³

The Jewish nose which is usually considered characteristic, Dr. Fishberg shows to be not altogether Jewish. In fact, in his investigations of the subject in New York City, and in various countries of eastern and western Europe, he finds that only a small minority of Jews have what is usually called the "Jewish" nose. Thus among 2,836 adult male Jews in New York City, the percentage of noses of different types

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.69-70

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p.78

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.79-89

was as follows:¹

Straight or Greek.....	57.26%
Retrousse or snub.....	22.07%
Flat and broad.....	6.42%
Acquiline or hooked.....	14.25%

Among 1,284 Jewesses the percentage is as follows:

Straight or Greek.....	59.42%
Retrousse or snub.....	13.86%
Acquiline or hooked.....	12.70%
Flat and broad.....	14.02%

These tables show the predominant type of the Jewish nose to be straight.

Observers in Russia, Austria, Hungary, etc., have also found a low proportion of the "Semitic" nose among Jews in those countries. Some report 2%, others 10% of this type of nose, while only 30% of Galisian Jews are said to possess the "Jewish" nose. So that the popular idea of what constitutes the Jewish nose or the Jewish face needs revision in the light of scientific research.

Various writers have also described a "Jewish chest" in addition to a "Jewish nose", etc. The Jewish chest is supposed to be narrow, flat, and deficient in vital capacity. The chest in a well-developed individual should measure more than one-half his stature. In this respect Jewish conscripts of Russia, Poland, and Austria are deficient. So common is this defect that Russian and Austrian armies have recognized it as a racial trait and have decided to admit the Jewish conscripts anyway, since it did not seem to interfere with their efficiency to bear arms. It must be emphasized, however,

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.79-89

that it is not necessarily a racial trait, that proper sanitary and hygienic measures could not eradicate. "A careful study has shown that it mainly depends on the social, and economic conditions under which the Jews find themselves, and in part also on the tardy development of their physique."¹

"This narrowness of chest", says Leroy-Beaulieu, "must not be ascribed to the origin of the race or to its Semitic blood; for the Polish Jews are perhaps less Semitic than any others. It is mainly due to their social conditions, to their city life, to the sedentary habits of the majority among them, and, above all, to their centuries of privation. All this accounts for the constitutional weakness so often found in eastern and also in the western Jews."²

The well-known precocity of Jewish children in schools and colleges is achieved at the expense of their physical development. And what is known of the "Cheder" - the Jewish religious school - only confirms this opinion. These schools, most of which are found in Eastern Europe, are usually very unsanitary. Often "Cheder" is held in the teacher's home which usually boasts of one or two dark, unventilated rooms. There the children remain from morning until late at night poring over Hebrew, the Bible, and the Talmud. Of games and outdoor exercise they know almost nothing. The value of physical training need not be discussed here. It may be pointed out, however, that the intellectual classes everywhere are deficient in chest capacity unless they engage in outdoor

¹Eishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 86

²Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel Among the Nations, 162-163.

sports as do the American college boys.

Another point to be emphasized in this connection is the absence of agriculturists among the Jews. The urban population is, as a rule, less developed physically than the rural population. Hence the occupations of the Jews, their sedentary habits, the fact that a large proportion of them are engaged in study, and, above all, a long-continued subjection to unfavorable sanitary and social conditions, must be considered before the "Jewish chest" can be pronounced a racial or an acquired trait.

If then, as we have seen, there exist tall and short Jews, blondes and brunettes, Jews with straight and hooked noses, how is the Jew to be distinguished from non-Jewish people? In other words, what is the Jewish type? It may be stated at the outset that, as a matter of fact, there is no such thing as one Jewish type, except perhaps in caricatures of Jews. "It is a remarkable fact", says Dr. Fishberg, "that whenever an artist, even one who is sympathetic to his people, makes an attempt to depict the Jewish face in all its details, the result is almost invariably a caricature."¹ Writers of fiction also, seem to have adopted a certain type in their descriptions of the Jew.

"We find everywhere, tall and short Jews, dark and blonde ones. We see them with black eyes and with blue eyes, with flat or with turned-up noses, as well as with thin and with hooked noses. The same variety exists in the shapes of the skulls and frames. The Jews of all countries do not pos-

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 94.

sess the same anthropological characteristics; they vary sometimes in Jews of the same country. In this respect we do not, as a rule, meet with characteristics sufficiently constant to be able to differentiate the Israelites sharply from their neighbors of other religions."¹

Anthropologists distinguish more than one type of Jew. Two main types, the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi are acknowledged by all writers on the subject. More than 90% of all the Jews are Ashkenazi. Their name is derived from the word Ashkenaz the son of Comer, grandson of Noah.² To-day the Jews from Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Roumania, are of that type. The name Sephardi originates in Sepharad, the Biblical name of an unknown land in which the Jews exiled from Babylon were brought.³ The Jews of Spain and Portugal are called that because the medieval rabbis thought the name referred to Spain and Portugal. The first Jews who came to the United States from these countries were of that class. The two groups differ in their traditions, rites, ritual, and physical type. The Sephardi consider themselves that branch of Israel which has preserved its original Semitic purity. They do not associate with the Ashkenazim. They have an old tradition that they are descended from two different tribes, and they do not intermarry.

The Sephardi type is said to correspond more nearly to the ideal Jewish type. They represent the traditional

¹Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel Among the Nations, p. 114

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 107.

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 107.

Semitic beauty. "They are medium-sized, slender, narrow-shouldered, but graceful people, with a somewhat melancholy and thoughtful expression."¹ They are proud, dignified, and dress well. These traits Fishberg thinks have been acquired in the centuries they have been living among the Castilians.

Yet even this type is found to vary even among the Spanish Jews. "The Sephardim of today in various European countries have taken on the somatological traits of the races and peoples among which they live."²

The Sephardim of Holland, England and Germany, for instance, are said to have changed physically to a marked degree by intermarriage with their Ashkenazi co-religionists, or with Christians.³ Fishberg thinks that these intermarriages were more often with Christians. "The Sephardi Congregation, for instance, passed a resolution in 1776 that a Sephardi marrying an Ashkenazi forfeited his claim on Congregational Charity. In 1772 a Sephardi petitioned the Board for permission to marry a Tedesca, but was refused."⁴

The Ashkenazi type of Jew is familiar to most people acquainted with Jews. The Russian, Polish, Austrian, Roumanian, and German Jews are all of this type. In the light of what has been said of the physical character of the Jews, we should expect the Ashkenazim to be even a less homogenous type than the Sephardim. Such is really the case. Thus there are distinguished about five different types of Jews in Europe:

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 110
²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 110
³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 110
⁴Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 111
Footnote.

the Slavonic, the Turanian, the North European or Teutonic, the Mongoloid, and the Negroid. A description of them all can scarcely be attempted here. Moreover, unless descriptions of certain types are accompanied by a sufficient number of photographs, the reader can really have no adequate idea of what they look like; and that, of course, is not possible here.

The Slavonic type is found among Russian, Polish, Austrian, Roumanian and German Jews. It is to be noted that these Jews can often not be distinguished from their Slavonic neighbors, especially when they wear the national costumes of the countries in which they live.¹

The Turanian type is found among the Jews of Southern Russia, Austria, Galicia, Bukowina, and Roumania. This type is often seen among the non-Jewish population of this region.²

The North European or Teutonic type is found among Russian, Polish, German, and English Jews, and is said to possess the characteristics of the North Europeans. They are the blonde Jews whose origin, as we have indicated, has caused a great deal of dispute.

The Mongoloid type is often found in Russia, Poland, and Germany. The exact proportion of frequency of Mongoloid traits among European Jews is difficult to estimate. "According to Weissenberg it is quite frequent. He observed among 100 adult male Jews, 23 had more or less strongly protruding cheek-bones, and 13 had slanty eyes."³

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 114

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 114

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 118

Fishberg has found this type among immigrant Jews in New York City. In east side schools he finds in every class, at least one - often more than one - pupil with mongoloid features. He thinks that the type is due to intermixture with Russians. It is known that a large number of native Russians have mongoloid blood in their veins.¹

Dr. Fishberg also explains the presence of the negroid element often met with among Jews through intermarriage of Spanish and Portuguese Jews with the Moors. Having been driven from these countries, they transmitted these elements to their co-religionists.² This seems to be the only plausible explanation of the negroid element among the Eastern European Jews, for instance, who have not come in contact with negroes for centuries.

The salient points to be gathered from the preceding discussion are, first, that there are several types of Jews. Not only that, but there exist local types in different European countries. These resemble the population among which they live. "Every country has its special variety of Jews, which differ not only intellectually and socially, but also physically, as every one who has travelled and carefully observed the Jews has seen."³

Physically the Hebrew is a mixed race, like all our immigrant races or peoples, though to a less degree than most. This has been fairly well demonstrated by recent studies, notwithstanding the earlier scientific and present popular belief that they are of pure blood. In every country they are found to approach in type the people among whom they have

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 119

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 120

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 120

long resided. ¹

There are also several types of Jews in Palestine, and Asia Minor, a study of which would no doubt be profitable. But for our purpose the discussion just given of the European types is sufficient. We are concerned chiefly with the Jews who constitute our present immigration and these come mainly from the countries of Eastern Europe.

Yet despite the fact there is no single Jewish type, it is nevertheless true that the Jews can always be distinguished from the non-Jewish population. This is particularly true in European countries. "It is remarkable that in some of these countries one can point out a Jew among a crowd of non-Jews, even if the Jew be blonde, though the vast majority of Jews are brunettes."² In a certain sense, therefore, there is something that may be said to constitute the "Jewish type" though as has been indicated there is no single Jewish type ethnically.

It has long been my opinion that there is something in the expression of the Jewish face that makes it so easy to tell a Jew from a Christian. In Europe where most Jews dress differently from their non-Jewish neighbors it is, of course, easy to distinguish the Jew no matter where he is found. The orthodox Jews, for instance, wear side-locks of hair on their temples, while the orthodox Jewesses allow their hair to be on their marriage and wear wigs instead. No matter what

¹Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. 9

²Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 162.

ethnic type these may resemble, they can at once be singled out as Jews because no other people adhere to those customs. In Mohammedan countries the Jewish women wear no veils, while the Moslem women do wear them; hence it is very easy to tell them apart. It may be said without hesitation that most of the "Jewishness" disappears when these people dress like the rest of the population. Thus, Dr. Fishberg asserts that while he could point out nearly every Jew in the smaller towns of Poland, Russia, and Roumania by their peculiar dress and deportment, he often finds it difficult to say whether some of the servant girls found in Jewish homes in New York City are Jewish or Slavonian.¹

There is also a peculiar attitude of the body which is distinctly Jewish. That, Fishberg and others attribute to the social and economic conditions under which the Jews in the Ghettoes were forced to live. "The inferior hygienic, economic, and social conditions under which he was compelled to live in the Ghettoes have left their mark on his body,- he is old prematurely, stunted, decrepit; he withers at an early age. He is emaciated, his muscles are flabby, and he is unable to hold his spinal column erect."² But, being an acquired trait, this condition of the body is not transmitted. Fishberg finds that the children of immigrants to the United States, having had the benefit of western education, walk erect, and that this change becomes apparent even in the first generation of American Jews.³

¹Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 163.

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.163-164

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 165.

The well-known work of Professor Franz Boas in connection with the anthropological investigations of the Immigration Commission may well be brought in here. The most important conclusion reached by Professor Boas is that the bodily form of descendants of immigrants changes in this country. Not only this, but he found that the head form, hitherto considered one of the most stable and permanent characteristics of human races, changes when Europeans settle on American soil.

It was found, for instance, that the east European Hebrew whose head is round, becomes more long-headed; while the south Italian, who in Italy is exceedingly long-headed, becomes more short-headed; so that as far as the head form is concerned, both approach a uniform type.

The Hebrews, Professor Boas found, show changes peculiar to themselves. Their stature and weight increase; there is a perceptible decrease in the cephalic index and in the width of the face. As might be expected, the influence of American environment upon the descendants of immigrants was found to increase with the time the immigrants have lived in this country. "It appears that the longer the parents have been here, the greater is the divergence of the descendants from the European type."¹

Among the Hebrews the cephalic index of the foreign-born is practically the same, no matter how old the individuals at the time of immigration. This might be expected when the immigrants are adult or nearly mature, but it is of interest to note that even children who come here one year or a

¹Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 2.

few years old develop the cephalic index characteristic of the foreign-born. This index ranges around 83. When we compare the value of this index of the American-born, according to the time elapsed since their immigration, we find a sudden change. The value drops to about 82 for those born immediately after the immigration of their parents, and drops to 79 in the second generation, i. e., among the children of American-born children of immigrants. In other words, the effect of American environment makes itself felt immediately and increases slowly with the increase of the time elapsed between the immigration of the parents and the birth of the child.¹

Professor Boas is inclined to attribute these changes to the action of the environment, though he admits that all the distinct European types can not become the same in America without some mixture. Besides that, there is, of course, the difficulty of being unable to tell just how long these changes can continue, whether the different human types are capable of indefinite changes, and whether these changes would all lead to the same results. In other words, assuming that human types are plastic to some extent, is this plasticity unlimited? As a matter of fact, as Professor Boas himself points out, the history of the British types in America, of the Dutch in the East Indies, of the Spaniards in South America, favors the assumption of a strictly limited plasticity.²

This being the case, the investigation does not

¹Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 2
²Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 2

really prove that the American environment alone is responsible for the changes in type among the immigrants. Moreover, the investigation left out certain very important factors. The important problem of the selection which takes place during the period of immigration, and which is indicated by the change of type of immigrants after the panics of 1893 and 1907; the effect of rural environment and that of the climatic conditions of different parts of the country, the questions relating to the mixture of European races and of the mixture of immigrants with Americans of various types, these have not been studied. "The investigation was confined strictly to an inquiry into the physical development of members of certain races in the congested districts of New York City, only immigrants and their direct descendants being included in the study."¹ The investigation is therefore necessarily incomplete.

On the other hand, from what is known of the history of the human races, of dispersion and assimilation of different human groups, of the biological and instinctive forces that control the fusion of races, and of the influence of heredity, we are warranted in attributing some of the more fundamental changes in human types to racial intermixture rather than to the environment. I do not mean, of course, that subsequent studies may not some day affirm the theory of environmental influence in all its assumptions. That, however, belongs practically altogether to the realm of the future.

¹ Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 2.

Coming back to the question as to what constitutes the Jewish type, we must admit with Dr. Fishberg that it is the soul that betrays the Jew even when he has none of the other so-called Jewish peculiarities.

"Centuries of confinement in the Ghetto, social ostracism, ceaseless suffering under the ban of abuse and persecution, have been instrumental in producing a characteristic psychic type which manifests itself in his cast of countenance which is considered as peculiarly Jewish."¹

In other words, the type is not anthropological or physical, it is social or psychic.

"The modern Jew", says Leroy-Beaulieu, "is the result of a penning-in, of all that is comprised in the word Ghetto."

"The Jewish type was moulded and stamped by the Ghetto. The Ghetto has called forth and developed, in Jews in every country, moral and physical likenesses due less to blood-kinship than to an identical mode of living."²

And, as a matter of fact, other races besides the Jewish, who as religious minorities have been persecuted for generations, possess the Jewish physiognomy. "The Armenians whose lot has not been better than that of the Jews, are hardly to be distinguished from Jews by their facial features."³

"Von den Steinen describes and illustrates the Jewish type among the Balkari tribe of South American Indians.

¹Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 165.

²Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel Among the Nations, pp. 111-112.

³Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 165.

The illustration bears out the assertion that it was typically Jewish."¹

The old Incas are said to have had many characteristic Jewish features. The Jewish type has been found also among Japanese, North and South American Indians, Papuans, Todas, Indonesians, Negroes, Incas, Javanese, Germans, Frenchmen and Dutch.²

The "Jewish" face is then not found exclusively among Jews. It is seen among various peoples in different parts of the world, in places where one would least expect to find Jewish influence.

It is said that mental states have a great influence on the features of an individual. "Emerson in his English Traits", says, 'Every religious sect has its physiognomy. The Methodists have acquired a face, the Quakers a face, the nuns a face, an Englishman will point out a dissenter by his manners. Trades and professions carve their own lines on faces and forms.'³ In actual experience, we can often distinguish the actor, the minister, the scholar, by his physiognomy. Why not the Jew?

"Continual hardships, persecution, a desperate struggle against an inexorable human environment, as well as a physical one, could not but write its lines upon the face. The impression of a dreary past is deep sunk in the bodily propor-

¹Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 174.

²Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 176.

³Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 166.

tions, as we have seen, why not in the face as well?"¹

I am aware that this is a meager treatment of a big subject. I am also forced to admit that the evidence presented here of the intermixture of Jews with non-Jewish peoples throughout their history is by no means exhaustive. I shall, therefore, substantiate the anthropological facts presented in this chapter with Biblical and historical evidence of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews.

There are many passages in the Bible showing that the ancient Hebrews intermarried with the various races found in Canaan--the blonde Amorites, the dark-complexioned Hittites, the negroid Cushites.² Frequent prohibitions against such marriages only attest to their frequency. The Patriarchs had Gentile wives, and the mixed multitude that went with the Hebrews from Egypt probably intermarried with them. The Bible also permitted Hebrews to marry women of different tribes captured in war. It is impossible that intermarriage with all these different races should not have affected the physical type of the Jewish people.

