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# THE AMBIVALENT IMAGE: THE PERCEPTION OF THE JEW IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

by

Louise A. Mayo

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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Carol Diaco assisted me in typing the final draft.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

INTRODUCTION.. .....1

I - THE RELIGIOUS IMAGE.....12

Deicides and Fossils
Conversionists and Their Critics
Religious Literature
Positive Religious Perceptions
Jewish Customs and Rites

II - LITERARY IMAGES.....75

The Villain -- The Shylock Image
The Wandering Jew
The Rebecca Image: The Beautiful Jewess
Sheva - The Benevolent Jew
Jews on the Mind of New England: Judeophile and Anti-Semite
Melville's Clarel: Judaism and the Search for Faith
Novels About Real Jews: Sidney Luska, Abraham Cahan and Others

III - POPULAR IMAGES.....156

The Dime Novel
The Theater
Guidebooks to New York
Jews in Popular Humor

IV - THE PRESS AND PERIODICALS.....227

The Jew as Fire-Bug
Hilton, Corbin and the Jewish Parvenu
Reaction to Famous Jews
Economic Images
Jewish Character and Contributions
The "Jew" and the "Sheeny"

V - POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL IMAGES .....301

American Political Issues
The Role of the Populists and Other Radicals
The Alienated Aristocrats
Anti-Semites and Judeophiles
Treatment of Foreign Issues
America as a Haven for the Oppressed

VI - EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWS.....383

Early Perceptions of Eastern Jews
The Flood Begins: The 1880s
The 1890s - A Question of Desirability

CONTENTS

VI -

Customs and Life Styles of the Immigrants
Friendly Observers
A Dangerous Class

CONCLUSION.....465

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....475

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Rebecca Image: Rachel in the New World.....103

2. Edwin Booth as Shylock .....172

3. Family Feeling took second place to Economic Considerations.....201

4. The Jewish Parvenu.....207

5. Joseph Pulitzer: The Image of a Famous Jew.....210

6. The Saratoga Incident.....240

7. Sympathy for the Russian Refugees was not Universal.....396

8. The Bar Mitzvah.....422

9. The Immigrant as Good Citizen - Jacob Riis.....434

10. The Rise of the Russian Jew - Hutchins Hapgood.....439

# INTRODUCTION

The problem of social image has long concerned historians and social commentators--in such works, for example, as George Frederickson's notable The Black Image in the White Mind. The way in which a group, racial or ethnic, is perceived by the majority culture, must have a profound effect upon its behavior, adjustment and treatment. Robert MacIver has remarked, "We carry in our heads images of other groups and we bring these images into all our relationships..."[1] Studies show as much anti-semitism among those who have never known a Jew as among those who see Jews every day. Anti-semitism, in short, does not seem to require the presence of Jews, only their images.

Jews came to America in very small numbers before the middle of the nineteenth century. There were only 15,000 Jews in a total population of 15,000,000 by 1830. As the Jewish community evolved in America, it was radically transformed from the classic European model. In America the community had lost its corporate structure. It was more open, mobile, less religiously observant, and far more assimilated. Part of the reason for this was the absence both of an established church and of extreme anti-semitism. In many ways it was characteristic of post emancipation communities, but was unencumbered by a long history of anti-Jewish actions which haunted the European communities. There was an ease and frequency of association between Christians and Jews rarely found in Europe. This, in turn, led to changes in patterns of worship and a passion for innovation which made American Jews even less differentiated from the greater society.

From 1820 to 1870 a steady stream of German Jewish immigrants came to America. By 1877 the Jewish population had grown to 250,000. These

German Jews, children of the Enlightenment, generally found adaptation to American life an easy process. They quickly entered the middle class. The majority found a satisfactory religious compromise in the Reform movement which permitted them to function as both Americans and Jews. For the most part, these small businessmen were considered admirable Americans. Yet they were often accused of cunning and avarice, and, by the 1840s, the verb "to jew" had become commonplace in American slang.

Gradually, the success of the German Jews became more visible and began to trouble many older Americans. Most of the learned Jews had remained in Jewish centers in Europe. Although German Jews often played a culture-courier role in the German American community, the Jew who migrated was generally the busy, ambitious businessman with less passion for learning. In America many accumulated wealth at a faster rate than culture. The image of the Jew became more and more that of the parvenu. Although American literature often included the Shylock image, it took a milder and more impersonal form than in England. Most Jews continued to live quietly and comfortably in America.

The lives of these satisfied, settled German-American Jews were violently jolted after 1880, as vast "hordes" of Eastern European Jews poured into America. By the end of open immigration in 1924, over two million had arrived. These "shtetl" Jews looked and acted very different from Americans, much to the discomfiture of older Jewish settlers. Unlike the latter, the newcomers crowded together in slums. It seemed obvious that they would not be so readily amalgamated into American society. They would irrevocably change the image of the Jew in America.

Anti-semitism is perhaps the most ancient ethnic or racial antagonism. "Anti-semitism possesses a stock of images more deep-seated and

protean than does any other form of inter-group hostility known to Western man, because it is the summation of self-confirming experience extending over two millennia."[2] There have been a plethora of studies about the nature of Christian perceptions of the Jews from psychological, sociological and religious points of view. The Jew was often seen as the quintessential alien, part of a community of strangers, determinedly different, a tribal anamoly, "a particularly suitable projection screen for modern man's conflicts."[3] The qualities of the Jew were so manifold, inconsistent and ambiguous that the observer could see whatever he wanted in the Jew. Characteristics attributed to Jews often reflected the needs and repressed wishes of the hostile individual.

Religiously, a profound ambivalence prevailed. Jews were "God's chosen people, who at one and the same time gave us the Messiah and rejected him."[4] Psychiatrists have suggested that the Jew has often represented both the repressed instincts of the Christian and the father who is feared and loved at the same time. This was the basis of a deep ambiguity, a mixture of hatred, fear and attachment.[5] From the beginning of their association Christians saw Jews as living rejections of their faith. At the same time, many Christians felt a certain ambivalence about Jesus. What better way to lessen feelings of guilt for their own rejection of the precepts of Jesus than to displace them on the "killers" of Christ. In that sense, anti-semitism can be a form of self-hatred. Christianity asked Christians to repress desires. The resentment which resulted could be focused on the Jews who gave the world Christianity. As Herbert Gold colorfully expressed it, "The chosen people is exempt from so many sins. They are free to do all the nasty things we want to do, make money, wallow in luxury, do funny things to women."[6] A psychoanalyst agrees that the

Jew, originator of the Father, God, became a universal father symbol himself, representing the "inhibiting depriving forces in society."[7] At the same time, Christians claimed a Jewish heritage. The Church saw itself as the true chosen Israel, leading to a complex interplay of symbols. The younger brother supplanted the older in his father's affection (preferably aided by his mother) and seized power. This really represents a direct and successful aggression against the father. Judaism, the elder brother, was still present, however, constantly around to scream, "father," inspiring, "violent and mixed feelings: hatred, fear, remorse."[8]

Concurrently, the economic role of the Jew added dimensions for hostility. The cultural alien and murderer of God undertook the suspicious role of merchant and money-lender. This occurred in a medieval society where commerce was suspect and usury was condemned by Church sanctions almost as strenuously as heresy. Judas sold his God for silver. The Jew was the devil -- usurer and deicide-- even developing the physical characteristics of the devil such as a long nose, red hair, unpleasant odor, and straggly beard. This created what Trachtenberg has called "mass memory."[9] In the Middle Ages the Jew was magician and sorcerer; in the modern period, international communist and international capitalist. The basic structure is the same. In both the Jew is represented as omnipotent and menacing. Both identify the Jew with mankind's current fears.

If one concedes the presence of hostile imagery transmitted from generation to generation and constantly reinforced by contact between Christians and Jews, the question remains: to what extent was this core of Jewish-image woven into the pattern of American culture? Ben Halpern has argued, "The situation of the Jews in America, however special its character is not fundamentally different from what it has been elsewhere;

and the configuration of America's attitudes towards them, however unique it may be, remains confined within the traditional framework of ambivalence between anti-semitism and toleration."[10] Hannah Arendt has remarked that anti-Jewish feeling acquires political significance only when it becomes part of major political issues or when Jewish group interests come into open conflict with those of a major class in society.[11] These conditions did not exist in nineteenth century America. There were less vivid historical memories of Christian-Jewish conflict here. In such European nations as France, Germany, Austria, Romania, Poland and Russia, anti-semitism was more than a fringe ideology. It was organized, had a clearly enunciated program, and had a chance to achieve political power. By contrast, American anti-semitism was one of impulse, more casual and aimless, and lacking political effectiveness. Group animosity had a far more suitable target in Catholics who appeared more dangerous to Americans. Blacks also provided a more obvious focus for hostility and fear. "Polite anti-semitism," manifesting itself in social discrimination against Jewish nouveaux riches by the established elite group, has been identified as the typically American outgrowth. Father Flannery has commented that conditions which staved off rabid and organized hatred helped to engender the American variety of anti-Jewish perception. "A land of immense natural resources and dynamic economic growth had less need for scapegoats to heap failures upon...but these favorable conditions produced a species of status-seeking and social snobbery" in which Jews suffered more than others.[12] There is a public (political) anti-semitism and a private (social) variety. The latter is more characteristic of the United States.

Historians' explanations of American anti-semitism in the nine-

teenth century have varied considerably. In the 1930s and 40s obervers like Carey McWilliams tended to favor an economic interpretation of anti-semitism, tracing it to conservatism and privilege.[13] In the consensus atmosphere of the 1950s Oscar Handlin minimized its impact. As late as the 1890s, he argued, the culture was "actually marked by a distinct philo-semitism." Although he conceded the widespread presence of the Shylock image, Handlin claimed that it implied "no hostility or negative judgment." Unflattering images might appear to us as anti-Jewish, but there is "evidence that they were not meant to be taken as such." The Jew as Shylock was just one of many ethnic stereotypes, none of which was genuinely deprecatory. A new image of the Jew did not emerge until the late 1890s, when it was advanced by agrarian radicals. This was the essentially modern picture of the Jew as the evil and powerful international money broker.[14]

In two influential articles on anti-semitism in the Gilded Age, John Higham both rejected and incorporated parts of the two earlier views.[15] He concluded that most Americans wavered "between conflicting attitudes of anti and philo-semitism." The stereotype of the Jew expressed ambivalent emotions. Religiously, the Jew was both the "glorious agent of divine purpose and the deserving victim of his vengeance." In economic terms the Jew exemplified the virtues and vices of capitalism as the aggressive businessman, with "keenness and resourcefulness in trade, yet ...cunning avarice." In the late nineteenth century the more unattractive economic picture grew in importance. The Jew became the symbol of plutocracy, often to those very groups which, paradoxically, believed strongly in America as an asylum for the oppressed. Higham felt that, during the 1870s, an increased scramble for social prestige dislocated

the American status system. Propelled by "assertive manners and aggressive personalities," German Jews advanced more rapidly than all other immigrant groups. The Jews themselves, through innocent pride, gave a vastly exaggerated impression of their financial power. The image of the Jew as the "quintessential parvenu" was set by the 1880s.

Mass immigration from Eastern Europe "further complicated the whole Jewish problem," according to Higham. The immigrants encountered a "larger, more complex upswing of anti-foreign feeling." Higham agreed with Handlin that the picture of the Jew resembled other ethnic stereotypes, but concluded that they were all unflattering. Economic explanations were also significant. The depression was one element in the complex social and economic dislocations which led to anti-foreign agitation. Unflattering perceptions of the Jew were strongest where social discontent combined with nationalistic aggression.

This dissertation takes issue with many of the conclusions of Higham and Handlin. Handlin is forced to ignore or minimize numerous instances of overt anti-semitism throughout the nineteenth century. Higham's understanding of complexities and ambiguities comes closer to the actual perception of the Jew in the nineteenth century. It is far from a total explanation, however. It fails to take into consideration the deeply rooted historic image of the Jew, an image whose antiquity was unmatched by that of any other ethnic group. The impression of a sharp upswing of expressions of anti-semitism in the 1870s and in the depression of the 1890s is not born out by a study of the press. Manifestations of anti-Jewish sentiments, which are often cited as typical of the "status anxieties" of the 1870s, existed well before then. In fact, the picture of the Jew remained remarkably constant throughout the century, increasing mainly in quantity as observers became more cog-

nizant of the presence of Jews in America.

In a recent doctoral dissertation, Michael Dobkowski categorically rejects the views of Higham and Handlin. He argues that American historians have attempted to reconcile anti-Jewish prejudice with a democratic society by minimizing the intensity of anti-semitism here and by emphasizing transitory social and economic causes rather than more permanent ideological and religious motives. He believes that Americans readily accepted European notions about the Jews as aggressive and clannish money-grubbers who ostentatiously displayed their wealth. The Jew's attachment to his "archaic" religion prevented him from becoming a genuinely useful member of society. Dobkowski concludes flatly that the evidence is "overwhelming and consistent" that "there were practically no countervailing images to balance the barrage of ideological anti-semitism that permeated American culture."[16] While this provides a necessary corrective to the earlier viewpoints, it ignores the numerous favorable and even philo-semitic works which appeared throughout the century. The presence of anti-semitic ideology in America cannot be denied, but the existence of such counter-ideologies as America's role as a haven for the oppressed, democratic pluralism, compassion for victims of persecution, and acceptance of capitalist virtues, should not be minimized.

The image of the Jew was undoubtedly the most complex of all the ethnic stereotypes. (For one thing it combined religious preconceptions with ethnic distaste.) On the one hand, there was a clear line from the ancient and deeply ingrained concept of the Jew as Judas or Shylock. On the other, there was a positive prototype of the Jew as hard working in the approved Horatio Alger manner, of superior intell-

ect, charitable instincts, and the undaunted survivor of centuries of unjust persecution. The arrival of thousands of poor and seemingly unassimilable Eastern European Jews had a profound impact on the Jewish image in the press (although not in literature, comic magazines or on the stage.) American rhetoric called for aid to the oppressed, and sympathy in response to the barbarous policy of the Czar was widespread. Yet many Americans worried that years of oppression had made these immigrants "undesirable," unable to understand democracy and social restraint. Older and newer, often contradictory, perceptions of the Jew existed side by side. The image by the end of the century was a compound of class attitudes and ancient stereotypes.

This dissertation examines the image of the Jew in nineteenth century America from a variety of perspectives. Works of fiction and drama, Sunday school texts and religious works, histories, guide books, polemical works, comic magazines, songs, burlesque pieces and representative newspapers and periodicals are considered in an attempt to understand the way in which nineteenth century Americans perceived Jews. While it was possible to examine most major magazines, newspapers, of necessity, had to be dealt with selectively. The major New York newspapers were covered in some detail. The New York Times index was helpful in this regard, but other papers were also extensively covered. The American Jewish press, particularly the American Israelite, was of assistance in quoting praise or condemnation of Jews which appeared in newspapers throughout the country. Books about Jews in various sections also provided clues about coverage of Jews in those cities. This means that the picture will be impressionistic in some topics. For example, foreign and domestic issues facing Jews (many of which are the subjects of

separate books) are discussed only in relation to the light they shed on the press' view of the Jew. Their deeper implications and the actions taken, if any, are outside of the scope of this study. It may be possible to understand the extent to which such images come from deep rooted historic and psychological sources, and the ways in which American experience and ideology has served to modify and update ancient stereotypes. In this way, perhaps, American attitudes towards the Jews in the twentieth century (particularly in the 1920s and during the era of the Second World War) can be more thoroughly comprehended.

Nineteenth century American views tended to verify Harold Fisch's view that "the Jew is inevitably a figure of polarity, of radical ambiguity."[17] The ambivalence of American attitudes was reflected in complaints voiced in the 1890s by Abram Isaacs. There was a flood of works "glorifying the Jew." The Jew was "treated with superlative praise or superlative condemnation." Isaacs felt that the real Jew could be found neither in the words of his detractor nor the praises of his admirers. "The Jew pleads for justice not glorification."[18]

FOOTNOTES - INTRODUCTION

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Oscar Handlin, "American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, XL, June 1951, 325, 327.

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John Higham, "Anti Semitism in the Gilded Age, " Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII, March 1957; "Social Discrimination Against Jews in America: 1830-1930," Publications of the AJHS, September 1957, passim.

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Dobkowski, 11-13, 522.

17
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## I - THE RELIGIOUS IMAGE

The religious reaction to the Jew was undoubtedly the most deeply engrained in the Christian mind. In this area, as in others, there was a profound ambivalence towards "God's chosen people who at one and the same time, gave us the messiah and rejected him."[1] This basic Christian attitude goes back to the infancy of the Church. Christian writers, from St. Augustine on, taught that the dispersion of the Jew was a divine retribution for the crucifixion. The degenerate state of Judaism in Christ's time was widely assumed. It was said to have become a religion without a soul, dessicated by its legalism, formalism and ritual.

Most important, the Jews, like the father who destroys his own child, rejected and even caused the death of their one true leader. Psychologically, the child has guilt-producing death wishes about his father, like the feelings of Christians toward Judaism. The greater complication was that here the unrepentant father had killed his own child, Jesus, and rejected his other child, Christianity. Freud, Maurice Samuel, Jacques Maritain and others maintain that the hatred directed against the Jew is, in reality, an unconscious hatred of Christ, a displacement of resentment against the heavy yoke of Christianity.

The Jew became identified with three personifications of evil: "Cain who murdered his brother, Judas who betrayed Christ for money," (which added another aspect to the stereotyped Jew) and Ahaseurus, the Wandering Jew, symbol of a whole people who "could not rest and they would not die... the Living Dead."[2] The Jew was thus under a curse and, therefore, to be avoided.

On the other hand, Christianity did owe a debt of gratitude to

Jews who had preserved the worship of one God, the divinely elected upholders of law; the people from whom Christ came.

A father may be loved as well as feared. The Jew was held responsible for the crime, but it was a crime from which the Christian reaped moral and psychological benefit - redemption from sin. There was also the feeling that the Jew represented a phenomenon both marvelous and incomprehensible. Despite extreme persecution, this strange people had survived for thousands of years. Perhaps this was part of a vast divine plan in which the Jew would eventually be restored to greatness and would acknowledge the truth of Christian teachings.

These religious preconceptions played a significant role in the way in which Americans perceived Jews, particularly in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. Many brought with them the fundamental Calvinist ambivalence: "The Jews were forever guilty of deicide and must be punished, but as fore-ordained witnesses to the divine plan of salvation in Christainity, must be tolerated and protected..."[3] The view of the Jew as Christ-killer, rejected by God and justly punished for his transgressions, was widely taught in American Sunday schools and echoed by religious publications throughout the land.[4] A related concept was that the Jewish religion was meant to be a precursor of Christianity and was no longer relevant to the modern world -- its customs at best outdated and at worst pernicious. At the same time proselytizers were active, although, believing as they did in the central role of the Jew in bringing God's kingdom to earth, not always unsympathetic.

Although these attitudes represented the main thrust of Christian thought in America, other writers, largely in secular journals, placed greater emphasis on gratitude to the Jews for bringing religious ideas

to the world. They also expressed admiration for the miraculous survival of the Jews in the face of oppression, interest in Jewish religious customs, disdain for conversionists' futile efforts, and a dismissal of the crucifixion as either not the fault of the Jews or not related to modern descendants. These often mutually exclusive attitudes of religious hostility and sympathy existed side by side within American society.

Deicides and Fossils

In an 1881 article in the North American Review, Nina Morais complained, "The Christian mother sings of Jewish vices in nursery rhymes, and even the catechism of the Sunday school tends to excite rancor. In it the Jew is pictured as the God-murderer, the scion of a stock accursed and scattered for its sins."[5] This very basic view, while more widely expressed in the early part of the nineteenth century, persisted to its very end. Also commonplace was the idea that the purpose of the Jewish religion was to pave the way for the true beliefs of Christianity. Once that purpose was fulfilled, Judaism was destined to die. Harper's Magazine of July 1858, in a discussion of the reason for anti-Jewish prejudice, recognized the centrality of religious motivation: "Is it surprising that a civiliztion called from the name of Christ should hold under perpetual ban of dislike and partial ignominy the whole race which is descended from those who rejected the leader of Christendom...and who refuse him to this day?...is it not a very natural and obvious prejudice?" Jews should not expect a world-wide prejudice to disappear rapidly.[6]

This outlook was apparent very early. The Atlantic Monthly reported in 1904 in "An Hour with our Prejudices," a colonial cradle hymn:

Yet to read the shameful story
How the Jews abused their King
How they served the Lord of Glory
Makes me angry while I sing.[7]

In one of the earliest published histories of the Jewish people (1812), Hannah Adams expressed the view that the persecutions, antiquity and rites of the Jews were "a standing monument to the truth of the Christian religion." The Jews were selected to preserve the knowledge of God, but after the prophetic age, "Jews began to corrupt the law of Moses...(and)...grossly perverted their religion by exalting the traditions of their ancestors above the law." Christ was "ignominiously rejected and put to death by the Jewish nation. The tremendous calamities which befell them after perpetrating this horrid crime" caused their subsequent dispersion and sufferings. Despite this, she expressed great sympathy for the "cruel oppression and pillages this devoted race have suffered..." She admired their ability to survive in spite of all their misery. Her real hope was for the future conversion of the "descendants of those illustrious patriarchs."[8]

An equally benign version of the same basic idea was offered by Reverend Michael Russell in an 1833 book, Palestine Of The Holy Land. The entire history of the Hebrew people could be simply summarized: "in opposition to their own wishes they laid the foundations of a religion which has not only superseded their peculiar rites, but is rapidly advancing towards...universal acceptance." As the Jew became more enlightened, "he would realize that Christianity which embraced... all the kindreds and languages of the earth is alone adapted to an improved and civilized age." Yet there was some appreciation of the great moral phenomena which caused their survival.[9]

Sunday school books designed for the young tended to be particularly

severe in their judgments about the Jews. An 1813 volume, Sabbath Lessons by Elizabeth Peabody spoke of "The conspiracy of the Jewish rulers against Jesus Christ." He was "taken by the Jews, bound and delivered to Pontius Pilate." The Epistles of James were "severe reproofs to the Jews for pretending to faith without works; for indulging themselves in...reviling, covetousness, vain swearing..."[10]

An anonymous 1832 book, Annals Of The Jewish Nation, designed to aid the biblical studies of young people, continued in much the same vein. For more than two-thousand years, Jews were God's chosen people. "But after their enormous impiety in the rejection and crucifixion of the Messiah, they as a nation, were utterly rejected of God... exiled...dispersed...and abandoned to every species of persecution..." Despite this, the ambiguities of the concepts of religious fundamentalists towards Jews were pointedly shown in this book. In spite of their misdeeds, "an extraordinary Providence" attends the Jewish people in fulfillment of the prophecies and in their preservation as a distinct people. To the present they were a "monument of God's displeasure" against the crucifixion. "Still they are preserved in mercy...For it is clear...they will be restored to the privileges of the Church from which...they have been cut off by unbelief."[11]

Some works for the very young were more unsparing. An 1846 Scripture Lessons For The Young by H. P. Peet forcibly underscored the image of the Jew as Christ-killer without any mitigating sympathy. Pontius Pilate was said to have declared Jesus innocent and to have wanted to release him, but the Jews clamored for his death. The Jews nailed Jesus to a cross and "reviled him." Later the children were told, "The Jews hated the Christians and persecuted them, including the disciples." The punishment followed shortly after. The Jews

revolted against the Romans and a Roman army destroyed Jerusalem. "Many of the Jews perished. Since then the Jews have been scattered among all the nations because they disobeyed God and rejected Christ." Later the Turks took possession of Judea and continued to hold it as retribution for the crimes of the Jews.[12]

Stories From The History Of The Jews (1853) were far more sympathetic tales for children about what had happened to a once powerful people now scattered all over the world, despised and mistreated. They were able to accommodate themselves to every country where they dwelled, but they remained strangers, living apart. "We shall see them robbed, persecuted and massacred; still we shall find them with quiet industry, making their way." Notwithstanding this pity for their suffering and admiration for their fortitude, the child was reminded that "they were bitter enemies of the early Christians...the Jews had rejected and murdered the Savior..." The child, after shedding tears at the persecution of the Jews, yet concluded, "the punishment, though heavy, was just." The author did, however, firmly believe that it was time for all oppression to end: "If Christians will think and act in the mild spirit of their teacher, the Jews will, in time, imitate their wise example and throw off their coating of pride and bigotry."[13] Works such as these reinforced the child's view of the Jew as justly abandoned by God.

Books designed for Sunday School teachers urged the same basic viewpoint. C. Soule Carter in Questions Adapted To The Text Of The New Testament (1865) admonished the teacher to "remark on the willfulness and fickleness of the Jews." In one story the teacher was told to stress the symbolism of the destruction of the Jewish nation as a punishment. The child should be taught that Jesus predicted the

calamities which fell upon the Jews, "the sins of the Jews brought those terrible retributions upon themselves," by "the depravity of the nation."[14]

A later Lesson Handbook For Primary And Intermediate Teachers (1883) stressed the selfishness of the Jews in their unwillingness to let Gentiles have a Savior. One of the Lessons suggested for teachers posed an interesting question for the student, "How many of you have ever seen a Jew? How do you know Jews when you see them? By their looks?" In that way the relationship between the modern Jew and the Biblical deicide was made clear. Another revealing question asked, "Why do you think God had to give the Jews so many commandments?" The answer was that they were not wise enough to do good by themselves. Unlike the Christians, "they were children in understanding."[15]

Books geared directly to students continued to reflect central preoccupation with Jews as murderers of the Son of God. The Berean Tract and Bible Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a series of tracts published from 1876 to 1878, contained numerous examples of the religious dislike of the Jews. "The conspiracy of the Jews against Christ purchased us our salvation." Stephen incensed the Jews merely by performing miracles, so they stoned him to death. Even though the Jews had been the people of the Lord, they rejected Christ. "The law of Moses required men to go through many forms which did them no good." Christ came to free them from bondage to law, as did Paul. The Jews were ignorant, "would not learn the truth." Finally, in a section entitled, "Judaism Overthrown," the point is driven home. "God had decided to let the great Roman armies come to attack, take and destroy Jerusalem. He knew that there would be the most terrible suffering... this was for a punishment upon the Jews for rejecting Christ..."[16]

The same attitudes continued into the 1890s in Sunday school books. The Bible Study Union Graded Lessons For Sunday Schools And Bible Classes, 1894-99 was designed for intermediate grades by the Protestant Episcopal Church. The presumably sophisticated Episcopalians presented their children the evidence of Christ's divinity. The children were then questioned about why the Jews did not believe in Him. "What do you think of those who have sufficient evidence that Jesus is the Saviour and yet do not believe in Him?", the children were pointedly asked. This led to a "judgment of God upon the Jews..." Matthew said, because the Jews rejected Christ, "they were to be rejected by God and his kingdom was to be transferred to the Gentiles."[17]

The Catholic series for the middle and senior grades, the Whittaker Series Of Lessons For Bible Classes And Schools, 1895-6, contained surprisingly little about the role of the Jews. The one exception was the Lesson on Ingratitude - The Parable of the Wicked Husbandman: "We can easily see how this Parable shows the history of the Jewish people. They treated cruelly the prophets, who were the servants of the Lord, and, when the Son of God was sent to them, they put him to death...God's heavy punishment" was the result. To bring the main point across even more directly, the child was asked, "How did the parable apply to the Jewish people?...Did they reject and slay our Saviour?" Finally, the relationship to the modern Jew was stressed by a written assignment on "The present scattered condition of the Jews."[18]

As late as 1903 Sunday school books designed for children had shown little or no change in basic outlook. Melvin Jackson's Travels Of Paul was a Course of Study for Boy's Bible Classes. When the Jewish mobs seized Paul, the boys were told, "These people were devoted to the temple, but not to God. They were ceremonially correct, but morally

impure. They were cowards"...who committed treachery and attempted murder.[19]

No wonder that Alice Rhine remarked in an 1887 article in the Forum, "Hatred and contempt for the Jew the infant imbibes with its mother's milk and it is intensified by the teachings of governesses, Sunday-schools and church."[20]

Religious press and books designed for adults differed very little in tone or sophistication. If anything, their thrust was often more vitriolic. In March 1855, The Churchman, an official Episcopal organ, reported an "outrage" to the Christian religion. At a dinner of state legislators, a toast offered to the clergy of the state was responded to on their behalf by a Jewish rabbi! In a Christian city, "a disbeliever - a reviler of Christianity" dared to appropriate such sentiments to his own "defiant infidel system" and responded from his "evil heart of unbelief," not at a gathering of "rowdies or libertines" but in an "assembly of Christian law-givers." It was "blasphemy to have that sacred word Gospel in the mouth of an unbelieving Jew... Whoever heard of the Jews regarding the Gentiles as their 'brethren?'" This was hypocritical. In the early days of Christianity the Jews looked upon Christians with "animosity and ferocity...the same feeling which still pervades the Jewish heart, dared they only to express it."[21]

Other articles in Christian journals expressed similar feelings. In 1857 the Christian Intelligencer spoke of "the fanatical Jew...the circumcized bigot thought to do God's service by crucifying the son of Mary..." Jesus was still hated by the Jews in every modern land. "Even their children," spit at the sign of the Cross.[22]

During the Civil War, the Cincinnati Presbyter was outspoken in its opposition to the idea of a Jewish chaplain in the Union army.

> "Our government has already gone a great length in this respect in appointing Roman Catholic and Universalist Chaplains to the army, but...these denominations at least call themselves Christians and profess to honor the Lord Jesus...But Jews regard Jesus...as an imposter, a deceiver, and one worthy of every term of reproach. And yet...the government would in effect say that one might despise and reject the Savior of men and thus trample under foot the son of God; and this, too, not inferentially or by implication, but formally and professedly, and yet be a fit minister of religion!"[23]

In a similar vein, the German Catholic Telegraph in 1869 decried a lecture which had been given under Christian auspices by Rabbi Isaac Wise in Cincinnati. "Let them now extend to him the right hand of fellowship heedless of the blood of Christ on his own." The Inquisition was benevolent compared to what the Rabbi's forefathers would have wrought had they succeeded in extinguishing the blood of Christ. They all bear "the mark of Cain" on their foreheads.[24]

Religious books designed for adults often combined a certain sympathy with an acceptance of the basic image of the Jew as despised Christ-killers. In his A Pictorial Descriptive View And History Of All Religions, Reverend Charles A. Goodrich noted that in the dispersal of the Jews the reader of the Bible "will see...a remarkable fulfillment of the predictions... of our Savior; and he will also learn the evil and danger of despising divine admonitions..." Even today, because of their inability to mingle with their conquerors, the Jews seemed likely to be the last people who would "enjoy the happiness of perfect equality." Still, Goodrich repeated the belief that God had a point in "preserving this people in so extraordinary a manner," with "the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers," which he went on to describe in careful detail.[25] Hannah W. Richardson, in her 1861 book, Judea In Her Desolations, remarked about the "melancholy interest" which was attached to the formerly Chosen people. "The great

mass of the Jews...conspired the death of this just One assuring an awful responsibility." The result was the judgment upon them. They were dispersed, "they became a scattered people, a byword and a reproach." Yet, although the national existence of the Jews was annihilated, "still this sturdy stock resisted the rude blast of centuries...surviving to the present day as living witnesses of the truth of the inspired volume which teaches that the savior of the world was a Jew." Because of this, the author admonished the reader, "therefore let not the Christians despise these now down-trodden ones..."[25]

An Illustrated History Of The Holy Bible, (1868), containing a great deal about the "perverse Jews," was considerably less sympathetic. The Gospel was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Jews, because they were proud of their privileges and "looked upon the rest of the world as retrobates, refusing to hold any conversation with them or even to treat them with common civility." Paul's great teachings only increased their malice and perversity. He suffered "persecution from unbelieving Jews, a lost and undone race of men, whom the divine vengeance was ready to overtake." Although the author conceded that the Jews remained the guardians of the Old Testament and living witnesses of the truth of its prophecies, he firmly reiterated that their misery was "brought upon themselves by their savage barbarity and unyielding obstinancy...He whom they rejected showed how God had rejected them." They have ever since their evil deeds "been dispersed and despised throughout the whole face of the earth."[27] There was a definite tendency to regard modern problems of the Jews as part of God's overall plan of punishment.

Equally bleak and uncompromising in its condemnation was From Exile To Overthrow by John Mears, published in 1881 under Presbyterian auspices. This book clearly expressed the view of Judaism as mere prelude to

Christianity and of the sufferings of the Jews as just retribution for their evil deed. When the Second Temple was destroyed, "the outward shell of Judaism fell away, so that its true kernel, Christianity, could more fully be revealed." The Jews "fell victim to their fanaticism... rejected their Messiah and crucified the incarnate Son of God." Mears repeated the often stated misconception that the Jews could not accept Christ as the Messiah because they were looking for a warrior or monarch-messiah since "their views and hopes were almost entirely worldly." Christians then became the "true Israel."[28] It is interesting to see how frequently another basic stereotype of the Jew as too worldly appears in these religious books. It combines neatly with the rejection of Jesus in the indictment of the Jew.

W. D. Morrison's The Jews Under Roman Rule (1891) was far more sophisticated. Its condemnation can still be heard today. "The influence of Jesus was fast becoming a power among the masses and both the rabbis and the priestly aristocracy, whose system he was menacing, were anxious on religious grounds to see Him put to death." The Jews were detested because of their practice of refusing to associate with Gentiles. This was "utterly opposed to the humane sentiments of national brotherhood which were taking root in the ancient world." The Jews brought contempt upon themselves by their "separatist customs." (And, by inference, still did.)[29]

The very popular Bible Studies of George Pentecost, published in 1891 and again in 1893, repeated the same theme. Those Jews who had crucified Jesus were embittered against Stephen and stoned him, just as they had killed his master. The killing of James, too, greatly pleased "the Jews who hated Christ and his disciples." In the judgment the Jews passed upon Jesus "they pass judgment upon themselves...those who reject him

adjudge themselves unto death..." The Jews rejected Christ out of their greed. (Again combining the two basic stereotypes.) "The Jews were expecting and desiring a temporal king under whose government they might again aggrandize themselves and build up an earthly estate." Their willful misunderstanding of Jesus and blindness "left them to doom." All of this came out of pride and covetousness and led to eternal damnation. It was an eternal sin and "from this there is no deliverance." They had lost their way - "their shepherds had turned out to be but wolves..."[30]

Even scholarly studies like F. W. Farmer's The Herods (1898) reflect similar preconceptions. He described the Pharasaic system and the beginnings of "Rabbinic Talmudism" as "the final atrophy of exaggerated legalism." The discussion of the crucifixion itself was even more surprising in view of the scholarly pretensions of the work. Pontius Pilate was characterized as being "alarmed by the passionate hatred towards Christ shown by the priests, the Saduccean nobles, and the mob whom they were hounding on to demand the death of Jesus." He saw through the "malignity" of the Jews. His "Roman sense of Justice" was offended![31]

Religious books and publications, whether designed for children or adults, popular or scholarly, tended to reinforce the view of Jews as murderers of God's Son, and the Jewish religion as a fossil destined to give way entirely to the "New Israel," Christianity. In his poem, "The Star of Clavary," in 1845, Nathaniel Hawthorne expressed this most basic of all Christian attitudes:

> Behold O Israel! behold,
> It is no human One
> That ye have dared to crucify
> What evil hath he done?
> It is your King, O Israel!
> The God-begotten Son![32]

## Conversionists and Their Critics

In early America conversion was often the aim of even the most sympathetic Protestant leaders. For example, Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale who was noted for his benevolent attitude towards Jews and his close friendship with Aaron Lopez, often expressed the wish that his friend would one day see the light of truth. In his Life Of President Stiles, published in 1798, the Reverend Abiel Holmes (the father of Oliver Wendell Holmes) recommended an approach of kindness in seeking the conversion of Jews. Stiles' civility towards Jews, he noted "is worthy of imitation. It is to be feared that Christians do not what ought to be done towards the conversion of this devoted people...instead of being treated with that humanity and tenderness which Christianity should inspire, they are often persecuted and condemned...Such treatment tends to prejudice them against our holy religion, and to establish them in infidelity."[33]

Typical of the conversionist literature was John Hoyland's Epitome Of History (1816), subtitled, "Fulfillment of Scripture Prophecies Particularly in Relation to the Jews." The author maintained that the "wonderful" preservation of the Jews had been signified by prophecy. The hardships they endured would lead one to believe that they would renounce their religion, but despite massacres and persecution, they were still a distinct people. "What but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner..." Since they rejected the Gospel, they ceased to be the "peculiar people of God." By refusing to convert, the Jews saw their cities destroyed and suffered seventeen hundred years of banishment. Despite that, they continued "deaf and blind, obstinate and unbelieving." On the one hand, he reminded his readers that the "wickedness of their conduct had rendered them unworthy...of Divine regard" and that Jesus was

"crucified by the Jews"... On the other hand, he did believe that one day the Jews would convert and that Christians should remember that they owed to the Jews the Scriptures, apostles, prophets and Christ himself. "And surely on these accounts something of kindness and gratitude should be exercised toward them." Certainly they would never be converted by malice and injury, but by "prayer, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness."[34]

One of the originators of conversionist organization was Hannah Adams, whose basically sympathetic history of the Jews was quoted earlier. She may well have been the first professional woman author in America. She was deeply interested in the Jews. A friend once remarked, "If you want to know Miss Adams, you must talk to her about the Jews."[35] In 1816, the same year as the Hoyland book, she organized the first American society for the conversion of Jews, called the Female Society of Boston and Vicinity for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.

The most active and significant conversionist organization was the Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. It was founded in 1820, and included among its members such outstanding men as De Witt Clinton. John Quincy Adams was its vice president for a few years. The Society's Reports shed light on the conversionist mentality. The Jews were described as "that interesting and deeply injured people since the blood of the messiah...was shed by their fathers, and judicially visited...upon them and their children." Despite this, the organization wished to express "the kindest sympathy and affection towards the outcasts of Israel." Even though the Jews themselves "are concerned to destroy every rising germ of Christian knowledge" and "abuse and vilify" conversionist efforts, it was still "a matter of duty to feel and exhibit the spirit of benevolence to the person of every Jew...Let us pray for the conversion of the Jews." Only that event would bring about the "Millenial glory." The

obligation of the Christians was to convert their erring fellows since "our salvation is of the Jews." The Bible was unequivocal in teaching the "ingathering of the Jews" by the instrumentality of Christians.[36] Isaac Mayer Wise in his Reminiscences recalled such activity as particularly widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century: "The conversionist craze of American orthodox Christianity is well known. It was more acute here at that time than even in England or Prussia..." The Society for the conversion of the Jews "had its agents in all parts of this country. Every pious member of the church...was a missionary." It was humiliating for the Jews. "The plan of campaign of these pietists consisted chiefly in arousing and fomenting a sentiment of pity for the poor persecuted and blinded Jews. They had to employ these tactics because the old weapons of hatred and persecution of the Jews could not be employed here, owing to the free government and the tolerant spirit which was prevalent."[37]

Strenuous efforts at refuting conversionist arguments were made by George Huston in Israel Vindicated and by the 1824-5 Jewish periodical, The Jew. Indeed, the latter, the first American Jewish periodical, appears to have been exclusively concerned with countering conversion. Isaac Leeser another prominent, influential figure in the Jewish community, also a rabbi and editor, initiated the Jewish Publication Society, at least in part to counter the widespread conversionist propaganda. In 1845 the Society published Caleb Asher, a novel about an English Jew who converted in order to get a good position, but who recanted and returned to Judaism. The introduction, which may well have been written by Leeser, reflected Jewish concern at the "new danger...assaults by specious arguments of those whose darling object it is to break down the landmarks of Judaism..." They aimed at taking from Israel "many precious souls who are now of our

communion."[38]

Despite the reaction of the Jews, missionary efforts persisted throughout the century. Jonathan Goodwin in The Return and Conversion Of The Jews (1843) expressed the missionary sentiments in their purest form. The Jews were the covenant people. All the prophets from Moses to Jesus had spoken to them. It was imperative to bring the Jews back to their own promised land where they could live by their own industry and cultivate land under God's protection. They would then "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, look on him and mourn over their guilt." Their "cruel unbelief and hatred of the blessed Jesus" and their persecution of the apostles had caused their destruction as a nation. Now Jesus would restore them from "their death state wherein they have so long lain..." This was possible as they did worship the true God and had not been "contaminated" by idolatry. Thus, they could return under Jesus, converted and pure.[39]

Moses Stuart was a Professor of Sacred Literature at the Theological Seminary, Andover. In his Sermon At The Ordination Of The Rev. William G. Schouffler As Missionary To The Jews he expressed the same views as presumably less knowledgeable Americans. Israel had been blind in rejecting the gospel. They had "gloried" in their unbelief." Stuart referred to a commonly reiterated fear of the "enmity to Christians" of the Jews. This widespread assumption, ungrounded in facts, is testimony to unspoken guilt feelings on the part of many of the most active Christian proselytizers.

> Their children are taught from their very infancy to regard all Christians as perfidious, malicious...and treacherous... They are taught from their very infancy to believe that every Christian will defraud and injure them...and therefore they consider him as their natural and perpetual enemy, of whom it is proper and lawful to take every advantage...irreconcilable enemies of Christians in general.

Nevertheless, he too was cognizant of the miracle which kept the Jews as a separate nation and which illustrated the truth of the Scriptures. Despite their crimes, "weep over the unbelieving Jews and pity them and strive to reclaim them..." Although Godhad chastened them, they possessed "more native talent, keenness of perception and energy joined with activity of mind," than any "nation under heaven." As fellow men they were entitled to sympathy and equal rights.[40] It is important to note that even the most ardent evangelical tended to favor equal rights for all.

The Jew At Home And Abroad, published by the American Sunday School Union in 1845, was a most revealing work. It combined admiration, condemnation and missionary sentiments. The author commented that one often met the Jew in humble circumstances, bargaining for or selling some pitiable article. Yet in countries like Holland and Germany, the Jew could be seen to more advantage, taking his place "among the intelligent and learned, the upright and benevolent." Their oneness and tenacious clinging to their race was "marvelous." Though scattered, they survived when their conquerors have long since perished. Can it be that they are "indestructible" because God made them so to serve an important purpose? Christians owed "the liveliest gratitude to the Jews" as the conveyors of the Old Testament. Still, the monuments to their guilt could be seen in Jerusalem. "Rejecting as the Jews have done and still do the true Messiah, they have...been exposed to serious delusion." Yet the reader was urged to feel compassion for the Jews "in their ignorant and degraded state." One of the main obstacles to their conversion, the author warned, had been Christian rapacity. Jews were repelled "by the malignant conduct of multitudes who must unworthily call themselves Christians." "A Prayer of Gentiles for Jews," concluded the book:

O God of Israel hear the plea
We Gentiles urge in faith to Thee
For those who still Thy calls refuse
Our older brethren, the Jews.

We view them blinded now by sin
Until our fulness be come in,
Oh hasten Lord that day of grace
And save and bless the Jewish race...[41]

The editor of the Free Presbyterian in 1854 responded to complaints about missionary activities which frequently appeared in the pages of the American Israelite. While calling Rabbi Wise "brother" and expressing "kind feelings" to "God's instruments," he defended the conversionist efforts. He expected Jews to be converted to "a belief in Jesus of Nazareth as the messiah." In spite of his professed warm regards, he concluded sternly that Jews had "instigated and procured his execution, and were therefore his real crucifiers."[42] They could atone for their crime only by turning to the true messiah.

From the earliest period conversionist groups were always detecting signs of the imminent conversion of the Jews. The Albany Religious Monitor Of Evangelical Repository of November 1828, for example, told of two Jews from Poland who said that Rabbis had told them, "If Jesus Christ was the Messiah may he pardon you and your forefathers for denying him... This one fact proves that there is a great shaking in Jewish unbelief."[43]

Later in the century, the secular press often reported similar stories. Harper's Weekly of March 1888 described the Kishinev movement, a remarkable effort at gaining the acceptance among the Eastern European Jews of the "principles of Evangelical Christianity." The leader, Joseph Rabinowitch, claimed progress. His ideal was said to be, "a moral regeneration which can only be effected through the religion of the New Testament." He was trying to win Jews away from "their greed for gain which next to their formalistic religious exercises is the all-controlling

and all-degrading factor in the mind and life of the Oriental Jew." He believed that Israel had made its greatest mistake when it became "untrue to its historic mission by the rejection of Christ." The author of this article hastened to point out that the religion of the "Oriental" Jew was merely "petrified formalism," unlike the more progressive Western Jew.[44]

The same story was reported two years later by the New Englander And Yale Review, in an article on "The Baptism in Berlin of Joseph Rabinowitz (a Russian Jew) by an American Clergyman." The author reported the same "interesting" movement among the Jews towards Christianity. Rabinowitz had seen in the Jew's rejection of Jesus the real cause "of their lamentable condition." He understood that they were in "spiritual slavery...to the petty casuistries...of the Talmud." He wanted to bring his people the liberty of the Gospels and form an independent group of Jewish-Christians (or Jews for Jesus.). Realizing the "bitter scorn felt by the Jews toward those who are recreant to their religion and race," he felt that this obstacle could be mitigated if converted Jews remained Jews in a certain sense. To that end, he retained circumcision and the seventh day as Sabbath. "He does not expect these distinctively Jewish observances to be permanently retained." They were a harmless concession "to the weakness of those who cannot...throw off at once all Jewish feelings and prejudices." The author concluded that this pioneering effort should be encouraged.[45] The intensity of interest in this small, and obviously insignificant, splinter group was a vivid illustration of the continuing attraction exerted by the prospects of converting the Jews.

Newspapers frequently referred to the conversion of Jews. In 1891 the New York Times reported a Jewish-Christian evangelist on the East Side. Four hundred people were said to have gathered to hear this "wonderfully

enthusiastic and energetic speaker." Five years later the Times described the baptism of fifteen Jews and Jewesses. Dr. John Hull of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church conducted the ceremony. He said that forty Jews had been converted by the American Mission to the Jews. "Many of your race have already, thank God, come to that Lamb of God...When the Hebrews acknowledge Jesus Christ there will be no power in existence for the conversion of the world which we have not had!"[46]

One must remember that many of the most ardent conversionists believed that their aim could only be accomplished by "liberality, by humanity, by kindness." They taught that the preservation of the Jews was a "wonderful" event, part of a "momentous design," leading to their conversion and restoration to a position of power. Since they were destined to be renewed to glory, they would inflict "terrible retribution" on those who persecuted them. God had punished them for their crime; true Christians should not add to their ordeals. This viewpoint was terribly condescending towards the Jews and was greatly resented by them. However, the actions of those who zealously accepted such ideas could hardly have been anti-semitic. Alexander Keith in The Land Of Israel (1844), as an example, remarked, "The time has been long during which no man of Judah could lift up his head; but now...there are men of Judah who do lift up their heads, and rank among the chief men of earth among whom the Lord will take his people" and rebuild the Holy Land.[47]

Late in the century, the feeling for the imminence of Jewish restoration, combined with an attempt to appreciate Jewish virtues and a rejection of persecution, on the part of conversionists. In the 1890 American Hebrew discussion of the causes of anti-semitism, Rev. Morgan Dix commented that Jews had praiseworthy virtues and the truth of Christ's crucifixion had to be taught in a way that "love and pity may be the outcome as regards

those who have their descent from the original criminals." Prejudice could be dispelled by praying for Israel to join Christ. Rev. Howard Crosby, also praising Jewish virtues, concluded that there was one divine religion. In the end, the Jews would see this and "we shall become united."[48] Bishop Joseph S. Key of the Methodist Episcopal Church spoke about the Jews to an audience of four thousand in Nashville in 1893. He declared, without animosity, that half the convertible wealth of the world was in the hands of the Jews. "They are educating their children more thoroughly than any other people. God has a great purpose in the Jewish race and the Christian world should unite in trying to convert them."[49] The Rev. Dr. Haldeman of the First Baptist Church of New York had a more terrifying vision of the role of the Jew in the divine plan. Jews had been driven to lying and cheating by the persecution of supposedly civilized nations. Soon an anti-Christ would arise among them who would build up a powerful Kingdom in Palestine and devastate the nations of Europe. Then the Kingdom would be cast down. The Jews would be penitant and God would lift them up again. "There is less immorality among them than among other peoples. The Jews are now...the financial masters of the world. In a few years they will control every profession in the world" as a prelude to their fore-ordained role.[50]

Rabbi Isaac Wise remembered a meeting with a simple backwoods missionary who had been particularly anxious to meet a Jewess. The "simple trusting piety" of the man and his wife, who were not at all hostile as they prayed for the conversion of Wise and his wife, gave him "insight into American conception of the Jews."[51] One can only speculate as to whether this attitude was more widespread among conversionists than that of hostility in the face of Jewish "obstinancy."

The ardent efforts of the conversionists came in for frequent

ridicule in the secular press. In the early years of the century Niles Weekly Register, a most influential publication which was not particularly kind to the Jews, was active in its cynicism about missionary activities among the Jews. In 1816 an article commented that in the last five years $500,000 had been spent for "the conversion, real or supposed, of five Jews." The rate of $100,000 per Jew was "'A pretty round sum for Christendom to make a purchase of the scattered nation.' We grant it, but whether Jews convert Christians or Christians convince Jews, what is it to us in this land of civil and religious liberty?" An 1824 story again poked fun at the conversionists. It quoted a London newspaper to the effect that converts had cost about one thousand pounds per head, "An eminent Israelite has agreed to contract for a 'conversion of two thousand at four hundred-thirty pounds per head, including women and children, but threatens to raise his price unless immediately treated with.'" The article then noted that many of the instant converts resumed Judaism when no more money was given to them for being Christians. Again in 1826 Niles reminded its readers that at least half the converts returned eventually to Judaism. The ironic conclusion was, "The making of a half Christian out of a full Jew would render twenty poor and honest Christian families comfortable for a whole year."[52]

Most newspapers showed little patience with missionary efforts which increased as the number of the Jews in America grew. An 1871 editorial in the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch commented on a report issued by the "Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews." The association was only able to claim the conversion of a very few Jews over a period of some years, "a miserable return" which the paper estimated as "a sixth of a Jew per annum." The report by Rev. L. C. Newman, "who is

supported by funds contributed by over-zealous Christians is the missionary of this society," was candid in admitting that he had not been able to convert a single Jew in 1870. In New York, with one hundred thousand Jews, he regretted that so little interest was taken in his work that Christians would not even contribute a single dollar to his efforts. The paper saw this as "probably an evidence of its [New York Christianity's] common sense...New Yorkers know that there can be no hope in attempting to convert the Jews to Christianity as long as they feel Christianity is an untrue doctrine." The editorial pointed out that Jews believed in the Messiah, but held that He was yet to come. The paper noted a postscript at the end of the report; "The condition of the society, financially, is satisfactory, and the board were happy in being able to increase the salary of their indefatigable missionary." The editorial concluded that as long as Rev. Newman could expect an increased salary "it may be expected that he will wander drearily about the country, seeking for impossible Jews whom he never expects to convert."[53]

A related editorial in the New York Times in 1872 noted that societies for the conversion of Jews enjoyed very limited success. Those who did convert "are of a sort whose private life and reputation does not render them very valuable acquisitions." In view of recent outbreaks in Europe it was suggested that the converting machinery might be fruitfully used "in teaching Christians humanity...the money of the many old ladies who are known to be the principal support of the missionaries would be far better employed." After describing a Smyrna blood libel case in which Greek Christians engaged in riot, rape and murder, the Times concluded with a curiously inverted compliment, "Surely under these circumstances, people may almost be excused for thinking that a liberal minded Jew may easily be a better man than a Smyrna Christian."[54]

Other newspapers agreed. An 1876 article in the Detroit Post posed the question of whether it was possible to convert the Jews. The paper replied that it was impossible to do so. "The heart of a true Jew loving Israel's God with all his heart cannot be changed." In an 1879 story headed, "Trying to Convert the Jews," the New York Sun described the mission as one of great difficulty. It reported that Dr. Wolf in London had said that his society "had been at work ten years, had spent $500,000 and had converted one Jew and a half."[55]

Missionary efforts continued with renewed vigor after the entrance of Eastern European Jews.[56] Missionaries spoke to increasingly hostile mobs on the lower East Side and their activities continued to meet with disapproval on the part of the newspapers. In 1898 the New York Tribune condemned the "disgraceful" throwing of eggs at a missionary, but concluded, "The missions to the Jews are responsible in the first place..." The Jew is proud of his faith and does not wish to be converted. Through centuries "his loyalty to his faith never grew less and the blood of persecution was the cement with which the family union became strengthened." They were driven from other lands, but here they can worship freely and "they thoroughly appreciate the blessing." If good people wished to give time and money to improving the conditions of the Jews "let them give it to those who are trying to make the East Side people better Jews," that is to Jewish organizations.

The New York Evening Journal, a mass circulation daily, was even more vigorous in its condemnation of conversionist activities. In the case of an 1899 riot directed against a missionary, the Journal dubbed the missionary a "Provoker of Riots." The paper emphasized that he had "no right to go around telling children that their parents are going to hell and trying to persuade children to give up the faith of their fathers." Although the

Jews were a law-abiding group of people, the missionary's methods succeeded in keeping the area in a state of "savage ferment."

There was more criticism of the feeble efforts of the conversionist movement in the secular press than there was approval of its goals. The ceremonies of the Jews might be mistaken, but America granted freedom to even the most peculiar ideas.

## Religious Literature

The ever present current of emotional religiosity in the nineteenth century found its way into popular poems, songs and novels.[57] These tended to reflect the same attitudes towards the Jewish religion, the crucifixion, and the possibilities of conversion as those found in religious non-fiction.

Some early poems and songs were preoccupied with what James Russell Lowell called "thou blind unconverted Jew." These often exhibited great sympathy for the sufferings of the Jew and concluded that persecution would cease with conversion to the true faith. The Christian Spectator of February 1823 published an anonymous poem, "On the Depressed State of Jewish Females and the Recent Efforts for their Relief, through the Medium of Female Charitable Societies." The "Daughters of Zion" wept for their "abject state" contrasted to the glory of the Hebrew women in the Bible and of those who supported Jesus. Those "sad daughters of Jerusalem" could be comforted only by "The Daughters of the Cross!" who "behold with sister's love the persecuted seed of Abraham." The poem ended with the implied hope for conversion:

> Shine forth, Oh Zion! for thy light hath come,
> And He who is thy glory shall disperse
> The cloud that covers thee, invest thy brow
> With its forgotten diadem, and bid
> Thy lyre no more reluctant, swell the song
> Of Earth's Salvation.[58]

Two poems by Mrs. Crawford in The Ladies' Garland imagined a Crusader singing of his love to a Hebrew maiden. He regretted that they were

forced to part. She answered, charging him to "Tell me of the Christian's God!" Finally, the light came to her - the joys of conversion:

> Is the Cross of Christ the token
> Of a saving faith to man!
> Can my early vows be broken?
> Spirits answer me! They can.
> Mercy, mercy shone about him,
> All the blessed with him trod;
> We can ne'er be saved without him;
> Christian, I believe thy God![59]

Popular songs tended to express the same religious viewpoint.[60] "The Wandering Jew," by B. F. Wyatt-Smith told of the Jew "old accurst" without cessation from torment:

> I derided that awful day
> Christ the Lord of His sorrows dying.
> Not for scorn of the Diety,
> But for lack of love God forsook me.

Most of the songs depicted the plight of poor Jews who had been driven out of the fatherland and taken captive as a result of God's decision. Mrs. Moran sang, "Fallen is Thy Throne" in 1830 at the Oratorios. Once God loved Jerusalem, but the people failed Him:

> Go said the Lord - ye conquerors
> Steep in her blood your swords
> And ooze to earth her battlements
> For they are not the Lord's
> Till Zion's mournful daughter
> O'er kindred bones shall tread...

"The Jewish Maiden," by F. Kuchen, lamented about the fatherland, "I n'er shall repose on thy bosom again." The "children of thy honored race" had "fallen in battle to save their disgrace." Reverend Eastburn's "The Hebrew Mourner" acknowledged that Jehovah had forsaken "this city of God," but held forth the prospect, "He preserves for his people a city more fair..." Other songs, like "The Maid of Judah," and "The Hebrew Captive," had similar themes. Though conversionist in ideology, they could not be classified as malicious.

A similar hope of eventual conversion, mingled with admination for the ancient ritual, was expressed by the Episcopal priest William Crosswell in his poem, "The Synagogue." He described the rites in the synagogue "as in their ancient day." As he watched the rabbi read from the Torah:

> And fervently that hour I pray'd
> That from the mighty scroll
> Its light in burning characters,
> Might be no longer dark
> But be forever rent in twain
> Like that before the ark.....
>
> When thou, with all Messiah's signs
> In Christ distinctly seen
> Shall, by Jehovah's nameless name,
> Invoke the Nazarene.[61]

Religious novels enjoyed great popularity throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in mid-century, at the height of religious revivalism. These novels tended to depict Jews as a narrow minded people who crucified the Messiah and persisted in stiff-necked resistance to religious progress and truth. Jews became heroes only when they converted to Christianity. (The exceptions were Jews in the Biblical age before Jesus.)

Many of these novels were designed for the edification of children. The American Sunday School Union, in addition to the text books which are described in an earlier section, published several children's books designed to reinforce the lessons of formal study. In Selumiel (1833), Reverend Jarvis Gregg described the city of Jerusalem in a tour by the convert Selumiel who ultimately converted another Jew, Helah. The Jews were depicted as a people in slavery to their law, "the yoke of Christ is easy compared with that of the law."[62] Hadassah, The Jewish Orphan (1834) related the biblical tale of Esther and Mordecai. Toward the end, the author reminded the young reader that these people who now accepted Mordecai were the very same people who greeted Jesus with cheers, but later cried, "Crucify him!"[63] In Zerah, The Believing Jew (1837),

Mrs. Sarah Pogson Smith recounted the story of the crucifixion through the sad events in the life of Zerah, a convert whose beautiful, saintly wife was murdered by an unconverted (therefore evil) Jew.[64] On the other hand, the Union also put out Iddo (1841), a tale of the Maccabees.[65] Here the Jews were presented as heroes who defended their faith against the impious. When Antiochus' death was related, the anonymous author flatly stated that he had been "one of the most relentless persecutors of the true faith that lived before the Christian era."

Historical novels with proselytizing aims became very popular starting in the 1830s. The first really successful author in this genre was William Ware, a Unitarian minister. His most successful was Zenobia, written in 1837 in the form of a series of letters by the Roman, Piso. It contained a religious Jew, Isaac, who was paradoxically presented as an admirable character while Judaism itself was condemned for its aridity and lack of love. Although Isaac is described as a fine human being, despite his Judaism, he is also given several speeches defending the Jews against charges of avarice and usury. In an 1841 novel, Julian, Ware wrote about events during the life of Jesus. The Jews were described by one of their own as "a besotted and ignorant people. What hope is there of Judea? The one part are slaves to Rome, another part are slaves to riches, and another part are slaves to sin..."[66] Here was, once again, a clear connection from Judas to Shylock.

A similar ambivalence can be seen in the most popular of all the authors of Biblical novels, the Episcopal priest Joseph Holt Ingraham. He enjoyed immense success with three religious novels romanticizing Biblical stories and "the grandeur of Hebrew History." His books were so popular that publishers outbid each other to pay him the previously unheard of sum of $10,000 plus royalties for the second book of his series.

The Prince Of The House Of David (1855), concerning Jesus and his Jewish origins, went through twenty-three editions, and is said to have sold between four and five million copies. The Pillar Of Fire (1857), telling of Moses and Joseph, was issued nine times. The Throne Of David (1871) had twelve editions of its tale of David and Solomon.[67] The good reverend might have accomplished much more, but he shot himself accidentally, ending a lucrative career. The popularity of these books helped to stir up sentimental sympathy for Jews in general, overlaying deep-seated antagonisms. Reverend Ingraham, himself, was careful to dedicate each of the books to Jews living in America, descendants of these great Biblical figures, in the expressed hope that they would at last see the light and convert to the true religion. The inscription in The House Of David, for example, is an interesting revelation of the complex attitudes involved: "To the daughters of Israel, the country-women of Mary, the mother of Jesus, this book is inscribed...with Adwa, they, as well as the unbelieving gentile, may be persuaded as they read, that 'this is the very Christ.'"[68] This book is christological in its nature. The heroine is a Jewish convert. Despite some attempt to show the Jewish origin of Christ and his apostles, the account of the trial and crucifixion depicts a malicious Jewish mob forcing the death of Jesus upon a reluctant Pontius Pilate who protests, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person."[69] The other two books, written later but dealing with chronologically earlier periods, are more unambiguously complimentary to the Biblical Jews. Such a picture could be justified since these Jews were portrayed as leading to the culmination of religion - the coming of Christ. Thus, Ingraham inscribed Pillar to the people of Israel in the hope that they might see the light and "enter at last the real Canaan under the true Joshua, Jesus, the Son of Abraham."[70]

A number of authors ventured to take on biblical themes in mid-nineteenth century America. The results were largely inconsequential. Maria T. Richards wrote two such works which were published by the American Baptist Publishing Association. Her Life In Israel (1852) was concerned with episodes from the Old Testament. However, in her introduction, she clearly expressed the purpose of her books: to illuminate "the chain of successive development of one idea - that of the coming of the Saviour."[71] Her second book, Life In Judea (1854) was more specifically concerned with early Christianity. All the favorably presented characters ultimately convert to Christianity. Those who do not are characterized as madly obstinate. The defeat of the hold-outs by the legions of imperial Rome is described by one of the main characters as divine retribution for the murder of Jesus.[72]

The climax of the biblical novel was the ever popular Ben Hur by Lew Wallace which came out in 1880. This most phenomenally successful of all religious novels was typically ambivalent in its attitude towards Jews. The Jewish characters, as a whole, are presented as fine, intelligent and noble people, the best the world had to offer up to that time. Despite this, there is the clear implication that Judaism was merely designed to prepare the way for the universal acceptance of Christianity. The crucifixion was also presented in the traditional way. Although Wallace was careful to note that there were people of many different nationalities present and voicing hatred, it was the Jews who "beat their breasts and shrieked with fear. His blood was upon them!"[73] Thirteen years later in the Prince Of India Wallace's attitude towards the Jews became clearer. This was the story of the Wandering Jew, "the type Rabbinical that sat...in judgment on the gentle Nazarene."[74] Ahaseureus is still unrepentent and evil. He plots to destroy the Christian and

Moslem religions so that Judaism can take over the world. His hatred of Christianity is frequently noted. The implication is clear that Jews who rejected the Messiah were devious and unscrupulous.

The success of Ben Hur led to a flood of novels on biblical themes in the 1880s and 1890s. Most followed the pattern of characterizing Judaism as a narrow and bigoted religion whose only real excuse was to pave the way for the coming of Christ.[75] Even tales from the Old Testament could be presented in such a way as to provide premonitions of the glorious future. A typical example was the Legend Of Thomas Didymus, The Jewish Sceptic (1881). Its author, James Freeman Clarke, was involved with transcendentalism and wrote a popular book comparing the world's great religions. Even this cosmopolitan author depicted the good Jews as the ones who accepted Christ as opposed to the evil Pharisees.[76] Elbridge S. Brooks' Son Of Issachar (1890) presented as the two prototype Jews Judah Bar Simon, who was bigoted, nationalistic and cruel, and Bar Asher who was overtly meek and cringing, yet ambitious for material gain.[77] Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' The Story of Jesus Christ characterized the Jewish religion as arid and unloving. In spite of the merciful inclinations of Pontius Pilate, the Jews are shown as the instrumental agents in the crucifixion of Christ. "Christian love and mercy are alien feelings to a people whose habits of thought were stiff with the selfishness of a race to which self-protection has been for generations foremost in mind."[78]

Florence Kingsley, who wrote four popular religious books, was most significant in promoting theological anti-semitism.[79] The New Sabbath Library published the books at five cents a copy and sold over a million, largely to young people. They presented vindictive, self-righteous, bigoted and evil Jews who contrasted with virtuous, noble

Christians who turn the other cheek in the face of Jewish malice. Because of their deicide, the Jews are "a people displeasing to God and enemies to all mankind," and a people "that loved darkness rather than light."[80]

Although most of the dozens of romances on biblical themes reflected the same viewpoint, there were some striking exceptions. In The Archko Volume (1887), William D. Mahan, a clergyman, attempted to bring humanity to his Jewish characters. He made his purpose clear when he noted, "The Jews were honest in all their dealings with Christ...the course Jesus was pursuing jeopardized all their hopes, religious and political... Hence much of the prejudice among Protestants against the Jews is groundless. There never was a people more honest and devoted to their country and their God than the Jews."[81] Mrs. T. F. Black, in one of the innumerable variants of the story of Esther, presented the tale as a moral caution against modern anti-semitism. After two thousand years, in the age of Christianity, "in what condition does it find the oppressed race so kindly delivered from persecution by a heathen monarch! Is there an Esther today to plead their cause?...the cause of this oppressed race now undergoing the most infamous persecution since the days of the destruction of Jerusalem."[82]

Another genre of the religious novel was the conversionist fiction in which individuals, or even entire families, were brought into Christianity, in vivid contrast to the paltry results of the proselytizing efforts. Many of these books appeared to be aimed at children. A good example was The Jewish Twins (1860)by "Aunt Friendly" (Sarah Schoonmaker Baker), which relates the adventures of Muppim and Huppim who convert, although remaining Jews since after all, "the Virgin Mary and the twelve disciples were of that people to which the Blessed Savior...

had chosen to belong..."[83] The obstinately Jewish father is conveniently eliminated by a fire. Mrs. C. A. Ogden's Into The Light, written in 1867 was a popular item in the American Girl Series. All the Jews in the book convert with the exception of the villain who ends up as a pawnbroker. The young Christian minister-hero tells his Jewish-convert wife, "Let us remember his chosen people, and plead for their speedy restoration to the land of their heritage...the time is doubtless very near when their blindness shall be taken away, and thy people shall once more take a high position among the nations of the earth."[84]

"Aunt Hattie" (Harriette N. W. Baker) produced two versions of this theme. In Lost But Found (1866) an old Jewish family, Seixas, is converted. They are told that the Jews brought down the curse upon their own heads, "it was foretold of them that, for their rejection of Christ, they should be scattered over the world." Once converted the aloof and cold Mr. Seixas becomes "kind and affable to all."[85] In Rebecca The Jewess, Mrs. Baker expressed the hope that her book would bring the light of the true religion to "some beloved child of Israel who is groping in the dark." In this story Rebecca gives up her Jewish preoccupation with materialism when she finally converts.[86] Susan Warner, another popular author of the 1870s, also contributed to the juvenile conversionist collection with The House In Town and Trading, (both New York, 1872). The story is about a good Jew, David, who converts, and his miserable misanthrope sister, Judith, who stubbornly refuses to see the light.

These somewhat naive conversionist novels were far less common in the last two decades of the century. H. H. Boyesen's A Daughter Of The Philistines (1883) was slightly more sophisticated in its presentation of Simon Lowenthal, a Wall Street Jew who would never deal dishonestly with a Hebrew but who couldn't forego "an opportunity for cheating a Christian," in spite of his

religious orthodoxy.[87] Annie Fellows Johnston's In League With Israel (1896) was considerably more kindly in its picture of the Jews. Christians were condemned for mistreating Jews and the author hoped that her book would "turn all bitterness and prejudice into the broad sweet spirit of brotherhood."[88] Nevertheless, the book makes it obvious that only by accepting Christ can a Jew fulfill his heritage.

In spite of the occasional benevolent exception, it is clear that religious literature tended to reinforce the picture of Jews as Christ-killers and of the Jewish religion as antiquated ritual which had fulfilled its purpose and must inevitably give way to the higher truths of Christianity.

## Positive Religious Perceptions

One could find, particularly in the secular press, many views in conflict with the negative religious stereotype. In a review of George Eliot's influential book, Daniel Deronda, an author in Scribner's Monthly in 1876 commented on objections to the Jewish element in her story. Many Christians, the reviewer noted, remember about the Jews only that they killed Christ. The forget "that the race also gave birth to Christ. That Christ should be killed by any people among whom he might appear was inevitable and had to do with human nature at large. The exceptional and marvelous thing was his production..." He recalled the retort of a Jew upon whom a Christian had spat, "that half Christendom worship a Jew and the other half a Jewess."[89] Harper's Magazine, in a similar vein, complained in 1879 that "men of no Christian principle whatever flout better men today because other men murdered the founder of Christianity."[90]

The magazine Ironclad Age of April 1887 presented an interesting theological counter-view to the hatred of the Jews as deicides. Christians can't condemn Jews for crucifying Jesus without condemning the salvation which flowed from that act. It was all part of God's "scheme." Therefore,

the magazine concluded, "let us love the Jew for killing Christ."[91] Madison Peters, in a judeophile book went further in an attempt to counter the image of Christ-killers. To those who argued that the Jews crucified Christ, Peters answered, "The unhappy actors in that scene were both Jews and Gentiles...The rulers who were Roman...were responsible for the crucifixion, but in any case how would it be the act of an entire nation?"[92]

Even folk humor appeared to reflect the view that eighteen hundred years or more was a very long time to hold a grudge against a person or group. Two very similar stories from different sections of the country, popular at different times, illustrate this. In both tales a Jew (store-keeper in one case, peddler in the other) is knocked down by a cowboy or a Tennessee mountaineer who has just attended a camp meeting. When the Jew demands an explanation for the unprovoked act, the ignorant Christian replies, "You crucified our Lord." The Jew retorts that the event in question happened more than eighteen hundred years ago and that he had nothing to do with it. The back country bumpkin apologizes profusely, explaining that he had just heard about it and therefore thought that it had just happened.[93] The joke points up the skepticism of the average areligious American about the continuing responsibility of the Jews for the death of Christ.

Another fairly widespread positive religious perception of the Jews was the feeling that the Christian world owed them gratitude as the people of the Bible, the originators of Christian belief, and the people who gave the world Christ and his disciples. Thomas Jefferson expressed this view in an 1820 letter to his friend Joseph Marx, thanking him for a copy of the transactions of the Paris Sanhedrin. Jefferson expressed "the regret he has ever felt at seeing a sect, the parent and basis of all those of Christendom, singled out by all of them for a persecution and oppression

which prove they have profited nothing from the benevolent doctrines of him they profess to make the model of their principles..."[94]

A July 1826 article in the North American Review on interpretations of the New Testament, pointed out the necessity of studying the Old Testament which contains the original of all Jewish institutions. The author reminded his readers, "Christ came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them."[95] An 1867 review in the Nation discussed an article in a British journal which was "the literary sensation of the year." The essay concerned the Talmud. It confessed the ignorance of Christians about that favorite bugaboo, and went on to assert that "the morality of the New Testament is not original." It could be found in the Talmud. In that sense, "Christianity popularized Talmudic morality."[96]

The reminder that Christ himself was a Jew was frequently reiterated by those seeking to counter negative stereotypes. Niles Weekly Register in an 1846 report of an "Israelitish Convention" to reform the Jewish religion in Germany, commented that Jews have been called a blot upon nations, "yet the Redeemer was one of them...As his principles prevail we shall feel for both of them a deeper veneration." His descendants were worthy. Whenever they had the power, "they exert it to elevate their race." They employ wealth "freely, to spread among themselves education - a higher philosophy, a purer charity and a truer religion."[97] The same idea was expressed in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, a publication usually described as unfriendly to Jews, in 1882. The paper reprinted a well-known verse by Joaquin Miller which enumerated the debt the world owed to the Jews. The poem concluded:

> Who gave the patient Christ? I say,
> Who gave you Christian creed? Yea, yea,
> Who gave your very God to you?
> The Jew! The Jew! The hated Jew![98]

A few of the respondents in the American Hebrew discussion of the causes of anti-semitism addressed themselves to this issue. The Reverend Washington Gladden agreed that prejudice against the Jews had been fostered "unwittingly" by Sunday School teachings. As a solution, he advocated that Christian teachers explain "that the Jews, with all their prejudice, were the best people in the world when our Lord came to earth, possessing the purest morality, honoring the family as it was honored by no other nation. We ought to keep it before our children that Jesus himself was a Jew..."[99]

One of the most revealing responses to that 1890 seminar was by Oliver Wendell Holmes. He noted that his own background had tended to stress the curse upon the Jews for rejecting Jesus. "The Jews are with us as a perpetual lesson to teach us modesty...The religion we profess is not self-evident. It did not convince the people to whom to was sent." There was no reason to feel that they were all wrong and that Christians monopolized truth. The prejudice against the Jews as crucifiers, and then, above all, the image as the people of God and His Son were strongly expressed in his concluding poem, "At the Pantomine." The author attended a theatre filled with stereotyped "black-bearded" Hebrew men and "orient-eyed" women. They rushed in, poking him, bringing out his prejudices:

> Ah cursed unbelieving Jew...
> I stabbed in turn with silent oaths
> The hook-nosed kite of carrion clothes,
> The shady usurer, him that crawls
> And cheats beneath the golden balls,
> Moses and Levi, all the horde,
> Spawn of the race that slew its Lord.
> Up came their murderous deeds of old,
> The grisly story Chaucer told,
> And many an ugly tale beside
> Of children caught and crucified.
>
> In vain my conscience whispered, "Shame!
> Who but their maker is to blame?"

Then he looks more closely at the Jew closest to him:

Soft gentle loving eyes that gleam...
So looked that other child of Shem,
The Maiden's boy of Bethlehem!
- And thou couldst scorn the peerless blood
That flows unmingled from the Flood.

He recalls that his own blood is "stained" by Norman mixture. He looks again upon the Jew and concludes:

Thy prophets caught the Spirit's flame,
From thee the Son of Mary came,
With thee the Father deigned to dwell, -
Peace be upon thee Israel![100]

The New York Tribune of September 27, 1891 summarized the spirit of many men of good will in an article on Judaism and Christianity. It declared that the benevolent attitudes of both groups was eliminating "insensate enmity and antipathy born of ignorance." When our "Jewish brethren" erected a magnificent Temple on Fifth Avenue, the feeling was not that of anger or envy, but of "generous sympathy." A Christian "cannot help respecting a faith out of which his was born." We must always remember "the glorious history of the Jewish people" through centuries of oppression. People cannot help but admire "a faith that makes so much for a noble manhood and an exalted ideal of citizenship."[101]

Another, related, source of favorable religious consideration of the Jews was concerned with the "marvelous" and mysterious survival of the Jewish people in spite of centuries of persecution. This aroused both feelings of guilt for Christian misdeeds and great sympathy among many Americans who pictured their nation as a haven for the oppressed.

In 1829 The Constitutional Whig ran a series of articles about Judaism by Isaac Leeser, then a young man. The paper commented, "We yesterday commenced and continue...an eloquent and learned defense of this persecuted people" by a young Jew. The editor asked why Christians despise the people of Israel who worship the same God. "If the Jews are

considered as suffering under divine displeasure," this "ought to entitle them to the...compassion of the more favored Gentile." If the idea is rejected "that perfect justice can punish the thousandth innocent generation...then ought we to admire...that high and unbending spirit of the Jews which have preserved their nation..." We should feel "sentiments of awe, admiration, sympathy and reverence." The Jew is the same as the one who worshipped at the Second Temple two thousand years ago. "We feel profound respect...We think it a glorious distinction to our country that here the Jews have found a substantial fulfilment of the promise of being restored to the Chosen Land..."[102]

The North American Review in January 1831 published a review of Milman's popular history of the Jews. The reviewer felt that the history of the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem was "truly wonderful." They were scattered through the globe, but were able to adapt themselves to each area with "a wonderful flexibility." The character of the modern Jew, particularly his fortitude, is the same as in ancient days. They should have our respect and are "entitled to our sympathy for their sorrows and their religious devotion...they are not the only people that ever sinned and...the judgments of Heaven can be executed without our helping hand." If, indeed, Jews were being punished, God did not require human aid. Attempts to convert the Jews were foolish. How could anyone expect the Jews to embrace the faith of their persecutors?[103] An 1845 review of four books about Jews in the same magazine also characterized Jewish history as a history "of wonders." They had exerted "a mighty influence over the faith and practice of mankind." Their sufferings exceeded all others, and even surpassed human endurance. It is "the standing miracle of modern times."[104]

An 1837 Boston Journal article on "The Jews," expressed the same

admiration. Although still scattered, the Jews had managed to preserve the same characteristics which distinguished "this remarkable nation" two thousand years ago. The Jews had inducements to abandon the religion of their forefathers, but they remained Jews. "They have never for a moment forgotten or denied their religion, their customs or NAME..."[105]

Many well-known Americans had the same point of view. Daniel Webster, in an 1849 letter to the Hebrew Benevolent Society, expressed respect and sympathy "for all that remain of that extraordinary people, who preserved through the darkness and idolatry of so many centuries, the knowledge of one supreme spiritual being..."[106] Theodore Parker, the noted preacher, remarked, "For fifteen hundred years the Jews, a nation scattered...and exposed to the most degrading influences, in true religion have been far above the Christians."[107] Zebulon Vance, in his well-known lecture, to be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section, declared that people claim to despise the Jew "but accept and adore the pure conception of a God which he taught us and whose real existence the history of the Jew more than all else establishes." All Christian churches were off-shoots from Jewish stock. If one eliminated all of Judaism from the Christian church there would remain "nothing but an unmeaning superstition." The Jews "may safely defy the rest of mankind to show such undying adherence to accepted faith, such wholesale sacrifice for conscience sake."[108]

Even the Spirit Of The Times, generally considered most unsympathetic to Jews, ran a story entitled, "Intrepid Jews" in 1846. The Czar of Russia was reported to have been thrilled by the daring and agility displayed by two of his sailors. He resolved to promote them to captains, but was told that this was impossible since they were Jews. The Czar then ordered them to change their religion. Instead, they asked to do a last maneuver. They climbed to the topmost sail, embraced, and threw themselves into the

sea, rather than give up their ancient faith.[109]

Many authors in the last two decades of the century were struck by the survival of the Jewish people. Sidney Lanier, in an 1881 lecture at Johns Hopkins, rhapsodized that when he saw even the poorest old clothes dealer, "I seem to feel a little wind fresh off the Sea of Tiberius." Although the Jews lacked a home in any nation, they "made a literature which is at home in every nation...do not speak to me slightingly of the Jew." He believed that to gather the Jewish people together and restore them in their "thousand-fold consecrated home" was the noblest idea of all.[110] Crawford Howell Toy, in an 1890 work, Judaism and Christianity, praised the religious instinct of the Jews which had produced the prophets and poets inspired by religion. "It is a proof of the intense vitality of the Jewish people that they did not, like the surrounding communities, succumb to the oppression of foreign political domination. Their energy came from...their consciousness of possession of highest truth..."[111] In the same year Charles Loring Brace, in The Unknown God, concluded, "we do not sufficiently render justice to the Jews' great services in human history...they deserve the lasting respect of mankind."[112]

Harper's New Monthly Magazine of January 1894 included an interesting article on "The Mission of the Jews." The author neatly reversed the common view of the dispersion of the Jews as a sign of God's punishment. It was instead an indication of God's mission to serve as priests and prophets. "It was by a wondrous design of Providence that the people of Israel was dispersed over the world, in order that it might penetrate with its spirit the whole humanity." The Jews had achieved through their dispersion steadfastness in belief despite intense suffering. As a result, Jews were the "chief bearers of spirituality."[113]

In his History Of The Jewish People (1900), James Stevenson Riggs combined praise and criticism. The pathetic suffering, heroism and brave struggle of the Jews to maintain their faith were "not surpassed in the annals of history." The Jews suffered because of their unwillingness to accept the rule of Rome. Yet "the Romans have gone, but the Jews are still the nation of the law and the messianic hope." (This was a frequent theme in Jewish survivalist literature.) Judaism was at fault in refusing the true Messiah. As a result, it missed "its splendid opportunity to become the great missionary force of the centuries," but continued to display "the vigor of its adherents."[114]

The most passionate defense of the Jews, summarizing many of the themes discussed above, can be found in a mid-century work, The Progress Of Religious Ideas Through Successive Ages, by Lydia Maria Child. She was a well-known abolitionist and reformer, with the New England interest in the people of the Old Testament. The "relentless, universal and prolonged" persecution of the Jews was her greatest concern. "Their constancy and fortitude equaled their unparalleled wrongs." They endured every torture, even death, rather than give up their faith and "contrived...to flourish." Their earnestness and perseverence led them to become princes of wealth. If they were often driven to cunning, "let the shame rest on those who left their disinherited brethren no other defense against the rapacity and violence of the powerful." The "darkest blot" in the history of Christians was their treatment of the Jews even though "we have so much in common with them...we reverence their scriptures...Christ and his Mother and his Apostles were Jews." The crucifixion was the fault of "very few of the people." Even the ones responsible "acted with the blind bigotry so generally manifested by established churches toward non-conformists." Although so few were implicated, the Church Fathers irrationally blamed

all Jews as killers of Christ, "as if each one of them had put him to death." Christians should "acknowledge as heroic martyrs those men and women who resisted...and at the cost of incredible sacrifice...still set their face steadfastly toward Jerusalem." She concluded, "We owe the Jews an immense debt of gratitude."[115]

## Jewish Customs And Rites

There was a good deal of coverage of the Jewish religion in books and in the press. The evident interest in Jewish customs, practices and rites suggested a fascination with the "exotic" aspects of the religion. The treatment of Judaism showed the same ambivalence as the discussions of the religious history of the Jews. Some of the comments were openly admiring, others were sternly censorious.

