

A Decisive Pattern in American Jewish History

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THE history of the Jews is a history of involvement. It is not simply the history of a people living in a specific geographical area whose development can be treated as something largely distinct and separate. Jewish history is not the history of a self-evolving entity. It is always, at one and the same time, both a history of that which is distinct, that which has had its special delineation in time, and of that which is interwoven with the fate of empires and civilizations. The history of the Jews is intermeshed with the history of the ancient Near East, the Hellenistic world, the Roman Empire, the Sassanian dynasty, and the Moslem, Christian, and Western civilizations. It cannot be torn from its larger context, although it is not identical with that context.

Each society in which the Jews grappled with the problems of existence was radically different from the society which had immediately preceded it in time, or from a contemporaneous society in another place. Medieval, feudal Christendom was structurally very different from the pagan Roman Empire. The Moslem structure, although existing alongside medieval, feudal Christendom, was by no means identical with it. These structures in turn were made up of substructures, diverse one from the

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other and often in conflict with each other. At all times we are confronted with unity embracing diversity and with identity enclosing difference. The Jews in their involvement refract the unity and diversity, the identity and difference which characterize the historical continuum.

Since Jewish history has been as diverse as that of civilization itself, generalizations are inadequate to comprehend it in all its manifestations. Jewish institutional forms, for example, have varied from society to society. They have been monarchical, aristocratic, oligarchical, republican, and democratic. Jews themselves have been naive and sophisticated, rationalistic and mystical, legalistic and moralistic, heretical and traditional, liberal and reactionary, scholarly and ignorant, saintly and sinful. They have been slave owners and slaves, merchants and farmers, moneylenders and artisans, capitalists and proletarians, rich and poor. They have, in a word, been human beings wrestling with, and reacting to, the problems of life in the context of their changing economic, social, political, and religious relationships. The uniqueness of Jewish history, therefore, does not derive from any uniqueness of the Jew as a human being, but from the character and the implication of a history of involvement.

This involvement, however diverse, reveals a persistent pattern. No matter how different the society, no matter what the dominant ideology, the Jews in each case experienced a phase of acceptance and well-being linked to the expansion of that society, and a phase of rejection and persecution linked to the disintegration and collapse of that society. Every society reveals this pattern. The fate of the Jews has always been inextricably bound up with the fate of the larger society. Each unique experience has thus revealed, at a different level of complexity, a repetitive pattern.

Is there a uniqueness that characterizes the history of the

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Jews in the United States? If there is such a uniqueness, does it display the repetitive pattern? Is the fate of the Jews in the United States inextricably bound up with the fate of the country? And if its fate is thus bound up with that of the Jews, will this society go the way of all previous societies, or will its ultimate fate be different?

The history of the United States may be said to be unique in that it manifests a historical evolution which is dominated by the dynamics of expanding capitalism. Although capitalism arose in Europe and penetrated every part of the world, it found its most unrestricted expression in the United States. In no other area did capitalism find so few obstacles to its restless dynamism, and nowhere else did it achieve so vast and so continuous a success.

The uniqueness of Jewish experience in the United States is thus to be sought in the relationship of the Jews to capitalism in its purest manifestation. Never before in their history had Jews been involved in such a structure. Although it is true that the Jews in seventeenth-century England and Holland — and, to a lesser extent, in France and Germany — were radically affected by the new economic system, capitalism never became so decisive in Europe as it did later in the United States. Whereas in Europe the Jews only gradually came to experience capitalism as it transformed a previous economic and social structure of which they were part, in the United States the Jews, from the outset, came into contact with capitalism as the dominant and decisive system of production.

This essay is intended primarily as a study of the broad, historical implications of this experience. We shall analyze the effects of capitalistic development on the old order in Europe, so that we may discover the roots of emigration, and we shall analyze also the character of capitalistic development in the United States, so as to discover the dynamics of immigration.

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We shall observe the contrast between the impact of capitalism on Europe, with its precapitalist structures, and on the United States, where the impediments were less stubborn and resistant. We shall then be in a position to assess the meaning of this unique historic experience in its relationship to previous patterns. *

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the vast growth and expansion of commercial capitalism. The centers of this commercial activity were concentrated in such seaports as London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. From these ports trade reached out across the Atlantic to the newly founded colonies in North America, to the trading settlements in Central and South America, to the Indies and China, across the Mediterranean to the Levant, and through the interior of Germany to the capitals of the numerous princely states. Among the merchant capitalists who carried on these far-flung enterprises were many Jews, a good proportion of whom had once been Marranos in Spain and Portugal, but who had subsequently settled in Lon-

* This essay does not purport to be a detailed analysis of American Jewish history, nor does it pretend to deal with it in all its aspects. In considering any structural phase, one must discern its relationship not only to the prior structure, but also to the structure yet to emerge. Every structure will be found to have some remnants of the previous structure as well as some intimations of the structure which is yet to be. In considering capitalism in its various phases, therefore, I have stressed its dominant structural components. I am aware, of course, that elements of a prior phase remain important and active. Undoubtedly there are even today some farmers who till the soil as did their great-grandfathers; there are, assuredly, many shopkeepers whose way of doing business differs very little from the way in which it was done at the turn of the century; and there are still open-air markets where produce is sold from stalls. Yet one can scarcely claim that the structure of our contemporary society is that of the nineteenth century. In this essay emphasis has been placed upon the dynamic elements of structural change, rather than on the particulars which constitute the whole at any given moment.

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don, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. These Spanish-Portuguese Jews were permitted and even encouraged to engage in commercial capitalist ventures, some of which brought them into contact with the trading cities of the Western Hemisphere.

Another group of entrepreneurs who had always been professing Jews made its appearance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These were the Court Jews, who served the princes of Germany in a variety of ways. They provisioned the armies, minted money, organized trade, and provided luxury goods for the lavish courts. Their commercial activities kept them in constant touch with the great trading centers of London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg in the West, and with the important trading centers of Poland in the East.

These Court Jews made use of agents who frequently settled in the great maritime centers and undertook employment in the trading house of some wealthy Jewish merchant. Some of these enterprising young men were sent off as agents to America or went on their own account. Frequently they took advantage of the capitalistic opportunities in the colonies to buy some goods with their savings and to become merchant capitalists themselves. Some of them remained permanently in the colonies, either continuing to represent the firm, or completely freeing themselves from their ties and becoming independent capitalists, engaged in trade and land speculation.

The emigration of Jews from Europe was thus an aspect of commercial capitalism. North America beckoned to enterprising, risk-taking individuals who would engage in trade and commerce. It was those Jews who were swept, irrespective of their place of origin, into the capitalist orbit that became immigrants. The Jews who had established themselves as successful merchants in Europe did not, as a rule, emigrate, and those — the overwhelming majority — who had not even been touched by commercial capitalism likewise remained where they were. The

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majority of the first Jewish settlers in the colonies was *made* up of capitalistic merchants and tradesmen, enterprising individuals who were seeking to better themselves.