History shows that much admixture took place during the Greco-Roman period of the Jews. This period is characterized by great proselytising activities on the part of the Jews, with the result that many members of the royal family embraced Judaism, as well as people of the lower classes.

"Modern researches have shown positively that Judaism has sent

¹Ripley, Races of Europe, p. 397.

²Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 181

forth apostles."¹ Leroy-Beaulieu says that Israel can not be regarded as an ethnic unit free from intermixture, since at the very beginning of the race, "the Asmoneans and the Herods, observing in their practice the 'compelle intrare', introduced into Judaism by means of circumcision great hordes of people from Idumea, Ituria, the Hauran, and the neighboring districts of Syria."²

"We see Jews making converts in Arabia; tribes of Arabs are won over, in a body, to the Mosiac law. Mohammed is the disciple of the Jews, and Islamism is only a crude adaptation of Judaism."³

The contention that the early Christian Church recruited its members from among the half-proselytes is true; but it can not be said that this removed all the foreign blood from Judaism. Neither did intermarriage stop with the advance of Christianity. In 1092, King Ladislaus of Hungary prohibited marriage between his Jewish and Christian subjects. In 1229 Archbishop Robert von Grau complains to the Pope that many Jews in Hungary are married to Christian women and that the latter are often converted to Judaism.⁴

The first Jewish communities between Worms and Mayence are said to have been founded by the children of Jewish women captured during the wars of the Merovingian kings.⁵

¹Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. X, p. 222.

²Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel among the Nations, p. 106.

³Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel among the Nations, p. 106.

⁴Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 189.

⁵v. Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. III, pp. 40-41.

In the eighth century, there was a great infusion of non-Jewish blood into the veins of eastern European Jews, when the Chozars adopted Judaism. These Chozars were of Turanian origin and had a strong kingdom in Southern Russia. After the destruction of their kingdom, most of them are said to have mingled with the Jews in that region and in other countries. It is stated by many authorities that the Jews in Southern Russia, Hungary, Roumania, and part of Poland, are mainly descendants of Chozars who intermarried with Jews.¹

Statistics show that there are more mixed marriages in modern times than is generally supposed. In Scandinavia, the largest proportion of Jews marry Christians. In Germany there were contracted between 1901 and 1907 about 27,672 marriages between Jews and Jewesses, and 5,300 between Jews and Christians. The mixed marriages constituted in that case 19.15% of the pure Jewish marriages.²

A tendency in this direction is observed even in orthodox communities where we would least expect such marriages to occur. In Amsterdam, which has always been the seat of orthodox Jews, there were 15.08% of mixed marriages in 1902-03. In Roumania where the Jews are said to be rather backward socially and intellectually, there were during 1904-05, 3.52% of mixed marriages.³ It has been said that most of the rich Jewish families of France have intermarried with the decadent aristocracy of that country. An interesting situation ^{is found} /

¹ Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 195
² " " " " " " pp. 199-200.
³ " " " " " " p. 201

in Italy in this respect. There the number of mixed marriages is said to be in excess of the pure Jewish marriages. In fact, there is hardly a Jewish family that has not some Christian relative through intermarriage.¹

In the United States, the early Jewish settlers are said to have disappeared through intermarriage with Christians.² There being no denominational statistics, as far as I know, it is impossible to give the number and proportion of such marriages in our own day. They are, however, very common in the Western and Southern states, and less so in the Eastern states, where the continued influx of orthodox Jews from Europe tends to prevent mixed marriages to a certain degree.³

The figures given above are by no means exhaustive. They serve to indicate, however, that mixed marriages do take place wherever Jews are found. Though the results of such marriages on a very large scale are as yet difficult to formulate, they at least point to the possibility of a decrease in the number of Jews wherever such marriages are at all common.

Dr. Fishberg shows, for instance, that of the offspring of such marriages, hardly more than 10% remain within the fold of Judaism.⁴ This may be a cause of rejoicing for the advocate of the purity of the Jewish race, since racial purity may be maintained to a certain extent in this way. But as that number keeps on increasing, and is cumulative, it means

¹Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 202.

²Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 202.

³Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 218.

⁴Fishberg, The Jew: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 219.

that new anthropological types are being introduced among the Jews. This, the advocates of the ethnical purity of the Jews do not seem to realize. And it must be admitted that it is very difficult to see the effects of fusion in a superficial examination, unless very large numbers of people are involved.

Professor Franz Boas has estimated that in a population in which two types intermingle, and in which both types occur with equal frequency, there will be in the fourth generation less than one person in ten thousand of pure descent. When the proportion of the two original types is as nine to one, there will be among the more numerous part of the population only eighteen in one thousand in the fourth generation that will be of pure blood.¹

Anthropological effects are therefore inevitable for both Jewish and Christian populations wherever mixed marriages take place.

I have attempted to present sufficient anthropological data in this chapter, as a basis for further discussion of Jewish immigration. It may well be emphasized that the Jewish race is here regarded as a social product purely, and not as the result of some inherent power that has enabled it to keep itself free from foreign blood in spite of constant intermingling with other races. The latter view can only be held by those who take the Biblical view that the Jews are the "chosen people".

"The continuance of the Jewish race until the present day", says the Jewish historian Graetz, "is a marvel not

¹Franz Boas, Race Problems in America, Science Vol.29, pp.839-849

to be overlooked even by those who deny the existence of miracles and who only see in the most astounding events, both natural and preternatural, the logical results of cause and effect. Here we observe a phenomenon, which has developed and asserted itself in spite of all laws of nature, and we behold a culture which, notwithstanding unspeakable hostility against its exponents, has nevertheless profoundly modified the organism of nations."¹

In a sense we may of course subscribe to the above view. It is true that culturally the Jewish people has developed and maintained itself, if not "in spite of all laws of nature", at least in defiance of all laws of nations. Biologically, however, things do not happen except in accordance with natural laws.

As a product of social conditions, then, we have seen that the Jew varies in different countries commensurate with the degree of social, economic, and religious freedom he enjoys.

"Imagine animals, horses or dogs", says Leroy-Beaulieu, "shut up for four or five hundred years in an enclosed park, strictly isolated from all their fellow animals and condemned to a uniform diet. It is in some such fashion that the Jews have been treated. A human species was created, in the same way as breeders create an animal species. In view of all this we are justified in asserting that the Jew is the product of compulsory grouping and of economic and political conditions, as much as, and even more than of racial conditions. His uniqueness is due less to the oriental blood transmitted by his

¹Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. 1, Preface.

remote ancestors, the Beni-Israel, than to the sort of existence imposed on his forefathers by ours. The best evidence of this is the fact that, with the gradual removal of the barriers that surrounded the old Jewries, the typical and characteristic peculiarities of the Jews seem to be fading away.¹

¹Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel among the Nations, p. 122.

CHAPTER III

THE JEW IN THE UNITED STATES

It may not be generally known that the year 1492 witnessed not only the discovery of a new world, the American Continent, but also the unlocking of the gates of this new world to that most persecuted of human races - the Jewish race. I believe I am justified in claiming that to most people, Jewish immigration to this country began only when America was sufficiently developed commercially at least, to afford the Jew the opportunity of plying his favorite occupation - that of money-making. Admitting that those who will read this paper are sufficiently well acquainted with the conditions of emigration to know that economic exigencies alone, or as in this case, simply the lust for money, are not the only factor that leads men and women to forsake their native countries in search of a better land, yet there may be some to whom this broader outlook is not given, and who approach this problem with a set of preconceived notions as to what is the immigrant and what are his motives for emigrating, and whose views and conclusions are necessarily somewhat biased.

We must, however, emphasize at the outset the fallacy of allowing personal opinions to influence our judgment particularly in such a discussion as that of immigration. Emigration is not what some of us may think; it is a world-wide movement and is, as has been indicated before, as old as the

human race itself. In common with all movements of any import it has its historical background in the past, and must be viewed strictly from the evolutionary point of view. When we come to the question of Jewish immigration, it is even more imperative that we adopt a scientific attitude, because prejudice is more apt to influence our judgment here.

The recent Jewish Immigration to this country has been influenced largely by the actions of the eastern European governments; particularly the Russian and Roumanian. But pogroms and legislative acts have not always been responsible for Jewish immigration. There was a time when Jews came to this country actuated by the same ideals that brought the Puritans here. The older Jewish immigration began, therefore, with the discovery of America. For some 250 years after the discovery there was a steady stream of this immigration composed mainly of Spanish and Portuguese stock, with occasionally a few German, French, English and Polish Jews. It must not be imagined that this colonization was easily accomplished, for Jewish settlements were strictly prohibited in Spanish and Portuguese America; though, with the inconsistency characteristic of tyrannical governments, many Jews were forcibly transported to America by the state through the agency of the Inquisition. That reminds one of the stupid policy of the Russian government who prevents in every possible way the education of the Jews and then blames them for illiteracy.

These early Jews seem to have been a very desirable element in our colonial population. They are said to have been instrumental in the development of vast intercolonial

relations; they were the pioneers and promoters of foreign commerce in America. They were heavily interested in the Dutch West India Company, many of them being stock-holders. It was really due to this fact that a group of Jews were, in 1654, permitted to settle and trade in New Amsterdam. This was the beginning of Jewish settlements in New York City.

The reactionary movement that followed the Napoleonic wars in Germany, early in the Nineteenth century, and particularly the Jewish marriage-laws passed in some of the German states forbidding more than a certain number of Jewish couples to live in any district, stimulated a considerable German-Jewish immigration to America beginning about 1815.

The political and economic unrest in Germany and throughout Europe following the revolutions of 1848 brought a very intelligent class of German, Hungarian, Polish, and Bohemian Jewish immigrants to this country. In 1882 began the Russian Jewish Exodus; that from Roumania began in 1900.

The Jews attracted to this country in colonial times were of a high type. "The departure of the Jews from Spain", says the historian Graetz, "soon made itself felt in a very marked manner by the Christians. Talent, activity, and prosperous civilization passed with them from the country. The smaller towns which had derived some vitality from the presence of the Jews, were quickly depopulated, sank into insignificance, lost their spirit of freedom and independence, and became tools for the increasing despotism of the Spanish kings and the imbecile superstitions of the priests. The

Spanish nobility soon complained that their towns and villages had fallen into insignificance, had become deserted, and they declared that, could they have foreseen the consequences, they would have opposed the royal commands. Dearth of physicians was strongly felt too. ---In many places the people fell victims to quacks, boastful bunglers, or to the superstitions of deceiving or self-deceived dealers in magic. In one word, Spain fell into a condition of barbarism through the banishment of the Jews, and all the wealth which the settlement of American colonies brought to the mother country only helped to render its inhabitants more idle, stupid, and servile. The name of the Jews died out of the country in which they had played so important a part, and the literature of which was so filled with Jewish elements that men of intelligence were constantly reminded of them."¹

"With justice nearly all the European princes, and even the Parliament of Paris, bitterly blamed the perverseness of Ferdinand and Isabela in having driven out so useful a class of citizens. The Sultan Bajasid exclaimed, 'You call Ferdinand a wise king, he who has made his country poor and enriched ours.'"²

The preceding discussion indicates the necessity for a strictly scientific point of view in discussing this problem. Jewish immigration can not be understood by the present

¹Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. 4, pp. 353-354.

²Graetz, History of the Jews, " " p. 356.

alone. That is obvious. A glance at the slums in our cities reveals one aspect of the Jew; an aspect that is not at all encouraging, we must admit. A glance at our civilization, on the other hand brings the past history of the human race before us, and we see the Jew bearing the torch of civilization throughout the centuries of Semitic influence in the Anciant World. We must try to see the Jew as a colonist when America was discovered, marching steadily on with the non-Jewish colonists, doing his share in the building up of the colonies; fighting in the wars and freely shedding his blood for the country of his adoption; assisting in its commercial and industrial development. In other words, we must conceive of the Jew as a considerable factor in the development of this country just as he is considered one in that of the civilization of the world. That is the only way we may regard the Jews if we are to take a rational view of the problem of Jewish immigration.

"The forced immigration of recent years from Russia and Roumania has naturally had the effect of bringing to these shores persons less adequately equipped, and who had known fewer opportunities for development, than the earlier immigrants, generally speaking, had known."¹

This is probably the best characterization that could be made of the Jews of the new immigration. As we have seen, each country has its own peculiar type of Jew - the result of the environment, the social, economic, and political conditions of that country; and a study of each group would really

¹Encyclopedia Americana, The Jew in America.

not help us in the presentation of our problem; it would, if anything, only render it more complex. The problem is greatly simplified, however, if we consider the new Jewish immigration as being composed of men who have been denied the opportunities for development, which as we shall see later is really the case.

The new immigration, being in a measure the result of economic conditions in the European countries from which the new immigrants are mainly recruited, and having to some extent created an economic problem here, it may be well, if in our attempt to determine what kind of immigrants we get, we do so from the economic standpoint first.

As to the occupations of the Jewish immigrants, I should say at the outset that we do not get the kind of immigrants most people have in mind when they speak of the Jew. The prevalent opinion seems to be that the Jew in America is primarily a peddler, a business man, and a sweat-shop worker. That is unsound reasoning; for one might as well say that all the Irish are policemen and all the Italians are addicted to the habit of terrorizing one another with black-hand letters. That would not be true any more than it is true that all the Jews can do is peddle, cheat one another, and ply the needle in the sweat-shop. As a matter of fact, the occupations of our Jewish immigrants are as diverse as the conditions in the different countries from which they come permit them to be.

There is a sense in which people of different countries are limited in their choice of occupations. It is

well known that the topography of a country, its climatic conditions, the fertility of its soil, all tend to determine in a measure the occupations of the people in that country. In addition to all this, however, the productive activity of the Jew has been restricted by his political status among nations. The restrictions imposed upon him in the ownership of land, for instance, in different European countries, are well known. Besides, being liable to expulsion without a moment's notice, he would most likely not have owned land had he been permitted to do so.

"The means by which Jews earn their livelihoods are still largely determined by the restrictions which until very recently were placed upon them. Owing to the monopoly of the handicrafts by the guilds, the normal number of artisans was not found among medieval Jews, while the restrictions as to the holding of land limited the number of agriculturists among them."¹

In the Middle Ages, the trade guilds were composed almost entirely of Christians, so that Jews were excluded from nearly all industrial occupations. Medieval conditions, however, favored mercantile pursuits since the nobility hardly ever engaged in business. The Jews were, therefore, allowed to fill this gap in medieval society. Lucky says that the Jews succeeded in making themselves indispensable to the Christian community by organizing a system of exchange which was then unparalleled in Europe.²

¹Jewish Encyclopedia, Occupations.

²Lucky, Rationalism in Europe, Vol. II, p. 283.

The solidarity of the Jews made them the leading international business men; as wanderers they knew all conditions of trade, and they cooperated with each other wherever they were. "This", says Dr. Fishberg, "is the most important reason why they were often invited to some countries in order to develop their commerce."¹ Money lending and peddling were often the only occupations open to them; frequently they were only the agents of rich Christians as they are today the middlemen of rich landlords in Europe.

If space permitted, we could show that the Jews are and have been an almost indispensable commercial factor wherever they have lived. "Nearly all the Polish kings were favorably disposed towards a class which was so financially useful."² We have indicated briefly their value to Spain, and their usefulness in Colonial America.

Not only does the political status of the Jews limit their choice of occupation but their religion does this even to a greater extent. 'It will be found', says Jacobs, 'that in a large majority of instances the occupations are determined by their religious needs. Thus, butchers are required for Kosher meat, and many Jews are, therefore, found in a trade seemingly alien to their general character, and generally adopted by persons born in country neighborhoods. Printing and bookbinding are also branches where the sacred has led to the secular applications of those industries.'

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 394.

²Baskerville, The Polish Jew, p. 227.

The opportunities given by the fruit and tobacco trades for avoiding a second Sabbath account for a large predominance of Jews in these trades. And, as a general principle, those trades are most favored by Jews which afford them opportunity for arranging their own time for work and leaving them free for their festivals and religious duties generally. Piece work rather than time work, domestic industries rather than factory work; in fact, occupations in which they can be, to a certain extent, masters, would naturally be chosen by a people whose holidays differ from those of their neighbors. Add to this certain natural tendencies, heightened by historic causes, towards private banking and international exchange, and the chief occupations of the Jews are accounted for.¹

Writers on economics and on labor questions are beginning to understand the factors working for the perpetuation of the sweat-shop for instance. It is not always money - it is more often the desire to observe the Sabbath, and other holidays, and to rise from the position of a mere wage worker to something better that makes the Jew perpetuate that obnoxious system.

