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Jews, and the Jews in England



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## Preface

In the following pages it is proposed to deal as briefly, exhaustively and authoritatively as possible with all the main problems relating to the Jews in England, so that Englishmen may have a basis of reliable doctrine and fact on which to found their attitude towards the whole question.

At the very outset it is important to warn the reader that the high feeling created over this question, through recent anti-Semitic measures adopted in Germany, has not unnaturally tended to obscure many of the most important issues which have to be decided. Many statements made by both sides in the controversy, ever since the advent of the National Socialists to power, are of a kind which — particularly when they claim to be objective and scientific — reflect but little credit upon those responsible for them. They display none of that impartial spirit in which history, anthropology or characterology can usefully be taught, and sometimes compare so unfavourably with the work of those investigators, such as Milman, Renan, Cunningham, Ripley, Keane, etc., who wrote in quieter times, that their heat and bias are immediately obvious even to the uninformed.

By restricting the following discussion chiefly to facts which are more or less established, and to authorities who are predominantly Jewish, it is hoped, in spite of the still appreciable warmth of the disputants on either side in Europe, to avoid the bias of the partisan and the speciousness of the debater. If, however, in thus attempting to recover the calm of the pre-Hitler historians, it will hardly be possible to please the extremists through our lack of violence, and the Liberals through our statement of many unpalatable and seemingly offensive truths, the earnest English student, it is believed, will give us his support, and it is to him rather than to modern Germans or Jews that this treatise is addressed.

The subject will be divided into six sections, as follows:—

1. Introduction. The Jews as a race.
2. The General History of the Jews up to the time of the Roman Dispersion.
3. The History of the Jews in England.
4. The Character of the Jews.
5. The Influence of the Jews.

## 6. Conclusions.

These subdivisions will now be dealt with in the order given.

# I

## Introduction

### The Jews as a Race

The Jews we see to-day in the streets of London, Paris, Berlin or New York, are the near descendants of a branch of that great human family known as the Semites, which, at the dawn of the historical period, spread (owing to pressure of numbers, desiccation of territory, or merely to a desire to seek new pastures or to carry out predatory raids) northwards and westwards from the confines of Arabia into the fertile areas between the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, or, to give the boundaries of their utmost extension, between the Taurus, and the mountains of Armenia and Iran, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, Egypt and the Mediterranean.

There the various waves of immigrants and conquerors settled and multiplied — some to wrest from the Sumerians the dominion of their city states and territories, to absorb their culture, to become urban and produce the early civilizations of Assyria and Babylon; others to retain longer than the rest their original nomad and pastoral habits and to wander all over the country now known as Palestine, in order to settle somewhat later in its western and central areas.

The Semites, therefore, "belong essentially to Asia", and constitute the group of peoples "known as the Aramæans (Syrians, etc.) in the north, the Babylonians and the Assyrians in the east, the Arabs in the south, and the Phœnicians, Hebrews, Moabites, etc., in the west". Dialectical differences alone separate the speeches of Sennacherib and Nebuchadrezzar from that of the Israelites whom they subjugated; any Hebraist can understand the characters on the Moabite stone, and we must, therefore, regard the Jews, as we know them to-day, as merely a selected and strangely preserved survival, in a relatively pure state, of that extraordinary people, composed of one race, which once dominated Western Asia from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Zagros mountain chain which bounds Mesopotamia on the east.

They were a religiously mystic, race-conscious people, united more by their spiritual and ethnic bonds than by any sense of a common fatherland

or home-country. For, as nomads, their attachment to a territorial home was necessarily faint, if present at all.

Reckoning their ancestors with accurate memories and, as is usual among primitive peoples, probably with the object of ensuring the rights of inheritance, they despised the foreigner and the stranger, usually avoided marriage with his women, and practised close inbreeding, even to the point of incest.

Owing, however, to the evidence of the Bible and of ancient and modern history, the researches of archæologists, and the notorious differentiation of type in existing Jews, it has often been maintained, particularly in quite recent years, that the branch of the Semitic family known as the Hebrews, the people who originally formed the twelve tribes of Israel, and who suffered slavery in Egypt, captivity in Babylon, and the various other vicissitudes of a weak position amid powerful neighbours in Palestine, ultimately became a mixed or miscegenated stock, and that even before the Roman Dispersion they were already a mongrel people. The record of their many crosses with neighbouring tribes and nations in Palestine, which were the despair of their great prophets and leaders, can, indeed, be read in the books of the Old Testament; whilst even their greatest kings and patriarchs are known to have mixed their blood in marriage. Ishmael, for instance, was the son of Abraham by an Arabian woman. Isaac and Jacob both had Aramæan wives. Joseph married an Egyptian and Moses a Midianite. David himself, who descended from Ruth the Moabitess, married a Hittite woman by whom he had Solomon.

Such is more or less the argument advanced, especially by recent special pleaders like Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. Haddon, who in their anxiety to confute Hitler wrote a whole book with the object of proving that there is no such thing as race, and that "the Jews are no more a distinct sharply marked 'race' than are the Germans or the English. They are originally of mixed descent."

But the kind of cross-breeding practised in Palestine before the Roman Dispersion was hardly such as to prevent the Jews from being regarded as a closely inbred race, for the miscegenation that occurred was chiefly with people of Semitic stock — the Phœnicians on the Syrian coast, the Arabs on the wild steppe, the Canaanites and Moabites in and about Palestine, and the Amorites (Aramæans and Syrians in Syria and Asia Minor). Even if we assume extensive crossing on the part of the Jews with their

oppressors, the Babylonians and Assyrians, these were, again, as we have seen, none other than their kith and kin, who had preceded them by a few centuries in emerging from the obscurity of a nomad life in Arabia.<sup>1</sup>

And on these grounds Dr. Andree, with some justice, as it would seem, argues that "all the intermixture with the heathen women, which took place in Asia in old time, had little effect on the constitution of the Jews, because they mostly married women of Semitic tribes".<sup>2</sup>

There are, however, more serious grounds than the above for supposing that the present Jewish population of Europe and America is of mixed and not pure blood, and in fairness to Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. Haddon, let it be admitted not only that they rely a good deal on these more serious grounds,<sup>3</sup> but also that a great authority on the Jewish question, a man who was writing much more soberly than they many decades before the Great War, and almost a century before Hitler was heard of — Ernest Renan — advanced these self-same arguments against the alleged purity of the Jewish race.

What are these arguments?

The first, and perhaps the oldest, is the alleged fact that, on migrating into the land of Palestine and the areas south and east of it, the various waves of Semites, including the Habiru, or Hebrews, found an indigenous people, who had been settled there from time immemorial, with whom they mixed. Also that the earlier waves which ultimately produced the Babylonians and Assyrians (the former of whom probably mixed with the Jews in later times) must have mixed with the Sumerians, who were, unlike the primitive Palestinians, a civilized people. What the native Palestinians were, whether Hamitic or Pelasgian, is a matter of doubt, but in any case Keane denies that they were Semitic.<sup>4</sup> Renan also felt no doubt that in the formation of the original Israelitish stock there was a mixture of blood with "the primitive inhabitants of Palestine",<sup>5</sup> and many others have argued similarly.