The character of colonial society encouraged precisely this type of Jewish immigration. The merchant capitalist was a highly respected member of eighteenth-century society, and a Jewish capitalist merchant was viewed in terms of his class and function rather than his religion. For this reason, merchants like Aaron Lopez, the Gomezes, and the Frankses, not to mention others of similar enterprise if less affluence, were regarded with respect and admiration.

That Jews did not come to settle in large numbers, although the seventeenth-century was a very harsh one for most of the Jews in Germany and Poland, is to be explained by the fact that, aside from trade, only capitalistic enterprise, farming, and handwork offered opportunities in America. The major sources of peasant emigration in the eighteenth century were England, Ireland, France and, to some extent, Germany. But in England and France the Jews had scarcely any contact with the peasants, since only Jews who were merchant capitalists had been allowed to settle in these countries. The Jews, therefore, could not accompany the peasants of these areas when the latter were set in motion by advancing capitalism. The sprinkling of Jews in the colonies and in the early republic is thus explained by the fact that commercial capitalism determined the character and the extent of emigration and immigration.

The framework in which Jewish life in America had its inception and unfolding was from the outset radically different from any which the Jews had experienced previously. Virtually from the moment when the Jews set foot in this country, their destiny became linked with that of capitalism. This was the only area in the world where capitalism was the very source of its life and where capitalism and its corresponding institutions

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could develop with little hindrance from an earlier system of production and from the structures that had been involved in it. The North American colonies were primarily capitalistic outposts pressing against the barriers of mountain and forest, and although formalized religious establishments, whether indigenous or European in origin, were operative in most of the colonies, they never became so firmly rooted in the American environment as similar or corresponding establishments had been in Europe. Indeed, the churches that flourished in this country were already at least once removed from the ecclesiastical institutions of the medieval world. Anglicanism as established on these shores was perhaps closest to the medieval norm, but Puritanism already represented a considerable deviation from Anglican doctrine and government. In New England, Puritanism took the form of the Congregational churches and ministered as such to the capitalist merchant class and the free yeomanry. The Middle Colonies were already infested with a variety of deviant beliefs, and in some cities, for example, Philadelphia, Deism had made considerable progress. Thus even before the Revolution no church establishment existed in the solid sense that such establishments existed in England, France, or Germany.

Nor did any other medieval institution gain a strong foothold in this country. A hereditary aristocracy with legally confirmed privileges never took root here. Guilds never developed as privileged and monopolistic entities. Although Negro slavery existed, all attempts at securing a permanent, unfree, white agricultural class were unsuccessful. The European husbandman in this country was virtually from the start a free farmer.

The economic structure, even before the Revolution, thus displayed the character of relatively free capitalism, wherein commodities were produced and profit was sought. It was an economic structure which encouraged fluidity and mobility, and which rewarded the enterprising and the thrifty. It flour-

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ished in a political and ideological framework that was receptive to its needs and responsive to its drives.

The response of such a society to the Jews was thoroughly in keeping with its character to the extent that if the institutions of a medieval orientation had been strong, there would have been opposition to the Jews. Since, however, the strength of such institutions was relatively slight and became ever slighter with the years, the Jew came to be evaluated strictly in terms of his functional role. This functional role, as we have seen, was that of an enterprising merchant on a large or small scale, and the evaluation of the Jew's role was generally to be as positive as the role itself at the time.

The thoroughly middle-class character of American society is evident from the two basic documents of American independence: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The significance of these documents lies in their appeal to the authority of natural law and inalienable rights, rather than to some scriptural authority. These were the first official documents to rest the authority of a national state squarely on the authority of the people, and the first to grant complete freedom of worship and to reject categorically a national church establishment. In addition, there was to be neither monarch nor aristocrat. Thus the American Constitution achieved what no state in Europe was to achieve, however powerful the growth of capitalism. This achievement guaranteed the American Jew, on a national level, the utmost that unfettered capitalism can grant: political, juridical, and economic freedom.

In Europe, the Jews could only approximate such sweeping freedom; for, in Europe, capitalism could develop only out of a structure based on a very different system of production, and out of an array of institutions that were powerful, formidable, and privileged. Even violent revolutions could not root out the entrenched institutions of the Old Regime. Monarchy, aristoc-

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racy, and the Church lingered on, preserving at least some vestiges of their former power and grandeur. Precapitalistic economic forms likewise persisted, as did the ideologies characteristic of those classes which drew sustenance from the forms of a precapitalistic economy.

In England, for example, the monarchy, the Established Church, and a hereditary aristocracy have been maintained. In France, the power of the Church and the monarchical principle reasserted themselves many times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Germany, the Kaisers ruled till 1918, and the Junkers maintained their importance through the entire period of the Weimar Republic. Italy held on to the monarchy and failed to free itself from the power of the papacy, while in Austria the Church never entirely lost its formidable position. Whenever the development of capitalism called for the dissolution of anomalous classes, its spokesmen were either incapable of marshalling the social strength needed for the venture, or they recoiled at the prospect that they might unleash the very forces which would endanger them.

The Jews in Europe found, therefore, that their fate was bound up with a capitalism incapable of freeing itself completely from the medieval orientation of precapitalism. Little wonder, then, that the Jews in Europe were placed in an ambiguous relationship to the entire process. They gradually achieved emancipation, but this emancipation was never certain. They were accorded political and juridical rights, but they were unable to make unrestricted use of them. In most European countries the army, the aristocracy, and the bureaucracy succeeded fairly well in blocking the Jews.

A constant obstacle to a genuine and thoroughgoing Jewish emancipation was the persistence in Europe of medieval institutions which had never freely or happily accepted capitalism. These institutions had not only fought the new system of produc-

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tion and its political demands, but even when they did accord reluctant acceptance to the new dispensation, they continued to resist Jewish emancipation. The reactionary elements in the French National Assembly insisted that Jews were a nation and not a religion. The Jewish problem was a very real and persistent one during the French Revolution, and although the Jews were granted equality, the opposition never ceased clamoring that the Jews were a nation and were not, therefore, entitled to citizenship. During the Napoleonic interlude, Napoleon himself threw his weight behind the allegation that the Jews were a separate and a harmful nation which had to be purged of its backward and anti-social mores. The discriminatory laws issued by Napoleon, first, in 1806, in the form of a moratorium on debts owed to Jews, and then in the form of restrictions on their economic activities, testify to the tenuous character of Jewish emancipation in a capitalistic society which was still hemmed in by the persistence of precapitalistic production modes and of precapitalistic institutions. Thus, even after a revolution as thoroughgoing as the French, the Jews were not completely freed from their entanglements in the old order.

The situation was basically the same in Germany. A Jewish question existed as an inseparable component of the larger question of the relationship between an emergent capitalism and precapitalist forms and institutions. From 1815 through the revolution of 1848, the debate over what the Jews were raged throughout Germany. In this spectrum, the evaluation of the Jews was either good or bad, depending on whether the writer was oriented towards the old regime or advocated a capitalist and nationalist state. Since the German revolution of 1848 was even less thorough than the French, the Jewish question in Germany continued to be as viable as the strength of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the Church could render it.