Hannah Adams in A Dictionary Of All Religions And Religious Denominations (1817) informed her readers that Jews still adhered to the law of Moses as much as their dispersal would permit. "Whatever they eat must be dressed by those of their own nation, in a manner peculiar to themselves." They believed not only in the written law, but in the oral tradition which "they pretend has been handed down from Moses." They denied the accomplishment of the prophecies by Christ. In a common and often repeated misconception, she explained that Jews believe the Messiah "will make his appearance with the greatest pomp and grandeur, subduing all nations and subjecting them to the house of Judah."[116]

The North American Review was particularly interested in the movement for reform within Judaism and especially in Isaac Harby's pamphlets for the "Reformed Society of Israelites." The author's comments were very revealing in their opinions of Jewish practices. It had always been supposed "that the minds of Israelites were so wedded to their religious peculiarities as to be impenetrable to the spirit of innovation." Jews were generally

considered the most reactionary religious group. Christians had attended synagogues and watched the "singular rites," but no one had suspected that there were Jews who had surmounted "the proverbial prejudices of their race," which included such peculiarities as an "air of indifference," indistinct and rapid chants, and constant coming and going. Harby was deserving of praise. Although a firm Jew inwardly, he was willing to accommodate the forms "to the conciliatory, compensating and sacrificing spirit of the age." His opponents' point of view was treated with respect, even though the author clearly preferred the "new school." After all, the institutions of "this singular and interesting people are consecrated by tender and solemn associations of antiquity and by affecting remembrances of the many sufferings...of the Israelites of past ages." Still, the author felt certain that the spirit of the age would convert the synagogue "with its obsolete ceremonials, its unintelligible language, and its alleged unimpressive influences into a more rational sanctuary." This was the viewpoint of an enlightened member of the upper class, probably Unitarian. The condescension was obvious. It is also interesting, however, that there was not the slightest hint that the Jew should ultimately convert to Christianity. The main hope expressed was that the new "reformed" temples would attract thousands "to be strengthened and enlightened, and their hearts to be warmed, consoled and purified."[117]

The consecrations of synagogues were reported early and in great detail. Evidently this was a subject of interest to some readers. Niles Weekly Reader in 1823, for example, described the "impressive ceremony" in the Great Synagogue of London, with rolls of law in "peculiar cases, most splendidly ornamental..." In 1824, the same journal remarked on "the tenacity with which the Jews adhere to the customs of their fathers."[118]

George Templeton Strong, in his diaries, gave a candid report of an upper class Christian gentlemen attending Jewish services out of curiosity. (This appears to have been a fairly common form of amusement for certain well-to-do New Yorkers.) In 1838, at the age of eighteen, he visited the Crosby Street Synagogue. He was disappointed in the services. The chanting was "more rapid and far less respectable in sound" than even the Catholic. The attitude of the Rabbi and congregation was unlike the "superstitious and reverential devotion" he had expected. The hats and shawls seemed very strange. "But the congregation took a hearty and zealous part in the services and roared out their unintelligible responses with good will and strength of lungs. I like that." He was far less tolerant in 1855 when he stopped at the Greene Street Synagogue. "Israel does not make a joyful noise," he commented sourly. The monotonous chants of the rabbi were "dismal" enough, "but the people vociferate their responses in discord unspeakable, like eager bidders at a sale of stocks." He found it curious that the mode of worship should be so unlike the Christian.[119]

Lydia Maria Child, who decided to visit a synagogue to see how "the people of the Book" actually conducted services, came with a distinctly different attitude. "There is something deeply impressive in this remnant of scattered people, coming down to us in continuous links...preserving themselves carefully," she observed. Nevertheless, she was most disappointed that the ceremonies had a "cold mechanical style," without much of the grandeur of the past. She was disconcerted by the tendency to discuss business in the synagogue and by the presence of so many fair-skinned and blue-eyed members of "this peculiar people." In spite of this, she still felt, "the proverbial worldliness of the Jews...cannot divest them of a sacred and even romantic image."[120]

Typical of mid-century press coverage was the description of the consecration of Synagogue "Roudofe Sholum" of Philadelphia in the April 14, 15, and 16, 1843 issues of the United States Gazette. The ceremony was described in painstaking detail. The scrolls, it was remarked, "attracted general and undivided attention." (Christians were most often curious about the central importance of the Torah scrolls.) Dr. Leeser "pronounced an elegant discourse." The singing was "beautifully performed" by the (as usual) beautiful ladies of the choir. The chief justice and most of the associate justices, a large representation of the Christian clergy, the bar and the press were present. The building was described in detail as well.[121]

In 1851 a synagogue was dedicated in Chicago. This event was widely and favorably reported by the local press. The Chicago Democrat congratulated the Jews for their "enterprise, liberality and religious zeal." Though few in numbers, they had "made a glorious beginning for themselves" and built a "neat and sufficiently spacious temple." They had taken up a "pecuniary burden difficult to be borne," but they were happy "for there shall the parchment of the law be unrolled and read." The Chicago Daily Journal commented on the dedication service in breathless prose:

> It was a novel, yet beautiful spectacle... Now rose the Hebrew chant in sweet and novel harmony; and now the sacred parchments were borne in solemn procession...It was one of the most melodious things to which we have ever listened, and as it floated through the charmed and trembling air, it brought back the memories of the old glorious time historians chronicle...

Other Chicago papers reported Jewish events conscientiously. The Daily Democratic Press, for instance, described Passover in 1855, "the anniversary...of the great Exodus." Readers were informed that six thousand pounds of unleavened bread had been sold in the city, and that

Jews gathered in family groups "around the festival board."[122]

James Parton, in a favorable article about "Our Israelitish Brethren," in the Atlantic Monthly in 1870, noted that Jews, unlike Christians, really rested on the Sabbath. He found that praiseworthy. Judaism, he felt, "is a religion of one idea and that idea is God." There was constant prayer for everything as in all "Oriental" religions. He liked best of all that Jews seemed to know "how to associate religion with the pleasing recollections of childhood." The Jewish Sabbath was "wholly joyous... There is no terror in the religion of the Hebrews, no eternal perdition." He was pleased to report, "They are all Universalists."[123]

At the other extreme, the Sunday School Union book, The Jew At Home And Abroad condemned many Jewish practices. Even though the Jews were described as "indestructible" and the author conceded that Christians owed them gratitude for conserving the Old Testament, their rejection of Jesus was held to have led them into delusion. The main problem was the Talmud which contained many offensive sections, "ridiculous laws," and directions for "absurd and superstitious practices which are so numerous... in the exercises of the Jews." Their interpretation of the Scriptures was "pernicious" since it was based upon the study of "that most enslaving and destructive guide, fabricated as it is by wicked men." The resemblance between Judaism and "Popery" was stressed. Both were beset by tradition with little judgment allowed to individuals. Yet, the author cautioned, we must have "compassion" for the "ignorant and degraded state" of the Jews.[124]

Most of the newspapers were regularly reporting Jewish festivals and events by the 1870s. The New York Times, not yet Jewish-owned, was a good example. Like many other periodicals and newspapers, the Times was interested in the Reform-Orthodox controversy. On April 3, 1870, it reported that "Reformed Judaism" had "excited a good deal of attention in

the Christian world" as innovative in this "most conservative of creeds." The movement illustrated the "strange vitality of a downtrodden and persecuted but strong-willed race." The power of amalgamation, which was creating a great people out of many diverse elements in America, "has touched also the chosen race and is bringing them more into harmony with the modes of thinking that prevail around them." Continuous editorials, commending the "reformed school," followed. Their progress was remarkable. The ultra-orthodox were fortunately rare. Orthodox services were exactly like those of the middle ages, regardless of the necessities of a new era. A story on "Jews in America" told of the Jewish congregations in the city. The finest and costliest was Emanu-el, a fashionable monument "of the wealth and social position of its members." It was the first to declare the "domination of reason over blind and bigoted faith." It stood for the triumph of "the Judaism which proclaims the spirit of religion as being of more importance than the letter."[125]

Other articles in the Times in the 1870s covered Jewish religious life. An 1872 feature, "Sunday at the Synagogue" was about the "superb" Temple "Immanuel." The architecture was magnificent and had "nothing in the external appearance...to indicate it as a place of worship of a race that deny and refuse the Savior of mankind." (This concept was so pervasive that it could be found in a favorable article.) The reporter commented on the presence of many beautiful women, but noted that he couldn't tell if they were Polish, German, or aristocratic Sephardim. Under the subtle influence of America, "the Semitic characteristics had been toned down, softened or completely removed. The great peculiarity of the congregation was that it was difficult to recognize them as Jewish at all." In the same year the Feast of Passover was described as a "peculiar family service." It was not uncommon in Jewish households to see "three or four generations

assembled about the festive board."[126] An 1878 review discussed the Talmud in some detail and with complete fairness. The average newspaper reader, the reviewer claimed, knew very little of "the peculiar tenets and religious beliefs of his Jewish fellow-citizens and still less of the wonderful works..." Popular prejudice against the Jews had, until recently, extended to their books, but "the Jews and the Talmud have outlived their persecutors."[127]

Cities with small Jewish communities were at least as scrupulous in reporting Jewish holidays and special events. Salt Lake City papers were typical in that respect. The Salt Lake Tribune was particularly conscientious. An issue of October 2, 1872 described "Rosh Hasheno, (sic.)" followed by "the holiest of all Sabbaths, a day observed by Israelites from time immemorial..." The paper noted sadly that the Western world had become contaminated by apostasy and wondered whether "our Jewish friends" had caught any of the disease. It was relieved, on the following day, to observe a large attendance at the service, "indeed we were not previously aware that so many inhabitants of this city were of Jewish extraction." On Yom Kippur the paper was again pleased to report that the holy day "is being observed very scrupulously by the Israelites of this city, as we learn that everyone, without exception, is attending this service." Passover, of all Jewish festivals, was always of the greatest interest to Christians in view of its obvious relationship to Christian rites. The Tribune informed its readers during Passover week in 1876 that Jews observed the occasion by "abstaining from all food(?) except unleavened bread as commanded by the great law-giver." Somewhat later, when the cornerstone for a new synagogue was laid, the paper commented enthusiastically, "The building will be an ornament to the city." At its dedication, the beauty of the building was hailed. The

audience included many prominent non-Jews. The services were described as "very impressive and interesting...There seemed to be an air of quiet elegance pervading the place and a more attractive place of worship does not exist in the West."[128]

Not all observers were repelled by orthodox services. In 1875, a writer for the periodical Liberal Christian visited an Orthodox Synagogue on Chrystie Street. Although the author, like all visitors, commented on the "business-like air" and the "walking about and talking," he did not regard these as the basic point. The service itself was all in Hebrew and was "musical, plaintive, devout, triumphant." The writer then added, "What Christian church can boast a service of such antiquity? Where is there a ritual so free from idolatry and error? Where is there a service more democratic?"[129]

Along similar lines, the New York Tribune of September 26, 1889 carried an article, "A Memorial of Jewish Antiquity." It noted that many people were involved in exhuming Greek and Roman relics, but had little concern with "existing relics" which had never been lost. Today in their synagogues, the paper remarked, our Jewish fellow-citizens will celebrate the new year "with a ceremonial containing features much older than any of the remains." A man who entered an Orthodox Synagogue at the present time would soon be able to "imagine himself transported thousands of years into the past...The worshippers will appear to him wrapped in Oriental prayer scarfs; the sacred scrolls will be chanted to him in an unspeakably ancient tongue." The most remarkable thing was the antiquity of the ceremonial. "It has lived along with the marvelous race that has preserved its unity without a home while persecuting empires have gone down to their graves and the monuments of their civilizations have crumbled into dust."[130]

The Tribune was also interested in and favorably inclined towards the

"Jewish Reformers." In August 1890 the paper commented on the movement to change the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday. The Reform efforts were due to "increased enlightenment" of the people among whom Jews dwell. The removal of hindrances led the "sons of Israel" to achieve great success in areas of life once closed to them. It was their exclusion from contact with advanced ideas that had led them to "petty finance and to the narrow-minded teachings of their rabbinical books."[131] While admiring Jewish persistence, many observers hoped they could be better assimilated with more "modern" religious ideas.

The American Israelite was frequently indignant at the misrepresentation of Jewish rites which appeared in various newspapers. (There is, of course, no evidence that these mistakes were due to anything more sinister than misunderstanding.) A good example was a story which appeared in both the Chicago Herald and the Cincinnati Enquirer in 1889, describing a ceremony in which a woman divorced her dead husband and his brother at the same time. She was said to have washed her brother-in-law's foot, untied a knot while kneeling and spat twice. "During this ordeal the woman trembled from head to foot...fell to the floor in a dead faint. There was a panic in the temple..." The Israelite, with much annoyance, declared that the entire episode was nothing but the result of a vivid imagination.[132]

In a presumably scholarly 1891 work about the Jews under Roman rule, W. D. Morrison claimed that Judaism had been hampered by the rite of circumcision. "It was impossible to overcome the justifiable repugnance of the Greek and Roman world to this barbarous rite."[133]

The arrival of large numbers of Eastern Jews in New York led newspapers of the 1890s to a particular interest in Jewish ceremonial. They described Jewish holidays in considerable detail for the benefit of

Christian readers. The New York Tribune made a particular effort at accurate descriptions of these events. The New Year was a season of "impressive ceremonies." Dispersion had not altered the "weird, tearful, wailing melodies." Songs that were once heard were "never to be forgotten." Even the Feast of the Tabernacles was fully covered, with its exotic booths. Passover was a season with "a great deal of ritualism" when one could hear "the quaint Hebrew song of peculiarly sweet melody." Most of the services took place in "the humble synagogues of the poor." The strongest impulse in the ghetto was the maintenance of religion in these tiny synagogues where one found not a single trace of New York, "not a word of English." The Evening Post reported that "almost every town within the Pale of Jewish settlement" was represented by a synagogue in New York. Chanukah was a "merry season of domestic fun making." The Post advised people who thought of the Jews as "a sullen folk in dismal homes" to see this celebration. They would have found "many prospering lords of large families dispensing 'mehr fun als a circus.'" The Times contrasted the services of the rich and poor, Reform and Orthodox. On the East Side, the "weeping and wailing of the supplicants could be heard for blocks." In the fashionable temples attended by richly attired men and women, while the "services were also fraught with deep emotion," the worshippers showed no signs of its effects. The rites of the Eastern Jews were "oriental" and exotic. The services of the richer Reform Jews were certainly more comprehensible and "American" to newspaper observers, and, thus, far more thoroughly reported.[134]

Issues of church-state divisions were extremely important to post-emancipation Jewry. Jewish periodicals were often disturbed by what they saw as efforts to impose Christianity as the official religion of the nation. The Christian and secular press, on the other hand, tended to

assume that Jews should be grateful for their welcome in America in contrast to their persecution elsewhere, and should, therefore, never question the Christian basis of American society.

An excellent example of the prevalent attitude was the controversy over an 1844 Thanksgiving Proclamation by Governor Hammond of South Carolina which exorted citizens to offer thanks to "Jesus Christ, the Redeemer." Charleston Jews protested against the sectarian nature of the document. The revealing response of the Governor was:

> I have always thought it a settled matter that I lived in a Christian land...That in such a country and among such a people I should be, publicly, called to account...for acknowledging Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of the world, I would not have believed possible...I know that the civilization of the age is derived from Christianity, that the institutions of the country are instinct with the same spirit and that it pervades the laws of the State... as it does...the hearts of our people.

If Jews, "inheriting the same scorn for Christ which instigated their ancestors to crucify him," felt insulted, he would have declared a separate Thanksgiving for them according to their creed. Instead they, unreasonably, demanded inclusion in the public Christian worship. They had no grounds for offense.[135]

Other issues included Sabbath worship and Christian teachings in public schools. However, the American press tended to take the Christian underpinnings of the nation for granted, and rarely even discussed Church-State issues of concern to Jews.

The religious image of the Jew was filled with ambiguities. There is no question about the continuing power of the old view of the Jews as crucifiers of the Son of God, a people who had been punished for that heinous crime. Indeed, such a picture of the Jew continued to affect the minds of many Americans to the present day. The related view that the

Jewish religion had existed only as a precursor to Christianity, and had long since outlived any viability in the world, was also widespread. Conversionists were active throughout the century. Not only did religious books and Sunday school texts propagate this perception of the Jew, but religiously inspired novels, some of which were among the most phenomenally successful books of the century, also reinforced such ideas.

On the other hand, there was obviously a strong counter-current in America. This was especially significant in the secular press. It was the Jew as the ancient people of the Bible who had preserved the worship of one God, who had courageously overcome the most terrible persecution the world had known, and to whom Christians should be grateful for their basic ideas and for Christ himself. Only in America could these ancient people worship freely. This was a source of pride and should not be tampered with. For that reason, the secular press was largely opposed to missionary activities. There was a genuine interest in the religious customs of the Jews, and while this interest was sometimes patronizing, it was rarely unkind. The building of synagogues was generally welcomed, and the consecrations were characteristically attended by the leading citizens of the community. While most observers preferred Reform Judaism as more "American," this was more indicative of a desire to assimilate Jews into the mainstream, than of a desire to convert them.

The key question then becomes: which of these two contradictory tendencies most influenced the average American? One obvious answer would be that it depended upon how religious an individual was. The crucifixion would have vivid immediacy only to a religious Christian. Yet it is also true that some very religious people were most aware of the Jews as the people of the Bible and originators of Christianity. Even the most ardent conversionists were not always unkind in their

estimates of Jews. Another response would be that the hostile religious image of the Jew diminished considerably in the later years of the century. By that time, perhaps, other images less obviously religious had become more significant - particularly the Shylock stereotype.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

1 Nicholas Berdyaev, Christianity and Anti-Semitism (New York, 1954), p.6.

2 Rudolph M. Lowenstein, Christians and Jews: a Psychoanalytic Study (New York, 1951), p.45.

3 Fred Gladstone Bratton, The Crime of Christendom (New York, 1969), p.168.

4 The continued potency of the religious image of the Jew can be seen in a study by Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (New York, 1966). A sample of Christians in the 1960's were asked questions about their religious views of Jews. 33% of all Protestants agreed unequivocally with the statement, "The Jews can never be forgiven for what they did to Jesus until they accept Him as the true Savior." The figure among Missouri Lutherans was 70% and among Southern Baptists 80%. (p. 62) The even more extreme statement that "The reason the Jews have so much trouble is because God is punishing them for rejecting Jesus," was agreed to by about one third of the Missouri Lutherans, Southern Baptists and Sects. Another study showed that 21% of the American Lutheran, 22% of the American Baptist, and 38% of the Missouri Lutheran Ministers also agreed. (pp. 64-5).

5 Nina Morais, "Jewish Ostracism in America," North American Review, September 1881, p.271.

6 Harper's Magazine, XVII, July 1958, p.267.

7 "An Hour with our Prejudices," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 93, 1904.

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10 Elizabeth Peabody, Sabbath Lessons (Salem, 1813), 32, 49-50, 60.

11 A.A., Annals of the Jewish Nation (New York, 1832), iii-iv, 311, 354.

12 H.P. Peet, Scripture Lessons for the Young (New York, 1846), 113-4, 119, 122.

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14 C. Soule Carter, Questions Adapted to the Text of the New Testament (Boston, 1865), 42, 69, 81, 91.

15 Mrs. Wilbur F. Crofts, Lesson Handbook for Primary and Intermediate Teachers (Boston, 1883), 13, 122.

16 Berean Tract and Bible Mission , 1876: #17, #24, #48; 1877: #28, #30,

#42, #46, #47. See also Rev. D.H. Geissinger, Lessons in the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ (New York, 1881), 58, 61, 140.

17 Bible Study Union Graded Lessons for Sunday Schools and Bible Classes, July 1894, 139; October 1895, 184, 196.

18 Whittaker Series of Lessons for Bible Classes and Sunday Schools, March 27, 1896, 241-2.

19 Melvin Jackson, Travels of Paul (New York, 1903), 54, 48.

20 Alice Hyneman Rhine, "Race Prejudice at Summer Resorts, " The Forum, July 1887, 529. It should be noted that only recently Protestant groups began to re-examine Sunday school texts in the light of studies revealing the extent of anti-Jewish lessons contained in these books. A good description of the kind of material found in modern Sunday school books can be found in: James Brown, "Christian Teaching and Anti-Semitism: Scrutinizing Religious Texts," Commentary, December 1957, 494-501.

21 The Churchman, March 24, 1855, quoted in American Israelite, April 29, 1855.

22 Christian Intelligencer, quoted in Israelite, August 7, 1858.

23 Presbyter, quoted in Bertram Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War (Philadelphia, 1960), 64.

24 Catholic Telegraph, quoted in American Israelite, January 29, 1869.

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27 J. Kitto, An Illustrated History of the Holy Bible (Norwich, 1868), 496-7, 556, 560, 574, 631-2.

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29 W.D. Morrison, The Jews Under Roman Rule (New York, 1891), 360-1.

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32 Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Star of Calvary," in Edmund C. Stedman, An American Anthology, 1781-1900 (New York, 1900), 191.

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## II - LITERARY IMAGES

In his superb study From Shylock to Svengali, Edgar Rosenberg examines the picture of Jews presented in British literature. British writers seemed to be obsessed by Jews in their fiction. To a great extent, nineteenth century American literature was derivative from the English in its accepted conventions.

One of the most important archetypes was that of the Jew as supervillain: the Shylock character. This usurer was a coward, secretive in his life, clannish, servile to Christians whom he secretly detested, sometimes a wizard, and always an opportunist about money. Physically he was stooped, had an outlandish nose, often an unpleasant odor, and, frequently, a speech impediment. This is an ancient stereotype dating from Herod and St. Paul's description of Judas. There was, thus, a direct line from religious to literary stereotypes. Like Judas, this character always demanded his thirty pieces of silver. In that sense, some of the powerful attraction of this figure can be related to the crucifixion. The Judas character was carried through accusations of ritual murder of Christian children, and poisonings during the Black Plague. The slander was repeated in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Shakespeare, in The Merchant of Venice, and Marlowe, in the Jew of Malta, gave flesh to this repulsive image. The type reached its depths in Dickens' Fagin compared to whom even Shylock was civilized. Fagin was outside any religious framework, a child's view of the devil. This comic and horrible character was always "less sinned against than sinning."[1]

Trollope, in The Way We Live Now, kept the villainy, but eliminated the supernatural qualities. Augustus Melmotte, based upon Lionel Rothschild, was still an unscrupulous money lender, but he had become

even more cynical and immoral than the earlier Shylock. He no longer extorted money because he hated Christians. He was a part of society, not isolated. In fact, the book constituted an attack on a society which encouraged such opportunists. He was the modern secular Shylock.[2] In that way the image had become realistic enough for modern literature.

The miserly old usurer often had a good and beautiful daughter who served as a foil for him. His love was characteristically divided between her and his gold. This young woman provided the second basic stereotype -- "la belle juive," the beautiful Jewess.[3] This lovely girl was the object of lust and seduction attempts by the Christian hero. She rarely, if ever, had a living mother. The original was Jessica, but she reached her apogee in Scott's Rebecca, an absolute paragon of word and deed. This character was often permitted flaming speeches in affirmation of her Jewishness and bitter denunciations of the persecution of her people, even though similar language might be used to add to the distaste for the aging villain. Her fate was either to run away with the gentile hero, or to end as a figure of sadness and, frequently, of death. Above all, however, she was mysteriously beautiful, with a special kind of dark allure.

Finally, there was the institutionalized countermyth to Shylock -- the benevolent Jew. During the Enlightenment, some writers sought to justify Jews to gentiles. The finest such work in Western literature was Lessing's Nathan the Wise. In English literature the archetypal good Jew was Sheva in Richard Cumberland's 1794 play, The Jew. Sheva was a professional do-gooder, a propaganda mouthpiece for high principles. He explained that the Jew, although misunderstood, maligned, and victimized, was selfless and self-sacrificing beyond all belief.

This "bloodless abstraction" gained almost as much popularity as the Jew-villain.[4] A sensationally virtuous individual, he displayed most prominently the New Testament virtue of turning the other cheek. In George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (also influential because of its early espousal of Zionism), the virtues became saintliness. The didactic purpose of this characterization could be seen in Eliot's comment that she wrote the book, "on purpose to ennoble Judaism."[5]

Whether good or bad, the Jewish male in English literature was generally judged by the single yardstick of money. The sum of the compassion of the benevolent Jew was financial aid to worthy Christians. Sometimes, as in Charles Reade's It is Never to Late to Mend, both cliches -- the villainous usurer and the charitable money-lender -- appear in a single book, splitting the two sides of the same coin.

Other mythic Jews who appeared in English literature included the Wandering Jew and the sorcerer. The Wandering Jew could be a mysterious and fearsome figure or, as in Shelley, he was sometimes transmuted into an admirable martyr and rebel. The figure of Svengali was the ultimate Jew with supernatural power -- a mixture of sordidness and the mouthpiece of God. In any case, the Jew was always the alien, a man apart. An object of contempt or of awe, a parasite or a savior, he was always "different." Rosenberg concludes that "the image of the Jew in English literature is depressingly uniform and static."[6] In fact, the Jew did not receive any real consideration as a human being until the ghetto studies of Israel Zangwill in the 1890s. As late as 1914, Zangwill felt compelled to comment, "It seems curious that the cad and the money-lender still practically monopolize the boards."[7] The same basic stereotypes and attitudes could be found in much of the literature of Europe.[8]

In many ways American literature followed English literary conventions and disregarded American realities. Frequently it is difficult to see any connection between the picture of the Jew in American fiction and the Jews actually living in America in the nineteenth century. The image of the Jew in American literature through the century showed as little tendency to change as the British. Imaginative writing was far less reflective of the upheavals in the American Jewish community than the press. One could have read American fiction through the century without realizing that a fairly sizable group of German Jews had entered the country and had achieved success, or that a far larger group of Eastern Jews had poured in, altering the character of the Jewish community.

Although the British stereotypes of the Jew were part of American literature, it is important to note that American writers were simply not as obsessed by Jews as their British counterparts. In England major writers focused upon Jewish villains and heroes. Dickens and Trollope created memorable Jewish arch-villains. Scott romanticized the archetypal beautiful Jewess. Dickens, in a mood of repentance, and George Eliot sought to counter with "good" Jews. On the other hand, few American writers of consequence mentioned Jews at all. Cooper, in the Oak Openings, whimsically discussed the Indians as a lost tribe of Israel, but he only had one Jewish money-lender as a lesser character in a minor work. Hawthorne had one beautiful Jewess and one incidental Jewish peddler. Mark Twain, despite a charming little Judeophile article and despite an awareness of the presence of Jews in the West,[9] never created a Jewish peddler as a character in his novels. Henry James dealt tentatively with one beautiful Jewess and dabbled in occasional aristocratic

condescension towards Jewish art dealers. Despite his claims of being a realist, his books about city life, and his encouragement of such Jewish writers as Abraham Cahan, William Dean Howells did not include one significant Jewish character in the pages of his numerous works. Even Lindau, the Socialist in Hazard of New Fortunes, is referred to as a German, although he was patterned upon a German Jew Howells knew. Only Melville, among the major American authors considered Judaism and the Jewish people in one of his books. For the most part, when we consider the image of the Jew in American literature, we are discussing minor works of minor authors.

The three major stereotypes and their role in American fiction will be considered. Some deviations from the British paradigm, including the New England mind and its unique relationship with Judaism, the sensitive and singular work of Herman Melville, and the creation of the American Jewish novel will also be discussed.

## The Villain -- The Shylock Image

The Jew as Shylock or Fagin has haunted the imagination of the English-speaking world. The Shylock archetype of a merciless, murderous usurer is, as Leslie Fiedler has observed, something more profound than the standard villain. He is "a representative of the tribal fury of Jewry that will not admit its maltreatment is merited. He loves only one thing more than gold: the sweet savor of vengeance."[10] The treachery of Judas, paid for in silver, was paralleled by the usurer's terrible passion for wealth and revenge. The mythic weapon of this creature was a knife, the classic weapon of castration. Guilt feelings about treatment of Jews intermingled with fears of inevitable retribution. The villain

satisfied a need to prove that society's attitudes towards Jews were justified by Jewish misbehavior. In addition, there may be some element of the angry father in this character (in Freudian Oedipal terms). The father, after all, holds and withholds the purse strings. Judaism fathered Christianity and then rejected both its tenets and the Holy Child. Sometimes the hero was a Christ-like figure who was as beset by Jews as Jesus was by Judas. All of these villains had to suffer the same downfall and humiliation as that endured by the prototype, Shylock.

As one might expect, Americans, having been much fairer in their treatment of Jews and encountering far fewer, felt a less urgent need to focus on the Jewish villain in their literature. Although English literary tradition remained potent in determining the presentation of Jewish characters, male Jews tended to play a more peripheral role in American writing. The stereotype of this classic miscreant was somewhat softened. For the most part, it was etched in less acid lines than his English cousin. Serious anti-semitism was relatively uncommon.

The earliest American portraits of the hawk-nosed, gold-hoarding, heavily-accented usurer occurred in books and plays dealing with adventures among the Barbary pirates. (Jewish heroines never spoke with accents.) At the time of America's difficulties with the Barbary states, two powerful Jewish banking families (Bacri and Busnach) were partners of the Dey. They helped supervise the piracy, served as diplomatic channels, and lent money to Western consuls for expenses and ransoms, often at extortionate rates. Their presence lent credence to the accepted stereotype.[11] Even Mordecai Noah, the best known American Jew of the time, who served as consul to Tunis, observed, "The Jews are the leading men...These people...possess a very controlling influence...Their skill

in business, and the advantage they take of Christians and Moors, have been the subject of severe and just animadversion they...overreach and defraud."[12]

Susanna Rowson's popular play of 1794, Slaves in Algiers, set the standard. It featured Ben Hassan, a Jew turned Moslem. He is a money-lender and forger, who pretends that the American lady, "Mrs. Rebecca," has not had her ransom paid. He plans to betray the American captives after taking their money. In the middle of the play he sings:

> So having cheated the Gentiles as Moses commanded
> Oh I began to tremble at every gibbet I saw
> But I got on board a ship and here was safely landed
> In spite of the judges, counsellors, attorneys and law.[13]

He speaks with an accent and lisps. (For some unaccountable reason a lisp was considered a characteristic Jewish trait.) In the manner of Shylock, he has a beautiful (and unaccented) daughter, Fetnah, who, like Jessica, wishes "some dear Christian man would fall in love with me and carry me off." Overhearing, Frederick, the American hero, declares, "Say you so my charmer, then I'm your man."[14] However, in a deviation from the old tale, when her father suffers his deserved ruination, Fetnah goes to him and bids her lover goodby, proclaiming, "When my father was rich and had friends, I did not think much about my duty; but now he is poor and forsaken, I know too well to leave him alone in his affliction."[15] The author's approval of this daughterly reaction indicated a more ambivalent attitude and less deep-seated hatred of the villain.

Many other versions of this popular story followed Mrs. Rowson's success. In James Ellison's The American Captive, written in 1812, the Jew Ishmael plays a treacherous role. He first appears counting and fondling his gold, "Vot a comely form! The vorld talks of...vomen's peauty! Spshaw! compared with this - all deformity." He expresses joy

at never having had a wife to waste his money.[16] His villainy is accentuated when he forces his half-starved slave to fast in order to save money. When he promises to help the American captive because of his own ulterior motives, the naive American exclaims, "O generous Hebrew." The irony was obvious: the two terms were contradictory by their nature in the author's eyes.

Royall Tyler in The Algerine Captive (1797)-- possibly the first American novel,tackled the same theme with far more mixed emotions. On the one hand, he characterized Jews as "this cunning race...who have contrived to compensate themselves for the loss of Palestine by engrossing the wealth of every other land." They solace themselves with a messiah of gold, "content to be apparently wretched and despised, that they may wallow in secret wealth."[17] On the other side, however, he describes the story of the fattening of a Christian child for Passover sacrifice as "this horrid tale which should have been despised for its absurdity and inhumanity." The enlightenment hero, Yankee doctor Updike Underhill, who is enslaved in Algiers, saves the dying son of a wealthy Jew, Adonah Ben Benjamin. The house of the Jew is outwardly desolate to avoid provoking envy, but is furnished in Oriental splendor. This picture of secret wealth was prevalent in later books about Jews, perhaps in part out of a desire to explain the apparent poverty of so many of the supposed money-grabbers, and in part as wish-fulfillment by the authors. In gratitude the "benevolent Hebrew old man" befriends the American. He holds the captive's savings and promises to make up the difference for the ransom. In fact, he himself determines to go to America where he can enjoy his honest prosperity openly. However, just as he is about to redeem his promise, he dies of apoplexy. His son, who turns

out to be nothing more than another "wily Israelite," refuses to return the money. Even though the innocent doctor cures him once again, the "artful Jew" deceives, robs and sells the hero into slavery.[18] In this work we see both the good and bad Jew, and the function of both revolves around money.

Quaker City, written in 1844 by George Lippard, was a vastly popular blend of sex, violence, and socialism. Gabriel Von Gelt is a minor character, a Jewish gangster in a gallery of grotesques. He is described as a short little man with a face as long as a horse's, a shapeless humped back, and two large brilliant eyes with an intense lustre. "'Jew' was written on his face as though he had fallen asleep for 3000 years at the building of the Temple." He comes out of hiding to collect money owed to him by the villain. "Bekos dese leetle hand do all te works - andt maybe after all, you reaps te profit...You keep your pargain, vill yous?"[19] His demands for money cause his death at the hands of the leading villain. Probably most readers of this fantastic novel did not single out the lone Jew from the huge army of criminals in the book. Yet, as Leslie Fiedler has noted, "It is not unimportant that in the nightmare phantasmagoria of the populist imagination run wild...the figure of the hawk-nosed conniving Jew takes his due place." He was the true ancestor of the twentieth century Jewish gangster such as Wolfshein of the Great Gatsby.[20]

As the century wore on and the Sephardic merchant princes were replaced by German peddlers as the prototypical American Jews, the image of the usurious villain remained relatively constant. In Peter Hamilton Myers' The Miser's Heir (1854), Hakes, a Chatham Street old clothes man "whose features and occupation proclaim him a Jew," is also a money len-

der. He sits "spider-like in the back part of his den, watching for prey." When the innocent young hero enters, he acknowledges that he has "a leetle monish sometimes." As a sharper, he immediately spots an honest man. He states his rates, "Ten per shent...I gif him one tousand now - he pay me ten tousand when he ish a man." (This "Jewish ten percent" was a frequent matter of comment.) The money is counted in gold, "each piece seeming to cling to the usurer's fingers, as if by some magnetic attraction."[21] In Julia Ward Howe's The World's Own (1857), while it is a gypsy who proclaims that it is a "joy to bait these Christian hounds," he is working with Jacob, a usurer whose "love of money and of mischief" makes it possible to utilize him as a means of tragically destroying several of the play's major characters.[22]

In The Clipper Yacht (1845) by Joseph Ingraham (of biblical novels' fame), Moloch the money-lender, like others, lives the life of an oriental nobleman in his secret London chambers. His description is more flattering than the usual stereotype, "Physically the Jew was a noble specimen of his finely formed race, but morally he looked the usurer." When Captain Dowling, the Duke's illegitimate son, asks for money to cover his forgeries, Moloch responds with great relish, "So you haf come vor more monish?...Te Christian pleads humbly to the Jew when he would haf money; and curses him when he no longer needs him."[23] When Moloch converses in the "Hebrew tongue," he speaks with "dignity of accent." (Most of the authors knew so little about Jews in the first half of the century that they believed that the latter spoke biblical Hebrew in conversations among themselves.) Despite the portrayal of Moloch as "never at a loss for artifices...where gold is to be won," he turns out to be not that bad a fellow. The whole plot is just a scheme to get his niece married to Captain Dow-

ling whom he proves to be legitimate after all. In this way, he "revenges" himself on the Duke who, as a student, had struck the money lender. Rather than the usual humiliation, all of Moloch's plans come to fruition, and everyone lives happily ever after -- a uniquely American version of an old story!

John Beauchamp Jones was one of the few novelists to deal with the Jew as a non-exotic storekeeper in the West. In Western Merchant (1849) a Jewish merchant opens a business in Hannibal, Missouri in competition with the Christian hero. Although his occupation is more mundane, his character is very similar to that of the standard usurer. He gains business by discreditable means, "characteristic of the peddling Jews." The hero remarks that Jews are indifferent to reputation. "They trade upon the productions of others (they never trade or produce anything), and cheat the Christians with their own wares."[24] Eventually, the hero wins the competition and the "Shylock" leaves after going through a fraudulent bankruptcy. In the Life and Adventures of a Country Merchant, another Jewish storekeeper ends up with a store partially destroyed by a fire which he probably set himself. (This was one of the earliest examples of a charge which would later become commonplace.) He finally leaves town without paying any of his debts. In the 1859 novel Border War stocks and real estate are auctioned and most of the bidders are Jews. "They seemed like greedy vultures, snatching, scrambling for the scattered remnants of ruined fortunes."[25] Later in the book a Jewish broker attempts to cheat the hero out of his rightful treasure. Even the more realistic Jew exhibited the same Shylock traits.

Julian Hawthorne, the son of the great writer, included a Jew as a central character in his 1879 novel, Sebastian Strome. Selim Fawley, a

weak person who has committed some mysteriously discreditable act, marries the heroine when she is angry at the hero. In the end she returns to Strome, and Fawley conveniently dies. Selim's father is the representative of the Shylock image. He tells his son that the only true friend is "the man that owesh you money on good security....I can trust a man when I can beggar him and when I can shame him." He offers to lend money to his own son at ten percent interest since "times are very hard...and the security is rather unsure - he, he."[26] This was a clear delineation of the harsh, punishing father aspect of the Shylock character.

Henry James occasionally mentioned the Jew as art connoisseur with Shylock's ability to turn a quick profit out of his avocation. In an 1883 story, "Impressions of a Cousin," Mr. Caliph, "a Jew of the artistic, not of the commercial type," is the executor of the estate of an heiress. He pretends to be trustworthy, but the narrator remarks, "Who ever heard of a naif Jew?"[27] Caliph does indeed mismanage the estate which is only saved by his virtuous non-Jewish half-brother who loves the heiress. However, since James was incapable of writing a totally clicheed work, the heiress forgives Mr. Caliph for his dishonesty and probably marries him in the end.

In the 1880s and 90s there appeared a whole series of fictional works which aimed at teaching good qualities to youngsters. Various versions of Shylock turned up in many of these books as a warning to young people to avoid having dealings with money-crazy Jews.[28] For example, in Blossumbud and her Genteel Friends (1883) by Mrs. Julie P. Smith, Clovis, the young hero, runs away from home and pawns a fur coat at Isaac's pawn shop where he impatiently waits "the slow counting of the greasy bills which seemed to stick like putty to the trader's fingers." In Evelyn Kimball Johnson's

Errand Girl (1889), a poor orphaned Irish girl, Pansey, is cheated by Jacob, "an inhuman wretch" who has paid three dollars for all of her furniture, taking "cowardly advantage of an unprotected orphan girl." Pansey concludes, for the benefit of the young reader, "Poor Auntie used to say nobody could get justice from a Jew dealer." A supposed "New York Fagin," a Polish Jew, is a character in A Tale of Twenty-Five Hours (1892), written by two Columbia professors, Brander Matthews and George H. Jessop. He was thought to be in "communication with thieves in all the capitals of the world." In the end, the suspicions prove unfounded, but the basically unfavorable impression of the Jew remains.

F. Marion Crawford was one of the most popular novelists of the last decades of the nineteenth century. He thought of his fiction as a "marketable commodity," and, in his own time, was more famous than Howells or James. In many of his numerous works Jews appeared as exotic peripheral figures. In the Witch of Prague, however, Crawford combined some positive comments with definite anti-semitism. One of the characters is a young man who "in form and feature...represented the noblest type of the Jewish race...a young eagle." He loves the "witch," but she destroys him. He is a sympathetic character. Yet, when they visit the Jewish quarter "through narrow and filthy streets" where people chatter in a "base dialect of German," the description is chilling. The quarter is the stronghold of the Jew "in which Israel sits, as a great spider in the midst of a dark web, dominating the whole capital with his eagle's glance, weaving the destiny of the Bohemian people to suit his intricate speculations." As a means of revenge, the "witch" brings the Jew back to the time of a "martyr," Simon Abeles, who, two hundred years earlier, had converted and was murdered by his fellow Jews. The Jewish quarter of the day was pic-

tured vividly in Crawford's lush prose:

> Throngs of gowned men, crooked, bearded, filthy, vulture-eyed ...talking in quick shrill accents...hook-nosed...grasping fat purses in lean fingers, shaking greasy curls...pointing long fingers and crooked nails...intoxicated by the smell of gold, mad for its possession...poisoned to the core by the sweet sting of money, terrible in intelligence, vile in heart, contemptible in body, irresistible in the unity of their greed.

In short, an entire community of Shylocks! In this case the Shylock image was again juxtaposed with religious hostility.[29]

The Jew Isaacstein in Edgar Saltus' 1894 Enthralled is particularly evil. A fat, hook-nosed man with "red hair, squat features and protruding teeth," he lacks any conscience and is the brains behind an elaborate plot of poison and false identity. He is a definite throwback to the criminal Shylocks of Lippard and Meyers of fifty years earlier.[30]

It can be seen that the basic character of the usurer-criminal-villain remained. However, as people encountered more real-life Jews, this character began to lose most of his exotic traits. Edgar Fawcett, a New York reformer of the 1890s, described a wicked couple in his 1898 work, New York, A Novel. A Polish Jewess, Mrs. Volaski, describes her "brother" who is, in reality,her lover, as a rich man who still keeps a junk shop. "That's the way with us Jews all over the world! That's why they can't kill us." Lysko, the "brother," is a true Jew: "he can smell a dollar ten times further than I can see one." Lysko admits that he is heartless and explains, "I dare say that I represent the accumulated spite and rancor of many centuries,"[31] Lysko offers the hero substantial money to commit arson which was by that time widely accepted as a typical "Jewish" crime.

Richard Savage, a successful and prolific author of the 1890s, also utilized dishonest Jews in several of his books. An 1896 novel, An Exile

from London described a villainous Rothschild-like family, the Blums. They are involved with a modern American Jewish lawyer who is a Columbia graduate. Although he does not speak with an accent, he has not been helped by the American environment - he is just as disreputable as the Blums who "reserve their lies for Christians and their customers." In A Modern Corsair(1897) heroic agents of Lloyd's of London foil the villainous machinations of the German Jew, Ernest Schnorr who has attempted to burn an old ship and collect insurance. Russian Jews, very much in the news at the time, were briefly considered in The White Lady of Khaminavatka (1898). One town was described as the home of "the trading vultures who fatten on the Russian peasant." The whole population of three thousand Orthodox Jews "trafficked in usury and...fattened upon the toil" of the "thick-headed Russian peasantry." None was productively employed. They were "parasites" feeding on the decaying country. They "easily controlled the destinies of the Russian peasant...by usurious craft and ate up the profits of the million ruble grain crop of the haughtiest nobles."[32] Here was an entire nation of Shylocks!

As these Eastern European Jews were pouring into the United States and entering slums and sweatshops, Frank Norris, in his most popular book, the 1899 "naturalistic" novel, McTeague, included a Polish Jewish character, Zerkow who was the classic Shylock image. "He had the thin, eager cat-like lips of the covetous; eyes that had grown keen as a lynx...and claw-like prehensile fingers - the fingers of a man who accumulates, but never disburses." Greed was his passion and the glint of gold "was in his eyes." When he had to pay for something he bought, he counted out the money grudgingly as if each piece "had been the blood of his veins." He gets the servant girl Maria to tell him the story of one hundred solid

gold dishes her family had supposedly once owned. The tale brings him a kind of ecstasy, and he is constantly begging her to "tell it just once more." Eventually, he marries Maria just to hear the preposterous story. After giving birth to a still-born child, Maria has "brain fever" and forgets the tale. His avarice pushes him into a terrible rage and a belief that Maria has hidden the wonderful dishes. He finally murders her and is found later, floating in the bay with a sack of one hundred rusty old pans and dishes.[33] Although dramatically effective, it is interesting to note that it was possible for a writer who considered himself a "naturalist" to include this kind of portrait of a Jew in an 1899 novel, in the face of real life among the needle workers in the ghetto.

As these newer Jews gradually bettered their conditions, they were faced by social snobbery. In Owen Wister's 1903 book, Philosophy 4, Oscar Maironi with his "shiny little eyes " and "furtive and antagonistic" manner, is the son of parents who came over in steerage. He has worked his way into Harvard where he is tutoring two carefree sons of the rich. In spite of that, the author wastes little sympathy on Oscar. "Calculation was his second nature." He had "toiled, traded, outwitted and saved" to reach his goal, but his love was not for education, but to show himself off as a scholar. When his students go off and have fun, Oscar cannot understand them. His "young days had been dedicated to getting the better of his neighbor, because otherwise his neighbor would get the better of him." In the end, the two students, using their active imaginations, get a higher grade on the philosophy examination than Oscar who can merely parrot the teacher.[34] This social rejection of the "pushy" Jew who even crashed the hallowed halls of Harvard, was to become a more significant theme in the twentieth century.

The Shylock-Fagin figure, the Jewish usurer-criminal, also remained an important character until the twentieth century when, altered slightly, he turned into Jewish gangsters in the works of Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Graham Greene and T.S. Eliot. It should be reiterated, however, that whatever psychological need he fulfilled, he did not occupy as important a role in nineteenth century American fiction as in British. Serious American writers were simply not as obsessed by the evil Jew as their English counterparts. The wicked Jew was placed far more frequently in foreign, exotic environments than in America.

## The Wandering Jew

A few American authors were peripherally interested in that related figure who excited European speculation, the Wandering Jew, a symbol of the dispersion of the Jewish people after rejecting Christ. Nathaniel Hawthorne was the most important. He first exhibited concern with this character in an 1842 short story, "A Virtuoso's Collection." In this tale a museum guard who has shown an astonishing familiarity with the past turns out to be none other than the Wandering Jew. He offers the narrator eternal life, but the latter refuses. To the Wandering Jew "earthly life is the only good," and he is uninterested in things of the spirit.[35]

Hawthorne's fine short story, "Ethan Brand," contained the one realistic portrait of a nineteenth century peddler, "an old German Jew traveling with a diorama on his back." There was an aura of truth about the picture of the "old Dutchman," who passes through the village "in the hopes of eking out the profits of the day." Far from being a wealthy usurer living in secret splendor on his ill-gotten profits, he makes his

pitiful living by exhibiting "a series of the most outrageous scratchings and daubings...Pictures worn out, tattered, full of cracks and wrinkles and in pitiable condition." One cannot doubt that Hawthorne must have encountered just such a struggling showman.

In this case, however, he is probably the most successful American representative of that mythic figure -- the Wandering Jew. There is a typically Hawthorne-like aura of evil in his mysterious relationship with the haunted Ethan Brand. He turns the "dark and strong outline of his visage" to Ethan, urging him to look into the box. Ethan gazes and starts staring fixedly at the peddler, although the others see only an empty canvas. "I remember you now," Brand mutters. "'Ah Captain!' whispered the Jew...with a dark smile, 'I find it a heavy matter in my showbox - this Unpardonable Sin.By my faith Captain it has wearied my shoulders this long day to carry it over the mountain.'"[36] The old man then packs up his things and disappears from the story. In this way, Hawthorne managed to suggest evil and the Wandering Jew, within the confines of an unstereotyped description.

The immense success of Eugene Sue's The Wandering Jew, which became a runaway best seller in its English translation in 1845, led less talented authors to tackle the same theme. David Hoffman, a Maryland law professor, published a multi-volumed, uncompleted work in 1853, Chronicles Selected from the Originals of Cartaphilas, the Wandering Jew.[37] These describe his adventures up to the seventh century. A Roman Singer by that purveyor of romance, F. Marion Crawford, was a more popular version of the same tale. Here the wanderer is personified by Benoni, a talented violinist. (Musical ability was often ascribed to Jews as a "racial" characteristic.) Despite his artistic temperament, he has an "enormous fortune"

and believes that "money is the only thing worth having."[38] In the end, Benoni loses the heroine to the poor but noble "Roman singer," and it is revealed that Benoni, in reality, is an insane man, rather than the Wandering Jew. Lew Wallace's Prince of India (cited earlier) has the Wandering Jew as its central theme. In this case the key characteristic of the Wanderer is his hatred of Christianity. The Wandering Jew was far less interesting to American authors than the Shylock figure. There was simply not the kind of fascination with this personage in fiction that there was in Europe. Perhaps the Jew would cease his endless journey in free America.

## The Rebecca Image: The Beautiful Jewess

The exotic figure of that magnificently beautiful woman with the liquid dark eyes, the lovely young Jewess, was as popular a character in American literature as the villainous old usurer. In fact, she often appeared as the daughter of that evil and deformed old man, just like Shylock's Jessica or Isaac's Rebecca. In some cases, it was the role of the hero to carry her off to a better, assimilated life. Leslie Fiedler feels that this legend is part of a "dream of rescuing the desirable elements in the Judaic tradition (maternal tenderness...the figure of Mary) from the unsympathetic (patriarchal rigor and harsh legalism: the figure of the high priest...)"[39] This identification of the Jewish woman with Mary can be seen in The Clipper Yacht when the Duke declares, "He who will stoop so low as to wed a Jewess has no honor worth preserving. He is reminded by Moloch, "The mother of thy Christ" was a Jewess."[40] For the most part, however, it is difficult to see most fictional Jewesses as images of Mary. For one thing, Americans were far less involved than Latin peoples

with the figure of the Virgin.

The Jewish woman was almost never presented as a typically maternal figure: rather as a figure of great sexual allure. If she was the mother Mary, she fulfilled the desire for a seductive mother. She was often contrasted, as she had been in Ivanhoe, to the pale, listless, pure and asexual Anglo-Saxon maiden. She was the erotic dream figure, the "dark lady," who was permitted to assert her total sexuality. In other ways, seh was simply another manifestation of the Romantic ideal. Although it was occasionally true, as Fiedler asserts, that she did not survive the books' endings "being death-ridden as well as death-bearing,"[41] more often she did far better than that. Frequently she was permitted sentiments that would never be allowed to the male Jewish character. She was, with rare exception, sympathetic and considerably more "liberated" than her Christian counterpart. The authors often used these women to give expression to otherwise repressed sexual feelings.

One of the earliest and most interesting Jewish women to appear in American fiction was Mrs. Achsa Fielding in Charles Brockden Brown's Arthur Mervyn which appeared in 1800. Perhaps because Brown was writing before stereotypes had fully crystallized in novels, she departs considerably from the cliché of the Jewish woman. She is not attached to a villainous father, nor does she lack a mother. Most striking is her lack of physical beauty which characterized the exotic conventional Jewish heroine. A figure of grace and intelligence, she is the ideal mate for the Enlightenment man. Brown is said to have created her in the image of Susan Potts, the woman he wanted to marry.[42]

Arthur Mervyn is the story of a young man's initiation into life. The hero, a rustic, comes to Philadelphia and learns all about corruption and

intrigue, is a child-man, a "high-minded egocentric." He meets Mrs. Fielding in the second volume of his adventures. She is twenty-six and he twenty -- he likes to call her "momma." She possesses "dignity and independence, a generous and enlightened spirit." She is well versed in music and literature. Although "lovely," she is "too low" in stature; "in complection dark...and her eyes though black and of piercing lustre have a cast which I cannot well explain...all personal defects are outweighed by her heart and intellect..." Eventually, he figures out the "story" her eyes tell, "let me die, if I did not think they said you were a - Jew." She tells him the tale of her earlier sorrows. She was brought up by doting parents indifferent to the distinctions of religion. At sixteen she married an English nobleman and entered the Church of England. She is most apologetic about her conversion, ascribing it to "thoughtlessness" and the fact that she had been made "somewhat impatient by the company I kept of the disrepute and scorn to which the Jewish nation are every where condemned..." Her loving father went bankrupt and committed suicide. Her wealth, she believes, "was my chief security from the comtempt of the... bigoted." Her mother became insane, her child died, and her husband ran off with another woman. Mrs. Fielding eloquently opposes "vain distinctions of property and nation...Her nation has suffered too much by the inhuman antipathies of religious and political faction." Her Jewishness is not even an issue to Mervyn. He proposes to her at the urging of a friend who concludes, "A brilliant skin is not hers not elegant proportions...yet no creature has more power to bewitch..." She possesses "exquisite feeling ...wisdom. sympathy and knowledge."[43] The book ends happily with their marriage. Mrs. Fielding was the only totally non-stereotyped Jewish woman in nineteenth century American fiction (with the exception of her "Jewish"

eyes). In fact, her Jewishness is reflected primarily in greater experiences in the world's tribulations. She is a child of the Enlightenment. She is also one of the few examples of a truly liberated woman in American fiction of the nineteenth century. The Romantic era preferred the beautiful Jewess. It is interesting that Shelley could not understand why Mervyn did not prefer to marry the pretty, insipid, child-like Eliza, who is the other, more typical, heroine.

Other early works presented the standard Rebecca image. In Theodore Sedgwick Fay's Sidney Clifton (1839), one of the central characters is Isaac Samuel, a sixty year old money-lender. As usual, he is avaricious, "a votary of the yellow gold." Rachel, the daughter of this Shylock, is well-educated, but shy and innocent. Her description is typical: "tall and dark-eyed, with bold and striking features...the voluptuous outline of her well-turned limbs, the swelling bust and exquisitely rounded neck and shoulder indicated high health..."[44] The villain, who has been dealing with her father, causes her to fall in love with him, hoping to obtain her father's fortune. When he is forced to flee the country, she dies of a broken heart. The father, who has discovered that he loves his daughter more than his gold, follows the villain to England and kills him and then, himself.

A more robust example is Rachel, Moloch's niece in The Clipper Yacht. She is a young girl, "with fine Jewish eyes and an air of the most finished coquetry...tall and nobly formed." She wears tight fitting scarlet satin to show off "her finely developed bust...and affording a striking relief to her jet black hair and nut brown complexion....." She speaks in a delightful "richly-keyed flute like tone." When she agrees to her uncle's scheme to trap Captain Dowling, she asserts, "There is nothing I

will shrink from to serve you and do injury to the Christian." Her eyes flash "with the proud hatred a beautiful Jewish woman can only express when she speaks of the Persecutions of her race."[45] In spite of these sentiments, Rachel is permitted to marry the dissolute hero, reform him completely, and become a lady of great renown, one of the prize ornaments of the English royal court!

Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth, the most successful woman author of the nineteenth century, included a number of Jewesses in her works. Miriam, the Avenger (1855) concerns a half-Jewish girl. (Many authors presented this character as part-Jewish, possibly the sympathetic aspects of her nature could be ascribed to her Christian heritage.) Miriam, who has a "fine Jewish beauty" and wears a "prevailing expression of impassioned melancholy," has pledged to avenge the murder of her aunt.[46] This turns out to be unnecessary since the aunt has not been murdered after all. Ishmael, which sold two million copies, is about a young man whose mother has died in childbirth. Ishmael's father's first wife is a magnificently beautiful heiress, Bernice D'Israeli. She comes to America to claim Ishmael since "to the Jewish woman, the child of her husband, even if it is at the same time the child of her rival, is as sacred as her own."[47] Although she fails to get Ishmael, she settles in America and lives a virtuous and charitable life in spite of the prejudice directed against her. In a sequel, Self-Raised, it is revealed that this model of perfect Victorian womanhood is, in fact, a converted Christian, and she is reunited with her estranged husband who has been pining for her.

In Henry Harland's As It Was Written (1885), Veronika is a pure "white soul" with bottomless eyes, "far, far in their liquid depths the spirit shone..." (These seductive Jewish eyes were the salient feature of every

female Jewish character in American fiction at this time.) Mystery is part of Veronika's person. The author commented that an American (Christian) woman couldn't be like that unless she was older and experienced. The Jewish woman could be mother and child at the same time. Veronika is really an innocent, "but she was a Jewess and all the experiences of the Jewish race, all the martyrdom of the scattered hosts were hers by inheritance."[48] The very persecution which embittered and helped to explain the villainy of the Shylock figure, merely served to add to the allure of the Jewish heroine.

Kathleen O'Meara, in her 1887 novel, Narka the Nihilist, combined the beautiful, noble Jewess with anti-Jewish comments and a background of Jewish persecution in Russia (not acceptable no matter how many anti-semitic attitudes the author expressed). It was a strange combination typifying a common duality of feelings. Jacob Larek, Narka's father, although a member of "a vile race," was an exception in his honesty, although he was "clever and industrious as the Jews mostly are." Narka, herself, laments that the poor people were "at the mercy of the Jews and the bureaucrats who prey on them like wolves." Prince Zorokoff falls in love with her, forgetting that she is a "low-born Jewess." His family is indignant that he would even think of bringing "the disgrace of Jewish blood" into their house. At the end, Narka turns saintly and cares about the Jews, "with my heart pierced by the murder of my kindred, with my soul made sorrowful by...the sight of the wrongs inflicted on them by you and your caste." With great nobility, she gives up the prince to devote herself to her suffering people.[49]

Sara Hernani, in A.N. Homer's Hernani the Jew (1897), is a refined, elegant and beautiful woman. As the wife of Kasimir Hernani, "the great

Jew banker" who is known for financial genius and great charity, she has everything she wants from her doting husband (except children). The Russian general in charge of that section of Poland, lusts after her. This disgusts his secretary, a Jew-hater to whom she was "one of the accursed race" whose wealth he expected to appropriate after extermination, "wealth which to him meant everything, avarice being his crowning vice."[50] (A "Jewish" vice for the anti-semitic villain?) A paragon of loveliness and virtue, she resists the general's advances, despite her husband's suspicions of her. In the end, they live happily in poverty.

Occasionally, the beautiful Jewess was not so virtuous. In 1854 George Lippard came out with The Nazarene. In his uniquely sensational way, Lippard combined the sensually beautiful Jewess and all the sexual implications of that image with the Wandering Jew (in this case Jewess). One of the survivors of a shipwreck is an actress, once magnificent, and even in famine and death, "her darkly flowing hair, and dazzling eyes" show "some traces of that gorgeous loveliness peculiar to the daughters of Palestine from immemorial time." She has "voluptuous warmth," with her hair in heavy masses to her waist and her "neck and shoulders as beautiful as alabaster." Looking at her, one is reminded of "the warm and glowing Bathsheba or the wild and luxurious Herodia..." She recounts the history of her nation and reveals that she is the "Wandering Jewess." In the time of Herod she was the voluptuous Herodia. She undulated to and fro then, with her "dark hair waving over her shoulders like a robe." By the "warm bloom of her bosom," she clasped a human head in "incestuous embrace" as she danced with delight, and the blood fell on her robe. For this act she was condemned never to grow old or feel emotion, "to be loved- worshipped - and not to feel love again."[51] She specializes in

tempting people to their deaths, particularly churchmen, even a Pope.

E.S. March's A Stumbler in Wide Shoes (1896) was the typical melodrama about a Jewish money-lender and his beautiful daughter. In this case, however, she was far from noble. The story exemplified very well the fears that many Christians had of a Jewish desire for revenge. The hero, a promising artist, meets Daria Leon, a Jewess and heiress of "the Jew usurer." Her father has a large "Jewish" nose and "his strong yellow teeth unpleasantly suggested a missing link in the direction of carnivorous animals." She, as usual defying heredity, has olive skin, "blue black hair...melting eyes" and "the beauty of Spain on her face." She asks the hero what he feels about the race of men who were "tolerated as if they have no right to the air they breathe...treated with contempt until they become contemptible..." When the hero urges her to let bygones be bygones, she retorts, "For a Jew there are no bygones...for him the past is always present, urging him to revenge and the future is present also bidding him triumph." Though she claims that she will only marry a Jew, she has a fatal weakness for Christians. There is a major objection: "They cannot turn Jew for her; she will not turn Christian for them." She loves the hero so passionately that she almost destroys him as an artist. She finally decides to marry him even though "I stoop in taking a Christian," and then discovers that he is already married to a nice Christian English girl. Her father is incensed, "The Christian beggar has deceived Leon's daughter?...Now for revenge...we will ruin them, father and son together." She vows, "Daria Leon will offer the Christian her hate, and he shall not pass it so lightly by."[52] They concoct an elaborate plot which leads to the arrest of the hero on a false charge. In the end, the plot is thwarted and Daria finally realizes that she must

give up the hero to his noble wife.

Serious writers were also attracted to the romantic Rebecca figure. Hawthorne's Miriam in The Marble Faun is an interesting variant. Miriam is only partly Jewish, but it is clear that the Jewish blood is responsible for her "warmth and passionateness." She is an artist. Her portrait of a fantastically beautiful woman has "what was usually thought to be a Jewish aspect...dark eyes into which you might look as deeply as your glance would go...She had black abundant hair...this was Jewish hair and a dark glory such as crowns no Christian maiden's head...what Rachel might have been when Jacob deemed her worth the wooing seven years and seven more."[53] It is actually a portrait of Miriam herself. With all her beauty, however, the spirit of evil hovers about Miriam although she herself is not at all wicked. She precipitates death and the loss of innocence for Donatello, the "faun" who adores her. The destiny which is attached to love for this woman may represent the punishment which flows from the yearning for vibrant full-blooded sexuality, a result typical of Hawthorne's works.

Henry James described another half-Jewish Miriam in The Tragic Muse (1890). Miriam Rooth is the daughter of a "Jew broker" and a woman from the British upper class. She is a very ambitious aspiring actress who hopes to be "the English Rachel." She doesn't care much about being Jewish, but she always wants to be "interesting." Her father had not only been a broker, but, like many of James' Jewish men, he also dealt in art. He had the "artistic temperament that is common, as you know, among ces messieurs." Miriam has inherited her talent and artistic sensibility from him: "The Hebraic Mr. Rooth, with his love of old pots and Christian altar cloths, had supplied in the girl's composition an aesthetic element,

the sense of color and form."[54] Far from pining away, as Jewish maidens were sometimes wont to do, Miriam gives up the somewhat stuffy upper-class Peter in order to pursue a career. In the end, she is a successful and accomplished actress and woman of the world.

Still another Miriam in Joaquin Miller's utopian novel, Building of the City Beautiful (1893) is the builder, along with an American Westerner, of an ideal community based upon the teachings of Christ. She is "young and strangely beautiful...silent, serene, dignified and commanding." Although a secretary of Moses Montefiore, she is a follower of Jesus, believing in "all good of all religions."[55] She tries to build a vaguely Christian Socialist society and, like some of the less robust Jewish women, she dies.

The Jewish women presented by Hawthorne, James and Miller were very strong figures, capable of accomplishing much good or evil. On the other hand, Ruth, the heroine of Melville's Clarel, the beautiful young Jewess who awakens the hero from his passivity, represents vestal love. She wears a snowy robe and veils. She is Eden before the Fall, all innocence and hope for release from life's complexities: "She looked a legate to insure that Paradise is possible...'Twas the grace of nature's dawn: an Eve-like face. And Nereid eyes with virgin spell...Hebrew the profile every line..." Such love, however, cannot be, and Ruth, the innocent, had to die. She did not die because she was Jewish, but because she was not of this world. In the same book, another character remarks jestingly, "There is no tress can thrall one like a Jewess's." Hebrew husbands are faithful because "as bees are loyal to the rose, so men to beauty." In this light-hearted version, all the great beauties and coquettes of history are described as Jewish.[56] Melville, thus, showed two sides of the

The Rebecca Image



The famed French Jewish actress, Rachel was often considered the epitome of the Rebecca image. She toured the United States in 1855.

(From Rachel and the New World (New York, 1867).)

beautiful Jewess character.

The lovely dark young Jewess remained a staple of American fiction through the century. The idealized picture of Jewish feminine beauty was so accepted -- it could be routinely found in news articles as well. as poor wan immigrants began to flock in from Eastern Europe, she started to lose her allure. The presentation of the Jewish woman in modern American fiction bears almost no relationship to that of her ancestor. In fact, in many respects, the twentieth century "Jewish princess" in her selfishness and contemptible familiarity is the complete opposite of the exotic, noble, beautiful Jewess. However, she is, perhaps, more a product of Jewish self-hatred than of Christian hostility.

## Sheva: The Benevolent Jew

Among the literary conventions imported from Britain was Shylock's opposite, the positive stereotype of the counter-Shylock. He may well be traceable to the realization that Christ himself was a Jew. This incredibly benevolent soul looked like Shylock, lived the same kind of life as the money-lender, but utilized his money to help out worthy, though needy, Christians. It is important to remember that the function and purpose of the "good" Jew revolved around money as completely as did that of the evil Jew. Most of these characters derive from Sheva, the hero of Cumberland's The Jew, a character conceived in expiation for the author's numerous Jewish villains. Within a year of its 1794 performance in London, The Jew had been performed twice in Boston and in New York, Providence, Hartford, Charlestown and Philadelphia. Within another year it had been republished five times, and was considered a smash hit. As late as 1806 it was still being advertised in a Boston theater. The purpose of the character was

clearly understood at the time to be an answer to Shylock. A 1795 reviewer in New York Weekly Magazine declared, "the idea of vindicating the Jews and bringing forward on the stage a kind of white (!) Shylock is certainly a very happy one."[58] But the writer went on to criticize the use of old stereotyped jokes about Jewish miserliness. An 1801 reviewer, in commenting on another play with a Sheva-like character, said, "We praise it for its evident tendency to obviate those unjust and illiberal prejudices which have too long been entertained in every country against this unfortunate race of men."[59] Clearly this character existed largely to expunge guilt feelings; rather like efforts to upgrade the black image on modern television.

Sheva-like characters appeared very early in American fiction. In Joseph Butler's 1798 novel, Fortune's Football, Aaron Levi, a Jewish merchant, pays the ransom to rescue friends of the hero from slavery. He refuses any interest on his loan. He even invites them to stay at his house and offers them money to help pay their expenses. When the British consul is told the story, he praises Levi, "A good man I revere, be his name, country or religion what they may."[60] After offering further unlimited assistance, Levi departs from the novel.

George Walker's Theodore Cyphon or the Benevolent Jew (1803) was another early novel which incorporated a Sheva-like character, this time in a central role. The doomed hero, Theodore, is helped by Shechem, a Jewish money-lender who charges huge rates of interest and uses the proceeds for his "charities and benevolences." "That benevolent descendent of Abraham," after recovering from an almost fatal illness and the execution of the hero, carries on his good works. The author concluded with sympathetic irony that Shechem continued to "extort from the spendthrift,

to accumulate bond to bond, and in defiance of every Christian example to bestow charity without applause and benefit mankind in secret."[61]

Some versions of the Algiers story transformed the Jew from abetter of pirates to guardian angel for the kidnapped. Jonathan S. Smith's The Seige of Algiers, a play which was probably never performed, features David Brokereye, "a money-changer of note," modeled on the real-life Bacri. Although he does possess the "penetrating eye" of the stereotype, he does not speak with an accent and is portrayed in a favorable light. He is benevolent and charitable. Ironically, while villains in earlier works on the same theme escaped the consequences of their misdeeds, poor Brokereye, like his real-life counterpart, is accused of betraying state secrets and decapitated.[62] In an 1835 play, The Adventure, the Jew El Hassan is generous and selfless, participating in the plot out of principles.

The well-known Southern writer William Gilmore Simms gave Jews a central role in his uncharacteristic historical novel Pelayo (1838). The plot concerns the establishment of the Spanish nation by Pelayo, aided by a Jewish army. The wealthy Melchior is a patriarchal figure. He lives in the usual opulent apartment,hidden by a poor exterior. But, unlike the Shylock figure, he would gladly give up all of his great wealth to obtain freedom for his people. Replying to an earlier charge of treason for cooperating with the Saracens, Melchior declares in ringing phrases, "What is the country of the Hebrews? This is not his country. The ties which thou wouldst bind him to it are the scourge and the chains." Melchior agrees to support Pelayo only when he sees that the hero is free from anti-Jewish prejudice. Pelayo believes that Christian faith "teaches that the religion of mankind must spring from each man's reason." Melchior's daughter is the usual beautiful Jewess who lacks a mother. Her love for

Pelayo, is, as was common, doomed, and she dies in a battle after converting to Christianity. Melchior himself is a stereotyped figure, but he is based less upon Sheva than upon Nathan the Wise. He is given to expressing Enlightenment sentiments such as a belief that it was narrow of the Jewish people to seek Christ's death since "he strove for the rescue of Israel from the tyrannic sway of the Romans...He was a good man, and his deeds and designs were holy; but I cannot think, my child, that he was a god, as the Christians regard him."[63]

Otto Rupius' The Peddler was written in German in 1859 and later translated into English. Realistic descriptions of the life of the peddler indicate that the author was familiar with the life, but the story itself is pure Sheva. A young, innocent German intellectual, who has just come to America, helps a little Jewish peddler boy whose wares have been scattered by a runaway horse. He encounters the boy's uncle, a gray-bearded old man with "a pair of twinkling eyes...the shrewd countenance with its conspicuously bent nose was unmistakably that of a Jew." When the hero is robbed, the Jew offers to be of service. The hero notices "real sympathy and honest interest through the naturally crafty expression of his eyes..."[64] The peddler obtains a job for the hero at a plantation. Later he proves the young man's innocence when the villain tries to frame him. In a sequel, The Peddler's Legacy, the old Jew makes the hero executor of a large estate and guardian of his nephew. And all this out of gratitude for picking up a few items from the street!

An interesting variant of the benevolent money-lender was the Jewish pawnbroker hero Solomon Isaakski in J. Richter Jones' historical novel The Quaker Soldier. He was based upon the Revolutionary War financier, Haym Solomon. Solomon is presented as a wealthy Polish Jew drawn to America by

sympathy for the rebelling colonies. "In support of the cause, no son of the soil was more zealous...His ease - no slight matter with him - his money - still more precious - was lavished unsparingly." His shop is merely a pretext for secret revolutionary headquarters, although the author adds, "possibly with his noble qualities he mingled some of the hereditary habits of his race." Isaakski has an odd physique -- a large head and body on little legs, making him under five feet tall. "But the face and forehead were grand; full of intellect and benevolence, with a slight seasoning of something like cunning..." Like many other fictional money-lenders, his private quarters reflect Oriental tastes, including crimson cloths, arches, Persian carpets, and an exquisite young wife, the "fairest of Circassians." (Here the contrast to the real Haym Solomon is particularly vivid.) Solomon explains his devotion to the cause of the Revolution, "Every vare ve Hebrews are treated as brute-beasts, not as mens, ve hab no rights, but de right to make moneys for the oppressors. If dis cause succeed, ve vill be mens and citizens...Me will fight in dis cause till de death." (One would have expected that a man that brilliant could have mastered a somewhat better quality English.) He is so inspiring that a Puritan chaplain remarks with enthusiasm, "You ought to have lived in the days of your great fore-fathers, you are worthy of the best of Beni Israel." However, the author found it necessary to balance this mixture of nobility and stereotype with a lesser Jewish character who sells information, remarking, "Ve never betrays a job - onless for monish."[65]

The appearance of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda had some impact in adding to the picture of the good Jew. It was widely and favorably reviewed in American periodicals. Edwin Whipple's comments in the North Ameri-

can Review in 1877 were typical. Mordecai was the ideal. "She endows him with the Hebraic fervor of imagination, while she emancipates him from the Hebraic narrowness of view, and she pours into his speech a Hebraic eloquence..."[66] In spite of its enthusiastic reception, however, Daniel Deronda did not lead to any significant number of American books dealing with a more multi-faceted picture of the Jew anywhere near the wide variety of Jewish characters that George Eliot was able to perceive. American novels tended to remain wedded to Sheva.

In 1886 Amelia Barr, a popular author, described a Sheva-like character in the person of Jacob Cohen, another money-lender, in her historical novel, Bow of Orange Ribbon. The tale, set in the early 1770s, concerned the adventures of a British officer Captain Hyde, who disdains the money lender. In spite of this treatment, Cohen, for no apparent reason, continually does good deeds for Hyde, culminated by saving his life by use of the legendary healing powers of the Jew. Finally, Hyde regrets his his prejudice and tells Cohen,"few men would have been as generous as you ...I have judged from tradition and misjudged you. Whether we meet again, we part as friends."[67]

Stuart Cumberland's The Rabbi's Spell (1888) was somewhat more complex. It reflected the increasing interest in the plight of the Russian Jews. The heroine is, as usual, the fair and voluptuous daughter of a money-lender, without a mother. Her father, Aaron, is neither dishonest or unjust, but he does charge his Russian and Polish neighbors a higher rate than his fellow Jews. Mira's love, Reza, is not approved by the father because he is poor, "he is not as one of our people. He loveth not to bargain or to trade, but rather to study and learn." Worse yet, Reza is not a strict Jew since he realizes that the peculiar Jewish religious

rites "were a fatal bar to proper intercourse with the Christians amongst whom they lived." The Chief Rabbi is a man of learning who, although he is heart broken by the injustices, refused to stir up ill-will. Aaron lends money to the local Count who murders him. There is an attack on the Jews, the "most law-abiding and harmless of subjects." By mysterious means, the murderer is discovered and dies on the very spot where he killed Aaron. The final scene is a ship "heavily laden" with over a thousand people, "mostly poor Hebrew folk freed from the tyranny of the Russians." It is bound for Canada, and among its passengers are Mira, Reza and the old Rabbi.[68]

The father in Cecily Sidgewick's Lesser's Daughter (1894)is "without any share of the commercial ambition that carries so many of his race towards prosperity." He inherited his money, differentiating him from other characters of this type. He married a wife of a "different race" who despises him. She is an anti-semite and a hypocrite. Lesser says to her, "You always talk of Jews as a white man talks of niggers...As you have married one, I call that bad style." Despite his "ugly Jewish features," he is a kindly man who "gave away a great deal especially to Jewish charities in need of help." He is not interested in his wife's social pretensions since, "the Jews have always been too separate from Christians of every class to take much account of their social traditions and jealousies."[69] Lesser dies saving his daughter's honor from a fake count foisted on her by her impossible mother.

Hezekiah Butterworth's In Old New England (1895) included a story about a legendary Jew, "Wych Hazel, the Jew," which is difficult to categorize, although its leading character is undoubtedly a "good" Jew. He is Abnerjonah, a very mysterious man who has suffered much misfortune.

"I am a Jew and have lost all my wealth which is my all in many folk's view; but I have something left in my heart." A scion of the old Jewish merchant families of Rhode Island, he believed in honesty and good deeds. When other merchants offered him an opportunity to increase his fortune by slave trade, he refused. His business failed and his former friends laid claim to his last ship. All he had left was his house and his beautiful daughter Leah. He became shabby and was "jeered in the streets" and forgotten by his friends. Yet he was able to save some money which his brother in Curacao invested. His beloved Leah died, but he became rich again. He asks all the merchants to whom he had been unable to repay debts to come to visit for Thanksgiving, the Feast of the Tabernacles. A dish before each of the merchants is heaped with Spanish gold coins. He declares fervently, "This pays you all my brothers...Let me give thanks again..." and he dies.[70] This rather odd story presented a very different and relatively unstereotyped Jewish merchant.

The Jewish hero in Caroline Willard's A Son of Israel (1898) is most unusual. He is a silversmith named David Rheba, a young man with red-gold hair, "warm hazel" eyes, and a "delicate and clear cut" nose. He is constantly referred to as a Jew who is not the usual type. A Christ-like image is clearly suggested in his appearance and saintliness. "The whole face was of the highest Eastern type with all its fire and mysticism." He marries a Christian serf, Olga, who overcomes her prejudices when she realizes that Jews are "the people of our Lord" who should not be treated cruelly. The villain of the story is a virulently anti-semitic Russian government official. The most unusual aspect is the depiction of poor Jews who were "crushed down, brutalized...they haven't one farthing to rub against the other."[71] Although David departs considerably from the

stereotype, he is Sheva-like in his willingness to do good deeds for those who have harmed him. It is interesting how consistently Christian authors endowed "good" Jews with the Christian ideal of turning the other cheek. Perhaps this was the only alternative they could see to Shylock's fearful urge for revenge.

Sometimes the Sheva figure was condescendingly delineated as a little terrified trembling type who had to gather up all his courage before he could perform his deeds of valor. In Richard Savage's Lost Countess Falka (1896) Faroe Moses is a great Turkish diamond dealer and the leader of an extensive spy organization. In spite of these impressive credentials, he is constantly referred to as "the timid old Jew." The hero realizes that he is basically honest, "for fear made him so." Still, Sheva-like he passionately declares, "the Christian maiden shall live! I swear it, even if I have to offer up my own life!"[72]

Barnabas Rosenblatt, a "little black-a-vised Jew" and Judith, his little lame daughter are residents of a Christian commune depicted in Caroline Atwater Mason's Woman of Yesterday. When Anna, the heroine, treats them kindly, Barnabas reacts with "quick instinctive gratitude." He warns the hero that Anna is sick. When the hero goes to her cabin to see, Barnabas, "with the action of a waiting watch-dog, humble, yet with a due sense of responsibility," stays near.[73] When the hero becomes paralyzed, they serve him like humble slaves. This treatment of the Jewish characters is more reminiscent of the descriptions of black servants in the literature of the time.

Many books emulated the original Sheva story and utilized both the stereotype of timidity and the Shylock image, reversed, to make the Jew a hero. A Jewish peddler named Saul Shemuel is constantly described as "a

Little Hebrew." He is a "greasy spectacle," "peeping up cunningly." He always "whines." Yet, it turns out that he is "just as handy with pistols as he is with needles." Although he is always frightened, he is unselfish in his devotion to the patriot-hero. When it appears that he has been killed, the hero offers this dubious obituary:

> The swift murder of the little peddler shocked me terribly... He had been a friend to me. For all his squalid weakness of limb, his natural fear of pain, his physical cowardice, he had not swerved from the service of his country, nor had he betrayed the confidence of the man whose peril imperiled himself... nothing save the innate love of liberty in his grotesque and dirty body had lured this errant child of Israel to risk his life...

However, despite the fact that he was last seen being brained by British soldiers, he is alive. "Under my hat I haff a capful of shillings," he explains. (Saved by the stereotype!) At the end of the book he disappears with his peddling gear in the midst of spirited combat. "Now who would have thought that little Jew would have cut away to make up time in trade?" the hero queries.[74] He has misjudged again, for Shemuel has actually gone to perform another noble deed for hero and heroine.

There were many other examples of that kind of ambiguity in attitude. One such case was an 1898 novel by Henry Gillman, Hassan, A Fellah. On the one hand, his viciousness in describing the Jewish section of Jerusalem is unequaled, "The people of whom the Lord has made a hissing and a byword... the iniquitous and abominable kindred..." They go about their business with the "keenness of vultures." Their cruel faces have "sharp piercing eyes with the acquisitive gleam." One of the rabbis is noteworthy for his "malicious aspect of face."[75] Yet the story itself concerns a hero who discovers he is half Jewish. His shock at this news is ascribed to "bigoted prejudice." His Jewish uncle is a real Sheva type, a grand old man, generous, unselfish and charitable beyond belief. Thus, one book encom-

passes within its pages stereotype and counter-stereotype of the most extreme kind.

The works of Harold Frederic exhbited ambivalence in a far more sophisticated way. In an early story, "The Jew's Christmas," Aaron Ashermeyer, an unusual combination of pawnbroker and Talmudic scholar, buys many Christmas presents and agrees to adopt an over-worked little orphan girl. He explains, "Upon such common holy ground as charity we an both stand, you the Christian, I the Jew."[76] Frederic produced an outstanding series of articles for the New York Times on the persecution of the Russian Jews in 1891, well-balanced and sensitive in their understanding of the situation. His 1898 novel, Gloria Mundi, is pro-Jewish in an ambiguous way, coupled with suggestions of Jewish power. One character, who appears to reflect an author's viewpoint, is frightened at the merciless precision of the Jews - "Is there anything they don't know?" The hero's great uncle Julius is not Jewish, but he married a great Jewish heiress and "he likes Jewish people of the right sort." He claims to have been made successful by his wife, "I married a woman so noble and clever and wise and strong, that I couldn't help becoming a decent sort of fellow in spite of myself." In her own house the stout, plain little woman "was revered as a kind of angel." The ideal society, which is the core of this book, focuses on the son, Emmanuel. In college, in the days of Disraeli and Daniel Deronda, his half-Jewishness "no doubt lent an added suggestion of romance." Emmanuel is a magnificent and beneficent person "with one extraordinary limitation...a Jewish limitation - for I have seen it pointed out that they do not invent things," but simply expand on the ideas of others. He sets up a utopian paternalistic village. The flaw is the lack of original concepts. "What you see in him is a

triumph of the Semitic passion for working a problem out to its ultimate conclusion."[77] The failure of his conservative attempt at paradise is traced to this "Jewish" weakness. Still, Frederic obviously liked Jews "of the right sort" and in his 1899 The Market Place condemned anti-semitism.

As a whole, however, the benevolent Jewish man, a character at least as popular as the evil usurer, was similar, in life style and preoccupation with money, to the villain. The difference was his extravagant and unintelligible benevolences. He was a product of the wishful feeling that the Jew would respond to persecution in a Christ-like way, blessing those who mistreated him, rather than exacting terrible vengeance.

## Jews on the Mind of New England: Judeophile and Anti-Semite

On July 31, 1818, the venerable former President, John Adams wrote a letter to the Mill Street Synagogue in New York on the consecration and dedication of its sanctuary. He said:

> I have had occasion to be acquainted with several gentlemen of your nation...whom I found to be men of as liberal minds, as much honor, probity, generosity and good breeding as I have known in any sect...I wish your nation may be admitted to all privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much, I wish it may do more...It has pleased the Providence of the 'first cause'...that Abraham should give religion, not only to the Hebrews, but to...the greatest part of the modern civilized world...[78]

This attitude was typical of a large segment of educated New Englanders. Probably no portion of the English-speaking world felt as distinctive a closeness to Jews and the Old Testament tradition, as the New Englanders, the founders of a "New Israel."