We must regard it as probable, therefore, that two peoples of more or less unknown ethnic character contributed a certain amount of their blood to the stock composing the ancestors of the Jews at some early period in their wanderings across Mesopotamia and Palestine, and later on when they mingled with the Babylonians. But it is not absolutely established that



this strange blood was all non-Semitic, and it may be that despite the fact that some of those who introduced it (the early Palestinians, for instance) followed peculiar burial customs not known to the Semites, they may have been remotely related to them.

A second argument is the fact that, during their four hundred and thirty years of captivity in Egypt, it is hardly likely that they refrained wholly from any mixture with the people who surrounded them, particularly as in Exodus xiii., 38, it is acknowledged that, when they ultimately fled from their oppressors and marched from Rameses to Succoth, a "mixed multitude went up also with them".

What was this "mixed multitude" if not a hotch-potch of Egypto-Israelites, not unlike the Eurasians that have resulted from our own much shorter occupation of India? Colour is, moreover, lent to the belief that a certain amount of friendliness must have existed between the Israelites and the lower-class Egyptians with whom they came into contact by the Jewish tradition which records that many Egyptians gave presents to the departing people, and even by the Bible, which tells us that the Israelites were able before leaving to "borrow" of the Egyptians "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment and such things as they required".

Even allowing for the natural eagerness on the part of the native population to be rid of a people who were causing them endless calamities, is it likely that they would have lent them valuable articles unless there was some time between them?

It seems more reasonable to picture the scene of the departure as in many cases darkened by the wrenching of close, if not intimate, ties — Israelitish daughters-in-law and sons-in-law tearing themselves from their Egyptian parents. If this was so, it would explain that "mixed multitude" that "went up also with them", and would, to some extent, account for the "borrowing" of jewels of silver and gold and raiment. Evidently some of the departing Israelites, whether of pure or mixed stock, expected, in fact promised, to revisit at some later date those from whom they had borrowed. There would be a return to see their "in-laws" again. After all, had not Joseph, centuries before, married Asenath, the Egyptian priest's daughter?

Now, if this cross-breeding occurred to any extent, it would mean that a certain amount of Occidental Mediterranean blood had already been introduced into the Israelites in the second millennium B.C., and that in this

Occidental Mediterranean blood (as in the Philistine and, possibly, the early Palestinian) there was a genuinely foreign quality, very different from that of the Babylonian,<sup>6</sup> Assyrian, Phœnician, Arabian, Canaanitish, Moabitish, etc., blood, which the Israelites may previously have absorbed to some small extent, and which they were certainly going to absorb in large quantities in subsequent years.

Against this it may be argued that neither the Egyptians nor the Israelites were, at the period in question, in the least inclined to enter into mixed marriages. The Egyptians were not only closely inbred, but actually carried their inbreeding to the point of incestuous matings, while the Israelites were not merely for a time in the position of slaves in Egypt but were also a people who practised the closest inbreeding and who also went so far as to tolerate incestuous matings, though not quite to the same extent as the Egyptians. Both peoples were, at all events, singularly averse from cross-breeding of any kind. The only other possible reason for supposing that mixed Egypto-Israelitish unions were rare — more rare, that is to say, than those between Moabite and Israelite or Philistine and Israelite — is that we do happen to know that the Egyptians, in addition to cherishing a very powerful bias against outbreeding of any kind, and even against the mixing of classes, had a strong hatred of foreigners.<sup>7</sup> And certainly in the early days — before, presumably, the Israelites had become slaves — it was an abomination to them even to eat in company with the Hebrews.

On the other hand, it has been maintained — Haddon also suggests it<sup>8</sup> — that the Israelites were allowed to settle in Egypt only when a kindred race, the Hyksos, was putting sovereigns on the throne of the Pharaohs. If this is so, the mixing of the Israelites with the Egyptians may have been confined to such marriages as could be contracted with the lower-class Hyksos,*i.e.*, people of their own kith and kin, mating with whom would not modify their blood.

But let it be accepted that there was a certain amount of mixing both in the earliest times with the aborigines of prehistoric Palestine and later on with the Egyptians of pure Mediterranean stock during the four centuries that the Israelites sojourned in the valley of the Nile. Let us also concede to those moderns like Huxley and Haddon who are anxious to deny "race" to the modern Jews, that even in their early intermarriage with

the Hittites, Phœnicians, and their subsequent intermarriage with the Babylonians, etc., it is by no means certain that the Israelites were mixing with pure examples of their own race, or even with races related to theirs.

Professor Sergi, for one, denies that the Hittites were Semites,<sup>9</sup> and a similar claim has been made regarding the Phœnicians, etc. The weight that has been given here to these instances of miscegenation is — at least, so we suggest here, and as even Renan does not deny<sup>10</sup> — in any case exaggerated. The reasons for this statement will be given later; but, for the time being, let it suffice to point out that, as against the view long held *both by Jew and Gentile* in Europe, that the Jewish people, as we now find the, constitute a race, these arguments, based on early instances of miscegenation, are, to say the least, not very disturbing.

More serious and more difficult to confute is the claim, made principally by Renan in the past, but naturally given great prominence by modern Liberals, that the Jews, contrary to the generally accepted view, were a people who at one time were not only keen and active proselytizers, but also very successful in their proselytism. If this claim is valid, it would necessarily mean that in comparatively recent times, *i.e.*, ever since the second century B.C., the Jews have incorporated into their body a considerable number of Gentile converts.

Thus Keane declared that "the assumption that they have made few or no converts is no longer tenable", and Renan, writing many decades before Keane, maintains that the intensive proselytizing era of the Jews lasted from 150 B.C. to A.D. 200 and was most successful.

He then adds that this proselytism "led to the formation of many Israelitish colonies, which were regarded as 'Jewish', both in Italy, Gaul, and along the coast of Asia and Africa". Dr. A. Neubauer also maintains that "during the time of the second Temple the proselytes became more numerous through intercourse with the Syrians, the Greeks and the Palmyræans, and many professed to be converted to Judaism in order that they might be allowed to marry Jewish women".

Dio Cassius mentions the conversion of many Romans to Judaism in his time and earlier, and says that Tiberius and Domitian took steps to arrest the movements; Gibbon, referring to the same phenomenon, says: "Their [*i.e.*, the Jews'] converts were confounded with the children of Israel, whom they resembled in the outward mark of circumcision", and he

mentions a law passed by Constantine to protect converts to Christianity from coming under the spell of the Jewish proselytizers. Dr. Neubauer tells us that "a patrician woman of the name of Fulvia embraced Judaism, no doubt with a great number of friends and slaves". And he adds: "The conversions at Rome were so frequent that a heavy penalty was decreed against those who became circumcized."

Renan is of the opinion that this era of intense proselytism lasted about three hundred and fifty years. This is long enough in all conscience, and must have meant a fairly considerable influx of foreigners or "Goyim" into the Jewish fold. But it would be inaccurate to suppose that no converts were made earlier than 150 B.C., because we have the testimony of Isaiah that strangers (presumably converts) were being admitted to the Jewish fold in his time, and also the testimony of the author of the Book of Esther to the same effect.