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While Europe entered upon its capitalist phase encumbered by a Jewish problem that had been spawned by the medieval world and its collapse, the United States, never having known any system of production other than capitalistic or geared to capitalism, was not faced with a Jewish problem. America had no enclaves of Jews who, as in Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in petty moneylending and peddling to debt-ridden peasants and artisans. The situation in America was unlike that in France, where a chasm separated one group of Jews from another, and where the capitalist Jews of Bordeaux felt their position threatened by the Jewish moneylenders, peddlers, and beggars of Alsace-Lorraine. In the young American Republic some Jews were poorer than others, but no Jew was committed to the economy of a previous epoch. Each Jew was a free man, seeking in his own way a place for himself in the young, dynamic, and vigorous American society.

The framers of the American Constitution did not have to engage in debate with powerful opponents to prove that Jews were not a nation, but a religion. The issue did not even arise, since strictly capitalistic society does not recognize religious differences as relevant, as long as religion does not endanger the constitutional basis of the state, the Constitution. Pure capitalism is intolerant of institutional and inherited privileges, and seeks to make everyone equal before the law. Only when pure capitalism faces some anomalous vestige which still exerts power is it forced to compromise. It rarely introduces such anomalies on its own. Thus, slavery in the new republic had to be tolerated temporarily because of the very real power of the slave owners, and because slavery was an existent reality in 1789. However, the capitalist intent is clear in that the slave trade was to come to an end.

The United States from its very birth thus had no backlog of accumulated hates peddled by the institutions and interests

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of a decaying order: no desperate artisans whose guild privileges had been destroyed, no disgruntled peasantry being driven off the land, no surplus of desperate human beings vainly seeking new moorings, no proletariat being ground down in the mines and factories. It is little wonder, then, that though instances of anti-Jewish feeling were not altogether lacking, the overriding tone of society was favorable towards the Jews.

II

The second phase of Jewish history in the United States was likewise one which proved to be very positive in its outcome for the Jews. This phase, too, was directly related to the development of capitalism in Europe and to rapid capitalist expansion here.

In Europe, capitalism made vast strides between 1815 and 1848, but its effects differed from area to area. In England, the industrial revolution was consolidated, and the industrial capitalists were given political recognition and power. In France, a similar, if not so intensive, capitalistic growth took place, but the reorientation of power involved revolutionary upheavals. Nonetheless, France emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century as a great capitalistic power in which effective political control was in the hands of capitalistic parties. The consolidation of capitalism in both England and France improved the position of the Jew, even though it could not completely eliminate the continuation of hostility on the part of persisting institutions of the old order and of those classes negatively affected by the character of capitalistic development.

In Central Europe the consequences of economic change were radically different. The growth of capitalistic commerce and industry took place in societies structured for quite different

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purposes and goals. The heavy hand of decadent monarchical, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical power stood in the way of initiative and enterprise. The political disunity of Germany hampered the drive for national unity. Yet capitalism developed and in its penetration of Germany steadily broke up the economic foundations of the old order. Peasants found it more difficult to eke out a living from the soil; factories reached out for hands;

artisans helplessly fought the competition of machine. The texture of the old economy was dissolved, and those whose livelihood disappeared with the old economy sought new arrangements for themselves.

Large numbers were swept up by the growing demands of the new capitalism in Germany itself: some became workers or entered occupations created by the vast process of urbanization;

some became capitalists; others emigrated. Especially after the 1830[^] did the surplus humanity of the German states seek a home in the United States.

Among the disrupted were the Jews, who had had a significant role in the economy of stagnation and decay. Indeed, they had never been completely expelled from Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries precisely because of the function assigned to them in the processes of breakdown and decay.

Jews had been permitted to remain in various towns and villages of Germany as petty moneylenders, pawnbrokers, and peddlers. By lending money on pawn at high interest rates over long periods of time, the moneylenders and pawnbrokers helped the peasants and the artisans to stave *off* economic disaster. The peddlers and petty tradesmen made cheap and used commodities available to the lower classes of town and country. These services were rendered by the Jews in an atmosphere laden with hate, distrust, bitterness, and resignation. The peasants and the artisans were resigned to the necessity of the Jews, while the Jews were resigned to contempt, hatred,

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and humiliation. Paradoxically, so long as stagnation and decay remained impervious to dynamic change, the Jew was secure in his role, certain of his future, and geared to expectancies that were as dependable as they were humiliating.

The moment, however, that advancing capitalism disrupted the economic foundations of stagnation and decay, the Jews became as insecure as the artisans and the peasants. They, too, became divorced from the even and familiar tenor of their lives — habitually degrading and humiliating though their lives had been — and found themselves thrust into a rapidly changing world. Many of them saw opportunities in the growing urban centers of Germany; some became capitalists; the rest came to this country with the peasants and the artisans who likewise sought these shores.

The country to which they came, Jew and non-Jew alike, was undergoing a twofold expansion. On the one hand, the factory system was making rapid progress, particularly in New England; commerce was growing; railroads were being built; the basis for the prodigious industrial growth of the post-Civil War period was being laid. On the other hand, the West was being opened up to settled farming. The vast, unfilled, but fertile lands beckoned to those who had tilled the soil in their native lands. The immigrants from Germany, torn from the soil, eagerly returned to the soil.

But there was a vast difference. The precapitalist peasant of Germany was now an independent capitalist farmer, producing agricultural surpluses for an expanding country with a growing population. He was tilling the soil in an economy of vigor which rewarded toil and enterprise, and which gave him a voice in the legislative bodies of the land. He was no longer the helpless victim of stagnation, decay, and privilege. He was a free, proud, and independent farmer. The capitalism that had ruined the precapitalist society of his native land and had forced him to

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seek another land proved to be in America an economic system giving him land, opportunity, and dignity.

The Jew who immigrated was likewise transformed. Those skills in moneylending, trade, and peddling which he had developed in his native town and village, and which had there been associated with hatred, bitterness, and humiliation, those skills were now the very ones which capitalism cherished, encouraged, and rewarded. They were transformed into enterprise, imagination, and innovation. Applied to the needs of the free farmers in the Middle West, they hastened the distribution of commodities, encouraged the extension of credit, aided the establishment of wholesale and retail outlets in the towns and cities, and led to the building of reputations for reliability and integrity.

The situation of the Jew in this country remained positive because his role and function continued to be positive. He contributed in America to an expanding economy. His relationship to that economy was one of close involvement in its most dynamic aspects. Anti-Semitism was thus unable to gain any secure foothold. Nevertheless, here and there disturbing symptoms manifested themselves at moments of crisis and uncertainty.