Edmund Wilson has pointed out that many Puritans regarded their faith as a kind of Judaism "transposed into Anglo-Saxon terms." Through

the nineteenth century the New Englanders' conviction persisted that Jews were a special people, chosen for a unique role by God. They felt that they too were a chosen people. Thus, Harriet Beecher Stowe described one character as a "Hebrew of Hebrews," and stated her conviction that New Englandbred "better Jews than Moses could." In Old Town Folks, she characterized the devotion of her grandfather to the Hebrew tradition, "No New Englander could really estimate how much of himself had actually been formed by the constant face-to-face intimacy with Hebrew literature ...(He) spoke of Zion and Jerusalem, of the God of Israel, the God of Jacob, as much as if my grandfather had been a veritable Jew."[79] Her own husband, Calvin Stowe, was a bearded, long haired Hebrew scholar who studied the Talmud and wore a skull cap. (This did not prevent her from including a Jewish slave trader in Uncle Tom's Cabin.)

Wilson feels that the Protestant of the Puritan tradition finds in Judaism, "the spiritual austerity he already knows, but not bedeviled... by the fear of a despotic deity who seems to favor or condemn by whim."[80] It is also true, however, that New Englanders tended to glorify the Jewish past. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, said, "The Hebrew nation compensated for the insignificance of its members and territory by its religious genius, its tenacious belief; its poems and histories cling to the soil of this globe like the primitive rocks..."[81] As philosemites, many of them revived forgotten legends of ancient Judaism, but they were not at all interested in the realities of American Jewish life.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was typical in this respect. Many of his works reflect Jewish themes. Sandolphin was based upon a Talmudic legend about the Angel of Prayer. Judas Maccabeus was a five act tragedy about that towering figure. In Tales of a Wayside Inn, several of the tales

are narrated by a Spanish Jew. Longfellow stressed the mysterious quality of the Jew. In that way he transformed an acquaintance, Isaac Edrehi, a staid Boston merchant, into a Spanish vender of rare silk for the romantic purposes of his poem:

> Like an old Patriarch he appeared
> .....
> With lustrous eyes and olive skin,
> And wildly tossed from cheeks and chin
> The tumbling cataract of his beard.[82]

In his famous poem, "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," written in 1852, Longfellow considered the centuries of persecution the Jews had suffered:

> How came they here? What merciless burst of Christian hate?
> What persecutions merciless and blind,
> Drove o'er the sea - that desert desolate
> These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind.
>
> They lived in narrow streets and lanes obscure
> Ghetto and Judenstrass in mirk and mire;
> Taught in the school of patience to endure
> The life of anguish and the death of fire.
>
> Pride and humiliation hand in hand
> Walked with them through the world where 'ere they went;
> Trampled and beaten were they as the sand
> And yet unshaken as the continent.

In the free atmosphere of the New World, however, Longfellow believed that the uniqueness of the Jew was dissolving. He was sad that they were fading, but he felt that their fate was sealed -- they would inevitably disappear into the American "melting pot:"

> And thus forever with reverted look
> The mystic volume of the world they read;
> Spelling it backward like a Hebrew book,
> Till life became a Legend of the Dead.
>
> But ah! what once has been shall be no more!
> The groaning earth in travail and in pain
> Brings forth its races, but does not restore,
> And the dead nations never rise again.[83]

Whittier also used Biblical and Talmudic themes in several of his poems such as "The Two Rabbins"and "Rabbi Ishmael." In the latter he

utilized an interesting passage in the Talmud which concerned the Hebraic concept of man blessing God. As a Christian, he was unable to accept, or perhaps even comprehend this idea, so he modified the whole point.[84]

When Lydia Maria Child visited a synagogue,[85] she still pictured Jews in their Biblical and patriarchal roles and was disappointed to see so many mundane individuals in the congregation. Yet, she still found "the people of the book" to be "deeply impressive" in their preservation of ancient forms. She also included a passionate defense of the Jews in her book on the different religions of the world.

Sometimes the New England stress upon legends about the mysterious Jew could lead to a genteel anti-semitism. Oliver Wendell Holmes described the struggle within himself to combat latent feelings of bigotry. He ascribed the problem to Puritan exclusivity which led them to stress the curse of the Jews in refusing the Gospel. "The old Calvinist spirit was almost savagely exclusive."[86] In Over the Teacups Holmes added that "The principal use of the Jews seemed to be to lend money, and to fulfill the predictions of the old prophets..." It was often true that the Jews "whom one found in our ill-favored and ill-flavored streets were apt to be unpleasant specimens of the race." But the Jews began to achieve outstanding things and "forced the world to recognize and accept them." Because the Jews did not accept Jesus, Christians "have insulted, calumniated, oppressed, abased, outraged" them. Years earlier, Holmes reported, he came to terms with those underlying feelings and was able to emerge with a truly brotherly spirit.[87] In later books he directed withering fire at anti-Jewish legends.

To some it appeared that the world was in danger of an imminent Jewish takeover. James Russell Lowell exhibited the most extreme example

of this mania. He admired the "universal ability of the Hebrew," but that ability appeared so formidable to him that Jews became a menace toward whom he directed morbid suspicions. The dichotomy in his attitude was revealed early in an 1847 review of Disraeli's Tancred.

> Seldom has the inner life been so aptly symbolized in the outward as in the case of the Jews....That the idolators of ceremony and tradition should become venders of old clothes, that the descendants of those who...would kneel before the golden calf, should be the money changers of Europe has in it something of syllogistic completeness.

Yet the article went on to defend the Jews against absurd prejudices. Humans needed someone to keep down. In America it was the Africans. "In Europe the Jews have long monopolized the responsible privilege of supplying an object for this particular craving of the supreme Caucasian nature." Disraeli believed that the Jewish mind still governed the world. Lowell agreed, but in a different sense: "Instead of absolute truth it accepts corrupt Hebrew gloss. The Jews were never able to look an organic truth full in the face...The Gospels are still too often read backward, after the Hebrew fashion."[88]

As he aged, Lowell's obsession with the Jews became greater. He wrote to Henry James, "All roads lead to Jerusalem at last."[89] In 1878 he remarked of Gambetta: "What has been the strength of his Jewish ancestors and...cousins...That they could always supply you with an accomodation at heavy interest. Where would a Jew be among a primitive society without pockets..." Yet, in the same year, he remarked about Disraeli, "I think a good deal of the prejudice against Beaconsfield is medieval!"[90] In his well known 1884 essay, "Democracy," he defended the Jews in somewhat ambivalent phrases. Emancipation had been denied to the Jews for centuries even though they were "a race in which ability seems as natural

and hereditary as the curve of their noses, and whose blood, furtively mingling with the bluest bloods of Europe, had quickened them..." They were driven, but they had their "revenge," as the mistreated often do. "They made their corner the counter and banking-house of the world, and thence they rule it with the ignobler scepter of finance."[91]

Lowell was fond of asserting that the genius of the Lowells came from remote Jewish ancestors. In 1892 Leslie Stephen commented on "his astonishing faculty for the detection of Jews...his ingenuity in discovering that everybody was in some way descended from the Jews..." Stephen concluded, "this was the only subject upon which I could conceive Lowell approaching within measurable distance of boring."[92]

Other genteel anti-semites were far less ambivalent. Henry Cabot Lodge was willing to grant the economic capacity of Jews, but believed they lacked "the nobler abilities which enable a people to rule and administer and to display that social efficiency in war, peace and government without which all else is vain."[93] Professor C.H. Toy of Harvard commented that Jews had personal and social habits which had grown unpleasant as the result of centuries of isolation. "Most Jews are socially untrained and their bodily habits are not good."[94]

Henry Adams and his brother Brooks were the best known of the upper class anti-semites. Henry Adams was obsessed with the Jewish menace. It became an integral part of his personality and was related to his difficulty in adjusting to modern society, his sense of alienation from an industrial capitalist America. The Jew, for him, symbolized the "economic man" who had succeeded despite all the obstacles in his path, while Adams, despite all his advantages, had failed. The Jew was bringing about the social and economic changes which endangered the privileged or-

ders. The Jew controlled politics, finance, and even journalism. Adams' anti-semitism was a part of his dismay at the disintegration of his world. This feeling was clearly expressed in The Education of Henry Adams. He remarked about himself: "His world was dead. Not a Polish Jew fresh from Warsaw or Cracow - not a furtive Yacoob or Ysaac still reeking of the ghetto, snarling a weird Yiddish to the officers of the customs - but had a keener instinct, an intenser energy and a freer hand than he - American of Americans..."[95] Such feelings were not frequently expressed in his published works. In fact, in his anonymously published novel, Democracy, the Schneidekoupons (an unkind name), "descended from all the Kings of Israel," are close friends of the heroine, and are not particularly unpleasant. In his private letters to friends, however, he felt free to give open expression to his intense emotions of disgust.[96]

One of the most interesting examples of the love-hate relationship many New Englanders felt for Jews was that of John Jay Chapman. At the end of the nineteenth century few people expressed a more passionate regard for Jews. "There is a depth of human feeling in the Jew that no other race ever possessed...What monstrous perversion that we should worship their God and despise themselves!" He felt that the history of the Jews was the most remarkable of all peoples in the world, "...and I feel this same power in the Jews I know. They are the most humane and the strongest people morally, mentally and physically..."[97] Despite expressions such as these, Chapman gradually shifted from faith to fear of a Jewish conspiracy. This change in attitude was precipitated by encountering a large, loud group of German Jews when he vacationed in Atlantic City. It evidently was a traumatic experience for him to discover Jews who did not measure up to their Biblical ancestors. Edmund Wilson re-

marks that perhaps the Jews succeeded too well in convincing the world (and particularly the descendants of the New England Puritans) of their privileged relation to God. New England visionaries assumed that there was something supernatural about the Jewish people. It would startle them to realize that Jews were merely human beings. For the apocalyptic mind this simple explanation for the faults of real Jews would be difficult to accept.[98] For some this would lead to the anti-semitism of a disappointed lover.

As the poverty-stricken Jews of Eastern Europe came in ever increasing masses, New England gentility was offended, There were some like Charles Eliot Norton, Edward Everett Hale and Thomas Higginson who were more sympathetic and opposed restriction of immigration, a movement directed against Eastern Jews to a large degree. Henry and William James' sister Alice was disgusted by the attitudes of her friends who favored restriction: "What a spectacle!...the Anglo-Saxon races addressing remonstrances to the Czar against expelling Jews from Russia, at the very moment when their governments are making laws to forbid their immigration."[99] Her brother William agreed, hoping that "the Anglo-Saxon race would drop its sniveling cant."[100]

The attitude of their brother, the great novelist Henry James was more typical of the distaste felt by aristocratic New Englanders for the new Jewish immigrants. Even upper class Jews were treated with condescension. In an 1896 story, "Glasses," Jews were described vacationing at Folkstone, a very fashionable resort, "There were thousands of little chairs and almost as many little Jews; and there was music in open rotunda, over which the little Jews wagged their big noses."[101] Around the turn of the century James was taken for a tour of the Jewish section of

New York. He described his experiences in The American Scene. James praised the intellectual vigor of the Jewish people and their ability to survive. "The unsurpassed strength of the race permits the chopping into myriads of fine fragments without loss of race quality." But one can detect more than a faint trace of queasiness in the description of the crowded streets of New York, "There is no swarming like that of Israel... the signs and sounds immitigable...of a Jewry that had burst all bounds ...here was multiplication with a vengeance..." There was certainly a sense of fear in the discussion of "the extent of the Hebrew conquest" of New York and of the "New Jerusalem."[102]

New England conceived of itself as having a unique relationship with the Jewish people. But the Jews they imagined were the figures of the Old Testament. Of the real Jews in America, they knew almost nothing. That these should be merely ordinary people disturbed them deeply. Sometimes this gap between their expectations and the realities of life led them into anti-semitism. Sometimes the Jew appeared, not as an Old Testament prophet, but as a representative of the forces of decay in the deferential society they loved and expected. This caused the change from the "honor, probity, generosity and good breeding" in the description of John Adams to the "rotten, unsexed, swindling, lying Jews" of his grandson, Brooks. If the German-Jewish businessman disturbed them, the Eastern Jewish worker living in overcrowded slums would cause a fastidious distaste. Few were able to sense the excitement and intellectual vigor that impressed Hutchins Hapgood in his 1902 classic, The Spirit of the Ghetto. Few could even understand the ferment in Yiddish poetry, journalism and theater, or care in any way.

## Melville's Clarel: Judaism and the Search for Faith

Herman Melville was the only major American writer in the nineteenth century to include a serious consideration of Jews and Judaism in one of his works. For the most part his descriptions and discussions were singularly unprejudiced and unstereotyped, although it cannot be said that they reflected any real interest in contemporary Jewish life in America. Melville had a great deal of knowledge about the Old Testament, much of which may have come from the Calvinist orthodoxy of his mother (as his lack of prejudice may have stemmed from his father's Unitarianism). One analyst of his work comments, however, that Melville had read a great deal more than the Old Testament in his study of the Hebrew religion.[103] Lewis Mumford stresses, "In the period of his own discomposure, the black aphorisms of Solomon, Koheleth and Jesus Ben-Sirach and the bitter plaints of Job, were closer to him than anything else in literature...he had stood on the brink of madness: looking in the Bible for comfort, Melville had found in the greatest Jewish writers, only a confirmation of his own fears and exasperations." These sayings "deepened his sympathy with Jewish culture, and in the sense that they carried the same burden as his own, they lessened his load."[104]

In 1857 Melville went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, in the words of one of his biographers, out of a "still more special longing for the Biblical, the Hebraic, the Judean past...Few men's minds have been more richly stored than Melville's with the imagery of Biblical stories, of the Old Testament record especially: it had been woven into the fabric of his imagination from earliest childhood...it was a permanent point of reference for his spirit."[105] The gloomy desolation of the land pro-

foundly oppressed Melville. "The landscape of Judea must have suggested to the Jewish prophets their ghastly theology," he wrote in his journal of the trip. And again, more ironically and sympathetically, "Is the desolation of the land the result of the fatal embrace of the deity? Hapless are the favorites of heaven."[106] Nevertheless, Melville used many of the sights he witnessed and the people he met in the Holy Land in Clarel, written years later, and published in 1876.

Clarel is a difficult book written in verse about the search for truth. A young divinity student, tormented by doubts, Clarel goes to Jerusalem as a kind of "pilgrim-infidel." According to Mumford, he has come "thinking to find from an older race, the Jews, with a remoter history, some clue to the unsettled and uneasy state in which he lives and some path of development which will lead again to wholeness."[107] While there, he falls in love with Ruth, an American Jewess. Mumford feels that Clarel fell in love with a Jewish maid just as Melville had fallen in love with ancient Jewish thought.[108] Her father is an early day Zionist who has settled in Palestine. He is eventually killed by hostile Arab raiders. During the period of mourning, Clarel is forbidden by Jewish custom to see his love. In a combination of grief and restlessness, he sets out on a pilgrimage through the countryside with a widely assorted group of companions who represent various points of view about life. On his return, he finds that Ruth has died of fever and grief. The fulfilment that Clarel had hoped to find with her, he must now find within himself with only her memory to comfort him. He faces an even more uncertain future alone, after having discovered that Jerusalem is no city of God.

We have seen that the character of Ruth is the stereotyped one of

the beautiful Jewess, but without the usual sexual allure. In fact, of all the beautiful Jewesses in American literature, she is probably the most suggestive of Mary's virginal saintliness. Ruth, with her innocence and purity, provides a good example of Melville's inability to deal with the realities of heterosexual love. She is a reflection of Clarel's naivete. She never materializes as a real person, but remains a dream of the female, symbol rather than woman. She is constantly referred to as a "light," or a "rose" or a "dove:"

> A dove she seemed, a temple dove[109]
> Born in the temple or its grove.

She is half child. Her mother fondles her while she rests her head on her mother's lap like a child. She dies because there is not much that one can do with a girl who walks around in white robes and a veil.

The other Jewish characters, however, are far less conventional. Ruth's father, Nathan is an American Zionist. His is a study of American doubt and struggle to believe. (He is patterned after Warder Cresson who Melville met in Jerusalem.) He was born of Puritan parents, but deserted Christian orthodoxy. He had read the Deists and had fallen into pantheism. Then he met and fell in love with Agar, a Jewess. She asked, "Wilt join my people?" To his parched and unsatisfactory paganism, Agar's faith came like rain in a drought. He converted out of love, reasoning that if man looks behind his present crumbling faith, " rear - wall shows far behind Rome and Luther - what? The crag of Sinai..." And yet his heart was receptive to her words:

> Still as she dwelt on Zion's story
> All things but these seemed transitory -
> Love and his love's Jerusalem.

As the years went by his doubts returned to plague him. To still them he turned passionately to Zionism:

> Here was an object; up and do!
> With seed and tillage help renew -
> Help reinstate the Holy Land.

Melville perceptively noted that many Jews "loyally maintain the dream" and salute Passover with "Next Year in Jerusalem." Nathan holds to his dream fanatically despite attacks by the Arabs, the death of one of his children, and the pleas of his wife to return to America.[110] One gets the feeling that Melville did not like Nathan, but he respected the character's single minded devotion to an ideal.

Ruth's mother Agar left America willingly to go with her husband and children to Jerusalem. She is a representative of the good domestic woman, subordinate to her husband's wishes. Her strong points are sentiment and virtuousness; she lacks any real powers to reason on her own. She is an ideal Victorian woman and Jewish mother. To Clarel, who never knew his own mother, she provides a substitute mother. The Biblical Hagar was a slave, in fact, and the name means "in bondage with her children." She is nearer in spirit to Clarel, the American, than to the religious figures around her. She yearns for freedom. She was happy at home in America with her cloth lovingly embroidered in Hebrew, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem" - just a nebulous dream for the future. That was her paradise. But her husband has a need to try "to realize the unreal." This was not Agar's reasoning, "She did but feel, true woman's way, what solace from the desert win, far from known friends, familiar kin?"[111] She remains loyal and, when her husband dies, she too dies of grief. She is a unique character in nineteenth century American fiction - a Jewish mother (old men and their beautiful daughters had been the norm) who stands for what Melville considered to be the maternal and wifely virtues.

There are also several minor Jewish characters who add to the rich-

ness of the book. Abdon is the host at the inn in Jerusalem. He is a "Black Jew" from Cochin where "his kin, never from true allegiance torn, kept Moses' law." After a successful career as a trader in Amsterdam, he came to Jerusalem to end his life at home, and to be buried with his ancestors. He carries all the symbols of the Jewish faith: mezuzah, tallis, scroll. Although he is resigned to disillusionment, he is never given to self-pity or cynicism. He represents experience through age and the virtues of ancient orthodoxy. Clarel notices him among the pilgrims at the Wailing Wall and thinks, "Yon Jew has faith, can faith be vain?"[112] Later his doubts return. Abdon is the only old Jew in the book, and he is most certainly not a villain or a comic miser, or even a benevolent stereotype.

Clarel also encounters a gay young French Jew who is a traveling salesman from Lyons. He has come to Bethlehem to have fun with the pretty girls. He shares a room with Clarel for a night. He is the one who makes the jesting remarks about the power of beautiful Jewesses quoted earlier. He represents extravagance, carefree youth and a light-hearted, strangely innocent sensualism. His sensuality is a temptation to Clarel in both homosexual and heterosexual aspects. Even more interestingly, he ignores his Jewish heritage and hides it, reflecting perhaps Clarel's own need to deny his spiritual heritage. A Russian traveler later informs Clarel that the Lyonnaise is a Jew. Clarel remarks that he does not look much like a Hebrew. "Enough to badge him," the Russian responds. Clarel, very puzzled, asks, "Very well, but why should he the badge repel?" The Russian explains that society "is not quite catholic, retains some prejudice" and a Jew must "either melt in or be separate."[113] In these few words, Melville put his finger on the Jewish dilemma of isolation or

assimilation. Clarel begins to consider the possibility that he has stayed away from Ruth because of her Jewishness, unconsciously.

The one unpleasant Jewish character is the geologist Margoth. More comic than villainous, he represents a savage dissection of scientific materialism. He is described as short and round shouldered, and as powerful as the hammer which is always in his hand. There are no mysteries to Margoth: science is everything. He is antagonistic to all "theologic myth." He drinks of the Jordan River and spits it out in disgust. To him the Dead Sea is nothing more than a geological fact. He loves to refute the Bible and to suggest the building of railroads on all sorts of sacred sites. He is an enemy to all the values of all the other pilgrims, even the rational Rolfe (Melville). Margoth represents Melville's own quarrel with materialism and atheism. He is first seen carrying limestone:

> This now is a Jew -
> German I deem - but readvised -
> An Israelite, say Hegelized -
> Convert to science, for but see
> The hammer, yes, geology.

His is constantly portrayed as "the busy Jew with chemic lamp aflame, trying some shrewd experiment." Considerable point is made of Margoth being a Jew, but Melville specifically states that no criticism of Jews should be implied, "if stigma then survive, elsewhere let such satire thrive - Not here." Here, he says, we are making the opposite point. "In picturing Margoth, fallen son of Judah. Him may Gabriel mend."[114] In fact, the criticism of Margoth is not that he is a Jew, but that he is an apostate, a cynic and an unbeliever.

Melville was particularly effective in describing Jewish customs, ritual and quality of life. These are not presented as exotic or ro-

mantic. Thus, the unextinguished lamp burns, for it may not be quenched on Saturday, "the unaltered Sabbath of the Jew." Agar's family had maintained its Judaism and clung to the lore of Moses though far from the Holy Land. Their Jewish heritage was precious to them:

> 'Twas Eld's romance, a treasured store
> Like plate inherited. In fine
> It graced in seemly way benign
> That family feeling of the Jew,
> Which hallowed by each priestly rite,
> Makes home a temple - sheds delight
> Naomi ere her trial knew.[115]

What a contrast this presents to pictures of miserly money-lenders living in secret Oriental splendor!

The world has changed and, one of the pilgrims remarks, Jews have taken part in that change in science in countries like Holland, "that historic home of erudite Israel." In spite of all changes, Rolfe (who represents Melville himself) believes:

> Nor less the Jew keep fealty
> To ancient rites. Aaron's gemmed vest
> Will long outlive Genevan cloth -
> Nothing in time's old camphor chest
> So little subject to the moth.[116]

Melville showed an awareness of movements within Judaism such as the reforms of Hillel, the Essenes, and the bold ideas of Moses Mendelssohn. He was particularly sensitive to the early Zionist feelings, even though he was convinced that Zionists he had met were "preposterous; half melancholy, half farcical."[117] In his journal he commented, "In the emptiness of the lifeless antiquity of Jerusalem, the emigrant Jews are like flies that have taken their abode in a skull." He dismissed dreams of setting up a nation of Jewish farmers in Palestine. "In the first place, Judea is a desert...In the second...the Jews hate farming...Besides the numbers of Jews in Palestine is comparatively small. And how are the hosts of

them scattered in other lands to be brought here? Only by a miracle."[118] Clarel, however, cannot help but respond to the sight of pilgrims by the Wailing Wall, shut out from the gate by the Turks. With sighs and groans, they cry, "To be restored! We wait, long wait." They live in Palestine in dismal poverty. Groups hang out in the streets with nothing to do at home. How can they live and get enough bread to survive? "In almost every country known, rich Israelites these kinsmen own: the hat goes round the world."[119]

The only condemnation of Jews occurs when Ruth's father dies. Clarel, rushing to her side, is informed, "That never Jewish modes relent; sealed long would be the tenement to all but Hebrews..." (The existence of this custom has not been verified.) It would appear to be an invention to further the melodramatic aspects of the story. When Ruth dies, Clarel blames, "your tribe - 'twas ye denied me access to this virgin's side." Nevertheless, in his bitterness, he rejects not Judaism, but all belief: "And here's the furl of Nathan's faith: then perish faith - 'tis perjured."[120] Melville himself found it impossible to accept either the solution of Judaism or of historic Christianity.

In many ways Clarel was remarkable for its time. Judaism, Jewish customs and characters were intertwined with Clarel's search for faith, although they were not central to the book. With one exception (Ruth), the characters were not Jewish stereotypes. Melville had a long mystical experience with Jewish thoughts. His biographers do not mention any Jewish friends or the reading of any particular books about Jews as they then lived in America. Nevertheless, there is a tolerance and understanding that goes beyond any other American book of this period, a reflection, perhaps, of a great and wide ranging mind.

## Novels About Real Jews: Sidney Luska, Abraham Cahan and Others

In many ways it is fair to say that "Sidney Luska" created the Jewish American novel and novelist. He was hailed by spokesmen of Jewish culture and by William Dean Howells as an authentic interpreter of Jewish life in America. But, in fact, Sidney Luska was really Henry Harland, a discontented, "alienated" Protestant. As Leslie Fiedler remarks, "There is a certain irony in the fact that the first Jewish American novelist was not a Jew at all, or that, more precisely, he was the creation of his own fiction, an imaginary Jew."[121] In New York Harland had become acquainted with Felix Adler, the founder of the Ethical Culture Society. He entered German Jewish society and saturated himself with everything Jewish. His books featured Jewish viewpoints and themes, and included carefully documented Jewish customs and rituals. Harland's biographer quotes Van Wyck Brooks, "In this exile world of old country merchants, artisans, teachers, rabbis and beggars, whatever one had known at home was turned upside down...The contrasts, the mysteries and surprises one encountered ...might have furnished Henry Harland with a thousand tales."[122] At the height of his fame, Sidney Luska shaved his beard, became Henry Harland again, and fled America. He ended his life as a Catholic in France, denying he had ever heard of Sidney Luska.

As It Was Written (1885) was his first novel. It was a success, selling 50,000 copies. The heroine, Veronika, ia a typical Jewess of fiction, described in an earlier section. Ernest Neumann, a Jewish musician is engaged to her, but she is murdered. He is blamed, then finally acquitted. He drifts around in sorrow for a few years. Finally, he meets a kindly gentile who congratulates him on being a Jew: "I should be

proud of my lineage if I were a Jew...I believe the whole future of America depends upon the Jews." This was always the heart of Harland's message. The Jewish element had to be amalgamated to leaven the whole and color the mixture in America. It would add "a dose of rich strong wine. It will give fire and flavor." This element would cause America to produce great music, art and poetry.[123] There was an underlying threat in the midst of all this extravagant praise. What would happen if the Jew refused the necessary assimilation which was the first step in the creation of a better America? From the beginning, a current of hostility lurked beneath the extreme Judeophile surface of Harland's works. Ernest Neumann, the supposed "new Man," praised by his gentile friend, turns out to be capable only of destruction. He discovers that he actually did kill Veronika while possessed by the vengeful spirit of his father who hated her as the descendent of an enemy. (The lust for revenge was widely considered a Jewish failing.) The New York Times reviewer of this book, unlike most observers, realized immediately that the author was not a Jew. "It is an eminently Christian whim...to attribute to the Jews various magnificent characteristics over which the latter smile."[124]

Mrs. Peixada (1886) tackled the theme of intermarriage more directly. Arthur Ripley, a young Christian lawyer, takes a case in which he is to locate Mrs. Peixada who has murdered her husband and been acquitted. She is a stereotyped beautiful Jewess with eyes "that your gaze can delve deep into and discern a light shimmering at the bottom." He tells her that Jews are "the kindest-hearted and clearest-minded people one meets." Then he informs her, "I am glad that there is a tendency among the better educated Jews to cut loose from their Judaism. I want to see them inter-

marry with Christians...and help to form the American people of the future. That of course is their destiny." Mrs. Peixada replies, "I should like him to retain the name of Jew until it has grown to be a term of honor," but she agrees that destiny lies in the direction of amalgamation. Not knowing who she is, Arthur Ripley marries her. Later he discovers that she had killed her husband in self-defense after a terrible marriage in which she had been "bought" to satisfy her father's debt. Her husband was a pawnbroker and the personification of all the evil ever attributed by Christian writers to Jews. He had, "a hawk's beak for a nose, a hawk's baek inverted for a chin; lips, two thin blue lines across his face with yellow fangs behind them...fit features of a bird of prey ..."[125] This monstrous figure was, in spite of appearance, a leading figure in the synagogue and community. He was also responsible for a Fagin-like organization of criminals. Thus, the author who claimed to write about "real" Jews, included the most devastating stereotype in his book. The novel does provide a fleeting glance at the hearty German-Jewish bourgeoisie. Strangely, Mrs. Peixada's new husband turns out to be a weakling who faints in the midst of her tribulations with the law. The books ends with her nursing him back to health, in an unconsciously ironic comment on this "ideal" intermarriage. The Times' reviewer concluded, "The story of Jewish life in New York, the true realistic one has yet to be written."[126]

Harland's best and most famous book of this period was The Yoke of the Thorah (1887). Here Harland's views on intermarriage received their fullest expression. A young Jewish artist, Elias, falls in love with a golden haired Christian beauty. He had been brought up by his uncle, an Orthodox Rabbi. Every influence made him "intensely a Jew." Racial

antipathy towards gentiles had been "reinforced by the terrors of a supernatural religion." His uncle assures him that God will prevent the match, and, when he has an epileptic seizure at the wedding ceremony, he takes it as a sign his uncle was right and leaves her. The uncle says of the girl, "She is a Christian...despised and abominated of the Lord...Now she must bear her punishment."[127] Elias marries the pretty but crude daughter of German-Jewish merchants. Although she is kind and good, he cannot love her. Having rejected the union with gentiles which would have been his redemption, Elias dies hoping to catch a glimpse of her former love. The novel stirred great bitterness among many of the Jews of New York. They felt that their former champion, a man who had lived among them and even written for their papers, had attacked their beliefs. Harland was astonished at their reaction. He himself did not understand the latent anti-semitism under the surface of his philo-semitic stories. He repeated his basic viewpoint: "If Jews care to see an end to the prejudice...they have it in their power to do so. Let them cease to be exclusive; let them associate freely with their Gentile neighbors..."[128]

There was a real value in The Yoke of the Thorah, however. It did present genuine German-Jewish merchants. The Morgenthaus, the Blums and the Kochs are not projections of Anglo-Saxon hatred or guilt feelings; they are people. They talk too loud and "their grammar isn't of the choicest." They love good food and match making. They are coarse and vulgar, sentimental and platitudinous. But they are also "thoroughly good and wholesome...the core is sound and sweet."[129] They are not artists and musicians whose amalgamation will save America, but they are human. Their presence is so lively and vigorous that Elias, who represents the author's hopes for the future, almost completely disappears in

their presence. This was probably the only genuine genre study of German Jewish life in nineteenth century America. Interestingly, the Jewish press objected to the portrayal of uncouth Jewish merchants almost as strenuously as it did to the picture of the bigoted rabbi.

The Yoke of the Thorah was widely, and generally favorably, reviewed. The New York Times critic remarked that the author had "a predilection for Jewish subjects," but found this book far superior to his earlier works. Now, it was felt, Luska was no longer superficial and was far more observant. Luska was "very good natured to the Jews. If he does smile at them, he does it in a kindly way." The dialogues were "humorous and truthful." The reviewer added, "Free thinking Judaism is pure monotheism, despises superstition, but an agnostic Jew is an impossibility."[130] The New York Tribune was more enthusiastic, Luska was called, "a gifted young writer," capable of analyzing emotions with zeal. Against the hero's love was not only the "instinct of race and religion, but the fierce prohibition of that unwritten code of law called the Thorah with which Orthodox Judaism has supplemented the Law of Moses (!)...In our day and country probably it is only the strictest of Hebrews who think of respecting all its denunciations." Intermarriage is particularly threatened "with terrific curses...It is contamination of the race for whose preservation in purity God created and maintained the world." The humor of Jewish society was delightful in a close and successful study of Jewish life among "middle class traders" who have risen from "humble beginnings." They were prosperous and experienced the "pains of learning grammar and other refinements of an artificial society." With kindly eyes, he did "full justice to their domestic virtues, their generosity, their charity and their open hearts." Unlike the Jewish critics, this

reviewer felt that the bondage to the Thorah was treated as "an exceptional survival of obsolete beliefs. For the Jews as a body he evidently has a liking..."[131]

Harland wrote one more complete book on the theme of German Jews, without any editorials in support of his assimilation views. It was a boy's story, Uncle Florimond (1888). A young French orphan, who is proud of his distant noble uncle Florimond, meets a kindly Jewish "trummer... a voolen salesman," Solomon Marx. He runs away from a cruel uncle and is taken in by Solomon's father-in-law, "one of the pleasantest looking old gentlemen I had ever seen in my life."[132] This delightful version of the benevolent Jew stereotype gives the boy a job and sends him to City College. Finally, the aristocratic old uncle comes to visit from France. He turns out to be threadbare and poverty-stricken, and he also moves in with the old Jew. The boy marries a nice Jewish girl, and everyone lives happily ever after. This was an obvious attempt to placate the Jewish community. The American Hebrew was pleased. Both Jewish characters, it felt, were "large-hearted and generous to a fault." However, it commented, "The dialect of the younger man is hardly as permissible as in the case of the elder."[133] The reviewer in the Tribune felt that the two Jews "in fact are, while not cultured or refined, thoroughly estimable and amiable."[134]

In May 1888 Lippincott's Monthly Magazine published Harland's "Mr. Sonnenschein's Inheritance," one of the first American genre stories about poor Jews, (Harland included this tale in his 1889 collection of short stories, A Latin Quarter Courtship and Other Stories.) A poor German Jew is the hero, but the story included some ominous stereotypes of the newer "Polish" Jews. Mr. Sonnenschein is an old, white-haired, bent

man who is in the "paittling business." "Swinging his head from side to side in that peculiarly Jewish manner," he says, "but I ain't naifer mait no money...I was a rekular schlemiel." He lives in a tenement with his crippled daughter and peddles her hideous needle work in a simple-minded and optimistic way. His rich twin brother in Germany dies and leaves him "terventy-nine tousand, seven hoonert tollars." Since he realizes that he is a "schlemiel," he refuses to invest it, reasoning that the bank would collapse or the stock would fail. He puts the money in his friend Levinson's "burglar-proof safe" in a second-hand store. The store burns and his money is supposedly destroyed. The gentile hero asks the fire marshal if there was anything suspicious in the fire. The marshal replies, "Whenever a fire occurs in a premise occupied by a gentleman of Mr. Levinson's race, class and profession, I may say it is suspicious. These low-class Polish Jews think no more of setting a fire than they do of lying." Levinson is called in. He has a "sallow complexion and low, squat, oily features... about his mouth flickered a conciliatory smirk. These low class Polish Jews" were all "unspeakable." This one "soiled the atmosphere of the room..." The money is recovered, Levinson goes to jail, and the hero's father invests the money for Mr. Sonnenschein, providing him with a nice annual income. Sonnenschein takes care of Levinson's wife and children. "Though a Jew by birth and faith, he is as good a Christian as most of the professing ones."[135] Both the Sheva and Shylock stereotype appear in this story. The unusual aspect of it was that Sheva was an incompetent businessman and lived in conditions of poverty. Few other writers of fiction recognized the existence of such Jews.

Grandison Mather (1889) was Harland's last book to include German Jews. The hero, Thomas Gardner, is a writer who quite clearly repre-

sents Harland himself. When he and his wife lose their money, they find inexpensive lodgings with a German Jewish family, the Grickels. Tom comments that "it doesn't correspond very well with the popular idea of the Jewish character, the way she lowered her price to suit our means. That wasn't very Jewy." His wife answers, "very likely the popular ideas of the Jews are absurd." The father, Raphael Grickel is obviously Felix Adler, the man through whom Harland had become interested in the German Jewish community. Grickel doesn't look very Jewish except for his "Jewish eyes," which "shone with a certain intense, wistful light, half sorrowful, half passionate, such as I have never observed in any eyes but those of a Jew or Jewess." He believes in the teachings of Christ, and considers Jesus "the greatest of the prophets." He has founded the "Society for Humane Culture," obviously based upon the Ethical Culture Society. "The Christians despise him as worse than a Jew, and the Jews rate him as an apostate," but Tom and his wife become followers. There is also a passing reference to Harland's favorite theme of intermarriage. The heroine introduces Grickel's daughter to Tom's friend, and they are married. When Tom raises objections to intermarriage, his wife responds, "Miss Lina was telling me this morning how a great many Jews were opposed to the two races intermarrying; but she said that her people felt quite the other way, and were in favor of it."[136]

This was the last reference to New York's German Jewish community in Harland's works. He left for England and continued writing under his real name. Later, he moved to France where he made a name as a distinguished Catholic writer with a best-seller, The Cardinal's Hat. He became friendly with the European aristocracy. His later books contained passing unflattering comments about Jews in the manner of the upper classes. He never acknowledged his former identity as "Sidney Luska."

Certainly Harland's work included many of the standard stereotyped characters. He had an obsessive need to encourage amalgamation of the Jew in the ethnic mixture of America. His works tended to be extremely melodramatic. Nevertheless, he did present the only picture of real American Jews to be found in popular fiction up to that time. He could also be considered the founder of the American Jewish novel in that he defined what was to be the over-riding theme of Jewish novels through the 1920s: that is the ambivalent mixture of desire for assimilation and fears of destruction through intermarriage.

If Harland presented the only realistic picture of German Jews in America, Edward King's Joseph Zalmonah (1894) included the only attempt by a non-Jew to describe the real life of the Eastern European Jewish immigrant. King taught at the Educational Alliance where he could see his subjects first hand. He was a Comtian Positivist and a friend of Abraham Cahan. The book was based upon the life of the labor leader Joseph Barondess. It is a melodramatic tale of the struggle by the hero to improve garment industry working conditions, while avoiding socialist extremism. Joseph is forced to fight a false criminal charge (as was the real Barondess) and to resist the wiles of an anarchist femme fatale. The story is not very convincing or well constructed, but it does present a realistic portrayal of the life of the "vast colony of Russian and Polish Jews which has taken possession of a whole quarter of the metropolis." The customs of the Eastern Jews are accurately described and their problems in living in America sympathetically presented. Joseph declares that he must fight "for the good of our poor people...what have we found here? A slavery more dreadful than that we left at home." One of the characters, Ben Zion, is a good natured peddler whose life consists of

"seventeen hours of unremitting daily toil." When his wife arrives from Europe, Joseph is saddened that she "must be told that the misery into which they had fallen in New York was almost as deep as that they had left behind them."[137] In this book, despite its weaknesses, all the heroes and villains are Jews, and none is a standard stereotype.

These few books exhaust the realistic portrayals of Jews by non-Jews in the nineteenth century. There was a need for a Jewish writer to identify and utilize materials from the lives of real American Jews. It is astonishing to discover the paucity of Jewish writers in nineteenth century America who were willing to write about the Jewish experience. (We are so accustomed to a literature in which American Jewish writers play a major role.) The earlier Jewish immigrants achieved their successes largely in commerce and small industry, and produced precious little literary activity. With the exception of Emma Lazarus, their few works were almost never read by non-Jews, and, therefore, had no impact on the image of the Jew in America. It was not until the advent of the Eastern European Jews that there was the kind of intellectual ferment to produce a flourishing Yiddish literature, and, in the twentieth century, American Jewish English literature as well.

Abraham Cahan, who had immense significance as a journalist within the Jewish community, became the foremost interpreter of the Russian Jew to the gentile world. He wrote many articles about Eastern European Jews in American periodicals which will be discussed in a later section. He was also the real originator of American Jewish fiction. His great work was the 1917 novel, The Rise of David Levinsky. His first novel was Yekl, published in 1896. This was the first significant American Jewish novel, a gem of realism. The hero is Jake, a cloak worker, Three years earlier

he left his wife and child in Russia and came to America. After three years, "the thought of ever having been a Yekl would bring to Jake's lips a smile of patronizing commiseration for his former self." The book is filled with marvelous descriptions of the ghetto, "a seething human sea fed by streams, streamlets and rills of immigration flowing from all the Yiddish speaking centres of Europe." Here one could find "specimens of all the whimsical metamorphoses wrought upon the children of Israel of the great modern exodus." There is a delightful picture of a dance academy and the teaching of "social graces." When Jake's wife, Gitl, comes to New York, his heart sinks at her "uncouth and un-American appearance." She is a "wigged, dowdyish little greenhorn." Gradually, Jake comes to regard her as an obstacle. He turns to Mamie, his Americanized dancing partner. He begins to hate his wife with her submissiveness and culinary skills. Finally, they agree to a divorce. A few months have passed and Gitl has that "peculiar air of self-confidence with which a few months of life in America is sure to stamp the looks and bearing of every immigrant."[138] Jake has won, but his wife returns home to an offer of marriage by a man who likes good cooking, and Jake marries Mamie, entrapped again. Despite its slightness and unwillingness to face the real misery of the ghetto, this book did evoke the mood of the ghetto. It showed the impact of America on the life of the ordinary immigrant Jew. In his later stories Cahan dropped the caricaturized dialect which marred Yekl.

Yekl was not particularly successful, but it did launch Cahan on the American literary scene. A review by Nancy H. Banks in the Bookman remarked that the book had been "unreservedly praised" by many outstanding critics. She conceded that it contained fresh material and presented a vivid picture. Yet, she wondered, "does Mr. Cahan wish us to believe

that the types represented in this book are truly representative of his race? That it is as sordid, as selfish, as mean, as cruel, as degraded as he has shown it to be?" She was repelled and missed "what Mr. Zangwill's sympathetic portrayals have revealed - that dignity of faith which compels respect from Christians; that helpfulness of each other which shames the selfishness of the Gentile." Instead, she complained, we have frank revelations of "racial weaknesses."[139] However, William Dean Howells viewed the book far more favorably in the New York World in the Sunday edition of July 26, 1896. Under the title, "New York Low Life in Fiction," Howells reviewed Yekl along with a book by Stephen Crane. The headline read, "The Great Novelist Hails Abraham Cahan, the Author of 'Yekl' as a New Star of Realism..." The review appeared on posters throughout New York saying that Howells had discovered a great young writer. Howells declared that Cahan's "sense of character is as broad as his sense of humor is subtle and deep." He added, "He sees things with American eyes, and he brings in aid of his vision the far and rich perceptions of his Hebraic race."[140] This made Cahan a celebrity. Articles about him began to appear, including a long biographical piece in the Boston Sunday Press, September 17, 1896.

Probably as a result of this publicity, Cahan had several stories published in prestigious magazines. "A Ghetto Wedding," in the February 1898 issue of Atlantic Monthly dramatized the meaning of poverty in the ghetto. "The Ghetto was groaning under a long season of enforced idleness and distress." The peddlers were "piteous testimony to the calamity ...driven...by the hopeless dearth of employment in their own trades." Nathan was a cap blocker who hadn't worked full time in over two years, so he peddled. Goldy had a little work at knee breeches. They kept put-

ting off their wedding , but their savings continued to dwindle. Finally they decide to spend all their money on a grand wedding to get fine presents and set up housekeeping. They sit and wait for their gifts, but the wedding room, with places set for 150, has only twenty guests. "The greater number of invited friends were kept away by lack of employment; some having their presentable clothes in the pawnshop; others avoiding the expense of a wedding present..." They had spent every cent, now they had no money, no furniture and no guests. Still in their wedding attire, they return to the empty rooms they had rented to set up housekeeping. As they pass a saloon, hooligans throw vegetables and yell, "look at dem ...A sheeny feller and his bride." But they proceed hand in hand through the "sombre impoverished street...a stream of happiness uniting them... a blissful sense of oneness."[141]

This story appeared with several other published tales by Cahan in an 1898 book, The Imported Bridegroom and Other Stories of the New York Ghetto. These included, "A Providential Match" and "A Sweatshop Romance," both of which appeared in Short Stories in 1895 and "Circumstance" which Cosmopolitan featured in 1897. The latter was a vivid illustration of the difficulties faced by the immigrant intellectual, in this case a young lawyer who is forced to eke out a skimpy living in a button factory when he comes to America. The longest story in the book, "The Imported Bridegroom," concerns an immigrant who has become wealthy in America. He returns to his old shtetl and "buys" the town's outstanding young Talmudic scholar to be the bridegroom of his Americanized daughter, Flora. She, however, absolutely refuses, insisting that she must marry a doctor. The young man, Shaya, comes to live in their household and is rapidly seduced by secular learning. He agrees to become a doctor and marry Flora,

much to her father's joy. The joy turns to sorrow when the father realizes that the young man has become a total non-believer. The father gives his daughter half his wealth and uses the other half to spend the rest of his days in Jerusalem with his new wife. The final irony occurs when Flora realizes that she is shut out from her new husband's intellectual life with its incomprehensible discussion groups delving into Comtian philosophy.[142] The discontents of Americanization came to life vividly in these stories.

Cahan continued to publish short stories in a variety of magazines, presenting a truthful and occasionally harsh picture of immigrant Jews. The Century of November 1899 contained "The Apostate of Chego-Chegg," about a convert, "yearning for her father's house and her Jewish past." "The Jew who deserts his faith for that of his oppressors," Cahan remarked, was met with a "loathing which the Gentile brain could not conceive." With his usual honesty (which annoyed many Jews) Cahan showed how she is chased and pelted in the Jewish settlemen, yet her pursuers and "the whole Jewish town" are "dearer to her heart than ever." Although she is a "living stigma," she tries to keep Kosher and light the candles. She is in misery: "The God of Israel is not in the habit of refunding one's money...Once a Jew, forever a Jew."[143] In the end, although the town raises money for her to leave her husband and return to Judaism, she cannot do it at the last minute, and decides to remain with him and suffer. Scribner's of December 1899 published "Rabbi Eliazer's Christmas." This bittersweet little tale shows deep understanding for a lonely old man who has a craftsman's skill at fine lettering, an anachronism in industrial America. Particularly biting was the description of the kindly social worker who comes upon the old man in her search for needy cases.

When she speaks with him, she is "tingling with compassion and with something very like the sensation of an entomologist come upon a rare insect."[144]

Cahan's stories were often attacked by the Jewish press, edited by "uptown" Jews who objected to their portrayal of Jews of the "lower depths" and a "vile class." Nevertheless, he was the first American Jewish author to be widely read by non-Jews. By their nature, these stories challenged many basic assumptions about Jews and Americanization. His works ushered in a new era in which Jews themselves considered their own experiences in literature. The search for American Jewish identity which has played so important a role in American fiction, had begun.

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Thus we have the Jew in nineteenth century American fiction. He was an exaggerated figure, generally larger than life. Whether villain or hero, he was most often in a mysterious and romantic mist, inconceivably evil or unbearably noble, but always an exotic. American authors seemed to have real difficulties in their attempts to come to terms with the Jew. Ancient stereotypes vied with Enlightenment attitudes of tolerance.

In the earlier years of the century few Americans had any contact with real Jews. There was a tendency to feel sympathetically that the Jew might be villainous in the exotic settings of Europe and North Africa, but would turn out fine in the free air of America. Deep in the Christian unconscious was the image of the knife-wielding usurer, the rejecting father, and he appeared in American works with some regularity. However, he rarely appeared in books taking place in the United States. In the first two-thirds of the century he did his dirty work in England

and Algiers, but rarely in New York. The beautiful Jewess (the seductive mother?) appeared in both exotic settings and, as a result of wishful thinking, right here in America. The benevolent Jew, on the other hand, often carried out his good works in the United States. Frequently it was stated, as in Ruppius' The Peddler and Jones' version of Haym Solomon's exploits, that the good deeds took place out of gratitude for the unusual freedom of the New World; a very satisfactory way of getting rid of guilt feelings.

As German Jews entered the country in increasing numbers, the picture of the Jew as money-lender remained in the newer guise of pawnbroker. This was supplemented by the old clothes dealer and peddler. Generally, one would have looked in vain for a respectable merchant, lawyer, doctor or artisan. (The works of Henry Harland are the major exception.) The Shylock image remained in the face of changes in Jewish life in America. The picture was less pervasive in American fiction, but it did persist in contradiction to American reality. There is no question that the image had less bitterness to it than the European version. Probably this was due to the greater assimilation of Jews in America and to freer interactions.

The tremendous increase in Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe at the end of the century had only minimal impact upon literature. Novels tended to ignore them and continue with the accepted stereotypes. Fagin was present in a "realistic" novel by Frank Norris, just as readily as he had earlier found a place in the romantic sensationalism of George Lippard. The presence of these very "different," bearded, orthodox, strangely garbed individuals, packed together in dirty tenements helped to stoke the fires of anti-semitism among "respectable" people.

American literature of the nineteenth century did begin to come to grips with the problem of what would happen to the Jew in a free society. For centuries of persecution, the Marranos had maintained their Judaism. Within a few generations after emigration to America, they had all but disappeared through intermarriage. Would the lack of institutionalized anti-semitism mean that the Jews, no longer having to keep together for self-protection, would assimilate and disappear? This was one of the greatest problems of Jewish life in America. Longfellow felt, with sadness, that the Jews would disappear. Harland preached that the Jews should disappear in the ethnic amalgam of America adding a valuable element to American society. On the other hand, Cahan tried to find a true Jewish-American identity which would enable Jews to survive the perils of freedom. As we have seen, Melville too, believed that Jewish survival was inevitable.

Nineteenth century American literature contained the seeds of many of the problems and issues considered by the works of the twentieth century. The anti-semitic image of the Jew, with his over-riding concern for money and machinations to obtain it, could be found. The good and worthy, if incomprehensible, Jewish citizen is present. A concern for assimilation and survival is included. The beautiful Jewess, alas, has disappeared into the mists of time. She was too exotic a figure to survive realism. The attitudes of Americans, as demonstrated by literature, were ambivalent in the nineteenth century -- and they were still that way in the twentieth.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

1 Edgar Rosenberg, From Shylock to Svengali (Stanford, 1960), 35.

2 Ibid., 160.

3 Ibid., 34, 84.

4 Ibid., 69.

5 Ibid., 164.

6 Ibid., 297.

7 Stephen Bloore, "The Jew in American Dramatic Literature: 1794-1930," Publications of the AJHS, XL, June 1951, 347.

8 See Joshua Kunitz, Russian Literature and the Jew (New York, 1929); George L. Mosse, "The Image of the Jew in German Popular Culture: Felix Dahn and Gustav Freytag," Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, II, 1957; George L. Mosse, Jews and Germans (New York, 1970); and Charles C. Lehrmann, The Jewish Element in French Literature (Rutherford, 1961).

9 Philip S. Foner, Mark Twain: Social Critic (New York, 1958), 222.

10 Leslie Fiedler, "What Can We Do About Fagin?" Commentary, 7, May 1949, 413.

11 Louis Harap, "The Image of the Jew in American Drama, 1794 - 1823," American Jewish Historical Society Quarterly, LX, March 1971, 249.

12 Mordecai M. Noah, Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States in the Years 1813-14 and 15 (New York, 1819), 309-10.

13 Susanna H. Rowson, Slaves in Algeria (Philadelphia, 1794), 17.

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## III - POPULAR IMAGES

The Jew was found in the various types of entertainment available to the mass public: dime novels, humor magazines, theaters, guide books, in much the same guise as he appeared in more sophisticated works. Shylock, Rebecca and Sheva made their appearances in even more exaggerated forms. In fact, there was a greater concern with Jews in popular entertainment than in more serious literature.

### The Dime Novel

By the middle of the century technological improvements in printing had produced an expanding working class readership and a mass popular literature. Sensational works flowed from the presses on cheap paper in small print with paper covers. These "novels" could be purchased by the average worker. The fantastic popularity in the 1840s of George Lippard, whose books pioneered in this method of production, gave impetus to the movement, though the dime novels of the next generation were of much lower literary quality. The house of Beadle and Adams and later competitors poured out thousands of formula novels from the 1860s to the 1890s. As might be expected, they presented the standard stereotype of the Jew - including the same ambivalence. The prolific authors did not hesitate to present a Jewish villain in one book and a hero or heroine in another. Often, as in more serious writing, the Jew was not what he seemed to be. The face he presented to the world was frequently a mere facade. His real character was shrouded in mystery. Occasionally, the picture was surprisingly positive, but the negative image predominated.

Sylvanus Cobb and Edward Judson, two of the earliest writers in this genre, were also leaders in the Know-Nothing movement. Their lack of any real malice toward the Jewish characters indicates how little the

nativist movement of the mid-century was involved with anti-semitism. Cobb's The Marmeluke (1852) was an early example of a standard romantic tale. Mordecai Kerenzac is an old banker, "bowed down by the weight of tyranny and the ever lasting sin of his race"[1] ( a rare religious comment for this type of book.) Inside of his horrid appearing house is the usual magnificently appointed apartment. He has the inevitably beautiful daughter, Judith. She is captured for a harem, but is rescued and instead sent to Paris for a musical career. (Beautiful Jewesses could usually sing.) Her father tries to prevent her from appearing on the stage. Fortuitously, however, he dies, and she is able to marry the Christian hero and go to live in America.

Edward Judson also liked to write about beautiful Jewesses. In one of his earliest works, the 1849 novel, Ned Buntline's Life Line, young Ned saves a maiden from drowning. A more beautiful creature "never blessed a sailor's eye-sight...She was a Jewess and all of her famed nation's beauty seemed combined in her." She falls in love with him. When he leaves, she vows to remain unmarried until she sees him again. "Oh, how roseate was her blushing cheek, how liquid her soulful eyes." He never marries her, but he does think about her much later, a "devilish fine girl...Plays like an angel and sings like a mermaid."[2]

Morgan Or The Knight Of The Black Flag (1860) included the popular duo of Jewish money-lender and his beautiful daughter. When Morgan first sees the miserable looking dwelling where old Solomon lives, he remarks contemptuously, "A Jew may live in such a den, but a Christian would not." Outside, the dwelling is "squalid and filthy in the extreme," but once doors within doors are unbolted, there is revealed "magnificent splendor and Oriental luxury." As might be expected, Solomon's daughter has "that rare and striking beauty so peculiar to women of the Jewish

race." She sings a sad song of Judah's plight, but, when Morgan pities her, she defiantly declares, "Give us hate...pity us not, for we yet are proud amid all suffering..." Although she loves the hero, she realizes that her father would never permit such a match. Both the villain and King Charles, an important character in the novel, are interested in taking advantage of her, but Morgan saves her. She has the family virtue authors often ascribed to Jews, "While I live, I owe all my love and devotion to my father." The King continues to pursue her. The father saves his daughter from disgrace at the hands of the King. Her father declares, "I, like my child, begin to value gold less than once I did."[3]

In Judson's Rose Seymour; Or The Ballet Girl's Revenge (1865), Miriam (Judson's name for all Jewish women) carries much of the sexual implications of the beautiful Jewess character. She lives in a dirty shop with her pawnbroker father who has a disgusting leer when he speaks. When Rose, the heroine, faints, she awakens to see "watching over her...a beautiful fair Jewess...her face bore the signs of pain and suffering." She tells Rose, "They would force a hateful life upon me and I resisted, see." She lifts her blouse to show long red cuts produced by a heavy whip.[4] The hag who possesses influence over her father ties her to the wall naked to her waist, and, in a scene of explicit violence, flogs her with savage ferocity and screams of pain and terror. She appears to die in one of these sessions, but then, confusingly, is either resurrected or is a twin.

There were beautiful Jewesses in two anonymous shockers, probably written by the same author in 1853. In Startling Disclosures---Or The History Of Esther Livingstone And Dark Career Of Henry Baldwin, the voluptuously beautiful Jewess is part Negro. Her lover's wife kills her.

The Beautiful Jewess, Rachel Mendoza, marries her rescuer, but shoots herself when she learns of her husband's unfaithfulness.[5]

Joseph Holt Ingraham, author of many biblical stories, also wrote a dime novel, Ramero (1869) with a minor character Osias, a usurer who had "deep sunken eyes and long eagle nose." Unlike Ingraham's Moloch, this money-lender has no redeeming qualities. "Like all avaricious men," he even sleeps "a sort of consciousness of external things." He could never be deceived "in the ring of gold."[6]

Albert Aiken was one of the most prolific of dime novelists. A number of his books included Jewish characters, generally in the most unfavorable light. In his 1871 White Witch Herman Stoll, a German Jew, is one of the three villains. Stoll indignantly denies having any Jewish blood "although after one look into his face...anyone with the skill of reading faces" would have concluded that Stoll had the blood of the "scattered nation" in his veins. The hero despises Stoll "because it is in his nature to despise anything that is mean and low."[7] After attempting to poison a race horse, Stoll is forced to quit a social club by the hero. In revenge he joins the other villains in plotting the downfall of the hero.

The Genteel Spotter (1884) included two Jewish characters. One, "Sheeny Lew," is a ruffian, an "undersized man with a foxy face." He came "of the race of Israel," but is "a most unworthy representative indeed of the Hebrew line." The other is an old pawnbroker, Moses Cohenstein, who is also a fence. He is little, withered and "fox-like" with a sneaky manner. "A man who never by any chance looked anybody in the eye, and who always cringed and crouched as though he was afraid someone was going to strike him." He always rubs his hands together when he speaks. He is called, "Slippery Moses." He has eyes like a

hawk, but always wears "a pair of old fashioned spectacles to conceal the expression of his eyes." This is another Jew who hides his true character - he can "control every muscle in his face with the skill of a practiced actor."[8]

Lone Hand In Texas (1888) contained the typical stereotyped miserly old Jewish storekeeper, Oppenheim, who was described as "the typical Hebrew," another with eyes "as keen as a hawk's...He was a slippery, oily old fellow, who cringed and rubbed his hands together whenever he talked to anyone." He tries to get clerks to work for him for next to nothing and works them to death. A more interesting Jewish character is Jacob Plunkett, the landlord, an English Jew "although beyond his prominent nose - with the true Hebrew hook" one could not tell his "race". The landlord is particularly scornful of the stinginess of old Oppenheim. Both of them, however, turn out to be in the employ of the villain. Oppenheim's virtuous clerk, who is one of the heroes, leaves him indignantly, "...the Jew is an old rascal and he wants a rascal for a clerk; one who will lie about the goods and descend to any mean trick in order to make a sale."[9]

Dick Talbot, The Ranch King (1892) negotiates with the outlaw through the outlaw's "trusted agent," Aaron Mosenstein. Mosenstein is a "short, fat man with bushy red hair...his eyes were small, pig-like... and his nose was enormous." Like most of Aiken's Jews, he is "greasy" and is always "rubbing his hands together." He is also a coward, and is frightened by an Indian into leading the hero to the brigands. Aiken was somewhat apologetic about his constant use of the negative Jewish stereotype in his Westerns. He blamed the locale, "Although in my time I have met with a great many Jews who were every bit as good as any Gentiles...as a rule these gentle Jews don't flourish in a

climate like this."[10]

Aiken was not always so unremittingly hostile. He often used the popular device of having the Jew turn out to be on the side of the good guys in spite of being a money-lender or pawnbroker. In California Detective (1878) Isaac Abrams is a Broadway diamond broker. He is short and portly with the usual keen eyes, hooked nose and beard. He wears beautiful jewelry and, unlike the cringing pawnbroker, he is "a jolly contented looking gentleman...one evidently used to good living and at peace with himself and the world." He is described with some irony as honest and liberal, "Dat ish truth...I always gife half as much as a thing is worth and never charge more ash 500 pershent." When the hero and villain search for the same will, Abrams offers to sell it to the villain. Leering, he tells the villain that the hero is "trunk" and holds him in "an iron grip."[11] However, the Jew is not betraying the hero. He is actually part of an elaborate plot to expose the villain.

In Phantom Hand (1877), the hero, fallen into bad times in the worst section of town, meets Abal Hamelock, an old Jewish pawnbroker he knew from better days. "What you live here who can buy a square mile of New York, " the hero exclaims. In time tested stereotyped fashion, the Jew responds nervously, "Hush...I ish a poor man." But when he hears that the hero has no place to sleep, he promises to "do vat ish right." He offers a bed at a nominal rate, "you pays me when you gets ready." The hero is touched, "Abal, your heart's all right old boy." The Jew responds proudly, "S'help me I am an honest man."[12]

An unusual Jewish character who has no accent appears in Lone Hand On The Caddo (1888). He is a cautious conservative banker. He is Southern-born, though "of foreign descent," and he feels "as native to

the soil as any man in the state."[13] This was one of the few acknowledgments of the existence of such Jews in American popular fiction.

Aiken attempted one beautiful Jewess, as usual the daughter of a money lender and pawnbroker, in Lone Hand The Shadow (1889). She has the dark eyes and "raven hair, " while her father sports a big nose and billygoat beard. When outlaws break in, she has fire in her flashing black eyes "which told she was made of sterner stuff than her affrighted parent." He complains, "I hafe so little monish." The outlaw replies, "That is the cry always with you Jews...if you were rolling in wealth you would swear that you didn't have a cent in the world." But when the outlaw puts a knife to his daughter's throat, he forgets his own terror and cupidity "in contemplation of the danger which menaced Rebecca." Rebecca "had the warlike spirit of old Israel strong within her." The Lone Hand quickly realizes that "this girl was one who would be quite free from the usual weaknesses of her sex." Lone Hand agrees to help find the outlaws even though many of the townspeople don't believe the story since the old Jew was the principal money lender and "extremely unpopular as a natural result." Lone Hand remarks that sometimes people become prejudiced especially since the Jew is a "tough cuss at a bargain."[14] In spite of his weaknesses, the old Jew works with the Lone Hand to capture the villain.

Another "good" Jew in Aiken's novels was "an enterprising Hebrew," Moses Cohen in The Fresh Of Frisco At Santa Fe (1891). Cohen helps the hero with whom he is a partner in a General Store. He is "a first class salesman; he can persuade a customer to buy an article that he has no more use for than a dog has for two tails." Unfortunately, he has what Aiken considered the inbred Jewish weakness which infected even "good" Jews -- physical cowardice -- "when it comes to war, he's got to be

counted out."[15] When a shot is fired, the "honest Hebrew" falls over backward in a terrible fright.

Gilbert Jerome, another "master" of the dime novelist trade, was openly hostile in his two books containing Jewish characters. In Dominick Squeek, The Bow Street Runner (1884) Aaron Moses Lackstein is "a small man, unmistakably a Polish Jew...The fellow rubbed his hands together after the manner of his class." He is a fence, a frequent occupation for Jews in dime novels. The hero recoils when Lackstein places his "repulsive face" next to him. He asks for money and with "many bows and contortions of features intended for smiles," backs out of the room, "his eyes twinkling with avarice." He won't fight or kill anyone himself, but he does lure the hero to certain destruction. His wife, an unusual Jewess who is described as a "tall woman of masculine appearance", prevents the murder of the hero. When her son wrestles with the villain, he is killed. Martha "an enraged tigress," vows revenge.[16] Later, she kills the villain and herself. Lackstein is happy that his wife is dead so he can return to his house and resume business. (It is interesting that the villainous Jews often escaped punishment in popular crime stories.)

There are two Jews in Jerome's Old Subtle: Or The Willing Victim (1885), and both are villains. The heroine has been pledged by her father to Israel Isaacson who is fond of swearing by "Holy Jerusalem," or "Holy Abraham." Simon Hasselbach, his arch enemy, seizes her. He calls Simon a "dog of a Jew."[17] Simon refuses to return the girl, calling on his mother to help him. (While young Jewish women were almost always presented as beauties, old ones were generally described as hags.) The old woman holds the beautiful young girl by the hair and threatens to kill her. Ultimately, the girl is saved and both villains and the mother

are killed.

Jesse Cowdrick's The Detective's Apprentice (1885) was another standard "half-dime" selection. The story takes place on Baxter Street, "the stronghold of the Jews...Here if your general make-up proclaims you to be from the country, not a dozen steps will advance ere you will be caught by the sleeve and almost pulled out of your boots by some enterprising dealer in ol'clos' who seems determined to force a sale upon you at almost any sacrifice." He will sell you a pair of pants for two dollars which he claims cost him eight dollars, and will still make a profit! (This particular image of the Jew was even more widespread in other communications sources.) A hardened criminal named Levi Moses is known as Sheeny the Turk, whose nose "proclaimed him to be unmistakably a Jew." His son, Ikey, a "good looking little cuss, smart as lightening" is trained by the chief villain to take the hero's place as the son stolen in infancy from a millionaire. (Evidently he lacks his father's semitic features.) Ikey is ultimately discovered, but Hal, the hero, says, "take care of him...and let him have a chance to grow up honest." At the end Hal and Ikey are both at school together, preparing for college.[18]

Edward L. Wheeler, another well-known dime novelist, portrayed several Jewish characters of varying types. Moses Monk in Apollo Bill, The Trail Tornado (1882) speaks broken English and acts like a Jew. In an interesting twist, he is really a Yankee who adopts "the Jew business and speech" because "the average American admires the shrewd business tact of the Jew, if not the Jew himself, and therefore patronizes him."[19] On the other hand, the villain in Boss Bob, King Of The Bootblacks (1886) is Dr. Albert Alberts, "an unscrupulous Jew" and a "modern merchant of Venice" who prefers being a pawnbroker to practicing

medicine. He has keen grey eyes "that seemed to be the mirror of an evil soul." He ardently admires Pearl, the heroine. In order to obtain a loan her millionaire father pledges her as collateral. (According to the dime novelists, this seemed to be a common practice among the upper classes.) The "crafty scheming German-Jew" says "with a sinister smile and a nod toward Pearl who shrunk away in terror," here "ish your monish - here is my pay perhaps." When he wants to, he speaks clear, unbroken English. He is willing to give up millions for Pearl because she has admission to the highest circles of society. "She would loosen my purse-strings and make me so popular that the world would forget that I am a Jew." He lives in the usual "princely residence" with "luxurious and costly furniture, grand pictures, rich carpets...villain though he was, the pawnbroker prince had a rare and well-exercised taste." In spite of this taste, he smells of "garlic and onions."[20] His villainous designs are naturally balked in the end.

Wheeler also wrote about "good" Jews. In Jim Bludsoe Jr.; The Boy Phenix (1878), the hero is aided by Isaac Isaacs, a pawnbroker with a "bland smile upon hiss fat glossy countenance" with "hands caressing eachother patronizingly." When Sam Morgan goes to pawn a gift given to him by his love, Issacs calls himself "von of dem Jewsharps" who like "ter to a goot turn sometimes, I gif you ten tollars an 'leven cents unt you keep d'wachet." The author describes Isaacs as "really an exceptionally fine fellow for a pawnbroker." Isaacs remarks wryly, "You vas surprised ter vind der oldt vandering Jew very out mit der West." He is "keen as a razor," and, despite his 365 pound bulk, an extraordinary dancer, light as a feather. He strikes the villain down and walks away "with the utmost sang froid." The hero acknowledges

his invaluable assistance by calling him a "right good friend, and Jew though you are you have indeed proven yourself an honest man."[21] The tendency to mix stereotypes, and to qualify praise of a Jewish character in this manner was customary.

Wheeler presented a far more unconventional Jewish hero in The Ventriloquist Detective (1887). When a drunken Irishman tries to force his attention on a young lady, a "foppishly attired young Jew with red hair and a hooked nose" intervenes, "Yohst you bounce oud mine friend - Der young lady don'd vas want som off your attention." The Irishman belligerently informs him, "I'll heave your Israelite carcass overboard." The Jew knocks him out to the cheers of by-standers. He is a most unusual Jewish character -- young, brave, energetic and, in spite of admitting, "I haff some of dose anxiety to get rich vunce in a vile," not overly involved with matters of money.[22] He is a ventriloquist who can throw his voice, (without an accent somehow) and amuses himself by making people say outlandish things. He saves the heroine, collects a reward, and sets up a detective agency with his pretty wife Rebecca.

Prentiss Ingraham, who was Joseph's son, is said to have written six hundred dime novels. Several had Jewish characters, some standard stereotypes and others, most unusual. In Gold Plume, The Boy Bandit (1881), the Jew is the familiar coward who has come West to cheat the miners. He is presented as an almost burlesque figure. A typical exchange of dialogue occurs on the stagecoach which is being attacked by outlaws. "Vot ish te matter?" the Jew inquires. "I am going to shoot at the bandits," replies the driver. "Tat ish goot, so goot." "But," the driver reminds him, "they will fire back again." Dot ish pad, vera pad." An angry crowd wants to lynch the "Jew Hebrew." They

turn against the "unfortunate Jew who had come to Rocky Glen to speculate on the misfortune of others."[23] Buffalo Bill rescues him from the mob, but to save himself, the Jew is forced to treat the crowd to drinks.

On the other hand, The New Monte Cristo (1886) featured a very unconventional villain, Jacob, who declares, "I vas t'e Vandering Jew himself mine frint." He is a match for Monte Cristo and for assorted villains with the "marvelous strength."[24] He turns out to be the monster who killed the hero's father and stole his sister. In the end, he becomes a "raving maniac," but he is actually revealed to be just the villain in disguise, and not a Jew at all.

Ingraham's Jewish heroes were even more extraordinary. The Jew Detective (1891) is vividly introduced, "He was a Jew for the stamp of his race indelibly traced on the features of all his blood was there..." Yet, he is handsome, with the dark magnetic eyes usually attributed to Jewish women. Wrongly accused of murder, he exclaims, "Oh God of Abraham! that I should have come to this...it must not, it shall not be, for those of my race never die at the hands of a hangman." When the heroine Cora hears of his arrest, she is surprised, "A Jew rob a man on the highway? This is not the character of that people." At his trial she calls out, "Condemn not an innocent man, for I, not that Jew am the guilty one!" (She shot in self-defense.) The hero later saves her life. Her villainous brother sneers, "I hate Jews." The Jew detective defies numerous stereotypes - he is a charming conversationalist, has courtly manners, is a lawyer, and is poor. He runs around saving the heroine and bailing out her horrible brother. He also saves an old Jew who speaks with the usual accent in English, but perfect melifluous Hebrew. The old man is a stock character - his

daughter is one of the ever-present beautiful Jewesses and he is a pawnbroker, interestingly characterized as a "much abused but necessary class of businessmen." The poor young detective becomes rich as a result of his good deeds for the old Jew. He rejects the beautiful Jewess in favor of the much abused Cora who avows her love for him. "Though I am not a Jewess, my Christian friends deserted me," she declares in a marvelous ending. "You have been my truest friend... and to you I now turn for happiness in life, for your people shall be my people, your creed my creed, and your God my God."[25] One can only wonder what the faithful readers of the dime novels made of this story - a total reversal of accepted conventions - in which the handsome young hero is a Jew and the beautiful heroine a Christian who converts! The accepted intermarriage had always been between the gallant Christian hero and the beautiful Jewess; and any assimilation had been her decision to accept her lover's Christian faith. The presence of a young Jewish male character was, in itself, a rarity.

Evidently, Ingraham found this unconventional formula successful, for he returned to it in Jule The Jewess (1896-7) which included Jewish hero, heroine and villain. The Jewish hero is a "young man of gentlemanly bearing and dress, darkly bronzed, handsome features and the unmistakable stamp of the Israelite resting upon them." He saves the life of a bully's sister. Jule, another of the heroines, is perfect in every way, "The seal of her race had been but lightly stamped on her exquisite face." When the millionaire father of Isabel Lynde pledges her, as usual, to a miser (non-Jewish) to save his wealth, Adolph (the Jewish hero) swears he will save her "by the God of Abraham." When the bully Harold Lynde taunts him with being a Jew, he retorts, "I am a Jew, and I am as proud of the title as you are of that of Christian

and have far better right to it." Jule helps Harold, but when he asks her to marry him, she replies that she cannot "forget the creed of my people and turn my back upon the God of Israel to love one of a race who had persecuted us...There is a wall between the Christian and Jew ever so high, and only a renegade to our creed can scale it." Later, however, Jule does fall in love with a Christian lawyer, Merton Wilbur. Only the villainous old miser is permitted to voice the old stereotype, "Jews you know never pay the price you ask them...for they jew you down...and they always ask a high price for what they sell..." and anything he says is obviously branded as evil. Jule informs Harold, "Your people are often traitors to your religion but seldom is it that one of my race is." In an echo of The Jew Detective, Isabel declares her love for Adolph and gratitude to Jule, "I tell you that their home shall be my home, their God my God." She adds that the only objection voiced against Adolph had been that he wasn't a Christian "and there are some who said that he lived a purer, better life than those who are." Jule and Merton, Isabel and Adolph marry in a double wedding, performed in surprisingly modern fashion by a rabbi and a minister. The only unflattering Jewish character is Jule's uncle Isador, a fanatical wandering Jew who says, "here is the monish mine frint," and gives Isabel a wedding present (of a poisoned jewel). Luckily, Jule discovers the plot in time and everyone lives happily.[26]

There were many Jewish characters in dime novels. Most of them were one dimensional Shylocks usually engaged in illegal activities of a non-violent nature, like acting as a fence or extortionate money lending or representing the interests of an even bigger villain. This was the predominant image a reader of dime novels would acquire. The image was basically the same as in more substantial literature, distilled

downward. The beautiful, noble and often fiery Jewess was also a frequent character. The pawnbroker or money-lender who seemed villainous at first glance, but, Sheva-like, was in reality a cohort of the hero in his struggle against the villain, was almost as commonplace as the villain. Obviously this character would do very little to counter the prevalent stereotype of the Jew as totally involved with the accumulation of wealth. The three young Jewish heroes of Prentiss Ingraham and Edward Wheeler were unusual in representing standard heroic virtues of honesty, courage and self-sacrifice. However, it is interesting and perhaps important, that the reader of dime fiction was willing to accept what, by convention, were very unlikely heroes. Such characters could not be found in more "serious" works.

## The Theater

Another aspect of the popular perception of the Jew was the theater. Here the image was, for the most part, the stereotype intensified with less positive counter-balance.

The Jewish image in the theater was bedevilled by the powerful character of Shylock. The Merchant Of Venice was one of the most popular plays performed upon the American stage. It may well have been the first play produced in America. It played Williamsburg in 1752, and, one hundred years later, a production was presented at Castle Gardens in "commemoration of the introduction of drama to America in 1752."[27] T. Allston Brown's standard History Of The New York Stage (1903), lists 130 productions on the New York stage alone, beginning with one at the John Street Theatre in 1768.[28] The Merchant was the first play performed in America by a regular company. Edmund Kean toured with it in 1820-1, billed as Shylock. Fanny Kemble said of his performance that he "entirely divested Shylock of all poetry or

elevation, but invested it with a concentrated ferocity that made one's blood curdle."[29]

Edwin Booth was the best known American Shylock. His father, Junius Booth had played the part with a Yiddish accent, a sing-song voice and hand gestures. He was said to have attended synagogue and studied the Talmud to enable him to get into the part. Thomas Gould, in Edwin Booth's edition of Merchant in 1867 pointed out that Junius Booth's Shylock included outward traits of greed and revenge, but "the dignity of the patriarchs of his people...the representative Hebrew, the type of a race as old as the world...marked by pride of intellect; by intense pride of race...as if there centered in him the might of a people whom neither time, nor scorn, nor political oppression could subdue..."[30]

Edwin Booth presented a very different characterization. William Winter, in the Life And Art Of Edwin Booth (1893), described Booth's Shylock as "a fierce Jew animated by strong emotions of race and religion, but chiefly impelled by personal hatred and greed, but inspiring neither veneration nor pity...(a) malignant, vindictive avenger...the ferocious malevolence of the vindictive Hebrew predominated...a fiend-like man."[31] The New York Times in 1867 criticized a Booth performance as "rage without purpose, noise without meaning... When we remember how completely the Israelite was hedged in by prejudice; how narrow and slippery was the path he trod..." it was impossible to reconcile that with Booth's performance.[32] Booth essentially saw Shylock in economic terms. His Jewishness was not as central as his avariciousness. William Cullen Bryant reviewed Booth's performance at the Winter Garden. His critique appeared in several different places in slightly divergent versions.[33] Booth's



EDWIN BOOTH as SHYLOCK
*Walter Hampden Memorial Library*
*at The Players, New York*

Shylock, he wrote, was "not a Jew, but a fiend...an exception... Revenge is not a characteristic of the Jew." Booth showed Shakespeare "holding up to execration that unquenchable lust for lucre which marks the race, although he does not show that this passion was but the effect of persecution" (often given as an excuse for the Jew's supposed misbehavior). It is true "that the money changers once spat on in the Ghetto are now hugged in the palaces...But we fear that it is not so much that Jews have become as Christians, but that Christians have become as Jews." Other parts of the picture also did not fit. A Jew would prefer the money to the flesh. "Jews also shrink from physical contests. Their disposition is to triumph by intellect." A daughter's contempt for her father was "equally uncharacteristic." The Jews "are universally admired for the affections which adorn their domestic life." The performance fails "to do justice to the grandeurs of the Jewish race...to exhibit that superiority of intellect which has survived all persecution and which...has filled us with reluctant admiration." After condemnation of the "lust for lucre," in typically ambivalent fashion, Bryant concluded with a paean of praise for all the great and progressive events of the age which "may be traced to the wonderful working of the soul of the Hebrew, and the supremacy of that spiritual nature which gave mankind its noblest religion, its noblest laws and some of its noblest poesy and music."

The ranting, raving Shylock, patterned on Edwin Booth's interpretation, influenced hundreds of less talented actors. The Merchant Of Venice played all over the United States. Noah Ludlow even took it by wagon and flatboats to towns like Milledgeville, Georgia.[34] Thousands who had never seen a real Jew in person, saw Shylock in his most extreme form. "Sam Slick" in an 1858 book reported:

> '"I once seen a theater play...and there was an old Jew in it, and there was a fellow run away with his daughter and his money puss and if ever there was a critter ravin, tarrin mad, it was old mister Shylock, or whatever his name was. I never see such work as he made on it, a runnin' up and down the floor, and a pullin' at his wig and frothin' at the mouth like a 'hoss with the blind staggers.'"[35]

Herbert W. Kline argues that Americans saw a totally different interpretation of Shylock when the great English actor Henry Irving toured the country, playing Shylock with dignity and sympathy, first in 1883, and frequently thereafter. "His widespread playing...helped to engender an attitude of sympathy and understanding for the stage Jew, where before there had been only scorn."[36] There is some support for this view. The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin reported that Irving presented the Jew as "more than the mere incarnation of avarice," but as a character worthy of sympathy. The Chicago Tribune declared it a "nineteenth century Shylock. It is a creation only possible in our age, which has pronounced its verdict against medieval cruelty and medieval blindness."[37] Irving, at this time, saw Shylock as a representative of a mistreated race whose wrongs made him fiendish in his goals. He represented what man could become in an oppressive environment, but with dignity, pathos and a sense of injury. Played in this manner, sympathy tended to shift to Shylock.[38] Henry James commented on Irving's Shylock, "His representation of the rapacious and rancorous Jew has many elements of interest. He looks the part to a charm, or rather, we should say to a repulsion...The deep-welling malignity, the grotesque horror...these elements had dropped out."[39] An 1883 review in the New York Herald stressed the taste and tact of Irving's Shylock, "His Shylock, though bearing all the outward attributes which unpleasantly mark such men of his race, is nevertheless invested with a

dignity that is truly ideal." The critic felt that Irving conceived of Shylock "as a representative of a race which generation after generation has been cruelly used, insulted, execrated. It is an hereditary hate, but to this...are added individual wrongs that make him inexorable and fiendish."[40]

Irving's role in countering the Shylock stereotype, however, is not as clear-cut as Kline suggests. Toby Lelyveld, who has written the most extensive study of Shylock on the stage, believes that over the years, Irving's Shylock grew steadily less human and more loathesome.[41] There is some evidence of this. The New York Mirror in 1888 criticized Irving's performance as exaggerated and grotesque. His Shylock had a "passion for revenge" which "resembles the futile rage of an epileptic peddler..."[42] William Archer in The Dramatic Year (1889) agreed. Irving's Shylock, he complained, was neither just nor accurate. "While he is vivid...he fails...to give the man that touch of dignity which raises him above the mean and malicious usurer."[43]

On the other hand, Norman Hapgood, who was an observer generally sympathetic to Jews, described an 1898-9 tour by Irving and Ellen Terry in which Shylock demonstrated the "wrongs of his race...justice to his cause and grandeur to his revenge..." The end was played for despair rather than sympathy. It showed "simplicity...(the) essence of cruelty and failure, the Hebrew nobility and suffering."[44] Obviously Irving played Shylock both ways at various times in his career. The drama critic, Henry Clapp recalled several of Irving's American tours as Shylock, "Sometimes as a fierce money-catching old clothes dealer... Sometimes as a majestic Hebrew financier and law giver..."[45] This underlying dichotomy in Irving's interpretation was unlikely to have done much to destroy the basic lack of sympathy with the Shylock image.

Many "modernized" versions of the Merchant, some intended to be humorous, played throughout the century with varying degrees of popularity. John Brougham's 1858 Much Ado About A Merchant Of Venice was far more sympathetic to Shylock than Shakespeare was. Shylock is described as "a shamefully ill-used and persecuted old Hebrew gentleman...whose character was darkened by his Christian contemporaries simply to conceal their own nefarious transactions." Lorenzo swindles Shylock out of his "duck of a daughter and his ducats as well." Shylock doesn't want to lend any money to Antonio who "called me a Hebrew dog...I could forgive each jibe, for sufferance is the badge of all our tribe...If he had let my synagogue alone; but at our ancient faith he mocked and jeered. Made barbarous jokes upon my Jewish beard..." The ending becomes "happy" as Lorenzo reveals, "'twixt me and you, I'll tell you a secret - I've turned Jew.'"[46]

George M. Baker's The Peddler Of Very Nice (1866) was intended to be a humorous version of the play. In it Shylock is a pawnbroker and Antonio is a peddler. Shylock appears in court with a huge set of shears which he constantly sharpens on a strap. (This was a bit of stage business constantly employed by actors doing "serious" Shylocks.) Here, however, Shylock is threatening to take all the buttons from Antonio's coat. When he comes forward to confiscate his buttons, Portia reminds him that "the law doth give thee here no jot of thread." Shylock is then forced to forfeit "his money and his old clo' too" in order to obtain a revenue stamp. He asks for Portia's hand since she has all his merchandise. She agrees, despite protests that Shakespeare decreed a different ending. Shylock argues that there is no such man as Shakespeare and promises, " I will reform, no longer villain be..."[47]

A popular comic version was performed by the Griffin and Christy

Minstrels. Here one can clearly see the progression from Shylock to the burlesque Jew. Shylock is an old clothes dealer who is always asking, "how's pishness?" There is a chorus of two "hooked nosed gents." When Antonio begs for a loan to pay for his liquor, Shylock remarks, "Oh how these squalid Christians talk of gold...If at the time he doesn't come and pay - I'll cut his liver out the very day." Antonio calls him a "villain of a Jew." Shylock sings a take-off on "Doo-dah" - "I bets my money on the bulls and the bears..." Another production number has Shylock dancing frantically and singing to Jessica, "Give me back my dear monish." Despite the "comedy," however, the basic point is still clear when Shylock advances with a large knife at the trial. "This crafty Jew is full of jeux d'esprit...I think poor Tony finds this Jew a Turk...The dunce to borrow from a Jew..." In the end Shylock wails, "I've lost my flesh, my monish and my daughter..." and the entire chorus tosses him in a blanket.[48] In some ways this "comic" version was even more offensive - the Shylock character retained his perniciousness, but was stripped of any dignity.