Moreover, we know that before the existence of Mahommed, many Arabs of Yemen (hence the Falashas) and other districts became converted to Judaism, and we also know of the remarkable conversion to Judaism of whole nations, such as the Khasars or Chazars, a renowned Turki people of the Volga, the Crimea and the Caspians, who went over *en masse* to Judaism as late as the eighth century A.D.. True, they ultimately returned to Russian Orthodoxy, but during the period of their Judaism it is impossible to compute how much of their blood may have been mixed with that of the traditional Jew.<sup>11</sup> Centres of "converted" Jews are also to be found among the Daggatouns of the Sahara, and the Beni-Israel of Bombay, while the black Jews of Malabar are really no more purely Jewish than the Chazars. They appear to be the offspring of the white Beni-Israel and the native concubines with whom they crossed, or else converts of the white Jews.

In addition to the number of prominent people who, during the Middle Ages, became converted to Judaism, and who were probably responsible for introducing non-Semitic blood into Jewish stocks — I refer to such persons as Alfonso VI's physician, who went over to Judaism in 1106; Joseph Halorqui who, as a convert to Judaism, became a member of the Pope's court; and Bodo, a member of an old Allemanic family, who under Louis the Pious of France became converted to Judaism and married a Jewess in Saragossa — we know that there was much intermarriage between Jews and Christians in Spain. We also know that, despite stringent

laws against mixed marriages with Jews in Hungary, the archbishop of that country reported in 1229 "that many Jews were illegally living with Christian wives, and that conversions [to Judaism] by thousands were taking place", and we know that even before Constantine raised Christianity to power, colonies of mixed Jews and Gentiles were probably forming in the neighbourhood of Cologne and the upper Rhine. Professor Graetz says: "The chronicle has it that the original Jews of the Rhine region were the descendants of the legions who had participated in the destruction of the Temple. The Vangioni had selected the pretty women out of the multitude of Jewish captives, and had brought them to their quarters on the shores of the Rhine and the Main. The children from this mixture of Jewish and Germanic blood were raised by their mothers in the Jewish faith . . . and were the founders of the Jewish communities between Worms and Mayence."

Further west, in Gaul, where in the fifth century A.D. the Jews lived on very friendly terms with the inhabitants of the country, "marriages between Jews and Christians were not altogether rare", whilst through the latter half of the fourth to the end of the fifth century A.D., when the Jews were the slave-traders of Europe, and not only had thousands of female and non-Semitic slaves pass through their hands, but also may themselves have possessed and cohabited with many of them, some non-Semitic blood was probably mingled with that of the European Jew.

Even the learned Jewish writer, Joseph Jacobs, who, as we shall see, argues cogently against the alleged impurity of the Jewish race, admits that "the case is somewhat different as regards slaves, and it is possible that some infusion of Aryan blood came in through this means, but the amount would be necessarily small".

The decree issued by Constantine, six months before his death, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves, was obviously directed against the danger, at that time probably well known, which threatened these slaves of becoming converted to Judaism, though whether this meant becoming incorporated in Jewish families is at least doubtful.

Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, also promulgated laws in which the Jews were "forbidden under pain of death from possessing Christian slaves or marrying Christian women", and these laws were obviously calculated to meet what was considered a widespread abuse.

Similarly, in A.D. 415, a law of Honorius, Emperor of the West, forbade "the conversion of Christian slaves to Judaism", and the fourth Council of Orleans (A.D. 541) enacted that "any Jew who makes proselytes to Judaism, or takes a Christian slave to himself [probably as wife or concubine], or, by promise of freedom, bribes one born a Christian to foreswear his faith and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave".

Many similar enactments could be mentioned, and they all point to the fact that, owing to the institution of slavery alone, in the Middle Ages, there may have occurred innumerable cases of non-Semitic slaves becoming Judaized, or becoming the mothers of children ultimately treated and educated as Jews.

In England, as early as A.D. 669, Christians were forbidden to sell Christian slaves to Jews. At the beginning of the twelfth century, "Jews were incapable of holding Christian slaves", and in 1222, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, forbade the Jews to keep Christian slaves". The enactments responsible for these prohibitions were evidently passed to meet a need, and that need was, not the necessity felt by the Christians of the time to preserve the blood of the Jews pure, but the fear felt by the Church lest her flock should be depleted.

But apart from the slave question in England, there is every reason to believe that, during their sojourn in this country up to A.D. 1290, "the Jews were at least as successful as the Christians in making converts". The Jewish community was thus enlarged by recruits from the free native English population and "there are records of the conversions to Judaism of at least two Cistercian monks". Even as late as the thirteenth century, an English deacon of Oxford is known to have gone over to Judaism. True, owing to the enormity of his crime, as committed by a clerk in holy orders, he was hanged. But, although his case is conspicuous, because of his position as a cleric, we are left to infer that the same kind of transfer was probably occurring among scores of people less prominent in the life of the community, and possibly, therefore, more free to effect the change without fuss and bother.

Another line of argument adopted by those who wish to deny the Jews any claim to being a race, is to point to the great diversity of Jewish types. It is urged by those modern opponents of Anti-Semitism that there are fair, rufous, blue-eyed, dark-haired, black-haired, and dark-eyed Jews; that the cephalic index of the Jews is not uniform, <sup>4</sup> and that their stature varies.

All this is perfectly true. We meet with Jews in the East who are as red as any Irishman or Scotsman, just as in the West we come across Jews who are fair with blue eyes, and Jews who are swarthy with black hair and eyes as black almost as their hair. There are also Jews about whose Semitism we are at first glance left in no doubt whatsoever, whilst there are Jews of whom, without special inquiry, we could not positively assert that they were Semites.

With a collection of photographs before us, some of which were of Jews and the rest of Gentiles, many of us would easily fall into the error of mistaking some Jews for Gentiles and *vice versa*. And, if we relied on stature alone, our mistakes would probably be even greater. For, although, as a people chiefly of urban habits of life, the Jews are, on the whole, appreciably shorter than Gentiles as a whole, their difference from urban Gentiles in this respect would often be found to be not very great, and stature varies with them as it does with us, according to class, West End Jews being taller than East End Jews.

From all these data it is argued that we may no longer say of the Jews that they are a race, if this word is still to be taken as connoting an unmixed heredity and a certain morphological uniformity together with similarities of pigmentation; and that to regard them as a people so different from ourselves as to be denied the right of marrying with our sons and daughters, and taking part in the direction of our national affairs and the framing of our national policies, is anachronistic and unscientific, and is based on blind prejudice rather than on a sober and impartial understanding of the facts.

Now it is not pretended here that the whole of the available evidence has been given in regard to the infusion of non-Semitic blood into Jewish stocks before the Roman Dispersion, and during the Middle Ages in Europe, or in regard to the high degree of type-differentiation now observable among modern Jews. But it is hoped that enough has been said on these matters to show that no effort has been made either to conceal or minimize any of the relevant facts. For it is this class of facts which is now being adduced by the modern opponents of German Anti-Semitism in general (particularly by writers like Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. A. C. Haddon) in order to represent the modern Jews as no longer a race apart, or, at least, as no longer necessarily foreign to the non-Semitic populations of Europe and the rest of the world.

But if we have tried to be more scientific and impartial than the present more ardent opponents of Anti-Semitism, it is less with the object of weakening the case of the advocates of Jewish racial purity, whether Jewish or Gentile, than with the view of laying before the reader the terms of the ultimatum that can be, and is being framed by the other side, against the claim of Jewish racial purity.

The above is thus only a rough but fairly complete survey of their whole case, and as such we are now in a position to examine it, criticize it, and measure its worth.

Let us briefly enumerate what we can at least be certain about.

First, we may positively assert that the Jews are Asiatics.