A significant example was General Ulysses S. Grant's Order Number 11 during the Civil War. This order excluded the Jews as a class from the Department of the Tennessee, which included parts of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, because of the prevalence of smuggling and illicit trade. That such smuggling and illicit trading went on can scarcely be doubted, but that the Jews were solely, or even largely, responsible for the situation was, of course, untrue. Smuggling and illicit trade have accompanied every war since the sixteenth century. The War of the Spanish Succession, the Napoleonic wars, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War—all

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furnished opportunities for extralegal economic activities. Such activities, to be sure, were hardly calculated to gain the favor of belligerents devoted to the enemy's destruction. What Grant did, however, was to identify a common practice with a particular group, and his prestige gave the discriminatory order a national audience. In effect, rather than exposing it as a regrettable concomitant of warfare. Grant attributed an evil within the system to a distinctive group, the Jews. He appeared blind to the fact that certain individuals, irrespective of religious or ethnic affiliations, never fail to grasp the opportunities for large profit furnished by warfare, however illicit these may be.

Order Number 11 was quickly rescinded. Appropriate apologies were made, and Jews continued to fare well. Grant's Order remains significant, nevertheless, because it represents the first utilization on a national scale of what was to become a basic anti-Semitic device: the attribution to the Jews of that which is negative in capitalism, so that negative features of capitalism are viewed as Jewish aberrations rather than as integral, if disturbing, aspects of an intricate and complex system of production.

III

The third phase in the development of American Jewish history again reveals the interplay of European forces stimulating emigration with forces in the United States encouraging immigration. The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the industrial expansion of Germany and the consolidation of capitalism as the basic system of production. England and France entered the phase of imperialism which had the effect of strengthening capitalism in these areas. The position of the Jews in these three countries was relatively good, despite the outbursts of anti-Semitic feeling that accompanied the brief

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periods of crisis which interrupted the steady expansion of capitalism.

The consolidation of capitalism in Germany virtually brought to a halt the emigration of Germans and Jews. The prosperity and the expectation that Germany would continue to become more wealthy and powerful encouraged Germans and Jews to integrate themselves into the new economy and the new society.

In the East, however, capitalism was only beginning to penetrate the area; it had by no means become the dominant system of production. The effects of the penetration of capitalism in an area still largely precapitalist in its economy, an area still controlled by dynasties and ecclesiastical hierarchies, are disruptive. The peasantry is dislodged; the old villages are broken up; the artisans and craftsmen are unable to compete against factory-made commodities. The disruption of the old order creates a surplus population. Some of the surplus is absorbed by the factories and by the urban expansion; others seek opportunities in those countries where capitalism has become dominant.

After 1870, at the very moment when the westward agricultural expansion had passed its apex and free land was becoming scarce, the United States entered the phase of vast industrialization. Immigration to this country, therefore, had to accommodate itself to the opportunities set by the economy, and the immigrants found that their choices were narrow and more limited. The Polish, Roumanian, and Italian peasant could not as a rule become a free farmer. He had to find employment either in the factories, or in the mines, or in an array of urban occupations in the expanding metropolises.

The Jewish immigrants after 1870 also discovered that industrial expansion firmly set the limits of choice for most of them. Jews, too, were faced with the choice of factory labor or of some occupation thrown open by metropolitan urban

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growth. But, whereas in the case of the non-Jews the scales were tipped towards factory labor, in the case of the Jews they were tipped towards other occupations made available by urban development. The urban or semiurban background of the Jews made the difference.

The Jews living in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires were not peasants, although frequently they were closely bound up with the peasant economy. Even in the small villages they engaged in some sort of trade and business activity. In the larger cities of the Pale of Settlement, Jews eked out a livelihood as petty traders, peddlers, and artisans. A large number were *Luftmenshen*, people without a fixed occupation. Many of them made a living from activities related to Jewish religious life. Some were paupers; only a few were proletarians, and these were limited to emerging industrial centers. However different the occupation, most Jews were oriented towards urban activities.

When Jews from Eastern Europe came to the United States, they had visions of urban status and accordingly sought out those possibilities on arrival. The vast expansion of population in such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and Baltimore necessitated an elaborate growth in occupations related to distribution and consumption. Millions had to be fed and clothed. There was thus a great need for large numbers of peddlers, storekeepers, jobbers, and the like. A great many Jews immediately sought to fill this need because they were equipped by previous experience to engage in just these types of activities. The non-Jewish peasant was not so equipped.

The opportunity, however, did not exist for all the Jewish immigrants to find such employment. Most of them had to become proletarians working for contractors at home, or working for manufacturers in factories. Inasmuch as they had known something like an independent status in their native cities,

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towns, and villages, they resisted permanent proletarianization, and viewed their proletarian status as temporary. They were, therefore, on the lookout for any opening that would permit them to make their way towards a middle-class status. The Polish peasant had never known any existence other than work, toil, and resignation; he had neither urban skills nor middle-class orientation, and thus he was less sensitive to his lot and less alert to the possibilities of improvement.

No amount of resistance could have prevented proletarianization unless the economy itself gave succor to this resistance by encouraging a shred of hope. The character of the industrial expansion and its consequences did precisely that, for it opened up a vast array of occupations so rapidly and so urgently that all who were quick to respond found it possible to achieve some form of middle-class status.

Modern industrialization created a market for white-collar workers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. It constantly sought more effective and more efficient distributive outlets and thus encouraged the vast and rapid growth of wholesale and retail establishments. The steady population growth continuously extended the market and encouraged the multiplication of small enterprises for which only comparatively little capital was needed. The widespread growth of literacy spurred the expansion of the publishing business and opened up a large market for newspapers and magazines, these in turn creating a need for a large class of writers, journalists, editors, and the like. The spread of free public education necessitated a large number of teachers, and the expansion of college enrollments opened up opportunities for scholarship.

With their urban outlook and their rejection of permanent proletarianization, the Jews were quick to take advantage of the new opportunities. Every effort was made to accumulate some capital, however small, with which to open a small retail

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store, or to buy sufficient stock to become a jobber, or to set oneself up as a subcontractor or contractor. Once in some position of independence or semi-independence in a steadily growing economy, Jews might slowly accumulate capital, better themselves, and in a decade or so achieve respectable middle-class status. By encouraging their children to take full advantage of free education and to continue through high school and even college, Jewish parents virtually assured a professional status for their children.

The over-all situation of the Jews was positive in this period of tumultuous industrial growth; yet the size and the character of the new immigration could not but bring spasms of uncertainty and disquietude. By 1900 the Jews whose roots were in the German phase of immigration had achieved a durable position in American life. Most of them had by this time firmly established themselves as very respectable middle-class entrepreneurs: retailers, wholesalers, private bankers, and manufacturers. As a consequence, they enjoyed the prestige that attended such entrepreneurship. It is not surprising, therefore, that they felt themselves more threatened by the vast hordes of Jews from Eastern Europe than did the non-Jews.