The place of residence also plays an important part in the choice of occupation. Industrial centers derive their workers mainly from the city; the rural population alone perpetuates agricultural laborers - in spite of a slight interchange when some city laborers go to the country, and the

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.394-5

children of country folk go to the cities. As town dwellers for nearly two thousand years, the Jews have been so thoroughly urbanized that return to the soil is difficult for them even in countries where they are permitted to engage in agriculture. But though the change has been slow, yet where the Jews have obtained political rights, and where nearly all occupations are open to them, the number of artisans and laborers is large. This is true even in Russia where fifty years ago very few Russian Jews engaged in industrial pursuits. According to the census of 1897, 34.63% of the Jews there were earning a livelihood in some form of industry. Their preference for the garment industry is indicated by the fact that 202,417 Jews and 51,670 Jewesses were engaged in that work. Nearly one-third of all the garment workers in Roumania were Jews in 1908. The same conditions prevail in Austria, Germany, Italy, and wherever the Jews are allowed to engage in industrial pursuits. In Austria, according to the census of 1900, the Jews who constitute only one-twentieth of the total population, formed one-fifth of all those engaged in commerce and transportation. The same was true in Hungary, where the census of 1899 showed that 50.35 % of all male Jews over fifteen years of age were engaged in commerce and transportation as against 8.32% of the general population. In Germany where the Jews are only 1.5% of the total population, 38.89% of all those engaged in Banking, Exchange, and credit, 13.14% of all those engaged in the sale of manufactured goods, 8.16% of all traders in domestic animals, and 7.16% of all insurance men were

Jews according to the census of 1895.¹

In the United States, the native Jews, descendants of Polish and German immigrants, are very active industrially; they are prominent as bankers and speculators; they originally had control of the garment industry until the Russian Jews displaced them; they were among the organizers of the Department Stores.

The new immigrants from Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, and Roumania have a large proportion of artisans. They have for the last twenty-five years controlled the garment industry, and have pushed out other nationalities from that field. They are represented in the wood industry as carpenters, joiners, cabinetmakers; many are painters, masons, bricklayers, ironworkers, lock-smiths, tinsmiths, etc. Those familiar with our large industrial centers will agree that there is hardly an industry where Jews are not represented. And, in general, they cannot be classified as unskilled laborers.

"The Greeks, Hebrews, and Slavonians, together with thirteen other races from southern and eastern Europe, are engaged in manufacturing and mining---." ² This statement is significant in that it shows that Jews are to be found even in the mining industry.

In an occupational classification of male breadwinners of Russian parentage the Commission finds in 1900

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.398-400

²Immigration Commission, Immigrants in Industries, Vol.I, p.47

that of 191,599 men, 34,418 or 18% were tailors, and 24,792 or 12.9% were retail merchants.¹

The Commission concludes that this is a characteristic of the Russian Jews, their disposition to engage in the retail business being further indicated by the large number returned to the census as hucksters and peddlers, these constituting 6.4% of the total number of male breadwinners of the first generation.

The Jews, of course, have control of the garment industry in nearly all its branches. The greatest proportion of Jews in the clothing trade is found in Baltimore; while in New York City the proportion is greatest among the Italians. This shows that the Italians are beginning to replace the Hebrews to some extent.²

A point to be emphasized is that a higher proportion of Jewish men are engaged in this industry than can be shown of any other nationality. The reason for this I believe can be found in the fact that very few Jewish women work after they are married. The trade recruits its women workers mainly from the unmarried immigrant girls.

The Immigration Commission does not bring out clearly enough the fact that Jews are found in nearly every conceivable occupation. From the Twelfth Annual Report of the Industrial Removal Office, of which I shall have occasion to

¹Immigration Commission, Immigrants in Industries, Vol. I, p. 49

²Immigration Commission, Occupations of Immigrants, Vol. I.

speak later, we get some interesting figures bearing on this fact. "206 occupations are represented by removals of 1912: 66% are classified in the manufacturing category; 25% of all the wage earners distributed were engaged in the needle industries, which have, it should be borne in mind, 71 subdivisions; 11.3% engaged in metal trades; 8.7% engaged in manufacturing of leather and accessories; 7.5% engaged in the building trades; 7.5% engaged in the building trades; 7.5% engaged in wood-working."¹

"A classification of non-manufacturing fields of activity shows that 5.6% were employed in miscellaneous occupations embracing 33 classifications, from barbers and florists to motormen, street sweepers, wagon drivers and window dressers; 3.3% represents small dealers in food stuffs such as bakers, butchers, egg candlers, and fruit packers; 4.7% are classified as office help, professional, etc., and in this category are included a variety of professional men such as chemists, draftsmen, electricians, mechanical dentists, photographers, schochtim, and surveyors."²

"As an indication of the adaptability of the Jews to new lines of work, we find that out of the 206 occupations represented by the removals of 1912, there are 42 occupations not represented by the total removals in the past eleven years since the office was founded. Other new trades range from sawyers, drillers, glass cutters, oil drawers, auto

¹Twelfth Annual Report of the Industrial Removal Office:
²Twelfth Annual Report of the Industrial Removal Office:

cover makers, vampers, mattress finishers, window shade setters, surveyors and electrical engineers.¹

Though necessarily brief, the discussion has brought out the following facts: first that the Jewish immigrants come to this country equipped with a variety of trades and professions, proportionate to the degree of freedom and opportunity they have had in their native countries. Hence they are not all peddlers or tailors. Second, I gather from the reports of the Immigration Commission that if they are not ahead of the other immigrant races, the Jews at least compare favorably with any of them. The Commission notes, for instance, that nearly every nationality of immigrants shows an increase in the percentage of clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, etc., in the second generation. Thus, the first generation of Russians gives 2.2% in those occupations and the second generation gives 11.7%. A more complete classification would have specified the number of Jews. It is well known, however, that under "Russians" are meant Jews, for very few Russians come to the United States from the classes that are able to produce clerks and bookkeepers.

"In general, there is a decided increase in the proportion of salesmen, agents, and commercial travelers in the second generation of each nationality. This is notably the case as regards the Russians, the great majority of whom are doubtless Russian Jews."²

¹Twelfth Annual Report of the Industrial Removal Office.

²Immigration Commission, Occupations of Immigrants, Part 6-7.

From my own observations among the Jews of the East Side in New York City, I should say that these conclusions are correct. Rarely does the Jewish boy follow the trade of his father. The Jewish tailor prefers to send his son to college. It is a matter of common knowledge that the universities and professional colleges in the east are filled with Jews. The ranks of the industrial workers are perpetuated from among the immigrants, both men and women.

"Significant changes are to be observed among the children of these immigrant Jews. Very few of them are to be met in the garment industry excepting as employers.----- A large number of them are public school teachers, or engaged in the various departments of the city, state and nation in the ranks of the civil service. The number of Jewish male and female school teachers is enormous in New York City, while nearly all the city departments have Jewish clerks and officials; some are actually crowded with Jews. They also make up a very large proportion of the physicians and lawyers of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, etc., of late a large number have become civil and electrical as well as mining engineers."¹

Dr. Fishberg is well qualified to speak on the subject, having lived and studied among the east side Jews of New York City for a number of years.

Concerning the economic status of Jewish immigrants, we may say without hesitation that they are poor. While it

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 402.

is true that a great proportion of them have been wage-workers in Europe, and belong to the ranks of the so-called skilled laborers, yet considering the extremely low wage scale in the countries where most of the present immigration is recruited from, we are not surprised to find that lots of the Jewish immigrants not only do not bring any money with them, but their tickets are very frequently paid for by friends and relatives in this country. Still, the Jews have always been considered prosperous as a class, especially in the eastern European countries where a great proportion engage in business. In Roumania, for instance, business is practically all in the hands of Jews. This is especially true in the smaller towns. There the poor, ignorant, underfed peasant comes to town once or twice a week to sell his products and to buy the things that he can not produce. The Jews behind the counters, selling groceries, dry goods, and other commodities, appear to him wealthy and powerful. He does not know of the daily struggles, of the excessive taxation the Jews must pay, of the fact that these merchants and their wives work day and night and can often not raise the money for the exorbitant taxes the Jews are compelled to pay if they would send their children to the public schools. "As rich as a Jew" is, therefore, a popular saying shared by not a few of the more intelligent Christians there. The same is, of course, true in Russia and in every country where the Jew has not yet been emancipated politically and socially. In addition to this, the well-known high birth rate among the eastern European Jews coupled with a relatively low death

rate, and insufficient earnings, renders them a poor people despite many notable exceptions. We must also remember that the Jews always care for their own poor. Only those who know the eastern European Ghettos can tell of the appalling poverty among the Jews there. This the Christians in those countries ignore or do not know; and because Jews never appeal to them for help they conclude that they are above the poverty line.

"We concur with Jacobs", says Dr. Fishberg, "that if we chose to regard them as a nation it is probable that they are the poorest of all that can claim to be civilized; and if we were to capitalize their wealth and distribute it among the twelve millions of Jews, they would dispute with any poor nation for the lowest place in the scale of wealth."¹

But the Jews, as we have seen, differ from each other physically, according to the country in which they live. They also differ as to occupation. May it not be then that they vary in their economic condition when they arrive to the United States? I shall try to show briefly that the Jewish immigrants do show variations as to their economic condition according to the country in which they live .

It is very difficult to obtain statistics of Jewish dependents because they rarely enter public almshouses in Europe and in America, and do not seek relief from non-Jewish charity agencies. We should, therefore, be misled

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 361.

if we looked for statistics in reports of charitable societies unless they are Jewish, for we should find that no Jews had applied to the former and perhaps infer that there are no poor Jews. But statistical material can not always be obtained from Jewish societies even. In eastern Europe, for instance, charity and relief work is not done scientifically, as is being attempted in the United States, and the societies there do not publish reports of their activities. However, a report by representatives of the Jewish colonization association throws some light on the economic conditions of the Jews in Russia. Because of the difficulty of determining the extent of poverty among the Jews in Russia, the authors attempted to find the number of Jews who had applied for Matzos (unleavened bread) for Passover. From this investigation it appears that 132,855 Jewish families in Russia had applied for this form of charity in 1898 - about 18.8% of all the Jews there. These figures are probably accurate, because no matter how poor, the orthodox Jews would rather sell all they possess and buy their own Matzos than apply to charity for it. The fact that so many did apply shows that there was no other way for them to observe the Passover. There were also probably many poor people who found some way of paying for their Matzos. It was also found that 20.3% of the total Jewish population were assisted with fuel during the winter of 1898.¹

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, pp.362-63.

Thirty-two and thirty-six hundredths per cent of the total Jewish population of Odessa received help during the year 1899. Authorities are of the opinion that 50% of the Jews in that city live in poverty and are in constant danger of sinking lower into the pauper class.¹ And when we remember that Odessa is the chief industrial center of Russia, we get some idea on conditions in smaller Russian towns. Practically the same conditions prevail in Galicia and Roumania.

In western Europe, however, we meet an entirely different state of affairs. The absence of denominational statistics precludes a study of economic conditions in Western Europe except in Germany. It appears that the Jews there are even more prosperous than the Christians. It was found that in the German census of 1895, in the class "independent without occupation", or what we would call "retired on an income", 8.76% were Christians and 16.3% were Jews. Income tax statistics show in 1904 that 15% of the Jews of Berlin had an income yearly of 1,500 marks and over. In Frankfort it was found in 1900 that 32.4% of the Jews had incomes of 6,000 annually. The same conditions could no doubt be shown in France, England, Belgium, and other Western countries, could statistics be obtained. The problem of the charity associations in Western countries, especially Germany, France and England, is essentially that of the United States. It is the caring for the immigrant. The immigrants who pass

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 364.

through Hamburg need assistance; those who go to France and England on their way to America often need help. If not that, then enormous sums of money are expended to help the eastern European Jews in some way. For instance, the Alliance Israelite Universelle exists for that purpose only.

Jewish poor born in America may be said not to exist at all. Of the 10,334 families who applied for assistance to the United Hebrew Charities of New York City during the year 1901, only 2% were born in the United States; and of these the majority of heads of families were of the first generation. Jewish dependents with an ancestry in the United States of more than two generations are practically unknown.¹

Yet even among those who apply for charity - the immigrants - there is very rarely found the so-called "pauper" element. "The majority of those who apply are victims of working and living conditions in this city."²

Mr. Waldman finds that sickness in various forms is responsible for 42% of the cases, 13% of the sick suffering from tuberculosis. Widowhood and orphanage is the second chief cause of dependency, forming 15% of all the cases. These, however, are not the fundamental causes of poverty among the Jews. Low wages, as Mr. Waldman points out, the result of an imperfect industrial system, are one cause underlying poverty. Low wages, on the other hand, result in overcrowding and unhygienic homes, and in overworked

¹Bernheimer, The Jew in the United States, p. 63.

²Morris Waldman, The Problem of Jewish Charity in N. Y., Address before the United Hebrew Charities of New York.

and underfed people. Chronic illness is thus produced, and death which throws upon the resources of the community numberless widows and orphans to be cared for until the children are old enough to work.¹

The economic problem is not distinctly Jewish of course. Other nationalities may and do suffer from an imperfect industrial system, and its effects. But it is to be noted that the dependency among Jews narrows itself down to a Jewish problem pure and simple, for the reason that the Jewish poor are cared for mainly by Jews.

Jewish dependents are recruited from the diseased and defective classes who are physically incapable of helping themselves; from among the widows with small children to support; and also from among the aged and infirm.²

Dr. Fishberg attributes the absence of the pauper element among the Jews to the lack of alcoholism among them. In his capacity of physician to the United Hebrew Charities, he finds this to be the case. "Among many thousands of applicants for relief whom I have examined, I have met with less than a dozen whose misfortune has been due directly or indirectly to an excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages. Among non-Jewish applicants for relief, the proportion of persons whose descent in the social scale is due directly or indirectly to alcoholism has been estimated at twenty-five per cent and even more."³

¹Morris Waldman, The Problem of Jewish Charity in N. Y., Address before the United Hebrew Charities of New York.

²Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 307.

³Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 307

From the Report of the United Hebrew Charities for 1905, we learn that 10,015 families and individuals had applied for charity that year, but that the majority of them were not dependents. Some came for advice, others for work; the majority were temporarily embarrassed and did not become permanently dependent upon the society.

The following figures are found in a study made of those who applied since 1894: 3% of those who first applied in 1894-5 applied again in 1905; only 5.1% of the applicants between 1899-1903; 14.3% of those who applied in 1903-4 applied again in 1905; 7.3% of the total applicants since 1894 came to the society in 1905. of those who originally applied between 1874-1894, 450 families again applied in 1905.

"The problem which confronts the Society is, as it has been for the last twenty-five years, the problem of the arriving immigrants. The native-born Jewish poor continues to be two per cent of the total number of families assisted. Generally speaking, it may be said that the Society does not confront the problem of pauperization. Today, as for many years, we are meeting a problem of simple poverty, due to the conditions under which our co-religionists are compelled to emigrate to the United States."¹

The fact is also emphasized that "general illness" is an important factor in the work of the society.

In the report for 1906 we find the following significant statement: "Illness continues to be the main cause

¹Report, United Hebrew Charities of New York City, 1905.

of application for assistance."¹ We also find that the immigrant is the one mostly in need of assistance.

"As heretofore, it is the immigrant who has been here a number of years who eventually requires assistance. The number of applicants of native birth remains in the neighborhood of 2%; indicating that the descendants of those who have come here within the past twenty-five years are able to get along without outside assistance."²

Emphasis is laid again and again upon the moral standards of the people in spite of life in the most congested parts of the city. Thus of the 1,591 new cases who were relieved by the society, only 2.2 were cases of imprisonment. Fourteen of these were married men, but only eight families applied because of imprisonment of the head. Only six of the 1,591 were brought for intemperance. This is, of course, indicative of the sobriety of the Jew.

The only moral subjective cause the society has to deal with is wife desertion. Of the 1,591 cases, 137 or 8 5/8% were of deserted women. It is, however, difficult to determine how many of them actually involve moral delinquency. Men frequently leave home in search of work and for some reason fail to write for some time; this being interpreted by the wife as desertion. Often the men find work and send for their families; when they fail to return, it may be due to

¹Report of United Hebrew Charities, 1906

²Report of United Hebrew Charities, 1906

lack of means of identification in a strange city.

The Report for 1911 does not differ very materially from those of the preceding years. "We find again that the factors which make for dependency are largely forces over which the unfortunate applicants have no control. The figures which will be published show, as they have in the past, that crime and intemperance play no appreciable part in the sad drama of human lives which it is our province to see unfolded. The stories which we hear day by day are largely repetitions of the stories heard before - sickness, old age, accident, widowhood, and orphanage, desertion, unemployment and insufficient earnings - uniform in their general character, though none the less varied and pathetic in their combinations of circumstances."¹

Mr. Waldman, who has been quoted before, writing in 1912, reaches practically the same conclusions as to Jewish dependency and its causes. Having been identified with the United Hebrew Charities of New York City for a number of years, he is well qualified to speak on the subject. A similar study of Jewish charities in other cities would probably yield similar results. New York City has been chosen because it is the center of Jewish immigration, having more Jewish immigrants than any other city in the United States. New York City is also the center of all Jewish activities in the field

¹ Report of United Charities, 1911.

of education, industry, commerce, philanthropy; and is, therefore, representative of the activities of both immigrant and native Jews of this country.