Secondly, that they are a highly selected group — and this point will be amplified later, in the historical section and elsewhere — of the great family of Semites who are supposed to have spread from Arabia at the dawn of the historical period, and to have been the common ancestors of such peoples as the Phoenicians, the Syrians, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Arabs, the Assyrians and the Babylonians.<sup>12</sup>

Thirdly, we know that, whether we are dealing with the Ashkenazi Jew, who is found chiefly in Russia, central Europe, western Europe and England, or with the Sephardi Jew, whose haunts are in Spain, Portugal, Asia Minor, Egypt and Arabia, we are at bottom concerned with two groups who "derive directly from the common source in Palestine and Mesopotamia", and who, "taking different paths in the Diaspora, met with different fates".

Fourthly, we know that by the designation "Jew" a very definite complex of physical and psychological characters is implied which, although subject to wide variation, nevertheless always comprehends an irreducible kernel which is as unmistakable as it is strange.

With these accepted facts in mind, it will now be our business to criticize the case for the non-racial character of the Jews outlined above.

It may be criticized along two different lines.

(1) We may contest the facts on which it is based, or try to modify their import, or advance other facts (usually overlooked by those who deny race to the Jews) which destroy the force of the first group of facts; or

(2) We may turn the whole position of those who are now trying to deny that there is such a thing as a Jewish race, by pointing out what they never seem to have thought of, namely, that to deny "pure race" in regard



to any group of human beings does not dispose of the peculiarities which the rest of humanity, or any section of humanity, may agree that they possess.

Following the former line of criticism first, the reader will remember that part of it has already been given with the statement of the case against "race" as used in connexion with the Jews. The primitive people encountered by the Semites on entering Palestine and alleged to have mixed with them, and the Sumerians encountered by the first wave of Semites in Mesopotamia, have been referred to, as has also the alleged intermarriage of the Israelites with the Egyptians during the sojourn in Egypt, and their intermarriage with such people as the Hittites, Moabites, Amorites, etc.

But before passing on to the more serious questions, the mixing of the Jews with the Philistines and the Jewish proselytes and slaves, there still remains something to be said on the whole question of Jewish miscegenation before the Roman Dispersion.

Let us concede, as in some respects we must, even the extreme claims of the post-Hitler group of writers which may be designated as the Huxley-Haddon school, and admit that not only did the ancient Hebrews mix with the primitive Palestinians, but also with the Egyptians, and many other peoples such as the Philistines, Phœnicians and Hittites, whose Semitism may be disputed, and in the case of the Philistines without doubt correctly. Let it be admitted that by thus crossing they incorporated a modicum of Occidental Mediterranean blood in their ancestry, and that in crossing with such people as the Babylonians (if they did so to any extent) they incorporated some Sumerian blood.

We suggest that even so, at least before the Roman Dispersion, we cannot be much concerned with these cases of outbreeding, because not only did many rigorous selections of the Jewish people follow them but also the very conditions which can alone produce race, or type, or kindred qualities in a people — segregation, inbreeding and long periods of communal life led under the rule of the same table of values — were again and again imposed upon the Jews by themselves or by their enemies, after such periods of miscegenation were over.

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Let us ask ourselves what a race is, and how it is formed. What do the anthropologists tell us about it?

They show us that from a primeval common source, mankind

ultimately became differentiated into Mongoloids, Negroids, Australoids and Whites by segregation of groups, inbreeding, and the specialization among these groups that comes from meeting different difficulties, different climatic conditions, and observing different dietary and other rules over long periods. That is, in fact, the whole story of race. It is the whole story of human differentiation. Isolate or segregate any group, impose inbreeding and peculiar values upon it, and postulate for it different conditions of life, and given a few hundred years, there will occur differentiation. No matter how mixed the original group was, there will result in the end, under the conditions stated, more or less uniformity, more or less group consciousness, or family or race feeling, more or less similarity in instincts, habits of mind, natural gifts and aptitudes, prejudices, etc.<sup>14</sup>

Now, except for Rome, Europe hardly knew the Jew before the Roman Dispersion, or knew him very little. Probably the people of the coast in most European countries, including Britain, knew him as a trader, as a slave, or as an occasional visitor who came to barter. But in the sense of a daily neighbour, a constant figure moving freely in his urban surroundings, the European unity may be said not to have known the Jew before the Roman Dispersion.

This, however, is a very important fact, and from this point onwards the present argument should be closely followed. For if the European did not know the Jew as a familiar figure before the Roman Dispersion, then it follows that the traditional conception of him, both as type and character, must have been formed in Europe *after* the Roman Dispersion; *i.e., long after all the alleged periods and cases of miscegenation recorded up to the time of the Great Dispersion were finished and done with.*

Consequently, as far as Europe is concerned, all these instances — not one, but all — may be dismissed as of little account. Because Europe, after the Great or Roman Dispersion, was not concerned with what the Jew might have been had he not mixed with the Egyptian or the primitive Palestinian, or the Hittite and Philistine, etc. She was concerned with an end result, a final blend, which was the cumulative consequence of all these mixings if they did occur. She knew no other Jew.

For better, for worse, the composite type the Jew presented after the Great Dispersion was his irrevocable destiny. To suggest to a Europe which had learnt to know the Jew intimately only after that event that he is not

really a pure type, but a mixture, is like telling a labourer that he cannot regard beer as beer, and cannot deal fairly by it, because he did not know the malt before it was mixed with the hops and glucose, and before it was boiled. He would reply, "I mean beer — not the malt before it was mixed. God alone knows what that was!"

Apart from what has already been said in criticism of Israelitish miscegenation above, it is therefore suggested that, on these grounds alone, the whole question of Jewish mixtures before the Roman conquest may be dismissed as irrelevant — irrelevant, that is to say, to us as Europeans examining the Jewish question.

But even if we leave aside this view, we may still urge that in the Jew of the Great Dispersion, Europeans were confronted at all events with something very much closer to the member of a pure "race" than the customary idea of a human hybrid would lead most people to suppose. For, even admitting that he was a hybrid, his hybridity had been subjected, not once, but again and again, to those very influences which make for race qualities. We refer to segregation, inbreeding and observance of the same values.

Constantly brought under the discipline of Jewish Law, constantly reduced in numbers and selected, and, what is even more important, constantly having held up before them the example of the priestly caste which in no circumstances could intermarry with the stranger, the Jewish people underwent an incessant process of crystallization throughout their history by which race was, as it were, repeatedly recovered.

Listen to the words of a Jewish scholar on this very subject. But remember that he was writing in 1931 and not in 1938!

"The Jewish people came into being only through a process of progressive isolation lasting over centuries. This striving after isolation has, in fact, continued throughout the ages to the present day, and constitutes a spiritual characteristic of the race, a metaphysical factor. Fate furthermore imposed the law of selection on the Jews. At every turning point in their history their numbers were reduced, the external husks being stripped away, as it were, from the kernel. If this compulsory selection led to the survival of the most viable elements in the race, it is not surprising that these people acquired a vital character which made them superior to any environment in which they happened to be placed."

Above we spoke of an "irreducible kernel" which to-day, although

presented under the cover of wide variations, is always present in the Jew. And here we have this "irreducible kernel" described and accounted for by a scholarly Jewish historian himself.