The East European Jews represented a raw mass of precapitalist individuals who had earned their livelihood by petty trade, moneylending, tavern-keeping, peddling, and similar occupations linked to the plight of the peasant and the artisan. Viewed from the vantage point of modern capitalistic attitudes, such occupations appeared sordid, exploitative, and degrading. The mores, manners, and culture that thrived on these precapitalist foundations were likewise in sharp contradiction to the manners, mores, and culture of capitalism. If these precapitalist Jews came in very large numbers and settled in large, compact groups, and especially if they continued in their new environment the very same precapitalistic type of activities,

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then surely the image of the respectable, enlightened, respected American Jewish entrepreneur would be endangered by that of the unkempt, jargon-chattering, shrewd, cheating, medieval "Shylock."

This antagonism between capitalist and precapitalist Jews has made its appearance at every phase in history when the two contradictory forms came into opposition with one another. The wealthy Jewish merchants and manufacturers of eighteenth-century Berlin, Vienna, and Leipzig had looked with dismay upon their fellow Jews steeped in degrading (i. e., precapitalist) occupations and stubbornly persisting in their Orthodox and non-Western ways. The Jewish capitalists of Bordeaux had sought to disassociate themselves completely from the precapitalist Jews of Alsace-Lorraine. In an effort to eradicate the blight that seemed to endanger their status, French Jewish merchants, manufacturers, and bankers waged a steady struggle against their precapitalist coreligionists. In nineteenth-century Galicia, the Haskalah movement represented similar elements seeking to modernize the Jews; i. e., to destroy their precapitalist ways. The first phase of the movement for enlightenment in Eastern Europe attempted to achieve the same objectives.

Every effort was made, therefore, by the representatives of an adjusted American Jewry to control the tide of Jewish immigration so as to transform the mode of economic activity and the way of life that accompanied it. Attempts were made to divert the immigrants to the interior, to turn them to respectable occupations such as agriculture. The torrent of human beings that kept flooding in could, however, be accommodated only by the occupations which this particular phase of economic development made available.

Anti-immigrant feeling among non-Jews was to be found in the upper classes of New England who had made their fortunes primarily in the flush of the heyday of commercial capitalism

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and during the first phase of the development of manufacturing in the pre-Civil War period. After 1870, this class found itself being pushed aside by the industrial expansion which was concentrated almost exclusively in the hands of capitalist newcomers. Since immigration was vital for the rapid success of these new enterprises, the staid capitalists of a previous era viewed it as a threat to their former supremacy. They saw in immigration the disintegration of their American society.

The farmers also had certain misgivings about the consequences of the rapid rate of industrialization. By 1890 the possibility for the territorial expansion of agriculture was at an end. For the first time, the farmers were sharply confronted by the very real threat of insolvency and by the inability to compete successfully against the continuously growing power of finance and industry. For the first time, the seemingly overwhelming power of money threatened to deprive them of their farms and livelihoods. Opposition to the new finance and industrialism reached a very high pitch in the 1890[^]. Immigration was viewed by large numbers of farmers as symbolic of their own downfall.

And, finally, the native-born working class resented the influx of immigrants who jostled them out of jobs and who kept the wage rates hovering at the subsistence level. The East European Jewish immigrants found themselves, therefore, in a somewhat different position from that which their coreligionists of the 1840[^] and 1860's had encountered. On the one hand, the future of these immigrants was to be virtually as favorable; on the other, their present was much more uncertain and ambiguous. Their future was assured because they were linked with that phase of capitalist development which was to become dominant in the twentieth century, the capitalist development involving the growth of large-scale industry and the new mammoth urbanization. But at the moment of their arrival, very

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large numbers continued to pursue their precapitalist ways in the ghettos of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago. They were thus living witnesses to the charge that they earned their livelihood in the cracks and crannies of the economic system. As pawnbrokers, petty shopkeepers, and peddlers, they seemed to be perpetuating in the cities of this country the degraded activities of their native lands. The Jews could thus be pictured as clever cheats, swindlers, and hawkers.

Those Jews who entered the shops and factories as workers could likewise be cast in a negative light. The first wave of Jewish immigration in the 1880's supplied the shops and factories with Jews who had never before been workers and who proved rather docile and naive in their new-found role. Beginning, however, with the 1890's, large numbers of Jewish proletarians from Lodz came over and entered the shops and factories. These Jews were experienced workers who had fought many a battle with their Jewish employers in Lodz. Many had been drawn into the Social Democratic movement even before emigration, and were filled with radical ideas. In addition, many Jewish intellectuals had already filtered into the labor movement and were taking an active part in the organizational and publicistic aspects of the working-class movement. This prominence of Jews in the trade-union movement and in the spread of radical socialist ideology encouraged the identification of Jews with radicalism, anarchism, and socialism. However popular the pioneer Jewish labor activists were to become in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's, they were viewed, at the turn of the century, with great animosity and fear not only by the Jewish capitalists, but by the Jews who were engaged in peddling, jobbing, contracting, pawnbroking, and shopkeeping.

Three negative features could be ascribed to the Jews of East-European origin: (i) the so-called nonproductive, exploitative, and sordid precapitalist occupations; (2) the back-

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ward, unenlightened mores and culture that such occupations bred; (3) the radical, anarchistic, and socialistic ideas of the Jewish working class and of their intellectual spokesmen. A fourth negative feature, however, was supplied by the wealthy, respected, Jewish capitalists themselves: the identification of Jews with large-scale international finance, particularly as symbolized by the House of Rothschild. It was thus possible to create a picture of the Jew with four threatening qualities, a picture which could be conjured up as an adequate explanation for virtually every ill that plagued society. Every class in society could emphasize that aspect of the picture which accorded with its own predicament. The farmer saw Jewish monetary power and Jewish Socialism; the lower middle classes and the worker saw the Jewish pawnbroker, the peddler, and the shopkeeper; the old mercantile capitalists saw the usurping international Jewish banker; and the wealthy saw the Jewish anarchist. Finally, the Jewish link with Christianity could be seen in its negative aspect, and the Jew as Christ killer could be effectively amalgamated with the other four whenever discontented groups, such as farmers, were at the same time also believing fundamentalist Christians.

These five features were first used during the farm crisis of the 1880's and the 1890's. This was the first instance on a large scale of a stubborn problem: the inability of the farmer to make a profit in the face of the disproportion between farm prices and industrial commodities. This basic problem carried with it the concomitant ones of heavy indebtedness and the threat of foreclosure. Linked with the problem of prices and mortgage indebtedness was that of the availability of money. Attempting to cope with their difficulties, the farmers sought solutions that were compatible with the maintenance of their independent positions. Among the most persistent solutions were those which sought monetary inflation and the crippling of the money power.

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It was here that anti-Semitism could effectively be exploited to serve diversionary ends. If the total money power could be labelled Jewish, then individual bankers were merely the helpless tools of the Jewish moneyed interests. The major problem, then, for the farmer would be to cripple the Jewish power. Thus his difficulties were assumed to stem from that which was alien to and superimposed upon the economic system rather than from the dynamism of the system itself. Alien Jewish gold was the threat!