Very early in the century, other plays appeared which presented Jews in the Shylock image of money-crazed usurer. A few of these, discussed earlier, centered on the problems in the Barbary coast.[49] In the 1823 play, Benevolent Lawyer by Mary Carr Clarke the inevitable Jewish money-lender appeared. He offers the heroine a loan at "ninety per cent interest." When she refuses, he remarks to the chief villain, "I not know vot the devil the womish thinks, I am going to get the monish for her for nothing." The villain urges him to ask for a hundred per cent next time, which pleases him a great deal.[50]

The Jewish criminal was a popular character in the theater as well as the dime novels. In John Brougham's 1867 play, The Lottery Of Life,

Mordie Solomons, who speaks with a "strong Jewish accent," is an old clothes man, counterfeiter, crook and possible murderer. He receives a beating after wooing another man's wife. As part of his revenge, he plans to blow up a ship with all the heroes on board. When he is foiled in his nefarious schemes, he dies cursing.[51] Dion Boucicault's Flying Scud was one of the most popular plays of the nineteenth century. Although it opened in London first, it was produced in New York in 1867 and constantly revived thereafter. One of its major characters is Mo Davis, a confidence man who speaks with a slight accent and the ubiquitous "Jewish" lisp. His favorite expression is, "Jumpin' Moses!" He and a stage Irishman assist the more important villain in forgery, card cheating and other plots. Here the villainous Jew is also comic. He receives his just reward when he is shot in the rear by his accomplices as they shoot at each other.[52] Villainy is rendered more harmless when it is transformed into comedy.

A Fagin-like Jewish criminal, Slink, appeared in Steele Mackaye's 1890 melodrama, Money-Mad. Slink, who is vicious but cowardly, has trained a gang of criminals, "the smartest gang of rogues in the whole country." In the end, when Slink is finally caught, he begs, "Blease, blease ledt me go, Chack, and I vill become a corporal-general in de Salvation army - so hellup me cracious I vill."[53] It does not help, because the police come and take him off to jail.

Soloman Isaacs in Jail Bird was another vicious Jewish criminal. Charles Townsend, the author of the 1893 melodrama, described the character as "a brutal, vulgar, cowardly Jew." He is a bar owner, and explains when he charges a dollar for a drink and a cigar, "Ninety-five cents clear profit on dot deal!"[54] His bar is the headquarters for a counterfeiting ring and he is also involved in other nefarious activities

like safe cracking and luring an innocent rustic into robbery. In all these cases, someone else does the dirty work.

Another species of Jewish characters in the theater was based upon Cumberland's The Jew, written in 1794. On February 25, 1795 it opened in the John Street Theatre in New York for its first American production. It was "a piece which remained popular for forty years."[55] It led to a vogue for sentimental plays with long-suffering, whining, saintly Jewish characters who were vindicated at the end. This popularity persisted for most of the century. Often the same theater would offer first the Shylock, then the Sheva view of the Jew money-lender.

A typical play of this type was Thomas Dibdin's The Jew And The Doctor (1807). One of the heroes is Abednego, a dealer in "pargans." Abednego found a little girl and raised her, sending her to Christian schools. When one of the characters calls him, "you old-old Jew, you," he responds, "Can you trow noting in my face but my religion? I wish wid all ma heart I could return the compliment." At the same time, in the midst of all this nobility, he offers to buy and sell gold pieces and pocket watches, an activity typical of the Sheva-like character. He is not normally brave, but "ven Miss Emily is in danger, I feel all de vorld so I vas a lion." At the end, when the girl's real father offers to pay him for all he has done, he replies with characteristic nobility, "I'll tell you how to pay me. If ever you see a helpless creature vat needs your assistance, give it for ma sake - And if de object should not be a Christian, member...and that you can never make your own religion look so well as when you show mercy to de religion of others."[56]

This type continued to be presented even in the later part of the century. Sidney Grundy's An Old Jew, first produced in London, was brought to America in 1894. In his introduction, the author defended

his conception of the hero as typical "of his race...millionaire, very generous...self-sacrificing...superlatively chaste and of...strong domestic affections...pride of race, a gift of silent suffering, a stern strength." The story concerns the reconciliation of the old Jew with his family from whom he has been estranged through misunderstandings. One unique quality is the absence of an accent. He is permitted a ringing defense of his people:

> I am an old Jew. I am an outcast and a wanderer...but I am not ashamed of my race. I am proud to be one of that great family which has established itself throughout the length and breadth of the earth - citizens not of one country, but of all; and wheresoever it has gone, furnished its foster mother with her greatest sons and furnished Christendom with that greatest Jew...whose faith you prostitute...[57]

There were occasional productions of Nathan The Wise, with its far loftier concept of the "good" Jew. Norman Hapgood saw a production of the play at the Irving Place Theater in 1899. The actor's image was that of a "wise old Jew of deep and placid mind, saintly spirit and reverend, picturesque appearance, portrayed by an actor who was giving them no outbursts...only beauty, dignity." Many Jews attended the performance to see the "vindication of their race." The actor clearly made Nathan a Jew "and gave him many race peculiarities but they were always subordinated in the...picture of a large, charitable nature."[58] Unfortunately, Nathan The Wise was not a frequent production like Shylock or Sheva.

Sometimes the benevolent Jew turned out to be an ideal comic character on the stage. Sam'l Of Posen (1880) by George Jessop was popular for many years and made a star of M. B. Curtis, a Jewish actor who specialized in this part. Samuel enters the stage executing some sharp dealing with an upper class snob and a lazy Irish clean-up man (another

popular stereotype.) However, Samuel's Sheva-like benevolence is shown when Mrs. Mulcahy comes into the pawnbroker's shop with a pathetic shawl which she hopes to pawn for $2 to get medicine for a sick child, and bread for her family. Sam gives her the money saying, "A true Hebrew never goes back on the widows and orphans." Then he puts the shawl back in her basket and fills the basket with food, telling her, "Give your children a Jewish picnic."[59] He proceeds to foil all the machinations of the villain and to exonerate the honest, though dopey, hero. In one real reversal of the stereotype, Samuel wins the hand of Rebecca, a beautiful (and unaccented) Jewess who, unaccountably, does not show an interest in handsome Christian gentlemen.

Sam'l met with mixed reviews which seemed to depend on the broadness of Curtis' performance. The New York Daily Graphic review of an 1881 production declared the play to be "vile." Curtis was conceded to have made "a wonderfully realistic appearance and characterization of a miserable type of Jewish humanity...The better the portrayal, the more painful it was to the refined sense." Jews in the audience laughed at actions which were mysterious to the Americans. The character is "gross, coarse and vulgar" and "one sickens of him before the piece is ended."[60] The American Jewish establishment was also not amused. The American Hebrew, for example, caustically referred to the "Fagins and Sam'l Posens that have served to calumniate and caricature our people."[61] The criticism evidently led Curtis to mute the excesses of his performance. The Philadelphia Sunday Mirror in 1890 commented that Sam'l was "harmless... easy-going." The stage Jew "had been raised a trifle from the standards set up for him in bygone days...He had advanced some, a trifle, perhaps, but nevertheless he had advanced." An 1894 revival garnered generally favorable reviews. One critic remarked, "the type of Hebrew he presents

on stage is harmless and amusing." The play fittingly represented the Jew in his "humorous phase." Nobody "could find offence in this amiable, ingenious and kind hearted young Israelite." A Detroit reviewer called it the "cleverest and cleanest characterization of the Hebrew ever presented on stage."[62] The New York Times critic observed that, while Sam'l was "not much of a play," it was "undeniably and continually funny" and would "afford much wholesome merriment to the multitude."[63]

A far less satisfactory "good" comical Jew was presented by Milton Nobles in a revitalization of an old play, The Phoenix. Nobles appeared in the popular play over 1500 times in the last twenty-five years of the century. In a preface to a 1900 edition, he noted, "I was the first to place on the stage the modern American Jew, a jolly up-to-date man about town, not a villain." The character, Moses Solomon, is a former money-lender turned gambler. He is popular for his "wit." His favorite expression is, "Dot's de kind of jews-harp I am." His pal is so enthusiastic about the fun they have that he declares, "Moses is a trump. Take a Jew out of his shop and nine times out of ten, he is a jolly good fellow."[64]

A more successful effort to present the "modern American Jew" was the popular comedy of manners, Man And Woman, by Henry DeMille and David Belasco, first produced in 1890. Israel Cohen, a bank president, is shown as an educated, unaccented, virtuous individual. Even though the heroine has rejected him for a bank cashier who has removed funds from the bank, he exhibits great mercy for his rival. He is also a very honest banker who, when he thinks he may have to close the bank, declares, "I could give every drop of blood in my body to ward off the blow that will strike us, unless something is done tonight."[65] The Jewish press was quite pleased with this play. The Jewish Exponent noted that the

stage had at last "shaken off the prejudice of the centuries and given us a Jew unsullied, untrammeled, uncaricatured...a living, breathing man."[66]

The most professedly philo-semitic play of the century was Edward Tullidge's turgid Ben Israel (1875). Tullidge's aims were made quite clear in an introduction dedicated to the Jews of America:

> Your theme and race my Hebrew brethren constitute the grandest epic of the world, and it is time that we gentiles do you justice, for the nations owe to your people the crown of civilization... Yet have we Gentile Christians who have taken so much from the Hebrews without gratitude, made the very national fidelity of your people their curse and...treated them as the very dogs...As an author I am ashamed to say our class has been but little better than the bigot and the priest...

Even "our glorious Shakespeare" created an "unworthy" Jew. At least Shylock had "earnestness and passion" which reaches "near grandeur." Fagin was nothing more than "wickedness and meanness" so well done that "the ignorant take him as the model type of the modern Jew." Tullidge's play takes place in the court of Charles II, where Rachel, the beautiful Jewess, tries to stave off the King's lust. The villain is given to frequent oaths like, "Curse the Jews!" David Ben Israel, the saintly hero, responds, "Christian scoffer! Our race were princes when thy ancestors were robbers and barbarians." He is willing to give the King needed funds in return for protection of the Hebrew maid and the right of Jews to trade. Under his ugly gabardine he wears a princely Jewish costume. At first, he will not permit Rachel to marry the Christian hero, but when the latter risks his life for Jewish rights, he relents. Ben Israel looks forward to the time when, "every land shall bless, not curse, the Jew..."[67]

Beautiful Jewesses were also frequent characters in the theater. In 1836 a popular spectacular drama, The Jewess, was presented at the

Lion Theater in Boston. It enjoyed long years of favor - a performance was reported in 1866 at the New Bowery Theater and in 1871 at the Bowery Theater.[68] Several different versions of Judith, the biblical heroine, were also performed. The most successful play on this theme was Augustin Daly's Leah The Forsaken which first appeared in 1862, and was a favorite for more than forty years. Kate Bateman became famous as Leah, and in 1892 the great Sara Bernhardt made an American appearance in the part. Great sympathy is shown for the Jewish maiden who suffers for her faith. She is one of a group of Jews driven from Hungary into a small Austrian village where they are met with fierce antagonism by Nathan, the village schoolmaster. Through a deliberate frame-up which makes it appear that she has stolen money, he drives her Christian lover away from her. Although she reacts with hatred towards Christians, the audience was made to feel only pity for her undeserved tribulations. When the misunderstandings are cleared up, she ultimately forgives her lover. The real villain is Nathan, a renegade Jew who deserted a dying father to become a Christian. He hates his own Jewishness and tries to deny it. The girl who fiercely defends her Jewishness is the heroine; the convert is the villain, in an interesting reversal of the usual Christian attitude towards Jews.[69] George William Curtis in Harper's Weekly in 1863 noted that the play made a powerful case against prejudice. He felt that there was an important parallel between the persecution of the Jews in Europe and the bigotry against Negroes in America.[70] "Critical judgment as well as popular taste greeted Leah with approval."[71]

The character of the Jew who cares more about money than about anything drifted from Shylock into the popular theater and burlesque, where he was added to growing collection of comic ethnic stereotypes.

Precursors appeared in the honky-tonks of the West. One example was "Pretty Sally Solomons," sung "with appropriate gestures:"

> Through every place I rove,
> A peddler by my trade,
> And soon I fell in love
> With a very pretty maid...
> And 'twas all for Sally Solomons,
> Pretty Sally Solomons!
> Oh listen love to me;
> Would you be mistress Ab'rams,
> How happy should I be...
> No girl in Duke's place should compare
> Mid her to buy and sell;
> She made such bargains you would stare,
> And so in love I fell.

Sally was so good that "she got de tings more as twenty per cent, cheaper den her father old Shadrock who kept a closhs shop...."[72] Another, somewhat later, pre-burlesque ditty combined hostile images of three different ethnic groups at "America's Royal Ball:"

> Kearny cried out, "me bowl is filled,
> When all the Chineemen are killed,"
> "Amen to that," says Fagin the Jew,
> "They'd make the best of Irish stew..."[73]

In early burlesque in Robey's Knickerbockers, Charley Burke made a tremendous hit as an Irishman doing a "Jew character," singing:

> Oh Rachel Goldstein, what shall I do?
> I'll build a fire for the love of you,
> I will fail in business
> I will kill a Jew.
> Oh, Rachel Goldstein I do love you.[74]

The team of "Bert and Leon" are generally described as the first Jewish comedians. They appeared in the late 1870s. One of their popular numbers was "The Widow Rosenbaum:"

> Her father keeps a hock shop
> With three balls on the door,
> Where the sheeny politicians can be found.
> Her husband was a soldier
> But he got killed in the war,
> And his money went to Widow Rosenbaum.
> About three thousand mashers
> They hang around the place,
> But she's got her money buried in the ground.

You can bet your bloody life,
You can't get her for a wife,
She would rather be the Widow Rosenbaum.[75]

Frank Bush originated the character of the East Side pawnbroker as a common burlesque figure. "The Jewish comedian was usually the ranking comic for the company. He was a stock figure with a beard, unkempt clothes and sometimes a limp."[76] Bush himself sang, "My name is Solomon Moses I'm a bully Sheeny man." The song praised his clothing shop where "I sell so awful cheap." His career continued through the 1890s and "he made that type of comedy a staple of our variety theaters."[77] Joe Welch, a Jew himself, was another delineator of this favorite stock figure. The characteristic pose was rubbing his hands together, bowing or cringing and demanding his "monish." This word came out of literature -- there is no evidence that it was actually used by Jewish immigrants. In this way the Shylock figure passed down from serious literature into popular literature and theater and, ultimately, into burlesque, to be planted indelibly in the public mind as The Jew. The comedians, most of whom were Jews themselves, strengthened this stereotype. When a young Willie Howard wanted to appear on stage smooth-faced, the manager asked, "Where's your beard?" Howard replied that he hadn't planned to wear one. The manager ordered, "Go back and put it on. If you don't wear a beard, the audience won't know you're a Jewish comedian."[78] Jewish comedians utilized themes already presented by non-Jews. They gave their largely non-Jewish audience the expected characterization, just like blacks who appeared in minstrel shows in the required black-face. Some of the early "Jewish" comics were not Jews, but as time went on, most of them were Jews. The development of modern Jewish comedy styles (often just as self-deprecatory as these early examples) was a product of a later period.

The stage Jew also appeared in comic plays. The first such play with a Jewish character was The Mulligan Guard Ball (1879). To the standard story of the marriage of an Irish boy to a German girl with the contrasting "race pride" of both families and the typical black character, was added "Rosenvelt," the tailor who demands his rent for the cutaways.[79] Mulligan's co-author, Edward Harrigan, attempted a play about a Jewish pawnbroker, Mordecai Lyons (1882), but the heavy Irish brogues of the actors playing the Jewish parts caused great merriment, and failure. In A Ready-Made Suit (1885) almost every ethnic stereotype imaginable is introduced in the parts of the husbands of a lady-bigamist who is on trial. Two of them are Jews from a firm of "eminent Hebrew jobbers in second-hand clothes." They are "agents for dose fife tollar und a halef New York market ofergoats, marked down from dirteen tollars and a kevorter." When one admits that he sold some cloaks for five dollars, the other exclaims, "Gott in Himmel, you vill ruin de beesiness. Vy, dey gost us feefty cents." They explain that they both married the same woman because "ve dinks if ve can get von vife between us, dot vill be less oxpensive." They continue, the Rabbi only charged half his customary fee since he was dealing in quantity. They assure the judge of their absolute reliability; "Ve nefer tell a lie ven ve can sell goots without it."[80]

David Warfield, a well known Jewish actor, starred in several plays which combined a plot line and the burlesque image. He achieved great popularity as Melter Moss, the rascally Jew in the Ticket Of Leave Man. In 1899 Warfield played Sigmund Cohenski, a millionaire Jew who visits Paris with his daughter Uneeda. She is in love with a hero. He is scornful, "A hero! Is dot a business? A tailor is a business..." Uneeda sneers, "I suppose you think the pen is mightier than the sword."

"You bet my life, " he responds, "Could you sign checks with a sword?"[81]

Even when the play was a relatively harmless farce, the underlying point about the Jew was remorselessly reiterated. In Harry Shelland's Great Libel Case (1900) every ethnic group was ridiculed through the device of a jury, each member of which portrayed a different stereotype. The Jew, Theodore Rosenvelt, is constantly trying to sell something to the clerk and the other jurors. When the judge asks him if he is willing to serve, his predictable response is "How much vill I get?" Before he takes his seat in the jury box, he demands, "ver is dot three dollars?"[82]

There can be little doubt that the stage, "serious" and frivolous, reinforced the image of the Jew as willing to do anything for money. In the theater Shylock and his cousins outnumbered Sam'ls and Leahs by a considerable margin. In burlesque, the comic Jew joined the lazy, drunken Irishman and other unflattering ethnic stereotypes. Here the Shylock image lost much of its menacing malevolence and became merely funny. Just as, in a later era, Stepin Fetchit portrayed the stereotyped black, Jewish comedians presented the miserly Jew. These were the lead comics of the burlesque company. Despite their apparent harmlessness, they did reinforce the Shylock image. To millions of Americans, the ranting money-mad usurer or the cringing little miser was The Jew.

## Guidebooks To New York

Numerous guidebooks were published in the nineteenth century to help the innocent traveler around the "wicked" city. The majority of these either did not mention Jews at all, or blandly listed the synagogues in the city. A substantial minority, however, did include comments about Jews and the Jewish sections of the city, particularly Chatham Street where Jewish clothing stores predominated. With a few exceptions, these descriptions reinforced the prevailing image of the Jew as money-

hungry and dishonest.

One of the earliest books to comment on Chatham Street and Jewish trade in New York was George Foster's New York In Slices (1849). This was an extremely popular guide which sold 40,000 copies in its first year in print. On Chatham Street, the author noted, "The clothing stores are invariably kept by Jews." Even Yankee shopkeepers, shrewd as they were, could not exist there. In front of each store "stands the natty, black-bearded and fierce-mustached proprietor." He is an "artist." He can tell at a glance if a passing man is a "greenhorn from the country," and "there is something almost beautiful in the certainty with which they pounce upon him and the tenacity with which they cling to him." You might have had some difficulty in getting your tailor to fit you properly, but "there is no such thing as an ill-fitting coat in Chatham Street. Every coat fits everybody..." The shopkeeper "has set himself to convince you out of your eyes and wheedle you out of your money - and this he will do..."[83]

In his equally successful New York By Gaslight (1850), Foster was even more malicious. This book was a guide for those who sought excitement exploring the dangerous and criminal areas in the big bad city. One of the worst of these sections was "Five Points." Among the low life there, the visitor could find the stores of the fences. "These shops are of course kept entirely by Jews." There the thieves are given very low rewards for their ill-gotten merchandise by Jews who tell them, "de peoplish ish very poor in dis neighborhood, and we can't kif much - and besides we don't really want 'em at all." The fences live in back of their shops with their numerous children, "the descendants of Israel being as celebrated for fecundity as cats or Irish women." The Jews in this section, despite their filth and low-grade character, retain

their "peculiar style of beauty" which dates from antiquity. These features, including the inevitable "glittering eye-sparkle," are as commonplace in the Jew of every rank "as the hook of the nose which betrays the Israelite as a human kite, formed to be feared, hated and despised, yet to prey upon mankind."[84]

A similar view was expressed in a more light-hearted way by Cornelius Mathews in A Pen And Ink Panorama Of New York City (1853). "This street," he informed the reader, "was in the old times of this Island, a warpath of Manhattan Indians to the West; civilization hath not affected it greatly. The old red men scalped their enemies, the Chatham clo' men skin theirs. So little difference have two hundred years in changing the character of mankind."[85]

Matthew Hale Smith, a Protestant clergyman, had a great deal to say about Jews in Sunshine And Shadow In New York (1868). He discussed social distaste for Jews at length. This is particularly interesting since this book was written far earlier than the date usually given for the beginnings of such attitudes towards the Jews. He conceded that a portion of the "numerous" Israelites were "intelligent, respectable and wealthy. The leading bankers are Jews of this class..." but lower class Jews "are disagreeable, and their presence a nuisance to any Christian neighborhood. If they get into a block, they infest it like the plague." When people look for a house, one of the first things they ask is whether there are any Jews in the block since "it is impossible to dwell with them in any comfort." When they enter a neighborhood, "It is deserted by all others." There are some beautiful watering-places near New York which are exclusively Jewish. They came in a few at a time "and Christian families had to desert the place." They may be just "as good as Christians morally," but socially they are so disagreeable that anyone with money

won't stay where they are. The ancient prophecy that "Israel shall dwell alone, seems to have a literal fulfilment."[86]

In the same book, Smith also discussed Chatham Street, a "noisy and turbulent" bazaar of lower class Jews. There they "assail all who pass, solicit trade, and secure...general contempt...fraud is their capital." Even the synagogue did not escape opprobrium. The congregation was "irreverent." The "audience room" resembles the corn exchange. The way the service is conducted "suggests that this is a thriving mercantile house where a good business is carried on by earnest men, who speak a foreign tongue."[87]

James D. McCabe in Lights And Shadows Of New York Life (1872) expressed the familiar attitudes towards Jews. A section on dishonest pawnbrokers expressed the view that they were mainly Jews. "They allow their wives and children to wear...the finer clothing placed in their keeping, and in this way save much of the ordinary expense of the head of a family." Their profit exceeds five hundred per cent, "The Jews' five pershent." Another chapter described what happened to an impoverished upper class Frenchwoman who was forced to obtain employment from "a certain Israelitish manufacturer." By the third week he was trying to reduce her wages. She finally got legal assistance and "brought the rapacious Israelite to terms." As in the other guidebooks, the Chatham Street old clothes area was covered. There, "honesty is a stranger." If you buy anything, "expect to be cheated." The lower class Jews, "filthy creatures" who live in this "vile quarter," wait for customers "like wild beasts waiting for their prey." On the other hand, in the same book, a different class of Jews was discussed with evident approval. The large synagogues were described as "very handsome," particularly Emanuel, one of the most beautiful institutions in the city.

These upper class Jews "are immensely wealthy...and make a liberal provision for the unfortunate of their own creed."[88]

The same basic attitude towards the Jews persisted in the guidebooks of the 1890s when Eastern European Jews had already entered the city in large numbers. Ernest Ingersoll in A Week In New York (1891) was more diverted than angered by the reputed proclivities of the old clothes dealers. The headquarters had shifted to Baxter Street, but nine-tenths of the residents of "Judea" were described as German or Germanized Jews. The area, he informed the reader, would "repay the curiosity of any sightseer who has the temerity to run the gauntlet of 'pullers-in.'" There "our Hebraic brethren" display their "bargains" and entreat you to enter their shops. They will even "drag you in if they can." Once in, "the complacency with which you are assured that black is white...in order to effect a sale is amusing." You could then go on to Division Street where you would have to run the gauntlet of "hook-nosed girls in front of the millinery stores" who go through the same routine. The Jews live together and have little communication with outsiders. The author added, "The Russian, the Pole, the Bohemian is lost at once in America; but the Jew remains a Jew."[89] The persistent fear of the unwillingness of Jews to assimilate was a subject of frequent comment in many books and articles.

The Sun's Guide To New York (1892) reflected the fastidious abhorrence towards the new Eastern Jewish immigrants which was becoming commonplace. The Bowery, where "hob-nailed Italians and Oriental Jews stumble," is unpleasant "with the filth of the newly arrived immigrant." The district swarms with Jews who, "however admirable they may be in some respects, are not cleanly." The main business district of "Judea" is Division Street. You should be careful as you pass through "else you may suddenly find

yourself in a milliner's shop, surrounded by the feminine 'touts' or 'door blowers' who have 'pullen' you in." The market place is "interesting, but dirty." On Fridays it is a "veritable Bedlam." The peddler's calls are in "all dialectical varieties and corruptions of Hebrew." Bargaining is accomplished with much "gesticulation" and "the whole market is a curious study."[90]

Occasionally, guidebooks were more favorable in their appraisals. The same Matthew Hale Smith who had so many unkind things to say in an earlier book, took a far more positive approach in Wonders Of A Great City (1877). "There are quite a number of time peddlers in New York," he remarked, "and they are most useful members of the community. They are all Hebrews."[91] Sweetser and Ford's How To Know New York City (1888) had a different view of "Judea" near the east end of Canal Street "where this wonderfully preserved Semitic people are found in great numbers." They have established many synagogues and charitable societies. In a comment often given in favor of the Jews, they added, "They form one-tenth of the city's population, but less than one-hundreth of its criminals come from their number."[92] They also praised the architecture of Temple Emmanuel which was widely commended in books and articles. The most compassionate view was expressed in King's Handbook Of New York City (1892). The tenements, the author explained, are "the lowly and often the dark side of New York life." They reflect poverty. Most of the older tenements are occupied by recent immigrants. "When they have been here a short time, they are inclined to seek better quarters in new and improved...buildings." Jewish charities were particularly marked as deserving praise. "The great network of Jewish philanthropies is entirely built up and maintained from the abounding wealth and liberality of the Hebrew-American population." This was contrasted to other immigrant

groups where beneficent work was "maintained at the cost of the older population of the city." Hospitals founded by these "benevolent Hebrews" were open to all.[93]

Most guides to New York totally ignored the presence of Jews. Of the few which acknowledged their existence, most perpetuated the image of distasteful money grubbers, out to cheat the unwary tourist. With very few exceptions, one could not discern the place of hard-working Jewish men and women in a variety of occupations (the majority of New York's Jews) from reading the popular guides to New York.

## Jews In Popular Humor

The image of the Jew in American popular humor was basically one-dimensional. From the earliest time the Jew was presented as someone concerned only with the accumulation of money. He was willing to use illegal means in the pursuit of wealth, including such dishonest practices as fraudulent failures and arson. As part of this picture, the Jew was stripped of such virtues as honesty, courage and even that love of family for which he had generally been praised.

The humorous image of the Jew was present in early publications predating the advent of the comic magazine. As early as 1799, the sentiment could be found that it was money "Vat make Jew Christian, Christian Jew."[94] An 1808 attempt at a jocular description of the origin of the Jewish store had "Moses Mordecai and Co." announcing the opening of their "Universal Ware and General Business Office, at the sign of Noah's Ark, No. 777, Mount Ararat, Salem." There they offered for sale or barter everything the Jew was imagined to be involved with: "horses, ships, notes of hand, bonds (with or without mortgages), bankchecks, shares in all the principal banks and insurance companies, current and uncurrent and counterfeit money...lottery tickets, Ohio scrip and Georgia lands...

flour...gunpowder" and more.[95]

The real Jew was often contrasted unfavorably in humor with the biblical view of the Jew and with the sympathies due a persecuted people. A folk-tale of the ante-bellum South described the Jewish peddlers as the only ones to ask for the patronage of the slaves to sell them cheap and shoddy merchandise. The story of the bondage of the "Children of Israel" always fascinated the black slaves. One pious old woman asked her mistress if she could see some Children of Israel before she died. The mistress, hearing that a Jewish peddler was coming to a neighboring village, allowed her servant to go there and meet a "Child of Abraham." The old servant returned, indignant: "Missus! dat's no Chillen o' Israel. Dat's de same ol' Jew peddler w'at sole me dem pisen, brass yearrings...Sich low down w'ite man as dat, he nevah b'long to no Lan' o' Cainyan."[96] Another tale of the old South concerned a political meeting in which a speaker was attacking the tenets of know-nothingism. He noticed "a little German-Jew" clothing peddler in the audience and exclaimed: "Furriner, didn't you come to this country to escape from tyrannical, downtrodden and oppressed Europe...to live in a land of freedom?" The peddler replied, much to the amusement of the crowd, "No sur; I comes to dis countrie to sell sheap ready-made clothes."[97]

The early presence of the fully-realized stereotype could be seen in a "humorous" letter from "Moses Levi to Levi Moses" in Thomas Haliburton's Letterbag Of The Great Western (1840). Moses complains that the boat trip has made him "shtick to ma shtomac." This has cost him a great deal of money he might have won at cards. He is somewhat skeptical about opportunities in the United States:

> I mosht afeart America is no conetry for te Jewish ...Te Yankee all knowish too mush for us ant too mush awake ant sho sharp as a needle at making von

> pargain, vich give no chansh at all to a poor jew to liff. Den dey have no prinches, no noples, no lorts vat spend de monish...ant runsh in debt... ant asksh no questions about de casht, so long as he gets varte monish he wantish...

By the "post schript," Moses is more cheerful. He has been feeling much better and is starting to win. In a particularly cruel version of the proverbial love the Jew felt for money, he tells how he has put his winnings in his breeches:

> ...and he don't go out...tell he preeds and hatches more to keep up the preed of shovereigns. Oh! put I liksh to put my hant in mine preeches pocked and feel him and count him ofer, and she is shafe and shound...my hand vat is in my pocket, he pats the shovereigns vat is in my preeches on de heat and I tink to maself, goot poys dem shovereigns - vary goot poys, ant has no more dutiful subshects nor lovingk frients vat is font of tem dan me...[98]

Of the early periodicals, the Spirit Of The Times was most likely to include anti-semitic estimates of Jewish character and comic stories about supposed Jewish foibles. An 1844 description of Chatham Street remarked that "the air smelt of old clothes" and the side ways were "glutted with dresses...and little, fat greasy children." There countrymen would walk, "horribly harrassed and perplexed, and every now and then falling into the hands of one of those fierce whiskered Jews, carried into a gloomy cavern, and presently sent forth again in a garment..."[99] The description was so appealing to the editor that he repeated it in 1850! In a tall tale, "Yarns Before the Mast" by "Sam Ropes," the Jew "one of the many land sharks that fleece us ashore," is tricked into paying $200 for an old hat and stick. He believes that they will get him a free meal everywhere. He is arrested for swindling, but set free when the judge hears his story and believes him to be crazy. The victimization of the Jew brings forth "a shout of merriment."[100]

The Jew as the quinessential parvenu was an image many held well before the often written about status pressures of the 1870s. For example, this poem in The Spectator (1845) described the way in which a wealthy German Jew was able to gain entry into New York Dutch society by means of his vulgar use of wealth:

> All was excited now to view
> The advent of a mighty Jew;
> A very curious looking body,
> As ever shaved in gold or shoddy.
> So thrifty had this German grown,
> Transplanted into Gotham loam,
> That he had purchased and display'd,
> In spangling fustian and brocade;
> A wife, and horses, and calash,
> And paid for them, 'tis said in cash!

He is accused of being ready to cut the country in half and sell part of it to the "secesh" devil:

> Provided he shall shave the bill,
> And put "de monish" in his till!
> The attention of the Dutch-man drew
> The movements of this "wand'ring Jew"
> For notwithstanding his queer looks
> The Waghorns and the Danderhooks...
> Declared him handsome and his State,
> That of a money-potentate...[101]

The Jews' inordinate love for money was often perceived as a danger to society, as in this 1854 verse, "Wall Street:"

> Is now a Street - where brokers meet
> Where bankers reign and Hebrews cheat...
> The Israelitish hosts bowed down
> Before a senseless golden calf...[102]

In an 1857 poem in The Knickerbocker, the Jew and the poet were seen as exact opposites among men. They both look at the stars. The Jew wishes that "yonder stars...real shining dollars were..." and that he could grab them. The poet sees the stars as his longings in flight. Then each looks at the other, "full of scorn beyond expression."[103]

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, humor magazines

reached heights of popularity. In these periodicals the Jew was consistently presented as the money grubber who would pursue any means in his single goal of accumulating wealth. His social climbing pretensions were also ridiculed. The three most popular magazines of this type were Puck, Judge, and Life. Judge and Life, which was founded by Harvard Lampoon graduates, were generally single-minded in their presentation of the Jew. Puck, founded by German immigrants and appealing to small businessmen, repeated the stereotype but was considerably more ambivalent in its basic attitude.

The Jewish stereotype joined the whole range of cliche ethnic images in the humor magazines. Generally, the humorous version lacked viciousness, but the Jew, willing to do anything for money, was more dangerous than the other groups who were considered, for the most part, dim witted. A good example of the contrasting stereotype of the Jew and Irishman was an 1883 Life tale, "The Juice." Policeman Gilligan, who has a beat on Avenue A, complains, "The wust is...the Juice - them bloodthy Pagans that made the Holy Vargin an orfin..." When he is asked what is the matter with the Jews, he tells of one old clothes dealer who kept his store open on Sunday every week. One Sunday the policeman arrests the Jew. The Jew informs him that "he kep' Sathurday for Sunday...siventy-siven other Juice...'He does,' sez they." The next week the policeman finds the store open on Saturday. "'But I've changed me religion,' sez he." On Sunday the store is again full. The Jew explains that his mother has died and the neighbors are attending a wake. "Sure enough there was the hook-nose corpse in a chape coffin an' sivinty-sivin hook-nose mourners." The following day, he sends a detective who finds a wax mask of a corpse. "Phwat can yez do wid dem Juice, annyhow," he concludes in disgust.[104] In this story his religion and his mother

matter far less to the Jew than making more money. There is also an obvious contrast between the dull-witted Irish cop and the clever Jew.

The comparison was particularly vivid between the former role of the Jews as the people of the Bible, and the present one as money-grubbers. An obviously Jewish man sits in front of a door where pants are hanging, labeled $2.90. The caption reads, "The Sacrifice of Isaac." In another Life cartoon the biblical Joseph is portrayed as a long nosed man with a cigar and beard. The caption: "Joseph cornering the wheat market."[105]

Money was considered to be the measure of all things to the Jew. In Puck's "Instructive Exercise," Mr. Geldheimer comes to an athletic club and sends his children to do their exercises on a pole in the shape of a dollar sign. In "An Eighteen-Karat Gentleman," Mr. Ipstein, an old Jew, bows to another man. When Mrs. Ipstein inquires whether the man is a friend, her spouse replies, "No, dot is Mr. Soaker; he has been dree monts by dot Keeley Cure und his system is chock full of gold." In "A Golden Opportunity Lost," Mr. Hockstein, after the departure of his last guest at a twenty-fifth anniversary party, expresses regret at not having married twenty-five years younger: "Look at der peautiful bre-sents, undt choost to t'ink, t'ey might haf peen goldt!" When the child informs his father that the book he is studying says that money does not bring happiness, the father answers, "No mein sohn, It's der inderest vot you gets on der moneysh vot makes you happy." The Jew was always keeping his eye on the main preoccupation of his life. Grabenstein Jr. reads his father names out of his school book like Washington and Adams who, in 1776 "were among those making history." Grabenstein Sr. seizes the book, "Is dere a list of der men or firms who vere making moneysh in dose times?" Even patriotism had to take a back seat to money-making.

Wooglbaum remarks, "Did you hear dot young Ikey Levy hass gome back? He has been mit Dewey in Manilla Bay making history." "Vouldn't it been better if he had stayed in Baxter Bay making moneysh?" Burnstein responds.[106]

Sickness, danger, and even death could not interfere with the Jewish proclivity for money-making. Mr. Stein, in bed suffering from a complication of at least six ailments, asks the doctor, "How much discount you gif me on halef a dozen Doctor?" This basic attitude can overcome any fear. In a cartoon of two long nosed, bearded Jews on a ship, one shouts that the boat is sinking. The other retorts, "Vat do I care; I don't own the ship." On another occasion, when two Jews are drowning, one grabs the collar of the other on which there is a diamond stickpin, "If you don't come up again Goldstine, can I keep the diamond?" When a bull charges, Mr. Himmelstein takes the practical way out, "Run toward de bull, Chakob!...And you Rachel, come dis vay! Chakob ish der von to be tossed - he has der live-insurance." A Jew might even be willing to die if the monetary situation so dictated. Thus, Mrs. Isaacs concedes that her husband was resigned to his end, "he vas villing to go. He said dere vas no moneys in der cloding peesiness nowatays." The cause of the sudden death of Solomon Isaacs was that "some one told him that his life insurance would expire next day." Even after this life had ended, the Jew would still remember his role. A long nosed angel is seen staring intently at the ground: "Cohen (just inside the gates): 'I vunder if dose are real diamonds.'"[107] (Of course, this last concedes that a Jew might go to Heaven.)

The vaunted family feeling of the Jew, widely commented on in "serious" journals, was lost in the relentless struggle for money, depicted in the humor magazines. Even on the most sentimental occasions,

Family feeling took second place to economic considerations.

"The son's raise"

Life, v. 27, 1896, 451.





Son: Fader I vants some moneys, mein slade is gracked.

Mr. Isaacs: Mein sohn, dimes vas hardt. Use der odder side.

Puck, V. 23, 1888, 363.

money was the true yardstick. A young man was overheard telling his girl tenderly, "Well, we are at last enkaget. And it is so sweet that I do not even look at the cost." When the lifesaver rescues Mrs. Cohen, her spouse rewards him with five dollars. It was not that he was fond of his wife, but "she had her diamonds on." When Mrs. CoHenn is going down for the third time, her non-swimming husband shouts, "As you loaf me, Leah, t'row dem erringks ashore! Dey gan't be madched in der cidys." The child was also sacrificed to the marketplace. Jacob, bemoaning the death of his child, explains the circumstances, "My lettle Benjamin he vas at der synagogue to say his brayers and a poy put his het at der toor and gries 'Job Lot!' and leetle Benjamin - he was gilt in the grush." When the son asks his father for a quarter to mend the hole in his shoe into which water comes, the father has a better suggestion, "Mein son, you should alvays safe quvarters ven you can. Just cut anoder hole and der vater vill run out so fasd as it vas come in." Mr. Cohenheimer watches a magician take silver dollars from the nose and ears of Dennis O'Brien. He inquires of Mr. O'Brien, "How much a veek vill you dake for dot poy?" The prohibition against intermarriage could be overcome only by greed. Rebecca Ikenstein pleads for forgiveness from her father since she loves a Christian, but Isaac Ikenstein sees only the good side, "Marry him quvick! I vill a partner make him undt ve vill keeb dot shtore oben efry day in der veek." Ikey cries because he has lost another nickel. His father is astounded, "Mein crachious! Rebecca if I dond't sometimes dink dere musdt be Chentile bloodt somevere in your vamily." Naturally, the child would quickly learn what was expected of him. When the boy is asked whether he believes in quick sales and small profits, he responds, "I believe in quvick sales undt all kinds of brofits." The father is most proud when his son demonstrates his

inheritance of his father's set of values. "Vell Repecka, unt vat do you t'ink ohf our Ikey now...He's put on mine coat...to make him look like a man, unt den got dree lemons for a sign, unt he's shtarted a pawnbroker's shtore...Mark mein vords, he'll haf der clothes off them Christian poys' packs before dey goes away."[108]

The clothing trade, whether in new or second clothes, came to symbolize the Jew. Along with pawnbrokering, manipulation of customers in clothing stores was the "Jewish" activity most frequently described by the humor magazines. The sale was the life-blood of the Jewish merchant. When Aaron Levy was sleeping on a disabled ship, he was awakened by the cry of "A sail! A sail!" Forgetting his whereabouts, he displayed his "ruling passion" by shouting, "A sale! A sale! Where?" When Abraham's son Ikey describes a walk in the woods where he saw a nest of birds singing, "Cheap, Cheep!", Abraham urges, "get all dem burts you can! I'll hang dem in der frond window and let dem holler 'bout de goots." Because of his money-craziness, it would be folly to trust the Jew as a dealer in merchandise. The customer complains that the smoking-chair he bought a week ago is ruined, the seat all punched through. Abraham replies, "Goot, mein frient! I told you those schplendid springs vould outlast de chair." Most of all, the Jew could be depended upon to try to make anything fit the "rube" who has the temerity to enter his store. (The same picture as that presented in the New York guide books.) A long-nosed Jew says to a customer-victim who has a pair of pants almost up to his neck, "Dose bants fits you jusd beautiful, mine frent, now ain'd it?" "Y-y-yes. But don't you think they are a trifle tight under the arms?" (This became a standard vaudeville routine.) When young Isaacs admits to his father, "I couldn't make him buy dot suit of clothes," his embarrassed father threatens, "If

you don't sell dot suit of clothes, you'll haf to wear it yourself." Cohenstein's son is starting his own business, reports his proud father, "He vas t'inkin of shtartin in mit a glozing-oud sale."[109]

The obsession with enormous profits might lead the Jew into dishonest practices. Smith asks Brown if he has ever seen a jews harp. "No," Brown rejoins, "but I have frequently seen a Jew sharp." The use of illegal bankruptcy as a means of making profit was often identified with Jewish merchants. Rosenbaum informs Cohen that there have been eighty-seven failures in New York. A worried Cohen responds, "Mein Gott! such competition az dot will kill buziness endirely." When the boy asks if it is a disgrace to have failed in business, Mr. Isaacs advises him, "It vos better to have failed undt lost den neffer to have failed at all." The Jewish business ethic can be summarized by a neat reversal of an old adage, "If at first you don't succeed, fail, fail again." The Jewish approach to percentage profits could be seen in Mr. Isaacstein's lesson to his son, Jacob, "Now Jacob, ven you puy somedings for vun tollar and sells him for two tollars, how much percent vas dat?" The bright boy replies, "Dot vas vun percent." To which Mr. Isaacstein earnestly admonishes, "Ya, dat is right, but remember Jacob, dere is no money in dot vun per cent pizness." (Variations of this gag were found in literature and guide books and persist to this day.) The Jew's cleverness at making dishonest profits knew no limits. The "Dear, Nice Benevolent Old Hebrew Gentleman" who gave away free baseballs to little boys on the East Side, returns the next day with a "Glass-out-in" outfit, and does a thriving business. Abraham and Joshua cannot resist the opportunity presented at a splendid dinner. When Abraham observes Joshua slipping a silver spoon into his boot, he has his own idea. "My frents," he cries, "I will show you some dricks."

Taking a spoon, he says, "You see dees spoon? - vell it ees gone." He puts it up his sleeve. "You vill find it in Joshua's bood."[110]

The crime most commonly imputed to Jews in their quest for wealth was arson, to the extent that it came to be identified in the public mind as a peculiarly Jewish crime. (It should be noted that reports of arrests of actual arsonists do not show any such correlation, according to figures published in the press at the time of the fire insurance controversy and again in the American Israelite in the 1890's.) The culprit might be Burnheimer, Burnstein, or even such fanciful names as Smokenstein, Blazanheimer and Burnupsky (the Russian Jew). Mr. Goldgraber is depressed. He has been in the same building for twenty-four years and is going no place, "If I don't haf a fire here preddy guig I dik I vill busd up." Cohen prefers fires to failures because "he dinks dey pays better." When the editor of Judge asks the reporter who the losers were at the fire he has covered, the reporter retorts, "I said it was in Chatham Street, didn't I? There were no losers; all winners." It is ridiculous when the income tax people ask "it you had any losses by fire vich vas not covered mit insurance," for, as Burnupski readily admits, the cause of the fire was "der insurance." It is also absurd to inquire of Cohenstein who lives over his store, how he would get out in case of fire. Obviously, "in case of fire, I vouldn't pe in." Mr. Rosengarten has no insurance since he doesn't need it yet. He is impatient with the query of what will happen if the place burns up - "Vhy how can id purn ub when dere ain'd no insurance!" Issacstein has to purchase a new safe, "Der old von's been droo so many fires, der safe manufacturers vant it for an advertisement." A terrible nightmare is that the store is on a burning block and "it purned down efery store put mine. Oh it vas fearful!" The Irish cop clearly understands the situation.

To a bearded, frock-coated Jew who asks if Isenstein and Rosenbaum are in the building, the policeman replies scornfully, "Go on wid yez, no - This is a foire proof building'." Naturally, the wealthy Jew's favorite poet is "Burns." Even Satan does not faze the irrepressible arsonist. Mr. "B. Elzebub, Esq." asks the new denizen of his kingdom what he thinks of the fire. "Grandt! Grandt!" the Jew replies, "I subbose, of course, you haf efert'ing covert mit insurance!"[111]

When the Jew had pretensions to being anything more than the humble (though wealthy) old clothes dealer or pawnbroker, he was subject to caricature as the quinessential parvenu. A large Life cartoon titled, "Where oh Where are the Hebrew Children?" depicts the obviously Jewish nouveaux-riche awkwardly attempting such evidently non-Jewish pastimes as polo, golf and tennis. When the pawnbroker and his wife decide to go to the Catskills, she comments:

> The Cohens and the Rosenbaums,
> The Solomons and Steins,
> Are through those mountains, down and up,
> And having sholly dimes.
> Vee'l wear our gustomers di'mond rings,
> Deir chains and vatches too.
> Dot shute of glo'es ve last took in,
> Vill shust apout vit you.

The parvenu is even foolish when he demands his right to stay at a hotel where he is not wanted. A letter protesting that the writer is an American citizen and "vants to board vere I likes" is signed "Ikey Moses, Old Clo'". A post script is added, "I encloses mein bizziness card." Baptism as a Christian cannot change the social pariah status of the Jew. When the millionaire Jew marches with his family to the desk of a hotel which excludes Jews, the clerk informs him that he is a Jew:

> "And you cannot put up at this inn!"
> And Herr Meyer answered:
> "And my family vas got christen!"

The Jewish Parvenu

Mr. Minzesheimer: Vell, Mrs. Chones, how you like dot aencestral gostume off mine?

Mrs. Jones: Ancestral...? Why, it's a Rubens costume.

Mr. M.: Dot's all right. Dot's my tribe. Reuben, Simeon, Levi Dan - all dem was my ancestors...

Puck, V. 14, 1884, 391.

AT THE FANCY-DRESS BALL.





AT MISS AHRENHEIM'S WEDDING.

Ahrenheim pere: Here ish der acid, Leah. Drop a liddle on der ring to see uf it vas reel golt!

Puck, V. 24, 1888, 117.

> But the clerk inspected them all, and his head
> Most dubiously was shaken:
> "You may have been just baptized," he said:
> "But it doesn't seem to have taken."

The social graces are beyond the Jew. Rachel walks with her nose in the air. Her father explains, "She vas in Newport two whole days, and now she can't shake off dose aristocratic airs she got dere so quick already." Even the richest Jew is innocent of any knowledge of culture. When he sees two girls playing a piano duet, Ikenheimer is distressed, "My! My! Aint dese hardt times awful! Dose Goldstein girls has both to play off the same piano!" To the woman who wants a guarantee that the painting she is purchasing was really painted by Holbein, Ikenstein is reassuring, "Madam, I saw him paint it meinself, ven I vos a boy, in Chermany." The Jew's main problem in his attempt at social climbing is his tendency to judge everything by its monetary value. The young man in fancy riding habit reports to his grandfather that he made $50 trotting his horse. The old man responds, "Goot for you Chakey! Dot vos der vay to enchoy horsepack riding!" Goldstein, on the golf course, complains that he hates "der whole beesness - golf, nature, summer, all ov ut!" His friends want to know why he plays. The obvious reply is "Because I'm going to get my money vorth oudt of der glub."[112]

In spite of the jibes, there was considerable anxiety about the continued advance of Jewish wealth and supposed Jewish control of important segments of the nation. An indicative simile was "vunce he vas as poor as a church-mouse undt now he is as rich as a - as a -" "As a synagogue mouse." Puck portrayed Jewish financiers as the only possible saviors for a church which had failed in Cincinnati. The spokesman of the syndicate tells Archbishop Purcell, "Why d'ye bodder yer brainsh, my tears? Ven yer gives us a nice little morgige on dot Catedral, Bruder

Purcell shall hafe all der monish he vants. Only small percentage a veek - vell, den a mant shelp me Moses." Puck was rather genial in contemplating Jewish dominance. When Issacs inquires if the Anglo-Saxons will rule the earth, Cohenstein replies, "Vell maybe dey might, but dot von't brevent der Hebrews from owning it." Levy feels that the Jews are rapidly monopolizing the business of the country. This prospect does not please Isaacs who sadly remarks, "Soon dere vill pe nobody left dot ve can shtick."[113]

As early as the 1880s Judge was not as unperturbed by the prospects. A two page cartoon depicts "Ceremony of taking down the last sign of the Christians in New Jerusalem (Formerly New York)." The sign, "John Smith and Co." is replaced by "Moses Eichstein Son, a Levy." A joyful crowd of Jews, including the "Pawnbrokers' Union" watches. A Jewish regiment parades. Judge predicts that the "crack Seventh" and the gallant "Sixty-Ninth" will have their names and members changed, and "even our 'Finest' will have given away to the aggressive Jew..." Jews, after all, are a people without a country of their own who "make themselves perfectly at home in any country...they are in no need of a country of their own so long as they are successful in appropriating other people's. They and their money already rule Europe, and it is only a question of time when they will do the same in our own country, and the world..." The Jew will replace the flag with their own "symbolic three balls," and the word "monish". Washington will become "Jewville" or "Hebrewton". Working girls will be "sold to the highest bidder." In "The slaves of the Jews" women are parading before Jewish clothing dealers who are "Choosing the Slaves." The reader is urged to visit establishments where many girls are employed by Jews. "Observe with what care the scoundrels select only those of pleasing form and features. Once in their employ the girls find that

An Image of a Famous Jew



"Joseph Pulitizer," Life, Vol. 30, 1897, 459.

Jewish control of the press.

they must submit to the insults or lose the opportunity to earn scanty wages..."[114] Could this kind of exploitation be what America had to look forward to when the Jews dominated?

Life was equally alarmed. Not only was the Jew advancing in business, but he was becoming all too prominent in the press as well, exemplified by Joseph Pulitzer. The editor informs his proofreader that there was a mistake in the newspaper when a man who had died was described as "prominent in the new Jerusalem." It should have been the "New Journalism." The proofreader retorts, "I don't know that there's much difference." A cartoon of "New York City in the Future - Only a Question of Time," depicts the city as entirely taken over by Jews. Businesses have such headings as "Cafe P. J. O'Cohenstein," "The Garrick-heimer Theater," and "Cohen by the Sea."[115]

In general, the humor magazines presented a Jew who spoke burlesque German. His features were grotesque - huge hooked nose, fat lips, beedy eyes and, often, a long unruly beard. The women were overweight with the same comical facial characteristics. (No Rebeccas here.) In addition to his preoccupation with wealth, the Jew was a physical coward. On the model of classic European anti-semitism, he was particularly afraid of dogs. The over-all picture was most unappetizing.

The same kind of humor was found in the popular almanacs issued by the Ayers and Hostetter companies. James Harvey Young, in The Toadstool Millionaires, discusses the ways in which these almanacs "may have helped form social attitudes in the American grass-roots mind of the late nineteenth century." The humor found in these almanacs may well reflect the prejudices of the average man to whom they were directed, "For certainly the patent medicine proprietors...would hardly have repeated in issue after issue stereotypes offensive to the main body of their potential customers..."

The Irishman, for example, was presented as pugnacious, cowardly and somewhat slow-witted. Young feels, however, that the other stereotypes did not have "the bitterness displayed in the sketching of the Jew. Tramps, peddlers, or pawnbrokers, Jews were always after money and slow to yield it up..."[116]

Cartoons supporting the above statement can be found in Hostetter's Illustrated. A Jewish peddler is trying to sell "Shoe strings, collar puttons, susbenders" to an old spinster lady. Miss Ann shoos him, "Go 'long there! We hain't got no men folk in the house!" He has a ready response, "Ach Madam, it vas a goot ting to lay in subblies in adfance. An addractive lady like you can't tell vat may habben some tay." When a crab grabs hold of Mr. Heimbetter's toe as he is swimming, he moans in agony. But he urges his wife not to pull it off since, "dey vos vort' a dollar a dozen in Nye Yorick." One well-dressed Jew asks another how he got into the theater without a ticket. The other replies, "S-sh! You musd nod dell any von. I valk in packwards and the door-keeper thinks I am coming oudt."[117]

Other publications attempted "humorous" treatment of the Jew in which the same basic image was presented as that of the comic periodicals. Harper's Magazine of 1865/66 was particularly filled with examples taken from the Civil War. A soldier buys a pair of boots from a "Jew store." After walking a few steps, the soles come off. He rushes back indignantly exclaiming, "Look here, you scoundrel, you've swindled me. These boots ain't worth a cent." The Jew, with great presence of mind, responds blandly, "Oh dem ish not infantry poots: I thought you was a cavalry man." The "old Jew" sutler is indignant when the regiment marches out, "Dey always fight like every ting. Dey git killed effery von! Who pays me my monish?"[118] In 1895 Harper's ran a story by Hayden Carruth,

"Goldstein's Equestrian Joke." Isaac Goldstein has been a pack peddler in rural areas for twenty years, "but not once has the base thought of deserting the proud trade for paltry labor crossed the Goldstein mind." He sells clothes horses to a Norwegian settlement. The horse "doan kick and you doan never haf to feed her..." He hears that there is to be a wedding and urges each of his customers to purchase one for the bride. When she opens her presents, the bride finds twenty-four clothes horses and more are coming. The victims go after the peddler, but he is long gone with his profits from the cruel joke.[119]

Getting the best of the shrewd, calculating Jew, thus repaying him for his treatment of others, was a popular theme, particularly in Western humor. A typical example comes from James S. Buck's 1886 Pioneer History of Milwaukee. He describes a Jewish tailor in early Milwaukee who was "noted for his sharpness in trade" and was also "the dude of the town." Rarely did anyone get the better of Samuel, but the author recalled one occasion when this did happen. He was standing at the door of his store "watching for a chance to beat somebody with a shoddy coat," when a brawny lumberman out of the woods, passed by. He was urged to buy a pair of $18 pants, assured by Samuel that they were a perfect fit. He put the pants on over his old ones and "picked up Samuel, carried him out of the street, where he laid down in the gutter with him and ...rolled over...until they both resembled a third ward porker just out of a mud-bath." After this, he left with the pants and was never seen again.[120]

Such trickery could have undertones of cruelty as in this disdainful story from Texas Siftings. Mose Schaumburg notices Sam Spillkins walking with a fine dog and is told that the creature's name is Peter. His real name, Mose is informed is Jupiter, "but I always leave off the Jew part...

and call him Peter, on account of the high regard I have for Israelites...I don't like to use the word Jew in connection with a dog." Mose beams with joy and makes "some pathetic remarks" about how much better Jews are treated in America than Russia "and Spillkins thinks he laid the foundation for a trade for a fall overcoat on a credit basis."[121]

There is no question that humorous publications were the most consistent purveyors of anti-semitic stereotypes. Yet even here, there was more ambiguity than is usually conceded.[122] An early example pokes fun at Christian efforts to convert the Jew. At the meeting of the American Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Jews, the Reverend Dumwho arrives in a cab at the expense of the society. John Donkey rises up and speaks of distress at home. He mentions families he knows who lack the necessities of life. He suggests "ameliorating the conditions of the Five Points" and other people "whose condition both morally and physically, demanded more attention than the Jews." This leads to an uproar and condemnation of John Donkey. Later, the same publication produced an "advertisement" from the society which had obtained "A Real live reformed Jew" and takes "great pleasure in exhibiting this unique animal to the Christian public." He would "state how and when, and for what consideration, he became a convert." He would also read chapters from the New Testament "forward and backwards" and would conclude by "eating a pound of pork sausages and a real ham."[123]

Sometimes humorous comment included positive images of the Jew as well as negative ones. The California Mailbag, a generally friendly source, ran a poem about a widow who attended the "'Ebrew Benevolent Ball" which was held in "Platitude Hall." The earlier section pokes some fun at the parvenu tendencies of some wealthier Jews. The widow concludes, however:

> But this I vill say, that the 'Ebrews is kind to the
> poor and the friendless and let Christians bear in mind
> Ven they gets into debt and their rent hoverdoo
> The only vun with money to 'elp 'em is the Jew,
> And but for circumcision and sleepin' in de boosum
> Of Abraham before 'alf the Christians I'd choose 'em.[124]

Of the humor magazines, Puck was most striking in its ambiguity. It certainly perpetuated all the accepted stereotypes. Puck's explanation was, "We have never made fun of the Jews as a race or of their religion. We have made fun of the follies and absurdities of Jews, just as we have made fun of the follies of Christians and atheists." On the issue of exclusion of Jews by hotels and resorts, Puck consistently followed a liberal policy, intermingled with the usual stereotypes. When Hilton announced his barring of Jews from Saratoga, a series of satirical interviews, "A Jews of a Row!," exposed the absurdities of his policy. Mrs. Wilkins was quoted as declaring, "I only wish that besides excluding Jews, he'd kept out professional actors...I never could bear to be cheek to jowl with the common classes." Dr. Mary Walker expressed some doubts about Jews, "I don't like the fit of their clothes...I've gone to Chatham Street... and I never yet succeeded in getting a suit of clothes with the money in fit. But between the Jews and Judge Hilton, I think I would much rather have the Jews." A cartoon depicted, "The Christian (?) Sentiment Rampant." An obviously drunken man, a member of the "Hog Family," complains, "Say ish them Jewsh shtoppin in thish hotel?" The clerk replies apologetically, "Yes, but they're very wealthy and highly respectable..." Indignantly, the drunk announces, "Make out my bill! I can't live alongsider Jewsh. Ash a Chrish'n gen'l'm'n, I can't shtand 'em.

When Corbin announced a similar policy of exclusion on Coney Island, Puck produced an interview with Moses in Heaven. Moses reminds the reader, "Der fact is, I vas a Shoo myself...see dem hook in dot nose..."

Moses remarks that the Jew goes with his family and "don' droubbles nobodies." He doesn't even go into the water "to use up dot ocean." Several serious editorials opposed the ways in which Christians made themselves "disagreeable" to Jews in America. A large cartoon showed Bismarck, Hilton and Corbin all persecuting the Jew. The Jew is in the middle with "sobriety, industry, music, sciences and promissery notes" (this image seemed to get into even the best intentioned efforts). The triumphant Jew announces, "I have thriven on this sort of thing for eighteen centuries. Go on gentlemen. Persecution helps de Pizness." The situation also lent itself to humorous inversion. A Jewish hotel keeper declares that he will not accept an Irishman as a guest. He explains to a reporter that "he did not like Irishmen on principle. They came down to his hotel...with shillelaghs in their hands, broke one another's heads, spilt the blood over the place, much to the disgust of Mr. Cohen's German and Jewish guests..." In another case, Co Henn refuses to go to Long Branch this summer because "dey led an Amerigan in von ohf der pest hodels last weeg." An 1881 editorial, with the usual mixture of sympathy and stereotype, noted that Mr. Moses Isaacs of Chatham Street might be a "sheeny," but "he vos a shaindleman un don' you forket it." Puck advised, "The sea, at least is free to the down-trodden Hebrew." They should build a floating hotel and anchor off Coney Island. "And then Mr. and Mrs. Moses Isaacs can stand triumphantly... and flash their diamonds on the discomfited Christian hordes on shore..."[125]

Even Life, more consistently hostile, ran a cartoon poking fun at anti-Jewish snobbery. It shows a long-nosed bearded Jew in Heaven, carrying a key and sporting a large halo. As he walks, he is observed by Greek goddesses. Minerva comments, "Extrawdn'ry isn't it, my dear Juno, how the Jews get in everywhere."[126]

A long poem which appeared in Puck in 1891 was most illustrative of the dichotomy of views held by that publication. Here the Jew is clothes dealer, parvenu and accumulator of the money he loves. Yet, he is also charitable, a good family man and a kind human being:

Pharoah King of Egypt's land
Held you in cruel hand,
Till the appointed of the Lord
Led you forth and frowned his horde.
---
Century after century through
Chains and lashes for the Jew.
---
Marked for scorn of Christian men;
Pilfered, taxed and taxed again.
---
Child of torture, son of shame
Robbed of even a father's name -
In this year of Christian grace,
What's your state and what's your place?
Why you're rich and strong and gay -
Chakey Einstein ouff Broadway.

Myriad signs along the street
Israelitish names repeat.
Lichtenstein and Morgenroth
Sell the pants and sell the coat.
---
Fat and rich you are and loud;
Fond of being in a crowd.
Fond of diamonds and rings,
Fond of haberdasher's things,
Fond of color, fond of noise:
Fond of treating "awl der boys."
(Yes it's only fair to state
For you yourself most temperate.)
Fond of women, fond of song;
Fond of bad cigars and strong.
---
Fond of life and fond of fun.
(Once your "beezness" wholly done.)
Open-handed, generous, free
Full of Christian charity:
Far more full than him who pokes
At your avarice his jokes.
Fond of friends and ever kind
To the sick and lame and blind;
(And though loud you else may be
Silent in your charity;)
Fond of Mrs. Einstein and
Her too numerous infant band.
Ever willing they should share

Your enjoyment everywhere...

Though you're spurned in some hotels,
You have kin among the swells -
Great musicians, poets true
Painters, singers not a few
Owe their cousinship to you.

(And in England, another "cousin" is Disraeli, the "greatest" man of the modern world.)

Well good friend we look at you
And behold the conquering Jew
In despite of all the years
Filled with agony and fears...
'Spite of prison, rack and lash
You are here and you've the cash;
You are trade's uncrowned king...

The ultimate fate Puck predicted for the Jew was somewhat different, however:

Only one small joke, O Jew!
Has the Christian world on you.

His first born son, Solomon will wed a Christian blue-blood, trading his money for her name. He will pass the synagogue and go on:

To a church werein his pew
Will bear a name unknown to you
---
That's just as sure as day is day -
Chakey Einstein ouff B'way!

A cartoon in the same issue was entitled, "They Are the People, The Downtrodden Ones - 'They have always Persecuted Us; But We Get There All the Same.'" Various rulers down to Russia's current Czar were portrayed passing laws aimed against the Jews. In the middle, in victory, stands a rich Broadway Jew.[127] In spite of all the stereotypes, there was widespread admiration, even in the humor magazines, for the ability of the Jew to overcome terrible obstacles and succeed in the world.

There can be little doubt that, despite occasional exceptions, the humorous periodicals reinforced the pernicious image of the Jew as a

human being to whom the measure of all things was money; a man who would take discreditable, immoral and even illegal actions in his unremitting pursuit of his goal of wealth. On the other hand, it is also true that these caricatures, for the most part, lacked real hatred. The overstatements joined a myriad of stereotypes directed at other groups which were foreign and alien. A contemporary writer noted, "From the commingling of heterogeneous customs and languages we shall have a medley full of fun, loud, large uproarious and rollicking in exaggerations."[128] The contrast with European humor is particularly striking. In European caricature, the Jew was the incarnation of the devil, the source of much that was evil in society. The Jew was "mocked, reviled, and cursed, never really laughed off."[129] In American humor the Jew was laughable more than dangerous. (After all, what great damage can be done by an ill-fitting suit?) Unlike the devil-image, he was a rational human being who, unfortunately, tended to utilize his reason to promote his greed. To some extent the criticism of the materialism of the Jew was also a critique of American society which seemed to accept many of his values. The pursuit of wealth was, after all, endemic to the America of the Gilded Age. The image of the Jew was more of a challenge to the presumed values of the humorist than that of the other ethnic stereotypes. One does not get the impression, however, that many of the cartoonists or humorous writers feared the evil satanic Jew dreaded in Europe.

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Popular image makers from whom the average American received his picture of the Jew tended to present the same basic stereotype - the money hungry usurer; pawnbroker, clothing dealer, or even international banker-conspirator. The Jew would find no means too dishonest or immoral if it helped him to achieve his goal. The image might be presented as

somewhat laughable and basically harmless as in burlesque and most of the comic periodicals, or it might be sinister and dangerous as in some dime novels and many plays. In whichever form, however, the stress was the same. With a few exceptions this was the main image of the Jew many Americans must have had (and still have). The picture of the Jew as an economic creature has proven to be remarkably persistent.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

1 Sylvanius Cobb, The Marmeluke (Boston, 1852), 27.

2 Edward Judson, Ned Buntline's Life Line (New York, 1849), 14, 19, 125.

3 Edward Judson, Morgan Or The Knight Of The Black Flag (New York, 1860), 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 87, 115-116, 187.

4 Edward Judson, Rose Seymour; Or The Ballet Girl's Revenge (New York, 1865), 44, 46.

5 See Abraham H. Steinberg, "Jewish Characters in Fugitive American Novels of the Nineteenth Century," YIVO, Vol, XI, 1956/7.

6 Joseph Holt Ingraham, Ramero (New York, 1869), 89.

7 Albert Aiken, White Witch (New York, 1871), 11, 29.

8 Albert Aiken, The Genteel Spotter (New York, 1884), 6, 11, 12, 22.

9 Albert Aiken, Lone Hand In Texas (New York, 1888), 10-13.

10 Albert Aiken, Dick Talbot The Ranch King (New York, 1892), 16.

11 Albert Aiken, California Detective (New York, 1878), 8, 30, 31.

12 Albert Aiken, The Phantom Hand (New York, 1877), 5.

13 Albert Aiken, Lone Hand On The Caddo (New York, 1888), 3.

14 Albert Aiken, Lone Hand The Shadow (New York, 1889), 2-4, 8, 13.

15 Albert Aiken, The Fresh Of Frisco (New York, 1891), 24.

16 Gilbert Jerome, Dominick Squeek, The Bow Street Runner (New York, 1884), 24-26, 43-44.

17 Gilbert Jerome, Old Subtle: Or The Willing Victim (New York, 1885), 32.

18 Jesse Cowdrick, The Detective's Apprentice (New York, 1885), 6.

19 Edward L. Wheeler, Apollo Bill, The Trail Tornado (New York, 1882), 9.

20 Edward L. Wheeler, Boss Bob, King Of The Bootblacks (New York, 1886), 5, 7, 12-15.

21 Edward L. Wheeler, Jim Bludsoe; The Boy Phenix (New York, 1878), 4, 8, 11, 14.

22 Edward L. Wheeler, The Ventriloquist Detective (New York, 1887), 2, 5.

23 Prentiss Ingraham, Gold Plume, The Boy Bandit (New York, 1881), 7, 9.

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Prentiss Ingraham, The New Monte Cristo (New York, 1886) 6, 7.
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Prentiss Ingraham, The Jew Detective (New York, 1891), 2-4, 14, 27.
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Prentiss Ingraham, "Jule the Jewess," in Banner Weekly, XV, # 734-745, December 1896 - February 1897.
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Arthur Hornblow, A History Of The Theatre In America (Philadelphia, 1911), Vol. I, 82; Vol. II, 160.
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T. Allston Brown, A History Of The New York Stage (New York, 1903), 3 volumes.
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Ibid., 65.
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William Winter, Life And Art Of Edwin Booth (London, 1893), 198-200.
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Cincinnati Christian Herald, quoted in American Israelite, April 14, 1865; William Cullen Bryant, Shylock Not A Jew in Joseph Baron, Stars And Sand (Philadelphia, 1943), 59-60; also quoted in Lelyveld, 75.
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Lelyveld, 129.
35
Pineywoods Tavern Or Sam Slick In Texas (Philadelphia, 1858), 37.
36
Herbert W. Kline, "The Jew that Shakespeare Drew?" American Jewish Archives, XXIII, April 1971, 72.
37
Evening Bulletin, December 24, 1895 and Chicago Tribune, January 10, 1884.
38
Lelyveld, 83.
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## IV - THE PRESS AND PERIODICALS

Of all the image makers, the daily press and more serious magazines were, perhaps, the most schizophrenic in their treatment of Jews. Positive and negative pictures of the Jew could often be found in one journal, sometimes in the same issue. This profound dichotomy could be discerned in the treatment of issues concerning Jews, in attitudes towards famous Jews and in "human interest" coverage. The over-all picture was at once deeply hostile and warmly favorable.

### The Jew as Fire-Bug

Only occasionally did issues arise about American Jews. The infrequency of such issues indicated the lack of deeper tensions. The ways in which the press handled such issues were further manifestations of the attitudes towards Jews in America.

A brief but sensational incident in 1867 concerned the refusal of several insurance companies to write fire insurance policies for Jewish-owned firms. The Banking and Insurance Chronicle, a Chicago-based trade publication, reported that the General Agent of New York insurance companies had addressed a circular to local agents detailing heavy losses in the South and West on Jewish properties. "The companies would be compelled in future to decline all such risks..." A protest meeting was held. The publication observed that the agent should receive a "scathing rebuke." As a class Jews "are intelligent, fair dealing and at the same time, a law-abiding and thrifty people. That they have rascals among them is no more the fact - nor more damaging - than we find the same kind of men among the different religious denominations." In the West Jews not only observed their own religion, but closed their businesses on the Christian Sabbath. Even though they lost two working days, "they make

hay while the sun shines and they become prosperous and wealthy." One could find "representatives of the Hebrew race" among the leading men of business in the principal cities. They sustain no more or larger losses, but, "being careful men, they are always insured." Other nationalities were simply more reckless. This did not imply fraud or collusion.[1]

A few weeks later the Chronicle reported an indignation meeting in Richmond,Virginia. Mayor Mays, an insurance man himself, noted that most of his dealings were with Jews. He gave "testimony to the uprightness and honesty of their conduct." In the same issue an insurance underwriter said, in a letter to the editor, that the expression "Jew risk" had nothing to do with religion. "The truth of the matter is that Jews as a class, have blustered and swindled the insurance companies." The honest portion of the "Hebrew fraternity" would find it an "Augean job...of dirty character" to improve this situation. He quoted instructions to agents from various companies for several years prior to the publicized incident. For example, City Fire of Hartford admonished, "Jews - our experience has been that it is better to decline risks for the 'lost tribe' unless for an individual or firm whose good character and honesty have been established..." The letter writer concluded, "We trust that Jews will speedily men their ways." In response, the Chronicle urged Jews not to be discouraged "because a few black sheep have been discovered in their fold. The world at large will not condemn them."[2]

The Insurance Monitor, a New York publication, was far less sympathetic. Its March 1867 issue decried the protests by respectable Jews who were acting as "champions of men with whom as individuals they would have no dealing whatever." They did this only because of "oversensitiveness" and because they realized that the discrimination was merited. A large

class of Jews were "unreliable and untrustworthy...first class incendiaries." It was foolish for the "honorable exceptions among Jews" to cry that there had been an affront to their religion. The New York City Fire Marshal noted that, of 463 recognized incendiaries since 1854, 108 or 28% were Jews, three times the percentage of Jews in the general population. (Defenders of the Jews stated that the Jewish proportion in the general population was not the same as their percentage among insured small businessmen. In the latter figure Jews appeared to have about the same proportion of fires as others.) The April issue of the Monitor included many references to the risks of insuring Jews. A Milwaukee case was pointedly featured in which two ready-made clothing store owners, "both Jews," set fire to their store.[3]

Newspapers were divided on the issue. The New York Tribune was sympathetic to the Jews. The New York Herald was on the other side. A letter to the Herald maintained that ten to twelve percent of the fire losses and forty percent of the fraud cases were "Jew risks," even though Jews constituted less than two percent of the population. This was a term for men who came out of nowhere with "keen black eyes and curly black hair; men who 'sells dings sheap',..." and infested every town. They should not have been confused with the "elevated Hebrew merchants" of the big cities. In its own editorial on the subject the Herald insisted that no insurance company had "refused to insure any respectible merchant." There were a class of swindlers who took out large insurance policies and then were "conveniently burnt out." It seemed that "an unusual proportion of this class are men of the Jewish race...this perhaps is the development that roguery has taken in that financiering race." Leaders of the Jews should not fight the companies, but should help expose

the criminals. This had nothing to do with persecution. It was simply a matter of business.[4]

The Evening Post ran many letters on the subject, mostly from protesting Jews. The President of Metropolitan Insurance Company claimed in response that losses had occurred in the premises of German Jewish small businessmen "far out of proportion to their numbers." These were people "of no known social standing or pecuniary responsibility." They habitually made the "most bare faced and extortionate demands" which they backed up with a "reserve corps of witnesses of like faith."[5] The class distinctions between the scrambling small "Jew businessman" and the respectable upper class "Hebrew merchant" was an interesting subsidiary aspect of the dispute, as was the frequent assertion that Jews would lie for each other.

The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch published one of the strongest editorials opposing the actions of the insurance companies. It noted that Jews and other citizens had expressed indignation and "the illiberal conduct of the companies has generally been condemned by the better class of business men." The editorial defended the Jews vigorously. The actions of the insurance companies were:

> nothing more nor less than an attempt at persecution...utterly unworthy of the present age and country. It is an undeniable fact that in their business relations the Jews stand as high as any other class in the community. They have a proverbial reputation for close dealing, but the generality of Christian merchants are fully as ready to drive a hard bargain...when the Jews do conclude a bargain they almost invariably stick to it, and when they undertake to do a thing, they seldom fail to carry it out...Among them are some of our best friends, and we can bear testimony to their integrity as merchants...and to their general refinement and intelligence...We seldom or never hear of the failure of a Jewish merchant; Jews are rarely accused or convicted of crimes, and the community is not charged with the support of Hebrew vagabonds and paupers...Besides this, they are an unusually well-read and intelligent people, and...they have among them some of the most learned men of the day...

Unfortunately, "the peculiarities of the Hebrew religion" tended to separate the Jews somewhat from other citizens and many people, knowing little about them, might take the actions of the insurance companies as indicative of untrustworthiness on the part of Jews. This charge was "without foundation." The paper hoped the local merchants would condemn the "insulting action," for if the principle was accepted that "men are to be proscribed because they are members of a particular religious sect," it might lead to great trouble in the future.[6]

The immediate dispute over insurance quickly died down, but the image of the Jew as arsonist persisted. The American Israelite was troubled in 1873 by a story in the Lawrenceburg Press, a Pennsylvania newspaper, about an attempt to burn the town. The paper cast suspicion upon "Alderman, a Jew, who, it is strongly believed, kindled the fire." It developed that the gentleman in question held no insurance and was suspected only because he was a Jew. The New York Police Gazette included a supplement to a report about the crimes of "Moses Breidenbach, a prominent member of one of the Jewish synagogues of this city." While most pictures of the Jewish community stressed its law-abiding character, this report emphasized that German Jews acted as receivers of stolen goods, "professional lifters," burglars and swindlers. "Those in business find it difficult to effect an insurance upon their stock because of the frequency with which fires occur in their stores and the suspicious circumstances attending them..."[7] In 1890 the Boston Herald noted the Fire Marshal's report that 76% of the city's arsonists were Polish or Russian Jews. (Note the change in the fatherland of the Jews accused.) He believed that companies should no longer insure such people. Insurance provided an incentive for illegal gains "in the minds of people whose stan-

dard of morality is low, blunted no doubt by long years of persecution in their native land." The ordinary Hebrew risk was as safe as any other. The problem was "the lower class of Polish and Russian Jews, many of whom were criminals before they came to this country." (Again, the class distinction.) One insurance man declared, however, that he would never take another "Jew risk," regardless of nationality. "There seems to be something in their religion that teaches them there is nothing dishonorable in cheating Christians." In addition, their general filthiness caused fires. By the 1890s this image had become so deeply ingrained that it was a major source of material in the humor magazines.[8] The picture of the Jewish businessman setting fire to his own investment to make a quick profit has persisted to the present time.

## Hilton, Corbin and the Jewish Parvenu

The issue which excited most press comment was the "Sensation at Saratoga." In June 1877 Joseph Seligman, a leading German Jewish banker, was refused admittance to his usual summer resort, the Grand Hotel in Saratoga. The order came from the executor of the Stewart estate and soon to be hotel magnate, Judge Hilton himself. Seligman was informed that the great bulk of guests wouldn't come if the Grand Hotel was to be frequented by "colonies of the Jewish people" who had made themselves "obnoxious to the majority of guests." The Hotel had been injured by statements that it was a "Jewish rendezvous" and a "Jew boarding house." Guests had inquired whether the hotel would be "overrun by people of the Hebrew persuasion." The trouble was not caused by the better class, but by those who congregated wherever their leaders were located. The hotel manager explained that the Jews brought guests from low boarding houses who monopolized the best chairs for shows. "Old customers stood while a

shoemaker or tailor from Chatham Street occupied prime seats." They talked to people who had no desire to be acquainted with them and committed other sins like wearing "large and vulgar jewelry, patent leather boots, showy pantaloons..." An interview with Judge Hilton revealed a great deal of animosity towards Seligman (who had opposed him politically). He described Seligman as a man who "owes some of his most vaunted offices to the practice of the veriest Shylockian meanness." The Seligman Jew should be distinguished from the Hebrew. "He is to the Hebrew what the Shyster is to the law profession - he is the 'Sheeny.'" He is rich and must advertise it. His origins and his instincts are low. "He is as audacious as he is vulgar." He can't get enough to eat unless he consumes six meals a day. He prepares for the next day of gluttony "by ridding himself of his tortured load all over the furniture with groans at its loss that disturb every decent person." His type has caused contempt for the Hebrew race.[9]

Other hotels in the area disagreed. The Congress Hall had among its guests "a large number of excellent Hebrew people." The United States Hotel declared it would turn away no one because of religion since "there are a great many nice people among the Jews." The manager of the Albermarle Hotel felt that Jews were desirable tenants. He conceded that "the display they occasionally make in the matter of bogus jewelry is offensive to persons of refinement, but they do not force their ideas on others." At the Windsor Hotel, "we take all the Jews we can get" since no Jew left an unpaid bill. In matters of business honor, declared the owner of the St. James, they were better than Christians.[10]

The incident monopolized headlines for a week. The practice which was brought to the attention of the public was not new, however. In his

1868 guide book to New York, Matthew Hale Smith described a new hotel which was built by leading families "on the express condition that Jewish women and children should not be allowed...Every means has been resorted to by the people of Israel to get rooms in this hotel and fabulous prices offered," but none were admitted. "A half dozen would drive away all who were not of Israel."[11] A year before the Seligman incident the New York Tribune had run an advertisement by a proprietor of a watering place which said, "Jews not admitted." A Jew wrote to complain that a newspaper of "such high standing" would permit such an advertisement in its pages. The paper admonished editorially, "That is he wishes us to display bigotry in condemning the bigotry of others." The Tribune advised Jews, "It is hardly wise for Hebrews to be so extremely sensitive. They certainly do not wish to go to a hotel which does not desire their presence, or, if they do, they have odd notions of self-respect." It further observed that there was no hostility to Jews in this country.[12] The American Israelite decried all the noise over the Seligman incident since "the same thing has been done, said and published dozens of times." Thus, a Cincinnati shoemaker said, "I sell no goods to Jews;" a New York hotel advertised, "No Jews need apply;" houses of rent routinely said, "Jews can't have it." The only difference was that in this case "moneybags collide." These watering places were "pools of corruption," advised the Israelite and Jews should stay away. Prejudices against foreign Jews existed mainly in Eastern cities and was directed against the "moneyed aristocracy."[13] Although the practice was evidently not uncommon, the Seligman incident obviously brought it to the attention of the public.

Discussions of the incident occupied the editorial pages of many of the newspapers of America. Most of the comment indignantly opposed

Hilton's actions. The New York Herald paid particular attention to the event. Its first editorial was headed, "Have Israelites any rights which Hotel Keepers are Bound to Respect?" An action like Hilton's might have been tolerated when Jews were "a proscribed class," but it does not answer well in "this liberal and enlightened period." The change in attitude is shown by the progression from the evil Shylock to the noble Rebecca. Further liberalization had come from the advances made by Jews in every walk of life, in "finance especially" and "in the munificent foundation of great public charities." Any attempt to revive old prejudices was "a revolting anachronism" and an "affront" to the freedom of America. It was also a violation of the Civil Rights Act. A second editorial stressed that, if all the Jews had contributed to human knowledge was excluded, many people would be astonished at the great share of the advancement of the world which was involved. Jews were very successful in America "since the battle is free and it is quality and capacity that win." The Herald also voiced the fear that the issue involved not merely whether hotel keepers could refuse Jews, or even questions of faith, "but the framework of society itself."[14]

Other New York publications expressed similar, though somewhat less vehement opinions. The Evening Post felt that the "proscriptive spirit" of the order would not be tolerated. Hotel keepers could not reject guests out of pure whim. The nation fought a war against mistreatment of a race "who was honestly believed by a large number of citizens to be an inferior race." Could people then tolerate "the proscription of a race whose equality with the foremost races in the intellectual and moral activities of civilization is nowhere disputed?" The very upper class Commercial Advertiser demanded to know whether the "colored population"

had rights that whites lacked. It was true that, "among a certain class of Christians," there was prejudice against Jews which showed itself "like hydrophobia during the dog days." Most Americans, however, were against "any attempt to draw the line of distinction between Christians and Jews. The day of caste and prejudice has passed." The New York Sun noted that Jews "have been rapidly filling up every avenue to wealth and prosperity ...and have become a very important part of our population." At a time when England, with all her prejudices, had a man of Jewish birth for Prime Minister, "this eccentric action of Mr. Hilton in excluding Jews where Negroes must be admitted," would cause problems. Later, the Sun commented, "Nearly the entire community has shown its readiness to stand up for the rights of our Jewish fellow citizens." All the newspapers, leading businessmen, prominent clergymen, and even most hotel keepers condemned Hilton. It was evident "if Mr. Hilton does not stand alone, his party must be very small indeed."[15]

The Daily Graphic editorialized that Jews in America had been free from "unjust discrimination, oppressive laws and social ostracism" common in Europe. As a result of hard work and "keen business instinct," they had prospered. Except for "a cast of features which nothing but centuries of intermarriage" would change, the average American Jew could hardly be recognized in company. The Graphic did make some concessions to the views of the more prejudiced with the usual explanation:

> Many Jews have traits and manners which are disagreeable to most Americans. The phrase 'jewed' as a synonym for cheated...expresses the still current feeling as to the excessive sharpness of that race in business transactions. On the other hand, it must be remembered that most of what appears offensive in some Jews is the natural result of the life they have been forced to lead, the persecutions...the Jew has been on the stone until his brain is as keen as a knife blade. Driven out of society, he lacks the fine manners and gentle ways which come from centuries of good breeding.