And it was this irreducible kernel which was recognized as the basic peculiarity of the Jew as he presented himself to the European of the early centuries of our era. But what of the infusion of foreign or European blood due to proselytism and slave-holding?

Renan, as we have seen, makes much of this. But his vehemence is nothing compared with that of the Huxley-Haddon school.

Let us listen to a Jewish scholar again.

Dr. Joseph Jacobs, writing in 1886, joins violent issue with Renan. He expresses surprise that a man of his erudition could have overlooked many essential objections to the sweeping claim that the Jews cannot be a race.

He bases his attack on Renan on four principal points. He first of all argues that the term "proselyte" in the Jewish sense is not to be accepted at its face value, as it might be, for instance, if we were dealing with proselytes joining the Holy Catholic or the Protestant Church. He shows that, to the Jews, there was an important distinction between "Proselytes of the Gate" and "Proselytes of Righteousness". The former never observed the most stringent Mosaic regulations and were not regarded as real Jews at all by the traditional Jew. They were really beyond the law both of the Christian and the Jew, and may even be suspected in some cases of having accepted the position of "Proselytes of the Gate" in order to exercise a freedom in licentious or immoral living which would not have been tolerated by either of the groups, Christians or Jews, had they been wholly one or the other.

The "Proselytes of Righteousness" alone were regarded by the Jews as real Jews, and their initiation and the demands made of them were much more severe. Three scholars had to teach them the Law and examine them in it. They had to undertake to observe the Jewish law, and their initiation was preceded by three ceremonies — circumcision, baptism and sacrifice — which could not be circumvented. In fact Basnage, writing 179 years before Dr. Jacobs, declares that if by some accident circumcision had already been performed on the Gentile Proselyte of Righteousness before his admission to the Jewish fold, it was necessary to open the scar again and shed blood, before he could be acknowledged as a Jew.<sup>15</sup>

Now the importance of this point is immediately manifest, when we

learn that only those proselytes who could strictly be called "of Righteousness" (or, as Basnage says, *de Justice*), "had the full *jus connubi* with persons of Jewish race and religion". Thus Dr. Jacobs, for example, says: "The Jews of Antioch only made the many inhabitants proselytes 'after a fashion' . . . *i.e.*, they were Proselytes of the Gate." And it was to such Jewish proselytes as these that Paul appealed "and founded Christianity by granting full rights to them. The triumph of Christianity meant, therefore, that this rapidly growing class were drawn off from Judaism to the new sect before they had been fully incorporated into the older body."

This, of course, greatly modifies our conception of the three hundred and fifty years of active proselytism which the Jews are supposed to have passed through between 150 B.C. and A.D. 200. For, according to Dr. Jacobs, we must assume that the majority of the recruits were of the type known as "of the Gate". The constant mention of large numbers of Greek proselytes to Judaism referred to in Josephus and elsewhere would, according to Dr. Jacobs, come under this head.

Basnage, however, goes further, and declares that when slaves were proselytized they were invariably attached merely as *Prosélytes de la Porte* and were not regarded as real Jews at all.<sup>16</sup>

This entirely supports Dr. Jacobs and the immense importance he attaches to this point, whilst it also fortifies his attack on Renan for having overlooked the distinction.<sup>17</sup> Nor must we think of Basnage as a man with an axe to grind, who was either a Jew or writing with the object of proving the purity of the Jews as a race. He was a French Protestant parson who, in the early years of the eighteenth century, wrote a most impartial and wholly objective history of the Jews.

We are now in a better position to appreciate why Jacobs, although admitting that "some of the infusion of Aryan blood came in through this means [slave-holding by the Jews]" adds: "but the amount would necessarily be small."

So much for Dr. Jacobs' first point.

His next point, which is also a strong one, is the notorious infertility of mixed marriages (*i.e.*, as between Jews and Gentiles). The evidence he adduces is certainly startling, and is all the more convincing seeing that it has been confirmed since his day. Professor Lundborg, writing in 1931,

quotes Dr. E.A. Theilhaber with approval when he speaks of the comparative sterility of mixed Christian and Jew marriages, and Dr. Max Marcuse, in 1920, published a monograph on the subject in which he recognizes the low fertility of Jew-Christian unions but, strangely enough, ascribes it to sociological and psychological rather than to biological causes; while Dr. Luschan, who also stresses the relative sterility of mixed Christian and Jew marriages, explains it on the grounds that only neurasthenics and neurotics ever dream of marrying outside their race or nation, and that from such abnormal people it would be idle to expect a large progeny.

There is much to be said for the point of view of both Dr. Marcuse and Dr. Luschan. But what interests us here is not so much the reasons they advance for the phenomenon, as the fact that they abundantly confirm Dr. Jacobs' findings to the effect that mixed Christian and Jew marriages are infertile <sup>18</sup> — findings which go a long way towards discounting the extravagant claims recently made regarding the radical modification of Jewish blood through mixed marriages.

Dr. Jacobs not only throws considerable doubt on these claims, from the standpoint of the small progeny of mixed marriages, but further shows that, at least after Charlemagne, when Europe became Christendom, "no great intermarriage of Jews and Aryans can be discerned . . . the Church isolated the Jews more and more by cutting them off from the trade guilds, originally religious, and from all civil rights". And "the isolation into which the Jews were cast led, in the course of time, to a feeling of combined contempt and terror about them among the populace. The folklore of Europe regarded the Jews as something infra-human, and it would require an almost impossible amount of large toleration for a Christian maiden of the Middle Ages to regard union with a Jew as anything other than unnatural."

This testimony from a pre-Hitler Jew is most valuable, particularly as he caps it by showing very cogently that even proselytism, through which a leakage of Gentile blood into the Jewish stock might still have occurred, was relatively insignificant during the Middle Ages. <sup>19</sup>

Dr. Jacobs' third point concerns the phenomenon of prepotency, *i.e.*, the fact that in the crossing of closely inbred with random-bred stocks, the parent of the inbred stock frequently imposes his type and character on

the offspring. Dr. Jacobs gives some convincing evidence of this in mixed Christian and Jew marriages, and shows how frequently the Jew father or mother determines the inheritance.

Thus he concludes: "Even if history showed a greater infusion of Aryan blood than the above estimate would allow,<sup>20</sup> the effect of this on Jewish characteristics would tend to be minimized by certain anthropological principles which have been completely overlooked by M. Renan and followers." <sup>4</sup>

Supporting Dr. Jacobs' findings at a time when there was no Nazi movement to arouse the opposition of the Jews and liberal Gentiles, we may quote other Jews. The Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler, for instance, in 1886 declared that "on the whole there had not been any large foreign admixture with the Jewish race", and he is confirmed by Maurice Fishberg, who in 1911 took the view that "the Jews are an exception among a world of universally mixed races". Both of these Jewish writers, however, were anticipated by Benjamin Disraeli, who, in an essay on the Jews, written in 1850, everywhere speaks of them as a race, and ascribes their genius and their power to this very fact.

Another learned Jewish author, Dr. Arthur Ruppin, writing in 1930, not only claims for the Jews a particular type, which he says very reasonably is the outcome of segregation and inbreeding, but also undertakes to outline the probable ethnic components of modern Jews. He says: "The most approved way, according to ethnological science, of classifying the different kinds of men, is into three races — the white, the yellow and the black race. The white race divides further into three branches — the Northern European (Nordic), the Mediterranean, and the Alpine. The Mediterranean has two main subdivisions, the Oriental (Bedouin) and the Occidental; while the Alpine divides into the Near Eastern and the Dinaric branches. The Jews, according to this terminology, have derived from a mixture of the Near-Eastern branch of the Alpine race with the Oriental and Occidental branches of the Mediterranean race."