As to the matter of illiteracy. This phase of the immigration problem has been exploited perhaps more than any other. When all arguments fail, one can usually fall back upon the question of illiteracy to carry his point - if the discussion is led by the restrictionist. For it is true that a considerable proportion of the new immigrants are illiterate. When we come to Jewish immigration, arguments usually go to extremes. The Jews are either spoken of as ignorant, superstitious, illiterate, or they are held up as models of wisdom and learning. As a matter of fact, it is absolutely necessary that we adopt a middle course in discussing this phase of the Jewish immigration. As the Jew varies in different countries physically and as his activities are conditioned largely by his political and economic status wherever he lives, so does it depend on the opportunities for education he has had in his native country, whether he can read and write when he arrives here. I confine myself merely to the matter of reading and writing because it is difficult to pass judgment on the general education of the immigrants for the reason that standards in education, as in every thing else, vary among different people. For instance, the Rabbi of the old school, versed in the lore of the Talmud, may be, and usually is considered the learned man of the community; but he would certainly not be regarded as an educated man in the broader meaning of the term. Yet as a test of

the literacy of the Jewish immigrants as a whole we must depend on the proportion of persons who are able to read and write.

Their economic conditions and, therefore, their ability to keep their children in school are very significant for the Jews of eastern Europe. In Russia and Roumania the state supports free schools for the children who care to go, but the Jews are not admitted, or a very small proportion are allowed to attend the schools, in which case an exorbitant tax is levied upon them. Where poverty is very intense, this would naturally discourage education among them.

The proportion of eastern European Jews who can read and write is shown by the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1897. Of the 149,182 Jews admitted to the United States in that year, 111,486 of whom were over 14 years of age, it was found that 31,885 or 28.6% were illiterate.¹ This is a rather low percentage considering that 79% of the population of Russia is unable to read and write.

The education of the Jews depends on the facilities which they have for educating themselves. In Bulgaria, for instance, where they are not restricted as they are in Russia, it was found in 1902 that 95.9% of the Jews and 78.5% of the Jewesses who applied for marriage licenses could read and write. This is superior to the general population among whom only 58% of the men and only 17% of the women could read and write.

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p.371.

In Servia it was found in 1900 that 57% of the Jews and only 21% of the general population could read and write - a great deal of that illiteracy, however, was found among the peasants who living in the country had fewer opportunities for education than the Jews who live in the cities and towns mainly. But a comparison with the city population even showed that the Jews were ahead for only 55% of the general population could read and write. In Cracow, Galicia, the persons who applied for marriage licenses during 1901-2 showed the following percentages of illiteracy:¹

	Jews		Christians	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1901	2.5%	2.5%	18.6%	24.9%
1902	2.2%	2.2%	15.1%	20.6%

In Budapesth it was found in 1904 that 18.2% of the Jews and 18% of the Protestants could neither read nor write. Both were ahead of the Catholics, however, whose percentage of illiteracy was considerably higher. In the returns of the census of Italy it was found that of the Jews under 15 years of age, 39.5% of males and 47.4% of females could not read. Among the general population the proportion was 67 and 68.4% respectively. The proportion for adults over 15 years of age was for Jews three and 7.5% respectively, and for the non-Jewish population 42.6 and 57% respectively. The differences are again due to the peasantry who is very illiterate, and has, moreover, no facilities for education.

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 373.

But if they prove nothing else, the figures show at least the extent to which the Jews avail themselves of the opportunities for education.

In Australasia, the census of 1901 in New South Wales shows that 3.15% of Jews and 3.81% of Christians 15 years of age and over were illiterate. In Victoria the proportions are, Jews, 6.81%, and the general population, 10.6%.

In Prussia where the Jews constitute only 1.14% of the total population, they form 8.11% of the students in the universities. In Austria over 25% of the university students are Jews, though less than 5% of the total population. In 1851, there were about 641 Jewish students in the Austrian universities and technical schools; in 1904 there were 4,485. While their number had increased sevenfold, that of the Christian students had hardly trebled. In Hungary where the Jews form 4.9% of the population, 30.27% of the students in the universities and law schools were Jews; six times as many, proportionally as there were non-Jews.¹

"It may not be generally known", says Abraham Cahan the well-known editor of the New York Vorwärts, "that the male Russian and Polish Jew can generally read his Hebrew Bible as well as a Yiddish newspaper, and that many of the Jewish arrivals at the barge offices are versed in rabbinical literature, not to speak of the large number of those who can read and write Russian. When attention is directed to the Russian Jew in American, a state of affairs is found which still fur-

¹Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 375

ther removes him from the illiterate class and gives him a place among the most ambitious and the quickest to learn both the written and spoken language of the adopted country, and among the easiest to be assimilated with the population."¹

The preceding discussion and the figures that have been given indicate briefly that the Jew can not be classed among the illiterate immigrants. If literacy were a test of moral worth, the Jews would be one of the most desirable groups of immigrants. As it is, his desirability in that sense must be looked for elsewhere. If, as has been indicated, the Jews do grasp eagerly every opportunity offered them for schooling, the results should be even more gratifying in the United States where the ideal of free popular education is being realized more than anywhere else in the world. The extent to which the Jews avail themselves of the golden opportunities for education in this country will be discussed in the next chapter.

We have seen that before we could go on with our discussion of the Jewish immigrant, certain popular opinions had to be discarded and a sane conception of the Jew substituted before we could interpret the data that was presented. Thus in the early immigration to this country, the Jews seem to have been actuated by the same motives as the other groups who came here. In the matter of occupation and economic conditions, we found that there is really nothing inherent in the Jew to make him do one thing rather than another, that the

¹Bernheimer, The Russian Jew in the U. S., Article Abraham Cahan, p. 32.

peculiarities he exhibits in that direction are a purely artificial creation, that he is much like other people in being subject to economic laws and political conditions, though he is perhaps quicker than other peoples to respond to every opportunity for advancement when the barriers are removed. In the matter of illiteracy, I have attempted to show that the Jew does not create a problem; so that as far as Jewish immigration is concerned, Ex-President Taft might just as well have signed the Burnett Bill providing for a literacy test. It would not have affected Jewish immigration to any appreciable extent. Yet the new immigration has created certain problems, and to the Jew who forms a goodly proportion of this immigration may be attributed his share of them. What then is the Jewish immigration problem? Surprising as it may seem the whole problem of the new Jewish immigration may be summed up in one word "distribution". It is my opinion that a careful systematic distribution of our Jewish immigrants would eliminate two-thirds of the problem. The rest of the problem centers about education and Americanization, and is purely a matter of time, and of the manner in which natives and immigrants respond to the stimuli of each other's presence.

"Better distribution has long been looked upon as a solution of the so-called Immigration Problem."¹

It is a well-known fact that the Jewish immigrants tend to congregate in cities mainly. This is due of course

¹H. F. Sherwood, Directing the Great Human River, Outlook, 96:822-8 Dec. '10.

to their past history. They have been city-dwellers for centuries, and they are more at home in the city. It is natural, moreover, that strangers coming to a strange land should wish to live among their co-religionists who have preceded them. Their religion demands that they live among Jews, their social instincts prompt them to join their own people, and the economic stress under which most of them labor at home warns them that the dollars will not be forthcoming unless they work among people who can understand their language, and in places where the work they can do best is in demand. Hence they follow the path beaten by those of their own race who have preceded them. Hence, as Mr. Bressler of the New York Industrial Removal Office says, "the Jew in America is still a stranger in a strange land."¹ It should be understood, however, that the tendency to mass in groups is not characteristic of the Jews alone. Scandinavian immigrants are found mainly in the wheat-fields of the Northwest; Italians follow the demand for gang labor; Slavs are found mainly in the mining districts. The only thing that is characteristically Jewish is the tendency to mass in cities.

The problem of distribution of immigrants is not confined to the new immigrants alone. In Nile's Register is found the following statement dating from 1817: "We have room enough; let them come.---- But the immigrants should be

¹Bernheimer, The Russian Jew in the U.S., Article on Distribution, p. 366

passed into the interior. In the present state of the times, we seem too thick on the maritime frontier already. Within there is ample and profitable employment for all in almost any branch of business, and strangers should be encouraged to seek it there."¹

The following table taken from the United States census, 1910, gives the number of Jewish immigrants from Russia, Austria, Hungary and Germany and illustrates their tendency to settle in a few main geographic divisions of the country. It is certain, however, that they are found mainly in the large cities of these divisions.

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS IN THE U. S. BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
AND BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS
U. S. CENSUS, 1910

Country of Birth and Mother tongue	Number	Per Cent	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central
Russia	838,793	52.3	97,292	560,549	100,782
Austria	124,588	10.6	3,179	113,961	5,241
Hungary	19,896	3.2	351	16,842	2,265
Germany	1,910	0.3	805	4,215	1,740
			West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central
Russia	838,793	52.3	30,880	24,498	4,602
Austria	124,588	10.6	694	484	183
Hungary	19,896	3.2	211	74	24
Germany	1,910	0.3	365	305	69

¹H. F. Sherwood, Directing the Great Human River, Outlook 96: 822-828, Dec. 1910.

Country of Birth and Mother tongue	Number	Per Cent	West South Central	Moun- tain	Pacific
Russia	838,793	52.3	4,023	4.807	10,760
Austria	124,588	10.6	252	173	417
Hungary	19,896	3.2	12	45	72
Germany	1,910	0.3	91	64	256

Among the Jews of this country, the importance and necessity of a proper distribution of Jewish immigrants has long been recognized. I shall therefore discuss what has been done in the way of directing the tide of Jewish immigration away from New York and other large cities.

Chief among the institutions that have been organized by Jews for the purpose of distributing their co-religionists who emigrate to this country is the Industrial Removal Office. When immigration from Roumania assumed such alarming proportions in 1900, an effort was made by a group of men prominent in Jewish philanthropy to direct the stream of Jewish immigration by assisting the individual immigrants to settle in the interior. The work of finding employment for those individuals was first carried on by the Independent Order of the B'nai B'rith - a large Jewish fraternal organization. Originally for the purpose of helping the remaining Jews, the benefit was soon extended to all Jews who were willing to leave the city. As a result of this extension of the work, there was created in 1901 the Industrial Removal Office. Since the chief aim of the Office is to distribute the immigrants in those sections where economic and industrial conditions could best assimilate them, and a tent was made to keep in touch with the industrial necessities of the country, through agencies established for that purpose in all the industrial centers of the country. The Office then acts as a clearing house of Jewish immigration and tends to relieve, and prevent when possible, farther congestion at the port of entry.

"The systematic distribution of the incoming masses tends to make immigration healthy and desirable. There is enough room in this country for millions more inhabitants provided

they are fairly distributed and are not allowed to clog up any one particular point ----- Distribution aims to make immigration to America a fact by giving every state in the Union its proportionate share. ----- Distribution, however, is not only a benefit to the country at large, in which respect it would be a purely sociological or politico-economic value. It becomes philanthropic as well when it touches the individual immigrant in his person and gives him the opportunity to be tested fairly under conditions favorable to the working out of his economic salvation.----- In this manner it logically evolves classes of immigrants who may be reasonably expected to become economically independent."¹

The above statement indicates the scope of the removal movement.

The relief of congestion can, of course, be accomplished by the removal of any citizen; yet the bulk of the work is done with immigrants who have been in the country approximately less than three years. And since a great majority of Jewish immigrants tend to remain in New York City the Office has its headquarters there, with branches in Philadelphia and Boston. In New York efforts are continually made to familiarize the mass of the immigrants with conditions throughout the country. Thousands of pamphlets in Yiddish and English are distributed, exhibitions and lectures are held. In the spring of 1907, for instance, about 100,000 people heard popular lectures on conditions throughout the country, and saw stere-

¹David M. Bressler, The Removal Work including Galveston.

opticon views of life in the West. For some weeks after the exhibition applicants crowded the rooms of the Industrial Removal Office. Between the years 1901 and 1909 the Office distributed 46,513 men, women, and children, of more than 220 occupations, to 1,278 cities and towns in every state in the Union and Canada. Of these 46,513 people, 2,943 were families with a head, 2,768 families that were going to join the head, 1,724 married men with families in New York, 8,728 men with families in Europe and 10,446 unmarried men all wage workers.

The following table taken from the report of the Industrial Removal Office for 1913 gives the number of people who have been distributed during the thirteen years of its existence. It also gives the number of cities to which the people were sent, and the state groups reached by this distribution.

Distribution of 59,729 persons removed in twelve years, in 1474 cities in the United States and Canada.

State Groups.	Number of Persons.	Number of Cities.
New England States.	987	89
Middle Atlantic States.	7,983	310
Southern States	6,036	297
Central States	35,384	570
Rocky Mountain and Pacific States.	7,899	149
Canada	1,899	57
Brazil	9	1
Argentine	1	1
Total	57,729	1,474

During the year 1912 the Office removed 6,025 persons, to 356 objective points. These were sifted out of 15,000 applicants who were eager to be removed. This process of selection is adhered to because of the necessity of maintaining a relatively high standard in justice to the communities that are to receive these people. The work is done in a thoroughly scientific and systematic manner.

"The selection of the community to which the applicant is to be transplanted is scientifically determined. There is no arbitrary choice of haphazard guessing. Through the coöperation of committees in every community, the Industrial Removal Office is kept fully informed of the industrial opportunities in every locality; the kind of mechanics most in demand; the wage scale, the hours of work; union conditions; the number of Jewish families in the community - how many Orthodox and Reform; number of congregations; is Kosher meat easily obtainable, etc. From another source - the Chambers of Commerce in every city and town - data are secured as to the leading industries; the kind of manufacturing done; cost of living; rents; the average wages paid mechanics; whether skilled or unskilled labor is in demand."¹

The value and importance of the work of the Industrial Removal Office is obvious. It has opened the way out of New York and other large centers of immigration; it has shown the immigrants the possibilities of getting along

¹ Twelfth Annual Report of the Industrial Removal Office, 1913

outside of the Ghetto. Not only have immigrants been sent out of New York directly, but the tide was also turned towards the interior indirectly. Many immigrants came direct from Europe to places South and West to join friends and relatives who had been sent there, and who thus became centers of attraction for others. The number of those who have been attracted in this way must be considerable. "A case in point is that of a certain city in Indiana, which ten years ago had a Jewish population of not more than thirty families all of German origin. Today a conservative estimate places the number at one thousand. The Removal Office has not sent out more than one third of that number."¹

There is no doubt that congestion can be relieved by judicious and systematic distribution; provided of course that it is in harmony with natural methods of distribution. "Natural laws must be observed in laying out and opening the channels if the streams are to be persuaded to flow through them with even current."²

It is just such organized diversion that is most difficult to accomplish. Immigrants are not inanimate objects that will stay where they are placed. They have economic desires, social instincts, ambitions; and all these must be satisfied if distribution is to accomplish its end. The social point of view can not be instilled into the newly-arrived immigrant, that the welfare of his adopted country demands

¹ David M. Bressler, The Removal Work Including Galveston.

² H. F. Sherwood, Directing the Great Human River, Outlook, 96:822-28 D. '10.

that he move on and away from the slums. He must be given a chance to earn a living for his family, the opportunity to practice his religion, to educate his children, and above all, the companionship of his co-religionists. Some kind of social life must be guaranteed him before he will venture into the unknown parts of the country. After all, the same laws govern the development of foreign colonies in the United States that give rise to American colonies in foreign countries.

Finally when all has been said on this question, we must admit that however thorough and widespread the propaganda, it would be infinitely more successful if the prospective Jewish immigrant could discover America before he boards ship in Europe; before the New York idea takes too firm a hold in his mind. For this purpose the Industrial Removal Office has published and distributed throughout eastern Europe a sort of Baedeker guide to America in Yiddish. That and the distribution that is continually being effected, should in time result in some very important and beneficial changes in the composition of our city populations.

A word may be said here about an attempt that is being made to prevent even the landing of Jewish immigrants at New York and other eastern ports. The so-called Galveston movement inaugurated and supported by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, aims at diverting Jewish immigration from the Atlantic port cities, towards the territory West of the Mississippi, with Galveston as the Port of Entry. Committees have been created in all of the growing Western and Southwestern towns who see to it that the newly-arrived immigrant is cared for until

work is found for him. The work is under the direction of the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau. This movement is comparatively new, so that it is difficult to tell just how successful it may become in time. A conservative estimate would place the number of immigrants who came to America through that port at 6,000. It is obviously difficult to divert immigrants unfamiliar with the geography of this country to the West, which appears to them simply a vast unknown territory where Yiddish may be unknown, and Jewish people scarce or entirely absent. But as we have seen the immigrants do not hesitate to go anywhere as long as they can find other Jews there. The Galveston movement is attempting to meet this demand by forming the committees of which I have spoken above. If nothing more, the movement shows the attempts that are being made to reduce in a measure one of the most evil effects of immigration - congestion. The effect of this movement upon the economic development of certain sections of the interior, and upon the moral and physical welfare of the immigrants, can not be answered at the present time. The movement is comparatively new, of course. Yet if the Office continues along the same lines, there is no doubt at all that it will finally accomplish the aims of the movement - relief of congestion, and the affording of opportunities in new environments to those who are seeking economic salvation.

The next important movement organized for the purpose of taking the Jews away from the industrial centers and from congestion is the Agricultural Colonization movement. The colonization movement is really not so very new; it is merely

the result of the removal of the restrictions that have made agriculture a forbidden occupation to the Jews. And agriculture itself is not new with the Jews in spite of a prevalent idea that the Jew is incapable of tilling the soil.