The editorial went on to list Hebrew contributions to science, art, literature and religion, and concluded, "We must be just to such a people with such a history."[16]

The New York Tribune displayed even more ambiguity in its condemnation of Hilton's actions. Hilton had explained that the Jews he opposed were given to "vulgar ostentation" and a "general obtrusiveness." The paper sarcastically responded, "as these vices are quite unknown in Christian society, we may now congratulate ourselves that at least one hotel... will be a little paradise of refined simplicity and an academy of good breeding." However, Jews should not react with oversensitivity by invoking the Civil Rights Act. They could find excellent quarters elsewhere. A gentleman does not want to go where he isn't wanted. The American people detested "unjust and invidious distinctions." A later editorial reflected upon the abuses which had become a problem to American hotels. Fashionable places had declined because of an influx of the class of people Hilton had described. Mr. Seligman did not belong to it, but the class did exist. Hilton was wrong only in stigmatizing the Jews. "Both the old faith and the new provide their full contingent of underbred and overdressed men and women who make life hideous at watering places." As the incident dragged on, the Tribune appeared to grow less sympathetic to the Jewish point of view. The case, the paper argued, had nothing to do with religious persecution which was impossible in this country. It was the result of social distinctions since there was little affinity between Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon. "Nature is to blame...the peculiarities of different civilizations...have increased this dislike between the two races." In addition, Hebrews were "naturally of a clannish disposition." They tended to congregate in the same hotels, affecting its business. Many

hotels were forced to choose between excluding them or being run for Jews alone.[17] The whole incident was "brief and ridiculous."

A sermon by Henry Ward Beecher stressed that, even though many people despised Jews, they were the "benefactors of the human race." They had advanced civilization through monogomy, pure love, care of children, "virtue of industry," and the "lesson of endurance." There were some dishonorable Jews, but "fewer than among us." Harper's Weekly felt that Hilton's action "illustrates and confirms a race prejudice which is simply monstrous." Not only was it illegal, but it was morally and socially wrong to stigmatize a class "against whom a wretched prejudice already exists." If people were to be barred because of vulgarity, many others would have to be excluded. At least the action proved "how sincere and universal is the protest against the indulgence of a race prejudice against white skins." Prejudice against blacks is equally disagreeable, Harper's concluded.[18] The Nation, on the other hand, felt that Jews should not go where they weren't wanted and urged them to improve their social graces.

Most of the newspapers throughout the country which commented on the issue expressed indignation. The Philadelphia Bulletin felt that "only the ignorant and vulgar have race hatreds." The Cleveland Leader agreed that intolerance was condoned only by "vulgar beggars of yesterday mounted on horseback by shoddy or petroleum." Other papers were confident that persecution of Jews would fall in a democracy since it was opposed to the principles "upon which our institutions are based." It was a return to the attitudes of the Middle Ages. Several editors praised the Jews as "in many respects the most remarkable people on the face of the earth." The Albany Journal, for example, believed that any race that can

boast of Mendelsohn, Meyerbeer, Rothschild, Disraeli and Rubinstein "can smile superior at the vulgar slight of a hotel keeper." Others declared the action a violation of civil rights. A few agreed with the Elmira Gazette that it was time Congress looked beyond the "poor negro" to see if there was a need for legislation to "insure the rights of a white man." The Providence Journal concluded that any hotel keeper who refused accommodations to a man because he was the follower of any one religion "is not likely to be overburdened with sensible guests." The Cincinnati Times, referring to Seligman's national financial role, managed to inject a little politics into the situation. It was singular, the editor noted, that the man who "more than any other capitalist has been instrumental in the past ten years in contributing to sustain the financial credit of the government," should be picked for a gross insult by a "democratic judge, hotel keeper and manager of dead men's estates." The Chicago Tribune concluded that any social prejudice existing in America against Jews could be traced to women, "for there is not one man in a hundred who cherishes any feeling against any other man or woman on account of race or religion."[19]

Other papers more ambivalently stressed the financial power of the Jews or their vulgarity, even while denying the validity of Hilton's order. The Washington Nation was worried that if the insult could be taken as a beginning of persecution in America, "the Rothschilds would withdraw from the syndicate and oppose American credit in Europe...for the Jews are as clannish as the ancient Scots." The Fitchberg Sentinel argued that as long as "the scrawl of a Jew on the back of a piece of paper is worth more then the royal word of three kings, it will be in vain to try and limit them to two dollar hotels." In the "humorous" approach of the Elmira Advertiser attorneys, witnesses, Congressmen and everyone else

The Saratoga Incident




This Puck cartoon of June 1877 was a pungeant comment on Hilton's exclusion of Seligman. "Seligman Jew," presumably a Reform Jew is contrasted with "Hilton Hebrew," a more Orthodox Jew. Posting pigs on the hotel is recommended as "a sure device to keep them out." The "unobjectionable gentiles" are obvious gross nouveaux riches. Seligman plaintively inquires, "Vhere, oh vhere is my summer home?" In the middle of the scene Christ is portrayed saying, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

would make common cause "with our oppressed fellow citizens." They could all go to enjoy the waters and high life at Saratoga since "the Jew has plenty of money and will bear the expense." The Rutland Globe conceded that many of the Jewish patrons at hotels were "vulgar and offensive in their manners," but insisted that the idea of outlawing them as a race would be unpopular in this country. The Springfield Union was even more equivocal in its defense of the Jews. Although firmly stating that the Jew had as much rights as the Negro, making it ridiculous to shut hotels to Jews when they had just been opened to "colored men," the Union added that rich New York Jews had filled Saratoga hotels to the annoyance of those "prejudiced against the chosen people not on account of their religious beliefs...but because of their vulgarity...and often insolent display of their wealth..." The Philadelphia Times dismissed the whole episode as a quarrel between two men whose only claim to distinction was money and whose only craving was notoriety.[20]

There were even a few published defenses of Hilton. The New York Times ran several letters to the editor stressing the unpleasant character of the Jewish parvenu. One correspondent felt that a religious discussion was not involved, "but the disagreeable characteristics of the average Jew." Hilton's views were the same as those held by most respectable Gentiles" that the Jew is disgusting, obtrusive, gaudy, insolent, unclean and afflicted with"petty avarice." The curse of Jews at hotels is like the "grasshopper plague." Long Branch was overrun with "loudly dressed, swaggering Jews." The Jewish race would not have been hated by every race with which it has had contact "unless there was something inherently disagreeable in the people itself." Another writer was delighted to be able at last to take his family to the Grand Union Hotel without "mingling with the wretched, impudent, staring and noisy crowd."

Still another supported the right of hotel keepers to defend themselves against ruin by "the presence of a people noted for meanness, uncleanliness and obtrusive vulgarity." The Harrisburg Daily Telegraph agreed in even more vitriolic terms. Hilton was fair and just. The Jew who heads the stock board, thinks cash buys all and plunders "financial unfortunates," makes hotels "offensive to people of refinement...they pollute every room with their peculiar modes and manners." The Jew has brought a stigma upon himself - he is a "boor and upstart."[21]

Despite the uproar, largely opposed to Hilton, and an effective Jewish boycott of the Stewart department store (also administered by Hilton), the policy of exclusion was not withdrawn. Gradually it spread. Two years later, a similar story broke when Austin Corbin, proprietor of Manhattan Beach, announced that Jews were not welcome there. He was evidently upset by the large number of Jews who came with their families and picnic lunches, rather than buying food and beverages from him. Corbin said that Jews "expect three times as much for their money as other people." They were driving away the better class of customers. "They are contemptible...a detestable and vulgar people." His brother Dan added that the only word for them was nasty, "It is not the Jew's religion I object to; it is the offensiveness which they possess as a sect..." This time the public appeared to be more divided about the "attempted ostracism." The Herald pointed out that, unlike the Saratoga case, this affected the masses. It touched the "great middle class." Many hotel owners and private citizens were interviewed. One admitted that there was widespread prejudice against Jews, "although it is not as deep-seated as the Jewish prejudice against Christians. They refuse to allow their children to marry Christians. Why should they complain if Christians refuse to associate with them?" A woman admitted that she would like to go to a

hotel where there were no Jews "because I hate 'em." A restaurateur went to the Manhattan Beach basket party pavillion and couldn't find ten Christians. The Jews, he concluded, "are not paying customers." The Herald's article found that "it seemed to be generally conceded that the clannishness of Hebrews was one feature that militated against them." Several hotel men, however, disagreed with Corbin. One called Jews the "money-makers, the money-holders and the money-spenders." Another insisted, "We have never lost a bill by them, which is more than I can say for the Christians." One felt that antipathy to Jews was a result of "the fact that they have and spend money and display good clothes and diamonds in a way that a good many Christians can't, but would if they could." Other hotel men, while declaring that many Jews were refined, agreed "that there is a certain class which is noisy and vulgar." When this class took a place over, it was dead. One remarked that they almost ruined his establishment until he discouraged their patronage. An innkeeper, who believed that most Jews were well-behaved and welcomed them, added that there was a class of Jews obnoxious not only to "Americans," but "to the cultivated and refined people of their own race."[22]

Most of the New York newspapers supported the Jewish position again. The Herald, in one of its several editorials, remarked that Corbin's act was particularly mean. The Jews were good, even superior, citizens. The usual litany -- the lack of Jewish criminals and paupers, the thrift and charity of the Jews -- was recited. Jews should avoid "oratorical hysterics." While ministers who defended Jews were deserving of praise, there was really "no danger that the rights of Jews will be interfered with in this country." The Sun felt that no true Christian wanted to punish Jews. "The whole genius of American institutions is opposed to tyrannical exclu-

sion." At any rate, "a man might as well oppose Niagara or the Mississippi" as to try to keep down the Jews. The Commercial Advertiser thought too much was made of the whole incident, but Corbin had attacked a large group of people "who are no better and no worse than any other class or race." By so doing he made himself absurd. Coney Island would continue to attract the rude and boisterous as "noisy as the worst Jew from Division Street" and the refined "among whom there are none more cultivated or elegant than the educated Jew." In this way the Advertiser remained true to its class point of view. The Evening Post was more seriously concerned. If a class could be excluded from one public place, they could be excluded from another. Eventually, they could be kept out of all public places and excluded from the United States itself. There must be equality before the law or we must "give up the radical doctrines of our political system..." Today it is the Jew; tomorrow it will be somebody else.[23] This was an interesting attempt to inter-relate private and public discrimination.

The German press was particularly outspoken against the Corbin action. The New Yorker Zeitung blamed "our better classes so called" for permitting demonstrations like that of Hilton and Corbin. The New Yorker Volks Zeitung, reflecting a more radical point of view, felt sorry for the poor Jews who had escaped the "hepp, hepp!" cries of Europe, only to find in civilized America the worst kind of banishment. Even the ultramontanes of Europe never dared to launch such an action. Religious prejudice was at the bottom of it. "One of the principle traits of Americanism is its Christian hypocrisy." This led to the onslaught on the Jews "notwithstanding all the cant about their boasted tolerance." The paper castigated the representative American society, "the railroad thieves,

the Wall Street speculators" who didn't like Jews.[24]

Some other New York newspapers were considerably more ambivalent. The Evening Mail felt that the Jewish race would eventually gain recognition for its great qualities while "those whose manners brought odium..may be driven into more retired places for their manifestations and held in check by the better classes of their own people." The Times was annoyed that "the perennial Jewish controversy is upon us in all its original silliness and virulence." Most Jews, the paper noted wryly, would oblige Corbin by staying away, leaving him to detect vulgarity in other races. It certainly was a "perversion" of a public franchise and a fine beach. On the other hand, the paper conceded that Jews were not in the habit of doing things by halves "and when they take to imitating a certain class of American society they decidedly distance the originals. It is the complaints of the people whose loudness and tawdry display are exaggerated by the coarser type of Jews" that we hear in the tirades against "Hebrew vulgarity." An even more sarcastic editorial, "Masasseh and Ephraim," related a theory which purported to show that Anglo-Saxons came from one of the tribes of Israel. Corbin, Hilton and all Anglo-Saxons learned that they were Jews. "In vain may we boast of the modesty of our noses and revel in forbidden pork..." Let "Mr. Corbin, who in the pride of his nose, exiled his Jewish brethren from Manhattan Beach, read these proofs and he will instantly send out for two yards of sack cloth..." The lost tribe had remained in Babylon, the editorial commented, "having found there an excellent opening for the retail clothing business."[25]

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle was even more equivocal. The Eagle felt that there had never been a time in the history of America when there was less inclination to persecute any race or religion: "such is the manly

temper of our time." Jews have been distinguished in "every department of human effort." But this had nothing to do with hotel keepers who cared only about their livelihood. They claimed that Jews were "clannish, selfish, exacting." This was more annoying at summer resorts where people relax and the young go to meet each other. "The fact that those of the Jewish faith intermarry only among themselves" took them out of the stock of eligibles and led them to be regarded as intruders. The Jews made this distinction themselves and it "leads to others." Leading Jews should encourage "deferential regard for the rights of others." The Hebrew Board should get men to examine the facts. If inquiry showed "Jews are not careful of the rights of others in their social intercourse...then the remedy would be in the hands of Jews themselves..."[26]

Other periodicals tended to oppose Corbin's actions. Puck, a consistent supporter of Jewish rights despite its unflattering cartoons, spoke of "Corbin's Boomerang." He had tried to suppress the Jews. "This little feat has been attempted in many countries for many centuries, but at latest accounts it had not succeeded. It went against all the principles of America. Corbin wanted to close the "free Atlantic Ocean" to the Jews. There were Ludlow Street Jews who might be "nasty," but there were also Jews on Fifth Avenue. "When the admission to a public place depends upon the shape of one's nose, liberty lies bleeding." The Nation noted wryly that Corbin's main complaint appeared to be that Jews sat at tables too long, smoked cheap cigars and didn't drink enough; "so that, apparently, a little more fondness for the promenade, greater extravagance in the consumption of tobacco and a decided disposition to get drunk would go far to redeem them in his eyes." The fact that he did nothing to carry out his prohibition meant that it would be ignored by all "except the

more sensitive and self-respecting of the obnoxious class - i.e. the very ones not aimed at by it." Obviously it was "a mere advertising expedient." Harper's Magazine remarked that there were many "refined and estimable and accomplished Jews," but there were many who were vulgar. A hotel frequented by Jews was, therefore, avoided by other people. However, Harper's believed that Jews were not excluded because they were vulgar, "but because they are Jews." This was race prejudice, "a relic of barbarism," unworthy of American Christians. The whole problem stemmed from the crucifixion. "Men of no Christian principles whatsoever flout better men today because other men murdered the founder of Christianity."[27]

Despite the fact that there had undoubtedly been exclusion of Jews from hotels before the Hilton and Corbin incidents, most newspapers and magazines appeared genuinely shocked. With few exceptions, it was the general view that ostracism was contrary to American ideals. Jewish contributions to civilization were often cited. Unless one supposes a universal hypocrisy, this social proscription was not a practice that the public knew much about. Initially, the opposition to such exclusion, at least in the public press, was virtually unanimous. On the other hand, many of the defenders of the Jews did concede the presence of the supposedly objectionable traits which were the targets of the hotel men. Some urged the Jews to ignore hotels which barred them or to reform "vulgar" characteristics. As time went on, exclusion form hotels, fashionable and otherwise, and justification of such practices, became more acceptable. By the 1880s social ostracism was widely recognized, and by the 90s it was considered a given factor in social relationships. The Seligman incident may not have introduced anti-semitism to America as some observers have suggested, but it did bring to the fore the image of

the Jew as arriviste parvenu.

In 1880 the New York Mail remarked that the first thing that impressed visitors to Long Beach was the preponderance of Jews -- "They literally overrun the place." Only one hotel continued to maintain its exclusiveness and conservatism. The Ward Hotel, by contrast, was "thronged with Israelites. The women wear fine clothes and big diamonds and the men dispute their bills and call for items." When the Jews decided to come to town "it was an evil day for Long Branch." Just as oil and water could not mix "no more will Jews and gentiles."[28]

A New York legislator, a Jew himself, introduced a bill prohibiting distinctions in public places in view of "the numerous announcements of summer hotel-keepers which have already appeared refusing to receive Jews." The Nation, in May 1881, hoped that he would not press the measure. "No Jew who feels the present hostility of hotel keepers would care to make his way into any hotel by the aid of the sheriff." The worst advice was to "push" more. Any energy ought to be "devoted to cultivation of the arts of which social success depends, and the art of making one's way into circles where one is not wanted is not among the number."[29] Puck, at the same time, featured a cartoon captioned, "A Hint to the Hebrews - How They May Make Themselves Independent of the Watering Place Hotels." It showed the "Hotel de Jerusalem" right off the beach, with a large-nosed guest thumbing his nose at the signs on the beach -- "No Jews Taken," and "Look Out for the Jew."[30]

By September 1881 North American Review featured an article entitled "Jewish Ostracism in America," by Nina Morais, a member of an established Philadelphia Sephardic family. Liberals spoke of Jews as peaceful, temperate, moral, charitable and patriotic; but in social prejudice the Jew was not judged as an individual. Instead, he was regarded as a "specimen

of a whole race whose members are identically of the same kind..." He was perceived as an objectionable character:

> whose shrewdness and questionable dealing in trade enable him to wear large diamonds and flashy clothes. He raises his voice beyond the fashionable key...For the proprieties and amenities of cultured life he has no regard. His conversation rings upon the key-note of the dollar...mean in pence, he spends in pounds with an ostentation that shocks refined people. Of the higher sympathies he has none; the finer feelings he cannot appreciate. In a word, he is foreign - outlandish - a Jew.

Ms. Morais conceded that most rich American Jews did not display culture commensurate with their wealth. They had come to America when there were enormous opportunities to make money. With his "mercantile aptitude," the Jew rose to the top too rapidly. He was dazzled by America's freedom and "bewildered by the privileges which the almighty dollar would purchase." Starting as a pack peddler, he had limited contact with American culture. The real source of the prejudice, she felt, was the "abysmal ignorance of the Christian world regarding the Jew." Christians pictured Jews as murderers of God, scattered for their sins. The exclusiveness of the Jew was used as an argument against him. People urged intermarriage, but this would "remove prejudice by doing away with the object." Eventually, she hoped, Christians would realize that the Hebrew race is "celebrated for its culture."[31]

Alice Hyneman Rhine wrote an article on "Prejudice at Summer Resorts," which appeared in The Forum, July 1887. The ostracism of Jews from American watering places, she asserted, was a new feature in America where Jews were among the best citizens. The newspapers of ten years earlier had denounced Hilton's action and reiterated that no one would ever imitate such an act. William Cullen Bryant termed it a prejudice so deeply against the American spirit that it "could only have a momentary existence." Editors treated the incident as an anachronism, urging Jews to

view it with "scientific curiosity." But the predictions did not prove to be correct. Hotels, and even boarding house owners, had followed the Saratoga example, and it was now considered the "genteel thing" to refuse to accept Jews. The excuses were that the Jews lacked "social refinement," spent less and yet went in for "vulgar ostentation." They accused the Jews of being at once "ostentatious and parsimonious." This was a reflection of the ignorance of Christians which had its roots in "the obstinacy with which Jews deny the messiahship of Jesus," coupled with their "terrible responsibility for the crucifixion." Actually the social charges were not sustained. "The picture which is painted of Jewish ill-breeding represents the newly rich of all creeds." Jews were members of all classes. "The money kings of America, the great monopolists...are Christians." Jews were among the foremost thinkers of the age. They were kindly people and "bear no malice for the wrongs inflicted on them." But, despite proof of their worth and virtue, society would not tolerate them, declaring them to be "unpleasant." Israelites were "too sensible" to show displeasure. They consoled themselves by clinging even more closely to their homes. Ms. Rhine predicted that, with their versatility and capacity,Jews would acquire refined dress, "modulated tones of voice," and drawing room etiquette. She was pessimistic over any improvement in Christian attitudes resulting from superior Jewish refinement, however. She concluded, "For the obliteration of a prejudice so unjust the Israelite can only look forward to a time when a broader culture shall prevail among his Christian fellow-men."[32]

By 1893 Theodore Seligman, son of Jesse Seligman (and nephew of the Joseph Seligman involved in the Hilton incident) was blackballed when he sought membership in the Union League Club, of which his father had been

a co-founder. Since the Seligmans were a respected and extremely wealthy German Jewish family, it was openly stated that "race feeling" was the sole reason for the exclusion. The New York Herald labeled the action as "Indefensible. Anti-Semitic Prejudice Unchristian and Unworthy of the Nineteenth Century." The story quoted Dr. Charles Parkhurst, the well-known reformer, who described Jews as a "temperate and law-abiding people true to country and to family." The blackballers, he charged, would have excluded Moses![33]

The Evening Post, however, commented that prejudice kept Christians and Jews apart all over the country. "In fact, there is no social phenomenon of the day more familiar to all New Yorkers." It might be sad or even reprehensible, "but it is as notorious as the sun at noonday, and it is of long standing." The Post regretted the failure of Christians to associate with even the well-bred Jews, but added that people should not try to fight their way into private dwellings where they were not wanted.[34]

The Post reflected further upon the causes of anti-Jewish exclusion. This led to an interesting exchange of views on the subject with the New York Sun.[35] The Post thought that prejudice was brought on by the Jews themselves in their "failure to cultivate the social arts...and neglect of the important trifles which go to make a social acceptableness and welcome; and foremost among these is the art of self-surrender, of abstention from small and tempting advantages." In effect, the accusation was that Jews were obnoxious parvenus.

The Sun responded that "such a generalization applied to a whole race, the most ancient in civilization, is manifestly false." Through history numerous Jews were distinguished in social tact and grace. In fact, many of the leading families had Jewish blood and "manifest none of

the offensive peculiarities attributed to the Jews as a race." Yet social antipathy to the Jews had survived through the centuries. The Sun accepted widely held upper class views which concluded that antagonism was due to the self-separation of the Jews. The paper agreed with anti-semites that Jews would not become socially acceptable "until they had abandoned the rites and prejudices which separate them from the rest of mankind and tend to perpetuate their own characteristics." Unlike other immigrants who lost their "race identity" and became Americans only, Jews retained their identity undiminished. The "Jewish face and character remain the same as they were in the days of the Pharoah." Although German Jews like the Seligmans were actually the most thoroughly assimilated immigrant group in the country, the Sun concluded that prejudice depended on "Whether the Jews will sacrifice their Judaism to their desire for social acceptableness. As long as they keep by themselves, they will be left to themselves socially."

Six years later, the Sun reiterated the same arguments. Jews provoked fear and enmity by striving to perpetuate their special characteristics. "Any people stubbornly holding itself apart and distinct is sure to provoke injurious criticism." Whether deliberately or not, the Sun misinterpreted a rabbi's explanation of the concept of mission or "chosenness" among the Jewish people. It warned that if Jews persisted in such assertions "they must be prepared to accept the consequences...continuing and unconquerable anti-semitic prejudice."[36] Here was a frank statement of a widely held American view -- assimilate or be damned -- carried to its ultimate conclusion.

On the other hand, the Tribune, which appealed to a similar class audience, came to quite opposite conclusions. The Jew-hater followed a

logic which "requires the Jew to remain aloof and distinct and then... curses him for so doing." The Tribune argued that history had actually shown that "no man becomes more fully and loyally naturalized and more completely identified with his adopted country than the Jew." To exclude these "indomitable people" was to "affront the spirit" of the times.[37]

For the most part, periodicals tended to opposed anti-semitic manifestations in the United States and to support equality of treatment. Even their defense of Jews, however, often reinforced the paradoxical perception of the Jew both as quintessential parvenu who pushed himself into places where he wasn't wanted and as clannishly aloof and unwilling to assimilate. The general acceptance of these images is confirmed by the social ostracism of the Jew which was a general practice by the 1890s. Everyone agreed that a denial of political rights was un-American, but social exclusion had become tolerable. In the general uneasiness about the lack of culture and breeding among the American elite, the Jew provided a convenient scapegoat. The criticism of the Jewish parvenu was, in effect, also a criticism of American social values. Perhaps the Jews themselves, the periodicals concluded, had caused this "American" form of anti-semitism.

## Reaction to Famous Jews

One interesting barometer of the image of the Jew was the treatment accorded by the press to Jews who had reached some degree of prominence, either in America or on the world scene. In most cases, these men were admired rather than censured, adding to the positive image of the Jew.

Judah Touro was one of the earliest American Jews to be a model for the picture of Jew as unselfish philanthropist (one of the strongest posi-

tive Jewish roles). His contributions to save a local Presbyterian Church led to favorable comments in Niles, as did his efforts on behalf of the restoration of the Newport synagogue. When he contributed $10,000, along with Amos Lawrence, to the building of a Bunker Hill Monument, the presiding officer at the 1843 dedication of the monument read a poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes:

> Amos and Judah - venerated names!
> Patriarch and prophet press their equal claims,
> Like generous coursers, running neck in neck,
> Each aids the work by giving it a check,
> Christian and Jew, they carry out a plan -
> For though of different faith, each is in heart a man.

Touro's death in 1854 was reported by obituaries filled with lavish praise. The New Orleans Delta commented, "New Orleans has lost one of her sincerest devotees and humanity one of its truest friends...Some of his donations have been on a scale of magnificence and liberality scarcely paralleled in our country." The Bee characterized the funeral services as a public triumph, one of the largest ever seen. Touro had become "a local and national hero, an exemplary Jewish philanthropist." Bertram Korn has suggested that Touro "contributed a benevolent portrait of 'the Jew' which contrasted forcefully with the distorted folk-image."[38]

Certainly the most flamboyant and controversial of the early Jews was Mordecai M. Noah, politician, journalist, playwright, prophet and personality, a genuine original. In 1822 the New York Evening Post described Noah as a "political adventurer...corrupt and mercenary, destitute of principle...ever ready to work for money or for office...His political corruption and want of veracity have become proverbial." And a later observer added,"Mr. Noah is a Hebrew." Niles Weekly Register was extremely exercised over Noah's declaration of the Hebrew settlement of Ararat in New York. Noah was sarcastically labeled "governor and judge of

Israel," and his proclamation was considered "ridiculous." He was nothing more than an agent for foreign land speculators, "Jews themselves, perhaps, who have no sort of objection to advance their own wealth at the cost of their fellows - and to get money." The speculation might succeed enough to fill the pockets of Noah and his associates. If this happened, "we shall be prepared to hear another proclamation that our brother-editor is self-declared to be at least, the immediate forerunner of the expected messiah!" Later, Niles quoted a letter from the Grand Rabbi of Cologne rejecting "Mr. Noah's facetious proclamation." The editor insisted, "Mr. Noah cares less about a gathering of Jews than of making money for himself."[39]

When Noah was editor of the Union, a Whig journal, he castigated Horace Greeley for eating with two Negroes. Greeley responded that he "cherished little of that spirit which for eighteen centuries" has held the "kindred of M.M. Noah accursed of God and man." Thousands now would not eat with a Negro, but there were, until recently, more who would not dine with a Jew. Greeley concluded in devastating fashion, "We leave to such renegades as the Judge of Israel the stirring up of prejudices, and the prating of 'usages of society,' which, over half the world, make him an abhorrence, as they not long since would have done here."[40]

The New York Herald, another long-time opponent of Noah, reported that the "judge of Israel" had delivered a discourse at the Crosby Street synagogue on the subject of Sunday schools. The Jews were starting such schools for the "education fo the poor children of the tribe of Judah" and to improve their morals. This was a good idea and "we are glad to see such a sinner as Noah endeavoring to balance his accounts for the many lies and rogueries he has committed as a politician." If he suc-

ceeded in reforming "the morals of the old clothesmen in Chatham Street and the pawnbrokers and money brokers by his Sunday discourses, he may be able to cross the Jordan in this life...Go on Noah, God knows you are not too old to reform..."[41]

In general, however, by the 1840s Noah was perceived as a grand old man and an interesting character. Philip Hone noted in his diary in 1841 that "Mordecai Manessah Noah, an Israelite, former editor of the Star... but of late a conservative...has been appointed an associate justice of the Court of Sessions." When he was confirmed, Charles King of the American protested that Noah "knew no more about law than he did about the Gospel." Hone recalled the good nature with which Noah had once answered an earlier such suggestion. By 1844 Niles, a vigorous early opponent, was approvingly citing a letter from M. Noah, "whose enthusiasm upon the subject of Jewish restoration has been exhibited during his whole life." Noah was also reported delivering a lecture on "The Restoration of the Scattered Tribes of Israel to the Land of Palestine" before a group which included such prominent clergymen as the Right Reverend Bishop Hughes.[42]

When Noah died in 1851 both the Commercial Advertiser and the Evening Post carried obituaries. Neither mentioned that Noah was a Jew. The Advertiser called him "the oldest member of the editorial profession in this city." Although he was not a profound thinker, "he was a ready writer, with a good stock of practical knowledge and considerable humor." The Post added that he wrote with "unusual vivacity of manner." His concept of politics was not especially elevated, "but his cordial good nature gave him a large circle of warm friends."[43]

Later memories of Noah were even more affectionate. George Foster, who had written most unflatteringly of Jews in general, described "Major

Noah" as the "patriarch of the Press," in his book New York Naked. Though a superficial writer, Noah's work sparkled with ridicule and satire. Yet he was "magnanimous in newspaper wars" and an agreeable companion. He was ready to do a favor "providing it didn't cost too much." Though he "kept both eyes on the main chance," he was no worse in this than other members of the press. At the end, "the old King of Israel" was over seventy, but his eye had not lost its brightness. His death was mourned, "for in the attributes of husband, father and citizen, no stain of reproach rests upon his name." A memorial article in Lippincott magazine in 1868 by Samuel Lockwood recalled Noah as a gentleman "of the stock of Israel." Some of the strictest members of the "peculiar people" had considered him "too liberal" since he once said, "I admire this Jesus of the Christians." The author recalled the elderly Noah assisting a "noble...patriarchal" rabbi who had come from Palestine to seek help at a time of famine. The author's conclusion was that Noah's "memory to me is pleasant ...he was a man of the world and knew the world well...how happy would I be could I see his influence for the general weal yet alive and with us."[44] The reaction to a man of such controversial character was, of necessity, mixed. Opposition to him tended to be based upon his political activities rather than his Judaism.

Judah Benjamin, in view of his important and visible position in the Confederacy, was the frequent target of anti-semitic remarks. Earlier, as Senator from Louisiana, he was praised by the novelist Joseph Holt Ingraham in The Sunny South (1860). In this book a young governess encounters the newly elected Senator Benjamin on a ship. She finds him friendly, talented and charitable. His election is "a practical illustration of the free institutions of our happy land, where theological disabilities are not known." Jews possessed an inherent element of great-

ness, "the blood of David and Isaiah, of Abraham and Solomon...their princely lineage is not extinct." Perhaps America would one day have a Jewish President. Benjamin was a "rising man." He might one day be President.[45] "Would any man refuse to vote for him because he is a Jew?"

The passions aroused by the Civil War led to far less flattering views of Benjamin. Senator Henry Wilson included diatribes against Benjamin in his anti-semitic speeches. The Governor of Ohio said that Benjamin was untrustworthy because "he is a Jew by birth and a politician by trade." In response to criticism, Brough insisted that it was merely a joke. An article in Harper's Magazine in 1863, "Some Secession Leaders," remarked of Benjamin, "Were you to meet him on Pennsylvania Avenue, you would rather take him for a peddler of jewelry or an old clothesman than for the lawyer, deep politician and brilliant orator he was."[46] Of the top Confederate leaders at the end of the Civil War, for whatever reason, only Benjamin felt the necessity of going into exile in England -- much of the blame both for the war and the South's defeat had been placed upon him.

By the 1880s comments about the ex-Confederate leader had mellowed. Reporters often interviewed him in England where he was quite successful. Their reports were generally admiring in tone. The reporter for the Philadelphia Record in 1885 noted that both of Benjamin's parents had been "devoted adherents to the grand old religion of their fathers." Benjamin had always "retained his respect for his race," though married to a Gentile, and "never identified with the Jewish Church." In Senate debate he was once taunted about being Jewish. "'The Senator,' he said in his usual silvery way, 'will please remember that when his half-civilized ancestors were hunting wild boar in the forests of Silesia, mine were the princes of the earth.'"[47] (Another version of this undoubtedly

apocryphal story was attributed to Disraeli.) When Benjamin died in 1885 the obituaries were long, and generally fair. In spite of occasional speculation as to whether he had converted on his deathbed, most of them referred to his Jewish "race" only in passing, if at all.

August Belmont, the American representative of the House of Rothschild, was generally considered a Jew by the American press and public, even though he had married into an aristocratic Gentile family and severed all connections with the Jewish people. Although he was an Episcopalian, his appointment as American minister to the Hague was widely publicized as an honor given to American Jews. The Jewish newspaper, the Asmonean, indignantly rejected such an interpretation. Nevertheless, Belmont was never allowed to forget those origins he had worked so hard to surmount. In 1868 the State Treasurer of Pennsylvania informed Belmont, "We are willing to give you the pound of flesh, but not one drop of Christian blood." Belmont responded with regret "that the State of Pennsyvania should have for its treasurer a person who could so far disgrace the State...to reply to a simple business communication in a manner which must raise the blush of shame on the cheek of every citizen..." The American Israelite, reporting the exchange of letters, expressed the view that the House of Rothschild could have picked a genuine Jew as its representative. A rumor that Belmont might be planning to sell his paintings led the Golden Age in 1872 to characterize him as "a wealthy foreigner of Jewish extraction" and to charge that he was planning to leave the United States to go back "to his European employers to assist them in making money out of the United States debt..." When the mistreatment of Roumanian Jews came to public attention, the New York Times suggested that such men as "August Belmont and other citizens of Hebrew origin who

have risen to wealth and position in this country might cooperate in pressing the attention of the United States government" to the plight of the Roumanian Jews.[48] Through his marriage, his wealth, his snobbery, his horse racing, his art collection and his political influence, August Belmont was able to win the acceptance in society which normally took three generations. The press, however, was unwilling to let him forget his origins -- and there was more than a hint of Shylock in its picture of him.

In 1893 Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly ran a series of sixteen articles on notable Jews in America. Written by a Jew, this series was extremely complimentary and informative about Jewish leaders who were not so well known to the general public. Adolph Sanger was the President of the New York City Board of Education. Jews owed their success to their education and furnished "their full quota of attendance at the public schools." Nathan Straus was "one of the central figures of the Jewish community of New York." Rabbi Solomon Schindler worked in New England against the misconceptions people had of Jews, "the accepted idea of a Jew is the jargon-speaking pack peddler whose honesty and cleanliness are both frequently quoted below par." Others included judges, lawyers, busienssmen and rabbis. The author also made the point that German Jews in 1848 were peddlers and small traders "and were looked upon by the Portuguese Jews much as the descendants of these same thrifty German Jews now regard the Russian immigrants..."[49]

Foreign Jewish leaders, however, were the sources of far more comment than American Jews, since the accomplishments of the latter were minimal compared to the Rothschilds, for example. There was much discussion about Benjamin Disraeli. Although he was a practicing Anglican,

newspapers and magazines always considered him a Jew (with some justification, in view of his constant stress upon his Jewish ancestry and his writings glorifying the "race"). Disraeli was often cited as indicative of how far Jews had come in the present "enlightened" age. American articles about him were almost entirely laudatory, stressing his brilliance particularly. An Atlantic Monthly piece, "Benjamin Disraeli," for example,praised him as a descendant of "the pure sephardim stock; they were Hebrews of the Hebrews." Furthermore, although Disraeli practiced the Christian religion, "so far from repudiating his race, he has always gloried in it...he has done more to break down unjust prejudices against them than any other man...He has made people understand that they do not insult him by calling him a Jew - they only play him a compliment." An 1882 Century article, anonymously contributed by Emma Lazarus, queried, "Was the Earl of Beaconsfield a Representative Jew?" Disraeli possessed the facility "which enables this people not only to perceive and make the most of every advantage of their situation...but also with marvelous adroitness to transform their very disabilities into instruments of power." With remarkable impartiality, Ms. Lazarus also commented that "the narrowness, the arrogance, the aristocratic pride, the passion for revenge, the restless ambition, the vanity and the love of pomp of Benjamin Disraeli, no less than his suppleness of intellect, his moral courage, his dazzling talents and his triumphant energy proclaim him... a representative Jew."[50] The picture of Disraeli added to an image of the Jew as a man who accomplished great things in the modern world.

Above all, American periodicals were fascinated by the Rothschilds. We have seen that the Populists, and other opponents of international capitalism, used the term "Rothschild" as an interchangeable symbol for

international banker. In that context, the Jew was an iniquitous figure. Most of the American press, however, tended to cover the family as a kind of "super-folklore." There was a particular, and generally not hostile, attraction to the mythic Rothschilds, in a society in which money was king.[51]

In the early part of the century Niles Weekly Register took particular notice of the Rothschilds. One comment dismissed their intelligence in areas other than the making of money. It did concede that they were "among the most important persons in Europe" who "settled exchanges and put up and down stocks at their will." In 1829 Niles reported a rumor that the Rothschilds had purchased Jerusalem. This was not so improbable. They were "wealthy beyond the desire even of avarice." They might gather a large nation. "To the Sultan the country is of no great value; but in the hands of the Jews, directed by such men as the Rothschilds, what might it not become..." In 1835 Niles burst forth with a paean of praise to "the wonders of modern banking." They were "sprung from that poetic, that ancient, that mysterious race, from which we derive all our religion and half our civilization." Now they can be seen, "holding a whole continent in the hollow of their hands" and governing "a Christian world." Baron Rothschild was "the true King of Judah" who held "the keys of peace or war, blessing or cursing." He possessed "more force than David - more wisdom than Solomon." Niles was pleased to note that "an accomplished and beautiful daughter" of the house had married an American and was planning to live in New York.[52]

In many ways the Rothschilds came to symbolize the essence of capitalism, not in the manner of the buccaneering "robber baron," but with a reassuring stablility which passed the fortune on from generation to gener-

ation, in a never-ending chain. The power of the family was often remarked upon, generally without rancor. The Philadelphia Times in 1856 commented that persecutions had led to the secret Jewish accumulation of wealth. The full power of money came in the nineteenth century, and found its leaders ready, the Jews with their treasure. "Whoever may be king in Europe, Rothschild rules!" He was not the autocrat of Europe by money alone, but because of "Jewish genius...strong endurance, an indomitable will." As for the Hebrew race, "this is their age of action. All that is brilliant and dazzling will come from the Hebrew race." "The Rothschilds" was a feature in Harper's Weekly in 1882. Their rise was a "remarkable chapter in the personal romance of business." The founder was known for his integrity. He was "scrupulously upright," but "formitable in remorselessness." With somewhat less good will, Illustrated American, in an 1891 series, "A Tale of Great Fortunes," stated that the rise of the Rothschilds was due to "thrift and patience and the watching of opportunities." The founder was noted for his avarice. When a Rothschild died, there was panic on the stock exchange. There was no war, no revolution, no political movement in Europe "but the Rothschilds have had a hand in it and have made money out of their share in it." On the other hand, the Nation in 1900 hoped that the Rothschilds would use their power on behalf of the oppressed Roumanian Jews. It was said that the Roumanian government would not be able to borrow money. The Nation hoped that this report was true. "If the Jewish bankers will teach the Christian rulers a few lessons in elementary humanity by cutting off their financial supplies, it will be an application of the 'money power' which even the Bryanites might condone."



Many articles featured anecdotes about the Rothschilds or gossip

about the doings of the family. Favorite themes were the Baron puncturing the pretensions of others or the overawing quality of the Rothschild fortune as in this 1883 tale. Old Baron Rothschild was playing at the home of a Marquis. The Marquis accidentally dropped a louis on the floor and held up the game to search for it. The Baron was dealing. "' A louis lost,' he said, 'that is worth looking for,' and putting on an expression of the deepest anxiety, he rolled up a thousand franc note, lighted it at the candle and held it to assist the Marquis d'Alegre in his search." Rothschilds marriages and deaths were the particular delight of many newspapers. The New York Tribune was especially fond of gossipy stories about various Rothschilds. When Baroness James Rothschild, "a plain, good old woman," died, this provided the occasion for a lengthy discussion of her life, her family and her funeral. The "talk of the town and the sensation of the Jewish world," occurred when Helen Rothschild, "a self-willed heiress," defied her family and the rabbis in her desire to marry a Christian from a prominent Belgian family. The reader was informed that she was not pretty, with a "common looking Judeo-German face," but she was one of the best-hearted persons in existence, and had a passion for horses and fine looking men. An 1878 Rothschild wedding provided the occasion for a New York Times editorial. Jews "have never known so golden a period as the latter half of the nineteenth century." In England they were everywhere. Aristocracy and cabinet ministers gathered at the Rothschild marriage. "There can be no question that the Rothschilds have had a great deal to do with the rise of their race in public estimation."[54]

Brooks Adams did brood that by the end of the eighteenth century there emerged in the world the "most redoubtable variety of economic

intellect," as exemplified by the Rothschilds. They "remained the dictators of the markets of the world." In the law of civilization suggested by Adams, the economic mind superseded the martial man who had been primary in the Middle Ages. Then, "nature begins to sift the economic minds themselves, culling a favored aristocracy of the craftiest and subtlest types, choosing for example...the Jew in London." This would lead, he feared, to the decay of Western civilization.[55]

Most observers stressed the positive qualities of the Rothschilds. The Spirit of the Times in 1835 took note of Rothschild's friendship with Solomon Herschel, a noted Rabbi. Rothschild was said to have speculated at his own risk and deposited the profit with the Rabbi. "The millionaire, on such occasions, invariably dines with the Levite; and the day is passed by the two friends in innocent hilarity and pleasing conversation." An 1848 article on "The Late Mr. Rothschild," in the same publication, quoted several of his aphorisms about business as good examples for developing American capitalism. The family charities provoked constant comment. A Rothschild wedding in 1857 was noted by Harper's Weekly. The family exhibited little home made pin cushions and watch cases "placed in an honorable eminence amidst the rain of glittering treasures!" They were the humble gifts of the children in a Jewish charity school, aided frequently by the Rothschilds. "We love to think that in her own girl's heart, the young Baroness Alphonse will value these little offerings of gratitude far higher than the costly contributions of the jewelers." The death of one of the Barons Rothschild in 1869 caused the Overland Monthly to comment that, "although inflexible in business matters," he was often generous. He once lost a great deal of money seeking to prevent famine in Russia. "He also founded hospitals, built a synagogue, and did many acts

of charity among his own people." His family mourned him with "the touching rites of their religion." Any poor person who came to the house on the day of his death would be given some coins and "an enormous sum of money was thus distributed." Munsey's Magazine in 1892 contained a typical article summarizing the prevalent picture of the Rothschilds. No family had ever existed "whose history has been so prominent and romantic." The integrity of Meyer Amschel, the founder, was so great that he was known as "the honest Jew." On his deathbed he called his sons together and blessed them. He enjoined them "to remain faithful to the Law of Moses..." The founder was "a noble soul, goodness and kindheartedness itself." He would give money to all beggars. The result of modern conditions of finance, the author concluded, was that "it may be long before another such family of financiers will again rise."[56]

The Rothschilds had come to stand, in many minds, for the positive virtues of modern capitalism. They used their wealth wisely and charitably, and exemplified the family virtues Americans prized. This image was more widely expressed than the negative one of conspiratorial international financier. On balance, the picture which was presented of the Rothschilds added more to the positive image of the Jew than to the negative. Nevertheless, it did reinforce the view that the Jew was overwhelmingly concerned with the accumulation of wealth.

Moses Montefiore was undoubtedly the most popular Jew in American periodicals. His life exemplified the positive image of the Jew as unselfish philanthropist. In the 1840s Niles noted with approval his work on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Damascus. In the 1870s the St. Paul Pioneer Press ran a long editorial on the virtues of Montefiore.[57]

In 1883 and 1884 when Montefiore amazingly celebrated first his

ninety-ninth and then his hundredth birthday, articles of praise poured forth. Harper's New Monthly Magazine acclaimed "Sir Moses Montefiore" who was dedicated "not only to the race of Israel but to the cause of human need in every creed or clime." He and his wife devoted themselves to philanthropy. They set up a hospital in Jerusalem, helped in the Holy Land, worked on the Mortara case, aided the Jews of Vilna who, due to terrible mistreatment, were "mean minded and of uncleanly habits" and tried to rescue Jews in Roumania. Now, in his hundredth year, he retained the "full power of mental forces and all the quickness of his humane sympathies." He continued his interest in his "co-religionists in the East: and was still attempting to "relieve and rehabilitate the persecuted Jews of Russia."[58]

The New York Times featured several editorials and news stories paying homage to Montefiore. On his ninety-ninth birthday the paper wondered "if generous giving is conducive to long living." He had pursued a "noble ideal of human life" with all the zeal characteristic of his people. In all his life "he has never failed to identify himself with his race, never forgotten he was a Jew nor suffered others to forget it while there were distressed Jews to relieve or oppressed Jews to plead for." His life "does more to abash the people who would like to revive the persecution of his race...than all the literary and political agitation that could be done in a generation." When he reached one hundred in 1884, the Times called him the "most celebrated living member of their race." People payed homage to him in Baltimore, Rochester, Petersburg, Washington and Cincinnati. In New York a huge crowd heard Henry Ward Beecher extol him as an example of the ideals of the Bible, "the true uses of wealth and position." Beecher declared, "I am glad in my soul that the whole world is obliged today to bow down to the name of a Jew." Montefiore

towered over all in goodness, philanthropy and humanity. "If Judaism is to prevail...let it prevail by bringing forth such heroes of goodness."[59]

Other papers agreed. The St. Paul and Minneapolic Pioneer Press honored Montefiore. The Jewish record was one of "race solidarity" which led to "phenomenal success." They had been persecuted and, therefore, became "money getters" and "sharp traders." If there was "some mixture of craft" in their natures, it was balanced by a greater amount of good and by "intellectual strength." The New York Tribune editorial declared that Montefiore was justly entitled to veneration. He was an illustration of the biblical "just and righteous man." He was a "living representative of the ideal Hebrew." Many people had attempted to convert him, but "with a gentle firmness he has resisted all such efforts." Even the greatest bigot had to respect a man who not only clung to his faith, "but who had adorned that faith by deeds of rare charity and philanthropy." He was, indeed, a "worthy son of Old Hebrew patriarchs..."[60]

Montefiore thus provided one of the most potent positive pictures of the Jew. The charitableness of the Jew was generally recognized, and was the counter-balance to the negative image of the amasser of treasure. At least Jews like Montefiore contributed to the good of society with the wealth they had accumulated. (Pointed contrasts were often made to the behavior of many American millionaires who performed no such socially useful role.) Ambrose Bierce summarized the reaction to Montefiore in a poem written to commemorate his centenary:

> One hundred years had bettered by his birth,
> And still his step was firm, his eye was bright.
>
> Before him and about him pressed a crowd.
> Each head in reverence was bared and bowed.
> And Jews and Gentiles in a hundred tongues,
> Extolled his deeds and spake his fame aloud.[61]

Another philanthropist accorded continuous coverage was Baron de Hirsch. Although newspapers praised his efforts to train and resettle Russian immigrants particularly, many of the articles about the Baron had a certain ambivalence. Comments in Life in 1896, which described him as "shrewd and able," were typical. With his huge fortune, "he wished for... social recognition in Europe, but it was impossible for him to buy in the measure that he desired because he was a Jew..." He expended huge sums of money to establish intimacy with the Prince of Wales and Duke of Orleans, "but even with their help he could not overcome the prevalent prejudice of European society against a Jew." As a consequence, he turned to charitable works "and especially to the amelioration of the condition of the people of his own race." in backward countries. There had long been an issue of what to do with vast accumulations of wealth in private hands. "His example is respectfully recommended to...American gentlemen."[62] Newspaper obituaries also invariably made reference to his extensive charitable works and his efforts at social climbing. In this way, Hirsch could stand for both parvenu and philanthropist, two common, and not necessarily mutually exclusive, perceptions of the Jew.

The Atlantic Monthly of April 1895 featured an interesting article on "A True Israelite," James Darmsteter, who was very different from the wealthy philanthropist usually cited as the ideal Jew. While the virtues of the latter were measured in monetary terms, his were a matter of intellect. He was a French Orientalist and philosopher, "in all and through all, a Jew of Jews." He had never once faltered "in his belief that salvation is of the Jews." He came out of four thousand years of travail to give utterance to living Jewish ideas. "He had not even assimilated by the way the Western inheritance of distinctively Christian thought and

feeling." His father was a poor book binder and his mother "of the family of Brandeis from which have sprung so many of the doctors of Mosaic law." He was helped in the development of a unique intellect by his struggles and by "the spirit of solidarity which is the strength and prime offense of the Jewish community." He had just completed a great work on the Prophets of Israel. His death was keenly regretted. This article was unusual, not only for its praise of a Jewish intellectual,but also in its approval of his resistance to "enlightened" (i.e. Christian) ideas.[63] It was the beginning of a new image of the Jew as intellectual.

In general, there was amazement at the supposedly significant role played by Jews in Europe. It was taken for granted that Jews held a dominant position, but this was given as a fact (albeit wildly inaccurate), rather than as a source of censure. The New York Times, for example, in 1878, featured an article which remarked that there was probably no city with so many influential Jews as Vienna. They controlled the banks and the press. They were also prominent in music, government, inns and restaurants. "The richest men are Jews, the prettiest women are Jewesses." This "new Jerusalem" was delightful and "owes much of what it is and what it yields in pleasure and prosperity to its large Hebrew element." Atlantic Monthly concluded, in a review of a book about "Eminent Israelites," "When we view the Jews as a class, those of their qualities which strike the eye are such as command respect and often esteem."[64]

The coverage of prominent Jews did, in general, tend to bolster the positive aspects of the Jewish image -- intelligence, business ability, philanthropy. These virtues of famous Jews stood in sharp contrast to the picture of the old clothesman or pawnbroker. The ambivalence involved the noble, philanthropic Jew who was also a powerful figure in control of

the world's banking. In the latter aspect one can find seeds of the Protocol of the Elders of Zion.

## Economic Images

Another source of ambivalence was the perceived economic role of the Jew. The most consistently negative picture of the Jew was the mam whose God was money. (See Chapter III - Popular Images.) Often this view was strengthened by reports on Chatham Street as a center of activity for the Jew who would sell you anything to make a quick, and not always legal, dollar. This particular view of the Jew continued from the beginning of the century to its end , and, in the latter part of the century, was more commonly expressed than the negative religious picture. Coleridge had neatly summarized the basic attitude which could also be found in the United States: "The two images farthest removed from each other which can be comprehended under one term are, I think, Isaiah - 'Fear O heavens, and give ear O earth!' and Levi of Holywell Street -- 'Old Clothes!' - both of them Jews, you'll observe."[65] The polarity was clear. Related negative perceptions included the Jews as permanent aliens, so involved in their quest for wealth that they remained exclusive and ultimately unassimilable; and the Jew as quintessential parvenu.

Early in the century (1820), Niles Weekly Register discussed the reasons for discrimination against Jews. "There must be some moral cause to produce this effect," Niles believed. "In general, their interests do not appear identical with those of the communities in which they live... But they will not sit down and labor like other people - they create nothing and are mere consumers. They will not cultivate the earth, nor work at mechanical trades, preferring to live by their wit in dealing, and acting as if they had a home nowhere." Although Niles insisted that

"this had nothing to do with their rights as men," it did provide the theme of much of the commentary about the Jews thereafter."[66]

Other early comments echoed similar basic ideas. The Jewish concern for money above all was revealed by this 1821 anecdote about a "Jew boy" who "in his eagerness to get the first row," fell over and was critically injured. His mother returned to the play house to remind the managers that "they had forgot to return her the shilling which Abraham had paid for coming in." In 1842 the National Anti-Slavery Standard quoted, without comment, the descriptions of Jews given by a London journal. The article included the usual defense of the Jews - that the "unrelenting persecution" of Christians had left them nothing but gain to pursue. The money they earned had enabled them to purchase the right to live. Now, "the same all-absorbing thirst of gold that formed the leading principle in the life of...Rothschild, animates the merest Israelitish urchin." They directed all their energies to that end "with an intensity, unscrupulosity, and perseverence unknown to...Christians...the lowest depths of knavery, chicanery and extortion are practiced by this rabble. The end of their existence..." was money.[67]

The situation which gave rise to an increase of such comments was the one mentioned by Charles L. Flint in his Eighty Years of Progress of the United States: "Another trade also grew up in the cities; it was the dealing in second hand clothing, mostly by Jews." He exhibited no animosity, noting, "These industrious persons brought up all the old clothing that could be had, cleaned, repaired and redressed them and sold them to those who sought to economize."[68] Other observers were far less tolerant of the Jewish clothing dealers. The Spirit of the Times commented sharply in 1845, "'Why don't we have a Society for Ameliorating the Con-

dition of the Jewed?' That is the question which 'one who buys his clothes in Chatham Street asks us to propound."[69] An 1858 Leslie's Illustrated article, which was widely resented in the Jewish press, included many comments about the prevalence of Jewish criminals on Chatham Street. The Passover hoidays were strictly observed even by Hebrew fences and pickpockets. One might pick the Gentile's pocket or even plunge a knife into someone's heart, but he would not touch any but unleavened bread or eat beef or mutton (?) "like the Catholic brigands of Italy." After this, the author launched into a discussion of Jewish benevolent societies and concluded that Jews were "quiet, law abiding, good citizens and indefatigable...among the very best citizens of the United States."[70] The conclusion did not mollify the Jewish press. In California, Hinton Helper reported, adventurous Christians who needed convenient ready-made clothes, were followed by "the Jews, those nomads of civilization. These erratic and money-loving descendants of the ancient biblical patriarchs" found mining or "any occupation that requires exposure to weather is too fatiguing and intolerable to them."[71] The Speaker of the California House agreed with Helper. In a discussion on a Sunday trading law, he declared that he had no sympathy with Jews who ought to respect majority opinion. "They did not invest their money in the country...They all intended to settle in their 'New Jerusalem.'" He favored a tax on them "as a prohibition on their residence among us."[72]

The basic picture of Chatham Street and of alleged Jewish love for money continued throughout the century. A Harper's Weekly feature, "Sunday in Chatham Street," which appeared in 1859, commented on the "fantastic signs" one could find there. One was "the Original Jacob...you do not believe at all that he is the Jacob you have read about, and are convinced

that the only ladder he dreams of is the ladder to riches." In 1867 the Atlantic Monthly described Chatham Street as a place where "Israel predominates" with its "traditional stock in trade of cheap clothing and baubles that are made to wear, but not to wear long." A letter to the Banking and Insurance Chronicle by a fire adjuster in the midst of the fire insurance controversy noted, "the clothing business is largely controlled by Israelites." If you were about to buy yourself a new suit of clothes, "would you seek it among this class of dealers?...No - because they are all too often - if not always - cheats..." The New York Tribune in 1883 described the manner in which a Chatham Street Hebrew operated with a country bumpkin. He detected a man who might be induced to buy and "promptly seizes upon his prey...brings to bear upon him the fascinations of his wife and sisters, and a few minutes sends him away clad in rainment of which the less said the better." The employers were as dishonest towards their own workers. The Christian Union in 1883 warned working women about the parsimonious oppression of Jewish employers "who would cheat a poor woman out of her hard earnings any time they could do it with safety." The picture of Jewish merchants and peddlers was summarized in a sardonic verse about "industrious Israelites" who sold all matter of non-functioning products:

> He will not work: he neither starves, nor begs
> But peddles healing salve for wooden legs.[73]

This picture of the Jew could often be found in articles seemingly unrelated to discussion of Jewish merchant practices. An 1871 piece in the Cincinnati Gazette was headed, "The Jews Jewed Billiards." A "cavalcade of ten Jews" bore in their midst Jacob Garrett, the billiard champion. They came to struggle over a $200 purse against another palyer. The reporter watched Garrett's followers, "Never was cupidity more strong-

ly depicted than as it shone forth from the inflamed countenances of these money grubbers." An 1877 New York Times story on the White League defense in a riot case described the chief witness Solomons as "a striking illustration of the truth of the old German saying that 'a Jew is always a nobleman or a rascal!'" This one was certainly not a nobleman. He had grown well-to-do and fat under the Republicans, with a store which catered to Negroes and "supplied them at exorbitant rates with vile tobacco and worse whiskey."[74]

Only occasionally was real alarm expressed about these Jewish proclivities. The Christian World in 1875 warned, "The Jews are living and fattening like parasites upon the labor and industry of those very Christains whom the editor of the American Israelite is always inciting his readers to despise." Reform Judaism, which led many to forsake "the God of their fathers" and "to worship the gods of the heathen gentiles," was blamed for "this Jewish hatred of work and love of mammon at any price." Lawrence Gronlund, a revisionist Socialist, identified Jews with the evils of modern society. "Our era may be called the Jewish age," he wrote. The Jews had once caused the whole race to accept the idea of one God and "now they have made our whole race worship a new true God: the Golden Calf...'Jewism' to our mind, best expresses the special curse of our age, Speculation."[75]

The supposed money-making capabilities of the Jew, however, was not always considered a cause for condemnation. The Jew had succeeded through admirable capitalist virtues; would not a criticism of this imply a disavowal of capitalism itself? As early as 1837 the Boston Journal remarked that Jews "have been reproached with their avidity to acquire riches." This actually owed more to their habitual industry, their business qualif-

fications, and the thorough knowledge which they seem to possess of every brand of trade, than to a morbid wish to increase their hoards." The building of a new synagogue in Syracuse in 1851 led a local paper to remark, "The Jewish population comprises some of the most industrious and frugal of our citizens..." It was hoped that the beautiful temple would be an "inducement for others of the same creed to settle in this city." In similar terms, the St. Louis Republican noted in 1855 that there were a number of Jews in the city who were all "engaged in active business pursuits...No other portion of our population gives less trouble..." The New York Ledger strikingly illustrated the dual attitude in 1858. After noting Jewish accomplishments in the financial, mercantile, literary, musical and dramatic worlds, the Ledger concluded, "The world today worships Mammon...and the high priest of this religion, the first financier of the world...at whose frown emperors quake...is a Jew...Verily the Jew is outliving persecution." Harper's Weekly described the Jews in 1859 as "among the foremost merchants of the world." There was a large proportion of them among the "thriving Germans"of the large American cities. They were proving their "industry, shrewdness, energy and success."[76]

That success could be a credit to the Jews and a benefit to the society. The Shoe and Leather Reporter in 1860 compared the Jew to his competitor. The Jew saved and got through hard times. The "American" failed. Instead of attributing his failure to his own lack of foresight, he used the Jew as a scapegoat. The Jew has "by economy added to the wealth and material strength of the country...Jew traders of the South and West have done much by their accumulated savings to form a reserve in hard times." The True Pacific Messenger in 1861 noted the astonishment of many people at the large number of Jewish businesses. Jews were among

"the most useful and respectible merchants" with the "indomitable energy of their race." Their industry had helped in "banishing shameful prejudices." In his book, The Old Merchants of New York City, Joseph Scoville compared the city in 1800 with 1863. There were few Jewish merchants then; now, "they have increased beyond any comparison." It was the "high standard of excellence of the old Israelite merchants of 1800 that had made this race occupy the proud position it does now in this city and nation." Charles Daly's The Settlement of the Jews in North America was a reprint of a talk first given in 1872. He recalled the Jewish residents of Savannah in his youth as part of the aristocracy. The presence of Jews meant success. "To the Jewish mind there is little or no attraction in a place, the trade of which is passing away, for the Jews have been for centuries a trading people." Jewish trading tendencies had a positive effect. "The devotion of a whole race, widely distributed in different countries, to trade and commerce...brought about results alike favorable to them and to the world."[77]

Once Jews started to come into this country in every increasing numbers, the arguments in favor of the beneficent influence of wealth-producing Jewish businessmen receded from the press. Destitute immigrants did not fit this picture. For quite a while, however, the accepted stereotype of the Jew as money-maker was not necessarily derogatory in a capitalist-oriented press.

The picture of the charitable Jew, on the other hand, was a favorite one throughout the century. Niles Weekly Register was fond of stories about Jewish philanthropists. In 1832 a rich Copenhagen Jew was reported to have left a considerable sum of money to various schools and charities which would benefit Jews and Christians equally. "This is no solitary

instance of Hebrew liberality. En passant: is there any apprehension of such 'foreign capital' endangering the liberties of a country?" An 1845 story told of the funeral of a Prague merchant who had made a fortune by "honorable toil" and had spent liberally to aid all denominations. His funeral was attended by many Christians. "Everywhere the spirit is passing into dishonor which would have spit upon the Jewish gabardine of a man like this."[78]

Other commentators agreed. The New York Evening Mirror remarked that it was "the noble and truly Christian munificence of such Hebrews as Judah Touro," as well as financial power, that was slowly bringing rights to the Jews. "The frequent evidence of Hebrew humanity rising above that of their Christian (?) neighbors in the world is shaming down the disgraceful prejudices." An article in International Magazine in 1855 tried to counter popular prejudices by a story of two funerals, one of a Jew and the other of a Christian. When the author was new in this country one of the men, although very rich, had cheated him after months of labor on a manuscript. The other aided hundreds of writers by paying more for their efforts than they were worth, although he was not very rich himself. Even in America, "the community regards a Jew as an incarnation of all selfishness, meanness and dishonor," Most people thought that the cheat of the story was the Jew. Actually, he was the benevolent one, "one of the most sincere and generous men of the age." Hebrews, the author concluded, were not only outstanding in intelligence, but "in defiance of prejudices and disabilities...are of the most honorable portion of mankind." An 1862 editorial in the Los Angeles Star urged subscriptions to a Jewish building fund since Jews were "always prominent in contributing to every charitable purpose without distinction of creed." The New York

Tribune in 1880 discussed a donation by Jews to the starving Irish. No group gave more generously. The public should modify its old opinion of Jews. The Hebrew was always "generous with his money for all wise educational and charitable purposes." He retaliated to hate with liberality. There was "no finer revenge than his."[79]

Through the years, the New York Times contained many editorials on the subject of Jewish charity. In 1863 the Hebrew Orphan Asylum was dedicated. All the wealth and respectability of the Jewish community was "brought together by feelings of greatest pride..." A long 1877 feature was headlined, "The Jews Care for Their Poor - Munificent Private Benevolence - A Glorious Record." It pointed out that there were many poor Jews, but, contrary to the picture of the avaricious Jew, they were aided by "widely liberal charity." Three columns described in detail the charities supported by 75,000 Jews including "some of our wealthiest and most enterprising merchants..." By their "noble deeds they proved their reverence" for the dictates of the Bible. An 1883 description of the "Traits of New York Jews...Busy People who Help Others as Well as Themselves" noted that the Jew was industrious, sober, family loving and benevolent. "His religion is charity." He maintained Jewish institutions, but also contributed to non-sectarian charities. Uptown and downtown Jews had little in common, yet uptown never forgot downtown in its "distress, ignorance, vice and filth." While the restless push of the well-to-do Jews sometimes made a bad impression, this would gradually change.[80] This positive Jewish quality of charitableness was stressed to the end of the century. It helped to mitigate fears of the onslaught of poverty stricken Jewish immigrants. The expectation was that they would be taken care of by wealthy Jews for, as Rev. Charles Eaton remarked, "in the practical

exemplification of principles of charity, they far surpass the Christians."[81] As in the literary images, the strongest negative and positive pictures of the Jew rested upon the assumption that he was an accumulator of money. This was not necessarily a bad thing to be in America. The ambiguity depended upon the way he was perceived as using his wealth -- merely to accumlate more or to unselfishly share his good fortuen with others.

## Jewish Character and Contributions

There was equal division concerning the quality of the Jewish character. The Jew was often chided for his exclusivenss. The Boston News in 1860, provoked by a judge's decision to allow Jews to trade openly on Sunday, editorialized that it was certain that the Jew "never becomes a citizen, his posterity never amalgamates with the great mass of people and after a generation or two become perfectly Americanized: the offspring of the Greek does. The Jew and his offsprings are Jews and will be to the end of the chapter." The Irishmen were of more value since they worked hard and faced danger. "The Jew in this country as in every other country is an incubus on the Commonwealth. He never labors for a support. His proverbial dishonesty is indisputable." The Boston Post responded that this "maligned the Jew." The true Jew "is very eager in the pursuit of gain," but "within lawful limits." The Boston Pilot, a Catholic paper, in an 1881 article on "The Jewish Character," expressed the belief that the refusal of Jews to intermarry had "cost them dear in money, pain, blood." Their social self-separation led to charges of selfishness and lack of patriotism. The charges were not true, but the Jews would not be permitted to live in peace until they mixed and married and extended their occupations into "general manufacturing and agricultural interests

instead of confining themselves...to dealing with money" and a few commodities. They should also go into the military. "We admire the Jews for their strong and grand qualities, but we deplore, for their own sakes, the narrow lives they mark out for themselves."[82]

A similar view was expressed in the 1890s. The Independent deplored the tendency of the Jewish religion to stay "in the narrow limits of racial consanguinity." Life remarked that Jews chose to "cling to one another and to the traditions of their race." Christians "whom they reproach for exclusiveness" could respond, "we might have learned that from you." The Methodist Review concluded that the Jew could never be welcome, "He is extraneous...unassimilable. He may be republican, monarchist or absolutist - and that conscientiously, but he is alien in blood, creed and natural isolation." In the American Hebrew symposium on the causes of anti-semitism several respondents expressed similar opinions. Rev. W. H. P. Faunce believed that the inheritance of centuries of persecution was the "clannishness of Jews today." It had led to "a want of human sympathy" on the part of Jews. Rev. Ensign McChesney commented that "the Jews are historically an exclusive people." They looked upon others with prejudice. President E. N. Capen of Tufts noted that "the social characteristics of Jews are peculiar." They maintained their "race peculiarities. They do not assimilate like other aliens... They can never be Americans pure and simple." John Boroughs concluded that the antipathy was a matter of race and, therefore, irradicable. The Jew "will not fuse or amalgamate with the other races. He is among us but not of us. His characteristics and his pursuits remained unchanged." Edward Atkinson believed that the only real solution was "breaking down of Jewish barriers by which even cultivated Jews separated themselves."[83]

When issues of social exclusion of Jews flared up, the press openly

discussed the Jew as parvenu. Outside those issues, however, that particular image of the Jew was rarely brought up. That such opinions continued to exist in the background is proven by the large number of people who answered "What is the cause of Prejudice?", the question posed by the American Hebrew, with references to Jewish social vices. Even generally favorable observers often referred to these "Jewish" short-comings. Rev. Robert Collier, for example, related that he had once stayed at a place with Jews who were "loud and pushing, with but the scantest sense of that courtesy which has grown to a fine instinct in our people who are well-to-do...their money had grown ahead of their manners." Another "friend," Rev. Charles F. Deems blamed only those Jews who had abandoned the faith of Moses. They had "become utter materialists...the greed of gain is their absorbing passion." Such vulgar Jews caused great suffering for "high minded, cultivated, refined Hebrew ladies and gentlemen." Washington Gladden, the famed social gospel minister, felt that the Jew was "very much like the average American, only more so." Since a greater percentage of them were in the commercial field, there was among them "an under-development of the amenities and the humanities by which our social life is brightened and sweetened." Jews were particularly debased by accepting the maxims of economic competition so prevalent in society. Rev. H. Heber Newton noted that the lower strata was pushing into the higher ranks of business and demoralizing it. Jews did not do this any more than Christians "but possibly in a more obtrusive manner." Rev. Alvah Hobart said that prejudice was the result of some Jewish deficiency "which unfits them to be good companions for the unalloyed rest and enjoyment of a summer vacation." President William Thornton of the University of Virginia was certain that Jews "care less for what is embraced in the term culture than Christians who are equally

well off. They are immersed in business and money-getting." Henry T. Finck conceded the presence of many refined Jews (who mostly no longer even looked like Jews). The problem was the "vulgar manners of the common Jews." As these became wealthier, they grew more overbearing, selfish and ill mannered. They bred "noisy and impertinent children." Rev. J. R. Day, after admitting Jewish virtues summarized all the various objections to Jews. The Jews were loud and flashy and often dishonest in business. Although the Jew was generous to his own kind, even his gifts were clannish. He could end prejudice by becoming less clannish, more American, less ostentatious. He should "go to Gentile churches more frequently. Cultivate the American idea: move forward into nineteenth century thought." The Jew set himself apart. The remedy was to "discourage everything exclusively Jewish," except for worship.[84] America was indeed a "melting pot," it was obvious who was expected to be melted until "disagreeable" characteristics had disappeared.

If Jewish vices were often stressed, Jewish virtues were sometimes larger than life. Few groups were so impressively endowed by writers. Jewish contributions to Western civilization were the subjects of many articles. "The Jews - Cursory Glance at Their Past and Present Status," published in De Bow's Review in 1868, was both an example of a Judeophile article and interesting proof that hostility existed before the supposed social pressures of the Gilded Age. It was asserted that Jews tended to be conservative elements in England and the United States. Macaulay favored rights for English Jews, not out of toleration, but so that the country could profit from their "financial shrewdness, energy, and adventurous enterprise..." In England the Jew rose by means of "intrinsic merit and inherent worth." The article derided those who thought that money was the only touchstone of Jewish success. They were famed for

erudition as well; and their attainments were the result of "their wonderful aptitude, their keen insight...and extraordinary retentiveness of memory..." Further honors awaited American Jews. "Yet," the author conceded, "there still courses through the veins of all societies, but more especially in our...home, a hidden but strong, deep undercurrent of prejudice against the Jew. It flows through communities, as an inheritance descends to succeeding generations..." Still, the conclusion was hopeful: "Henceforth the Israelite has only to confront the opposing tides with the self-confidence and moral courage of his ancestral archetypes and he will not only breast the surges, but in time dissolve it as a bubble."[85]

Other journals took note of Jewish progress and achievements. A New York Times editorial in 1871 commented on Disraeli's definition of the Jews as "an eminently acquisitive race." Particularly in the past forty years, "their acquisitions have soared far above the mere lust of gold...They are pre-eminent in commerce, prominent at the bar, powerful in politics" in England. They accomplished this by themselves, without any aid. Harper's Weekly in 1873 noted that the phenomenal progress of the Hebrew race was "ominous indeed to all their persecutors." "Always preserving their industry and moral vigor, their intellectual progress, through every period of oppression, always the benefactors of barbarous Europe, its teachers as well as capitalists, the Israelites are in our day almost the masters of European civilization." Their influence could be seen in the press, literature and money markets. Harper's New Monthly Magazine reported seeing Meyerbeer in 1877. He was unobtrusive "except for the strong Jewish lines of his intellectual face." The author's companion commented, "How much we owe to the Jews and how mean Christendom is." There was the usual list of great Jews. In the centers of industrial activity "the capitalists who held peace and war in their hands, and

by whose favor Kings ruled were Jews." Jewish genius permeated the art, philosophy, industry and politics of the Christian world. In spite of this, the Jew was still pursued by prejudice. "Honorable men will be careful how they heedlessly use the name of a race to which the religion, the literature, the art, the civilized progress of humanity are so greatly indebted...."[86]

Jewish contributions provided an answer to anti-semites. The New York Sun refuted the ideas of Goldwin Smith in 1880 with a discussion of "solid and brilliant achievements which must be credited to contemporary Israelites in almost every civilized country..." The contributions of the Jews was "out of all proportion to their numerical importance and their social opportunities." Eugene Lawrence protested the treatment of "The Persecuted Jews" in Harper's Weekly in 1881. The origin of prejudice was that Jews were "too successful." Jews founded Europe's commerce "and began the slow process of its civilization." Even New York owed its prosperity to them, for "they bring with them wealth, or they create it." "The Mission of the Jews," according to an 1894 piece in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, was to be the "chief bearers of spirituality...intellectual and emotional sensibility." This would help balance the solid character of the Saxon through mutual intercourse. The Jew carried the "torch of purity and temperance." This author even rejected the accepted view that Jewish bankers made and unmade wars. Actually, "money makes and unmakes wars." There was a need for the "cosmopolitan spirit of humanitarianism" which it was the destiny of the Jews to bear. (Two months later Harper's ran a virulently anti-semitic defense of Russia's persecution of the Jews.) In a lecture about Moses, Henry George concluded that the spirit of Mosaic law had caused "the intensity of family life," the Jew's "love of independence," his "stubborn courage" in exile and

torture and "the highest exaltation of thought." The result was the "intellectual vigor that has over and over again made the dry stuff bud and blossom."[87]

Jewish intellect and character were also frequent objects of praise. The Brooklyn Daily Eagle in 1874 reported a lecture by a Congregational minister in which the Jewish people were described as "of the highest culture and purest intellect." They exemplified "the grandest mission of the family as the fountain of spirituality." A Unitarian minister was reported in the Kalamazoo Gazette to have described Jews in his sermon as "models of domestic virtues, industrious, sober and worthy citizens." In The Children Of The Poor (1892) Jacob Riis remarked of Jewish children in the public schools that, when they competed with Christian children, "they distanced them easily, taking all prizes that were to be had for regular attendance, proficiency in studies and good conduct generally." James Reynolds of the University Settlement was quoted in Atlantic Monthly in 1898 to the effect that the most overwhelming quality of the Jews was "their intellectual avidity. Much has been said about their desire for gain, But...the proportionate number of those with intellectual aims is larger than that of any other race..." Combined with idealism this produced "a character often full of imagination, aspiration and appreciation."[88] These intellectual qualities were referred to more frequently in the latter part of the century in connection with the Russian Jews.

All of these traits might serve to make the Jew into an outstanding citizen. (This was the reverse of the view that the Jew was a permanent alien who could never be assimilated.) A New York story in 1854 that there was not one Jewish applicant for relief in that year inspired several editorials on the subject of the Jew as citizen. The Washington Sentinel remarked that, despite all hardships, the Jews had retained "those better

traits that dignify and adorn civilized man." In this country they were among the best citizens. They could not be found in prisons or poor houses. They took care of their own poor and afflicted. They "set an example worthy of all imitation. They are among the best, most orderly, well-disposed of our citizens." The New York Sunday Dispatch recounted an anecdote about a "barefooted Jew boy" who illustrated the "deathless tenacity of purpose" of the whole race. He could be "bent but never broken." If he lost all he would begin again, never losing patience. The Jewish nation was "devoted in kindness to the members of its own individual family" and possessed a pride which "keeps them above charity." All this made them excellent citizens.[89]

The loyalty of Jewish citizens was a constant theme during the Civil War (in contrast to the upsurge of anti-Jewish feeling). The Independent in 1861 praised "our fellow citizens of the Hebrew race and faith" who were the embodiment of "wealth, intelligence and culture." They were "prompt in declaring their loyalty to the United States and in devoting their treasure and influence to the defense of the Union..." The Daily Alta California in 1862 remarked, "as citizens they pay a devout respect to the laws...their charity and liberality is proverbial..." Jews also were "staunch supporters of the Federal Government and the Union which has given them liberty." They were respected by all and were "an element in our midst which will contribute essentially to our future rise..." In the same year, the Chicago Tribune commented on the recruitment of a largely Hebrew company which was completed with great rapidity. "Our Israelitish citizens have gone beyond even their most sanguine expectations. Their princely contribution of itself is a record which must ever redound to their patriotism."[90]

Later comments reiterated the values of "The Jew as a Citizen," the

title of an editorial in the widely circulated Philadelphia Evening Telegraph in 1872. The values ascribed to the Jew were the generally accepted middle class virtues. The Jew could be found wherever there was a chance for enterprise. "The peculiar advantages it offers to his characteristic abilities render America his favorite home." America should be pleased "for the Jew as a citizen is to be highly esteemed. He brings into every community wealth and qualities which materially assist to strengthen and consolidate its polity." The Jew cared for his own, and, therefore, was never an applicant for public charity. Jewish beggars were rare. "The Jew is also law-abiding. No other element is so orderly in character and so observant of the law." A Jew was seldom accused of a crime. The few who got into trouble almost invariably proved to be "renegades." It was true that the Jew was "perhaps more innoculated with the love of money-getting than is the average Christian." However, though "sharp," he was also "honourable," "sober and industrious" and "open handed" in charity. All this made Jews "a good element in society."[91]

Other observers agreed with this estimate. In 1878 Mayor Ely of New York said that he had read that "the Jews form ten percent of our population and contribute less than one percent to the criminal classes." The New York Herald on the occasion of the Hebrew New Year in 1886, wrote "In no other city of either hemisphere is there a Hebrew population better endowed with the qualities of good citizenship...Peaceful, charitable, industrious, intelligent..." The New York Sun agreed that Jews were "known and esteemed." A few of the replies to the American Hebrew symposium in 1890 also stressed the virtues of a good citizen. Reverend Morgan Dix stated, "I honor them for their domesticity, their marital fidelity, their devotion to their children and their care for the poor." Reverend Howard Crosby saw the Jews "as a people of remarkable virtue.

In family life they are models, and as citizens they are maintainers of peace and order." Robert Ingersoll, the famed atheist, felt that Jews were "more industrious, more temperate...intelligent...kind to their wives and children...kept their contracts and paid their debts." The only solution to prejudice against them was for all people to give up the superstition of religion.[92] The concept of the Jew as ideal citizen continued to the end of the century, but the advent of the Russian Jew subjected it to severe strain.

The negative image was obviously not the only one that Americans found in magazines and newspapers. The paradox, of course, was that one might find the positive and negative model of the Jew only a few pages or a few issues apart in the same publication. It has often been said that the philo-semitic writings were merely reverse sides of anti-Jewish feelings. In the case of the impossibly noble Sheva-like figure, this was true. Positive images in magazines and newspapers, however, do not generally fall into this category. They presented the Jews as contributors to world civilization, for which they were owed a debt of gratitude. In America, Jews were valuable citizens - law-abiding, temperate and loyal to the only nation which was fair to them. The Jews were intellectual leaders, advanced in music, and excellent students. The two positive characteristics which were most appealing to America's image-makers were the strong family ties and widespread charitable activities which meant that no Jew was a burden to American society. Even the generally acknowledged money-making proclivities of the Jew was not always a source of condemnation. In a society which had accepted capitalism as the key to its growth and greatness, the Jew was often admired as a successful capitalist who increased the wealth of society.

## The "Jew" and the "Sheeny"

American Jewish papers and letters seemed to be more concerned with the casual and frequent use of the word "Jew" in a pejorative sense, rather than with the occasional virulent anti-semitic article. Such usage began at any earlier time than is usually supposed. The Monthly Chronicle Of Interesting and Useful Knowledge in 1839 suggested, "Jew! This is an extraordinary compliment...whenever you meet a body who takes care of the main chance...you call him a Jew..." In 1858 the editor of Harper's Magazine discussed a letter which decried the habit of using the word Jewish as a "stigma of selfishness and meanness." One reason for this, the editor believed, was that the Jews had been forced to earn their living under the disadvantage of prejudice. They had developed sharpness and "a retaliatory hatred of the Christians...they extorted all they could. They became sour and sordid. They lived to accumulate money and became naturally a by-word." After this dubious defense, he concluded, that whatever one said "however many Jew knaves a man may remember...he cannot readily recall a Jew fool." In 1866 Harper's was guilty of the same use of the word that had disturbed the earlier letter writer. "You know people who 'Jew you down'...and you all know that the children of Abraham have always been, and still are, notorious for jewing folks down - hence they are called Jews!"[93]

Newspapers and periodicals frequently received indignant letters from Jewish readers on the subject, like one in the New York Times in 1865 complaining that he read that a Jew was picked up for selling cigars without a license. "May I, as a 'Jew' ask why this dreadful crime should call forth from you the fact that the perpetrator was a 'Jew?' Was it that you seldom hear of a Jew being in trouble...?" The editor replied that he did not know that it was proper to give the religious persuasion of any offender, but it was "inadvertent" and there was little to be gained by "parading of

casual grievances." The Times was plagued by this issue, as an 1874 editorial suggests: "One of the funniest things in the world is the rage into which the Jewish papers throw themselves when reporters describe any culprit brought before the courts as a 'Jew.'" The Jewish Messenger had rebuked both the Times and the Herald for that practice. The Times responded that it was not insulting to call a man a Jew. "You simply say that he is descended from a very ancient and honorable people." The word Jews was used as a nationality rather than a religion. No insult was intended -- "any Jew who is ashamed of the name of God's chosen people, does not deserve to be a Jew at all..." The Times returned to this sensitive issue in 1877 with a quote from Richard Grant White in The Galaxy. The verb "to jew" was in the "standard dictionaries of the English language." Like other words, such as jesuitical and miscreant, it contained "footprints of hatred, of prejudice, of wrong..." The sensitivity to the use of the word Jew in a descriptive sense, however, was "unreasonable." A culprit is designated a Jew, but not a Catholic because this implies nationality or race like a Frenchman or Irishman. Jews were "chosen by one God to proclaim Him to the world...Let them sit as serene as Mordecai. They who have outlived the Pharoahs may outlive philology. Certainly they will live down prejudice and obloquy of which this verb is evidence reproachful only to its users."[94]

Other periodicals received similar complaints. The Nation in 1872 described the correspondence between the publisher of Worcester and Webster's Dictionary and A. S. Solomons, "a respected Israelite gentleman." Solomons objected to the "intolerant definition" of "to jew" as "to cheat." The publisher replied that he would omit the word in the future. The Nation disagreed. The word was now obsolete "except as a colloquialism which oftenest is in the mouth of low and mean men." It was part of the language

historically used by

> persons who really knew the Jew as an accomplished bargainer and merchant, a man justly sharp at a bargain amid enemies... Sometimes too sharp, if we allow ourselves to forget that he lived for ages among tyrannical robbers. Why is this a thing that it should be sought to cover over and hide? Surely the Jewish population of the United States needs no such concealments...