This diversionary approach could be very effective because it appealed to seemingly irrefutable facts. The House of Rothschild was not only an influential banking house, but it was internationally notorious. It was not difficult to believe that, with their moneybags, the Rothschilds controlled the governments of Europe. Besides, wherever one turned, Jews were engaged in occupations involving money. The Jewish Shylock could be seen in any large city, and the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, for money, had led to the crucifixion.

Large numbers of farmers who during earlier decades had viewed the Jews as useful, reliable, and honest merchants now saw them negatively as the heartless representatives of the money power. This shift came about only because the plight of the farmer had for the first time become real, and he sought some explanation for his problem.

Although anti-Semitism had raised its head ominously in the 1880's and 1890's, it proved to be temporary and was liquidated fairly rapidly once a new upward swing occurred in farm prices. Even more important was the fact that the Jews were linked with the most dynamic and the most dominant aspect of capitalism: expanding industrialism. The majority of the Jews were linked to this industrialism through the new urbanization which it created and through the new middle class that it brought into being.

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The steady growth of urbanization and the steady increase in the demand for distributive outlets transformed the precapitalist Jewish immigrant into the small capitalist. Hawking, peddling, jobbing, and shopkeeping frequently yielded sufficient savings for the small capital investment needed to open a store, establish a shop, or embark upon a profession. Along with the stabilizing influences of entrepreneurship came the processes of American-ization, dissolving the old customs, mores, culture, and religion that had been brought from abroad. As larger and larger numbers of Jews extricated themselves from the proletariat, the radical and socialistic ideas receded. As the content of experience became similar for larger and larger numbers, the variety of expression dwindled. By 1914 the raw Jewish immigrants were well on their way towards firm middle-class status. It has been well-said that the East-European Jewish immigrant was neither the son nor the father of a proletarian.

IV

World War I and its aftermath encouraged these tendencies as the American economy entered a new phase, a phase of matured, consolidated, contained industrial and financial expansion. Following quickly on the heels of the few years of post-war instability, the economy of the United States surged forth to new heights of productivity and prosperity. These new heights, however, were not achieved through the augmentation of the working class by immigration, but through the rationalization of production, the further division of labor, the intensification of skills, and the tighter integration of productive units. The new surge not only needed no labor from abroad, but found itself incapable of utilizing fully even the labor already available. Just as an earlier phase of the economy had necessitated a free 48

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immigration policy, the new phase of the economy made it equally necessary to curb the influx of foreigners.

The closing of the doors to large-scale immigration came at a time when the economies of Eastern Europe and the Balkans were undergoing severe disruption. But, whereas prior to 1914 the breakup of the old economies and the displacement of large numbers of peasants were mitigated by the opportunities offered in the United States, now the surplus population had to remain in the very areas which could not possibly provide for them. A new problem, as yet unsolved, began to plague the societies of Eastern Europe.

These developments adversely affected the millions of Jews living in Poland and Russia. A goodly percentage of Polish Jewry was poverty-stricken and lived off charity. An even larger number barely eked out an existence through petty trading. A significant number became workers. A handful succeeded as capitalist entrepreneurs. All Polish Jews, irrespective of class, were the victims of virulent anti-Semitism and of discriminatory legislation. Jews, who in the 1840's would have come to the United States along with non-Jewish Poles, now were locked in a crippled society from which there was no exit. Their fate at the hands of the Russians and Nazis was sealed by their superfluity.

In Russia the new type of exploitative economy handled the surplus population problem with brutal directness. As the old agricultural structure was smashed, millions were forced into the factories, and those who could not be used either in the new-type agricultural collectives or in the new industrial plants were either conscripted into the army, or utilized as slave labor, or directly liquidated. The Jews proved especially vulnerable, because they entered the epoch of the revolution with a bourgeois taint, with the label of exploitative nonproductivity, and with a presumed predilection for intellectualizing. Each phase

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of the centralization of the bureaucracy brought with it some recourse to these allegations. The fate of the Jews in the Soviet Union was thus resolved negatively, although total annihilation has not yet taken place.

Although the post-World War I economy barred entry to new immigrants, it continued to unfold opportunities for the Jews already living here. Swelling productivity and the prosperity that accompanied it spawned myriads of small and medium-sized businesses, while the phenomenal growth of white-collar occupations absorbed those with high school and college educations. The entertainment media, movies and radio blossomed; written communication — newspapers, magazines, books — expanded; the continuous growth of higher education increased the number of city- and state-supported colleges and created the need for competent teachers and scholars; advertising emerged as a vast enterprise. Stock market and real-estate speculation offered the possibility of quickly earned fortunes unthreatened by income taxes. Little wonder, then, that the post-war decade witnessed the crystallization of a new Jewish middle class, firmly bound up with expanding capitalism and sharply distinct from the precapitalist Jewish classes of the turn of the century. The emergence of this middle class was at the expense of the proletarian elements, whose numbers among the Jews steadily dwindled.

The Jews were thus catapulted by favorable conditions, as well as by favorable previous conditioning, into the middle class. It was, however, literally into the middle class. Only a very few individual Jews fully carved out entrepreneurships in those areas which had become crucial for the further development of capitalism: the area of large-scale industry. In oil, steel, aluminum, automobiles, mining, and machine tools, Jews appeared only sporadically as individuals. Some Jews were still influential in private banking, but virtually without excep-

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tion these were the descendants of German Jews whose financial influence had continued into the new epoch. Virtually no Jewish bankers of any significance appeared during the post-World War I period. Although some Jewish banking houses remained, there was little penetration by Jews into the controlling positions of the industrial corporate structure.

The years of prosperity enabled Jews to enter the middle class, but these very years introduced some negative features. Prior to World War I the need for professional skills seemed insatiable. Jews, taking advantage of the demand, entered the medical, legal, and teaching professions. The matured economy of the 1920[^] slowed down the tempo of expansion in these areas and established instead a more stable demand. With the restriction of the total number of doctors and lawyers to be trained, quota systems began to appear in all the major universities, limiting to a more or less fixed percentage the number of Jews who might be accepted, particularly in the medical schools. Similar quotas were introduced from time to time even in undergraduate schools, unofficially limiting the percentage of Jews permitted to attend. The significance of these measures is that they were introduced by presumably the least intolerant segment of society, the community of learning.