"Agriculture was the basis of the national life of the Israelites; state and temple in Palestine were alike founded on it."¹ The Old Testament abounds with passages showing familiarity with pastoral and agricultural life. "He that tilleth his land, shall have plenty of bread,"² says the book of Proverbs.

"Houses, fields, and vineyards, shall be possessed again in this land,"³ was the divine message sent to the people through the prophet Jeremiah before the catastrophe came upon the land. Every prophetic vision of the future contained the promise of great agricultural prosperity for the exiled Jew.

The Jews were the chief producers of wine and oil in the East. In Arabia, at the time of Mohammed, the Jews of Yemen were thrifty farmers. "The Jews of Southern France pursued an agricultural life and were possessed of ships for their wine trade from the sixth to the ninth century."⁴

In the time of Charlemagne it is said that the Jews used to farm large tracts of land for their christian neighbors who had no experience in agriculture; but the legislative

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, Agriculture, Historical Aspects

² Jewish Encyclopedia, Agriculture, Historical Aspects

³ Jewish Encyclopedia, Agriculture, Historical Aspects

⁴ Jewish Encyclopedia, Agriculture, Historical Aspects

measures of the king, intending to render them as a merchant class more serviceable to the state, prohibited this.

Jews were the chief agriculturists in Spain in the middle ages; they were prosperous as tillers of the soil in Greece during the twelfth century.

In the United States, Jews are known who have engaged in agriculture as early as colonial days. They brought the wine and silk culture from Portugal to Georgia. They were engaged in the production of indigo, rice, corn, tobacco, and cotton; they owned most of the plantations in many parts of the South.¹

The real beginning however of the Jewish agricultural movement in the United States dates from the year 1881 when a pogrom in Kieff, Russia, drove thousands of Jewish families over into Galicia. The Austrian government threatening to send them back, the Alliance Universelle Israelite came to the rescue and sent 1,500 of them to the United States. The Russo-Jewish Committee formed to look after these unfortunates, later gave way to the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society organized to cope with the situation.

'Many of these people,' states the report of this Society for 1882, 'desired to become agriculturists on their own land, but the funds at our disposal were altogether inadequate to provide largely for such colonization. In a tentative way and desirous of meeting the earnest entreaties of some anxious to be placed, we have ventured on founding a colony in Coto-paxi, Colorado, composed now of about seventeen families, at an

¹ Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America.

expense of \$10,233.¹

The first agricultural colony of Russian Jews settled in 1881 on Sicily Island, Louisiana. It comprised about sixty families who had come direct from Russia, under the leadership of Herman Rosenthal - a wealthy merchant. A tract of some 5,000 acres of land was purchased with a loan of \$2800 from the Alliance Israélite Universelle; houses were built, cattle and implements were bought; when suddenly the Mississippi flooded the district and swept the colony out of existence.

Undaunted, twenty of the more courageous families settled on government land in South Dakota; but continued droughts and hail ruined the stock and the crops, and the colony went to pieces in 1885. A colony founded by the Society in Colorado in 1882; was situated on the arid region, and the lack of irrigation finally drove the settlers away.

The Socialist colony of New Odessa, in Oregon, had no better fate. It was located in the midst of a virgin forest, and the settlers had much enthusiasm but not enough money to clear the land and cultivate it; so it failed too.

In 1882 some twenty families settled on free government land in North Dakota, on the Missouri river. The settlement speedily grew to seventy-one families; and bid fair to become a very successful colony, when droughts and prairie fires wiped out all their possessions, and the land was abandoned. A few of these families, however, went further North and founded the Iola Settlement in Ramsey County - the oldest Jewish farming settlement in the Northwest.

¹ Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America.

Various attempts at colonization in Kansas, and in other sections of the country brought practically the same results. The only successful survivors of that period are the South Jersey Colonies; Alliance, Rosenhayn, and Carmel. Their survival sheds considerable light on the causes for the failure of the other colonies. Injudicious selection of the land, inadequate funds, lack of agricultural knowledge and transportation, and the distance from markets made success impossible. The South Jersey Colonies, on the other hand, were favored with better soil and climate, New York and Philadelphia providing a ready market for their products. They were moreover, constantly kept before the Jewish public who helped them financially when times were bad. The other colonists, we remember, were settled in parts of the country where there were practically no Jews on whom they might call for assistance.

The South Jersey Colonies were all settled in 1882 with the help of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, and private assistance from Jewish philanthropists. All had their periods of depression and discouragement, during which temporary cigar and shirt factories had to be erected to afford the colonists a means of subsistence when returns from their crops were insufficient to support them. There was really nothing inherent in the settlers themselves to result in failure, it was a matter of circumstances they could not control. When conditions were more favorable, they succeeded as well as might be expected of strangers unfamiliar with the language and with economic conditions here, and dependent on help at a time when organized charity was still in its incipient stages.

As might be expected, however, the failures we have recorded served to chill somewhat the enthusiasm of those who had begun to look upon colonization as the only solution of the immigration problem. But with a renewal of persecution of Jews in Russia, immigration to this country began to increase rapidly. It was then that the Baron de Hirsch offered a fund of \$2,400,000, the income of which was to be used for improving the condition of immigrants. In 1891 the Baron de Hirsch Fund was incorporated under the Laws of the State of New York. Its aims were very broad; it aimed at almost every field of activity that would tend to render the Jewish immigrant a self-supporting American citizen. One of its most important activities was the encouragement of agriculture. The Woodbine Colony was founded in 1891. Individual Jewish farmers were assisted to locate upon abandoned farms in Connecticut and other states.¹

In 1900 was founded the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, for the purpose of taking charge of the Fund. The objects of the new Society were to encourage and direct agriculture among the Jews, especially immigrants from southeastern Europe, and to remove them from the crowded sections of the cities; to grant loans to wage-earners and tradesmen who wished to acquire homes in suburbs and agricultural centers; to ^{them} remove/ from the tenements and shops from the crowded sections ^{build} into the agricultural and industrial districts; and to/ coöperative creameries, factories, and storage houses. Later industrial matters were entrusted to the Industrial Removal Office and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society became essentially agricultural in its scope.

¹Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of Jews in America.

One of the most important activities of this Society is the financial aid it gives to farmers and those who wish to settle on farms. In its report for 1911 we find that during the twelve years of its existence it has granted 2,178 loans amounting to \$1,256,114, to 1,950 families, occupying 1625 farms in twenty-seven states and Canada. Repayments during this period amounted to 26% of the total loaned, and losses to less than 3%.¹

The Society also acts as an advisor; helps the immigrants select good land and stock, and conducts an educational campaign. One of the ways of educating the people is through the "Jewish Farmer" the aim of which is 'to provide for the non-English reading Jewish farmer expert advice on agricultural subjects not otherwise available; to supply him with a publication to which he can turn for sympathy and encouragement; to furnish him with a medium for the expression of his feelings and aspirations; and to bring him inspiration through keeping him in touch with his fellow tillers of the soil.'²

In 1908 there was inaugurated a system of itinerant instruction corresponding to the Farmers Institutes conducted by our Agricultural Colleges. Free scholarships are also awarded which enable the winners to attend short courses in Agricultural Schools. In 1911 there were awarded twenty-two such scholarships, fourteen to boys, and eight to girls, and of five prizes awarded in 1911 for poultry judging in the New Jersey College, three were won by holders of such scholarships. The Farm Labor Bureau conducted by the Society secured in 1911 positions as farm hands

¹ Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of Jews in America

² Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of Jews in America

for 612 Jewish young men in seventeen states of the Union. The educational value of this is obvious. It serves as a test of their fitness for farm work, and it also gives them experience before they engage in the work for themselves.

"The Jewish farm laborer is very much in demand. Whatever deficiencies may be his on account of his inexperience, he apparently more than makes up by his intelligence, steadiness, and sobriety. He saves his money with a view of getting a little farm of his own in time. He does not drink, is not quarrelsome, and attends strictly to business. To the American farmer, who has had some very unfortunate experiences with the average quality of farm labor, the Jewish farm laborer is somewhat of a pleasant anomaly."¹

With the creation of the Society, Jewish agricultural activity became national in scope. It is not possible to give the exact number of Jewish farmers in the United States, for the reason that many Jewish farmers have settled in the remotest sections of the country independent of the Society. According to its latest statistics the Society has come in touch with 3,718 Jewish farming families with an estimated population of 18,590 souls, and 3,438 farms. The estimated value of these farms is as follows: acreage of 437,265, land value \$22,194,335, value of equipment \$4,166,329.² This comprises only those families with whom the Society has come in touch, and which the Immigration Commission estimates to be only about 75% of the Jewish farmers in the United States.

¹Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of Jews in America

²Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America

From the report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for 1912, we find that during the thirteen years of its existence, up to the year 1912, the total number of loans granted has been \$1,474,437 to 2,266 farmers, occupying 1,886 farms in twenty-eight states besides Canada. In 1912 the Society also received 2,087 applications from residents of thirty-two states. It is to be noted that of these, 837 possessed a capital of \$1,000 and over, and had been successful in trades, business, and even professions. That indicates that it is not only the "failures" who not being able to do anything else are willing to go upon the land, but that many who are apparently successful are beginning to appreciate the advantages of life close to the soil.

That the Jewish farmers are progressive when they once get a foothold is seen from their system of co-operative credit. The Society first began to discuss the possibility of a system of co-operative agricultural credit in 1907. In its report for 1909 is found one of the earliest public utterances on the subject of agricultural credit for the American farmer, and the recommendation of adopting the European system. It was difficult to inaugurate any system because of the lack of enabling legislation for the incorporation of such associations. But in 1911 there were organized three Credit Unions, one in New York State and two in Connecticut, patterned after the Raiffesen Banks in Germany - the first co-operative agricultural credit banks in America.

"A real beginning in the direction of co-operative agricultural credit was made last year through the influence

of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society (174 Second Ave., New York City)----- although the history of these credit Unions has been brief, their success has been pronounced."¹

"While there are two bills now in Congress calling for a commission to go abroad and study the question of co-operative credit for farmers, the Jews of New York have organized just such a Society and are aiding Jewish farmers. Their system is based on one of the three German systems. We do not need commissions to hunt knowledge. We need simply to follow the lead of these Jews and set to work to provide credit. And we need to do it just as they did - which is simply to do it. We do not have to have laws or Congressional aid, or legislative enactments, but just plain common sense and the spirit to help ourselves -----so these practical people without waiting for anything, simply patterning after one of the German systems and on their own account, have started a credit system that all American farmers could start for themselves."²

As we have seen there are Jewish farmers in every state in the Union. To attempt a description of all the Jewish settlements in various parts of the country is, of course, impossible here. Mention must however be made of the colony of Woodbine which, as we have seen, was founded by the Fund in 1891.

¹

Prof. E. W. Kemmerer, Am. Econ. Review, Dec. 1912

²Indianapolis News Editorial, Dec. 14, 1912

In 1903 it was by act of the legislature made into a separate borough. It is the only municipality with a political status in the country, in which all the offices are filled by Jews. It controls its own school system and has four schools. It has the distinction of having had the first kindergarten in the county. The Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School located at Woodbine is said to be the first school in the United States giving secondary education in agriculture.¹

Woodbine is a town without a jail. The marshall never has any trouble there. The moral atmosphere in the colonies is very good; drunkenness is practically unknown, theft and other crimes are rare.²

The data for the foregoing discussion on the agricultural activities of the Jews in America, was obtained mainly from Reports of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, and from "The Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America" published in pamphlet form by Mr. Leonard G. Robinson, the General Manager of the Society. The Immigration Commission itself recommends these reports as the only authoritative source for information on the subject.

But the Immigration Commission has made a study of the South Jersey colonies and has reached certain conclusions respecting the success of the Jew as a farmer. While we must agree with the Commission that inexperienced Jews

¹ Leonard G. Robinson, Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America

² Kellogg Durland, Immigrants on the Land - Jewish Farmers, Chautauquam, 50:248-65 ap. '08

usually fail in agriculture, we must also admit that inexperienced people of any nationality would fail to make a success in that work. That is why the Society is conducting an educational campaign. On the other hand, the Commission finds that the standing of living of the Hebrew farmer is much higher than that of the Pole or Italian having been on the land the same length of time.

"The most noticeable fact, as contrasted with other foreigners is the desire for appurtenances of comfort and leisure. Rocking-chairs, hammocks, books, and buggies are bought early in the career of the farmer, usually long before his farm is paid for."¹

"He is likely to become a citizen sooner than most East European immigrants, and to take a more intelligent interest in politics; few are illiterate, and practically all of the American-born or the minors who have been in the United States ten years can speak, read and write English with more or less fluency. The ownership of land and the proprietorship of a farm enterprise have developed independence, self-reliance, and self-respect."²

"The Hebrews have demanded better schools nearly everywhere they have settled. Where they segregated with sufficient compactness, their leaders have originated social, educational, and recreative enterprises for the benefit of

¹ Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 2 pp. 575-81

² Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 1

the community. The few who are really interested in farming realize the need of knowledge and training along agricultural lines; the others want their children to have at least a good common education, and some are striving to send their children to College. ----- The two desires they express most persistently are better educational facilities, and more opportunities for fellowship of kind. They are not content with the financial returns from the farms they occupy, they are still less content with their educational advantages."¹

In conclusion I should emphasize the fact that the whole movement is relatively new so that we can really not tell whether any appreciable number of Jews will ever take up agriculture for their life's work. Yet the results are extremely encouraging in so far as the Jews have gone into that work. Moreover, from what is known of the character and mentality of the Jews, I am positive that the present propaganda for scientific agriculture will nowhere find more fertile soil than among the Jews.

"In a few instances progress has shown and a growing interest in scientific agriculture and advanced methods is manifested, giving evidence of the agricultural capacity of the Hebrew when once his intelligent interest is aroused."² And when once the "intelligent interest" of a sufficiently large number of Jews is aroused, there is no doubt that the re-

¹ Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 1 p.578

² Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 1 p.579

sult will be a rural population of a very high type. "Whatever may be said of his agriculture the Hebrew farmer is a thinking, protesting citizen. Assimilation of fusion is retarded by religious tradition and rural segregation. Americanization in the sense of desire for representative government, democratic institutions, an educated electorate, equality of opportunity, and the free agency of the individual, is developed rapidly in the landowning Hebrew. The Hebrew on the land is a peaceable and law-abiding, but he does not tamely submit to what he believes to be oppression and he has a highly developed sense of personal rights, civil and economic. The rural Hebrew has shown his capacity for self-government and no colonies were visited whose members voted less as a unit than those where rural Hebrews made up a material part of the electorate."¹ And who would wish physical assimilation or fusion if that type of citizen can be produced without it?

¹ Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. I. p. 585

CHAPTER. IV

VALUE OF THE RECENT JEWISH IMMIGRATION

It is obviously less difficult to collect data on immigration, to determine the number of immigrants who come to our shores during a certain number of years, their occupations and their economic status, than it is to decide their value to their adopted country. The difficulty lies in the fact that there is more than one aspect from which the value of a people can be determined. One who takes a purely intellectual interest in the world around him will view immigration with dismay, for many immigrants are illiterate. Another whose outlook is bounded by his economic interests and theories will look upon immigration either as a valuable asset to our industrial development, or as a menace to the very foundation of the industrial system of this country. It will depend largely upon the economic school to the views of which he subscribes. Still another may consider the question from the moral and religious point of view, and think that the coming in such enormous numbers of men of all races and conditions of life is bound to change the moral and religious tone of the commonwealth. We could double these and still not exhaust the number of angles from which one may view this question. It depends largely on the standards by which the immigrants are judged, whether they are considered a valuable or a detrimental element in our population.

A paper on Jewish immigration would be incomplete without even the most general discussion of the value of this immigration. The Jews, as much as any of the other recent immigrants, have been said to lower the standard of living of the American

workmen with whom they come in contact; they have been accused of introducing an illiterate element into the country; they have been blamed for coming in such great numbers when there seems to be no apparent need for them.

The charges against the entire new immigration have been answered in various ways. Sympathizers have pointed to the marvelous industrial and economic growth of the United States, to the great wealth of the country, and have attributed all that to the supply of labor the immigration has afforded. "I think," says Professor Vittorio Racca, of the University of Rome, Italy, who is making a study of conditions among his countrymen here, "immigration is the greatest need of America just now, not only to develop its natural resources, but to keep abreast of the industrial progress of recent years."¹

To which it may be answered that just as merchants often lay in a great supply of merchandise in prosperous times, on the expectation of an increase in the demand for those commodities, so it may be that the unlimited supply of labor which the new immigration has made possible, has simply stimulated this unprecedented industrial activity. It is by no means certain that such rapid strides in industrial and economic development as this country has made of late years are at all desirable. The question is an open one; economists and others are not yet agreed on it.

"The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and

1. New York Tribune, December 27, 1912.

assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment."¹

The Immigration Commission, as we see, rather questions the desirability of an unlimited supply of labor.

I shall not attempt to show in this discussion that the Jews have been an indispensable factor in the development of the United States. Frankly, I think that this country could have progressed without the Jews or any other European peoples of the new immigration. The industrial and economic growth of the country would probably have proceeded at a slower rate, but there would have been no arrested development as Professor Racca and others seem to think. But given the high rate of immigration there has been of recent years, we must in all fairness try to find the best that is in every group of immigrants, and when the human side of the question is considered, there is something desirable in the humblest of them if only the particular niche into which they can fit could always be found for them.