A letter to the New York Tribune in 1875 asked why, when writing of crimes, swindles and business failures, papers always gave nationality and religion when the guilty person was a Jew. Why call one culprit a "German Jew" while not referring to another as a "German Methodist?" The editor responded that the word "Jew" was used in these cases to designate race rather than religion. "We are aware, however, of the sensitiveness on the subject, and try always to respect it. Nevertheless, the matter does not seem to us to deserve the attention which Hebrews often give it."[95]

The New York Sun in two 1870 editorials, considered the interesting question, "Can a Man be a Jew and an Irishman?" The Republicans had nominated Sigismund Kaufmann for Lieutenant Governor in order to win the German vote. The question was raised as to whether Kaufmann was a "Teuton or a Hebrew." The Sun, after admitting that Kaufmann was a capable politician, asked if he really claimed to be both "just as a Jew born in Dublin might claim to be an Irishman." A Jewish reader answered that "Jew" was not the name of a nation, "but it merely describes their faith or belief." Mr. Kaufmann was "a German by nationality and a Jew by religion." The Sun felt that the correspondent had overlooked that fact that "the Jews are not merely a church; they are a race, and as such they are distinct from the Teutons." The Jews had the "glory of being the oldest distinct race in existence, and of maintaining an unbroken, indestructible continuity through calamities and persecutions..." The races of men were

beginning to fuse, but this was just a start. It was still demonstrably true that "A Jew is a Jew...a Teuton is a Teuton." The Republicans would discover that they had made a grave error in this blatant action.[96] Implicit in this discussion, which did not appear to have been motivated by ill-will, was the idea that the true nationality of the Jew would always be Hebrew, rather than that of the nation in which they dwelled, (like America?). This was the basis of the rather pathetic insistence by Jews of the time that Judaism was "merely a religion." That was why they objected so strenuously to the designation in the newspapers.

The newer word, "Sheeny" was more obviously derogatory, and therefore, more bothersome. Some Arkansas doggerel went:

> Scotland grows the thistle,
> England grows the rose,
> Ireland grows the shamrock
> And sheeny grows the nose.[97]

The use of the word, "sheeny" was discussed in the 1890s. Life remarked in 1891 that, although it was not "a particularly pretty word," it was not wise to demand its exclusion from the dictionary. "Yankee" once meant "sharp fellow" and was used as an epithet. New Englanders struggled for respectability and Yankee "has gained in grace as a word because the Yankee type has gained enormously in credit. 'Sheeny' may gain in grace in the same way, or, if that is not possible, it may become obsolete because the thing it expresses no longer exists..."[98]

While the unthinking and uncomplimentary usages of the words "Jew" and "sheeny" were most unpleasant to American Jews, the fact that Jewish journals seemed preoccupied with ending this annoyance in the press appears to indicate the relative absence of more serious forms of anti-semitism.

The image of the Jew that a reader would get from the American press and periodicals was incredibly complex. The very same publication which

vigorously opposed anti-semitic manifestations like the Saratoga exclusion might engage in casual anti-semitism, or even publish overtly anti-semitic articles. Famous Jews were extolled, humble ones denigrated. The picture often included the Jew as an avaricious money-grubber who would commit acts of the most questionable legality to accumulate wealth. He was unwilling to mingle (while at the same time a social climber who pushed his way where he wasn't wanted) and ultimately unassimilable. Just as widely accepted was the totally contradictory picture of the Jew as industrious, honorable, charitable, family-centered, law-abiding and intelligent -- the ideal citizen. The Jew who profited by America's capitalist success-oriented ethos was in one sense an ideal American. The puzzling thing is that all these images could be found, often side by side.

A segment in the California Mail Bag in 1872, "Our Hebrew Brethren", typifies this confused reaction. "It has always been a puzzle to us how it was that God Almighty chose the Jews for his peculiar people; there were several races existing...that we should have preferred..." Some Jewish peculiarities could well be imitated by Christians. They were never beggars, prostitutes or paupers. They rarely divorced and were very religious; "an apostate Jew is as rare as a white black bird." Their family life was exemplary - "a bad, ungrateful son is almost unknown; a disobedient, erring daughter is rarely heard of." They were great bankers, but never farmers, laborers, miners, "seldom pioneers and never explorers." "Ever since the allotment of Christ's vestments they have dealt in clothing, old and new." The section concluded, "While we do not wish we were a Jew, we do wish we were rich as a Jew; and although they did kill Christ, we think the statute of limitations should bar any further prejudice against them upon that point, so long as they are good citizens and mind their own

business as they do in San Francisco."[99] The total picture was a mixture of disgust and admiration. As one paper remarked in perplexity, "It is strange that a nation that boasts so many good traits should be so obnoxious."[100]

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

1 Banking and Insurance Chronicle, March 28, 1867, 97-98.

2 Ibid., April 12, 1867, 114, 115.

3 Insurance Monitor, March 1867, 143; April 1867, 225, 227, 229, 230, 231.

4 New York Herald, April 9, 1867, April 16, 1867.

5 Evening Post, April 7, 1867.

6 Sunday Dispatch, April 21, 1867.

7 American Israelite, January 24, 1873; Police Gazette quoted in Rudolf Glanz, Studies in Judaica Americana (New York, 1970), 148.

8 American Israelite, September 11, 1890.

9 New York Herald, June 20, 21, 1877; New York Times, June 19, 1877.

10 Herald, June 20 & 21, 1877.

11 Matthew Hale Smith, Sunshine And Shadow In New York (Hartford, 1868), 453.

12 New York Tribune, June 1, 1876.

13 American Israelite, June 29, 1877.

14 Herald, June 20, 21, 24, 1877.

15 Evening Post, June 20, 1877; Commercial Advertiser, June 19, 1877; New York Sun, June 20, 25, 1877.

16 Daily Graphic, June 21, 26, 1877.

17 New York Tribune, June 20, 23, 27, 1877.

18 New York Tribune, June 25, 1877; Harper's Weekly, Vol. 21, July 7, 1877, 518-519.

19 Also Baltimore Gazette, Pittsburg Leader, Newark Journal, Boston Globe, Buffalo Advertiser, Baltimore Bee, Syracuse Courier, Boston Herald, all quoted in the New York Herald, June 22, 23, 1877.

20 Ibid.

21 New York Times, June 21, 23, 1877; American Israelite, June 29, 1877.

22 New York Herald, July 22, 23, 24, 1879; New York Sun, July 23, 1879.

23 New York Herald, July 24, 25, 26, 28, 1879; New York Sun, July 23, 1879; Commercial Advertiser, July 23, 1879; Evening Post, July 23, 1879.

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Quoted in New York Herald, July 25, 1879.
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New York Evening Mail, July 23, 1879; New York Times, July 27, October 20, 1879.
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Brooklyn Daily Eagle, July 23, 24, 1879.
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Puck, July 30, 1879, 322; Nation, July 31, 1879, 68; Harper's Magazine, October, 1879.
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American Israelite, August 6, 1880.
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Nation, May 12, 1881, 327.
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Puck, May 11, 1881, 178.
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North American Review, September 1881, 263-277.
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The Forum, July 1887, 523-531.
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New York Herald, April 23, 1893; New York Times, April 22, 1893.
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Evening Post, April 17, 1893.
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Evening Post, April 22, 1893; New York Sun, April 24, 1893.
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New York Sun, June 15, 1899.
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New York Tribune, October 13, 1902.
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Niles Weekly Register, December 27, 1823 & October 4, 1845; Abraham Karp, The Jewish Experience In America (New York, 1869), 165; New Orleans Delta, January 18, 1854 & New Orleans Bee, January 21, 1854 quoted in Bertram Korn, The Early Jews Of New Orleans (Waltham, 1969), 257-8.
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Evening Post, October 10, 1822; William L. MacKenzie, The Lives And Opinions of Benj'n Franklin Butler And Jesse Hoyt (Boston, 1845), 37; Niles Weekly Register, September 24, 1825; October 1, 1825; January 21, 1826.
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Cited in Isaac Goldberg, Major Noah: An American Jewish Pioneer (Philadelphia, 1936), 252.
41
New York Herald, March 16, 1840.
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Philip Hone, The Diary Of Philip Hone (New York, 1927), I, 543; Niles Weekly Register, LXVII, September 21, 1844; November 16, 1844, 164.
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Commercial Advertiser, March 24, 1851; Evening Post, March 24, 1851.
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George G. Foster, New York Naked (New York ?), 80-82; Lippincott, I, June 1868, 666-670.
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Joseph Holt Ingraham, The Sunny South (Philadelphia, 1860), 307-8.

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## V - POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL IMAGES

Anti-semitism in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century was primarily of the public (political) type. In this manifestation, Jews were perceived as menaces to a well-ordered society. They were permanent unassimilable aliens, international conspirators who utilized their dominance in banking and finance to attempt the seizure of power for their own nefarious advantage. European governments were often parties to or even agents of the anti-semitic movement which had reached considerable proportions by the end of the century.

Anti-Jewish sentiment in the United States, on the other hand, largely took the form of private (social) discrimination. There was no organized anti-semitic movement. Blacks and Catholics provided more obvious targets for political action, and deflected heat from the less conspicuous Jews. The role of the government was benevolent or, at the very least, neutral.

Political issues did arise during wartime and, early in the century, over remaining vestiges of Jewish disabilities. The press frequently discussed foreign discrimination against the Jews and almost unanimously rejected the European anti-semitic movement as unworthy of the enlightened spirit of the age. Nevertheless, there were people who accepted the ideological image of the "International Jew." These included some rural (and urban) radicals and some alienated members of the old aristocracy. In the nineteenth century most periodicals rejected their fears, and retained the ideal of America as the land of freedom to which the persecuted of the world could flee. But the image of the dangerous "International Jew" remained in shadowy existence-- ready for revival in the twentieth century.

## American Political Issues

There were only a few occasions on which political issues of anti-semitism arose in America. The first period in which anti-semitism might have been expected was the American Revolution. But, as Richard Morris has noted, Jews were looked upon as old settlers, rather than as aliens: "It is astonishing how little antisemitism was stirred up in America as a result of the Revolutionary crisis," particularly in comparison to contemporary England where Jews were "humiliated and physically attacked on the streets." According to Morris, "the tie-in of Jews with usury and sharp financial dealings was rarely made in America of Revolutionary times."[1] When Ezra Stiles reported that the Governor of Rhode Island and two judges sat with the president of the congregation at a Jewish religious service, he was casually reporting an event which had no parallel in Europe.

There was one minor uproar in South Carolina about Jews supposedly fleeing from Georgia in times of trouble. The South Carolina and American General Gazette of December 3, 1776 charged that a substantial group "of the Tribe of Israel - who after taking easy advantage in trade the times admitted of the State of Georgia, as soon as it was attacked by an enemy, fled here for an asylum, with their ill-gotten wealth - dastardly turning their backs upon the country when in danger, which gave them bread and protection."[2] Others defended the Jews, and the incident died down. After the war, comments about the role Jews had played commonly stressed their loyalty in fighting beside their Christian countrymen.

The conflict between the Democratic Republicans of Jefferson and the Federalists grew bitter enough to arouse the kind of passion which often leads to anti-semitism. In his preface to the American edition of The

Democrat, James Rivington wrote that the Democratic clubs were the result of agitation by Paris agents, "This itinerant gang will easily be known by their physiognomy; they all seem to be like their vice president of the tribe of Shylock: they have that leering underlook, and malicious grin that seem to say to the honest man - approach me not."[3] The reference was clearly to the vice president of the New York society, Solomon Simpson, merchant and president of Congregation Shearith Israel. This outburst, however, was not taken up by the Federalists generally, and the Jews had no special role in the bitter controversy of that period.

The most notable "Jewish" issue in early American history was the struggle over Maryland's "Jew Bill" which tried to remove political disabilities from Jews of that state. Most of the American press supported the change. This was particularly true of Niles Weekly Register, probably the most influential periodical of early America. Its subscribers included Presidents, congressmen and even foreign monarchs. Although Niles often criticized Jews for their "abhorrent" traits, it advocated equality and decried anti-semitism. An 1819 editorial on the subject was entitled, "Rights of Conscience." It reported that a committee of the Maryland House had urged the extension of political privileges to Jews, presenting "sound arguments in favor of emancipation of this people from political slavery." Although there were few people in the state who professed the Jewish religion, "if there were only one such the Constitution ought to be altered in his favor. The day of the fire and faggot has passed away." Later, it noted with approval a speech by H. Breckenridge before the Maryland Assembly. He denied any inferiority of Jews who were "the chosen people of God" and who brought the "blessings of Christianity." If they were unable or unwilling to believe, "it was permitted by Providence for purposes greater than we can comprehend." They had been

wickedly persecuted which had "a most unhappy influence on their character." It was not surprising that they were bitter against their enemies. How could they engage in "industrious callings" when they were forbidden to do so? "If the Jew be such as his enemies represent him, these enemies have made him so." Jews had the same morality as Christians and would, therefore, ultimately convert. Christians were prejudiced since "most of us have been taught from early infancy, to entertain an unfavorable opinion of them." (This last comment shows the continued existence of such prejudice in America.) American Jews, the speaker concluded, had been treated far better and "have the same proportion of estimable individuals" as Christians. They were as attached to the country and were devoted to the Revolution for freedom.[4]

The most typical expression of the deeply ambivalent attitude of Niles came in an October 1820 srticle entitled, "Jews in Maryland." It reported another attempt to "exonerate this persecuted sect from the odious restrictions which our incomprehensible constitution imposes on them." The author considered the reason why Jews were everywhere denied rights given to other men. He decided that it was because "their interests do not appear identified with those of the communities in which they live... they will not sit down and labor like other people - they create nothing and are mere consumers. They will not cultivate the earth, nor work at mechanical trades, preferring to live by their wit..." This causes hostility. "But all this has nothing to do with their rights as men; - let us do our duty and place them upon an equality with ourselves..." (This is a vivid illustration of the distinction many Americans made between private and public anti-semitism.) Still, Niles could not resist adding that Irish ditch diggers or German farmers were preferable as immigrants - "we want workers, for we have consumers enough already." Nevertheless,

Niles continued to follow the issue closely. In 1826 it was able to report exultantly that the Maryland Bill was finally passed, bringing about the "political liberation of persons held in servitude for conscience sake...Jews are freemen."[5]

Many newspapers took the same point of view with less equivocation. The Philadelphia Freeman's Journal regretted the illiberal principles" exhibited by the Maryland legislature. The denial of rights to Jews "ought not to be in this country, the asylum of the oppressed." The Charleston Southern Patriot charged Maryland with having caught "the spirit of German governments," a spirit which was "the dishonor of our age." If this clause of its Constitution was not eliminated, the people of Maryland could not boast of living under advanced liberal conditions. The paper urged, "Hasten citizens of Maryland! and blot from your charter this disgraceful feature!"[6]

Despite these strong comments, opinion was far from unanimous on the issue. It took seven years for the bill to be passed. Its original sponsor was defeated for re-election by an opponent who capitalized on anti-Jewish sentiment. A Mr. Lecompte of Dorchester told the Maryland legislature, for example, that "he did not think it proper or expedient to grant the rights and privileges which we enjoy to s sect of people who do not associate with us, and who do not even eat at out tables."[7] The argument of Jewish exclusiveness was constantly used by opponents of Jews in America. Another legislator objected to the bill because "it would encourage the Jews to come and dwell among us."[8] Even in this early period, George Houston, an "Israelite," complained that people considered Jews "an abject, degraded race; actuated by no other principle than that of self; disposed to overreach others in their commercial transactions, and...bent on acquiring wealth without regard to the means employed to

obtain it..." The result was that many Americans looked upon the Jews as a people "who ought to be debarred all social intercourse."[9] It is interesting that this remonstrance was written in 1823 -- well before such attitudes were thought to have been a problem in America.

The restrictions in the North Carolina Constitution were less publicized, but gave rise to a similar reaction. In 1835 Governor Branch pleaded for the removal of any constitutional religious test directed against Jews. These were the "favorite people of the Almighty." Among the Jews there were not only the Savior and his disciples,but men "as talented, as virtuous, as well qualified to fill any office in our government as any other citizen." Mr. Wilson, another exponent of change, remarked that there was no real hostility against Jews. "The only class against whom there was any excitement in the public mind was Roman Catholics..." The newspapers were almost unanimously critical of the North Carolina limitations. There must have been more animosity than Mr. Wilson had been willing to concede, however, because the legislature failed to act. As late as 1858, the Wilmington Journal noted a petition on the subject presented by a Jewish congregation. The editorial admonished, "The invidious distinction in our state constitution against the members of this religious denomination is not in accordance with the liberal spirit of the age..." Later, when the attempt to amend the Consitution had failed, the paper said that the real issue had been the reputation of North Carolina which had been blemished.[10]

As might be expected, the pressures and passions engendered by the Civil War brought out more overt feelings of anti-semitism. Bertram Korn has described this in American Jewry and the Civil War. Although, as Korn himself remarks, he has been criticized for exaggeration, he does

convincingly demonstrate a definite upsurge of anti-Jewish feelings during the War.[11]

Even before the war, passions were rising. The abolitionists expressed regret that the Jews of America "have never taken any steps whatever with regard to the slavery question." Such disappointment, however, could hardly be characterized as anti-semitic. The opponents of slavery thought that "the objects of so much mean prejudice and unrighteous oppression as the Jews have been for ages" would be stronger "enemies of CASTE and the friends of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM."[12] The Jews, alas, were no nobler than any other group in society. When Dr. Morris Raphall, a New York rabbi, appeared to offer a Biblical defense of slavery, the New York Tribune was particularly upset. "As Senator Wade said of his co-religionist, Judah P. Benjamin, he is 'an Israelite with Egyptian principles.'" The paper made a valiant attempt to be fair, however. "No people on earth have been more oppressed, robbed, trodden down and persecuted than the Jews, hence we naturally look to them to furnish apologists and pettifoggers for slavery. We rejoice that only a part of them are thus perverted, but that thousands of the children of Abraham...are among the most faithful and consistent upholders if the inalienable Rights of Man."[13]

During the War both North and South indulged in scapegoating of Jews. There were Southerners who accused Jews of being "merciless speculators, army slackers and blockade runners..."[14] The Richmond Southern Illustrated News blamed the Jews for much of the ills of the South. The Jew possessed plenty of money and "the scorn of the world." They had behaved terribly, but "what else could be expected from a Jew but money-getting...Since the time they were driven out of the Temple until now, for them money has been country..."[15] Such comments, however, were not

particularly commonplace in Southern sources of information.

Many more statements of a similar nature could be found in the North. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was particularly noted for his anti-semitic remarks. The American Israelite quoted several of his statements. Wilson accused Judah Benjamin of a plot to overthrow the government "of his adopted country which gives equality of rights even to that race that stoned prophets and crucified the Redeemer of the World." In another speech he accused the Jews of using their influence to depreciate American currency -- the opposite of the later charges by the silver forces. It was a contest between the "Jew-brokers, the money-lenders... and the productive toling men of the country."[16] Parson Brownlow also sprinkled liberal doses of anti-semitism into speeches he made on behalf of the Union during the Wat, directing particular fire against the "miserable little Jew," Judah Benjamin.[17]

Some newspapers added to the picture of Jews as so obsessed by money that they would profit by the misery of others. The Dutch Zeitung of Peoria believed that nine-tenths of the Jews were defenders of slavery. As off-springs of despised and persecuted people, one would think that they would hate slavery, but "they would advocate a world-wide revolution if by so doing they might increase their gains." Where they were no longer slaves themselves, "they make themselves tyrants." The Detroit Commercial-Advertiser carried a particularly vicious diatribe by its New York correspondent. He claimed that a "tribe of gold speculators" was trying to create suspicion of the government. They were "of foreign birth and exclusively of the people who look up to Abraham as their father." These "hooked nose wretches" were speculating on disaster. A battle lost to the Union Army was "chuckled over by them"as it puts money in their purse."[18] An article in the New York Times about Senator David

Yulee of Florida examined his earlier conduct in which it professed to discover "treason in embryo." He and an Irishman had tried to obtain government contracts and subsides for a railroad of which they were the contractors. "He succeeded better than he deserved; but it is well known that it was because his Jew heart did not get all it craved that he urged the secession of Florida - and like the base Judean, threw away a pearl richer than all his tribe."[19] The New York Tribune carried a story about the arrest of several culprits near the front for "disloyal practices." One of them had been "made a tool by his friends of the Hebrew faith." The Patterson Press commented in 1864, "The great majority of those engaged in gold speculation are of the Jewish race."[20] (According to the Jewish Messenger, less than five percent were Jews.)

"The Lounger" in Harper's Weekly was notorious for his uncomplimentary comments during the war. He spoke of the Jew as "naturally subordinate to the Christian." He addressed an open letter to a German Jewish trader of the "mean and detestable" sort. This man had "no native, no political, no religious sympathy for this country. You are here solely to make money..." This man, and thousands like him, were Copperheads and Rebels. He could not believe in the American form of government based upon equality of rights, and was "the enemy of all who will risk war to save the nation," interested only in money. Judaism was, of necessity, "entirely divergent from the stream of civilization in this country." That is why "the country you left did not regret your coming away; the country in which you trade will not mourn your departure."[21]

The most sensational event involving Jews during the Civil War was General Grant's Order Number 11 removing all Jews from his area of command, including local residents. Grant had been plagued by cotton specu-

lators in his Western area. A portion of the speculators were, undoubtedly,Jewish, but Grant identified the entire illegal traffic with Jews. He explained to the Assistant Secretary of War that regulations were being violated, "mostly by Jews." General Sherman had earlier expressed the fear that if something was not done to stop it, "the country will swarm with dishonest Jews who will smuggle powder, pistols..."[22] Some Republican papers supported the actions of the General. The Washington Chronicle,[23] for example, condemned Jews as the "scavengers...of commerce." Other journals opposed Grant's actions. The Cincinnati Enquirer termed the order a "gross and flagrant" injustice. There were good and bad Jews, but "a more law-abiding class of citizens we do not know." The Jews were not mischievous. "They do not go about the country lecturing in either women's or negro rights, stirring up strife, ill will and hatred..." The paper asserted that it felt this way even though the politics of most Jews were "vicious," since they were mainly Lincoln supporters.[24] The Philadelphia Public Ledger also expressed "indignation" at an act contrary to the Constitution. Jews "are some of the most intelligent, educated, conscientious and patriotic men" in the country. Here, where they have rights, they are reliable. In Europe, where they are persecuted, they have the "habit of thinking it right to retaliate by fraud against oppressive power," but that was not true in America.[25] The New York Times, which generally supported the administration, was pleased that Lincoln had set aside the order, "but the affront to the Israelites... was not as easily effaced..." It was an "odious principle" to condemn a group as a class, "contrary to common sense and common justice." There were undoubtedly swindlers, "But will he say that all swindlers that beset him are Jews?...There are degrees of rascality developed by the war

that might put the most accomplished Shylocks to the blush. We have native talent that can 'beat the Jews.'" Loyal and orderly Hebrew citizens of Paducah were forced to leave in a "revival of the spirit of the mediaeval ages." At least Lincoln redeemed the nation from "the disgrace of a military assault" upon the rights guaranteed to Jews by the Constitution.[26] (Lincoln countermanded Grant's order after hearing an appeal from Jewish citizens.) In spite of the Times' characterization of the Order as "one of the deepest sensations of the war," the other New York newspapers took virtually no notice of it. Its significance lies in the assumptions made by military leaders about the role of Jews.

At the end of the War, the image persisted of the Jews as the main profiteers of the conflict. A New York Herald story about Southern Jews in 1865 declared, "they take care of number one." The Christian might have gone out to slay his brother or be slain, but "the Jew shrugged his shoulders, grinned, kept afar from the fight, picked up the Christian's valuables, and then bought and occupied the Christian's houses." All the old family homes, according to the reporter, were "owned and occupied by Jews."[27] An 1866 article in Harper's Magazine, "Personal Recollections of the War," related the story of a Jew who was caught peddling copper watches and was sent to the guard house as a punishment. A large number of his fellow soldiers also arrived there for various infractions, so "he opened shop for the benefit of his fellow-prisoners and sold off his whole stock to great advantage."[28]

As Bertram Korn has remarked, all the anti-semitic outbursts of the war, including the Grant Order, were minor compared to the total expressions of hatred, suspicion, anger and grief brought forth by this most terrible of conflicts. Yet, it was one of the most concentrated periods

for ventilation of a negative image of the Jews. A letter from Gratz Cohen, a Virginia student later killed in the conflict, to his father illustrates this point: "It is a mournful fact that in these troubled times...intolerance and prejudice cast their baneful seed throughout the land, which from one quarter of it to another rings with abuse of God's people...the newspapers of the country lift up their lying tongues against them and no defending voice has been heard..."[29]

The issue of the role of the Jews continued long after the Civil War was over. An 1891 letter to the North American Review by a former Union officer remarked that he could not "recall meeting one Jew in uniform or hearing of any Jewish soldier." This situation was so marked that it became a subject of comment. The only place where there were any Jews was General Sherman's department "and he promptly ordered them out for speculating in cotton and conveying information to the Confederates." In rebuttal General Oliver Otis Howard declared in an 1892 letter, "There are no more patriotic men to be found in this country than those who claim to be of Hebrew descent and who served with me..."[30] On the Southern side, the Charleston Sunday News commented on South Carolina Jews' "fidelity and patriotism...laying down their lives in the field of battle."[31] Simon Wolf found it necessary to publish a book listing all the Jews who had served and were killed, wounded or demonstrated courage during the Civil War and other American conflicts.[32]

## The Role of the Populists and Other Radicals

While most of the major image makers in the periodicals perceived the faults of the Jews in terms of Chatham Street clothing dealers and similar types, the rural radical tended to picture the Jew as the epitome of the exploitative moneyed interests. John Higham has remarked

that these anti-semites "were alienated and often despairing critics of the power of money in American society." The "International Jew" thus became the hobgoblin of the rural imagination, intertwined with the insidious influence of the Eastern cities. These rural Americans lived in areas of low Jewish density where the enemy "was a remote and shadowy figure rather than a daily reality."[33] The same people who believed the negative stereotype of "The Jew," without question, often readily accepted the few Jews who did live in their local communities.

A tendency to blame economic ills upon the Jew, particularly on the part of agrarian politicians, existed early in the century. The picture of the Jew as the enemy of the hard-working man had a long history. It could be found in the works of William Cobbett which were read by the Jacksonians. In the 1837 panic, when many states repudiated bonds held by foreigners, Governor McNutt of Mississippi justified his actions by the following characterization of Rothschild: "The blood of Judas and Shylock flows in his veins, and he unites the qualities of both his countrymen..."[34]

In The Greenback Era Irwin Unger claims that "rural anti-bankism of the 1860's and 1870's was tinged with anti-Semitism." Although many Jews were craftsmen or laborers, farm folk and small town Americans knew the Jew, if at all "largely as a storekeeper or peddler." The Jew was often an almost mythic figure, sometimes favorably identified with the Old Testament, but more often associated with "the deeply imbedded Anglo-Saxon folk image of the usurer and sharp trader." In addition, Jews were aliens and not part of the "producing classes." Rather, the Jew was "one of the detested middlemen." (Fifty years earlier Niles had commented on this "fact.") For the Greenbacker, "he was a 'capitalist,' a money lender and a banker." While the Jewish banker, unlike the storekeeper, was be-

yond the immediate experience of the average American, he learned about that evil figure from Greenback leaders who constantly spoke of the Rothschilds and other international Jewish banking houses. The Jew was identified with the money power of "Wall Street," that center of nefarious forces. "Wall Street Jews" became a common epithet of the soft money men. National banks were said to be dominated by "the same corporate Jew class." Although Unger believes that the anti-semitism was not pervasive nor the exclusive ailment of the agrarians, he does feel "the fear of Jews by rural agrarians is significant, not because it dominated the insurgent farmer movement, but because it was symtomatic."[35]

There is some evidence to support Unger's viewpoint. Brick Pomeroy, for example, in The Great Campaign, attacked Jews as men who "do not pay attention to farming or to raising hogs...but who from their peculiarities are skimmers, gleaners, gatherers who can scent a dollar as far as a Yankee politician can a carpet bag."[36]

An even more extreme example of the views described by Unger was an 1879 speech by Elizabeth Bryant on "Types of Mankind as Affecting the Financial History of the World," which she delivered before the Greenback Labor Club of Washington D.C.. She gave a "history" of the Jews , showing how the "passion for gain" had extinguished all other desires in the Jew who knew that "wealth constitutes power." The Jews pretended to be a persecuted people. Actually, their dispersion was voluntary and organized. Eventually, "without a country...owing allegiance to no government...he today controls the money power of the world." Using his resources and power, he is attempting to enforce a money system based on gold, his symbol of wealth. He never engages in farming, mining or factory labor, "but wherever on the globe commerce exists there hovers the

Jew with his bag of gold. Wherever he goes he carries with him the curse of usury." There was a world-wide network of Jewish commerce in which "ten millions of this race prey uninterruptedly upon the vitals of mankind." Like the Jews, Americans must preserve the purity of their race by stopping emigration and recognizing the crisis created by the presence of the Jew-enemy "in our midst." Americans must redeem their liberty before it was too late as "the broad expanse of unclaimed prairie, our rivers rolling their surging tides to the sea, our majestic mountains...all, all are mortgaged to the Jew."[37] This was one of the purest examples of ideological opposition to the menace of the "International Jew."

Non-agrarian radicals in the same era often perceived the issues of the day in a similar light. An 1877 article in the Irish World also stressed the control of the bankers. A large cartoon portrayed Rothschild holding a knife, dressed as Shylock. The effort to depreciate silver "has been projected by the great Jew bankers of the world..." the paper stated. The result was low prices and "the destruction of the trade of the world." The Jew-bankers would purchase staples and, eventually, remonetize. Prices would rise, so they would realize a huge profit. Their plot could succeed because "these rich Jewish capitalists...have access to Secretaries of Treasuries and Finance Ministers and to people who manipulate the press of the world."[38]

The issue of the relationship of the Populists to anti-semitism created a minor storm in the historical profession several years ago. Oscar Handlin argued that it was the Populist view of the Jew as "involved in finance and mysterious" which transformed the image of the Jew after 1900 from a harmless one to a sinister Elder of Zion.[39] (In order to argue this Handlin was practically forced to deny any real anti-semitism in the stage, literary and comic caricatures of the Jew before 1900!) Although

conceding a "slight current of anti-semitism" before the 1890s, Richard Hofstader was in basic agreement with Handlin in his Age of Reform. Hofstader felt that "it was chiefly Populist writers who expressed that identification of the Jew with the usurer and the 'international gold ring' which was the central theme of American anti-semitism of the age." Shylock and Rothschild were both images frequently used in Populist publications and orations. Hofstader admitted that Populist anti-semitism tended to be merely verbal, rather than a program of action on the model of European anti-semites. He concluded, however, "It is not too much to say that the Greenback-Populist tradition activated most of what we have of popular anti-semitism in the United States."[40] Other historians and writers agreed. Victor Ferkiss, seeing "Populist Influence on American Fascism," felt that the prairie farmer associated the Jew "with the merchant, the financier and the corrupt and domineering Eastern city." Peter Viereck added that beneath relatively sensible economic demands by the Populists[41], there "seethed a mania of xenophobia, Jew baiting..."

Several scholars have written in rebuttal. Perhaps the most balanced of the responses was by C. Vann Woodward. He conceded that agrarian radicals tended to turn complex monetary problems into "a rural melodrama with Jewish international bankers as the principal villains." Jews often served as the "scapegoats for agrarian resentment." This does not mean, however, that they were responsible for the modern "populist" anti-semitism of men like Father Coughlin. Other elements in America, including aristocrats like Adams and Lodge and poorer urban dwellers, were just as anti-semitic. The Populists did use the Shylock stereotype, but "little had happened in the Anglo-Saxon community between the time of Shakespeare and that of the Populists that burdened the latter with addi-

tional guilt in repeating the stereotype."[42]

Norman Pollack has been particularly active in seeking to refute allegations of Populist anti-semitism. In his several articles, he argued that even the most anti-semitic Populist was opposed to persecution. They said that mistreatment of the Jews had forced them into plutocracy because of their ability to "accumulate wealth." Pollack himself exhibits a strange blindness. He does not seem to realize that the Jews did not, in fact, control the money markets and world banking, so that preoccupation with the reasons why they were able to obtain such control demonstrates a lack of understanding, at the very least. Pollack's study of newspapers in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Nebraska revealed less anti-semitism than other papers. "Tens of thousands of Populist statements show that anti-semitism was so infrequently mentioned that it might be contended that there was less, not more anti-semitism in the movement than in the rest of society."[43]

Walter Nugent, in his book, The Tolerant Populists, was a strong exponent of the same point of view. He noted that the Populists always got along well with their Jewish neighbors. Social discrimination was a characteristic of the East. Populist towns even had Jewish mayors at times. They did not extend their dislike of Jewish bankers like the Rothschilds to Jews in general. Even the frequent use of Shylock and Rothschild as epithets represented money-lenders and oppressive finance, rather than Jews. Out of hundreds of Populist newspapers there were only a few antagonistic references to Jews. There was little use of dialect, mentions of long noses, or discussions of ritual murder that one could find in the big city press.[44]

Considerable evidence can be marshaled on both sides of this issue. Populist leaders made occasional references to Jews as epitomizing the

money conspiracy. General Warner of Ohio claimed that the creditor nations and classes were trying to double the burden of the debtors. "The conspirators are drawn mainly from the descendents of the money changers of old - the Jews." G.T. Washburn, a prominent Populist, warned that the gold trust, made up of the leading bankers and usurers of the world "under the generalship of a European Jew, is capable of anything." C.J. Bradshaw, at the Michigan state silver convention, called the Jews, "hawk-nosed Christ-killers." The Israelite described Bradshaw as the Populist "Jew-baiter" from Kentucky. J.N. Johnson told a meeting of Silver Democrats that they could have no more faith in Republican promises than they could "when you go into a Jew clothing store and they put a coat on you and pretend it fits..." Mrs. Lease, the famed Populist orator, declared, "The capitalist press rejoiced in the power of Grover Cleveland, the American agent of Jewish bankers and British gold..." Paul Vandervoort was a straight-forward Populist anti-semite. He worried about "all the Jews and Shylocks of Lombard Street. France and Germany are shipping the scum, dregs, and filth of the dirtiest haunts of vice in the crowded cities of the old world to our shores."[45] A North Carolina Populist identified Jews with Wall Street and Shylock and concluded, "Our Negro brethren too, are being held in bondage by Shylock."[46]

Rural Southerners sometimes felt that the source of their problems was Jewish merchants or peddlers. Angry mobs forced Jewish shop-keepers from Somerville, Tennessee in 1876; Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana in 1887; and several Georgia mill towns in 1893.[47] In Across the Plains, Robert Louis Stevenson described the prevailing view that "Jew storekeepers" led the farmer on to "irretrievable indebtedness" and "keep him ever after as their bond-slave hopelessly grinding in the mill."[48] Rural re-

sentment grew violent in the 1890s in a dirt farmer movement in Southwest Mississippi. This "white capping" movement has been described by Walter F. Holmes. The movement's club declared, "Pauperized Jews are imported here who use every damnable idea conceivable to gain possession of our lands...The accursed Jews and others own two-thirds of our land..." In 1892 Whitecaps began driving Negroes from farms owned by Jewish merchants and posting notices: "This Jew place is not for sale or rent, but will be used hereafter as pasture." An 1893 letter to lawyers warned that farmers would die before being thrown out of their homes and losing the proceeds of honest labor, "being sucked into the voracious jaws of the leeches, commonly known as the Jew." They were determined to break "the power of Shylock."[49] This was one of the few examples of attacks upon Jews in rural areas, however. Such attacks occurred with far greater frequency in the industrial cities.

The appointment of a rabbi as the chaplain of the Republican National Convention of 1896 was the occasion for expression of religious, economic and political distrust of the Jews. The Beacon and New Era, a Populist newspaper, editorialized, "It was fitting that this convention of gold worshippers should select a Jew to pray for them, for the fellows behind the scene were Jews - the same class of fellows that...crucified Christ."[50] In a similar vein, a Minnesota paper, the Hinchley Enterprise, concluded that the event was "appalling," the appointment of a member of the group which repudiated the Christian God and crucified him. They had pursued the same policy for 1896 years. "The insidious but predominating influence of the Israelitish race was made painfully apparent. The G.O.P. is in the hands of the Jews."[51]

An editorial in the Jewish Voice of St. Louis, written after the

Populist convention was held there, noted that anti-semitism "is openly and insidiously encouraged...by the Populist hordes." Many "nasty" remarks were heard in the hotel corridors during the convention. The Voice referred to an Associated Press dispatch which remarked that one striking thing about the convention was "the extraordinary hatred of the Jewish race. It is not possible to go into any hotel in the city without hearing the most bitter denunciation of the Jews as class..."[52] This editorial is difficult to evaluate since there was an obvious class antagonism to the Populists and their goals, which was exhibited by many Jewish periodicals of the time.

Several publications written by Populists demonstrated hostile feelings towards Jews. Thomas May Thorpe, in What is Money, declared, "As Judas delivered Christ into the hands of the Jewish money changers of that day, so now our 'chosen guardians' have handed us over to the tender mercies of their literal and lineal heirs."[53] The Gentile Ass and the Judean Establishment by Ebenezer Wakely included a cartoon facing the title page in which the "Gentile Ass" is reaching the end of his "Weary Journey" and the Jew is receiving the loan of bags labeled, "Art," "Discoveries," "Science," and "Earning." Wakely asserted that Rothschild's control of the economy of the world harkened back to the Bible where Moses "permitted the Jew to exploit the Gentile race."[54] According to James E. Goode in The Modern Banker, Jews were in control of almost all the banks, creations of "the cunning brain of the Jew." As a result, "all the people of the world are paying heavy tribute to these same Jews."[55] Even before his supposed demagogic phase, Tom Watson claimed in The People's Party Campaign Book that Jefferson would be astounded if he returned to earth, to see his party "prostituted" to "red-eyed Jewish

millionaires,"[56] the new "chiefs of that party."

One of the most widely read writers who favored Bryan's cause was William H. "Coin" Harvey. His novel, A Tale of Two Nations, which sold several hundred thousand copies, depicted Jewish bankers bribing senators and bending Washington's monetary policy to suit London. The main character was Victor Rogasner, representative and nephew of Baron Rothe, who does the plotting and bribing. With "the fire of his race...the fire that came when David gazed upon Bathsheba," he falls in love with a fair American girl. When his brother remonstrates that she is a Christian, he replies, "Did not our ancestors, even on Arabian plains, take whatever women of whatever race most pleased their fancy. Nor did they hesitate at Means..." and the alien blood was quickly absorbed in the unchanging current of the Jew. He plots the ruination of his noble rival, a young Nebraska congressman, obviously modeled on William Jennings Bryan. "The race instinct which ages ago made the victorious Israelite 'harrow' the conquered is now manifesting itself again." However, the plot is overheard by his Irish servant who tells the heroine. When Rogasner arrives to press his suit, the heroine rebuffs him, "You are very shrewd...You are wise in your commercial way, inbred through generations. The politic, scheming, devious way inbred through generations also...You are repulsive to me." Rogasner is crushed and becomes paralyzed. His "fair Jewess" girlfriend remains with him despite his cavalier treatment of her, "Rebecca solicitous over Ivanhoe, so good and gracious and beautiful." He has learned that one woman's perfect love in the greatest force in the world, but a new agent of Baron Rothe arrives to pursue his nefarious schemes for the subjugation of the American economy.[57]

Coin's Financial School was Harvey's runaway best-seller; over a

million copies were bought. In it, with suitable cartoon illustration, he wrote that the "Rothschild octopus held the world in its tentacles." Another section referred to a "Jewish Shylock clutching his gold."[58] In Coin's Financial School Up-To-Date, Harvey attempted to make amends for his earlier anti-semitic remarks. The manner in which he endeavored to do so illustrated the deep-seated nature of the picture of Jews as representative of the moneyed interests. The two protagonists of the book cross State Street where Fred notices a "big Jew firm on that corner," and asks Coin what he thinks of the Jews. Coin responds:

> The Jews are the brightest race of people that inhabit the earth, and they treat each other with the greatest fairness as a rule. You never saw a Jew beggar, and they are seldom found guilty of crime. You should not be prejudiced against any race as a race. There are bad as well as good men among all races and classes. Among the Jews many became money changers; it seems to be natural with them, probably on account of their excessive shrewdness. They see that it offers advantages not possessed by any other business. But...this should not prejudice you against them as a race...[59]

A version of one Populist's nightmare and warning to America was effectively fictionalized by Ignatius Donelly in Caesar's Column. This popular novel sold over 250,000 copies. The hero leaves a rural paradise in Uganda to visit New York of the future where everything is glass, the streets are subterranean, and the people are allowed no real emotion. The aristocracy is now almost altogether Hebrew. This is the result of the survival of the fittest. The weaker Jews were destroyed by centuries of Christian persecution. The Jews who survived were stronger, tougher and meaner than any Christian. The Jews had taken over. "They are the great money-getters of the world. They rose from dealers in old clothes and peddlers...to merchants to bankers to princes." They are now merciless to Christians. The "Brotherhood" is a revolutionary organization plotting to overthrow the oligarchy. Its brains is a Russian Jew -- one

of the earliest examples of that popular stereotype, the "Wall Street - Bolshevik Jew." This cunning revolutionary is described in classic language. His face is "mean and sinister; two fangs alone remained in his mouth; his nose was hooked; the eyes were small, sharp..." Finally, the revolution comes as a terrible upheaval, with ruin and slaughter everywhere. Caesar, the revolutionary leader, orders the building of a great monument to his success -- a column of dead bodies. The cunning Jew flees the country with $100,000,000. "It is rumored he has gone to Judea; that he proposes to make himself king in Jerusalem, and, with his vast wealth...revive the ancient splendors of the Jewish race..." The hero flees from this nightmare to the good life in rural Populist-run Uganda.[60]

This book, by a leading Populist spokesman, became the center of much of the controversy over the nature of Populism. Handlin and Hofstader cited it prominently in support of their thesis. The defenders of the Populists seemed to feel impelled to justify the statements in Caesar"s Column against all charges of anti-semitism. Pollack argued that one must consider "the book's humanitarian side; the minor place of anti-semitism in the total context; and the ambivalent character of anti-semitism." Donnelly, according to Pollack, posed the question of who was more blameworthy -- the Jews who developed unpleasant traits in order to survive, or the Christian world which was paying for the suffering it inflicted. A real anti-semite would have blamed the Jews, but Donnelly expresses "compassion and regret" at the necessity of the Jewish response to persecution. This discussion appears to accept the view that Donnelly had indeed presented an accurate reflection of Jewish behavior. Pollack also noted that most contemporary reviewers did not even notice any anti-semitism in the book. This might also mean that contemporaries were so accustomed to seeing Jews in the way Donnelly presented that they were

unaware of the anti-semitism. Nugent actually argued that one of the leaders of the revolt was a Jew, driven to rebellion by a "vicious economic system." The "evil Jew" is cancelled out by the "good, if not always well-advised, Jew of the revolution."[61] It is incredible that anyone could picture the Jewish revolutionary as a good character!

Even if we dismiss the over-simplifications of the defenders of the Populists, it is true that Donnelly's views were more deeply ambivalent than was indicated by the one novel so often cited by the critics of the Populists. At an earlier period, in 1876, Donnelly had vigorously opposed prejudice in his paper, the St. Paul Anti-Monopolist. "Give the Jew a chance," he advised his readers. "A great nation, like all magnificent mosaic work, has room in it for all race elements of the world."[62] Later editorials in the St. Paul Representative were more ambiguous. Under the iniquitous monetary system set up by bad laws, "Jews alone thrive - the reason is they deal only in money." The following week, he reconsidered that statement and noted that "there are Jews that are an honor to the human race" as well as those who were a disgrace. At least the Jewish plutocrat had the excuse of thousands of years of persecution during which time his people preserved the knowledge of "the one true God." Plutocratic Christains were, therefore, worse. "Karl Marx, the Jew reformer, faces Rothschild, the Jew plutocrat." He concluded, "We would be sorry to be understood as saying one word that would pander to prejudice against any man."[63] The Golden Bottle also reflected Donnelly's more tolerant views. In an anticipation of modern Israel, Donnelly had the hero, who had become dictator of the world, restore Palestine to the Jews:

> It seemed to me that this great race, the Israelites, from whom we derived our religion and so much of our literature, should have some share in the awakening of the world...I gave orders that all Jewish emigrants to the Holy Land be carried free...

> and financial help extended to make them at once a great and prosperous people. And out from the lands of hatred and persecution the poor afflicted Hebrews poured...it will be but a little time until the Jews too shall have a nation...illustrious and honored in the world...respected as representatives of the race which preserved the worship of the one true God in the midst of the darkness and foulness of ages of barbarism...[64]

In 1899, in the Minneapolis Representative, he spoke out forcefully against incidents in New York where "cannibals" pulled the beards of old Jews. The growing anti-semitism in Europe caused him to editorialize, "The Jews are not all plutocrats. A large majority of them are the poorest people of the world. The half-starved workers of the sweatshops of London, Berlin and New York are mostly Hebrews." He could not understand how "a Christian people, worshipping a Jew, the son of a Jewess, should entertain such terrible bigotry against the people of his race."[65] It would seem that Donnelly was far more tolerant when he wasn't in the middle of a silver campaign and when he saw the consequences of prejudice. Certainly these remarks, written by the same man who wrote Caesar's Column, strongly indicate that the Handlin-Hofstader thesis is an oversimplification.

There are other examples of Populists criticizing anti-semitism and advocating tolerance. The Topeka Alliance Tribune ran a story in 1890 about a thrifty, industrious but unemployed Jewish family in New York which was driven to suicide to escape sure starvation, while a few blocks away, "live the Goulds, Vanderbilts and dozens of other millionaires with their $10,000 a year cooks."[66] The Farmers and Laborers Journal of Owensboro, Kentucky, an organ of the People's Party, opposed "senseless twaddle about 'Jew bankers.'" (This does seem to indicate that such "twaddle" was widespread.) Jews, the paper reported, were not responsible for the economic system of America or for the legislation passed by the government. If Jews were bankers, it was due only to "sagacity, energy and executive

ability."[67] William Jennings Bryan found it necessary to counteract accusations of anti-semitism which were attached to his campaign. In The First Battle he noted, "Our opponents have sometimes tried to make it appear that we are attacking a race when we denounce the financial policy advocated by the Rothschilds." Rather, they were attacking "greed and avarice which know neither race nor religion." Bryan concluded, "I do not know of any class of our people who, by reasons of their history, can better sympathize with the struggling masses in this campaign than the Hebrew race."[68]

There is no doubt that in their intense hatred for the "money power," many Populists accepted anti-semitic stereotypes and identified Jews with the evils of society. Even those who criticized the nation for its lack of devotion to true democratic ideals, strayed from those ideals themselves and engaged in scapegoating. It is not necessarily true that the "pervasive humanistic spirit" of the Populists was "directly antithetical to anti-semitism." Throughout history, many men have found it possible to combine a desire for justice with this particular social injustice. There is doubt, however, that the Populists manifested these attitudes any more frequently than other groups in the society. Even in the election of 1896, anti-semitism was not restricted to one side. The Detroit Free Press reported that there was a float in a political parade which depicted a Jewish pawnbroker. The sign read, "Isaac Silberstein -- a sure winner if Bryan is elected."[69] The Populists, in their credulity, often helped to reinforce the anti-semitic image of the Jew as usurer and international banker. It is not fair, however, to say that the Populists were responsible for modern anti-semitism.

## The Alienated Aristocrats

Many upper class Brahmins were as concerned as any Populist with the extent of Jewish influence on the new vulgar industrial society which was springing up with alarming vigor and undermining accepted values. Some of these aristocrats were out of sympathy with the changes in society and the supposed success of the pushy Jew was the symbol of the deterioration of the world as they knew it.

Some of the fears expressed by James Russell Lowell, John Jay Chapman, Henry Adams and others were discussed in an early section.[70] Lowell's curiously ambivalent concern bordered on the obsessive. A reporter in the Atlantic Monthly noted, after a conversation with Lowell, that the subject of Jews was "almost a monomania with him...It appeared that this insidious race had penetrated...the human family more universally than any other influence except original sin." This was not entirely a bad thing since he also "spoke of their talent and versatility." When the writer asked Lowell what the Jews would do once they had control of finance, the military, the press, the government, "and the earth's surface," Lowell responded, "That is the question which will eventually drive me mad."[71]

Henry Adams felt that the Jewish controlled world with its goldmania had no real place in it for him. Adams was somewhat restrained in his books and articles, but in his letters to friends and relatives he revealed his deep feelings about the menace of the "International Jew." He wrote, "With a communism I could exist...but in a society of Jews and brokers, a world made up of maniacs wild for gold, I have no place." He believed that the Jews had total control of the world's money and gold markets. The Bourse seemed to be collapsing -- "How the deuce do the

Jews manage to make this chaos stand on end? It is a tour de force...The whole carcase is rotten with worms - God alone knows his own microbes." In the European gold shortage "their Jews" were trying to conceal the truth, "but our Jews are quite their match now...I find Paris amusing, the Jews are all on top again...but the Parisians kick all the same..." The Boer War took place because "all England and all America and all the Transvaal are a Jew interest..." He feared that the war would "give a long new impetus to the transference of the money centre, Jews and all, to New York. Westward the course of Jewry takes its way!" Adams saw the Dryefus case very differently from most observers. Since Dreyfus was "a howling Jew," it didn't matter if he was innocent. What was important was "the whole extent of the Jew scandal." He was always hoping for the decline of "Jewish power." As he himself admitted, "For seven years I have been preaching, like John the Baptist, the downfall of the Jews." Although he conceded that he disliked the socialist of "the trade union, petite bourgeoisie type" even more than "I loathe the Jew," he felt that an "alliance between the two classes" was inevitable. A revealing letter which combined his frustration at being misplaced in the modern world with physical revulsion against the Jew, described Warsaw as "mostly Jew... The Jews and I are the only curious antiquities in it. My only merit as a curio is antiquity, but the Jew is also a curiosity. He makes me creep." Although occasional admiration for the supposed success of the Jews would sometimes be found in his letters, as the nature of the modern world became even more apparent to Adams, his comments were more acerbic: "God tried drowning the world once, but it did no kind of good, and there are said to be four-hundred-and-fifty thousand Jews now doing kosher in New York alone. God himself owned failure."[72]

Many of Adams' friends shared his dislike of Jews and other foreigners. Upper class New Englanders founded the Immigration Restriction League in 1894. Henry Adams' brother Brooks, to whom many of his letters were written, shared his distaste for Jews. Brooks believed that Jews represented the ascendancy of finance capital which was superseding the finer and higher martial capabilities of society. He was incensed by the Dreyfus case: "Here are the most distinguished officers in France, day after day brought by by a gang of dirty Jews, and badgered and insulted and held up to contempt with the connivance of the Government." Like Henry, Brooks had intense feelings about Jews as supposed leaders of the hated forces of modern capitalism and corruption: "Rome was a blessed garden of paradise beside the rotten, unsexed, swindling lying Jews, represented by Pierpont Morgan (!) and the gang who have been manipulating the country for the last four years."[73] Jews were even given the blame for the activities of non-Jewish capitalists.

Although most of Adams' friends agreed that Jews were representative of the newer, louder, more ambitious groups which endangered their status, they considered his constant concern with the Jews to be obsessive. For instance, John Hay, to whom Henry Adams addressed many of his comments, accepted most of the stereotypes, but was amused by them, rather than threatened. He chided Adams for believing the ideas of extreme anti-semites. (Adams read Drumont and recommended the books to others.) According to Adams, Hay remarked, "the Jews are all the press, all the cabinets, all the gods and all the weather. I was amazed to see so sensible a man so wild." Later, Hay joked that Adams, "when he saw Vesuvius reddening in the midnight air...searched for a Jew stoking the fire."[74]

Harold Frederic, in an 1899 novel, The Market Place, accepted and

even approved of the supposed Jewish dominance of finance. The book was a social critique of the blind craving for power exemplified by the speculator Joel Thorpe, who is also an anti-semite. Thorpe seeks revenge on Jewish speculators who have harmed him earlier. He thinks of them as alike, "all Jewish, all malignant," and admits, "I don't know them apart, hardly - they've all got names like Rhine wines - but I know the gang as a whole." Thorpe, who is not a sympathetic figure, is frank in his admission of his anti-semitism. Another character expressed Frederic's own opinions of the Jews when he says that "the uses which they put this vast power of theirs" were "on the whole beneficent." It might be far wrose for mankind if this power was taken from them "and put into other less capable hands."[75] Frederic did not see Jews as timid and noble nor as menaces, but as capable wielders of power and wealth, mainly for benign purposes. Western Jews "of the right sort" were preferable to the decaying aristocracy.

Other aristocrats became involved with progressive reform movements. These people were more concerned with lower class Jews, particularly the new Eastern immigrants. They were sympathetic, in an extremely patronizing way. They tended to believe that the immigrants' Jewishness was an impediment to true assimilation in American society.[76] However, they were not particularly concerned with the menace of the Jew as international banker.

## Anti-Semites and Judeophiles

There was a very small group in America which could accurately be characterized as ideological anti-semites. By the 1870s the number of overtly anti-semitic articles and books began to increase noticeably. They sounded many of the same themes that appealed to similar people in

the twentieth century. Goldwin Smith's anti-semitic diatribes in British publications were beginning to attract interest in the American press, even before he came to this country. It is important to remember, however, that most of these authors constituted a "lunatic fringe." With the exception of Smith, they were totally ignored in the American press, and certainly could not be considered part of any "movement."

H.P.C. Worthington's pamphlet, Hell for the Jews, appeared in 1879 as an answer to the defense of Jews by Henry Ward Beecher and others, in response to German persecutions. The real issue, according to Worthington, was whether the Jews would "govern, own and control the future of America." Defenders of the Jews treated such "abominable attributes" as the "sly cunning of this crafty people" and described them as qualities of "business sagacity." The Jews may have given us Christ, but they rejected Him and were doomed to hell. Eventually, at the rate they were reproducing, everything would be "drowned into insignificance by the rich perfume of little baby Jews." At this point, the author lapsed into total incoherence. Yet, it is interesting that even he felt the necessity to "abjure all prejudice."[77]

The best known anti-semitic pamphleteer was a Greek immigrant printer, Telemachus Timayonis. There is no evidence of any real popularity or importance given to his work. In The Original Mr. Jacobs (1888) he argued that, "with treachery and fraud...serpent like," the Jew was taking possession of everything. In New York you could find signs with Jewish names "plenty as the plagues of Egypt." The Jew feels the right to "oppress others is part of his religion." He either "cringes before you or seeks to crush you." The Jews owed loyalty to no country. Their famed longevity was due to their terrible smell which killed the plague. Above all, they hate Christianity. That is why they bled and crucified Chris-

tian children from the Middle Ages to the present. Among their crimes were the execution of Louis XVI and the Franco-Prussian War! Karl Marx was a Jew and so was Rockefeller, but the great leaders like the Vanderbilts were Aryans. To guard against the Jewish danger, stringent laws should be passed "forbidding Jews to enter the country." Judas Iscariot (1888) continued in the same vein. The Jews made money or acted as spies in the Civil War, but no drop of Jewish blood was ever shed. "A Jew can have no hope of salvation unless he robs a goy." They constituted "a state within a state and are perfidious traitors." The proof that the Jew is naturally a murderer is that his first ceremony was a bloody operation which often proved fatal to Jewish infants! There is no evidence that these books were widely read. It is interesting, however, that they were considered respectable enough to contain an ad for Van Houten chocolate on the inside cover.[78]

The work of Goldwin Smith, a well-known English anti-semite who became a professor at an American university, was far more important. His writings were often published and seriously discussed in major American periodicals and newspapers. The North American Review, which published numerous sympathetic articles about Jews (despite its association with Henry Adams) ran a long article by Smith in 1891, "New Light on the Jewish Question." He contended that the world-wide "anti-semitic revolt is, in fact, one of the great features of the age." The whole problem was that the Jews were "a parasite race." They were detached from their own country and asserted "themselves for the purpose of gain into the homes of other nations, while they retain a marked and repellent nationality of their own." Their isolation was maintained by the Talmud which preserved their purity, and by circumcision, "the seal of tribalism..." The Jew refused to intermarry or even eat with others. He was detested because

he absorbed the wealth of a nation and "when present in numbers he eats out the core of nationality." Even when the Jew was a "conforming citizen," he tried to make the burdens of state as light as possible on himself. "When the Southern confederacy fell, its leaders generally stood by the wreck...but Judah Benjamin went off to pastures new." Whenever a Jewish question arose in any part of the world, "we are made to feel that there is a Jewish interest." In Western society "of which wealth is the ruling power," the financial skill and aid of his kinsmen made the Jew "the master of wealth."[79] (Smith wrote a similar article earlier in Nineteenth Century.)

In succeeding months the Review carried two answers by Jewish authors. One expressed surprise that Smith, in the "cosmopolitan pages" of the North American Review was arraying himself with the "persecutors of the Jewish race." It was asserted that "the Jew is by nature gifted among the races of men." Another reply, by Dr. Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, remonstrated that no excuse could be offered for one who, "priviledged to breathe the air of freedom," justified "barbarities." Jews in the United States were "diligent, thrifty and law-abiding." Dr. Adler interestingly concluded, however, that it was "neither wise nor expedient to encourage large settlements of Jews in countries which, like the United States, already number a considerable Hebrew population..."[80]

The Catholic World ran a series from 1891 to 1893 by Manuel Perez Villamil which presented an extremely anti-semitic interpretation of the Jewish role in earlier Spanish history. Since the articles were published without comment and no critiques of any kind were ever printed, they may well have represented the views of the editors as well. The Jews, according to Villamil, tried to prevent Catholic bishops from freeing Christian

serfs "from the implacable tyranny of their Jewish masters." There was an inevitable conflict between Hebrew and Christian. Jews possessing "cunning and guile" and wealth,were guilty of "perfidy and conspiracy." They also committed "appalling crimes" like the 1491 crucifixion of a Toledo boy. Laws against the Jews were required "to preserve social and religious unity...against the transgressions of the proscribed race...the cause of so much evil and disorder recorded in history." Despite equality and protection, Jews never ceased to be "a nation within a nation," crafty and untruthful. Their "insatiable and ever growing greed" led them to usury. The Talmud taught them to curse Christians and "to plunder them either by fraud or violence." Even today Jews continue to sacrifice little boys. The conclusion was, "No act of disloyalty, treachery, or conspiracy took place in which they were not involved." While the author of these diatribes was not American, they were published as serious history in a respectable Catholic periodical without disclaimers.[81]

Despite the publication of the few anti-semitic articles and pamphlets, from the earliest days of the century to the end, most journals and periodicals were opposed to overt expressions of anti-semitism, whether in this country or abroad. (This does not mean that the same paper or magazine would hesitate to publish an article which we might consider blatantly anti semitic.) Some of the defense had a curiously ambiguous quality. The New York Sun in 1849 published an article on the secret of success in America, averring that "all are equally encouraged and protected." A Jew wrote to complain that the doctrine did not work here as shown by employment advertisements which added, "No Jews wanted here." (Note the early date of this practice.) The Sun replied that this was an incorrect interpretation of what had been meant. Governments and institu-

tions treated all with equality. Those who battled with other races were "pitiable and shameful." Obviously, "the spirit of our institutions and government is often more liberal and generous than many of the individuals who enjoy its blessings and who ought to imitate its example."[82] This distinction be tween private and public discimination was precisely the difference between American and European anti-semitism.

The 1880s, in response to an upsurge of European anti-semitism, brought an increase of articles condemning that prejudice. The Atlantic Monthly in 1880 noted that, despite many good qualities exhibited by Jews "inherited prejudices are not easily expelled from the moral system; and we are still far from the time when...the Jewish nationality shall be deemed free from taint." If the prejudice was based upon religion, it would have died away. Its real cause was that "the Jews are the greatest traffickers in the world's most indispensible commodity, money." Their shrewdness and industry gave them advantages. For other "peculiarities of the race" like the "low character of the calling" of the majority and "the filthy habits of their lower class," Christian oppression was responsible.[83] This was a common, if dubious, defense.

Puck compared the actions of Germany to Corbin and Hilton. It was about time that Jews "had a little rest of persecution." Americans didn't torture, but "we make ourselves decidedly disagreeable in a small civilized way," excluding them from hotels and tormenting Jewish children. The New York Times replied to an 1881 Goldwin Smith attack. His view that all Christian workers should hate Jews was the "cry of all ignorant and unprincipled demagogues that no labor is 'productive' except manual labor." Smith himself came from another country and he was the "intruder" who was "non-productive." Century in 1882 explained that "not all of Christendom has come out of barbarism yet." The Jews were no worse than

any other group and, in fact, had a larger number of eminent men than other races. In the following year Century published a rueful exposition of "the Jewish problem" by Emma Lazarus. The article is striking evidence of the ubiquity of anti-semitism at the time. "Every Jew," she complained, "has the humiliating knowledge that his security and reputation are...bound up with those of the meanest rascal who belongs to his tribe." In America prejudice took the form of social boycott. Even supposedly refined Christians used the word "Jew" as a "term of opprobrium...to denote the meanest tricks." The real "insatiable thirst of the Jew," she assured her readers, was not for money, but "for knowledge."[84]

The issue of anti-semitism continued to occupy the press in the 1890s. An 1890 editorial in the Chicago Evening Journal was headed, "Still Pounding the Jews." The record of America was better than Europe, but still "far from creditable." Educated people complained that Jewesses talked too loud and Jews were not up to the standards of society. The paper commented sardonically, "It should be a matter of general thankfulness that the Jews have quit putting great reformers to death, and have ceased to offer...a Christian child in sacrifice...and are satisfied now with talking too loud and with a free use of oil on the hair." In 1893 the Detroit News ran a series on "Why is the Jew Hated?" Merchants had protested anti-semitism at a local club at the same time as trouble broke out in Berlin. This was a universal prejudice and must have had deep causes. It could not be traced to mental or physical inferiority. The Jew in the United States "is more law-abiding than the Christian...he is less burdensome to the poor funds; his family relations are purer; he is healthier;" he has made great intellectual contributions. "The world owes him more for modern civilization than any other breed.

Why then does the world hate him?" The paper invited Jews to answer in the intersts of science: what characteristics of theirs "set the Christian's teeth on edge all over the world?"[85] Perhaps the victims were responsible for their own mistreatment -- this became a familiar idea in later periods.

New York newspapers vehemently opposed an organized anti-semitic movement which was growing in Europe in the 1890s. This was shown by their reaction to the appearance of Hermann Ahlwardt, an Austrian agitator who came to the United States in 1895, with the express purpose of stirring up anti-Jewish antagonism. The papers unanimously concurred with the Herald's headline, "Ahlwardt Unwelcome," when the hate-monger arrived.[86] "There is no room in this country for fanatics who come with the avowed purpose of pitting...race against race..." The Herald went on to assert that American Jews had achieved much in culture and science and "have contributed their due share in promoting the stability and advancing the prosperity of the United States." The Times added that Ahlwardt's malignant aim was to bring about the "revival of the persecution of the Jews which was the blackest blot upon the history of Christendom." The Sun dismissed the charge that Jews are "exploiters not producers." Certainly, the paper insisted, "his charges are not applicable to the Jews of New York...A large majority of whom are engaged in productive industries...Why Ahlwardt we have Jews here who are beer brewers! And we have heard that some folks regard their brew as the best."

When some young Jews threw rotten eggs at Ahlwardt, the Tribune combined stereotyped thinking with a defense of the Jewish people, showing how Judeophile rhetoric and anti-semitic ideas could be interrelated, as Higham has suggested. The "characteristic Hebrew thrift should have pre-

vented any such demonstrations. The rotten eggs might have been better employed." Ahlwardt actually "pays a tribute to their powers" by his charges. The "Aryan race" was the maligned party when it was made to seem "so contemptibly weak that it cannot maintain its ascendency over vastly inferior numbers." The Hebrew, according to the Tribune, excelled at making money, at law, at letters, poetry, philsophy and statesmanship. "He has vigor of mind and body and a race stamina that is the wonder of the ages." Jews had once been compelled to make their living through usury so they developed a "natural aptitude" for it. However, though "their power of making money may be abnormal, their love for it is not greater than their fellows." If New York had become the New Jerusalem it was because "the Hebrew in a free and fair contest...proves himself the stronger and abler man."[87]

Papers and periodicals around the country tended to agree. The Indianapolis Journal, for example, felt that American Jews had all the rights of citizens and "they rank in the common estimation as among the safest, soundest, most conservative and at the same time most progressive members of this community." The New Orleans Picayune informed Ahlwardt that here, under liberal laws, Jews were "rapidly amalgamating." Only persecution had kept them a "peculiar people." Life remarked that Ahlwardt would have difficulty stirring up bad blood between Jews and others in America. Jews were hated in Russia and Germany "because of their great success in trade." But many Russians were "ignorant and stupid" and Germans were "more deliberate in their mental processes than some other peoples." Americans with their natural sagacity, on the other hand, were not in need of Ahlwardt's warnings. The Review of Reviews summed up Ahlwardt's odyssey. When he arrived in New York, he found "languid interest" in his ideas. He could hardly locate "a man, woman or

child in the great metropolis saying anything but pleasant things about the industrious, charitable and intelligent race," despite their "representative faults."[88]

At the end of this period, both the Times and Tribune attacked anti-semitism as a manifestation of jealousy over superior business skills and prosperity. It was "just another form of anarchism." Actually, the "Jewish nation," "far from beggaring the people among whom they live, diffuse and develop prosperity."[89] This is a clear example of the role of the Jew as exemplar of capitalist virtues, making his opponents radical expropriators in the eyes of the conservative press.

Often the journals which decried anti-semitism disseminated the very stereotypes which led to prejudice. There was little reference to the dangers of an imminent Jewish take-over in the non-radical press. Only the extreme anti-semites like Goldwin Smith pictured the Jew as a parasite who might ultimately destroy the strength of society. Ahlwardt's reception is evidence that such charges were not taken too seriously at this time. The intense preoccupation of the Jewish press and Jewish letter writers with the frequent and insensitive uses of the word "Jew" demonstrates that anti-semitism in the American press was largely of the casual and unfeeling kind, rather than part of a deliberate and malicious effort to undermine the position of Jews in America. Nevertheless, the images depicted by the anti-semites were present and available for later use by more dedicated anti-Jewish forces.

Judeophile writings were even more commonplace than anti-semitic diatribes, as illustrated by complaints by Jewish authors in the Review of Reviews. In 1856 Morris Raphall remarked, "Much has been written in these last years - not always wisely - upon the singular gifts and

achievements of the modern Hebrew race," most of it by "philo-Jewish writers." Much later, in 1894, Abram Isaacs entitled his article, "The Glorification of the Jew." Since the publication of Daniel Deronda, he noted, it was "difficult to keep pace with the streams of books...and countless articles" dealing with the Jew. In 1897 he protested that the Jew was treated "with superlative praise or superlative condemnation."[90]

Isaacs' complaints can be verified by the spate of philo-semitic articles, lectures and pamphlets which appeared particularly in the last third of the century. They were generally kindly and well-meaning, despite some elements of condescension. Their stenuous protests against anti-semitic ideas points up the continuing presence and widespread dissemination of the latter as well. James Parton's 1870 article, "Our Israelitish Brethren" was one of the earliest and best-intentioned of these non-critical pieces. The Jews were probably the "chastest" people in the world, according to Parton. Christians owed unlimited reparation to this "interesting and unoffending people." Jews had been treated as a despised people, a wrong which "all Christians have done to all Jews all the time." In time-honored liberal fashion, Parton argued that, if a Jew played a "scurvy trick," one should kick a Christian for it! Most Jews lacked any "rancor and fury" despite their mistreatment. In this respect, "the Jews are the only Christians!" They had always been industrious and temperate, they needed only a fair chance "to develop more shining qualities." One need only compare the Jews just entering from lands of oppression with those in America for a generation. "America can boast no better citizens, nor more refined circles." Parton concluded, "Jews and Christians should be allies; and allies are equal."[91]

The best known of all the philo-semitic works in the United States

was a lecture by Senator Zebulon Vance of North Carolina, "The Scattered Nation." It was written between 1868 and 1873. It was orginally intended for Christian audiences though it was later delivered before Jewish groups as well. Over the next fifteen years the lecture was repeated hundreds of times in every important American city. Selig Adler points out that "anti-Jewish feeling was much more than an abstraction in the 1870s. The very writing and repeated delivery of the 'Scattered Nation,' and the charges it refutes, give proof that the Jewish situation, even in the United States, was far from ideal."[92]

Vance presented the Jew as "the most remarkable man of this world." The unity of the Jews despite being scattered for eighteen hundred years, "make them still a wonder." Their social life was outstanding, lacking prostitution, pauperism and crime. They were educated -- "I have never seen an adult Jew who could not read, write and compute figures - <u>especially the figures</u>." (Note the presence of this stereotype in even so friendly a source.) They had been forced into trade and became great merchants. They also left marks in learning, law, histrionic art, science, literature, melody and song. "There is more of average wealth, intelligence and morality among the Jewish people" than of any other group. They asked only to be left alone. Although we prevent physical persecution, "there remains among us an unreasonable prejudice of which I am heartily ashamed," in a country which fought a war to help African "barbarians." Here "educated and respectable" Jews, kinsmen of the Son of God, were "ignominiously ejected from hotels and watering places as unworthy the association of men who had grown rich by the sale of a new brand of soap." We disliked Jews because we felt guilty about injuring them. Where the Jew was persecuted he refused to have patriotic ties; where he was protected, "he has been a faithful and zealous patriot,"

There were Jewish scoundrels, but there were more Christian scoundrels, and "our scoundrels are orthodox. Jewish scoundrels are unbelievers - that is the difference!" Jews were not even the sharpest Americans -- they couldn't live in New England and compete with the Yankees. The Jew was what we made him. If gentiles stopped prejudice, Jews would end exclusion and stubbornness and forgive us.[93] The friend of the Jews ends with a hope for eventual total assimilation.

Johanna von Bohne, who described herself as a "Protestant lady," wrote Jew and Gentile in 1889 as a reply to anti-semitic tracts published at the time. She listed the usual "Jewish" virtues of intelligence, industry, "indomitable perseverance," prudence, economy, and family pride. The Jew was "no coward", or he could not have kept up the "unequal struggle during eighteen centuries of persecution." She also refuted the popular belief which was accepted by defenders of the Jews as well as opponents: "It is a great fallacy to think that the wealth of America is in the hands of the Jews..." A few of the wealthier New York families possessed more than all the Jews of America. She was also one of the few to remind readers of the "misery of the poor Jew of the Ghetto."[94]

An 1891 article in the North American Review by M. Bourchier Sanford was forthrightly entitled, "In Favor of the Jew." After describing anti-Jewish sentiment, the author conceded that oppression had imprinted "a stain of meanness and cunning." Many Jews, however, were unspotted by it. Their success was mainly due to good business practices. Contrary to a deep-seated popular fear, "A revengeful spirit is not a racial characteristic; gratitude is." A Jew made a loyal friend. "Objectionable manners" were not especially Jewish. "Jews who have had advantages of education and association compare favorably with our cultured classes...Jewish pup-

ils are the brightest and most docile," (a revealing compliment). On a hopeful note, Sanford believed, "The amalgamating influence of the public schools will do away with much prejudice on both sides." Freer intercourse might also bring intermarriage. It was already true that "among cultured Jews the racial features are generally less strongly defined."[95] Like Vance, he appeared to regard this as a desirable goal.

A great deal of space in American periodicals was given to reviews and summaries of the pro-Jewish works of Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. The Review of Reviews in 1893, for instance, offered a series extensively recapitulating his ideas. The Jews had, in proportion to their numbers, "more men and women of first rate ability" than any nation. This was the result of their "marvelous adaptability and plasticity." Far from being a state within a state, "the Jews readily amalgamate with any nation they have settled among, if only they get a chance to do so." When treated fairly, they became the most patriotic citizens.[96]

Madison Peters was a Protestant minister who was well known for his Judeophile lectures in New York churches. His Justice to the Jews and The Jew as Patriot (both incorporated into a later book) attempted to refute popular misconceptions about Jews which were apparently often repeated. "Capital and Jew are not synonymous terms" - there were thousands of poor Jews throughout the world. The Jew was accused of being a middleman, but "men cannot eat their own manufactures...the merchant or even the peddler, who takes these inedible things and disposes of them is as important a cogwheel in the machinery of society as the railroad." Jews were as honorable as other men. "The love of money is the curse of Jew and Gentile alike." In both groups "you find vulgar, loud-mouthed money-inflated offensive snobs who fill you with insufferable disgust." Peters described the role of Jews in the discovery and history of America

and the Jews who fought in various wars. All in all, Jews had "the best record of any race or religion in America." Despite this, anti-semitism persisted. The Jew did not receive the treatment he deserved. "He is caricatured in the comic papers; in our social, professional and even political clubs the Jew is blackballed...The Jew is excluded from society."[97] Evidently, despite the publication of so many philo-semitic works, social discrimination continued to flourish.

A most interesting example of the ambiguities often found even in works of obvious good will, was Mark Twain's famous essay, "Concerning the Jews," published in Harper's Monthly Magazine in 1899. Twain sought to answer the question of why the Jews were so universally disliked, particularly in view of the growth of the anti-semitic movement in Europe. The Jews were good, law-abiding citizens, although they did have "an unpatriotic disinclination to stand by the flag as a soldier - like the Christian Quaker." They also engaged in such "discreditable ways" as shady business practices, although they certainly didn't have a monopoly of these methods. Overall, the Jew was as good a citizen as the Christian. "Fanaticism alone" could not account for the hostility. The Jew was really a victim of his own success. He was superior in any field he attempted -- the Christian could not compete with him. Twain urged Jews to organize into political parties and defend themselves against the growing anti-semitism. He believed that the prejudice could not be eliminated: "You will always be by ways and habits and predilections substantially strangers - foreigners - wherever you are, and that will probably keep the race prejudice against you alive." In spite of this, the contributions of Jews in all fields were out of proportion to their numbers. "All things remain mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is

the secret of this immortality?" he asked in conclusion.[98]

There were many objections to Twain's comments. Overland Monthly published "A Rabbi's Reply to Mark Twain," written by M.S. Levy. He charged that Twain's remarks were "tinged with malice and prejudice." He cited numerous examples of Jews as patriotic soldiers. The trusts were not in Jewish hands and "if the Jew is a money-getter, he does not hoard it." Later, figures of Jewish war efforts in America were presented to Twain. He apologized for his initial comments in a highly publicized little piece, "The American Jew as Soldier." "The slur that the Jew is willing to feed on a country but not to fight for it," was untrue and "ought to be pensioned off now, and retired from active serive," Twain concluded.[99] Twain's confusions vividly illustrate the tenacity of the ideological stereotype, even among men who obviously felt no ill-will.

Judeophile articles greatly outnumbered anti-semitic ones. In these the virtues of the Jew were often presented as larger than life. The Jew seems to have had more vehement defenders than any other ethnic group. Yet one often has the feeling that they were responding to images which had achieved overwhelming acceptance in society. Often the defender would find himself making the same assumptions as the attacker. It seems obvious, neverthless, that organized political anti-semitism was not a real factor in American life in the nineteenth century.

## Treatment of Foreign Issues

The American press rather extensively covered issues involving Jewish persecution in other countries. Generally, their reaction was strongly favorable to the Jews. It was safe, easy and self-righteous to condemn the "barbarities" against the Jews by nations which were less "progressive" than the United States. The same paper or magazine might ex-

hibit anti-semitism itself when it came closer to home. Occasionally, a correspondent would write approving reports about foreign mistreatment of Jews while the editorial pages of the same journal condemned that prejudice. The general approach was that, if Jews were reprehensible, persecution had made them so. Organized anti-semitism in other countries was almost universally castigated.

Niles Weekly Register provided conscientious coverage of Jews throughout the world.[100] In 1816, when the Free City of Lubec expelled its Jews, Niles commented that such persecution "reflects no credit on the professors of Christianity." The difficulties of their position gave Jews distinguishing characteristics. "None of them are agricultural and not one in five hundred...follow any fixed and laborious profession for a livelihood because...they have so long been the sport of prosecution, and liable to removal from their possessions, at the whim and caprice of the governing power. They seem never to have a home." German mistreatment in 1819 was "vile" and scandalous. A Papal Edict in 1843 which was tantamount to banishment was unexpected "in the present age of enlightenment and religious tolerance." A lengthy 1844 article on the revival of mistreatment in Russia noted that there were still people who would "disgrace the name" of Christian. Unfortunately, humanity trusted with power "seems to have a natural propensity to a fiendish exercise of that power." Niles remarked with equanimity that prejudices in Europe were "driving many of the Jews to seek refuge in the United States."

Niles expressed approval of attempts to improve conditions for the Jews. The possibility of reestablishing Israel as a nation was favorably noted in 1816. Why shouldn't a numerous and "severely oppressed people" rise and regather in a literal fulfillment of the decrees of God? They

had continued a "separated race of men in all nations, having a home in none." Their concentration would produce a revolution in their moral state. Many of them possessed fortunes and were men of great talent. If the Ottoman Empire fell, "the deserts of Palestine, brought into cultivation by patient industry, may again blossom as the rose - and Jerusalem, miserable as it is, speedily rival the other cities of the world for beauty, splendor and wealth."

On the other hand, reflecting its continuing dichotomy of views, an 1822 Niles article described how the Greeks, struggling for their lives, called the Jews "more base and meanly cruel than the Turks." According to this report, the Jews were the chief spies and informers who caused the seizure and execution of many distinguished Greeks. The Jews of Turkey were "the most degraded of mankind." It would be necessary for the Greeks to expel them. Probably the persecutions suffered by the Jews were the reason for "their general repugnance to honest labor, and causes them, almost everywhere, to stand in opposition to productive industry - they are, nearly every one of them, mere consumers." This was an early version of an argument repeated much later by Populists and others.

The North American Review also evinced early interest in Jews in various parts of the world.[101] An 1821 review of a book on the political state of Italy, discussed the plight of Italian Jews who were "poor, degraded, reviled and scoffed at." The persecution of the Jews was "inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the times." Disabilities imposed on Jews prevented them from being land owners. Their connections with Jews in other nations "afforded them remarkable facilities for dealing in exchange and money..." and usury. An interesting question was posed as to why the great religious liberty enjoyed in America had not drawn more

Jews to this country. One answer was "their reputed dread of the sea." Another was "the proverbial astuteness of us New Englanders, with which not even the Jews dare venture into competition." (Here was an example in which the supposed Jewish business shrewdness was certainly not considered a disreputable trait.) An 1826 report about Jews in Algiers noted that they were "indiscriminately plundered," although they "bear these indignities with wonderful patience." An 1856 discussion of the "Present State of the Jewish People in Learning and Culture" made the distinction between the Jews of the East and the West. Eastern Jews were characterized by "Oriental sluggishness and credulity." Despite their strong passion for knowledge, all of their learning narrowly revolved around the Talmud. In Germany the "ridiculous jargon" which separated the German Jew from his gentile neighbors and led to their contempt, "became more dear by the scorn which it excited." Many of the early articles in the Review expressed an interest in the Holy Land. An 1858 description of Jerusalem reported that Jews still predominated there. The service at the wailing wall was most touching. There one could find, "the proud spirit and the low future, the hope and the misery...the ringing of patience and sorrow, of bitter joy, vindictive hope and abject grief." The author doubted the success of missionary efforts or "the hope of any considerable Christian inroads on the obstinate Judaism of the Israelites."