More sinister was the manifestation of anti-Semitism as an aspect of the brief reaction following World War I. This anti-Semitism was the second outbreak of violent opinion in the history of the United States. The first was during the farm crisis of the 1890's, and it had carried anti-Semitic propaganda expressing primarily the farmer's discontent with the way in which the economy was operating. The second outbreak was more elaborate, because it was coping with a breakdown that was more severe and more pervasive. The anti-Semitism not only involved the total economy; it also made a crucial issue of the threat to that economy posed by the outbreaks of violent working-class

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revolutions in Germany and by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Jews were linked not only with the international banking which had presumably plunged the United States into a devastating war to enrich Jewish pockets, but also with an international Bolshevism that threatened to destroy American institutions by proletarian revolution. On the one hand, the Rothschilds strangled from above, while Karl Marx and Leon Trotsky destroyed from below. It was alleged that a clever international plot, hatched by brainy Jews, rich and radical, alike, was plunging the entire world into anarchy and agony. Not only did Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* spew forth these lies, but senators and representatives in Congress, in the hearings on the immigration bills, linked the Jews to Bolshevism.

This anti-Semitic outburst was, however, of comparatively short duration. The economic system in this country was much more durable than many of its own spokesmen seemed to think;

very shortly the age of prosperity blossomed and anti-Semitism slipped back once again into the cracks and crevices of the social order.

V

The Great Depression which in 1929 engulfed America's economy had devastating consequences. It was the first depression in the history of the United States that was not quickly overcome by a new and more impressive phase of prosperity. The economic system underwent a collapse from which it did not fully recover until a decade had gone by. Despite intervention by the Federal government on a very large scale in the form of the New Deal, unemployment remained high and productivity low. Stagnation seemed to have set in.

The Jews, along with all other elements of the population, were hard hit during these years. Because of the New Deal

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approach to the problem, however, Jews, being largely members of the middle class, were spared some of the crudest blows. Since their proletarian numbers had dwindled, Jews were not faced so directly with unemployment. Franklin D. Roosevelt's inflationary policies alleviated the disaster which might have swept away the entire middle sector of society. To the extent that this middle layer was not permitted to collapse, the Jews in that layer were able to hold on precariously to some support.

One major structural change permanently affecting the stratification of society did occur during these years: the emergence of the Federal government as a significant element in the economic and social structure. The New Deal brought into being a large bureaucracy to carry out its measures. The bureaucracy was dependent on a highly trained administrative personnel and on a large white-collar class for clerical duties. The bureaucracy created by the depression became a source of livelihood for large numbers possessing the requisite skills. Among them were a considerable number of Jews.

The basic economic and social trends, as they affected the Jews, further undermined proletarianization and further cemented the fate of the Jew to that of the middle class. But though the Jew was of the middle class, he was not just another element within that class. His middle-class status did not dissolve his relations with millennia of history that made for vulnerability in distressed societies, *irrespective* of class position. During the depression the Jews came to feel this for the first time as something other than a metaphysical fantasy. They witnessed a flare-up of anti-Semitism that involved millions of sympathizers. They found themselves accused of being the architects of disintegration.

The anti-Semitic movement of the 1930's is largely linked with the name of Father Charles E. Coughlin. An analysis of his anti-Semitic message discloses the basic ingredients of which

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it was composed. How had so crippling a depression come about? How had such intense suffering been unleashed? How had disintegration undermined stability? The answers, according to Coughlin, were clear to anyone who merely took the trouble to look squarely at the well-known facts. The banking system had collapsed. The savings of a great portion of the middle class and of the farmers had been wiped out. No one who had lost his savings had any doubt about this. If banks collapsed, the bankers had to be at fault. But not all bankers could be at fault because it was clear that the bankers themselves had been ruined. Only those bankers who survived and profited from the debacle could be responsible. Who were those bankers who could so callously destroy the economy of a country? Obviously, they were alien, international bankers, who represented the *essence of banking* and who had no other loyalty. But there existed, so Coughlin triumphantly argued, only one group of bankers in the world whose sole loyalty was money: international Jewish bankers like the Rothschilds, who always had held vast nations in fief and who operated through their Jewish agents throughout the world, who likewise knew loyalty only to money. Thus the depression was the handiwork of money-mad Jews.

The depression not only wiped out savings; it also threatened to unleash anarchy. Bolshevism, warned Coughlin, was on the march, and the success of Bolshevism would be the death knell of the solid, respectable middle class and of the farmer; for it would take away the last shred of personal property that still remained and, what is more, destroy the last refuge of the disheartened, religious faith. But what was Bolshevism in *essence*? Obviously Jewish, answered Coughlin. It was the system created by the Jew Karl Marx, and propagated by Trotsky, the brilliant Jewish revolutionary. It was international, having no loyalties to country. The Jews, claimed Coughlin,

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were an international people who worked unitedly to achieve their end: the domination of mankind. Financial control, on the one hand, and revolutionary anarchy, on the other, were two goals which alone could fulfill their ambitions. Was it any wonder, then, that disaster had overcome the simple, trusting American who was helpless before a plot so sinister and a power so pervading and yet unseen?

This type of propaganda was very effective because superficially it seemed to be true. There were outstanding Jewish banking houses throughout the world; some Jews had been active Bolsheviks and radicals; Jews were spread throughout the world; Hitler's Germany had taken drastic measures against the Jews; some Jews were brilliant, and some were prominent as publicists; others were in the entertainment industry, and it was generally assumed that they controlled the motion picture industry and some influential newspapers. As the readers of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* looked around, they saw that the Jews owned the most important department stores and that the corner druggist was a Jew, as was the physician, the lawyer, the haberdasher. Wherever they looked they saw the Jew — and money. If they turned to the government they saw that the New Deal was *really* Jewish. Some of Roosevelt's *key* advisers were Jews. And did they not know that Bernard Baruch was the adviser of Presidents? Here was the link to international Jewish banking. No wonder, they reasoned, that a powerful nation like Germany, in sheer self-defense, had to break the Jewish power once and for all.

The Coughlin type of propaganda was very effective. It was hard to refute, precisely because Jews were to be found in every stratum of the economy and in virtually every country of the world. So long as their qualitative role was emphasized, the smallness of their number was unimpressive. It could be argued that one *key* Jew controlled literally tens of thousands of non-

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Jewish subordinates! The depression was not viewed as the outcome of the breaking down of the total complex economy, but as the consequence of external interference with an economy which otherwise would have been immune to breakdown.

The virulent anti-Semitism of the depression years was especially ominous because it indicated that the Jews were more vulnerable than any other group in American society. In previous crises, Jews had shared with other groups like the Roman Catholics, Italians, and Negroes, the blame for the stresses and strains that wracked the country. During the Great Depression the Jews, for the first time, found themselves bearing the brunt of responsibility. In the tortuous selective process, the Jews had been found to possess a scapegoat potential that could not be equaled by any other minority: 1. historically, the Jews had always played this role; 2. they were linked with the crucifixion of Jesus; 3. they were scattered throughout much of the world, and hence seemed eternal aliens; 4. they were found in every class, and, therefore, could be linked simultaneously with capitalism, communism, and intellectualism; 5. they had no powerful nation or institution to protect them; 6. they could serve as the common enemy against whom diverse minorities and oppressed groups could unite; 7. they had been effectively used by a powerful, modern Western power, Germany, to achieve a fascist form of government. An amalgam concocted out of such potent ingredients was sure to produce a powerful effect wherever disaster threatened.