Bearing in mind that I do not believe that this country would have stopped short in its progress without the Jewish immigration, I shall yet attempt to show that the Jews have been a valuable element wherever they have settled. First as to their standard of living. More than anything else, the new immigration has been considered undesirable because of its tendency to lower the American standard of living. It is said that the new immigrants, impoverished and starved as they are when they come here,

1. Immigration Commission Abstracts of Reports, Volume 1, p. 45.

are willing to work for almost any wage, because having lower standards they need less, and that in the competition thus created the American workman must perforce accept a lower wage, which in turn lowers his standard of living. This is not the place to go into the economic theory here involved, except to suggest that this assumption has been questioned by many economists. "To prove however, that the new immigrants have introduced a lower standard of living, it is necessary to show that the standard of living of the recent immigrants employed as unskilled laborers is lower than that of the Irish and German immigrants of past generations who were doing the same grade of work, or of the native American unskilled workers of the time before the Irish and German immigration."¹

The assumption that the standard of living of the present-day American or Americanized skilled mechanic is identical with that of the unskilled laborers of the same racial stocks in the days before the new immigration is not borne out by American economic history.²

We have noted that the Immigration Commission found that the Jews in agricultural districts were rather conspicuous for their desire for comfort and leisure. That in itself indicates a rather high standard of living. Not only was this found among those who had been well to do in Europe, and were therefore accustomed to live well, but the Commission states that "there are

1. Hourwich Immigration and Labor, p. 229

2. Hourwich Immigration and Labor, p. 229

evidences of a rising standard of comfort" even among the earlier settlers most of whom were very poor.¹

It is in the cities, however, that we must look for evidence on this question, since the Jews engaged in agriculture are still a relatively small proportion of the total Jewish immigration.

The housing conditions of the immigrants have been most dwelt upon in discussions of the standard of living among them, because they strike the eye of the outsider more readily than any other conditions. An investigation by the Commission of living conditions in some of the most crowded sections of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Milwaukee, showed that congestion in such districts was mainly by members of the new immigration; the Russian Hebrew and south Italian being the principal races represented.²

In a study of 1,651 Hebrew families it was found that the average number of rooms per apartment was 3.82%. 4.6% of the households occupied 6 rooms; 3% had 7 rooms and more; only 1% of the families occupied 1 room apartments. The highest percentage of householders occupied 3 and 4 room apartments.³ If we were to make a comparative study of the table from which these figures were taken we should find that the Jewish households compare favorably in this respect, even with those of the older immigration.

1. Immigration Commission Abstracts of Reports, Volume 1, p. 580.
2. Immigration Commission Abstracts of Reports, Volume 1, p. 728.
3. Immigration Commission Abstracts of Reports, Volume 1, p. 741.

44.1% of Russian Hebrews, and 39.9% of other Hebrews reserve at least one room for purposes other than sleeping; 30.7% and 31% respectively reserve two rooms. This was found in a study of 1,361 and 281 households respectively. 12.9% and 14.6% of Russian and other Hebrews were found to use all their rooms for sleeping. The percentage of households where room was reserved for purposes other than sleeping is rather high, considering that the races of the new immigrations show a tendency to supplement the family income by keeping boarders. For the Hebrews the average number of households keeping boarders which was 440, and 74 respectively was 1.78% and 1.51% respectively.¹ On the whole, as might be expected, the tendency is for those who have been longer in this country to keep fewer boarders.

The proportion of households in which gainful occupations were pursued was also relatively low among the Hebrews; only 44 and 11 out of 1,370 and 281 households respectively revealing such conditions. In other words, in only 3.2% of Russian Hebrew households, and 3.9% of the households of other Hebrews were there gainful occupations pursued. Of the 1,428, and 281 households mentioned, 6.4% and 5.7% were found to own homes in the cities where the commission carried on its investigation. The Hebrews were also found to pay higher rents than the natives; they rent exceeding \$3.25 per room. That is, however, due to the exorbitant rents charged in the crowded districts of our cities and does not necessarily indicate a rising standard of living. Yet it may be said in passing, that when they can afford it, the Jews are always found in the most modern

¹Immigration Commission, Abstracts of Reports, Vol. 1 pp. 580-90

high-class apartments.

There has unfortunately been made no study of the Jewish workingman's families as far as I know. Should a study of their budgets ever be made, we should probably find, the same as among working people of other nationalities, that some families live apparently well on a given income; others, due to an insufficient income or to poor management, do not live as well as they might; still others are even under-fed and subsist on a minimum of the things that the growing children need for their development and the adults must have in order to perform their work efficiently. One feels, at the same time, that statistics on the standard of living are not always indicative of the real standards of the people. What is often accepted as the standard of life is frequently no more than a certain plane of living forced upon the people by the stress of economic circumstances, which they may not be able to control at any given time. I do not think that even the most detailed study of a hundred or two hundred families can portray adequately the keen struggle for existence, the efforts, often heroic, of some of those people to keep above a certain level and not to sink; their hopes and ambitions and aspirations. After all, people's ideals are a much better criterion of their standard of living than is the food they eat, or the house they live in.

Now, whether or not it is true that the new immigration is lowering the standard of living among the American working men, it is rather difficult to see how the Jews as members of this immigration can consistently be accused of

maintaining a low standard of life. The Jew comes to this country primarily to better his condition; to give his children the opportunities that have been denied him. Is it not rather paradoxical to say that people come to this country to improve their condition, and at the same time claim that they are maintaining a very low standard of life? The movement of the working classes for economic betterment is at bottom the result of a higher standard of living. Only those rebel who are intelligent enough to see that they are not living right. And the Jewish immigrants form a great majority of the thinking and protesting part of the working classes.

"The charge that recent immigration threatens to debase the American standard of living is certainly a grave one," says Jane Addams, "but I would invite the scholar even into that sterner region which we are accustomed to regard as purely industrial. At first glance nothing seems further removed from an intellectual proposition than this question of tin cups and plates stored in a bunk versus a white cloth and a cottage table; and yet, curiously enough, an English writer has recently cited, 'standard of life' as an illustration of the fact that it is ideas which mould the lives of men, and states that around the deeply significant idea of the standard of life center our industrial problems of today, and that this idea forms the base of all the forward movements of the working class."¹

It must not be understood that it is meant here that only the Jews come to America to improve their condition.

¹ Jane Addams, Recent Immigration, Educational Review, 29:245-63

Immigrants of other nationalities come here for the same purpose, of course, but as very many of them ultimately return to their native countries, the benefits derived from whatever efforts they might make for betterment are not so apparent; while the Jew coming as he does to stay, constitutes a permanent asset. If his conditions is improved in any way the community is benefited by it. And in general, the conditions of Jewish immigrants is not what might be termed static. "Although he may be compelled to eat plain and coarse food," says Mr. Steiner, "he craves the richer and daintier fare; if he has to live in a tenement on the East side he does it with an eye to a flat in Harlem."¹

As I write this I have in mind a large four-story tenement house on the East side of New York City where some immigrants whom I knew lived when they first came to this country. The house stands on the street that is always full of push-carts, so that one often has to pick his way between them; and where the deafening roar of the elevated trains overhead joins the cries on the street and never ceases day and night. The tenement accommodates seventy families and is always well filled. The interesting part about that house however is that the tenants living there are nearly always "green." Rarely does one meet people there whose children have grown up in America. The people I knew have long since moved away, up town, to Harlem, to the Bronx, and to Brooklyn; but immigration is continually keeping up the supply.

¹ Edward A. Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide, Its Ebb and Flow*, pp. 279-80

A study was made in 1905, in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, of the Economic and Industrial conditions of the Jews in these cities. In all these cities it was found that the Russian Jewish immigrants have almost complete monopoly of the needle industries. The fact was emphasized, however, that the standard of life of these immigrants was not lower than that of other nationalities, and that the Russian Jew invariably aspires to something better for his children at least.

"But what is more noteworthy is that his general standard of life is much above of that of other nationalities of the population of New York City. He may not have the taste, the style, the general 'savoir vivre' so characteristic of the American working man-----On the other hand he is freer in the majority of cases from those faults of wastefulness and dissipation which characterize many Irish, Italian, and sometimes even German working men; and his home has many claims to comfort and well-being. The ordinary busy Jewish tailor keeps a fairly good table, and has a parlor with a set of furniture, and is able to indulge in an occasional visit to the Jewish theatre."¹

"Probably among no nationality does the economic condition change more rapidly than among the Russian Jewish people in the United States. -----I have met very few wage-workers among the Russian-Jewish people who regard it as their permanent lot in life to remain in the condition of laborers for wages. Almost all are bending their energies to get into business or to acquire an education so that they may fit themselves for

¹ Charles H. Bernheimer, The Russian-Jew in the United States, p 112

some other calling than that of the wage-worker of the ordinary kind."¹

Now conditions have been practically the same, as far as the Jews are concerned, in the slums of our large cities for years; so that these conclusions reached in 1905 apply just as well today. The reason for this is apparent. While the Jewish immigrants are continually advancing in the way of better living, and are moving away from the crowded sections of our cities, immigration tends to keep up the supply. A case in point is the tenement I have spoken of before which has never lacked a certain proportion of Russian and Roumanian Jewish families. Yet the people who have lived there four or five years ago are not to be found in the neighborhood any more. If they have not yet moved up town they are certainly on their way there. It depends on the economic success with which they have met. With this in mind I would venture to predict that should the policy of the Russian and the Roumanian Governments change towards the Jews in those countries, there would result some very important re-adjustments in the foreign population of our cities. The Jews would gradually move away from the congested districts, and leave the Italians and others in possession. And since the Italians are beginning to supplant the Jews in the clothing industries anyway, we should in time have strictly Italian slums, where we now have distinctly Jewish Ghettos. Continuous immigration, in other words, is responsible for much of the problem Jewish immigration has created.

¹ Charles H. Bernheimer, The Russian-Jew in the United States p. 135

The standard of living of individuals is not illustrated alone by the way in which they spend their incomes and by the kind of homes they live in. It is conceivable that people may have large incomes, eat the best of food, live in beautiful homes, and yet not maintain very high standards in their home life. The home life of a people is after all a most important criterion of that peoples character and ideals; and ideals, as has been indicated, often reveal the true standards of a people where the purely material existence as the expression of a certain income would not. So we shall try to see whether there is anything in the home life of the Jews that might render them, if not a valuable at least a desirable element in our population.

The home life of the Jews is proverbial. The family was the basis of all social life in Bible times. The clan, tribe, and nation were considered merely extensions of the family.

"The instinct of solidarity in ancient Israel and the high regard for the chastity of woman explains the sanctity and purity of the Jewish family life. Patriarchial history abounds in pictures of beautiful home life."¹

The Bible laid great stress upon the power of the home as is shown by the closing verse of Malachi, 'Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord: and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.'²

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, Family and Family Life

² Jewish Encyclopedia, Family and Family Life

The Mosaic code guards the chastity of the mother, the sanctity of the home, the blessedness of the household, the preservation of society and the upbuilding of mankind. 'God dwells in a pure and loving home.'¹

In the middle ages especially during centuries of persecution and migration, the home was a bulwark of moral and social strength. It was permeated with the religious spirit and was rarely contaminated. The Jewish religion especially strengthens the bonds between the members of the family, since all religious ceremonies and dietary laws must be observed in the home. But the high ideals of the home have been inculcated into the Jews for so long that they are maintained even when the religious factor ceases to be the sole motive.

The bearing of this fact of Jewish family life upon Jewish immigration is obvious. America wants immigrants whose moral fiber is such that it can readily lend itself to all the influences that make for good citizenship. The sudden transition from a relatively narrow social and economic life to that of the broader freer life in this country is likely to have just the opposite effect upon the immigrant. If there are no strong home ties to hold the bewildered immigrant in check there result what I should call conditions of mental and moral anarchy, which render him a decidedly unwholesome not to say dangerous element in the community. Now it is well known that a large proportion of the Italians, Slavs and other immigrants, are single men, or men whose families have been left

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, Family and Family Life

in Europe. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the conditions created by these men in mining and construction camps, and in other places where they work. President Emeritus Eliot, though not an authority on the subject of immigration, has well stated the effects upon the United States of a large influx of single men. He would restrict immigration to families, and would limit the number of single men admitted to this country. His entire argument is summed up in one sentence: "Barrack life for young men, similar to that in the army, is bad all over the world."¹

Sociologists and other writers on social questions are constantly emphasizing the importance of the family as an institution of human society. The family tends to conserve and to transmit most of the material and spiritual possessions of the race. The family is also an important source of social progress; it is in the family that the spirit of altruism and the ideal of human brotherhood - both essential for progress in society, are developed.²

"Offenses against a family or against the sanctity of human life disintegrate society,"³ says Reverend Hugh Black.

Very few would doubt the importance of the family and of the home in modern society. Social and charity workers are constantly reminded of this fact in their efforts to alleviate human suffering. Much of the work with children in the Juvenile

¹ Boston Post, February 1913

² Ellwood, Sociology and Modern Social Problems pp. 52-60

³ Lecture University Auditorium, April 14, 1913

Courts, and reform schools is due to defects in the structure of the home.

The consensus of opinion among experts is that the most desirable immigrant is he who brings his family with him. Just as the most active men in a community, those who have the most civic pride, are the property holders, so among the immigrants the man who brings his family will in the long run prove the most desirable. He will have more incentive to hold his job, to improve his condition, to become an American if only for the sake of his children. He will take more interest in Education, he will become a citizen sooner than the man who coming without any family, is apt to return in a year or two as many of the new immigrants undoubtedly do.

The Immigration Commission clearly recognizes the desirability of immigrant families.

"They have constituted," says the Commission in speaking of the new immigration, "a mobile, migratory, and disturbing wage-earning class, constrained mainly by their economic interest, and moving readily from place to place, according to changes in working conditions or fluctuations in the demand for labor."¹

"In brief, the recent immigration has no property or other constraining interests which attach him to a community and the larger proportion are free to follow the best industrial inducements."²

¹ Jenks and Lauk, The Immigration Problem, pp. 182-85

² Jenks and Lauk, The Immigration Problem, p. 185

It is only when one takes a short-sighted individualistic view of immigration, that such conditions as the Immigration Commission and others found, appear to be desirable and beneficial for this country.

A single man without incumbrance of wife and children is freer to move from place to place, to journey inland West or South, and immediately take up whatever work offers. When the Jews land they are either accompanied by their families (which are frequently large) or they are determined to send for their families as soon as they can earn the necessary passage money. This complicates the Jewish immigration or rather the distribution problem."¹

Those, on the other hand, who have the social point of view in this matter will readily see that it is just the fact that the Jews do bring their families that renders them rather a valuable element in our foreign population.

"The worse conditions were found among those who live in boarding groups, largely unmarried men, whose purpose in the main is to save money in order that they may send it back to their home country or return thither themselves as soon as a sufficient amount has been saved."²

With the meager data available we may conclude, I think, that the Jew does not in the long run depreciate the standard of living here. We must remember also that it is almost impossible to judge from superficial observations of the Ghettos of our large cities. The casual observer forgets for instance,

¹ Durland, Immigrants on the Land, The Jews, Chautauquam
50:248-65 Ap. '08

² Immigration Commission, Reports of Abstracts, Vol. 1, p.37

that the insanitary conditions among the Jews cannot entirely be traced to them. There is in the first place to be considered the whole history of the city, its industrial development, its government. Police Commissioners, Street-Cleaning Departments, Appropriations, graft, politics, a greedy landlordism, all these must be taken into account. And when these factors are considered, the immigrant's part in the creation of these conditions is greatly minimized; and it becomes possible to take a more impartial and therefore scientific view of the matter. Some economists even hold that the whole question of congestion does not center around immigration and the racial cohesion of various immigrant groups, but that it is wholly an economic question based on the concentrations of industries in certain parts of our cities.

"It is certain, nevertheless, that population must live within an accessible distance from its place of work. Hence, it is scarcely necessary to point out how important a cause of congestion of industry, trade and commerce becomes."¹ This view is at any rate worth considering.

On the whole, conditions among the Jews in our large cities are bad because of the continual supply of immigrants congest in certain districts. Conditions are not so bad among them as they are among immigrants of other nationalities, because the Jews come here to stay and so take more interest in their surroundings. Moreover, the effects of their environment

¹ Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. XLIII, p. 15

are in most cases overbalanced by a relatively pure family life, which in itself should render the Jews more desirable as a class than are many members of other nationalities.

Next in importance to their family life I should consider the desire of the Jews for education, their intensely religious temperament, the general moral tone of their life.

The desire of the Jews for education is well known. As we have seen in the last chapter, they compare very favorably with other immigrant groups in point of literacy. I have also attempted to show that in the main their education depends on the opportunities for education they have had in their native countries. Given the great opportunities for education America offers, does the Jew take advantage of them?