Other magazines were also interested in the exotic aspects of foreign Jews. The Albany American Literary Magazine in 1847 advised anyone who wished to see what the Jews of old looked like to visit the East. There was nothing distinctive about Western Jews. There were even some "whom it would be next to an impossibility to discover to be such by any feature of their countenances." In Poland, Russia and Hungary they wore a peculiar dress and were distinguished by a "half-orientalism, which like

all other hybrids is repulsive." But the Jew of the Levant was a different sort of being. He was pleasant and striking looking. The writer made the acquaintance of an old Jewish merchant from Damascus. He was very "richly dressed, and of most agreeable and even princely manners...His air and general intelligence" were most impressive. The author would never forget the picturesque dress, nobility and fine face of "this interesting old man. I do not believe that Father Abraham himself was a finer looking or more dignified personage."[102]

In 1840 Jews in Damascus were arrested, tortured and murdered when they were accused of committing a ritual murder of a priest. Protest meetings were held in New York, Charleston and other cities expressing "abhorrence" at the "bigotry," "intolerance" and "barbarities" of the Damascus Blood Libel case. The American government supported the Jews -- Daniel Webster, who was Secretary of State, wrote a note on behalf of the victims of persecution. The American press, when it took note of the matter at all, also opposed harassment of the Jews. The New York Courier was typical. Charges against the Jews had been investigated and disproved. Another investigation of the murder of Father Thomas and "of the dreadful tortures inflicted on the Jews of that city is going forward with every probability of the total innocence of the Jews being made apparent."[103]

The debate on the Jewish disabilities bill in England was closely followed by most of the press. A long editorial in the New York Times in 1852 set forth the attitude of many periodicals. "No more accurate judge for advancing civilization could probably be chosen that the political condition of the Jews." Earlier in history the Jew was treated with contempt. Even the lowliest followers of Jesus felt obliged to "hate, des-

pise and persecute the Israelitish descendants of those whose hoots and execrations had followed the Lord to his final and terrible transfiguration." They plundered the Jew's property and made him an outcast. The advance of the world is marked by the improvement of the condition of the Jews. The Times accepted the exaggerated nations of Jewish wealth and position prevalent at the time:

> They occupy many of the foremost posts among mankind. The sharp schooling in money-getting finds its account in the control they now wield over that motive power of the age we live in - capital. A Jew controls the decision of war or peace in European countries. A Jew declares empires bankrupt or solvent at will. To the dim and smoky shop of the money changer whither individuals used to resort by stealth...nations now go in open day, and quite as humbly... The race produces bankers, statesmen, scholars, poets, musicians whose names are high up...The world at last does homage to the genius of the chosen and rejected people.

Unfortunately, the political position of Jews did not match their success. Like the "free negro in America," they had escaped servitude, but were the objects of distrust and restrictive legislation. England had "little to boast of" in its denial of complete emancipation.[104] The Evening Post five years later was annoyed by the lack of progress of the bill due to the "obstinacy of the House of Lords." The wishes of the people were being denied. It was a "ridiculous formality" to deprive "the Christian of his right to elect a Jew and the Jew of his right to represent the Christian."[105]

The Swiss Treaty, in which the American government accepted prohibitions against American Jews in some of the Swiss cantons, became a serious issue in 1857. Many newspapers objected to the government's insensitivity on this issue. The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer opposed "obnoxious religious proscription." The Chicago Daily Journal considered the actions of the American government "a disgrace."[106] The New York Herald commented caustically that Americans shouldn't find fault with Britain

for refusing Israelite emancipation since the Pierce administration had ratified a treaty with the Swiss government in effect disqualifying Jews from citizenship.[107] The Shasta Republican, a California newspaper, pointed out that Democrats had "proscribed the whole Jewish portion of our citizens." The paper added, "This treaty is deeply disgraceful to our government."[108] These protests did not succeed in obtaining the abrogation of the treaty, however.

The most sensational issue of this period was the Mortara case of 1858. The seizure of a Jewish child from his parents by Papal officers, on the grounds that he had been baptized in secrecy by a servant, brought forth a storm of protest in Protestant countries. American secular and Protestant journals were nearly unanimous in condemning Papal actions in this matter. The incident also presented an opportunity to engage in anti-Catholic propaganda, extremely common in America at the time. Political attacks on Catholicism were far more a part of the American press than similar attacks on the handful of Jews in America. Most of the press deplored the kidnapping as a violation of the rights of private conscience, and an attack on the family unit. The New York Tribune remarked that the child had been converted by a sort of "felonious sprinkling." The paper concluded wryly, "The Pope does not get hold of a circumcised baby every day. He will cling to this..." The Commercial Advertiser declared that the power claimed by the Catholic Church over that of the parents was "a gross and indefensible doctrine in this age of enlightened and liberal opinions..." The Philadelphia Evening Journal expressed moral "indignation" when Secretary of State Lewis Cass rejected a petition urging the American government to take action. The real issue was the momentous one of "natural and civil rights." The Pope's claim of

powers superior to human law and sovereignty could eventually harm Americans. The New York Herald stressed that the issue involved the right of a parent over his child. The mission of the Savior was one of love and good will, "not of persecution, of forcible restriction, of blood and of tears..." The New York Times was most eloquent in its comments and conscientious in its coverage of the "scandalous affair." The cruelty of the proceeding bothered the paper most, "What sort of heart must be his who can withhold its sympathy from the bereaved mother?" The sympathy of the entire community was expressed at the "outrage" which was not "a sectarian question." Cass was condemned for his refusal to take action in the matter when he should have been "speaking for civilization."[109]

Many newspapers, in the midst of the most positive statements about Jewish rights in the Mortara incident included stereotyped views of extreme Jewish wealth and clannishness. The Philadelphia Public Ledger, after publishing a long and impassioned exposition of the Jewish view of the controversy by Rabbi Isaac Leeser, added that Jewish unity together with "genius, wealth and enterprise" would bring increasing power and influence to the Jews. The Baltimore American admired the Jews as "the money kings of Europe and of the world." The American was convinced that this power would eventually rescue the Mortara boy. Other papers felt that the Rothschild millions would force the Pope to release the child. The Boston Evening Traveller, for example, believed that the Rothschilds had already acted: "The principal creditor of the Pope is the Jew Rothschild, who, by his rapacity, seems to be willing to revenge upon the Pope all the wrongs of the Jewish nation..." The Cincinnati Daily Commercial, after admiring the heroism and steadfastness of Jews clinging to their faith, nevertheless poked fun at the alleged Jewish devotion to acquiring

wealth. The scattered Jews were now 'captive' in loan offices, clothing shops and the like, "a bondage to every practical intent and purpose as absolute as that to which their ancestors were subjected under Pharoah..." The New York Herald, despite its very favorable coverage of the protests, wondered what harm would be done if all of the Jews, including Chatham Street, were converted. It was doubtful that the "old clo' men" or brokers would drive easier bargains "in consequence of their becoming Christians," They couldn't be much sharper,"even if they sat under Mr. Ward Beecher and speculated in eligibly situated pews." The most hostile secular journal was the Boston Semi-Weekly Courier. Jews were accused of assuming that in the case of a Jew "all barriers of nationality are to be broken down, and every principle of international law disregarded..." In the United States, where they enjoyed the same rights and privileges as any other citizen, Jews should be content. Religious animosities could only be rekindled by "this extraordinary assumption of theirs...that the private wrong of every Jew in every foreign country is to be redressed by the Government of the United States..." As Bertram Korn has pointed out, this was one of the earliest versions of the modern accusation of "dual loyalty," often directed against Jews.[110]

Catholic reaction, as might be expected, was very different from that of most Protestants and Jews. Some Catholic papers were relatively restrained. The Herald and Vista of Philadelphia, for example, remarked that the Catholic side of the controversy had not been fully discussed. The story should not be told entirely by "Jews and unbelieving scoffers." The Irish American felt that the press was in a "holy fit." American papers did not realize that Jews enjoyed "civil and political immunities" in Rome. It was against Roman law for Jews to have Christian domestics

and Mortara had violated that law. The child himself made the ultimate decision, so the question had no religious aspect. The paper felt impelled to add, "Neither do we feel the slightest prejudice against those of the Jewish persuasion, for we hold it as an universal truth, that all men should be equal in the eyes of the law."[111]

Other Catholic editors were considerably less circumspect. Many condemned the "hypocrisy" of the Protestants for bringing up the issue. Some did not hesitate to utilize traditional anti-Jewish epithets. The Boston Pilot was a particular offender. Jews had always hated the true Church. "They may be said to have controlled the wealth of the world... indeed, money would seem to be part of the curse which has pursued them so relentlessly." The Protestants making common cause with the Jews reminded the Pilot that "It will not be the first time that Herod and Pilate have been on friendly terms." Protest meetings proved that "Shylock was a true type of his tribe." Another writer, denying that he was an enemy of the Jews, declared when he saw them favoring religious tolerance, he regretted "that such liberal feelings did not actuate their co-religionists in the days of Jesus..." The outbursts reminded one Catholic author "of the first mob...which clamored for the blood of that 'Jewish child before which all Catholics kneel and adore'..."[112]

As a whole, however, the American press supported Jewish rights in the Mortara case and expressed compassion for the Jewish parents. The Chicago Presbyterian Expositor felt that the public indignation would not have occurred in an earlier time. "Was there ever a time before when the civilized world could have been aroused to defend the religious rights of a single Jewish family?" This appreciation of such rights would lead to great changes.[113]

The New York Times, like other publications, continued to express interest in "exotic" Jews in the 1870s. The "wretched" Jews of the Roman Ghetto, crushed by "bigotry and oppression," were the subjects of continuing coverage. Outside of Rome many Italian Jews had "risen to positions of conspicuous usefulness" in government office or journalism. In Rome, on the other hand, nine out of ten were in old clothes. Only the Jews themselves could improve conditions "as there are so many rich and intelligent ones in the world, they should be a power, if they worked together for the good of their race." The Jews were as religious as any Christian and "often as superstitious in the observance of rites as the most abject followers of the Pope."[114]

The persecution of Romanian Jews in the 1870s and 80s often elicited outrage in the American press. The Nation combined a somewhat detached attitude with the usual misinformation about Jews. It reported that the Jewish question in Romania had taken an "amusing turn." The Jews were almost the sole traders and bankers, the only middle class, and everybody's creditors. "The Romanians delight in being debtors, so that to the traditional hatred of the Jew by the Christian is added the animosity of the average man towards people who lend him money and want it back." The American ambassador, who was a Jew himself, had proposed emigration to the United States as a solution to the problem. The Romanian government was delighted and gave them permission to leave. There was little chance that any such exodus would take place, but if it did "they would leave behind them nothing but an ignorant peasantry and an idle and licentious aristocracy. Usury would probably come to an end, but so would industry."[115]

The New York Times was tireless in covering the Romanian situation,

but schizophrenic in deciding what position to take. There were vivid reports of rape, murder and other outrages. All this led to horror and pity, but the Times felt that such savagery called for more action. Advanced nations should not "fold their hands and look on." If their own government refused to protect these people, the civilized countries "should step in and do their work for them." Later, when the American and Italian consuls refused to discuss a commercial treaty with Romania while Jews were deprived of their civil rights, the Times agreed that this was "a step in the right direction." Romania was the center of "truculent bigotry." The correct response was to hurt them in their pocketbooks. If this was not effective, "severer measures should be adopted to put an end to such a monstrous anachronism as religious persecution in the year 1874."

Although the editorial pages of the Times remained sympathetic, the correspondent who covered Romania after 1878 presented an entirely different picture. The cries of the Jews about religious persecution, he believed, had filled the world's press with frightful and inaccurate reports of iniquity. The real issue was money. The Romanians borrowed at enormous rates of interest, and the Jews foreclosed. The Russian draft caused Jews to fly away "in large swarms and alight on Romania." If they were emancipated, 500,000 emigrants would control all the land and trade of Romania. This was a matter of life and death for the people who would become "serfs and bondsmen of an alien element." "Maudlin sympathy" had been wasted on the Jew who was like the Chinaman in the United States, non-producing; he earns and hoards, but he does not spend." As California would be ruined by a Chinese invasion, Romania would be destroyed if abandoned "to the tender mercies of this hoard of Hebrew usurers." As

the "extraordinary sympathy" of the world increased, the correspondent grew more incensed at "this scum of filthy Russian and Gallician refugees," "vermin," "this filthy race." The Secretary of State who evinced an interest in the problem, could not have known "how inferior socially and morally to the Digger Indians are his nasty proteges." It would be as logical to disfranchise American hotel keepers as to blacklist Romanians for ostrascizing these "pariahs who...eat up the substance of a country like a swarm of locusts."[116]

Most other journals were clearly on the Jewish side. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, not noted for its pro-Jewish attitudes, commented in 1879, for example, "Romania is courting destruction by her persistent refusal to recognize the rights of Jews." It was no longer the Middle Ages when Jews were tortured for gold. "Public opinion should be strong enough to right the Jews..." The New York Herald noted with some interest that the secret of the firmness of Turkey in 1877 was the aid of Jewish financiers who resented Romanian treatment of their co-religionists. "This is a strange turn to affairs and shows the growth of a new power in Europe whose early steps are well worth study." Harper's Weekly presented an interesting class viewpoint. In most European countries the treatment of Jews had changed dramatically. Romania, however, was irrational. They wanted to restrict and expel the Jews because the Jewish population was successful and hard working. This was an example of "the conspiracy of the idle against the industrious, of the ignorant against the studious." It was a revival of the "envious rage of barbarity." No nation could prosper with such practices. In 1885, in response to a new round of Romanian persecution, the Chicago Daily Times echoed the sentiments of Harper's. The mistreatment was due to the Jews accumulating wealth "as

they do in most places" which aroused the envy of the Romanian proletariat. The latter felt that "the proper method of dealing with the people who save their money is to kill them...economy is crime."[117] The Jew was being punished for possessing capitalist virtues.

Measures directed against the Jews in Germany were the subjects of much discussion from 1879 to 1881. Again, American opinion tended to oppose anti-semitism vigorously, while often expressing preconceptions about Jews. As distant a paper as the Ogden Junction voiced outrage. It declared anti-semitic legislation in Germany the result of "the fanatical hatred of the bigoted masses and the avaricious jealousy of the great." Despite this, Jews commanded respect and influence in government, finance, literature, art and science. Their "sagacity" and "undying vitality" had been displayed through centuries of oppression. The New York Tribune commented editorially that there had been no such complaint in Germany of Jewish ignorance and bad manners like that voiced in America's fashionable watering places. The real motive for the anti-Jewish movement in Germany was that "a larger proportion of them are educated, well-to-do and possessing social and political influence than of the German element." If the German race could not hold its own against a small minority of Jews, "it deserves to go under."[118]

The Times was also very aware of events in Germany. Both editorials and news stories were firmly disapproving. At the same time, articles accepted popular stereotypes.[119] The upper class view of anti-semitism as a lower class resentment of the industrious and thrifty by the idle and stupid was stressed. "Because one class, the Jews, are guilty of making money, certain other classes, less able or less energetic, rise up and demand that they be deprived of privileges which...every citizen en-

joys." If the Berlin Jews had agreed to be poor, Prussians would not have objected to them. Jews aroused animosity by "their intellectual power and moral influence," as well as their wealth. Common people "who are, as a rule, always unsuccessful" were discontented. It was part of the "ineradicable prejudice which the non-prosperous have always felt... against the prosperous." Sermons by several Protestant ministers agreed. Henry Ward Beecher, a friend of the Jews (and the wealthy), inquired whether, because Jewish bankers had fiscal ability, the solution was to "decapitate them...Can we remedy the bottom of society by pulling down the top?" Rev. Robert Collyer remarked that the Germans were "whining to be protected against Jewish industry and thrift." In America one saw mostly the practical aspects of the Hebrews, but in Germany they had a few generations of wealth and culture and contributed to arts and letters.

The "humorous" discussions of this issue by the Times revealed deeper acceptance of stereotyped images. Under Prussian law thousands could be arrested "for the crime of open and habitual Jewishness." This would lead to an exodus of Jews to the United States "and we should probably have to extend Chatham Street...to the East River in order to accommodate the vast increase in the clothing business." Prussians pretended that the Jews' offense was that they grow "exasperatingly rich," The real issue was that rich Jews retired from the clothing industry lessening competition. The purpose of all the agitation was to maintain cheap clothing. Why not simply confiscate all Jewish owned clothing and redistribute it among the Prussians? Later, the Times compared an anti-Jewish riot by Berlin students to the New York draft riots. At least the latter rioters were "ignorant ruffians." The Berlin students, the flower of German youth, illustrated "the civilizing and humanizing influence of

education and Protestantism." The student was a buyer of ready-made clothing. "His coat is precisely the sort of garment which the Jewish dealer asserts will fit his customer 'shust like de paper on de wall' and his trousers have all the elegance of...Chatham Street." The purpose of the riots was to avoid paying bills which were due at the end of the year. The paper concluded that Germany presented a spectacle of a nation which thought of itself as great and intelligent, but was occupied "in mobbing a class of orderly and industrious citizens, and in devising laws to punish them for the crime of deserving to be prosperous."

The Nation[120] was also quite concerned with anti-Jewish manifestations in Germany. Its articles revealed the tenacity of the image of the wealthy, ambitious Jew. Much of the prejudice in Prussia came from the growing numbers and disproportionate influence of the Jews, the result of evolution. There would seem to be only one remedy for the success fo the Jews -- "and that is the slaughter of all Jewish children." The agitation in Germany was surprisingly medieval. It reminded Americans of "some of the anti-Catholic literature in the old Know-Nothing time." The article's defense of the Jews included an interesting commentary on the preoccupations of Western society, "If they are materialistic and self-seeking money-hunters, it is because they follow, not lead the tendency of the age." There was a difference in national characters. The Germans were "slow, laborious, methodical;" the Jews had "keen foresight, quick determination." It would be useless to deny that the success of the Jews had, in some cases, led to "vulgarly disagreeable manifestations." All this would change, however, once they amalgamated and lost their race identity which was already happening "with eagerness on the part of the Jews."

An 1881 issue of the American Israelite included comments from newspapers around the country about the German anti-semitic movement. Only

the Christian Advocate, an organ of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, justified the persecution. "It is conceded that the Jews and Jesuits are identical in regard to their utter lack of patriotism." There was a need to check the evils resulting from Jewish influence. A more typical reaction was that of the Troy Times. The paper concluded, "The Germans should be happy to assimilate such an element, a little more tincture of Jew would be a good thing" because of their "industry and tenacity and...inner family life."[121]

There was a flurry of interest over a ritual murder accusation in Hungary. Most of the papers ignored the story completely or assumed that it was false.[122] The New York Times, however, covered it in great detail. With its usual ambivalence, the editorialist dismissed the case as a rehash of the Dark Ages, while the correspondent-- perhaps the same who excused the Romanian persecution -- treated the tale with the utmost seriousness. A Jewish butcher was accused of murdering a Christian girl on the eve of Passover, and using her blood for "Easter cakes." Two boys testified that she was killed in a ceremony conducted by four rabbis. The correspondent believed the accusations would be confirmed, leading to an explosion against the Jews. When the trial took place in July 1883, the Times covered it almost daily. Despite the headline, "Blood in Passover Bread - A Christian Girl Killed by Jews for the Sake of Her Blood," the trial rapidly revealed contradictions, fabrications and the beating and threatening of witnesses. An editorial likened the events to a chapter of medieval history. "Undoubtedly the Hungarian Jews of the lower class, like the Polish Jews, are a very ignorant and degraded people, but the ignorance of the Christian community which can credit the charge...is something denser and darker." On August 4, the paper report-

ed that the defendants were acquitted. An editorial declared that the fabric of lies had crumbled in the glare of publicity. The strange case showed how prejudice in an ignorant community could "warp and deform the mind and...corrupt officers of the law."

In spite of that ringing statement, a dispatch from the correspondent rehashed the case. Americans who had never seen them living together in communities found the European hatred of the Jews difficult to understand. One visit would modify their commiseration for the "suffering Jews." Many Europeans wanted blood murder to be proven as it would lead to public indignation which would drive out a race "as mischievous as a swarm of locusts." Jews did not regard it as a sin to slay Christian girls, and were encouraged to do so by their "sacred books." Recent examples included the Damascus case which the author believed was "perfectly authentic," even though the "murderers were pardoned" after the "blood was bottled and sent to the Chief Rabbi." The appearance of such statements in a New York newspaper by a supposedly sophisticated foreign correspondent is startling. A week later the paper editorially rebuked rioters against Hungarian Jews. They showed "blind and brutal race hate."

The New York Tribune had a far more typical response to the story. The whole thing was "of course a fabrication too monstrous to be regarded seriously." Only the ignorant could believe the tale of the synagogue custodian's son who had been tutored by a Catholic priest and persuaded to "forsake the faith of his fathers...and had even been taught that he should signalize his conversion by doing the Jews all the injury in his power." He repeated his story parrot-like, but the people were too "blinded by fanaticism" to notice. Even though the body of the girl, a victim of accidental drowning, had been recovered, they denied she was the one and continued their bitter hatred.

Few issues stirred the American press more than the Russian persecution of the Jews, particularly in view of the many refugees who came to this country as a result. Some journals discussed the growing hostility to the Jews in Europe as exemplified by expulsion and oppression in Russia. The Nation in 1893 concluded that the spread of anti-semitic sentiments was a product of "the socialistic feeling which is now in the air...Its most marked feature is a vague hostility to the rich in trade and manufactures and banking and...the Jews are made to stand for wealth in general and take the blows intended for it..."[124] In the same year W.E.H. Lecky discussed "Israel Among the Nations" in The Forum. He worried about the "strange and unforseen development" of the anti-semitic movement in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Here was the "thrifty and sober Jew" in the midst of "idle, drunken and ignorant populations." As a result of perseverence and industry, he was prominent in occupations which excited animosity. Persecution had a pernicious influence upon Jews. It produced "hatred...subterfuge and fraud...servility, falsehood and deception," and "they often lost their self-respect..." Although possessing a great capacity for assimilation, "charm and grace of manner seem to have been among the qualities they most slowly and most imperfectly acquire." Their exclusion from honors but not from wealth led them to "value money and ostentatious display of riches." They were prone to extremes of "arrogance and obsequiousness." However, Lecky concluded that these defects would eventually diminish as the result of their pride and reverence for learning and ability.[125]

The most sensational of all foreign issues at the close of the century was the Dreyfus case which was closely watched and widely reported in the American press. Rose Halpern, in "American Reaction to the Drey-

fus Case," concludes that "a large majority of the American public sympathized with Dreyfus." The New York Municipal Assembly, Central Republican Club and Democratic Club all opposed the "great wrong" and hoped that "justice shall prevail." Protest meetings were held in Massachusetts, Chicago, Washington, New York, Louisville and Indianapolis. Although most newspapers opposed the idea of boycotting the Paris Exposition in protest, the St. Louis Merchant exchange, a group of Chicago merchants, the New York Daughters of 1812, and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce did pass resolutions of boycott.[126]

The Protestant press was overwhelmingly pro-Dreyfus. It was an excellent opportunity to reinforce anti-Catholic feeling. Protestant journals boasted that Protestants in France and elsewhere had opposed anti-semitism and supported Dreyfus.[127] The Free Methodist declared that the civilized world was appalled at the verdict: "France, rather than Dreyfus, is the humiliated and degraded party. Protestant groups issued a whole series of resolutions decrying the verdict. The Interior urged American women to boycott French products. "Will American women look upon that broken-hearted wife and those children in their helpless infancy and then soil their hands with anything that comes from the befouled hands of France." The missionary journal, Jewish Era, called Dreyfus the "martyr of Devil's Island." After all his sufferings, it was obvious that if he had "been of any other race than the enduring, undying Jew, the grave would have claimed him..."[128]

Most of the Catholic press was silent about the issue. Many Catholic papers refrained from mentioning the proceedings at all. Some showed some mild evidence of anti-semitism. The New Orleans Holy Family and the Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph were the most vehement. The Telegraph was jubilant about the guilty verdict by which "the whole body of circumcized

aliens was struck a deadly blow...the Jews are utterly discredited." A few Catholic papers were even pro-Dreyfus including the Irish World, the Boston Pilot, the Catholic News (the largest American Catholic paper), and the Pittsburg Catholic which urged Catholics not to be "dupes who have allowed prejudices against the Jews to be inflamed to hatred by professional anti-semites."[129]

The secular press was virtually unanimous in its opposition to this newest example of foreign injustice. Harper's Weekly, for example, included extensive coverage of the case. Dreyfus was condemned because he was a Jew and this obstinate struggle has gone on for so long.".past ages of darkness...of malice and hatred..." Harper's denounced the verdict as a "crime against humanity." The public outcry meant that "now no nation can deny to one Jew even, the means of justice, and escape the condemnation of her sisters." A front page cartoon was accompanied by an editorial declaring Dreyfus "the great martyr of the nineteenth century." The magazine even included an article by Abraham Cahan describing how the people of the ghetto considered Dreyfus a brother and mourned for him.[130] Other papers and magazines agreed. New York newspapers had questioned the verdict as early as 1895. Later, the New York Tribune remarked that the court's judgment was a "travesty of justice" and could command no respect, since "it was turned over to the sway of a howling mob of Jew-baiters." When Dreyfus was pardoned Puck ran a cover cartoon -- Puck to French Justice: "So far so good madame! You have vindicated Dreyfus, but you must punish those criminals who persecuted him." The New York Journal felt the pardon was "illogical but expedient." There was no more "daily martyrdom," but real justice remained to be satisfied. The Baltimore Sun said that Dreyfus' determination, his "unshaken belief that jus-

tice would prevail; his steadfastness was worthy of the best traditions of the Jewish race."[131]

Other periodicals, in the course of generally pro-Dreyfus articles, reflected some of the ambivalent feelings towards the Jews so prevalent at the time. A long article in the Review of Reviews on "Zola, the Dreyfus Case and the Anti-Jewish Crusade in France," claimed that the Jews, only one-five hundredth of the country, owned one-quarter of its personal property and ran the "executive, the legislative and the judiciary... (and) control the market." Another long article in the Atlantic Monthly remarked that the United States could be grateful that it was not like France, but it was well to remember that it didn't have the same conditions. "If all the Jews of continental Europe were suddenly transported to this continent, we might find the national digestion, powerful as it is, badly nauseated." In spite of this distaste, the article noted that Dreyfus had been compared to Judas, but "if Judas was a Jew, so also was Christ." The world should beware of a "raging torrent of anti-semitism."[132]

Another issue often discussed was the possibilities of the return of the Jewish people to the Holy Land. In an earlier period this was an integral part of the religious beliefs of fundamentalist Protestant groups, and remained so. As we have seen, the idea of the restoration of the Jewish people interested both Niles and the North American Review in the early years of the century. It was also a central consideration in Melville's Clarel. The idea gained increasing popularity with the publication of George Eliot's Daniel Deronda which received much favorable publicity in this country. The poet Sidney Lanier, in an article in Century in 1883, declared that the mission of Daniel Deronda was not chimerical. Jewish restoration in Palestine was "so noble and captivating that to

fail in it appears finer than to succeed in most of the promising projects of this world; and one almost wishes one were a Jew..."[133] The Reverend William Blackstone, Chairman of the Conference of Christians and Jews, submitted a memorial to President Benjamin Harrison which asked that Palestine be given back to the Jews. "According to God's distribution of nations, it is their home...we believe that this is an appropriate time for all nations...to show their kindness to Israel" at this age of terrible suffering. Another, less disinterested motive could be discerned in the query of what could be done with Russia's mistreated Jews. Should two million poor Jews come to America? "This will be a terrible expense...Why not give Palestine back to them again?" Among the signers were the Chief Justice, Speaker of the House, William McKinley, J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Cardinal Gibbon, numerous prominent clergymen, and all the New York newspapers with the exception of the Sun.[134] The newspapers were generally attracted to the idea as a method of absorbing prospective hordes of Russian refugees.

Many periodicals covered the Zionist movement with great interest despite occasional doubts that the Jews could ever manage the necessary farming. Harper's Weekly, in an extensive article published in 1897 on "Jewish Colonies in Palestine," reported that the "exiled children of Israel still turned their eyes toward the ancient land." It described successful settlements, including twenty-three of an agricultural nature, which existed on "expenditures of vast sums of money from philanthropists ...and from poor colonists and their humble friends." The North American Review ran several articles on Zionism written by Jewish supporters of the movement. One, by Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, while asserting that the Jew was a model citizen if he was given rights, admitted, "his ideals

all seem to be different from his fellow citizens." In Palestine he could set up an ideal government. The Basle Conference was described in tones of breathless enthusiasm. Richard Gottheil of Columbia who had an article in the Review, had another in Century. He described Zionism as a "legitimate desire to rise and throw off all that clogs social and spiritual development...in the great Jewish proletariat." Why shouldn't the Jews have the same right to live as every other people? He concluded, "I cannot believe that the Jewish people have been preserved throughout all these centuries either for eternal misery or for total absorption."[135] These articles were typical of an avalanche of generally benevolent interest in Zionism. There was a more positive response by the secular press than there was in the American Jewish community at the time.

American periodicals tended to be fairly consistent in their support of Jewish positions on international issues. The ideals of American democracy required them to at least give lip service to opposition to persecution. This also enabled them to stress the superiority of America to the backward nations where "barbarities" were still carried out in "this enlightened age." Such practices were invariably condemned as "medieval." The same articles, however, often perpetuated images of the Jew which could be used for less friendly purposes, such as the Jew as money lender, great international banker, overly ambitious and successful. Without any particular pattern, some publications would occasionally, seemingly without realizing their significance, include blatantly anti-semitic justifications of foreign practices, presumably in an effort to be "fair." As long as the issue was safely distant from America, however, most journals firmly supported the persecuted Jews. The issues seemed less clear when it meant that these Jews might come to America.

America as a Haven for the Oppressed

One of the most important considerations operating aginst ideological hostility to the Jews was the pride many Americans had in viewing their nation as a land of opportunity for oppressed people of all nations. They were particularly fond of the contrast between the tyranny of "backward" Europe and the glorious tolerance of generous America, the savior of the down-trodden. No group was more down-trodden than the Jews. Periodicals and newspapers frequently congratulated Americans on welcoming these people whom the benighted nations of Europe had mistreated. This self-image prevented anti-semitism from achieving in the United States the respectibility it seemed to enjoy in much of Europe at this time.

Niles Weekly Register formulated this generally accepted view of America's role very early in the century (1816). America was portrayed as saying to people of all nations and all religions: "Come and partake with us of the blessings of independence, and in due time be to us as our own kindred. Come and help us to...establish manufactories, and extend commerce...by your labor, intelligence and capital...Bring with you a love of liberty, habits of temerance and industry."[136] A year later, Hannah Adams, in her popular History of the Jews, proudly reminded her readers that the United States was the "only place where the Jews have not suffered persecution, but have been encouraged...in every right..."[137]

In the same period, there were several suggestions to Jews to settle in the United States on their own land. W.D. Robinson in 1819 offered a plan for establishing a Jewish settlement in America. Unlike other writers of the time, he conceded the presence of many poorer Jews who were surrounded by scorn and "uncertain also in the tenure of lands." Their attitude would change if they were conveyed "to a rich soil, a smiling

country, and congenial climate where everything breathes content and plenty, and where they can eat of the fruit of the trees planted with their own hands..." The Jews were an industrious and persevering people, especially if they were motivated by hope. "Where are the Jewish parents who would not feel delight in beholding their children pursuing the honorable and useful labours of agriculture in preference to the wretched and menial occupations in which they are now engaged?...in a country where all can enjoy the same privileges and blessings as the natives themselves?"[138] Free from persecution, they would come into their own.

Mordecai Noah's plans for an agricultural settlement on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo excited a great deal of interest. The Albany Gazette in 1820 felt that the idea of a Jewish colony was quite feasible. "Indeed we have often wondered why the Jews do not emigrate more frequently to the United States; why should they suffer from the intolerance of other governments, when as asylum so desirable can be found in this country?" The paper went on to consider the benefits to the United States of such an emigration. The property of Jews consisted mainly of money and goods which could easily be moved. "If a few of their great bankers would emigrate to this state and circulate a few millions, they would secure a good profit, and give a spur to internal commerce..." This was the ideal country for Jews:

> ...here they can erect their temple without dreading the torches of enraged soldiers; here they can lay their heads on their pillows at night without fear of mobs, of bigotry and persecution; here they can become citizens - attached to the soil...and interested in the protection of liberty - and who knows but Divine Providence who to this day protected the Children of Israel as a Nation, may finally lead them to this country...in the words of the prophet - "He shall grow as the lily and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread.[139]

The Commercial Advertiser came to similar conclusions. Jews had

grown richer in the wars of Europe. Now, as they advanced, "they cannot but turn their attention to this happy land where perfect freedom awaits them." Their wealth and enterprise would be of great service to the United States. A new generation, born in America in an enlightened age, "would be free from those errors generally imputed to the Jews, and participating in the blessings of liberty, would have every inducement to become valuable members of society." Here they could find a home where they would not be disturbed; they would be free and would receive "respect and consideration."[140] (The only opposition to the plan was based upon criticism of Noah, a controversial figure, rather than upon distaste for Jewish emigration.) It is interesting that in this early period, the value of Jewish immigration to America was stressed as much as the importance of American freedom to the Jew. This flowed naturally from the assumption of great Jewish wealth which could help provide the country with needed capital.

Articles about the dedications of synagogues often stressed the freedom of religion that Jews found in America. In 1841 the Charleston Courier was hopeful that in America "the dark clouds of sectarian prejudice seem everywhere to be fast fading away before the widely spreading lights of right, reason and philosophy." In 1851 the San Francisco Evening Picayune welcomed the building of a synagogue: "We are glad for them that they have chosen to cast their lot with us under a government that gives them the fullest protection in the exercise of their faith" and which granted them equality of opportunity. In the same year Pomroy Jones, in his Annals and Recollections of Oneida County, described the synagogue used by the "descendents of Abraham." They had fled to America "to enjoy the right of worshipping God according to their own law and to

escape the exactions of tyrants."[141]

America's tolerance was a beacon to the world. In an article about Jews of the East, the American Literary Magazine noted that a fine old Jewish merchant of Damascus had only limited knowledge about the United States; "one thing, however, he knew - the existence of religious liberty in these United States - where the Jews...enjoy...all the rights which other men possess. Often did he speak about our glorious country."[142] An 1852 New York Times editorial on "Jewish disabilities," after surveying conditions throughout the world, gloated that "a certain sense of exaltation on the part of the American people" was justified. "Here at least the Israelite enjoys full equality and protection." The "posterity of Abraham" mingled and rivaled other citizens in commerce, learning and letters. "It is no wonder the Jewish emigration to the New World is so large, considering the peril and repression they flee from and the genial kindness with which they are received." Some prejudices might linger among Americans, but they would be eliminated if people would bear in mind that "the traits we dislike in the Hebrew character are precisely those produced by the same unreasoning antipathy that flowed forth so vehemently among our progenitors."[143]

Eliza Woodson Farnham felt that living in America had changed the character of the Jews. "The Jew, I think, does honor to his name here." Since the pressure which kept him down elsewhere was removed, "he eschews old clothes, and rarely if ever...attempts to get a greater advantage in trade than his neighbors."[144] The Reverend Dr. Cox of New York agreed in a letter to the English people in 1857. He boasted that America had set an outstanding example. "We are the only Christian nation...that has never endorsed the persecution of the Jews. On the contrary, we have cher-

ished, respected and protected them." Because they were treated so well, they were "characteristically good citizens," wealthy and happy. "They love this country with reason, it is their occidental Palestine."[145]

Various newspapers commented approvingly that Jews had assimilated in America as a result of its freedom. In 1869 the New York Herald described a society of San Francisco Jews to encourage the entry of European Jews to the United States. This was an excellent idea, the paper believed. "The Israelites prosper in this great and free country. In no country of the world...have they found so much of a home as they found here...Let our rich Israelites bring their oppressed brethren to this new land of promise," The New York Times noted in 1870 that Jews had prospered everywhere and left their marks on all civilized nations "without becoming identified with any." Now, "in the midst of our glorious American civilization...the Jews are multiplying and prospering as of old" and were good citizens. "The resistless power of amalgamation which is building up on this continent out of diverse elements a strong and great people has touched also the chosen race and is urging them into harmony with the modes of thinking that prevail around them." In a similar vein, an 1876 New York Tribune editorial remarked upon a B'nai B'rith statue to religious freedom. The Hebrew remembered his past and contrasted it with the present. He could "appreciate his repose and liberty here." In this country "the Hebrews are so thoroughly amalgamated...that they scarcely have achieved for themselves a distinctive character." They acted together only in the matter of charities and did not even seem to show the "Oriental enthusiasm" that one might expect. "This very practical, unsemtimental quality in the character of the people makes their voluntary acknowledgement of gratitude significant and important."[146] The strongest point in the Jew's favor was his evident willingness to assimilate.

The subsequent entry of Eastern European Jews shook this assumption.

The upsurge of persecution in Europe put the image of the United States as a haven for the oppressed into sharper relief. The Memphis Appeal reported a speech made by P.K. Ewing, a Louisiana congressman, at the University of Mississippi in 1880. The Jews, he declared, begged to be rescued from bondage and inhumanity and given a chance "in your great and glorious land of liberty. Oh America! My country, thou friend of the friendless, land of warm hearts and generous impulses, 'lift up thy arms and take these wanderers in.'" Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, discussing exiles from Russia in 1882, maintained that "our already complex population will be benefited by this addition...Instead of their presence being simply tolerated, it will be welcomed..." (Later, Leslie's was far less sure about this.) A Christian newspaper in the 1880s urged Jews to make no apology for the humble new immigrants. "We will find room for them, work for them, homes for them, ballots for them. They will add to our strength, to our wealth, to our material and, in the end, moral forces...We welcome them...we offer them our liberties and our opportunities. Let them come!" The National Baptist stated that the Jew had been ostracized in Europe. "Is it strange that he has lost noble instincts, has become what he was made, covetous, grasping, usurious...It takes centuries of justice and liberty to eradicate the traces of oppression." But, under freedom in this country, the higher traits had already appeared and would continue to develop. Joaquin Miller expressed the same sentiments in poems published in many magazines. "The Jewess" was urged, "Then come where stars of freedom spill their splendor, Jewess." In "To Rachel in Russia," the oppressed Jews were urged to escape to America:

> Rise up and come where freedom waits,
> .....

Forsake the savage land of snows;
Forget the brutal Russian blows;
And come where Kings of Conscience dwell.
Oh come, Rebecca to the well![147]

In the 1890s, when stories of anti-Jewish repression had become more commonplace and pressures of immigration restriction were building, there was considerably less allusion to America's role as the haven of the oppressed. Such ideals did continue to serve to some extent as a countervailing influence to the ever growing restrictionist forces. The continuing attraction of these ideals can be seen in a 1902 story in Mc Clure's, "The Promised Land," in which the exclusionist congressman, Baddington learns the lesson of the true meaning of America. He is told, "The United States is the refuge to which the oppressed of every land are looking. They don't come to overturn our institutions." When the immigrant ship arrives, it is the Jew who gives fervent thanks with a prayer from the Scriptures.[148]

The image that Americans had of their nation as the only hope for freedom, a nation with a mission to end the intolerance of the Old World, had great impact upon the attitude of the press towards the Jews. It was difficult to denigrate the Jew without denying the superiority of American institutions. The power of this picture maintained by Americans would not be severely tested until the Russian Jews came flooding into the United States.

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Ideological-political anti-semitism was not characteristic of American society. Despite its occasional appearance, America's basic institutions were not altered to accommodate anti-semitism. By the end of the century, the Jewish Messenger firmly believed that anti-semitism was on its way to a final disappearance in America since it was incompatible with "The American Way of Life."[149]

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## CHAPTER VI - EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWS

As Jews came in from Eastern Europe, in many ways they altered the American perception of the Jew. The German Jew was easily assimilated. His sanitized and protestantized Reform Judaism was far from mysterious. He was a paragon of middle class virtues. The newcomers were obviously poor, followers of strange religious rites, exotic in dress and speech. Although many of the older stereotypes still applied, the impact of the Eastern European Jew was far more profound than a mere complication.

Generally as hard working and upward-striving as their German co-religionists, the newcomers were also law-abiding and did not demand Christian charity. Their strikes brought forth more sympathy than most other walk-outs. A good deal of compassion was expressed for obvious victims of Russian barbarities. There was fear, however, that the persecutions had destroyed the abilities of the immigrants to function in a society which required comprehension, cleanliness and order. At times the newcomers appeared anarchistic and oblivious to society's need for the rule of law. Some appeared to regard their bizarre religious "laws" as superior to civil authority. The language used in describing Jews from Eastern Europe was in itself significant, with its preoccupation with "savages," "dwarfing" of personality, and "Oriental" qualities. Whenever a favorable image of the Russian Jew was presented, the writer endowed him with middle class virtues.

## Early Perceptions of Eastern Jews

Even before the Eastern European Jews arrived in numbers, the awareness of their differences was generally far from flattering. The North American Review in 1845, while finding them "superior in morals to their Gentile neighbors," also found these most religious Jews the "lowest" of all Jews in morals. This was caused by the "gross immorality of many Talmudic precepts," including "absolution from the vilest enormities," no respect for Gentile property, "and other abominable doctrines..."[1]

Even in America "Polish" Jews maintained their separateness. In 1861 the New York Independent described English Jews as superior in education and enlightenment and French Jews as "degraded." Polish Jews, "brutes" who didn't even speak their own language, were the most inferior. They conversed in "a miserable German...and a worse Hebrew which two languages are as commingled and polluted as to render the mixture unintelligible to any but each other." In the United States they were "despised and disbelieved," since anything they said was a lie.[2] The Chicago Post's 1872 comments about the tribe of "nondescripts known as the 'Polish Jews'" were even more bitter. They were "speculative, carping, ugly and mean," the "turkey buzzards of commerce," capable of anything "from selling forge dust for gunpowder to disposing pewter turnips for gold time pieces."[3] The Eastern Jews were thus perceived early as different from other Jews, but in time-tested ways -- dishonest and money-mad.

By the 1870s the press was discovering the more exotic aspects of Polish Jewry for the first time. In 1872 an early day Craig Claiborne came upon what must have been one of the first restaurants serving the food of Eastern European Jews. The place was packed with people speaking an "impossible language." The cockney waiter, overcoming obvious

reluctance, was prevailed upon by the venturesome food critic to serve such unfamiliar fare as a beet soup which "set our teeth on edge" and a "Moldavian" dish of beef with "incompatible raisins floating in a sea of gravy." Finally, the critic settled for "delicious" fried fish, causing him to muse, "Might not the children of Israel as they passed through the Red Sea - might not they have tarried by the shore and prepared fish exactly in this way?" The waiter concluded with delight that the author might eventually "be fully educated up" to other traditional dishes. Even in this benign article customers at the restaurant were portrayed as involved in animated discussions about selling arms to France, and other tradtional Jewish topics of commerce. "Evidently we were overhearing the first start in life of some future Rothschilds."[4]

A sensational murder case brought the strange community of Eastern European Jews to the attention of the New York press. Nathan Rubinstein, a Polish Jew in the Orthodox community, was accused of murdering his cousin. She had become pregnant at the very time he was expecting his wife to rejoin him from Poland. The press reported the case in detail, focusing on its exotic aspects.[5] When police searched Rubinstein, they found $750 and precious stones worth $3000. When they took it away, he was reported to have wrung his hands and, in conformity with the old literary stereotype, exclaimed, "my monish, my monish; give me my monish!" The papers added a new image when his mother remarked that her son always changed his clothes once a week! Investigators traced the knife used in the murder to the "wretched peddler of gilt jewelry." The girl who sold it recalled that he had economically asked for an unfinished knife since "he sheeper dan de oders." The Herald assured its readers that the honest knife manufacturer was a German Christian, rather than a Jew. The

prisoner was worth $5000 which "speaks well of his industry and shrewdness considering that he has only been in this country for five years."

A frequent subject of comment concerned the peculiar religious practices of this odd community. The defendent had been "rigid to a fault" in his observance of rites. He would not eat "butter, meat or leaven bread," and devoted most of his time to prayer. His Jewish friends declared that a Jew was never hung, and if found guilty, "he'll never hang a Jew," but would convert. He turned his face to Jerusalem to pray after the guilty verdict. He swore in the "Polish Hebrew dialect" that he was innocent, and unloosed his long hair which was an oath among strict Jews who never cut their hair "of peculiar sacredness." These various misstatements about Judaism were indicative of the lack of any real contact with these newest immigrants.

In May 1876 Rubinstein was found dead in his cell, leading to further speculation about the religious practices of these strange Eastern European Jews. He had died of insufficient nourishment and "filthy habits." He was dirty, coverd with vermin, with a black skull cap on his head. He would not allow himself to be washed and his uncleanliness disgusted even his fellow inmates. Yet he prayed zealously, wearing "twillin," straps "which bound him in a painful position for hours at a time." The Herald indulged in the wildest conjecture. The "fanatic Rubinstein" might have submitted his case to religious authorities "as fanatical as himself." They determined to avoid scandal, but obtained retribution "according ot their creed." They appointed Rubinstein executioner as an "instrument of God's wrath." He bought the knife openly in his own neighborhood, knowing he would be caught and would answer for his crime in the next world. The girl did not struggle -- she was a

willing sacrifice. Americans knew so little about the precepts of Orthodox Jewry that the Herald seriously advanced the notion that rabbis had convened and ordered a murder! The Tribune more moderately attributed the extraordinary interest in the case to the atrocity of the crime and "the fact that the murdered girl and her destroyer belonged to a class of Israelites, few in number, holding peculiar views and regulating their lives according to the Talmud and tradition..."

The New York Times followed with articles about these bizarre people and their "curious mode of life."[6] Generally, "their contempt for State laws and their reverence for the decisions of their rabbis are indulged" since they lived together in reasonable peace. This was to become an issue of continuous concern. It furthered the image of the Jew as unassimilable perpetual alien. A Times reporter was one of the earliest to write about the non-decorous service in a crowded room, later to become characteristic on the East Side. The congregation was:

> made up of street peddlers and others of that ilk with dirty pale faced youngsters who appeared to follow the service intently in greasy Hebrew praise books. The ventilation of the room was wretched and the foul odors were strong and varied. The sonorous baritone of the leader of the service was not unpleasant to the ear, but the inharmonious howls made in response were simply horrible.

This was a typical response to the lack of order apparent in Orthodox Eastern European services in comparison to Protestant or Reform Jew.

These early perceptions of the Eastern European Jew tended to focus upon his distinctiveness. Images of lack of cleanliness, basic inability to accept American law, dishonesty and permanent alienation which resulted from a fanatic, archaic religion, were present before the advent of masses of Eastern European Jews. Their arrival would both reinforce and moderate the pre-existing views.

## The Flood Begins: The 1880s

Few issues stirred the American press more than the Russian persecution of the Jews. Almost all the papers were outraged. The exceptions were mainly the result of sporadic attemtps to be "fair," and present the Russian side of the story. Public consciousness of the events in Russia substantially increased in the 1880s.

Even the most sympathetic articles revealed a basic misconception of the role of the Jew in Russia. Few were aware of the poverty of the Russian Jew. Most comments assumed the stereotype of the Jew as money-lender and wealthy merchant. The New York Tribune was typical. The Jew was abhorrent to the Russian for the same reason as he was in the sixteenth century: "he has imperceptibly got the money bags of the nation in his hands and holds mortgages and liens in almost all the property of the middle and upper classes." In addition, "indolent and intemperate" peasants fell into the hands of the Jewish money-lenders and committed atrocities out of the "rage of an unthrifty, impoverished class against their wealthy, arrogant, successful rivals." Women who envied the silks and satins flaunted by wealthy Jewesses "outrival the hags of the Paris Commune in malevolence." The fact that many Nihilist assassins were Jews encouraged the lower classes to feel they could safely seek vengeance.[7] The ambivalent nature of this defense is apparent.

The New York Times was also generally sympathetic in its editorials, but the same Paris correspondent who had endorsed blood libel accusations defended the Russian persecutions. He felt that the Jews had brought their troubles on themselves by showing too much zeal in fulfilling the injunction to "spoil the Egyptians." (This common reference was to the statement from Exodus in which God permitted the Jews to take gold from

the Egyptians as they left. Rabbinic commentary has suggested that this was merely compensation for the years of slavery. In no place was it suggested that it is permissible for Jews to cheat Gentiles -- the usual interpretation.) In Eastern Europe "these pariahs prove that Shylock was not the mere creation of a poet's fancy." Maudlin sympathy should not be wasted upon them. (According to the Israelite, the Times at this time was edited by Jews.) The London correspondent, by contrast, wrote of the "heart rending crimes" which disgraced Russia. A news story spoke of "rapine, murder and outrage," a "catalogue of horrors" attributed to the fact that the "chief industries of Russia are in the hands of the thrifty and hard working Jews." The editorials militantly opposed actities which had placed Russia "below the level of the unspeakable Turk." The United States government should remonstrate with the Czar against the "outrages." The Times' explanation for the "unreasoning ..ineradicable" antipathy of the "dull and sluggish" Russian followed standard class arguments. It was similar to American hatred of the Chinese. An improvident class of men was filled with jealousy and hate for those who "by intelligence, frugal habits and a parsimony peculiar to themselves and so oftentimes revolting to others are able to grow richer every day." Later, the Times was astonished to see that Russian Jewish immigrants were not moneylenders but included almost every kind of artisan and even farm hands![8]

A large non-sectarian protest meeting was held in Chickering Hall in New York in 1882 which brought forth extensive editorial comment in support of the Russian Jews.[9] The Tribune noted that "it is an outbreak of the world-old implacable war between the thrifty and successful and those who have neither thrift nor success." The Evening Post was even more vehement. It was "a revolting tale of brutality on the part of a barbarous populace" with the wicked connivance of the Russian government.

All just men felt 'indignation and shame." The protest in New York would assure the oppressed "that there is safe haven here and charitable hearts to aid the unfortunate." (This was one of the few suggestions that emigration to America might be a desirable solution.) The upper class Commercial Advertiser suggested reprisals. If Russia wanted to continue pleasant relations with the United States, she must stop persecutions. If she refused, "she can no longer enjoy the good opinion or have the sympathy of the American people. She might as well understand that there is no telling when she may need both." Harper's Weekly felt that the New York meeting had spoken for the entire country. Harper's noted that persecution took place where Jews were held to be "peculiar, unassimilable and selfish..." It did not occur to Christians that their conduct caused the attitudes about which they complained. An earlier Harper's article concluded that the Czar had no more peaceful subjects than the Jews, and Russia "has no more valuable possession than the talents of the harmless people it would drive from it with fanatical violence."

Other journals were in basic agreement. The Cincinnati Commercial expressed a typical protest. The mistreatment was a blot on the nineteenth century. Russian Jews were industrious and inoffensive. The civilized Western nations should attempt to stop the brutalities. American Jews were among our best citizens. The paper concluded, "There is room in America for the class of people now being driven out of Russia by inhuman persecution."[10]

A few dissenting voices were heard supporting the Russians against the depredations of Shylock. The Weekly Witness, a widely circulated evangelical journal, claimed that the Russian Jew had grown rich through lack of scruples and lived in a separate, exclusive, concealed community.

Those who, out of pity, suggested that the exiles come here should remember that the Jews would never be productive, but would go into "clothing, dry goods and notions and...money." When a panic came, "every one of them runs straight to the bank to demand his 'monish'...were conditions the same as in Russia, it is not likely that his treatment would be any better here." The Century Magazine published an explanation of the riots from the Russian point of view, according to the editor, in order to open discussion on the matter. The Russian author called the Jews parasites "sucking out the country's blood." Every year they performed a public religious ceremony releasing them from the obligation of keeping any oath. (This was the Kol Nidre which was designed to release Jews from promises made during forcible conversions under threat of death or torture.) Because of Hebrew control of their press, Westerners did not realize how "loathesome" and dangerous Jews were to the well-being of Russia. The Times replied that the world had depended on the "Hebrew press" for the story and it was glad to hear the Russian side, but the defense would not bear close examination. A letter from J. Van Rensselaer to the Tribune included a justification by a "cultured, accomplished Russian lady." The riots were revenge for the provocations of the "usurious brood."[11] These comments, however, were far less common than condemnation of the Russians.

The persecutions of the 1880s made the press far more aware of the presence of Eastern European Jews. Compassion often mingled with anxiety. Again the Tribune was representative in the ambivalence of its response.[12] (In the 1890s it was more unreservedly sympathetic.) At first the paper praised English religious leaders for aiding homeless Russian Jews to migrate. The Jews were very wealthy and invariably invested in portable property. Later the Tribune conceded that most of the refugees were

penniless and would probably come to this country. Here they would succeed due to "exceptional energy, thrift and skill in trade" and lack of prejudice. Americans were no more charitable in their religious faith, but had no reason to be envious of Hebrew success. "The American is just as pushing and sharp as his Jewish brother, and is not likely to let the trade of his country to slip into Hebrew hands as it has done elsewhere." In this way the Jew was endowed with the capitalist virtues also possessed by Americans. A little later, the Tribune was far more cautious in its welcome. It suggested that the immigrants promptly be sent to the "waste lands or even the small communities of the West" where they would learn to help each other. They might be virtuous martyrs or arrogant usurers or, most probably, mixtures of both, but as foreigners without money or trade, they would "add fresh weight to the huge load of pauperism, disease and crime which our cities have to bear."

Within a month the Tribune had become aware that the refugees might not be as rich as initially supposed. They would not pass on to the West. The paper repeated the popular misconception that the immigrants were "traders by instinct and habit, and accustomed to earning their living out of the needs of the great communities." The lower class Russian Hebrew was not a "picturesque or poetic object of compassion." Instead, he was dirty. "Tyranny has given to his wits an unpleasant edge and poverty an offensive savor to his manners." Still, he would earn a living and was by nature neither drunken, lazy nor criminal. That was more than could be said for some other immigrant groups. A later story, however, reported that Jewish immigrants had knocked down a policeman, declaring that "this is a free and glorious country." They felt that they were entitled to hand-outs, rather than working. There had been complaints

against the immigrants who lounged in Battery Park. "Their filthy condition has caused many of the people who are accustomed to go to the Park ...to give up this practice." The Tribune felt that there must have been some reason why no country wanted the immigrants. Even English Jews helped them only to come to the United States. By September 1882 an editorial was headed, "No More Russian Hebrew Refugees." It concluded that they should be sent back to Russia where persecution seemed to have ceased.

By another year, however, the Tribune had accepted the presence of the Eastern European Jew. A long article on "The Jewry of New York - A Hebrew hive of Industry - Tens of Thousands of Slavonic Jews East of Grand Street - Clinging to the Hebrew Tongue" was not unsympathetic. Unlike the earlier Sephardic and German Jews, they isolated themselves and pursued industrial occupations. (This was one of the few times that this essential difference in occupations of migrant Jews was acknowledged.) Most of the industries were in rooms where twenty to thirty worked at sewing machines. The industries produced dry goods for peddlers or wearing apparel. The role of the synagogue was eloquently described:

> The poor pedler who has tramped throughout the week with his heavy pack and who has earned his small profit by the sweat of his brow comes to the congregation...He puts away from him all the sordid cares, all the avaricious hopes all the little meannesses...and for one day belongs to his God and his God belongs to him. Then after the Sabbath comes the preparation on Sunday for the tramp. The stock is made up, the outfitter is paid... and on Monday he takes to the road...[13]

The New York Times[14] was equally inconsistent in its treatment of Eastern European Jews. In 1881 the paper approved of the movement among Israelite residents of the city to assist their "persecuted brethren" to come to America. Early arrivals were described as "active, energetic and healthy" and, although penniless, "intelligent, healthy, industrious and apparently a happy people." A June 1882 article revealed a considerable

change in attitude. The Times warned that the American people were not "fully alive to the importance of this Jewish influx." Jews tended to appear three times as numerous as they were since they stayed in the same occupations, "all" in business. "Their signs on the principal streets are ever the boldest and most conspicuous." Only 250,000 Jews had arrived from Russia, but there were three million in Russia. If America allowed unrestricted asylum, "the possibilities in the way of Semitic acquisitions seem almost unlimited." Unlike average American Jews who were "ethnological" rather than religious, the refugees were Orthodox. They found it difficult to adjust outside of Jewish centers, so they stayed in New York. Most were not rich. They were intelligent but lacked the physique for manual labor. A feature on the "Polish Jewish Colony" noted that most refused to acknowledge their origins, since the Jew from Poland had a reputation for "thievishness and still more dirt." By 1884 an official of United Hebrew Charities was quoted as calling penniless immigrants "idle and shiftless," too lazy to keep a job.

Other periodicals and papers in the country seemed sympathetic to the refugees. Harper's Weekly remarked that "with a little aid just now" they would soon "become self-supporting." The Cincinnati Commercial suggested that there was "room in America for the class of people now being driven out of Russia by inhuman persecution." When refugees came to Minnesota, the St. Paul Globe reported that many were half-starved and ill. A humanitarian appeal to the public on their behalf, the paper urged, deserved support. "This is the first time that the Hebrew people in the cause of charity have been compelled to issue a call for assistance." The Minneapolis Tribune found the exiles "shocking." One onlooker suggested that they were really "selfish mendicants," but those

who agreed with this were "prejudiced against Jews generally." Actually these people were "really destitute." This occasioned the usual surprise Americans seemed to experience when they encountered poor Jews.[15]

Some journals were decidedly less sympathetic. The Commercial and Financial Chronicle declared that, while most immigrants were industrious and able bodied, "there are some indigent, lazy and worthless characters like the Russian refugees." Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper vividly illustrated the changes in outlook as more Russian immigrants arrived. A March 1882 story sympathized with victims of persecution. Their hard work, thrift and excellent character was compared favorably with "the best this country has received." Their presence would not merely be tolerated, "it will be welcomed." By August the tone considerably altered. Many Russian arrivals were "anything but desirable." They were disgustingly "filthy" and accepted "no restraints of morality." When given the opportunity for honest work, they let it be understood "that they prefer to be cared for and do nothing..." They would find that this country was no place for able bodied paupers "even if they are religious martyrs." Leslie's hoped that the stories of repatriation back to Russia were true. Judge caustically suggested that Pharoah had been maligned. Who could observe the newest arrivals from Russia and condemn him "for not hankering after the 'chosen people?' And who can fail to admire the genius of a monarch who was able to extract honest, useful labor from such unpromising material."[16]

By the early 1880s it was clear that Russian immigration was creating a new image of the Jew. It was a radical departure from many accepted stereotypes. This new Jew was poor rather than rich, a disciple of dirt (this existed to some extent in the earlier image), and unwilling to work

Sympathy for the Russian refugees was not universal.




*How the Chinaman might "catch on" in these days of sympathy extended to another nationality, and sneak in with eclat.*

"Second Hand Washing," Judge, Vol. 1, 1882, #25, 2.

-- a parasite on charity funds. The Jew had always been conceded his willingness to labor long hours (even in dishonest activities.) Later it would become more obvious that these newer Jews were also hard working laboring men rather than bosses. Clearly, the journals were of two minds about these strange new Americans.

By the mid 1880s there was a definite rise in interest in the new immigrants as a source of exotica. In 1885 the critic of the New York Sun viewed "A Quaint Hebrew Drama," Bar Kochba, which would "well repay the consideration of every thoughtful and discriminating student of the drama." The language spoken, alleged to be Hebrew, was really "a hybrid Russian mixed with Polish, Massouric and Old Hebrew and at times resembling German." The music was touching and full of feeling and the acting forceful. The audience was "as much of a study as the play." The Yiddish language was a continual source of amazement to the press. Harper's Weekly was equally "knowledgeable" about the "mongrel tongue known in Europe as jargon which appears to be a chaotic mixture of Teutonic, Sclavonic and Hebraic." Harper's declared the acting good since "with the Russian Jew the dramatic profession is practically a matter of heredity." Hebrews were also musical "from time immemorial." The audience was good natured, but "remarkably strange in appearance to an Anglo-Saxon." The familiar German-Jewish face was scarcely to be seen. (This was the first of many observations that the Eastern Jew did not appear to possess the facial characteristics ascribed to German Jews.) People were bedecked with jewels to a "grotesque" and "appalling" degree, a legacy of European oppression.[17]

In the 1880s a definite, although contradictory, picture of the Eastern European Jewish immigrant was taking shape. In 1885 the Times

asserted that Russian laws against the Jews were based upon the belief that Jews were "parasites not producers." On the other hand, an article published one month later remarked that the departure of Jews from Russia would harm that country -- "the most thrifty, energetic and intelligent of her population departed forever...taken as a whole a more orderly, well-behaved set of people would not often be seen than these...Jews."[18]

## The 1890s - A Question of Desirability

In the 1890s the resumption of active anti-semitic measures in Russia and the alarming increase of Jewish immigrants to America resulted in greater attention by the periodicals and newspapers.

In 1891 the Illustrated American had denied that Russian Jews were either usurers or nihilists. Hatred was due to ignorance and religious fanaticism and to the "innate mental superiority of the Hebrew." By 1892, however, an article on "The New Jewish Exodus" in the same publication claimed that Russian Jews were a "nation within a nation," perpetual foreigners in Russia. Ill feeling resulted from Jewish usury. The terrible conditions of the freed serfs was "due to the inroads and devastation of the Jew money-lender" who practically owned the villages.[19]

"The Russian and His Jew," which appeared in Harper's New Monthly Magazine in 1894 carried this view even further. The only reason for the world's indignation was that the newspapers and banks of Europe were in Jewish hands. The Russian hated the Jew because the latter lived only to squeeze money out of everything. Even in America in the South "the freedom which the Northern states had purchased for the negro at the cost of so much blood...had since been sold to the Jew," exactly like that of the serf in Russia. It was impossible to get a Jew to serve in the Russian army which was typical of "his behavior in regard to all his obligations

to the state and every community except his own." Anti-semitism would continue to grow as long as the Jews refused to identify themselves with the people from whom they make their money.[20]

Even an attempt to be "fair" like "The Persecuted Russian Jews," an 1891 article in Littell's Living Age perpetuated the stereotypes. Although the thrust of the piece was a condemnation of the "cruel, immoral and inexpedient" Russian policy, it attempted a balance between the view that the Jew was a "death-bearing microbe" and that he was a "useful citizen, persecuted out of jealousy for his very virtues." The root of the problem was the Jewish genius for trading. "It was not the Jews' fault that they became a race of money lenders." Past Christian mistreatment had caused "much of the imperfection of modern Jews."[21]

Often the same newspapers which vigorously condemned anti-semitism and the "cruel despotism and barbarous tyranny" of the Czar, included the old stereotypes within their pages. The Tribune, for example, published an extremely anti-semitic version of events in Russia within a few weeks of a story about the hardships of "loyal and industrious Jews" beset by unbridled tyranny. The later article claimed that the public only read the Jewish side of the case because "almost all the principal newspapers of Europe...are either owned, controlled or influenced by Hebrew gold." The Jew "exploits Russians with all the ingenuity of his race." This story included charges that the Jews were responsible for an increase in Russian drunkenness! Eight years later, in another feature, the Tribune was more sympathetic to the plight of Russian Jews. Yet the paper concluded, "The difference between the Jewish element in national life and every other racial constituent lies in the fact that whereas all other races intermarry, worship and eat with us, the strict Jew will do none of

these things...He is contemptuous toward the people of his adoption."[22]

This combination of the older view of the Jew as an aloof, self-segregated Shylock and the more modern notion of the all-powerful international banker frequently found its place in New York newspapers, even in sympathetic articles. A Sun editorial condemning Russian legislation, "whose barbarity has been unparalleled in European history," was a good example. The intended persecution could be averted. "The great Hebrew bankers are the real masters of Europe...They have it in their power to paralyze Russian credit and Russian commerce and it is obviously their duty to exert that power."[23] The ultra-conservative Sun had thus incorporated a viewpoint usually credited to the Populists.

The Times showed how pervasive the old stereotype was in a human interest story, "Not the Hebrews of Fiction - Sorrows of Cloakmakers."[24] The author felt impelled to emphasize the difference between the real Jews of the East Side and their fictional counterparts. An observer will "find no richly-fed men extravagantly attired, gleaming with diamonds, fat as Jeshuran, rubbing their hands and computing their tremendous and ill-gotten gains...He will find no one gloating over the monstrous profits of the...usurer." This was obviously still the image in the minds of many people though, in reality, only the "timid atmosphere of poverty" could be discerned.

Sprinkled among stories about the life of the Jews, one could frequently find the ancient pictures. Small buyers if "Fresh Fish for the Ghetto" were "bearded crafty-eyed bidders" who "had more money than you think." These were men "you've got to watch or they'll do you sure." The sweatshops were a disgrace to the city, but the worst offenders were "companions of the oppressed workers, persons of their own race and class,

who by greater shrewdness and hardness...coin the blood of their own fathers, brothers and sisters." This position was supported by J.A. Hobson in Problems of Poverty, an English book with some influence in this country. He suggested that the Jew was "almost void of social morality." The Jew used his "superior calculating intelligence" to take advantage of the weaknesses and vices of society. It was significant that so many master sweaters were Jews. "The Jew craves the position of a sweating master because that is the lowest step in a ladder which may lead to a life of magnificence, supported out of usury." Even a bitter-sweet little tale about a young man who came from Russia to marry his sweetheart and spent all his hard earned money on her, only to be jilted at the very ceremony, concluded that his hurt was lessened when the ring and thirty dollars were returned to him.[25]

This persistence of the most ancient stereotype, even among educated and sophisticated people, can be seen in a speech given by Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard, to Jewish residents of Boston. Eliot was widely known as a proponent of unrestricted immigration and ethnic self-identity. The 1902 address entitled, "The Duty of Jewish Youth Toward Their Persecuted Brethren," was reported on the first page of the Times:

> A great factor in the prejudice against the Jew is due to the fact that he has been a money lender...When he secured possession of land...in collection of his debts, the dispossessed owner felt aggrieved and enmity toward the Jew resulted. I therefore suggest to the young Jew when he becomes prosperous that he no longer lend his money to individuals. Let him invest his money by lending to municipalities, states, corporations...A vast service to the race will be done in removing a cause of enmity...[28]

The older image of the Jew was a reflection of long held European stereotypes more than of American experiences. The resumption of mistreatment of the Russian Jews in the 1890s complicated the picture. On the one hand, America, with a two hundred year old tradition of welcome

to Europe's oppressed and a dislike of official repression, felt compassion for the ill-treated Jews. On the other, many Americans found these desperately poor, "exotic" immigrants repugnant. The desirability of the new immigration in general was a real issue. Sympathy struggled with distaste on the pages of newspapers and magazines, and the perception of the Jew underwnet profound revision.

Several journals were unreservedly sympathetic to the Jews. An 1890 article in the Arena, "The Jewish Question in Russia" by Victor Yanros, protested the "absurd and revoltingly unjust conduct of the Russian government." Far from being exploiters, the Jews lived in "extreme wretchedness," many "literally starving." There was no Jewish question in England and America where the Jew was free to engage in legitimate pursuits. In these places, there was no complaint about "the Jew's special fondness for fraudulent and illicit transactions." He was neither better nor worse than other citizens. Two discussions in The Forum in 1891 and 1893 reached similar conclusions. The Russian Jew was hedged by arbitrary regulation, brutally enforced. They were anxious to come to America even to what appeared "to us to be a miserable existence" of extreme poverty. Emigration was taking "the best element among the Jews." Even this sympathetic author warned that some in large cities, while "hard working and frugal people," were less desirable. The later Forum article noted that Eastern Jews maintained hygienic religious observances amidst poverty. They were "singularly free from the kinds of vice that do most to enfeeble and corrode a race." They were temperate, took care of their children and were less addicted to alcohol than Christians.[27]

Others were less sanguine at the thought of floods of destitute immigrants pouring into the United States. Benjamin Harrison, President

at the time, reflected this concern. In a message to Congress in 1891 he worried that great numbers of these "unfortunate people" had been forced to leave Russia. Their immigration to America "is likely to assume proportions which make it difficult to find homes and employment for them here and to seriously affect the labor market..." The President conceded that Jews were never beggars, were law-abiding and cared for their own poor more than other groups. He felt, however, that "the sudden transfer of such a multitude, under conditions that tend to strip them of their small accumulations and to depress their energy and courage is neither good for them nor for us."[28]

Papers and magazines throughout the country were less sensitive in their fears than the President. The Cincinnati Times-Star, which was owned by Charles Taft, expressed hostility in 1891. The immigrants were in desperate need of "enlightenment" about American democracy. "There is no more relation between the American Hebrew and the Russian Jew than there is between white and black." Another Cincinnati paper, the Journal and Messenger, remarked that Jews who had come from Russia and Poland were "the least desirable of all Jews." So many were "a source of danger." While some Detroit papers praised the energy "perseverance; native ability" of the immigrants, others were alarmed at the presence of a "pauper and lawless class." In an article in the North American Review in 1891, Henry Cabot Lodge quoted a State Department report on undesirable immigrants calling the Russian Jews "perhaps the most pitiable." They were going to join the "congested ranks of middlemen" and become small scale peddlers. No one wanted such a "revolting" group. The place to stop their entry "is not at Castle Garden, but in Russia." An unsympathetic commentary in the Illustrated American suggested that the guid-

ing light on migration should be the attitude of England which had kept out Jews "with a determination which might well set the people in the rest of the world to thinking." The Jew only wanted to be a money-lender or middle man in the congested cities of America. The "inroad of the hungry Semitic barbarian is a positive calamity." The Russian Jew threatened to be as costly to the United States as he was to Russia. Leslie's suggested in 1893 that legislation was necessary to "enable this country to prevent itself from being made an offal-heap for all Europe," although more sympathy was expressed for the Jews, "fresh from starvation, tyranny and persecution" than for the "hang-dog, thieving" Italians. In a similar vein, Life remonstrated that Baron Hirsch had shown the "well-recognized shrewdness of his race" when he realized that the United States was the "biggest fool nation on earth." He picked it as the dumping ground for "all the shiftless, incompetent, lazy, ignorant and diseased objects of his charity, whom he couldn't locate in any other country."[29]

Distinct ambivalence continued to be expressed at the turn of the century. The historian Frederick Jackson Turner, in a series on the "new immigration" in the Chicago Record Herald in 1901, described the Russian Jews as less desirable than some other immigrants. They were a city people not adapted to the frontier life, even though they could live in conditions which "would exterminate men whom centuries of natural selection had not adapted to endure squalor." They did have the "traits of their race" which included alertness, thrift "to disgracefulness," ambition, and an ability to drive a bargain that "amounts to genius." They were physically stunted, but, he concluded optimistically, one could expect them to improve under American conditions.[30]

The Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration, which was

issued in 1901, revealed equal ambiguity. John Commons, who wrote the main body of the report, noted that the Jew occupied a unique position in the clothing trades. "His physical strength does not fit him for manual labor; his instincts lead him to speculation and trade; his individualism unsuits him for the life of a wage earner, and especially for the discipline of labor organization." The positive side was that, unlike Italians, immigrant Hebrews had definite aspirations for advancement. They became prosperous with great rapidity. They sacrificed to keep their children in school, and their children were "perhaps the most satisfactory and successful class of scholars the schools have to deal with." The testimony before the commission was also mixed. Herman Stump, the former Commissioner of Immigration, remarked that one could find no Jewish paupers in almshouses. They were able-bodied workers. "Such a man is of value to this country the moment he lands." Another former Commissioner complained that the Hirsch Immigration Society was shipping pauper Jews who engaged only in "light" work like tailoring. They would not do any productive labor, but increased "the class of middlemen in this country...and the middleman is always a drain on the producer." Jules Rosendale, an agent of the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture and a non-believing Jew, testified that Russian Jews "speak the Jews' jargon only" and were under the control of superstitious rabbis. Although they were not drunks, they did seem "to prefer to live in dirt." They failed to observe the laws of the land when they kept stores open on Sundays. He favored the Lodge Bill to restrict immigration by a literacy test which would bar two-thirds of the Jews since, "I would not recognize the Hebrew jargon as a language."[31]

Public opinion veered between antipathy and sympathy. Some periodi-

cals clearly felt that American traditions required the admission of the refugees. Puck satirized marvelously the superficial expressions of sympathy for the exiles coupled with unwillingness to take any positive action on their behalf. The "Labrador Pemmican" stood "aghast at the barbarity of the Czar" who drove away "honest hardworking people." It suggested that they would find lack of prejudice and warm climate in "the vast fertile plains of Brazil." The "Chilean Daily Nitrate" assured the persecuted Jews of a "warm welcome awaiting them on our hospitable shores." They could help develop industry and commerce. Unfortunately, Chilean climate was often fatal to Northern Europeans, so North Dakota would be ideal for them. The "Mexican Vaquero" was pleased that religious intolerance was unknown in that country and was shocked at Russia's brutality. Unhappily the unfortunate victims were unable to adapt to tropical climate. Patagonia was an ideal solution. The same combination of rhetoric against persecution and fear of the admission of its victims was common in the United States. A 1902 story in Mc Clure's Magazine told of a congressman who was urged by his wife to go down to an immigrant boat to get material for his restriction bill. He sees a group of Roumanian Jews, some destitute, all the picture of "woe unspeakable." His wife informs him that these are the "pauper Jews" newspapers urge the government to turn back. He watches them at worship, their faces "lifted above the sordid surroundings...to a higher spiritual plane in which there was both pride and a hope of the future." He learns that they had come from the same village and had tramped for three months across Europe to reach the "Promised Land." He decides not to press for the immigration law. When they land, "a Jew with a flowing beard and a round velvet hat threw his hands straight above his head and began to recite from the scripture."[32]

Such unambiguous support for the new immigrants was relatively uncommon.

No newspaper was more involved with the problem of Jewish immigration
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than the New York Times whose concern at times bordered on the obsessive. When news of the Czar's anti-semitic decrees of 1890 first became known, the Times sounded the alarm. Readers were reminded that, after the Czar had attacked Jews in 1882, thousands had flocked to New York "and a sorry lot they were. They were not only pitifully poor, but they were filthy and ungrateful and riotous and altogether unwelcome guests. It is well to remember how our hospitality was abused." In 1891 the tone of editorials and articles became more strident as Russian immigration multiplied. There was a growing belief that Russian Jewish exiles were "undesirable as immigrants...strengthened by a willingness of many...to accept a permanent state of dependence." Enforced emigration lacked the valuable quality of all voluntary emigration, "the quality of enterprise." Russian exiles simply "drop where they are dumped from a ship and wait inertly to be succored." They were "a burden to any community." If this immigration had diffused itself, as the Times believed other immigration had done, it could have been absorbed. Instead, the Russian Jews persisted in collecting in the New York ghetto, "a segregated community...a source of weakness and danger under institutions like ours." The Times concluded, "Few Americans will be found to dispute the assertion that there are enough Jews in this country already."

An outbreak of typhus aboard a ship bringing Russian immigrants to this country aroused emotions to a fever pitch. The epidemic was caused by "filth, overcrowding, destitution and neglect of fundamental laws of sanitation...It is the duty of the people of this country to protect themselves against such persons as these." Although the Russian Jews had

indeed been persecuted, "they are not the best specimens of humanity. They are repulsive in nearly every way." The Times claimed that in Russia "Jew usurers ply their trade in all the cities and towns." Paradoxically, however, the immigrants were in such "pitiable condition" that it was impossible to receive them in America. Well-to-do Hebrews who had already done much to help them must agree, "It is on every count desirable that no encouragement be given to others to follow in their train."

The epitome of the class (and/or racist) attitude of the Times was revealed when a group of immigrants in a New Jersey colony complained that they did not get the farms or money which had been promised them, but instead were put to work at sewing machines. According to the paper, this proved that they were unwilling to work for a living and expected to be cared for by fellow Jews. Unlike real men, they fell back on charity. Their complaints were a disgrace to the American way of life and alienated all sympathy for their plight. Any man "who complains of the nature of work...or the quality of bread ought to be told, 'Root hog or die.'"

A month after the above statement, Harold Frederic, the Times' London correspondent and a well known novelist, reported on conditions in Russia. (American Jews funded his trip.) His perceptive and accurate eye-witness accounts of Jews in Russia ran weekly for four months and were later collected in a book, The New Exodus.[34] The Times' reader absorbed a radically different picture of the Jews. Even the editorial policy appeared to change at the same time. The "brutal and wanton persecution," Frederic reported, "staggers the imagination." He attacked descriptions of Jews of the Pale as prosperous usurers (given by Goldwin Smith and others): "I have not seen anywhere in Europe, not even in the poorer part of Ireland ...a more terrible poverty...The sober truth is that it has been the Jew

who has been exploited...The Jewish usurers in Russia can be counted on one's fingers." How could one be so absurd as to believe that the ninety-four Jews in a Pale village were getting rich by lending money to the six Christians left? In spite of all provocations, the bulk of the Jews "remained a simple and devout people clinging doggedly to their despised faith, helping one another...and keeping up the virtues of temperance, family affection and chastity." The Jewish people, whose way of life belonged to the "very childhood of the race," the sole survivors of antiquity, maintained "remarkable solidarity, at once so pathetic and so prejudicial." This isolation, however, had harmed them. It developed such unpleasant qualities as fanaticism, narrow-mindedness, and ignorance of the rest of civilization. Even the Jew's virtues were the unsympathetic ones of chastity, temperance, docility, peacefulness and loyalty. People had more sympathy for drunken English dock workers. Of all Jews, only the Russian had produced no literature, music, philosophy or scientific contributions. This would seem hopeless "were it not for the startling recuperative power in his race. The grandsons of these bearded refugees now flying in dumb despair out into the unknown Christian world will be recognizable cousins of Heine and Mendelsohn," the author assured his readers. Other articles showed that Russian Jews were not revolutionary, were law-abiding and top students when given a chance, in short ultimately desirable immigrants. Public gaze at the time was shifting from the events inside Russia to the streams of refugees. There was growing nervousness in both England and the United States -- "humanitarian sympathy takes on sternly practical limitations." Despite this hostility, Frederic felt that the United States had "room enough for all new-comers who promise to be good citizens." He was sure that the Russian Jews would fit

this category:

> The woe-begone outcast in cap or caftan, wandering forth dismayed into exile,will take heart again. His children's children may shape a nation's finance or give law to a literature, or sway a Parliament. At the least, they will be a living part of their generation; they will be freemen, fearing neither famine nor the knout.

This series caused a temporary change in Times editorial policies. When Jewish charities requested outside assistance for the first time in December 1891, the paper responded sympathetically. The unfortunate exiles were "poverty-stricken but not paupers." They were "peaceable, honest, temperate, willing and earnest...They will in the end make a desirable class of citizens." In its new-found tolerance, the Times declared, "The Russian Hebrew had proved an extraordinary person in his adoptiveness..." A long statement by the first Christian contributor, Judge John Dillam, was quoted approvingly. The judge decried reports that some Jewish refugees had been sent back as possible public charges:

> We cannot remain idle and see this done...Such rules have no rightful application to your fugitive people who in their necessity come...to this land of freedom...Let us receive them with welcome and hospitality...I do not rest these sentiments on the unfeigned respect I feel for the immemorial traditions and glorious history of your people...I prefer to rest them upon the broader ground that these exiles are men...

At least temporarily, the claims of America's liberal tradition proved to be exceedingly attractive.[35]

By 1893, with the Frederic series receding into the past and the depression approaching, the Times had reverted to its original view. A new wave of Polish immigrants, though "of a somewhat better class than the Russian Jews," still had "certain social characteristics born of their peculiar environment which render them even less welcome as immigrants." These traits were not specified. The Times again advocated excluding the "least desirable, worst class" of immigrants whose ignorance was particu-

larly dense and "whose characteristics may be studied at the anarchist meetings in the East Side in this city." An immigration inspector was quoted approvingly in his description of a "swarthy race with long, dark unkempt hair. The clothes they have on are invariably old and dirty...they will not eat food prepared by Christians...Their food is most likely to contain cholera germs." In short, a "stolid, stupid horde...dumb cattle," were invading our shores.[36]

Adolph Ochs, a Jew himself, assumed control of the paper in 1896. Its policies, however, did not change. In 1902 the Times advocated immigration restriction to exclude an illiterate class with a tendency to "live together and live as they have lived in the past." As a horrible example, the paper recounted the story of a young woman on the East Side who asked to be taught German since she wanted to know the language of this country! The paper concluded humorlessly that this was "but a grotesque instance of the separateness."[37] The image of a large, unassimilable mass of poor immigrants, with strange and inappropriate life styles, was obviously very threatening to many people.

None of the other New York newspapers was nearly as obsessed. The Tribune, with rare lapses, tended to be far more sympathetic to the plight of the Russian Jews.[38] In fact, the Tribune often ascribed their problems to supposed American-like bourgeois characteristics, rather than to exotic European ways. The Jews' crime "was less their race and creed than their wealth and intelligence." Their sole offense in Russia was that they "have prospered unduly" as a result of their "genius for commerce." These immigrants are not really destitute. "They lack industrial skill, but readily adapt themselves to their new conditions, are frugal and persevering and seldom become a public charge." The paper vigorously oppos-

ed immigration restriction. One headline asserted, "The Hebrew Immigrants - They are Nearly All Desirable Persons."

In endowing Russian Jews with middle class virtues, the Tribune seemed genuinely unaware of the lower class origins of the vast majority. Most Russian Jews, after all, were not merchants whose success was resented, but workmen who eked out a miserable livelihood. In one sense, the Tribune's positive view of these immigrants came from accepting anti-semitic propaganda and reversing its import. An interesting article about "The Jew Workman in England," illustrated this tendency to absolve the Jews of working class "vices." "The great inert mass of dull torpid unthinking industrial slaves, the despair of the reformer," was unknown among Jewish immigrants who possessed great initiative. "These Jewish immigrants are the only class which can be aided without a tendency to pauperization." The Jew did not accept a "station in life," but was "always pushing his way forward." Unlike the British workmen who tried to build a wall of recognizable limits around his trade, the immigrant accepted innovation with his "abundant store of restless mental energy." To some people this might seem like a picture of a "pushy Jew." However, in the eyes of the Tribune, this was the embodiment of the right virtues for an American worker in 1899.

Other papers also tended to be somewhat sympathetic, though not nearly as interested as the Times or Tribune. The World editorially opposed "knownothingism." It did concede that the Eastern and Southern European immigrants were distinctly inferior to earlier groups. "Their character is like their bodies often dwarfed and distorted by generations of oppression." (This idea of the "warping" or "dwarfing" effect of persecution was widely repeated.) In spite of this, the paper urged,

they should not be kept out. "Human nature is not a thing of fixed character." Here the environment was better, and with education and the glorious American institutions, they would improve. To shut them out would be an act of "national cowardice."[39] This faith in the ability of the American environment to eliminate "undesirable characteristics" is a good example of what Eric Goldman has called, "Reform Darwinism."