Anti-Semitism, however, was kept within bounds during this period not because its doctrines were considered false or unpalatable, but because effective measures were taken to prevent a total collapse of the economy and of society. New Deal legislation sealed the major cracks which were on the verge of releasing an uncontrollable avalanche. This was achieved by shoring up the corroded foundations of the middle class and of

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the farmer, and by providing *some* measure of relief for the working class and the unemployed. As long as steps could be taken which held out some realistic basis for hope, anti-Semitism could spread only as far as these barriers permitted. Despair was contained by the preservation of some firmness of structure.

VI

World War II ushered in a new epoch: an epoch of permanent tension generated by the existence of two major constellations of power unable or unwilling to annihilate each other. Each constellation has absorbed within its system a welter of states asserting national sovereignty, yet thoroughly dependent on one or the other of the two major concentrations of economic wealth and power. The years since 1946 have witnessed the steady decline of England and France, the emergence of dependent national sovereignties in the former colonial empires of Britain, France, and the Netherlands, the consolidation of Russian power in Eastern Europe, and the emergence of a powerful Communist China. Virtually every area of the world is beset by tensions revolving about the competing sovereign claims within the area (India vs. Pakistan, and the Arab States vs. Israel), or stemming from the larger pattern of conflict between the United States and Russia. Under the circumstances, there is little prospect of reaching any permanent settlement which will completely eliminate the threat of armed conflict.

The economic and social shifts in the United States are directly related to the character of the epoch. Since the power constellation represented by the Soviet Union must be offset by at least its equivalent, the government in our country emerges as the largest single factor affecting the organization, structure, and trend of total society. The government is directly involved

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in the economic and military support of those nations whose strength is vital for the maintenance of its power. The production of armaments of ever-increasing technical complexity and quality is necessary for the maintenance of its own power and the power of its allies. Significant sectors of production are exclusively engaged in manufacturing weapons of a highly intricate character, and thousands are employed in research and in the making of these items.

The government not only has come to play a crucial role in the productive process, but its power, influence, and resources have penetrated every corner of national life. The universities as training schools for the specialized sciences have more and more been drawn into government projects. A large percentage of graduate scientists, engineers, economists, administrators, and the like, immediately find their way to employment in some government project. The vast bureaucracy absorbs an ever-increasing percentage of the highly specialized and the highly trained.

The emergence of the government as a permanent factor in the total productive pattern comes at a time when industrial development is undergoing a vast revolution in technique and rationalization, generated by the radical growth of electronics, making automation not only possible but necessary. Such developments have increased the demand for physicists, engineers, economists, and other highly trained specialists.

This period has likewise witnessed the rapid growth of large-scale corporate enterprise and the steady reduction in the significance of small economic units not only in manufacturing, but also in the wholesale and retail trade and in farming. The acceleration of mergers and the competitive elimination of even comparatively large productive units has narrowed down the class of free entrepreneurs and has enlarged the salaried executive and employee class. The interdependent character of the

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economy has become more and more manifest, as an ever larger percentage of the total population is being absorbed by gigantic enterprises and by the government.

The position of the Jews is directly related to these new developments. Since most Jews were already in the middle and the lower middle classes at the close of World War II, they responded to the changes in the economy as befitted their class status and orientation. The basic trend was towards incorporation into the rapidly growing salaried sectors of the economy and of the government, as the demand for engineers, scientists, accountants, economists, and administrators increased in the post-war decade. The economic growth was so great and for the most part so steady that former restrictions on Jewish employment were steadily relaxed by private industry, while the continued growth of government bureaucracy opened opportunities for nondiscriminatory employment. The growth in retail trade, characterized as it was by continued enlargement of the entrepreneurial unit, increased the need for administrative and technical personnel. The expansion of the advertising media and the emergence of television alongside the earlier means of mass communication likewise opened opportunities for employment. The increased demand for medical care led to the acceleration of medical training programs and the relaxation of quotas as far as Jewish students were concerned.

Jews continued as private entrepreneurs, some in sectors linked to vast industrial enterprises, others in the manufacture of clothing, and some in the wholesale and retail trade. The steady rise of the stock market and the favorable dividend picture made large incomes possible for those who had significant sums for investment. But this type of income had no relationship to an active entrepreneurial role. The investment banking houses run by Jews, such as the Lehman Brothers, continued to be active, but no new firms made their appearance.

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The general prosperity of these years offered little fertile soil to anti-Semitic agitators. To the extent that *some* dissatisfaction was inevitable as long as all economic and social problems were not solved, some anti-Semitism was in evidence. No real threat, however, could emerge in the context of full employment and social stability.

VII

As of the moment, the experience of the Jews in the United States continues. Their relationship to capitalism in this country thus far has been preponderantly positive. The strength and power of the economic system in the United States have been so great that it has successfully weathered both the Great Depression and a global war. This strength and power have enabled the Jews to find security, opportunity, and hope.

Although the over-all experience has been highly positive, the negative aspects cannot be overlooked. At every moment of economic or social crisis, especially since the iBpo's, anti-Semitism has manifested itself. This anti-Semitism more and more linked the Jews with the sources of disintegration and decay and attempted to identify the Jews with the twin threat of international capitalism and international communism. Should any major crisis emerge in the future, it is to be expected that anti-Semitism will once more be aroused from its momentary dormancy.

Thus far the experience of the Jews with capitalism in the United States has been similar to previous patterns. The position of the Jews in every society of the past has been as secure as the society itself. For every stress the Jews have been held essentially responsible; for every collapse they have been blamed. Thus far every major stress in American society has yielded anti-Semitism. 60

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As we move into the future, what can we expect? The sociological structure of the Jewish population in 1958 seems to indicate that the fate of the Jew in this country is dependent upon the fate of capitalism. If this economic system is capable of continuous regeneration, and if it successfully survives the threats of war without a drastic reduction in its standard of living; or if, America having become involved in war, its economic system emerges victorious without society's reduction to a shambles during the interim; then we may expect that the position of the Jews will tend to remain favorable. But if some collapse should take place in the present structure of the economy, either as the consequence of a depression or as the result of a drastic reduction in the standard of living, necessitated by meeting the threats of war or involvement in war; and if in response to such emergencies the prevailing institutions in this country are transformed; then the outlook for the Jews will be poor. Movements will emerge which will seek to allay despair and to siphon off discontent by diverting the minds of the helpless and hopeless from the sources of their difficulties towards fellow sufferers and fellow victims. Then, once again, the accumulated accusations of the ages will be amalgamated with the ills of the hour, and the seeming truth will be so obvious that refutation will be vain. Jews will be condemned as the representatives of international, alien capitalism in league with radical, revolutionary, anti-capitalist Communism. It will be asserted that this invincible, if unnatural, alliance has destroyed all that is good and worthy.

The fate of the Jew is thus once again linked with the fate of society. The future alone will indicate what that fate will be.