Thus Dr. Ruppin definitely outlines the ethnic components of his co-religionists, and concludes that they are chiefly Alpine and Oriento-Occidental Mediterraneans. This is an important admission, because, if it is a fact, we can immediately, on the basis of Ripley, discover the fundamental difference between, say, the Englishman and the Jew.

According to Ripley, the Englishman is the product of a mixture of



Occidental Mediterranean and Nordic blood with a conspicuous absence (as compared with Continental peoples) of Alpine blood.

According to Dr. Ruppin, however, the Jew is devoid of any Nordic component, and is chiefly Mediterranean and Alpine. Thus, on the basis of Ripley's and Ruppin's findings, there is an irreconcilable difference between the two stocks — a difference which it is not surprising to find manifested morphologically by the representatives of each people, and which must have its particular psychological correlatives.

But even if we may suspect the zeal with which these prominent Jews defended the "purity" of the Jewish race in pre-Hitler days, and regard their testimony as biased, we cannot altogether dismiss their arguments as negligible. For, although pride may have made them force certain points, what is interesting is the fact that a learned Jew like Dr. Jacobs could, in 1886, make such a powerful plea in favour of the "purity" of the Jewish "race" without, as would happen to-day, being hissed out of court by every Jew and certainly every liberal present; and that, in 1930, another Jew like Dr. Ruppin could find so definite an ethnic difference between present Teutonic, English and Jewish stocks.

Moreover, the criticism Dr. Jacobs makes of Renan, who may be regarded as the greatest and soundest of the Huxley-Haddon school, is not undeserved. Renan did overlook the phenomenon of low fertility in mixed Jew and Christian marriages, he did overlook prepotency, he no doubt exaggerated the factor of proselytism, and he did neglect the rigid categories into which Jewish proselytes were classed. Strangely enough, he also even denied "type" to the Jew. And on what grounds?

Chiefly on the grounds of his experience in Paris, where his official position as an Oriental scholar brought him into contact with so many Jews that he was led by the variety of their features, stature and general appearance to doubt the purity of their race.<sup>21</sup>

But — and this brings us to Jacobs' fourth and last point — even the Jews, relatively pure though they may be, have to a great extent separated and become segregated into groups in Europe, else how could we have come to speak of Sephardic and Ashkenasian, eastern and western, Russian and English Jews? And segregation means so often differentiation of type, however faint, that it would be surprising if individual peculiarities were not discernible.

Besides, as Dr. Jacobs argues, Nature does not produce her creatures



out of a stamping machine. Even within a race that has achieved marked standardization, differences are not unusual. Occupation, geographical situation, social position, long habituation to a particular diet: all these things count, so that even if there is claimed, as Dr. Jacobs claims, an irreducible "nostrility" alone as the unifying characteristic of the Jews, it leaves a wide margin for variation in other features.

Apart from ordinary influences affecting physiognomy, moreover, we have to consider degeneracy and regeneracy. The flattening of a nose, the modification of its bridge, the alteration of a mouth and lips may be due entirely to abnormal conditions of health, impaired vigour, or endocrine imbalance. (Adenoid growths alone will often affect the shape of the nose.)

For all these reasons, Renan's emphasis on the variation of type seems to Dr. Jacobs exaggerated. And a perfectly impartial and independent investigator, like Buxton, supports him.

Writing in 1925, this author says: "With comparatively few exceptions, for exceptions do occur, the Jews from various parts of the world usually retain the characteristic brachycephalic head-form, their main cephalic index being about 81 . . . . But not only do the Jews retain their head-form in the majority of cases, they also preserve the other characters which Deniker mentions, the most noticeable of which is the form of the nose", their "nostrility" as Dr. Jacobs calls it.

Again, Ripley, whose objectivity has never been called in question, writing as early as 1900, said: "There is in reality such a phenomenon as the Jewish nose . . . this trait, next to the prevalent dark hair and eyes and swarthy skin, is the most distinctive among the chosen people."

When, therefore, writing as recently as 1936, and greatly influenced by Renan, Dr. N. Neuville says: "*Dans tous leurs caractères, les juifs se rattachent en général au type dominant du lieu où ils se trouvent, et l'on a du renoncer à leur trouver quoi que ce soit de racial, ni somatiquement, ni sérologiquement, ni pathologiquement*", he seems to go too far, and by so doing spoils his case. But what he says is quite typical of the Huxley-Haddon school.

At the end of his discussion of the Jews as a race, Dr. Jacobs concludes as follows:

"For these reasons I am inclined to support the long-standing belief in the substantial purity of the Jewish race, and to hold that the vast majority of contemporary Jews are the lineal descendants of the Diaspora of the

Roman Empire."

The question is, can we accept this Jewish writer's conclusion?

Only with reservations! For, quite apart from the fact that over half a century (two generations) now separates us from him, and that during that time there has undoubtedly been an intensive mixing of Jew and Christian, we must allow for his desire to prove at all costs the purity of his race.

But, without insisting on the actual purity of the race, it seems, on the basis of the above facts, not unfair to accept Buxton's summing up of the whole question in the term "types", and with this the present argument may fitly be terminated.

Buxton says: "For some reason or other the Jews have been able, with remarkable vitality, to perpetuate a physical type which has, at least in many places, survived to a marked degree . . . . That they have mixed, to a certain degree, with other races in various parts of the world is certain, and the mixed nature of their origin would account for many of their variations, while generally, as a type, they seem to be markedly persistent." <sup>22</sup>

If, therefore, we bear in mind that morphological characters can no longer be regarded as independent of psychological characters, the fact that we have concluded that the Jews have survived as a type is sufficient to relieve us of any need of pressing, as Dr. Jacobs does, the claim of race. For type, in its essence, is, if not indicative, at least reminiscent of ethnic division and specialization, and, as a distinction, suffices to justify all those who, on what grounds soever, may wish to retain their particular type free from mixture with any other type, using this in the psycho-physical sense which implies morphological as well as psychological influences.

2. We now come to the second possible form of reply to those who would deny race to the Jews, in the belief that by so doing they have removed every possible reason any other nation may advance for not mixing with them or enduring their influence over its national affairs.

From the tone and arguments of "We Europeans", By Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. A.C. Haddon, it is impossible not to infer that, by having to their own satisfaction disposed of the "fiction" of race, as applied whether to the Jews or to the Nordics, or Teutons, or the so-called "Aryans", they imagine that they have completely demonstrated the hollowness of any objections German, English or Polish people may have to marrying their sons and daughters to Jews, or to having their national policies influenced

by members of the Jewish community. And, as a final, supreme and apparently irresistible inducement to those who might still remain unmoved by their arguments, they remind the reader that "in Soviet Russia there is deliberate discouragement of all race prejudice"!!

They furthermore try to convince us of the fact that "what they [the Jews] have preserved and transmitted is not 'racial qualities' but religious and social traditions".<sup>23</sup>

Now, without entering into the question of the "scientific" value of a book which can resort to tactics such as these — for it must be obvious even to an archangel of impartiality that there is more in what the Jewish character has transmitted than religious and social traditions — let us concentrate on the one point, which is the denial of race to the Jews and to everybody else, including ourselves.