"It is characteristic that all seem eager to give their children the best education possible and one of the most common complaints is the lack of adequate facilities. The public schools near Ellington are as good as the average and have satisfied the rural communities for years. But they do not satisfy the Hebrew farmers. Some take their children into Rockville every morning; others contemplate sending their sons and daughters to the Hartford High-school -----Some Americans laugh at the educational pretenses of the Hebrews, etc."¹

It may be laid down as an axiom that the Jew reveres learning. This may not be due to the inherent love for learning that has often been attributed to the Jews, but they seem to have grasped the fundamental meaning of education; hence their interest in it. Hence their sacrifices that their children

¹ E. Cance, Expert United States Immigration Commission,
Survey 1138-44, October 1911

may be educated. That should not be a matter of surprise, however, seeing that from the very beginning of their history the Jews regarded moral and religious^{training} from childhood up as one of the principal objects of life. All their festivals and ceremonies have for their object the inculcation of religious and moral lessons in the children. Jewish children were from their earliest childhood instructed and trained in the Law and the traditions. One of the chief pedagogic rules found in the Book of Wisdom is that the child must be trained at the right age, and that his whole life is to be a continual training.¹

Characteristic of Judaism is that the prophetic ideal of the future is the time when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea, when all will know the Lord from the least of them unto the greatest of them."²

"The study of the Torah outweighs all other religious commands. By the breath from the mouths of school children the world is sustained. Teaching must not be interrupted even for the reestablishment of the sanctuary at Jerusalem. "As I have taught you without pay," says God, "so must you do likewise."³ These sayings show the value placed by the Rabbis on education, the school, and the teacher.

The most noticeable fact about the Jewish immigrants is their intense desire for an education. True, this is tempered

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, Education

² Jewish Encyclopedia, Education

³ Jewish Encyclopedia, Education

in many by keen business perceptions, and by the desire to advance materially. But are we not coming more and more to the view that a pure and simple intellectual training does not produce a fully developed individual? We are constantly reminded of the fact that the man who succeeds is the all-around man; the one who combines business sense with intellectual accomplishments and religious and moral ideals. We try to develop these traits in the College man. The Jewish immigrant may not have all of them fully developed, but the material, though not always in evidence, is there.

The following conclusions reached by the Immigration Commission in its investigation of children of immigrants in schools will show the extent to which Jewish immigrants send their children to school. In Pittsburg it was found that the Germans are the most numerous in the schools, representing 9.4% of the entire number of pupils; but they were closely followed by Russian Hebrews who formed 8% of all the school children. There was a small percentage of children of native of white parents than of foreign-born, and unusually large percentage of children in these schools being of Roumanian Hebrew parentage. The German Hebrew children showed less retardation than the native-born white children. The investigation covered more than 5,000 pupils, two-thirds of whom had foreign born fathers; the most numerous races represented being the Russian Hebrews and Italians. The same conditions were found in St. Louis, proportionate of course to the number of Jews there.

Out of 17,090 school children of foreign parentage in Baltimore as many as 13,256 belonged to the various Hebrew groups.

The Russian Hebrews were the most numerous in the schools in Boston, constituting 12.4% of the entire school population.

The number of German Hebrew children exceeded that of the native white in the Buffalo High-schools. In Chicago, the differences between the races were most conspicuous in the High-schools where the Hebrews, among other nationalities, had a higher proportion of children than the native whites.¹

In general, it was found that when the proportion of foreign-born children was high in the grammar schools it was low in the High-schools, and inversely. That of course depends on the age of the children when they come here.

One-third of the students in Columbia University, and three-fourths of the undergraduates in City College of New York are Jews.²

"In New York City the number of Jewish students in the City and Normal Colleges is very large; a conservative estimate is that 70% of the students in these institutions are Jewish."³

Of all the pupils in thirty-eight schools in New York City, 94.5%, or 61,103 out of a total of 64,605 were Jews.⁴

The Jews fill a considerable part of the 65,000 positions in the city government of New York. They are said to

¹ Immigration Commission, Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vol. 2

² McClures Magazine, The Jewish Invasion of America, March 1913

³ Fishberg, The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, p. 546

⁴ Bernheimer, The Russian-Jew in the United States, pp. 184-5

have absolute control of whole departments. They fill nearly all the medical, laboratory, and engineering positions. They are the city's searchers, process-servers, and law examiners. Most of the municipal office-boys are East Side Children; the Stenographers and Typewriters are nearly all Jewish girls; most of the bookkeepers are Jews.¹

Their prominence in public education is another illustration of the way they take advantage of the opportunities for education offered in this country. The Jewish school teachers in New York City can be counted by the hundreds.

While it is not the intention in this discussion to idealize the Jew in any way, yet it would not be presenting the Jews other than they are, to say that they are supplying the intellectual part of the new immigration. When they have had some education in Europe they are anxious to complete it when they come here. But there is usually a great proportion of adult Jews who have had practically no schooling at home and who wish to be educated. Abraham Cahan tells of an illiterate Jewish-peddler of thrity-two who was trying to choose between a Medical College and a dry-goods store. "I have saved \$2,000," he said, "some friends advise me to go into the dry-goods business, but I wish to be an educated man and live like one."² This is by no means an exceptional case.

The great demand for schools to prepare adult immigrants for higher institutions of learning, has given rise to the Preparatory School - the like of which is probably found nowhere

¹ McClures Magazine, The Jewish Invasion of America, March 1913

² Bernheimer, The Russian Jew in the United States, p. 185

except in New York City and perhaps in other large centers of Jewish activity. People who have had no education excepting Hebrew perhaps, may begin from the study of the alphabet if need be, and by dint of hard work every night - for all of them work during the day, prepare himself for College. The idealism necessary to make men and women come to school every night after a hard day's work in shop and factory is great. Even of the desire for economic betterment is often the chief motive for this sacrifice, yet with hundreds of examples before them of self-made professionals who barely eke out a scanty living, one can not help but think that such great ambition and industry has something more in it than a mere money goal. Perhaps they see visions in this land of the high school - as many of them call America when they write home, and they are unconsciously helping America realize her ideal of the popularization of knowledge.

The number of students thus turned out yearly must be enormous. I can remember four Preparatory Schools in two blocks on the East side of New York City; not to speak of the Educational Alliance within the same area. There are Preparatory Schools in the Bronx, in Harlem, in Brooklyn; and all do a thriving business. Cooper Union, the Educational Alliance, the Technical Schools, and all the public evening schools are nightly invaded by foreign Jews.

"We were dumb and could not speak; helpless like babes just born, and you were a mother unto us. You reached out to us a helping hand and guided us across a path all too thorny. We cannot forget you."¹ This was said by a pupil on the closing

¹ Charities and Corrections, The Newcomers and the Night School, 17:891-92 '07

night of a Jewish Settlement School in Cincinnati.

The same writer testifies as to the passion Jewish immigrants have for the night school." It is a most pathetic as well as inspiring sight to see men, graybeards and youths, and women, shop girls, and mothers, sit side by side sweltering in rooms heated by gas, on stifling summer nights, after a hard day's work, poring over their book to learn those awfully puzzling words which seemed to follow no phonetic plan.--- Four nights every week from seven -thirty, when the lingering day still invites one out-doors until nine o'clock, throughout the summer do these immigrants attend the night school with the utmost regularity."¹

We must not get the impression that these immigrants are glutting the market with professionals, though many of them do attend the night schools for that purpose. "The intellectuals are by no means always the professionals. The sweated presser may have read books which would test the attainments of an erudite occidentalist. There are peddlers unable to find their way on any street outside the Ghetto who can unerringly pick a path through the overgrown labyrinth of the Babylonian Talmud, and quote the opinions of a century of Rabbis upon a disputed point in casuistry. People who cannot read English know Herbert Spencer by heart, and men who are ignorant of any language but Yiddish and Hebrew keep in touch with the latest development in science, art, literature and the drama. The Yiddish newspapers, an essentially American product, bring a daily battery of new learning to their tens of thousands of readers, and the Yiddish drama and books

¹ Charities and Corrections, The Newcomer and the Night School, 17:891-2

reproduce the new thoughts of the Jews and the new and old thoughts of the world. The intense intellectual life of the East side is not confined to any one class of people, Not a simple or uniform group but a curious medley of susceptible men and women discussing ardently what elsewhere is ignored. In many East Side Cafés, one may hear groups of men discussing idealism, realism, zionism, and socialism, art, music, history, philosophy, and the future of the race. It is all humanitarian. Underlying this wandering discussion there is a deep, persistent fundamental sense of the Messiah; not a Messiah of flesh and blood, but a new good world in which human beings can live a human life."¹

The following story is told of two Russian Jews who met in a café where the following conversation ensued:

"Where have you been last night, Isaac?" asked Hyman.

"In the Cooper Union celebrating the New Constitution of the Turks."

"Were there any Turks, there, Isaac?"

"No, just Jews."

A week later they met again in the same place.

"Where have you been last night?" again asked Hyman.

"In the Cooper Union celebrating the birthday of the Russian - of Tolstoy."

"Were there any Russians there?"

"Russians? No, just Jews."²

This is the Jewish immigrant in a nutshell. Mentally

¹ Walter E. Weyl, Outlook, 94: 1910

² Walter E. Weyl, Outlook, 94: 1910

alert to everything that is new and progressive, interested in world-wide movements, cosmopolitan and liberal to a fault. Whether he brings with him money or clothes he brings much idealism. It is his idealism and pertinacity that continually fans the flame of hope, and enables him to gain and maintain a foothold here in spite of adverse circumstances.

As to the religion and morals of the Jewish immigrants, when we have discussed Judaism we shall also have included Jewish morality; for the moral and ethical conceptions of the Jews are closely bound up with their religion. We need not enter into a full discussion of Judaism. A glance at the Judaism of today and its main tendencies will suffice for our purpose.

The religion of the Jews is no longer what it was in the Patriarchial and Prophetic times. Similarly, it differs from Mosaic or post-exilic Judaism. Thirty-five centuries of history in all countries of the globe have produced corresponding changes in the Hebrew religion. Hellenistic Judaism was different from that of Palestine; the mysticism of the Orient has produced in France and Germany a form of Judaism different from that cultivated by the Jews of Spain, which was steeped in Arabic philosophy. Judaism has therefore varied in various epochs.

Judaism is at the present divided into the Orthodox or conservative and the Reform wing. The opposition between them centers around the conception of Israel's destiny. The Orthodox Jew looks upon Palestine not only as the cradle but also as the ultimate home of Judaism. To reconcile his religion with the historical fact that Israel has not been living up to the Law, the Orthodox Jew considers this impossibility of observing

the Law as a punishment for the sins of the nation. Israel is now in exile and must be ready for the coming of the Messiah who will lead them back to Palestine.¹

Reform Judaism on the other hand, considers the dispersion of Israel as a necessary experience in the realization and execution of its Messianic duty. Its destiny is not bound up in the return to Palestine. The goal of Jewish history is conceived not as a national Messianic state in Palestine, but as the realization in society and state of the principles of righteousness inunciated by the Prophets and sages of old.

Reform Judaism has given up the idea of a personal Messiah; it consciously disregards the laws referring to the priesthood or to Palestine. It does not consider itself in exile. All the ceremonies pointing to Palestine as his national home have been given up; since they conflict with the ideals and hopes of the emancipated Jew. Sunday services have been introduced in the Reform Church, in recognition of the changes which make it incumbent upon the Jew to adjust himself to modern conditions of life.²

Most of the Jewish immigrants of the older generation are Orthodox. The younger generation is not. As a matter of fact, a great proportion of the young Jewish immigrants swing to the other extreme, and swing so hard that they frequently miss the Reform platform, and have no religion at all. The most pathetic phase in the life of the Jewish immigrants is this change that comes over their children when they immigrate.

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, Judaism.

² Jewish Encyclopedia, Reform Judaism.

To the sensitive high strung Jewish young men and women existence in the southeastern European countries is akin to some sort of Purgatory on earth. As soon as they manage to acquire some education - and somehow a surprisingly great proportion of them do, they begin to chafe under their religion which appears to be the cause of all their suffering. As most of them become implicated in some sort of radical movement, this religion is left more and more in the background, and they become socialists, anarchists, nihilists, zionists, and what not. Jew and Christian meet here on an equal footing, as comrades and both necessarily adopt a new religion - the "movement" to which they pledge themselves; and their life becomes consecrated to the "cause". Harsh as the terms anarchism, nihilism, or even socialism, may sound to American ears, these movements are really nothing but an expression of the newly-awakened social consciousness, which tempered as it is, with great suffering and humiliation in the case of the Jewish youth, often expresses itself in deeds of violence, and more frequently in sublime examples of altruism and devotion to the "cause" and to the comrades. Our own American Revolution has been the scene of many violent deeds, but the happy outcome of it all somehow obliterates them and sheds a softening light over the dark periods of the Revolutionary Wars.

When they come here, the breach between the old and the new widens. The younger children go to school and easily become Americanised; the older ones impregnated with European ideals of liberty and fraternity, watch for news from their comrades in Europe. Now the struggle for existence is very

keen for some of them, and America does not at first appear as the "land of the free" at all. The idealist who in Russia was ready to overthrow the government and thus bring light and salvation to the oppressed; content to undertake the long march to Siberia if he failed, is lost in the multitude whose only ideal seems to be to "make a living". All he hears is "hurry up", and everybody seems to be chasing after the dollar. There seem to be no great issues to demand the services and lives of intelligent young men and women; no oppressed peasantry groaning in the chains of ignorance and waiting to be enlightened. "Life is a bore." This was the favorite expression of a young Russian girl whom I knew in New York. She was intelligent enough to have made a success in some intellectual occupation, she was through the force of circumstances making neckties in a factory. So she was unhappy and bitter against all things, and against a system that enabled people to get an education who did not even want it, while preventing others who were thirsting for learning.

Jane Addams has caught the significance of the spirit better than any one else perhaps. "One can find innumerable illustrations of this idealistic impatience with existing conditions among the many Russian subjects found in the foreign of every American city. The idealism of these young people might be utilized to a modification of our general culture and point of view, somewhat as the influence of the young Germans who came to America in the early fifties, bringing with them the hopes and aspirations embodied in the revolutions of 1848, made a profound impression upon the social and political institutions

of America. Long before they emigrated, thousands of Russian young people who had been caught up into the excitements and hopes of the Russian revolution in Finland, in Poland, in the Russian cities, in the University towns. Life had become intensified by the consciousness of the suffering and salvation of millions of their fellow subjects.----- Their minds had been seized by the first crude forms of social theory and they had cherished a vague belief that they were the direct instruments of a final and ideal social reconstruction. When they come to America they sadly miss this sense of importance and participation in a great and glorious conflict against a recognized enemy. Life suddenly grows stale and unprofitable; the very spirit of tolerance which characterizes American cities is that which strikes most unbearably upon their ardent spirits. They look upon the indifference all about them with an amazement which rapidly changes to irritation. Some of them in a short time lose their ardor, others with incredible rapidity make the adaptations between American conditions and their store of enthusiasm but hundreds of them remain restless and ill at ease. Their only consolation, almost their only real companionship, is when they meet in small groups for discussion or in larger groups to welcome a well known revolutionist who brings them direct news from the conflict, or when they arrange for a demonstration in memory of 'Red Sunday', or the death of Gershuni."¹

Suicide is discussed frankly, and now and then resorted to among these young people when the disappointment becomes too

¹ Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* pp. 143-8

great, or the prospects of a life of "wage-slavery" unbearable. More often however, a hedonistic attitude of mind succeeds the higher idealism; the common conventions of our social life are thrown to the winds, and much damage is done in the effort to "live". It frequently happens however, that the influence of some big-hearted American brings home to them the possibility of doing things even here in this land of dollars. And since most of them are only longing to get into the fight, the girls become nurses, teachers, physicians, settlement workers; the men crowd the professions, or, influenced by the back-to-nature propaganda, they study forestry and agriculture.

The chasm between the old and the new is inevitable. What then about Judaism? The young people are frankly unorthodox, some are decidedly irreligious, having substituted for the religion of Judaism that of humanity. A very large proportion of educated Jews in the United States belong to the Reform Church, others to the Ethical Culture Society. The latter however, as Professor Gottheil points out, has no future as a church. "The inborn longing of man for some hold upon things which are supernatural will lead many of its members to seek satisfaction elsewhere. They will not seek it in the Synagogue, seeing how racial and other ties are being more and more loosened. They will perhaps join some form of the dominant church."¹

¹ Professor J. H. Gottheil, Jews and Judaism, Harpers Encyclopedia of the United States.

There is at present no tendency to indicate that the Reform church will not prove to be the "dominant" church of the future for the Jews in America at least. The Synagogue, of course, will continue to stay in the field as long as the influx of Jews from Europe lasts; for though many American Jews are Orthodox, and their children are educated in the faith, their number is probably not sufficiently large to perpetuate Orthodox Judaism on any large scale.

But whether they are Orthodox, or Reform, or neither, the material these young people are made of is splendid. Many of them have grasped the meaning of life in its fullness, most of them are highly socialized, though their energies are often misdirected in their efforts to right conditions. Their youth and intelligence and vigor are freely at the disposal of their adopted country but instead, as Jane Addams says, "We allow a great deal of this precious stuff - this Welt-Schmerz of which each generation has need - not only to go unutilized but to work havoc among the young people themselves."¹

I have attempted to show the value of the Jewish immigration. Economically, as we have seen, the Jew has really never created a problem. He is neither unskilled, nor does he constitute any proportion at all of those who are leading "barrack" lives. The Jew may be said to have really solved his own problems in the main, by his extreme adaptability. The fact that the Jews are successful in nearly every walk of life proves this. The Jew has been credited with having made New York City the center

¹ Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, p. 146-7

of the garment industries of the country. He has done more. By introducing a very minute division of labor he made it possible for the immigrants who had no trade to learn one in two or three weeks thus earning their own living and keeping their self-respect. An obnoxious system, true, but it serves its purpose when immigration was very heavy and the immigrants had not yet gotten a foothold in the new world. The origin of the sweat shop is no longer attributed to the Jews by those who know.