The same issue was repeated when the Romanian government once again instituted anti-semitic measures. Secretary John Hay sent a remarkable note of protest to the European powers with the double purpose of "protecting the long-suffering Jews and averting the peril of pauper immigration." While Hay agreed that "Jews possess in high degree the mental and moral qualifications for comscientious citizenship," he declared that, when they come as outcasts, the "migration lacks conditions to make it acceptable or beneficial." The Secretary was responding, the Times frankly noted, both to the pleas of humanitarians and to warnings about "the growing dangers of degenerates," (who were also evidently the "unfortunate victims of heartless persecution"). The New York newspapers all agreed enthusiastically with the Secretary's letter. The Commercial Advertiser noted that downtrodden Jews, bereft of any opportunity for self-improvement, "arrive in a condition which unfits them for citizenship and makes them a dangerous burden to this country." As might be expected, the Times was in total agreement. The American ideal, it conceded, was indeed that we were open to all, but "none of these sayings...involves that we mean to make ourselves the dumping ground of Europe, the refuge of the proved failures of the elder world." In familiar language, the Times concluded that the time had come to exclude a man "so artificially maimed and dwarfed even though not he, but the cruel government he was born

under is responsible." Even the World and Tribune endorsed the Secretary's "humanitarian" letter.[40]

The ever-increasing migration of Eastern European Jews did far more than complicate the image of the Jew in America, as John Higham has suggested. It added a whole new dimension, even though many aspects of the old stereotype persisted. This was the period of the rise of restrictionist sentiment, as shown by the formation of the Immigration Restriction League and the American Protective Association. They directed their vituperation against all "new immigrants," and the latter, particularly, saw Catholicism as by far the greater danger. A profound moral struggle was taking place between the views of America as a haven of the oppressed, and obvious distaste for the strange newcomers. Only by disguising the real nature of this immigration, as the Tribune did, were the papers able to reconcile these two attitudes. As Barbara Solomon has remarked, by 1898 most Americans were still not interested in the restrictionist cause. However, by the early twentieth century immigration limitation became widely accepted and was "destined to change a basic tradition of the United States."[41]

## Customs and Life Styles of the Immigrants

Except for the mass circulation newspapers, most of the press made some attempt to describe the peculiar customs of these new immigrants to the lower East Side. Generally, the stories were sympathetic, although there was a tendency to overstress the "quaint," "exotic," and "Oriental," and an inordinate concern with cleanliness. Attitudes were often an unpredictable mixture of interest and antipathy.

The Times commented in 1895 that a man who hadn't been in New York in fifteen years would be bewildered by a walk on the East Side. He

would find "a class entirely different in manners, customs and political ideas and beliefs from the oldtimers." The Irish and others had been "pushed upward and outward by the children of Israel in their exodus out of the Russian Egypt." The stranger would see an immense beehive in which thousands, speaking only Yiddish, crowded together in poorly ventilated rooms. This was the "semi-Oriental city situated on the East Side of New York." It was a mine of information for anyone interested in studying the life and customs of "a race which is unique among the races of the earth." The Times felt the need to remind its readers that these people were human, "intensely so." Their very strangeness lent an additional charm..."[42]

More often, however, thse charms seemed less apparent to the Times. An article on East Side vendors described food that "would make the average citizen turn his nose high in the air." Reeking rotten cheese was eaten with relish by "the long whiskered descendents of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." The writer could have gone on for a week reciting the "abominations of these people." They had no regard for the law and, if arrested for throwing garbage, the offender was defended by hundreds of others. This section, "peopled by the people who claim to have been driven from Poland and Russia is the eyesore of New York and perhaps the filthiest place on the Western continent." Cleanliness, a particular middle class obsession, was not known to them. "They cannot be lifted up to a higher plane because they do not want to be."[43]

The Tribune, in an article about life among New York's tailors, demurred from the popular impression of uncleanliness among the Jews. "contrary to the usual impression the rooms of the tailors are surprisingly neat," and what little they owned was clean. Yet the Tribune itself

contributed to the caricature of the "dirty" Jew in a fascinating article on the Jewish settlement of Brownsville. "Low caste" people lived packed together, ruled by "primitive customs," in absolute indifference to the rest of the world. A typical resident had a "matted untrimmed beard... bent shoulders...greasy threadbare old coat." The women followed the "racial ambition of Jewish mothers to gather large families about them." The numerous children were "invariably unwashed." However, the men were "keen witted and diligent workers."[44]

If the Tribune's tone was somewhat patronizing, it was almost always kindly.[45] One article told of the "curious ceremonies" at Jewish weddings, which, like everything else, were of "Oriental origin." The disappearance of marriage brokers and the efforts to "buy a doctor" as a son-in-law were the subjects of some amusement. The East Side cafes where the "intellectual aristocracy," almost all socialists or "dreamy and peaceable anarchists," met to discuss the issues of the day, provided another feature story. "Life is a struggle for a livelihood part of the times and a feverish search after knowledge for another part." To those who knew it, "this life is fascinating in the extreme." Even the candy store was analyzed as a "new social center" for the boys of the East Side. The paper lectured sternly that unless there were healthier moral surroundings, the boys would succumb to the evil influence of the candy store and go on to such horrors as "Bowery concert halls, beer parlors and poolrooms." The markets of the East Side were most engrossing of all to the Tribune as to other journals. Here, even the lowest classes were so exacting in their standards that only the best quality meat, fish and poultry was sold. (One wonders if the reporters of the Times and Tribune had been to the same markets.) The pushcart section was "quaint," and

the faces were again of an "Oriental type." Haggling was a sport in which the object was to find a "foeman worthy of their steel." A most revealing section told of a woman who found this neighborhood gratifying to her vanity. "You walk in and say in a queenly fashion that you want an umbrella...the best in the store and every member of the family will run to look at you...making you feel like the most bloated kind of aristocrat..." Or you stepped into a shop and paid fifteen cents a piece for two handkerchiefs without any haggling "which brings blessings upon your head and gives you a fine sense of superiority."

Market scenes were vividly described by all of the newspapers when Mayor Seth Low lifted the Sunday ban during the Passover season in 1902. "The icy fetters that have bound the city...relaxed a little yesterday in the genial glow of Mayor Low's pronouncement," the Tribune reported happily. "And several of those officers whose diligence resulted in the capture of a large number of East Side shopkeepers a week ago are now pastorially occupied in the region of goatsville." The World noted the "picturesque and stirring scenes" when it seemed as though all of the East Side was in the streets. "The poorer Hebrew population gave itself with zest to selling and buying," the Sun commented cheerfully. "Everybody seemed happy except some street sweepers." Only the Times sourly concluded that Seth Low was wrong in not enforcing the law. His actions led to unmolested violations. Religious customs could be observed under the law. "The Mayor's policy puts into their heads the pernicious notion that our laws will be suspended for their benefit whenever they are found to conflict with their habits...This is a perfectly certain way to prevent their ever becoming good citizens," the Times complained.[46]

Like other New York papers, the Evening Post often shifted between

approval and condemnation. An article on Hebrew office-holders decried their quality. They represented "the east-side Hebrews of the lowest class." The Hebrews "above the Baxter Street standard" were ashamed of the caliber of these men. On the other hand, feature articles by Lincoln Steffens were quite sympathetic. People in the Jewish quarter preserved "their distinctive customs and practices almost inviolate." Their children, however, acquired English rapidly and assumed responsibilities normally given to elders. One eleven year old girl signed checks and cooked, washed and cared for younger children when her mother was ill. She even doctored the sick baby. Another little girl was the real janitress of a tenement. She conducted interviews with authorities and tenants, "generally coming off victor in the pitched battles in which she has to engage." Bargaining was colorfully described as being conducted on "Oriental principle." Humbler Jews were "born musicians, natural gamblers, abstemious and earnest admirers of education..." The intelligence and activity of the children meant that the Ghetto would lose some of its "Oriental characteristics" in the next twenty-five years.[47]

No newspaper penetrated the East Side culture more deeply and with less condescension than the very upper class Commercial Advertiser. From 1897 to 1901, under the supervision of City Editor Lincoln Steffens and through the reporting skills of Abraham Cahan and Hutchins Hapgood, the paper ran a feature on Jews almost every Saturday.[48] While the rest of the edition went its lofty way, ignoring Jews entirely, the Saturday supplement gave an unequaled picture of New York's ghetto. A feature on the Yiddish dailies showed how these journals helped families to learn about the world, thus stimulating them to "become ambitious to know English." Sketches of the cultural life showed that "refinement and intelligence

often shone through distressing poverty." There were stories about the fun and pathos of a Yiddish comedy; a Jewish version of the works of Schiller; the literati of the slums; the popularity of Shakespeare on the East Side; a Yiddish adaptation of Hamlet; the scholarship and poverty of a rabbi immersed in research; the "high thinking" in an East Side cafe; and other indications of the combination of "proletarianism and intellectual seriousness," so bewildering to the "Anglo-Saxon." The poems of Morris Rosenfeld were first published in English in the Advertiser. His life of "privation, of struggle" and his personality, "tender, simple, suffering and sad" like his poems, were described. There were several stories about Russian Jews here and in the old country, including a delightful little gem by Cahan, "Imaginary America: How a Young Russian Pictured It." In 1901 Steffens left the paper, and it returned to its previous massive indifference to Jews.

Some of the magazines like the Nation and the North American Review, while including features about Jewry in general, virtually ignored the presence of the Russian Jews. Others reflected the same upswing of interest found in the New York newspapers. Harper's Weekly displayed a generally sympathetic attitude. "A Friday Market in the Jewish Quarter of New York," featured preparation for the Sabbath. Contrary to stereotype, "perhaps nine-tenths of the people earn a scanty living with their needles and sewing machines." A woman had around her waist money she had accumulated penny by penny to bring over her nephew from Galicia, and "free him from bondage." Intemperance was rare and piety common. The streets of the East Side were filled with "swarms of children" at play. The "babble of the little ones blended pleasantly...without a dissonance." There was "endless love" and "devotion to family," charmingly illustrated

by several vignettes. "The Russo-Polish Jew Colony" included swarms of Jews who had landed without means and were aided by richer brethren. In an atmosphere of freedom they promptly attempted to become American. They worked in sweat shops, but with all their struggling "they generally manage to maintain a small bank account." The one redeeming feature of tenement life "is the companionship which comes from close contact with sympathetic and congenial spirits, and this fellowship is so strong that it rises above many of the miseries and disadvantages of the crowded life." An 1899 article called the Ghetto a world in itself with all the passions, loves and hatred of humanity. A play ridiculed their own customs, "Decidedly the Ghetto is its own severest critic."[49]

Other periodicals were equally compassionate, if less consistent in their coverage. Century had a two part series on "The Jews in New York." While admitting that the prevalent thrift could at times harden into "avarice and greed," it asserted that "none respond more willingly to the elevative forces of modern civilization." They were prudent, diligent and lawful. A wedding reminded the author that, among Jews, "chastity is the cornerstone of the family institution" and "family life exemplifies many of the sweetest qualities of human nature." The author deprecated widespread popular prejudice against these immigrants. Another issue discussed the Yiddish poets, focusing on Morris Rosenfeld, "the personification of the sufferings of his race."[50] The Bookman often reviewed books about ghetto Jews by Cahan and Zangwell.[51] Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, not generally friendly to immigration, ran a piece on "The Jewish Theater in New York." Despite the use of that "awful jargon," the theater was a "treasure house of lore and tradition." The actors were remarkable and the audience appreciative.[52] Puck, also divided with-

in itself in its attitude towards the Jewish refugees, contributed a telling piece of social commentary in response to the frequent criticism of Jews as sweatshop operators. A cartoon captioned,"All a question of the scale we do it on," noted that one man who paid starvation wages to a handful of clothing workers was called a "cruel and heartless sweatshop proprietor." Another man who paid starvation wages to thousands of miners was "one of the leading coal operators of the country,"[53]

Atlantic Monthly manifested a continuing friendly interest in the immigrant Jews. It published several of Abraham Cahan's short stories. In 1898 he contributed an article on "The Russian Jew in America" which is interesting in showing what Cahan thought should be stressed to an upper class Christian audience on behalf of the Jewish immigrants. He quoted gentile defenders like Jacob Riis, James Reynolds and Ida Van Etten who characterized the Jews as possessing "many characteristics of the best citizens." Jews did not depress wages, but were active in union struggles. Jews sent three times their quota of volunteers to the army in the Spanish American War. A 1900 discussion of "Our Immigrants and Ourselves" by Kate Holliday Claghorn reported that a study of "even the most poverty-stricken and forlorn" of the Russian Jewish immigrants showed them to be "a temperate, moral, and industrious people." In spite of the "unwholesome tenements" and "universal filth," Jews had a lower death rate than well-to-do natives in uptown districts. (This fact was the subject of considerable commentary.) Their vitality was caused by moral habits. Their family affection was strong, and they were not found in police courts, prisons or charity institutions. In the sixteen years since they first came, one could note a remarkable advancement:

The casual visitor to the East Side today will see apparently the

The Bar Mitzvah



The religious customs of the Russian Jews were often presented with warm sympathy as in this photograph which appeared in Atlantic Monthly in 1901.

> same old patriarchs with side curls and velvet cap, the same mothers in Israel with wigs awry and infants multitudinous that he saw yesterday. But this is a human stream in which, while it looks the same, the individual elements are always changing. The old man in the gabardine one saw last week has now put on the garb of America and moved uptown with his family. The one you took for him has just landed from the immigrant ship. Next week he, too, will be gone...

This perceived ambition of the Jewish immigrant was highly regarded by upholders of the "American way of life."[54]

Some of the reformist magazines at the turn of the century made a conscientious effort to inform their readers about the exotic newcomers. Munsey's Magazine in 1900 carried a description, "In the New York Ghetto" by Katherine Hoffman. The average New Yorker knew less about these people than if they had lived in Piccadilly. The first generation, with "vivid picturesqueness," kept the Jewish customs; their children adopted American ways. As among the poor in all religions, "ancient forms are followed with a literal exactness infrequent among the more liberally educated and widely cultivated of the same faith." Their life was "strange beyond expression" to the average American, their rites "weird in the extreme to the ordinary eye." She pointed out that, after the utmost profit was exacted in the little shops, the prices were not dear. (This often escaped the notice of other observers.) Amidst dust, the odors of the tenements, and the roar of the city, children sat and studied the Torah. If Hebrew immigration was checked, the peculiar Ghetto customs would disappear. This would be regrettable, she concluded. "If it were not for the new arrivals coming in with ancient beliefs and habits, the Ghetto would soon have nothing to lift it out of the sordid and squalid into the poetic and dignified." Both the Outlook and The World's Work published several perceptive articles about immigrants, including pieces by Hutchins Hapgood with excellent photographs. Both also included surprisingly ob-

jective discussions by American Jews seeking to explain the Russian Jew to the American reader. Edward Steiner stressed that the watchword was "work and trade." In the Ghetto one would never see "that genus Americanum, the corner loafer." Charles' father "began life by selling rags on Houston Street; his sons will sell bonds on Wall Street." Americanization meant to most, "dejudaizing himself without becoming a Christian." Intellectual hunger was as great as greed for wealth. Philip Davis vividly described the intense struggle for existence involved in labor in the clothing industry. Yet these cloakmakers had works of literature in their homes. The industrial worker was a new class of Jew. The United States had accomplished this "universally wished for transformation" of the former trafficker-trader. American civilization "has on the whole improved the moral qualities of the Jew, refined his character, and brought out such elements as intellect, honor, frankness, dignity, a high regard for labor..." Ezra Brudno included a sharp attack in the German Jews who "copied American manners and adopted American materialism." They knew how to make money and were arrogant even though their pursuit of wealth had "stunted the growth of their intellect." They were the ones who poisoned the American press with distrust of the Russian refugee as a member of a lower caste. The Russian Jew had "invincible energy" and was a devoted father and husband. He was always a loyal citizen. Furthermore, "the offspring of the Russian-American is not semitic in appearance." (!) Some of the small tradesmen might have made sharp deals, but "will a million of such 'sharpers' trick the people of the United States in half a century as much as the embodiment of greed and trickery at the head of a great trust?"[55]

The most favorable comments about Jews concerned love of learning

and intellectual achievements. Virtually all the New York press and many of the magazines conceded this quality to the Jewish people. In fact, there was a definite increase in ascribing mental acumen to Jews with the advent of the Russian immigrants. For example, the Times ram a book supplement feature, "Good Taste Shown by Russian Jews." The East Side inhabitant might be cramped and overworked, but he could hold his head high and claim "citizenship in the world of letters," a goal "his race has always so signally cherished." Other poor people usually had to be taught to acquire a taste for good literature, not so the Russian Hebrew. The Evening Post noted that, unlike the Jews, the ignorant of other nationalities tended to regard educated people with distrust. Jews were proud of educated leaders and "no matter how ignorant they may be themselves... they crave education for their children." The Post described "Jew Babes at the Library." Lines of children waited at the public library on the East Side. "The Jewish child has more than an eagerness for mental food; it is an intellectual mania." Many had completed courses at the City College and the Normal College. "The city may be proud," the Post concluded. Of all the money spent by New York, "none is better expended than that required for the training of these bright, studious and patriotic graduates." The Atlantic Monthly added in 1898 that 500 of the 1600 City College students were from the East Side. The Herald pointed out that many of the now penniless exiles had been educated people in Russia "whom our carelessness has confused with the devouring hordes of South European peasants." (The Herald, generally favorable to Jewish immigrants, was hostile to Italian newcomers.)



As might be expected, the New York Tribune was most enthusiastic about the intellectual capacities and aspirations of Jews. This enabled

the Jew to fit more readily into the middle class picture the paper had created.[57] "It will astonish many people that the average small boy of the ghetto has none of the commercial instinct which is ordinarily taken as a sign of his race," the Tribune informed its readers. Instead, there was an "intense craving for knowledge." "The rapidity with which these children acquire knowledge is a constant source of surprise." The "Hebrew Grammar School," No. 22 had a 95% Jewish student body. The paper reported that "the teachers speak of them in the highest terms saying that they are industrious, ambitious and easily managed." The principal stressed that they "are intensely patriotic...They are eminently respectful to teachers." The parents, realizing the value of learning, always sided with the teachers. The implication was clear that one did not have to worry about lower class laziness, vices or rebelliousness from these people. According to the Tribune, the Jews of the East Side had become a reading people. Their first efforts after coming to America had been to earn a livelihood, then to bring over the rest of the family, but later "for less material things." The younger generation had become "assiduous readers of English." They were seized by a laudable "relentless American spirit." "In another generation their language will be an anachronism," the paper predicted without sadness. The culmination of these laudatory articles was an extreme Judeophile editorial prompted by a picture of the City College graduating class of 1901 which "might almost have been mistaken for a picture of the Young Men's Hebrew Association." City College had long been known as "Jews' College," a term which the Tribune certainly did not regard as a reproach. Especially in "the humbler walks of life," there was no question that educational standards were far higher among Jews than Gentiles. Jewish students even came from congested tene-

ments and surpassed their fellow students in standing as well as number. This physical and intellectual "vitality and vigor" was merely the latest chapter in one of the most remarkable national or racial histories. After thousands of years of "unrelenting persecution," and with other ancient civilizations extinct, "the Jews today are irrepressible and indomitable, holding their place in the very foremost rank of the world's best peoples. It is a spectacle provoking the wonder...of the world."

The prevalence of Jewish philanthropy was another aspect of Jewish life which merited admiration. Magazine articles often included detailed descriptions of Hebrew charities and self-help organizations. "The place of the poor man is never disregarded by the Jews of this city." In the midst of its most virulent campaign against Jewish immigration, the Times felt impelled to comment, "The spirit and devotion cannot be too highly praised of those Hebrews of New York who have endeavored to take care ot their exiled co-religionists." Various charities like the Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Technical Institute came in for lavish approval. When a new hospital was opened on the East Side, the World was careful to note that it was a monument to the thrift of the local people. The opening was an event "in which all east side people felt deep pride."[58]

The Sun, in a perceptive article published in connection with the funeral of Rabbi Jacob Joseph, included one of the rare attempts to analyze the changes and problems of Jewish life in America. It was far easier for a Jew ro live an ideal Orthodox life, the paper remarked, where there were segregated Jewish communities. "It becomes extremely difficult, almost impossible, in this free country...with its disintegrating forces." The Orthodox Jew labored under terrible disadvantages in Ameri= ca. His beard and appearance "make him a target for attacks by the

ruffianly element." His Sabbath observance "excludes him from many remunerative occupations." His attempt to adhere to a kosher diet "makes life and travel away from the great cities very uncomfortable." Rabbi Joseph had been brought to America to bring organization to Judaism, but "the liberal atmosphere of this country" destroyed his influence. The separation of Church and State left the rabbi with only the authority given to him voluntarily. His funeral was more of a tribute to his personality than to his office. Perhaps it was also an indication that "a religion for which so much was endured for thousands of years will not be abandoned without a struggle."[59]

The picture a reader of New York newspapers and national magazines would get of the life and customs of the Jews was, basically, an impression of the exotic and picturesque. However, there was also a strong element of intellectual ambition and upward striving. In one way, these people appeared so strange as to be unassimilable. Yet, it was clear that through the public schools, they were assimilating. On the one hand, there were the quaint markets and their humorous haggling, the "oriental" religious practices and customs; but, on the other, there was the City College graduating class and the public library branch with the heaviest use in the city. The combination of sympathy, strangeness and repulsion must have made it impossible for the readers to determine which was the true picture of the Russian Jew in New York. Of the newspapers, only the distinguished old families who read the Commercial Advertiser got a sympathetic yet unromantic version of Jewish culture. (But one wonders if they really cared.) With the exception of the Tribune which was friendly though unrealistic, the other newspapers were uninterested or decidedly ambivalent.

## Friendly Observers

There were several authors of verying degree of celebrity who made a particular effort to understand the experiences of life in the New York Ghetto. William Dean Howells was a generally sympathetic, if perplexed, observer in his Impressions and Experiences (1896). "An East-Side Ramble" described his walk through the Hebrew quarter, a place so terrible that it blunted perception by its "loathesomeness." The people were uncomplaining in circumstances where one week's stay would make anarchists "of the best people of the city." The Ghetto Jews were cheerful and courageous enough to keep themselves clean in "an environment where I am afraid their betters would have scarcely had heart to wash their faces." The people did not appear to be degraded. There was none of the"drunkenness or truculence of an Irish or low American neighborhood." Howells visited homes where there was almost no furniture and the rooms were permeated with fumes from nearby businesses, but the residents were content to be together. The children all went to school, were "quick and intelligent" and spoke English. He was critical of the street bazaar as "a sorrowfully amusing satire upon the business ideal of our plutocratic civilization." There the desperately poor preyed upon each other. Still, he saw in the peddlers and their customers echoes of the ancient Hebrew world. "It was among such throngs that Christ walked, it was from such people that he chose his disciples." He was not as optimistic as some other friendly observers about the possibility of improvement in the unrivaled "squalor." Yet, he was loath to leave the neighborly intimacy and patient good spirits. Above all the place left him with a feeling of "men's heroic superiority to their fate..."[60]

Mary McKenna wrote of her experiences in working among the Jewish

immigrants in Our Brethren of the Tenements and the Ghetto. She was sympathetic and uncritical, though naive in many of her assumptions. The religious Jews were particularly delightful people. "If they give any offense, it is because... their separateness had made them ignorant of conventional forms..." Through terrible conditions Jews preserved their morals, religion and "a beautiful spirit of helpfulness." The Jews were hospitable, and the "amount of small charity given directly from poor to poorer" was surprising. Jewish parents were most responsible. The youngsters were so bright that they did not have to enter the lower grades "and they finish the course in less time than the native-born children." Others worked in shops during the day and studied at night. The Jews who were attempting to knock at the doors of society and were rejected were "degenerates," not typical of the immigrant Jews.[61]

Myra Kelly fictionalized her experiences as a teacher on the Lower East Side in a popular, charming, although somewhat patronizing book, Little Citizens (1904). The book consisted of vignettes about the "fifty-eight little children of Israel entrusted in her care." The message was basically one of love and mutual understanding. She is dismayed when they can't seem to absorb her stress on soap and water, even though they are "in all other branches of learning so receptive and responsive." They are upset that the teacher they love is a "Krish," when they thought she was a "stylish sheeny." She is astonished to learn that a pushcart peddler "was by birth and in his own country one of the learned class." He attends lectures at the Educational Alliance with his girlfriend. Mr. O'Shea, an Assistant Superintendent who "bore a sullen grudge against the usurping race" is presented in a decidedly unflattering light. The children, who present her with a cherished rent receipt as a present and who make four

trips from the yard to the top floor with a pail of water in order to achieve the cleanliness stressed by the teacher, are delightful, bright and ideal citizens of the future.[62]

After eight years of social work among the Jews, James Bronson Reynolds declared that it would have been a shame had the laws prevented them from coming. "I feel that society is much better for their being here. Their eagerness, brightness and fine susceptibility to Americanizing influences are very valuable assets in our social life."[63] Some of these reformers even tended to romanticize the Jewish immigrants. Other Progressives had definite feelings of distaste towards Jews and other aliens as part of a general anti-new immigrant mentality.

The most prolific writer on the immigrant Jew was Jacob Riis, the well-known reformer. His earliest work on the subject, How the Other Half Lives, was written in 1890. His attitude towards the Jews expressed in this famous work was decidedly ambivalent. "Jewtown" was packed -- dirt and disease were endemic. East Side Jews were angry at missionaries since the Jews stood "where the new day on Calvary stubbornly left them standing, stubbornly refusing to see the light." Thrift was the watchword of "Jewtown" as of the Jewish people throughout the world. It was its strength and fatal weakness -- an overwhelming passion. "Money is their God." As scholars, the ignorant immigrant children could keep up with their classmates, but they jumped further ahead when it came to mental arithmetic. "It is surprising to see how strong the instincts of dollars and cents is in them." Riis readily accepted the standard stereotypes about the Jew. His section on the sweaters noted that the worker who complained turned sweater himself at the first opportunity, "and takes his revenge by driving an even closer bargain than his rival tyrant." Riis then described conditions in a typical sweat shop in vivid and heart-

rending terms. The problem for charities was how to pour in money without perpetuating the problem by attracting "greater swarms." The difficulty lay in the gregarious and commercial nature of the Jew which prevented him from dispersing to rural areas.[64] Riis in this, his earliest and best-known work, reiterated many of the stereotyped images of the Jew.

By The Children of the Poor, which Riis wrote in 1892, he had become more optimistic about the prospect of Jews as citizens. He did continue to accept many of the cliches about the nature of Jews. He still felt burning indignation at the "inhuman packing of human swarms, of bitter poverty...sweater slavery...darkness and squalor and misery..." Little children peddled pitiful wares or staggered under heavy bundles of clothes. They rarely laughed since toil and trouble were their lot. (Contrast this picture with the Harper's article about the babble of happy children described earlier.) As soon as the child's value as a worker overbalanced the gain in prospect by keeping him in school, he went to the shop. Riis was struck by the number of little workers who were "just fourteen." "It was clearly not the child which the tenement had dwarfed ...but the memory or moral sense of the parents." (Notice again this concept of "dwarfing.") Despite disastrous living conditions, however, the area was the healthiest spot in the city. This was the result of the "temperate habits of the Jew and his freedom from enfeebling vices... along with his marvelous vitality." The absence of privacy led to a corruption of morals. (This was a typical middle class comment on the living conditions of the poor.) "But for the patriarchal family life of the Jew that is his strongest virtue," children would have long since been ruined in an atmosphere which would have destroyed most Gentiles. The community was set apart, "foreign in language, in faith, and in tradition; repaying

dislike with distrust; expanding under new relief from oppression in the unpopular qualities of greed and contentiousness fostered by ages of tyranny." Yet they could be good citizens --"they understood the power of knowledge..." The ease and speed with which the children learned was equalled only by their excellent behavior and attention. There was no disturbance, no test of strength with the teacher, as in Italian schools. "Figuring is always their strong point. They would not be Jews if it was not." The only problem was teaching them cleanliness. Although Riis still accepted some negative imagery, the positive aspects of the Jew were becoming predominant in his views.[65]

As Riis had greater contacts with the immigrant Jews, he grew more sympathetic and eventually became an energetic propagandist for their prospects. An 1896 article in the Review of Reviews contrasted the prosperity of the great Hebrew fair in New York which occurred at the same time as a garment strike. Living in black and bitter poverty, the suffering multitude was "struggling undismayed to cast off its fetters...and winning the fight against tremendous odds by the exercise of the same stern qualities that won for their brothers prosperity and praise." Despite their strange customs and language, their poverty and overcrowding, they brought "boundless energy and industry" to overcome their handicaps. "Nothing stagnates where Jews are...The second generation is the last found in those tenements." He repeated the often cited Jewish virtues. Although he still held that the Jewish religion was sadly in error, Riis concluded that, "New York City has no better and more loyal citizens."[66]

In Out of Mulberry Street (1898), Riis sought to convey the quality of life among the poor Russian Jews of the East Side. Moving tales and bittersweet vignettes illustrated how deeply his sympathy and understand-

The immigrant becoming a good citizen.

# DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

ENGLISH.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the

# קריאת דרור.

גלוי דעת באי כ חארצות הברית באסיפתם בקונגרים.

HEBREW.

בהשתלשלות קורות האדם, אם ימצאו בני עם לנחוץ להם לנתק את מוסרות המרינות שחברו אותם לעם אחר, להיות עימדים, כתוך אדירי ממשלום התבל, במצב מיוחר ושוה, אשר זכו לפי חוקות הטבע וחקי אלהי הטבע, הנה רגש הכבוד לדעות בני האדם מחייבם להודיע את הסיבות שהכריחם להפרידה.

מאמינים אנחנו שהדברים האמיתים האלה אינם צריכים ראיה — שכל בני אדם נוצרו בצלם אחד, ושרבשו מיוצרם זכיות ידועות לקנין עולם, ובכללן הם חיים, הרות ודרישת אשרם; ולהנן על הזכיות האלה נוסדו ממשלות בארץ, והעוז והכח בא להן ברצון בני בני האדם אשר עילהם ימשולו; ובכל עת אשר סדר הממשלה ישחית ויפריע את התכלית הזאת, יש הרשות בידי בני העם

# „דעקלעריישאן אף אינדעפענדענס"

איינע ערקלערונג דער רעפרעזענטאנטען פאן דיע פעראייניגטע שטאאטען, אלס זיא ווארען פערואמעל אין קאנגרעס.

JEWISH-GERMAN.

ווען אין פערלויף דער עראייניגטע איין פאלק פיר נעטיג פינדעט אופצולעזען דיא פאליטיישע בענדער וועלכע האבען זייא פארקניפט מיט איינען אנדערן פאלק, אונד אנצונעהמען דיא זעלבסטשטענדיגע אונד גלייכע שטעללונג צווישען דיא נראסמעכטיגע רעגירונגען דער וועלט, צו וועלכער גלייכהייט זייא זינד בערעכטיגט לויט דאס נעזעטץ פאן דיא נאטור אונד דאס נעזעטץ פאן נאטט, זא פערלאנגט דיא אכטונג צו דיא מיינונג פאן מענשען, דאס זייא זאללען אנגעבען דיע אורזאכען וועלכע האבען זייא נעצוואונגען צו דיזער טרענונג.

וויר גלויבען דאס קיינער קאן דיזע וואהרע גרונדזאטצען אומשטוייסען: — דאס אללע מענשען זינד גלייך געבארען, דאס דער בעשעפער האט זייא מיט געוויססע אייגענע רעכטען פערשאפט, אונר צו דיזע נעהערען: לעבען, פרייהייט, אונד דאס שטרעבען גליקליך צו זיין; דאס אום דיזע רעכטע צו זיכערן זינד צוויישען דיא פעלקער רעגירונגען אננעשטעלט וועלכע ערהאלטען איהרע מאכט אונד קראפט פאן דען פאלק אויף וועלכע זייא רעגירען; דאס וען אירגענד וועלכע האנדלונגען דער רעגירונג וואללען דיזע גרונדזאטצען שאדען טוהן, האט דאס פאלק דאס רעכט, דיזעלבע צו ענדערן

In Children of the Poor (1892), Jacob Riis described how Jewish children carefully learned the Declaration of Independence. They were becoming good citizens despite some balking at the middle class values stressed in the schools:

*Indians.*

*Indians do not want to wash because they like not water. I wish I was a Indian.*

ing had become engaged with these strange immigrants. "Merry Christmas in the Tenements" described a Jewish wedding in Liberty Hall. Liberty was a passion in the tenements "where starvation is at home half the time." Love of liberty led the people to strike in the face of hunger and possible death. The true significance of the sacrifice was brought to Riis when he stood by a striking cloak maker who did not have a crust of bread to feed seven hungry people, yet voted to strike to the bitter end. Riis heard him at sunset recite the prayer of his fathers, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God...that has redeemed us...hast delivered us from bondage to liberty..." (Riis had even dropped his dsapproval of the "blind" Jewish religion.) In "Lost Children," three year old Yette Lubinsky disappeared going from her tenement to the corner where her father peddled. Her parents became fixtures, camping on the steps of police headquarters, asking anxious questions. They were timid and, in the way of the city, shunted aside. They accepted this uncomplainingly, but maintained their vigil, taking turns every night. Noting their mute sorrow, Riis tried to help them in the newspaper. He visited them in their third floor flat in a grim tenement on a Sabbath eve. The candles were lit, the children around the table. At its head, sat the father "every trace of the timid shrinking peddler" laid aside. The little girl's high chair was empty, but kept in waiting "and in the strength of domestic affection that burned with unquenched faith in the dark tenement after many months of weary failure, I read the history of this strange people that in every land and in every day has conquered even the slum with the hope of home." After two years the little girl was finally found at a children's home and returned to her loving parents. In "The Slippermaker's Fast," Isaac Josephs worked his body into total exhaustion in order to have enough to be able to fast on Yom Kippur according to his

faith "when all the rest of the days he fasted" according to necessity![67] Other stories were in a similar, deeply compassionate vein.

Riis also produced a series of articles about the Jewish immigrants for Atlantic Monthly in 1899. He did concede come unpleasant qualities, developed out of a thousand years of persecution. Ultimately, however, this series constituted an impassioned defense.[68] Pushcart men were blackmailed, robbed and driven by police. There was a park where the police clubbed Jewish cloakmakers "for the offense of gathering to assert their rights to being men..." The Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Institute taught thousands of children of refugee Jews and passed them on to the public schools within six months of their arrival, "the best material they receive from anywhere." The Jew, with no country to renounce and a longing for a home to call his own, was the best material for citizenship. Riis concluded:

> I, for one, am a firm believer in this Jew and his boy. Ignorant they are, but with a thirst for knowledge that surmounts any barrier. The boy takes all the prizes in school. His comrades sneer that he will not fight. Neither will he when there is nothing to be gained by it. But I believe that should the time come when the country needs fighting men, the son of the despised immigrant Jew will resurrect on American soil...the old Maccabee type...

He even excused the presence of the Jew as sweater, which he had bitterly denounced earlier. The Jew took to clothes making because it was easily learned, and he could earn his way rapidly. The real sweater was the manufacturer, "the Jew is the victim of the mischief..."[68] Jacob Riis had come a long way in the nine years since he had written, "Money is their God."

Hutchins Hapgood was the outsider who was the most humane and intelligent observer of the Lower East Side. Introduced to the nuances of its life by Abraham Cahan, he achieved a degree of personal identification

with its customs and aspirations, unequaled by any one of his social class and background. His articles appeared in the Atlantic Monthly, The Critic, The Bookman, The World's Work, Outlook, the Boston Transcript, the Evening Post and the Commercial Advertiser. These ultimately led to a classic book, The Spirit of the Ghetto which was illustrated by the nineteen year year old Jacob Epstein.[69] The book described the defeat of the all-pervasive poverty by a richly varied community of workers, peddlers, scholars, intellectuals and socialists. The ghetto was popularly supposed to be a "place of poverty, dirt, ignorance, immorality...where the people are queer and repulsive," Hapgood wrote in his introduction. The wealthy visited it out of curiosity, and reformers treated it as a place to help. Hapgood conceded many unpleasant aspects, but these would not be the basis of his sketches. He was taken by the "charm" of the place. Life was more intense and varied than in any part of New York. The old Jews retained Orthodox customs, eloquently described by Hapgood. He was one of the first writers to remark on the attempts of the second generation to deny many of the ways of its fathers. Yet the boy could not entirely forget his origin and its ethical and religious influences. There was a struggle within him. He was aware and ashamed of his parents' limitations, but they remained his conscience, "the visible representatives of a moral and religious tradition by which the boy may regulate his inner life." It was easy to see that his growing Americanism "will be easily triumphant at once over the old traditions and the new socialism," Hapgood preceptively remarked. He included detailed descriptions of Jewish intellectuals of all kinds, including the "new Jewish woman."

Hapgood stressed the Americanization of the Russian Jew in such articles as "The Rise of the Russian Jew," and "The Earnestness that Wins

Wealth." The public schools and colleges were graduating Russian Jews in increasing numbers. Their excitement in ideas and energy in acquiring knowledge had "an interesting analogy to the hopefulness and acquisitive desire of the early Renaissance." The young Jew turned not only to trade, but to "whatever offers the best opportunities for broader life and success." Jews came to this land of freedom with "stored vitality and ambition" which had been suppressed in Eastern Europe. Hapgood reminded his readers that in the crowds of peddlers and merchants were many poets, scholars or fervent socialists. Even the sting of the caricature was eased by the attraction Hapgood felt for an eager young "Jew haggler" who persuaded him to sell all of his old clothes "practically for nothing" by impassioned arguments "at once poetical and logical." The business instinct which shined in their faces was "not cold and calculating. It is the expression of a naive, intense interest in life."[70]

These favorable observers presented a picture of the Jew as excellent potential citizens. They were invariably described as laudably ambitious, (for learning as well as wealth), temperate, moral, family loving, intellectual, rising rapidly above their poverty. At a time of mounting sentiment for immigration restriction, the picture of these sympathetic authors provided an interesting counter-vailing force. No other immigrant group had such passionate defenders who gave them larger than life virtues.

The Rise of the Russian Jew
by Hutchins Hapgood



*Photographed by Mandelk*

BEGINNING A MERCANTILE CAREER.



*Photographed by Mandelkern*

TYPE OF THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT STUDENT



*Photographed by Mandelker*

BLESSING THE CANDLES.



*Photographed by Mandelker*

A SUCCESSFUL BROADWAY MERCHANT.

## A Dangerous Class

Even the most sympathetic journals made it clear that Jews were admired only when they remained within the limits of proper conduct. As the new immigrants crowded into New York's East Side, a relatively small but visible group became anarchists, frequent riots large and small occurred in the crowded streets, and strikes were commonplace. These were the subjects of most of the coverage of Jewish New Yorkers in the newspapers, and they caused further dilemmas. The poverty and long hard labor of the immigrants seemed to call for compassion. Yet it appeared that these people were incapable of comprehending society's need for law and order. Generally docile and law-abiding, they occasionally exploded and overstepped the legitimate bounds of protest, as defined by the newspapers. In terms of previous Jewish stereotypes, these activities were even more difficult to understand. The language used was, in itself, significant in its preoccupation with "savagery," "dwarfing" of personality, and "Oriental" qualities. Strikes of poverty-stricken clothing workers elicited sympathy until they erupted into violence. A harmless anarchist demonstration brought forth reactions out of proportion to its significance. Misgivings were expressed at the mobbing of a missionary or at kosher food riots. Upper class papers particularly feared the possible formation of a "dangerous class." However, it is also true that, when the Jews themselves were victims of lawlessness during Rabbi Joseph's funeral, the papers unanimously condemned their persecutors.

Strikes on the part of poor "cloakmakers" and "tailors" were generally reported sympathetically until they transgressed conduct accepted by the newspapers. Violence of a minor character in the form of assaults upon scabs erupted in the first major cloakmakers strikes of 1890. The

strikers exhibiting a keen sense of public relations, organized a "parade of misery." For the most part, the newspapers were friendly. "Starving but Undaunted," ran the headline in the Tribune. The story recounted the hardships of the poor Hebrew immigrants "who so often form the most wretched class of poorly paid artisans in the large cities." Even the violence was dismissed sympathetically, "their misery has grown harder to bear and yesterday their despair culminated in riots."[71]

The ultra-conservative Sun was moved to pity the "depths of destitution" of these people. Their parade had revealed a group "physically stunted and deformed by the hardships of an early life spent generally under one form or another of oppression...and worn down by the days and nights of unceasing toil...since they came to free America." With all of this wretchedness, the Sun remarked approvingly, "the procession was one of the most orderly ever held in the city." When the marchers didn't move rapidly enough to suit the commands of a policeman, he clubbed them. "An American crowd would have laid him down and trampled on him, under one quarter the provocation," but these people, hardened to abuse, moved on. The Sergeant explained, "In dealing with the uncultivated classes we have to be very careful not to give them any chance to get the upper hand," but the conservative, upper class Sun emphatically did not agree.[72]

The mass circulation World commented that the faces "bore unmistakable signs of privation and want...swept by billowings of suffering and sorrow." The men conducted themselves well, the World felt, desisting from lawlessness and disorder.[73] Certainly, no paper was more favorable to the cause of the workers, although, strangely perhaps, the World never mentioned they were Jews.

The Herald was compassionate enough to start a fund for destitute

cloakmakers. However, when the workers turned down a settlement that the paper believed fair, the Herald, a middle class organ, characterized them as "ignorant and misguided." No practical man can believe, it asserted, that "with public sympathy alienated...these three or four thousand poor Polish Hebrews can keep up the fight."[74]

The Times, probably the New York paper least sympathetic to Jews, at first favored amelioration of working conditions and donations by "public spirited citizens." Once the workers attacked strikebreakers, however, the Times turned against them. "Whatever sympathy the striking cloakmakers may have been entitled to before, it is likely to be withheld in consequence of their riotous behavior...Sympathy for this class of strikers is diminished by the fact that they are mostly Russian and Polish Jews who originally came here to get work by accepting less than the current rates of wages." The cutters (largely non-Jews at that time) were intelligent enough, but the operatives, Russians and Poles, were condemned as "of a low grade...ignorant of the English language and of the institutions of this country."[75]

In 1891 the Times reported a more vivid "outrage" said to be perpetrated by striking "Polish cloakmakers." A young child was disfigured by vitriol supposedly thrown by " a lot of unkempt Polish Jews." The cloakmakers were striking at the least pretext, the Times complained. The whole story proved that these "are not the most desirable immigrants ...and strongly emphasizes the propriety of restricting immigration of them." The Herald also deplored the strikers' actions. The workers had a right to seek remedies for their grievances since they lived at the edge of starvation, "but if these strikers seek to revenge their wrongs by riotous proceedings...they must be checked by the strong arm of the

law." The Herald had championed the strikers' cause, but their actions alienated law-abiding citizens. "We can understand why they are exasperated...but there is a right way and a wrong way to achieve a reform, and smashing machinery and throwing vitriol are the wrong way," the paper concluded in surprisingly modern tones. The Sun added that the Hebrew cloakmakers were "probably as a body the most ignorant and impoverished set of men who ever formed a labor union...most of them are meek and long-suffering." Of late, however, the Sun complained, their strikes had been accompanied by unacceptable violence.[76]

The Tribune expressed fears about the implications of an industry whose employees were largely Jews, when cloakmakers vowed support for a cutters' strike. "Back of all this talk there is something stronger, more significant and possibly more dangerous than mere ties of trade unionism. The tie that binds these thousands of garment workers...the tie of race and religion." Ten thousand Jews were about to strike. The strike "will be of a determined, impulsive and possibly of an angry and vindictive nature. It will not be the strike of a union; it will be the strike of a race." Despite uneasiness at the possibility of a conspiracy of lower class Jews, the Tribune concluded mildly that the whole subject would be full of interest for the student of sociology.[77]

The papers were largely sympathetic to the plight of the clothing workers, however. A Times feature on the poverty of the cloakmakers in 1894 reported "venerable old patriarchs whose tangled white beards...and sunken and famished eyes, told with a sorrowful eloquence how heavily the hand of need bore them down in a land of exiles." Here one could not find the fictional Hebrew, but only "humanity pinched by hunger...petrified by despair." The reporter poked fun at those (including his own

newspaper) when he painted a "simple and innocent" group "whom the exuberant imagination of our nerve-ridden commander of police pictured as a parcel of frantic, maddened blood-thirsty anarchists." This picture of meek, helpless despondency was the reverse of the ancient stereotype of the Jew as aggressive Shylock or the newer image of radical trouble maker. When the strikers appeared to be winning, the World (again without mentioning their religion) exulted, "The sufferers themselves...have accomplished this great thing. They have exemplified the truth that the poor and oppressed laborer must work out his own salvation." The Tribune lamented that the misfortunes of the "suffering cloakmakers" were forcing many to leave the city to find work, "injuring the city by driving away industrious men and women."[78]

The justice of the workers' demands was so widely conceded by 1896 that even occasional outbursts of violence did not call forth storms of denunciation. While opposing "riotous disturbance," the Tribune urged that working conditions "be ameliorated for the sake of the whole community." Even the Times conceded that their position was hard and deplored the fact that a great industry had been built up in the city "largely on the cheap labor of poor Jews who have sought refuge here from oppression in other countries." The tailors had generally behaved well, all the papers agreed, and their misery had to be relieved.[79]

By 1900 clothing strikes had become so commonplace that they were treated with a distinct lack of concern. "Cheerful Pantsmakers Strike," the Tribune reported. "These strikes are annual affairs on the East Side and little harm...results from them." Loud discussions in Yiddish, accompanied by energetic gestures, might have led a stranger to believe a riot was imminent. There was not the slightest danger, the Tribune noted,

"as the East Side Hebrews are probably the least aggressive people in the world."[80]

It was different when the line of accepted conduct was overstepped. The depression of 1893 heightened American fears and uncertainties. When unemployed Jewish workers organized protest demonstrations with anarchist speakers like Emma Goldman, conservative journals thought they were witnessing the start of a revolution by Jewish sans-culottes. Idle workers stormed a meeting hall, urged on by the fiery words of Emma Goldman. (You are worse than black slaves...if you do not get bread and freedom peaceably, take it by force.") The disturbances quickly dwindled to a series of noisy harmless meetings, but not before respectable citizens had become thoroughly alarmed. "The murmurs of the hungry multitude... have increased," the Herald reported dramatically. "The city hears it now as Paris a century ago heard the cry out of St. Antoine...foretelling the deluge...Hunger was the cry up and down the crowded ill-smelling streets...weapons are brandished in hands that have never known any more dangerous weapon than a tailor's needle." Anarchy strode the East Side preaching defiance of law and order to "bewildered foreigners with empty stomachs." Later, the Herald reporter claimed that, despite the wild claims of anarchists, one could not find a single really hungry man on the East Side.[81]

A good example of how this overstepping of boundaries could produce great anxiety was the reaction of the normally mild Tribune. "No one can tell what the end of agitation by the anarchists...will be." Some predicted that social revolution would strike "like a typhoon...into the East Side." The Jews had betrayed the image that the paper had painted of them as repositories of middle class virtues. Within the past twenty years "there have arrived in this country a vast number of ignorant and

lawless persons from other countries," bringing up the question of how practicable it was "for the welfare of society or for the welfare of the ignorant immigrants themselves to suffer the same measure of license in speech which has been permitted among people of Anglo-Saxon blood." These aliens had never learned the meaning of American freedom. "Nobody compelled them...or their misguided dupes...to come to this country. Nobody compelled many of them to waste part of their substance when employed so that the first reverse...leaves them in want." The Tribune argued that the people who instigated anarchist riots should be locked up or shipped out of the country, "they are seldom Americans."[82] The significance of this extreme reaction becomes more apparent when it is recalled that the Tribune was the upper class newspaper generally the most sympathetic to Jewish immigration.

As might be expected the Times agreed completely. However, since it did not expect any better behavior, its attitude was one of annoyance more than terror. "It is pretty trying to the American citizen to have a lot of aliens of the lowest grade, whom we would much prefer not to have coming to this country at all, parading under the lead of agitators." Later, the anarchists were more realistically portrayed as "mild as babes." One policeman commented that there was more fight in two old ladies from Ireland disputing the merits of their respective counties "than in a thousand of these unwashed fellows." Yet the image persisted of "unwashed, ignorant, unkempt, childish semi-savages." East Side aliens were said to have no comprehension of our government and to have been saturated with prejudice against authority. They were mostly harmless innocents, but prey to "desperate-talking, firebrand-flinging poltroons of the Goldman kind." There was also one real menace to worry about -- the boys:

> ...weaned on the pestiferous milk of Nihilism and dynamite throwing long insanely to demolish law and order as American youths long with equal insanity to kill Indians...Pamphlets dealing with the murder of police and the assassination of governors are devoured...by hatchet-faced, pimply, sallow cheeked rat-eyed young men of the Russian Jewish colony...On these depraved and diseased and diabolical natures the appalling nonsense of creatures like Goldman falls like alcohol on a kindled flame.

Although the reporter claimed to have found only twenty of these "wretches," he felt that if a bomb was ever to be thrown in New York, it would be done by one of these "pestiferous young criminals."[83]

The Illustrated American was as disturbed as the most conservative newspaper in "A Plague of Men." (1893) The Russian Jew was the greatest problem in immigration. To the surprise of people who studied racial characterisitcs, "he has evinced an almost frantic eagerness for disorder and riot." In recent disturbances this product of "ignorance and cruelty" was the first to come tumbling out of cellars and garrets to join anarchistic riots. Released from the despotism of the Czar into the most marvelous freedom in the world, the Jews displayed "crazy ingratitude." They huddled together in the most abject misery in the city. There they thronged into the streets where they constantly argued. A group in apparently harmless conversation would suddenly burst out in "obstreperous vociferation and wild gesture." It was likely that they were "but little removed from insanity." They were easy prey to the "half-idiotic frothings" of the anarchists which made them advocates of "violent opposition to law and order."[84]

The World, appealing to working class audiences, was, as usual, more sympathetic. It concluded that the whole incident proved "how very small and insignificant the lawless element in New York is, how absolutely powerless is the voice of sedition...how deep-seated is the law-abiding sentiment of our people." Expression of these extreme ideas provided a safe-

ty-valve,[85] rendering even a "virago" like Emma Goldman harmless.

This incident may well have contributed to the widely held notion of later years of the Jew as an anarchist revolutionary. Once the immediate furor died down, however, the papers seemed to have dropped the entire issue. The Tribune, for example, reverted to its previous genial view of the immigrant Jews as a group of budding American bourgeoisie. Within a few years, the paper was able to report a meeting on the East Side which "stamped and howled at...unkind references to the clergy and the capitalist," and to cheerfully remark that "the audience was a fairly intelligent body as to looks...exceedingly full of spirit. But it kept in good order."[86]

Riots and disorders were fairly commonplace on the East Side. Most, however, were relatively minor. Since they did not appear threatening to the class and ideological interests of the newspapers, they were treated with relative tolerance. A panic in a reading room, for example, might bring forth good natured remarks about "excitable Hebrews." When the Herrick restaurant in the center of the East Side persisted in remaining open on Yom Kippur, a small riot ensued. The restaurant had advertised its bold move in the Yiddish Socialist press, and its customers were people determined to flout religious convention. The World noted that the Socialists were quite bold, "as they emerged each would light a cigarette and puff it leisurely. This was done especially to enrage the religionists." It most certainly had the desired effect. Wild scenes took place in which the "luckless patrons" were lucky to escape with their whole skins. Although the crowds had "turned sacred Yom Kippur into a season of wild commotion," most of the newspapers were unconcerned. Only the Times voiced mild disapproval commenting. "If the customers did not have

the necessary respect for their religion, it would be pounded into them." The magistrate felt constrained to remind the rioters that this was a free country and "if nobody interferes with you for fasting, neither must you interfere with anyone else for eating." Four soldiers emerged from the restaurant in full uniform (this was the time of the Spanish American War) but, the Times stressed, "the crowd put religion above patriotism and jeered them."[87] The only real significance of this issue was to confirm a widely-held view that Jews were narrow-minded and intolerant.

The Brooklyn Eagle was displeased with the presence of Russian Jews in the Brownsville section. Since they arrived, "not a day has passed without a fight of some kind." Christians passing through were often handled roughly. The village had once been desirable, but had deteriorated badly as a result. The paper was also troubled about the presence of extra-legal "Hebrew courts" which undermined the police courts. Disorders and lack of respect for the law on the part of the Brownsville Jews were matters for constant concern by the Eagle.[88]

The newspapers were generally unsympathetic to the many efforts to convert the East Side Jews, regarding them as "appalling impudence." In 1899 "wealthy paralytic" Wilson Dunlop and a small band of followers, including a converted Jew, attempted to convert an increasingly hostile mob. The resentment culminated in a full scale riot in which old shoes, decayed fruit, rotten eggs and even fire crackers were thrown at the missionary wagon. Some papers sharply condemned what they perceived as flagrant lawlessness, "Rioting Hebrews Mob Missionary - Firecrackers Thrown Into the Face of the Helpless Paralytic as He Sits in His Wagon," read the Herald's headline. The paper's reporter felt that the scene would "remind one of Paris and the Dreyfus agitation. Bitter religious feeling

moved the throng...one felt the violence of a crazed multitude." Although resentment at efforts to Christianize Jews was understandable, the Sun remarked, "this is turning the tables with a vengeance." As usual, the Times was most condemnatory. A letter to the paper argued that, although most East Side Hebrews were not lawless, "hoodlum elements...appeal to the tribal impulses of an easily excited people." The mobs had control of the streets just like the communards. Civilized liberty within the streets had to be preserved against "the license of tribal savagery." The Times agreed editorially that the authorities should have sustained Dunlop's right to espouse an unpopular cause against a "savage mob." East Siders had been led to believe that order would not be maintained by police. "There could not be a more dangerous place to propagate thie belief" since these Jews were accustomed to associating order with military force. Although the issue was not the merit of Dunlop's arguments, "it may be remarked that these particular subjects are in evident need of being 'converted'to common decency before they will be in a position to do credit to any religion." The Times advocated its usual solution, "an immediate course of instruction in elementary civilization which can be administered through the medium of a policeman's club."[89]

Other newspapers were more sympathetic. The Evening Post accused the missionary of incensing orthodox Jews by "flaunting...the familiar sacred text." The World believed that Dunlop's "Anti-Hebrew crusade" had succeeded in inflaming the feelings of the population "to an extent seldom seen in that section of the city." The Journal disapproved of the missionary's activities most strongly. An enterprising Journal reporter was the first to discover that Dunlop was a usurer - "Man who Seeks to Convert East Side Jews Makes Money in Quite a Different Business." The reporter went to offices set up by Dunlop and received contracts for

loans at usurious rates, a practice for which the missionary had been convicted earlier in Philadelphia. "The crown of martydom he has assumed as the object of persecution of the Jews of the Ghetto bids fair to be mingled with the laurels of a Shylock," the World wryly remarked at the end of the two-day sensation.[90]

The Kosher Meat riots of 1902 which lasted, in rising and subsiding waves, from May 15 to May 24, spreading from the East Side to Brooklyn, the Bronx, Newark and even Boston, were more frightening in their evocation of European-like food riots.[91] The high price of kosher meat had led the women to organize a boycott of kosher butchers. The crowd grew progressively more infuriated. They smashed shop windows, threw meat into gutters, stamped upon it, poured kerosene and even made bonfires out of meat. They attacked the butchers' customers and seized their packages for destruction. They did not loot or take any of the meat for themselves. One of the many signs carried in this "revolution of the women" proclaimed, "Boycott. Boycott, Don't Eat Meat. They are Eating the Flesh of our Women." The Yiddish newspapers characterized the outbreak as little short of a revolution and "compared it with revolutions of this kind which have occurred in Paris in time past." "There was a wild scene of turmoil," the Herald reported, "when all the pent up passions of the Hebrews - usually the meekest of mortals were let loose...the spirit of riotry seemed to pervade the whole east side."

At first the Times was rather mild in its comments since it opposed the Beef Trust and felt the Combine would now have "something to think about seriously." It was the first riot against the trust and the first food riot the Times could recall in America. (There had actually been several in New York in the 1830s.) "Americans are used to link food riots with persecution and with tyranny and that is what is in the minds

of the people who were fighting the police and trying to gut butcher shops." As the riots continued, however, the Times perceived the full implications of the lawlessness. This class of people, especially the women, the paper editorialized, "have many elements of a dangerous class. They are very ignorant. They mostly speak a foreign language. They do not understand the duties or rights of Americans. They have no inbred or acquired respect for law and order." Resistance to authority seemed proper to people who had known authority mainly as despotic. It was important to make them understand "the proper consequences of their lawlessness... they did not get treatment nearly severe enough." The Sun echoed these sentiments somewhat more mildly. Kosher butchers, according to the paper, were mainly poor men who earned a scanty living. Their neighbors had destroyed the stocks of these small businessmen in a disagreement over the way they conducted business. "The rioters should be taught as impressively as possible that one of the first rules of law is that people mustn't interfere with other people's business."

The two mass circulation papers were far more sympathetic to the grievances of the Jewish women. Although the Journal conceded that the rioters had "thrown law and order to the winds," it described the women in the most favorable terms. There was a unique parade of old and bent women, stout matrons, young ladies holding toddlers, "the raven-haired dark-eyed women of the Ghetto, the women of poverty from the slums." They marched along singing a "ringing protest against the oppression of the meat trust in the homes of the poor, aggravated by the oppression of the harpies of the little shops." The World felt the demonstrations had gone too far. "Public sympathy is undoubtedly with the poor who have been deprived of meat by the cruelly unfair advantage taken by these

retail butchers of the Beef Trust's extortion." However, public peace required that order be maintained and the disturbances halted. In spite of this, the World opposed any harsh treatment of the rioters, "Fining and imprisonment of the misguided mothers of families will, however, work great hardships and needlessly aggravate east side suffering." The more intelligent citizens of the community were asked to urge restraint upon the others. In short, only the Times evinced really serious alarm about the revolutionary implications of the food riots.

The period's most sensational riot, the culmination of the funeral of Chief Rabbi Jacob Joseph, was an exception in that Jews were the victims, not the perpetrators. The Rabbi's funeral drew thousands into the streets in an outpouring of veneration and grief. The police determined to clear a path in the crowded streets. The Evening Post commented, "Perhaps the policemen lost their heads...but they dashed into the crowd apparently utterly regardless of what they did...One might have thought they were putting down a riot," rather than handling a funeral. Later, the procession passed the Hoe Printing Press factory where the Irish workmen's chief sport had been attacking passing Jews. The workers threw missiles and water on the heads of the mourners. For once, the Sun reported, "the meek and futile protest of the Jew was not forthcoming. In its place came a charge into the factory." At this point the police, with the troublemakers from Hoe at their side, began to systematically club the mourners. The East Side was aroused to a fever pitch of indignation. Protest meetings were held and protective associations formed. Mayor Low formed a citizens commission to investigate the incident. The commission ultimately exonerated the Jews and condemned the Hoe employees, the police and even the local magistrates.

Here was a clearly anti-semitic outburst by Irish New Yorkers. The newspapers and periodicals were unanimous in condemning the police actions.[92] The Tribune felt that, "in this capital of the Jewish world," the people of the city should be "cosmopolitan, tolerant and respectful." The Journal ran screaming headlines declaring the events "A DISGRACE," and offering "Proof of OUTRAGES!" The World declared, "It is a fact that fills the whole community with a sense of shame that a body of peaceable people, paying the last honors to a beloved pastor, should have been so molested and maltreated." Even Life felt that the riot was "highly discreditable to the police." The police knew that there would be an enormous, disorganized funeral and failed to make preparations. The police force was largely Irish and Jews complained that it "not only fails to give them true protection, but that members of the force habitually treat the East Side Jews with contempt and frequently with brutality." Even though Life had earlier expressed the feeling that the Jew had "contaminated everything in American life he has touched," it did believe that he was entitled to the protection of law and order. This was another example of the distinction between private and public anti-semitism.

Two of the city's most conservative journals, the Evening Post and the Times were most dismayed. The Post charged that the police had indulged in "outrageous clubbing" and "wholesale brutality" at the funeral. Jews were rightfully aroused to indignation, "particularly people who have suffered from various forms of oppression and petty robbery at the hands of policemen." The police thought that they could do as they pleased as a result of getting away with scandalous treatment of Negroes on the West Side two years earlier. "Here is a splendid opportunity," the Post admonished sternly, "to teach some police brutes that there is a

limit to the freedom with which they vent their racial dislikes on an unoffending people." The paper approved of the report which declared the police to be at fault. "Back of the brutality was a race prejudice which is all the more discreditable...since our Jewish fellow-citizens are notably orderly and law-abiding. The police resorted to unchecked violence of a kind generally characteristic of Russian Cossacks."

The Times was even more indignant, showing great consistency in its opposition to any kind of lawlessness, even when the culprits were policemen. The paper believed that the incident "will be recalled with shame by every self-respecting citizen of New York." The clearing of the streets "with bludgeons against the inoffensive...was a crime...a wholly unnecessary tragedy." The crowd had been totally harmless. "These poor Hebrews have certain rights in their own quarter which even a McSweeny should respect," the Times commented caustically. When the report of the Mayor's Commission came out, the Times reacted with increased bitterness. The contrast between the funeral of Archbishop Corrigan and that of Rabbi Joseph had made the whole episode clear. It appeared that the police "regard the Jews of the lower east side not as claimants for protection but as fit objects of persecution. These unhappy Jews are not only not protected by the police; they are in need of protection against the police." The paper also condemned those magistrates who seemed unconcerned about the administration of justice and who belittled accounts brought to them of "the ill-treatment of these unhappy exiles." These conditions of injustice, the Times concluded, "demand to be remedied in the interests of our pretensions to civilization."

One widely held view of the Jewish immigrants had been expressed earlier by a New York magistrate. "The Jews come here to this country

laboring under the delusion that they can do as they please." Although they had been persecuted in Europe, here "the bulk of the trouble is in themselves," They always complained about others, but "the Hebrew is the first man in this city to commit an assault and he does it in such a way that the sympathy is for him." Christians too had some rights, the justice remonstrated, and were tired of being "insulted...maltreated by these filthy and intolerant immigrants...these half-civilized and arrogant foreigners."[93] The newspapers of this era dealt with strikes, riots, disorders and anarchism which did not fit the image of the German Jew, but which seemed endemic to the new immigrants. Surprisingly, despite this, the most common adjective used to describe the Jews was "meek." Some of the papers, particularly the Times, feared the presence of a large element of "excitable," unassimilated lower class foreigners, some of whom advocated socialist or anarchist ideas and who might one day form a "dangerous class." With the exception of the brief anarchist scare of 1893, most of the journals did not regard the immigrant Jews as dangerous or lawless unless they overstepped prescribed boundaries. It is important to remember that violence against the Jews was deplored as vigorously as violence by Jews. One legacy of this period, however, may well have been the later picture of the "Jew troublemaker."

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A reader of newspapers and magazines in the latter part of the century would have emerged with an extremely complex and ambiguous perception of immigrant Jews. One reason for this was the presence of two distinct groups. One image of the Jew had been established by the relatively small group of prosperous, assimilated German Jews. The arrival of "hordes" of Eastern Europeans, so much more exotic and lower class, pro-

foundly altered the picture. (Interestingly, as more poured in, their virues, as well as negative aspects,became more apparent to observers.) The older view of the Jew did not disappear. It existed side by side with the new, almost opposite, image.

Shylock, already firmly established, continued to make his appearance in the pages of newspapers and magazines. His later counterpart, the fabulously successful and all-powerful international banker, could also be found on occasion. But numerous poor relations were pushing aside these older figures. The down-trodden Russian cousin was bowed by years of persecution. He was strange looking and persisted in speaking an odd jargon and following a peculiar "Oriental" religious service. He was often perceived as a figure out of the mists of antiquity from the mysterious East. He worked at the lowest paying jobs, yet he struggled to educate his children. He seemed almost indigestible by American society, yet his children were assimilating. He was the "meekest of mortals," but he frequently erupted in riots and seemed incapable of understanding society's need for order. At times he was feared as a "savage," yet his intellectual strivings and charitable inclinations were widely admired. He could be a dangerous radical anarchist, but, unlike other immigrants, he could also be an ally of upper class reformers. He was definitely working class in his way of life and problems, but he was portrayed as middle class (and therefore praiseworthy) in many of his attitudes and strivings. The Eastern Jew seemed to be a stranger not only to the American way of life and to Christianity, but to Western culture-- could our civilization absorb him?

One must also remember that the newspapers and magazines were far from monolithic in their viewpoints. In the 1890s the images presented

by the Times and the Tribune were generally polar opposites even though they appealed to a similar class. No paper or periodical was less sympathetic to the Jewish immigrants or more anxious to exclude them as undesirables than the Times. While the Tribune's features on life in the lower East Side often had the character of modern descriptions of tribal life among the Maori, they were almost uniformly sympathetic. The Tribune did have a strong tendency to ascribe American bourgeois virtues to the Jewish immigrants and was, therefore, dismayed by any evidence of violence. The other newspapers which appealed to upper class readers (Commercial Advertiser, Evening Post and Sun) were at times humanitarian, at times patronizing, and on other occasions (particularly in the case of the Sun) containing more than a trace of genteel anti-semitism. The Herald, mildly sensational and appealing to a middle class audience, tended to favor Russian Jewish immigration, reserving its condemnation for Italian immigrants. The World and the Journal, the two sensational newspapers which vied for mass readership, were sympathetic in such issues as strikes and food prices, but neither devoted space to the life of New York's Jews. Perhaps their readers were more interested in society's aberrations than in the struggles of the poor. As a further complication, even the Times approved of wealthy Americanized German Jews. Its attitude was more anti-immigrant than anti-semitic. This was, after all, a period of rising restrictionist sentiment. Italian immigrants were as widely condemned and had less miltant defenders than the Jews. No acts comparable to the New Orleans lynching of Italians took place against the Jewish immigrants. All of the papers (except the Journal) were concerned about the need for order in the functioning of society. All were hostile to transgressions against the pre-defined limits set up by upper and

middle class society. They opposed violations of law and order, whether committed by Jews or against Jews.

The magazines expressed less alarm about alleged lawlessness. They also exhibited varied viewpoints. Like the papers, almost all opposed Russian persecutions. (Although even here articles were published defending Russian actions through utilization of negative stereotypes.) Harper's Weekly was the most steadfast in its friendly attitudes through the 1880s and 90s. In the later part of this period Atlantic Monthly, Outlook, The World's Work, The Bookman and Munsey's Magazine contributed basically positive images. Other periodicals displayed a decided dichotomy. The Century Magazine and Illustrated American, for example, might include a blatantly anti-semitic article in one issue and a vigorous defense of the Russian Jew in another. Even Life and Frank Leslie's, most often hostile, were occasionally moved to defend the Jewish immigrant.

The consistent reader of the press would find it difficult to arrive at any one image of the Eastern European Jew. Journals of the same class and quality oftern contradicted each other. The persistence of the older stereotypes was apparent. Novels, plays and humor magazines barely even acknowledged the presence of Russian Jews in America. They continued in a steady line from the earlier period, seemingly unaware that any significant change had taken place. In the New York newspapers and national magazines, however, the Eastern immigrant Jew was far more than a "complication." He had become, in fact, the central and contradictory figure. Long after his children had achieved the integration into American society seemingly so ardently desired, some of the paradoxes inherent in the perceptions of the immigrant continued to plague the assimilated American Jew.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI

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3 Ibid., Sept. 6, 1872.

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6 New York Times, Aug. 19, 1877; July 11, 1880.

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9 Evening Post, Feb. 1, 1882; Commercial Advertiser, Feb. 2, 1882; Harper's Weekly, Vol. 25, Feb. 19, 1881; Vol. 26, Feb. 11, 1882.

10 American Israelite, June 9, 1882.

11 Ibid., June 16, 1882; Century Magazine, Vol. I, April 1882, 908-9, 919, 949; May 1882; New York Times, March 26, 1882; New York Tribune, July 10, Feb. 5, 1882.

12 New York Tribune, Jan. 19, Feb. 2, 24, May 27, June 13, 28, Sept. 3, 1882.

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15 Harper's Weekly, Vol. 26, Feb. 11, 1882, 93, 96. Feb. 18, 1882, 109, March 4, 1882, 131; Cincinnati Commercial, June 9, 1882; St. Paul Globe, July 17, 1882; Minneapolis Tribune, July 18, 1882. See also New York Sun, May 8, 1883; Baltimore American, July 12, 1883.

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# CONCLUSION

The complex and contradictory image of the Jew was a stereotype at the same time elaborate and highly inconsistent -- the Jew was sucessful and lower class, clannish and socially intrusive, capitalist and anarchist-communist; aggressive and docile. It included the high minded German philanthropist and the wild-eyed Russian anarchist, the shrewd driving businessman and the meek tailor bowed by centuries of oppression, the chosen people and the Christ-killers.

There were many other ethnic cliches in this era: the drunken, slow witted Irishman, the perfumed, effeminate Frenchman and the excitable Italian were a few examples. The nineteenth century was not sensitive to ethnic slights and cracks. Americans of this era thought of democracy as a means not of perserving but of overcoming cultural distinctions. As Irving Howe has cogently observed, the image of the "melting pot" was very popular "with clear presuppositions as to who would melt whom." In one sense the miserly and often comically dishonest clothes dealer or pawnbroker of the humor magazines or burlesque houses was simply another manifestation of anti-immigrant hostility. It is difficult to assert with certainty that the presentation of the Jew was more cutting than the plodding German, for example. But, although the attack on the latter might be nasty, it lacked any deeper significance. The reiteration of the negative Jewish image had the potential of unleashing the forces of historic anti-semitism. It is important to remember that the Jews were not simply another ethnic group. Jews constituted a religion as well, a religion which, by its mere presence, challenged the basic assumptions of the dominant sects by stubbornly rejecting the true Messiah. This was the substantial difference between the Jew and even a nationality which

was the object of much suspicion and contempt like the Italian. The Italians, portrayed as credulous, superstitious "Papists," were, nonetheless, Christians. They had not blindly rejected Christ. Centuries of accumulated hostility did not surround them. The Jews appeared as a more permanent minority which, perhaps because of this religious difference, would never be totally assimilated. In reaction to the Jew, religious fanaticism, dislike of aliens, and social and economic competition joined in a permanent combination which had become fixed over time. "Through the continuity of its object, this hatred became a sort of idea, a conception, a system."[2]

Even in the first half of the century, as this dissertation has shown, there was a widespread and often expressed system of ideas unfavorable to Jews. Nevertheless, it was true that group hostility at this time found a more popular target in the Catholics who appeared to be a far greater danger to American ideals. Much effort was also expended, then and later, in keeping blacks in the place American society had assigned to them. The Jew had no such clearly delineated place. Despite the presence of myriad fictional Shylocks, conditions for the Jews in America were more than tolerable. One must agree that, although discrimination did exist (contrary to the views of many historians), "anti-semitism remained a minor chapter in American Jewish history."[3] The presence of a variety of ethnic, religious and racial groups which absorbed much of the hostility undoubtedly helped to mute anti-semitism.

In many ways there was a basic compatibility between American values and Judaism. This militated against the spread of any significant anti-semitic movement. The congruences included Old Testament images (of greater significance in the United States than Europe), ideals of reli-

gious freedom and distrust of the idea of a centralized religious authority. Constitutional and legal safeguards of rights for everyone preserved the same guarantees for Jews. Just about everyone agreed that Jews were entitled to legal equality. In addition, the American self-image of a new society, which cast off European prejudices and provided refuge for the persecuted, operated in opposition to European-style anti-semitism.

One must remember, however, that an element of irrational anti-Jewish visions always existed. This view condemned the Jews as unassimilable and basically disloyal to the institutions of any country in which they lived. Whatever the Jew actually did or did not do could not alter these basic preconceptions. In this sense the real issue was the perceiver, rather than the Jew. Anna Dawes comment was typical: the Jews always insisted upon "remaining a foreign element in every community and an indigestible substance."[4] The later influx of Russian Jews only served to reinforce this preexisting image. Not only was the Jew alien to America and to the Protestant experience, but possibly to Western tradition and civilization as well -- an unwanted remnant of a supposed "Oriental" past.

The dichotomy, so obvious in the images of the Jew, was central in this historic religious aspect. On the one hand, Jews were the people once chosen by God, and now condemned for rejecting Him. Religious textbooks and religious fiction, so popular in the nineteenth century, both routinely reflected this attitude. Yet equally ardent Christians believed that the Jews would eventually return on the road to salvation as an essential element of the divine plan. The second view led to a generally kindly, if patronizing, outlook.

Literary stereotypes remained remarkably constant throughout the

century, generally more reflective of European conventions than changing American realities. Shylock was invariably the key figure, almost inevitably with a beautiful daughter who was deeply ashamed of her usurious dad. It was frightening that the Jew in these stories could hide his true feelings, making it impossible for others to know what he was thinking. Rarely was he what he appeared to be. This reinforced the deeper fear of the Jew pursuing a horrible revenge upon the Christian world. More well-meaning authors generally limited themselves to impossibly noble Sheva types whose lives also revolved around the money function. In some ways, the Jews appeared larger than life -- the subconscious father figure flowing from religious sources. Writers like Herman Melville, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and, to a lesser extent, Henry Harland were exceptions rather than representatives of a counter-trend. Popular sources such as the theater and dime novels tended to further simplify these archetypes. Here too, the obvious willingness to accept a Jew as hero (as in The Jew Detective), is indicative of a lack of really heated emotions behind these images. Comic magazines also perpetuated the picture of the Jew as a man for whom greed was life's primary purpose. "The lust for gain is so strongly rooted in his organism, that it extinguishes every other feeling, every other passion."[5] This image had an obvious relationship to the American stress on productivity as a prime value in contradistinction to the parasitic unproductive middleman. (Consider, for example, the early mistrust of banks and bankers.) Shylock and his comic counterpart, from this angle, were the prototypical non-producers.

The economic image of the Jew was not always unfavorable. Jews were often praised as exemplars of the competitive values of American business life. The Jew achieved success by means of the very diligence,

hard work and thrift which were put forth as central values in a capitalist society. Would not an attack on their success constitute a repudiation of the success ethos of America? If the indolent could destroy the industrious, the bottom of society tear down the top, America would become no better than such reprehensible nations as Russia and Romania. The conscientious Jewish businessman was also a model of charitableness and lawfulness. Despite its anti-semitic potential, the treatment of Rothschild, for example, was generally favorable. Famous Jews were more often regarded as examples of success gained in the face of overwhelming obstacles than as Shylocks. Some of the ambivalence about the economic image of the Jew appeared to reflect the divisions in the American mind about the values of capitalism itself.

In the 1870s the success of the German Jewish immigrants led to a newer image of status seekers, although the older, contradictory, view of the Jew as clannish and aloof remained. A noticeable segment of German Jews achieved wealth and some prominence. They displayed their fortunes with ostentation, and exhibited social aggressiveness, adding another burden to the existing picture of the Jew as a Shylock and a foreigner. It should be added that Jews did not display the most grotesque eccentricities of the Gilded Age. Men like Jim Fisk or "Diamond Jim" Brady were certainly not Jews. The rapid rise of the German Jew, however, shook a status-conscious society. The Jew was required to become American, but not at too rapid a pace. This was the beginning of a basic contradiction which persisted to the twentieth century. The Jew was enjoined to cease being clannish, but found many obstacles placed in his way when he attempted to assimilate into the main stream of American society. The Saratoga and Coney Island incidents were manifestations of the growing acceptance of the picture of the Jew as parvenu. Restrictions,

however, existed well before these publicized cases. From another point of view, the almost universal indignation expressed shows that this image was far from universally accepted as late as 1879. By the 1880s and 90s, however, social exclusion had become a commonplace. By this point, Herbert Gold sardonically suggests, the Jewish role was "chiefly to be outrageous...money, sex, power, occult rites. Communion with the devil. And loud talking in summer resorts."[6]

Newspapers and magazines were far more responsive to changes in the Jewish position in America than literary, theatrical and religious sources. Foreign and domestic issues of concern to Jews were widely and often sympathetically covered. American ideals of freedom and equality often vied with a "counter-tradition" of suspicion of foreigners and racism. Contradictions multiplied as a periodical might defend Jewish rights in ringing tones on one page, and attack the Jew's obnoxious qualities on the next. The major journals exhibited profound internal ambivalence. Niles Weekly Register, North American Review, Century and Puck all illustrated ambiguous attitudes. Even generally favorable publications like the New York Tribune, Atlantic Monthly, The Bookman and Harper's Weekly included occasional unflattering pieces. Periodicals like Life, Leslie's and the New York Times, which were basically hostile, would, at times, break into an impassioned defense of the ill-treated Jew. All opposed organized anti-semitism and persecution. Neither class attitudes nor the type of publication studied were reliable guides to the attitude a given publication would take towards Jews. The images were surprisingly unhistorical. That is, although there were changes, these were rarely direct reflections of economic events such as depressions, or political circumstances like elections. (This is contrary to commonly

held opinions of many historians.) The underlying assumptions were amazingly constant throughout the century. The major real change was caused by the advent of the Russian Jew.

Prior to the 1890s, despite some social ostracism among the upper classes, the condition of the Jew in America remained quite acceptable. Anti-semitism simply did not have the same significance that it had in Europe, a fact often noted with satisfaction by the press. At this time, social mobility had enabled a sizeable number of Jews to become wealthy. The children and grandchildren of the German-Jewish immigrants of the middle of the century were increasingly educated and genteel. This was obscured in the press by the mass exodus of Eastern European Jews concentrated in a handful of ghettos, most spectacularly in New York's lower East Side. These Jews were far more alien, mysterious and out of synchronization with American standards. By this point, many journals had accepted the German "Hebrew" and concentrated their ire on the "low class Jew." These strange Jews generated real anxiety as to their ability ever to assimilate into American society. Their alleged proclivity for disorder and radical causes led to a permanent image of the Jew as a dangerous revolutionary. Yet, these Jews, too, exhibited praiseworthy ambition. As Jacob Riis had observed, nothing stagnated in the presence of Jews. They were obviously hard working (perhaps too much so) and devoted to family virtue. Their children were remarkable successes in school. Unlike Italians and other "new" immigrants, it seemed as if the Jews would not long remain in the lower classes. There was a tremendous increase in articles about the Jews in the 1890s. Interestingly, these pieces were favorable more often than not. In an era when hostility to the Jews was apparently on the increase, the images presented continued to be contradictory.

The massive concentrations in the hated cities also helped to foster the idea of the "international Jew." This image had existed to some extent earlier in the century, but it now achieved greater prominence in such books as Caesar's Column. Prophets of anti-semitism, whether Populist writers or alienated upper class Anglo-Saxons like Henry Adams, tended to be "despairing critics of the power of money in American society."[7] Distrust of the immigrant Jew as a part of an international conspiracy was intertwined with fear of the dangerous influence of the Eastern city and of industrial and finance capitalism. The appeal of this kind of ideological anti-semitism, which was endemic in Europe, was primarily in areas where there were few Jews, and the supposed Jewish conspirator was a figure of mystery and distance rather than a continual menace. The Jew was perceived as an international financier by those least likely to have ever met a financier or to have studied finance. The same Jew, as an individual, was frequently accepted in rural communities. The Populists, the subjects of an almost unending debate as to their role in furthering anti-semitism, were as divided in their attitudes as most Americans.

A multitude of often antithetical images of the Jew were in evidence by the end of the century. Deep seated psychological reactions co-existed with American ideology. The Jew as God's own peculiar people who produced Christ and rejected him, chosen and condemned, continued with somewhat diminishing force. In fact, these underlying assumptions, still enduring today, might well have lain behind the uneasiness about Jewish ability to become part of society. Shylock and Sheva, irredeemably wicked and unbelievably noble, the harsh rejecting father and the permissive giving father, dominated popular and serious literature, along with the beautiful Rebecca, both mother and lover. They were relatively

untouched by the newer immigrants. The usurious miser to whom wealth was life existed along with the kindly philanthropist and the conspicuous consumer. The perpetual alien, who adamantly refused to become a part of American society, was a partner of the patriotic Jewish American, grateful to his new land for liberty and eager for assimilation. The group in which criminality was so commendably rare showed alarming tendencies to be disorderly. The powerful international financier was a cousin of the helpless, poverty-stricken tenement cloakmaker. The boorish social climber stood bside the intellectual or artistic genius. Beside this impossible to comprehend Jew, the dim-witted, drunken Irishman, the excitable Italian and other accepted ethnic images were straight-forward, easy to grasp. (The Italian, for instance, was attacked less frequently and vehemently; but he was not defended as vigorously either.)

The underlying religious and psychological assumptions about Jews were much the same in America as in Europe, although the ambivalence was more pronounced in this country. The question remains: which is more significant -- that negative images were less virulent in America than elsewhere or that hostile stereotypes persisted in the face of professed American ideals and the real role of the Jews in America. Both are important. Practices of social discrimination were commonplace, but it is important to distinguish such actions from anti-semitism instituted or encouraged by the government. The basic thrust of American society for legal rights for all whites became a weapon which could eventually be used by Jews struggling against anti-semitism. When later anxieties in the twentieth century provided a breeding ground for group antipathy, an inheritance of deeply held negative images of the Jew was available from the nineteenth century. That is indisputable. It is less obvious, perhaps, that there was another, opposite set of values, a counter-inher-

itance of admiration for the Jew, also usable in a later period and, possibly, ultimately triumphant.

FOOTNOTES

1 Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers (New York, 1976), 411.

2 Y. Kaufmann, quoted in Charles H. Stember, Jews in the Mind of America (New York, 1966), 277.

3 Edward H. Flannery, The Anguish of the Jews (New York, 1964), 249.

4 Anna L. Dawes, The Modern Jew (Boston, 1886), 41.

5 The Quarterly Sentinel, May 1899, Vol. 6, 6.

6 Herbert Gold in "Kike" (New York, 1972), Edited by Michael Selzer, xii.

7 John Higham in Stember, 249.

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