What is its import?

Does it remove every objection we may advance against marrying, say, an octoroon, or a Turkish woman, or a Russian moujik's daughter, or a Jewess? Does it remove every objection we may advance against allowing a negroid American, a Turk, a Russian Mongoloid, or a "Jewish Englishman" to influence our sentiments and institutions?

Certainly it does not.

Precisely to define *race* and then to demonstrate that no European people, including the Jews, exactly fit the definition may be a perfectly satisfactory thing to do, and such occasional examinations of words in common use are most necessary, particularly in these days of journalese, and the general abuse of language. But it has little to do either with politics, or with sociology, or with nationality. It leaves, in fact, the whole question of national feeling, national prejudice, national jealousy untouched.

At the present conjuncture in world affairs, "race" may have become a meaningless word. It may even be quite superfluous. If this is so, then by all means let us scrap it. But scrapping it will not remove those factors to designate which it has so far survived, possibly merely as a spurious counter. It will not remove the capacity on the part of non-Semitic Europeans to recognize the Jew as a type (desirable or undesirable). It will not remove the reluctance which is steadily growing to divorce type from character. It will not remove the knowledge which all Europeans have, and which cannot be wholly fallacious seeing that — as will appear below — it

is based on history that the Jew traditionally favours certain callings, certain occupations and reveals certain definite psychological characteristics which, whether conditioned by long habituation or not, are nevertheless distinct and may be (probably are) the psychological correlatives of his type. Finally, it cannot remove any objection non-Semites may advance to that irreducible kernel, recognized, as I have shown, by the Jews themselves, which distinguishes them from Gentiles, even if this be shown to consist externally only of "nostrility". For the believer in the interdependence of body and soul — and who is not a believer in this to-day? — will necessarily look for an irreducible psychological kernel in the Jewish type which must correspond with that nostrility. Thus, wonderful as may be the Huxley-Haddon effort, as a *tour de force*, as an anti-Hitler pamphlet, a lampoon, even if it is sound as an argument (which is by no means proved), it does not begin to solve the Jewish question for non-Semitic peoples. It is, therefore, that to the less alert and less critical in all the English-speaking world, it must appear to have done so.

Indeed, there are few of our daily practices and common beliefs which, if subjected to the test of definitions arbitrarily screwed up to wholly artificial rigidity, would be found to survive the test. What about the belief that the English people still stand for something which is not found in the non-English? What about the belief that there is something peculiar about English justice, English mercy, English forgiveness, the English capacity for fighting a losing battle both calmly and with grit, English humour? Whether we admire all these qualities or not has nothing to do with it. The point is, who would say that they are independent of a certain type which is found in England?

There are at least as many real and irreducible factors in the belief that the Jew still belongs to a distinct order of mankind as there are in any of the above beliefs. And by denying him or us the right to the use of "race" as a designation, you in no way remove the irreducible factors in question.

This is not to say that the Jew is therefore despicable, or that we should be justified in treating him with brutality, or hardness. It is not even to say that the complete list of his psycho-physical qualities is as susceptible of exhaustive definition as that of the terrier or the greyhound. But you do not make the Jew equivalent to a German or an Englishman by denying that the word "race" has any meaning as applied to any one of the

three nationalities. The error consists in supposing that, by debunking a word like "race" you can dispose of a belief which, after all, as we have seen above, has much to be said for it from the standpoint both of genetics and of history, and which the common man finds confirmed every time he happens to be confronted by a member of the Chosen People. In short, one has only to ask oneself whether the denial of the claim of purity of race to the Englishman disposes of our distinct conception of what an Englishman usually is, in order to see through the Huxley-Haddon contribution to the subject and to appreciate that, after all — even supposing it to be sound — it has done nothing more than perform a piece of philological purification.

## II

# The General History of the Jews<sup>24</sup> (Up to the time of the Roman Dispersion)

As early as 3500 B.C. the Semites were already migrating into Mesopotamia, and conquering and probably mingling with the earlier inhabitants (the Sumerians) to form the Babylonian and Assyrian peoples. From about the beginning of the third millennium B.C. onwards, a second wave swept over the area, covering "Babylonia, laying the foundation of the Assyrian Empire, invading Syria and Palestine and possibly, later, Egypt (Hyksos)", and in the second millennium, or more probably towards the end of the third, a third wave, consisting of the Aramæans, passed over the area, "preceded by the swarming into Syria from the desert of Khabiri (Habiru) or Hebrews (Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and Israelites among others)".

The Aramæan ancestors of Israel were in the district of Ur, in northern Mesopotamia, in the second half of the third millennium B.C., and thence they moved, perhaps about 2350 B.C., northwards to Harran, some of them continuing round the fertile crescent down to Egypt.

The historicity of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob need not be doubted, but the names usually believed to belong to the sons of Jacob probably reflect tribal relationships. About the end of the third millennium or the beginning of the second, "some of the tribes belonging to the Joseph group settled on the borders of Egypt". They were still a nomadic and pastoral people, and the story about their ultimately entering the pasture lands of Goshen, to the east of the Nile delta, driven thither by famine, is not improbable, and his people's enjoyment of Egyptian hospitality is a perfectly possible feature of their history, if we assume that it occurred during the Hyksos dominion. After the expulsion of the Hyksos rulers and the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty in Egypt (1600 B.C. onwards), the condition of the Israelites, or a certain portion of them, changed. The new rulers of the XVIIIth Dynasty, no longer friendly, forced the Semite shepherds into slavery, and for a generation or two the Israelites, accustomed as nomads to freedom and independence, were probably subjected as Egyptian slaves to the most severe oppression. "There is no reason to suppose that the bondage of Israel in Egypt involved

the whole people", nor is it certain, as many have supposed, that the pharaoh of the Exodus was Rameses II. The rousing of the nationalist feeling in Moses, his leadership of his people, and their ultimate escape from Egypt somewhere about 1500 B.C. are all probably historical facts. The plagues which prepared the way for the escape and the miracles which attended the first marches of the Israelites across the wilderness, all consisted more or less of natural events which can be given a rational interpretation.

There is no fundamental reason to suppose that the four hundred and thirty years stated to have been the length of the sojourn in Egypt is not correct, for there is little doubt that the band Moses led out to freedom were a browbeaten set of men, perhaps softened by generations of ease in Goshen and then depressed by years of slavery. Not only were many of them ready to barter every bit of their new freedom for the greasy "fleshpots of Egypt", but before they could pluck up enough courage to invade the crescent, it was evidently "necessary for the slave generation to die off, and for a tougher and more desperate generation to arise".

Thus they wandered forty years in the wilderness, during which they suffered every kind of privation, and their leader taught them once more about the God of their fathers, and knit them afresh into a race-conscious group bound by one religion, and sworn to believe in Yahweh as their special protector.

They appear to have taken a south-eastern route on leaving Egypt, and only subsequently to have wandered northwards to conquer the land which "flowed with milk and honey". Moses lived to see the second generation grow up, but it was another who was to lead these desperate men, hardened by years of life in the wilderness, rudely armed, and with little beyond their courage to help them against the Canaanites.

The conquests, involving much bloodshed, were made piecemeal, but after them "it was only the repeated assaults of enemies within and without which threw the tribes back on their common inheritance of blood, religion and tradition, and welded them into a single whole".