The Jews have made the slums respectable and law-abiding. The Ghetto may not be nice to look at, but it is morally clean.

"None dreads the coming of the Jews into a neighborhood more than the saloon-keeper and some of the vilest localities in New York have been made fairly decent by the expansion of the Ghetto."¹

"The Jew," says Jacob Riis, "is the yeast of any slum if given time. If it will not let him go it must rise with him."²

"The Jews have renovated whitechapel," said Charity Managers in London.³

Finally, the Jew adds not a little to the intellectual stock of our country. After all, the talk we constantly hear about America needing "brawn not brain" sounds rather childish. We do need brains. If this need were not felt, there would be no agitation for the education of the masses, for more schools

¹ Edward A. Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide, Its Ebb and Flow*, pp. 280-1

² Jacob Riis, *Battle with the Slums*, p. 193

³ Jacob Riis, *Battle with the Slums*, p. 194

more playgrounds, more libraries. We should be content to let the masses live by their brute strength alone. The fact of the matter is that the day is past when brute strength alone could carry a man through life. What is the purpose of the movement for scientific farming; for agricultural colleges, and short courses, and "farmers week"? Is it not because we realize that the rural population which has hitherto lived by the strength of its arm alone, could perform its work in the world much more successfully if it could use its brain more? That is the purpose of the scientific farming propaganda, and of any agitation for the enlightenment of those who are ignorant. No one can claim that the illiterate, superstitious, Italian or Slavic peasant is more valuable as an immigrant than the Russian Jew, because he is stronger physically. If he is valuable, it is not so much for what he gives to this country at present, as it is for what he will add in the future through his children. If we did not expect the children of the European peasants who come here, to go to school, and become Americans would we still consider them a valuable element to add to our population? Witness Russia with her ignorant downtrodden peasantry. Surely the Jewish brain is as valuable as the strong right arm of any Southeastern European immigrant. And so, in reading such a statement, "we most need those groups which live by their muscle, rather than by their wits; the toiler rather than the trader,"¹ one can not help wondering if the author of it really means what his statement seems to imply. For he clearly depreciates the value of the intellect which has been one of the most potent factors in civilization.

It was much easier to find the causes of this Jewish immigration than it is to foretell its effects upon the United States. As may be surmised, this has been written about a great deal; people have indulged freely in strange prophecies regarding the future of America, the result of this intermixture of different peoples; in short, the future of the Anglo-Saxon race. As we have seen however, no people on earth can boast of entire ethnic purity, and what is happening in the United States today is simply a repetition of what has been taking place in the world since the human race evolved. That should not be a matter of grave concern. Is the Jew in America capable of self-government, and of exercising other duties of citizenship? The Immigration Commission, as we have seen, thinks that he is. It would be strange if the Jews who are foremost in the struggle for citizenship and political freedom in Europe, should not appreciate and guard the political rights America confers upon them. Will the Jew learn to appreciate the culture the best of which was created by his ancestors? Is the Jew morally fit to join the ranks of American citizenship?

"Probably no other race," says Leroy - Beaulieu, "has possessed in a like degree the love of family and the attributes which foster that love and which, though they may not be the highest nor the most brilliant are none the less sound and precious - temperance, continence, patience, gentleness, moderation, and regularity of habits. The Jew had long been trained to all these virtues by the daily practice of his Law and the constant conformity to its rules. He has few vices; none of those which cause

women and children to suffer most - the love of drink and gambling, a violent temper, brutal manners, and coarse speech. In this respect he remains even in his pestilential Ghetto, a man of good family, of good birth, and breeding."¹

The effect of the coming of such immigrants to the United States, while not very certain, can not prove very detrimental. The extreme adaptability of the Jews observed everywhere makes it probable at least that they will adapt themselves to this country. In time they will probably merge in the general population. That this will happen culturally is almost certain. Equally certain is it that this country will not lose by this cultural fusion. But that will depend greatly on the attitude of the native population.

"Furthermore, there exists in very many localities and among very many classes of people an unreasonable prejudice, amounting to the feeling and belief that foreigners are a different kind of people from "our people," and that they are, therefore, warranted in according them different treatment not sanctioned by the Golden Rule. No process of assimilation will, therefore, be successful which does not educate and amalgamate the native-born American as well as the alien."²

As Tolstoi once said, "the Jew, threatened from without curls back upon himself and retreats into the shell of his exclusiveness."³ Where he is not "threatened" from without" he

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel Among the Nations, p. 214

² Frances A. Kellor, Needed - A Domestic Immigration Policy,

³ Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel Among the Nations, p. 329

speedily identifies himself with the general population, to the extent even of losing his desire of sometime forming a Jewish state. That he ardently desires to become an American is evinced by his interest in education, which is, after all, the most potent Americanizing force.

"A tenement house kitchen turned, after a scanty supper, into a class-room, with the head of the family and his boarder bent over an English school reader, may perhaps claim attention as one of the curiosities of life in a great city; in the Jewish quarter, however, it is a common spectacle."¹

Whether he gets his preliminary education in the tenement kitchen, or in the public night-school, the Jewish immigrant sooner or later comes in contact with American Educational Institutions. It then develops upon those who have the privilege of helping Americanize the Jewish Immigrant and his children, to say what the product shall be.

¹ Bernheimer, The Russian Jew in the United States, p. 33.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The attempt was made in the foregoing chapters to present the results of an investigation of the problem of Jewish immigration to this country. Since an original study of this problem was not possible, it devolved upon the writer to take all that has been written on the subject, and was available here, both the good and the bad, the scientific and the purely sentimental, and to separate the wheat from the chaff of this material in order to arrive at a rational conclusion regarding this vast subject. The writer was guided in this process of selection by her own intimate acquaintance with Jews and with immigrants. It was due to this vast amount of reading that the writer felt the necessity of a strictly scientific attitude in a discussion of this nature. It is not enough to say that the recent immigration is bad; we must be able to prove such a sweeping assertion. We have seen that those who claim that immigration has been a benefit to this country, have as much on their side to prove their assumptions as the restrictionists have on theirs. It was also shown that the situation created by this immigration is by no means unprecedented in the history of the United States; the same conditions practically having prevailed ever since people began to come here in any appreciable numbers. The entire question of immigration is conceived throughout this discussion, as a natural phenomenon, common to mankind in

all times. Civilization itself is the result of the interchange of culture between races; interchange that could not be accomplished except through migrations - in the earlier history of civilization at least.

In the particular question of Jewish immigration, the fact was emphasized that a popular conception of the Jew is inadequate as a basis for our discussion. The Jewish race whose very name has aroused the curiosity and admiration of politicians, historians, and philosophers, as a unique example of race cohesion and ethnic purity, had first to be divested of the halo of romance and mystery surrounding it. It was then found that the Jews are more a social and psychic, than a racial and biologic product; that the marked characteristics which distinguish them from their environment can be reduced to their political, economic, and social position. The anthropological data presented in that connection show that there is no single ethnic Jewish type, but rather types characteristic of the different countries in which Jews are found. It was necessary to devote a chapter to the anthropology of the Jew in order to dispel the popular fallacies regarding the impossibility of assimilating the Jewish element. Scientific research has modified or done away with many popular ideas; and this idea regarding the Jew is no exception.

Passing over the purely statistical and historical material, such as the historical background of the Jewish immigration, the number and distribution of Jews in the world and in the United States, the sources of this immigration and the causes leading to it, we came to a discussion of the

Jews in the United States and of their value as immigrants. Here too it was found that the ordinary conception of the immigrant, particularly the Jew, is inadequate, tending as it does, to overemphasize the more obvious traits of the Jews, paying particular attention to the visible material effects of their coming here, and thus necessarily overlooking the hidden mainsprings of their activities, and their psychical and spiritual contributions to the world and to the country of their adoption. It was urged that the evolutionary view is the only view from which this problem can be discussed to any advantage.

I have also shown that due to centuries of persecution and artificial segregation, the Jews have developed a certain exclusiveness which appears, to the unscientific observer, to be the result of inherent traits which render the Jews a sort of undigestible mass in the midst of whatever population they find themselves. I presented sufficient data to show the fallacy of this idea. The Jew is among the easiest to be assimilated, and to take on the native culture provided it is not on a lower level than his own. The reason that in all our large cities are found large areas populated almost exclusively by Jews, is because of a natural tendency of people of all nationalities to join friends and relatives, rather than to settle among people of different speech and nationality. I also suggested that since congestion tends in the main to follow the concentration of industries, it may not be entirely due to immigration, and to the character of the immigrants that we have Ghettos and other foreign quarters in

our cities. The economic factor is, at any rate worth considering.

Now I have not tried to discuss the desirability or undesirability of immigration. That question is by no means settled. I have, however, adhered to the view that since we have been having an average Jewish immigration of approximately 100,000 a year, we owe it to the immigrant as well as to this country to know not only what he is, but also what is being done to render him a desirable addition to our population. It is evident from the preceding discussion that the Jews are helping themselves. That is, American Jewry is doing its utmost to help its co-religionists. Jewish philanthropy has endowed schools, hospitals, homes of various kinds. It provides for technical and agricultural education; it tries to distribute the immigrants more evenly. Yet more than anything else, the fact stands out clearly that no matter how well-directed and extensive such work may be, it is inadequate. At some time or other in their existence, charity associations find themselves hampered in their work through lack of funds, or the personell is inadequate, or there is no enabling legislation and certain plans cannot be carried out. So that what is being done even for Jewish immigrants must after all be conditioned by the economic condition of the American Jews, by their disposition to help their co-religionists, and by the laws of our states and of the country at large. It becomes in other words largely an individual matter.

But when we come to the question of the entire immigration to this country, of Slavs, Italians, and every

nationality that comes to our shores, we are confronted with more serious problems. There is not found the consciousness of kind among these people that the Jews possess; charity is not a part of their religion as it is with the Jews. What then becomes of these thousands of immigrants when they reach the United States? Who is responsible for them? The responsibility of the Federal government ends with legislation in regard to immigration. The mental and moral, the human responsibility is left to the states, and of these, only a few which receive the bulk of our immigration. The result is that the immigrants are literally dumped upon our shores, and left in the care of the thousands of parasites who feed upon this immigration, from the unscrupulous petty official at Ellis Island, to the Padroni, the Notary Public and the Banker of the slum, all of whom live by exploiting the ignorant immigrant. The states are not coping with the situation successfully any more than the various private charity agencies are. To some extent the foregoing statements apply to Jewish as well as non-Jewish immigration.

Says Miss Frances A. Kellor who is connected with the Immigrant Protection League: "We pay no attention whatever to the time, way or condition in which any alien arrives at his destination or how he is transferred through the various cities. We let practically anyone who will act as his guide and informant, regardless of the fact that first impressions of America are from persons who regard him as a legitimate prey. How can we possibly expect an alien to be law-abiding, properly respecting and honest, when his first experiences

in this country are robbery, overcharging, neglect and frequently instructions to evade the law?"¹

A constructive program in regard to immigration should go beyond establishing the amount of money each immigrant must bring with him. It should provide for some sort of Federal control beyond mere legislation. Steel-mills and canneries, labor camps filled with underpaid aliens, and child workers are a blight on our civilization. A system of Federal Employment Agencies could in time do away with these conditions which private interests tend to perpetuate.

We have seen how the Jews are trying to solve their own problem of distribution. Yet frankly speaking, much more could be accomplished through a system of distribution controlled by the Federal Government, or through its co-operation with the state governments. Individual initiative can not always be trusted to do the right thing; the government can, and is able to accomplish things on a much larger scale than can be accomplished by any private organization.

The Industrial Removal Office has distributed throughout southeastern Europe, pamphlets printed in Yiddish, telling the Jews all about industrial and economic conditions in this country - a system by which the immigrants may become familiar with America before he gets here. The Federal Government has no way of furnishing the alien in this country with information about our resources, laws, obligations, duties. Small wonder then that the alien children are found shucking oysters in the

¹ Frances A. Kellor, Needed - a Domestic Immigration Policy

canneries of the South for fifteen cents a day, when they should be at school, and that the adult immigrant comes in conflict with our law so often. He does not know anything about it. There should be a system of Interstate Bureaus of Labor and of Information, the latter however to be imparted in languages that the immigrants can understand. In our zeal to Americanize the immigrant we often forget that it takes time to learn a new language, especially if one has had no opportunities for education previous to his coming here.

I have indicated the almost universal desire of the Jews for learning. That of course makes it easier for them to become Americanized. Yet even among the Jews can be found many cases where children are kept out of school and sent to work, after having obtained working papers under false pretences. The school authorities can not keep track of all the foreign-born children in the community, but the Federal Government could furnish to each State Department of Education, at stated intervals, the name and address of each alien child, these addresses to be sent to the various school authorities in the state, who could then send truant officers for the children. Hundreds of children arrive weekly to this country of whom the school authorities have absolutely no knowledge. Among immigrants of other nationalities conditions are even worse.

Not only is there needed some kind of an educational program for dealing with the children of immigrants, but such a program must include the adult immigrant also. As we have seen, the United States Immigration Commission made a study of the children of immigrants in schools, but there is no central

organization to put its recommendations into practice. The Commission does not touch the subject of adult education; yet the adult immigrants are expected to become American citizens. The Bureau of Naturalization requires a knowledge of English and American Government, but provides practically no such instruction. And a knowledge of these subjects would not only help in the process of naturalization, but would also result in greater industrial efficiency. Many grave industrial accidents are due to ignorance of the English Language in which orders are given. We are told of the way in which foreigners in camps take advantage of classes held by Y. M. C. A. workers. A complete educational system for aliens would include appropriations for permanent schools in labor camps; it would also necessitate the working out of school methods especially suited for the needs of foreigners. One who does not know our language can scarcely be expected even to know the names of the tools he must use daily, if his education in the night school consists in learning how to spell the proverbial "cat," and "mat." Our night school work must be made more vigorous, more alive, more suited to the daily needs of the people whom we are trying to make over into Americans.

Of course, such a policy as I have tried to outline would involve both state and Federal activities. Yet one need not at all infringe upon the other. The Federal Government can protect the immigrant through national legislation; states can adopt a uniform body of laws respecting immigrant banks, notaries public, labor camps, employment, and etc. And when

we read of children's working papers being "fixed up" in offices of notaries situated in the back part of saloons, we can see the necessity there of some kind of government control. Federal and state representatives could work side by side in the construction of such a domestic immigration policy. Assimilation does not entirely depend upon the alien; and in admitting so many thousands of them here the Federal government, in its capacity of guardian owes them all the protection they need. The need of government control is especially emphasized here, because I believe in the efficacy with which the government can do the work, and I have no faith in the haphazard methods by which so much of the work with the immigrant is being done.

Coming back to the question of Jewish immigration, we can easily see that though the Jew does not create the same problems that immigrants of other nationalities give rise to, yet Federal and state co-operation could do much to mitigate those problems that he does create. For instance, I believe that distribution could be more easily accomplished, and on a larger scale if the Federal government or the different state governments would co-operate with the Industrial Removal Office in its work. It would prove a strong inducement for the Jewish immigrants to go even into unknown parts of the country if they were assured that the government of the United States is actually interested enough in them to co-operate with the Jewish Removal Agencies. As it is, it cannot be denied that the bulk of the Jews still feel that they are merely tolerated in this country; that the difference between America and Russia, for

instance, consists merely in the fact that they are unmolested, that they are allowed to do much as they please, but that they are not considered an integral part of the American people. And the fact that everything that is done for them is done almost entirely by Jews, tends to intensify this feeling among the immigrants that they are strangers in a strange land. Yet the most Orthodox of them would prove useful citizens, for Judaism has in it all the elements that make for law and order hence for good citizenship.

As a class the Jews are intelligent enough to grasp every opportunity that would make them Americans. Yet barring conditions that they themselves are responsible for, there are still others which may arise in the course of time, and prevent assimilation in a much greater degree than does even the religion of a Jew. Race prejudice is strong, especially in the bulk of the native population. Education frees the Jew from some of his peculiarities; it renders him more cosmopolitan, less individualistic, more cultured. It ought to do that much for the rest of us. Yet one often finds seemingly educated individuals to whom the color of the skin and the shape of the nose are a sufficient criteria of a man's worth. It is from such people that the mild social ostracism practiced against the Jew in this country even, takes its impetus. It is not within the scope of this discussion to predict how far this tendency may in time go. It is to be hoped that a more rational attitude towards the stranger within our gates will strangle this spirit in its infancy. Every country has the Jews it deserves.

Will the American Jew of the future, who is now the recent immigrant, prove worthy of the best this country stands for? To every American is vouchsafed the privilege of doing his part - however small, in this work of Americanization.

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