The patriarchal period had long expired; it had ended with the entry into Egypt. But now, during a period of listless anarchy and alternate apostasy, chastisement and deliverance, Judges, or leaders, arose. For the people became contaminated with the beliefs and practices of their enemies, adopted their gods, though neither entirely nor permanently.

Gradually the office of the Judges became hereditary, the impressive era of the great Israelitish prophets began, and the indefatigable onslaughts of their ancient enemies — the Canaanites, the Moabites and the Ammonites — anxious to recover their former properties, alone kept the flame of patriotism and race-consciousness burning in the hearts of the new settlers, by giving to the prophets their various items for the reasons for fear.

The dominance of the Aramæan invaders over their predecessors — for the Israelites of the Egyptian captivity were doubtless joined by thousands of their kith and kin from other parts — having been secured during what is known as the period of the Judges, "the climax was reached with the coming of the Philistines".

Who were the Judges and were the Philistines?

The Judges were inspired military leaders, not, perhaps, unlike the fakirs who occasionally lead the native raids on our North-west Frontier in India. There were many of them, but the greatest of all was undoubtedly that farmer who belonged to the northern tribes and whose name was Saul.

The Philistines were a non-Semitic people who represented the survivors of the great Ægean civilization. Driven out of their homes in the islands of the Mediterranean by invading hordes from the north, they had early sought refuge in Egypt and Palestine. Beaten off by Rameses III. from Egyptian territory, they had established themselves further north, particularly in five centres, Gath, Ekron, Ashkalon, Ashdod and Gaza. Had it not been for the rise of the Israelites they might have established a new empire in Palestine, and even before Saul, *i.e.*, in the days of Samson, there had, as we know, been skirmishes between them in Palestine.

But the Israelites had been content to leave the charge of resisting their determined foe to the tribes bordering their territory. A crushing defeat at the hands of the Philistines, however, brought the Israelites to their senses, and forced them willy-nilly to act in unison, and to fight as one nation.

It was during the period of continued pressure exerted by the Philistines after their signal victory that the great military hero Saul arose. After leading his people successfully against the Ammonites, who were attacking them on the east, Saul, now the first King of Israel, gathered his forces together and marched against the Philistines and defeated them.



But he did not dispose of them, and ultimately committed suicide, having been routed by them after years of desultory fighting with his various foes.

The date usually given for Saul's kingship is 1072 to 1032 B.C., but Robinson suggests 1036 B.C., presumably as the beginning of the reign, and 1016 B.C. for the beginning of David's rule.

At all events, something in the region of half a millennium had now elapsed since the Exodus, and it had been half a millennium of almost continuous struggle on the part of the determined Israelites against what again and again must have been overwhelming odds.

It is now, at this distance of time, almost impossible to understand how they succeeded in ultimately establishing themselves in Palestine at the expense of the settled inhabitants, who were better armed and better organised than themselves and who, after all, were fighting for their very existence. Their ultimate success lends colour to the belief that (a) they must have been very hard, ferocious and resolute to a degree never again to be recovered by their nation (except perhaps once, as we shall see), but which must probably have stamped their character for all time; (b) their continuous wars, privations and hardships, apart from the original conquests, must again and again have winnowed the weaker and less determined from their stock; and (c) in their advance across Palestine from the wilderness they probably found they were joined by numbers of their kith and kin, who being already settled in the land and never having seen Egypt, swelled their ranks and helped them because they were probably carried away by the intensity of their long-lost brethren's fervour, the earnestness of their religious faith, and the inflexible determination with which they pursued their purpose.

When, however, we remember what was at stake — that it was a matter for these resolute and desperate people of establishing themselves on a geographical site which, apart from its fertility and pleasant climate, was probably the most important in the whole of the ancient world as the only strategic and trade link between three continents, and therefore an area which was naturally coveted by every Power in its neighbourhood; when we remember the advantage the conquerors of such a territory would have, not merely as the much solicited allies of powerful adjacent states, but also as the custodians and sentinels, as it were, along the principal trade routes of the ancient world, joining up three vast areas like Asia, Europe and north Africa — we cannot wonder at the vehemence and

resolution of the invaders, or the perseverance of their efforts.

They had long been in touch with the high civilisation in Egypt. Their ancestors had traversed the whole of the Fertile Crescent. They must have known better than we know now the immense commercial importance of the land for which they were fighting, and the advantage of occupying it. And whilst they may have been well aware of their distant relationship to most of the powerful peoples lying to the north and east of them and even to the people they were turning out — the Canaanites — the lessons they had learnt from their great teacher Moses, and the certainty he had given them of the peculiar favour they enjoyed at the hands of their deity Yahweh, probably fortified them in the belief that they were specially privileged and possessed a superior right to the valuable area they were invading.

True, it was the traditional battlefield of all the great adjacent Powers; but life there was infinitely preferable to the precarious existence to which they had been reduced theretofore, as nomads cast out of Egypt with a reduced stamina (and probably a reduced spirit as well) and constantly exposed to the rigours of the elements and the violence of raiders and hostile tribes.

All this has been duly weighed in forming an estimate of the Jewish character, though too much importance can be attached to it, when it is remembered how remote the events of the conquest of Palestine really are.

The death of Saul was the signal for the division of the kingdom, the northern tribes appointing his son as his successor. But David ultimately won them over, became the king of the whole twelve, and with his united people behind him gained a crushing victory over the Philistines. He then made it his business to conquer all the people on his border who were a menace to him — the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Aramæans, the Edomites and the Amalekites — and to consolidate and civilise his nation. He built a palace and aimed, in vain as it happened, at building a Temple; established a harem suitable for a great Oriental potentate, and paved the way in luxury for the man who was to be the Louis XV. of the Jewish state — Solomon, the so-called Wise. Jerusalem became David's capital, and in it he "served as High Priest, Chief Justice and King". But there is no doubt that his head was turned by the eminence and glory he had won, and many of his actions, while proving his absolute power, are difficult to defend even

from the standpoint of the rude morality of his day.

He was followed (976 B.C.) by a son, probably a hybrid, who had experienced none of the hardships and rigours of his father's early days and, born in the purple, merely developed the least admirable aspects of David's exercise of the royal power, although he realised his father's desire to build a Temple. But, on the whole, he undermined the prestige of the throne and prepared the way for the disruption of the kingdom that followed.

For some time after Solomon's death (938 B.C.) a state of civil war prevailed; the northern tribes rebelled under Jeroboam, formed a second kingdom, and the nation was divided into two — Israel in the north and Judah in the south. "A united realm such as David achieved might in the long run have become a first-class Power. As it was, the strength of Palestine was wasted in petty local conflicts, and in the end she failed not only to achieve wide dominion, but even to maintain her own independence."

The southerners, the Judeans — from whom ultimately the designation "Jew" derives (Yehudi: man of Judah) — remained, however, very much more like their ancestors of the desert than the northerners, for the latter restored the old calf-worship of Egypt and displayed the utmost hostility to their kith and kin in the south.

The Kings of Judah persisted in their hope of recovering their authority over the northern tribes, and war lasted between the two kingdoms for nearly sixty years. True, a common menace from the quarter of Syria ultimately united them closely again for a while, only to leave them disrupted once more, when Jehu ascended the throne of Israel.

The northern kingdom sank more and more hopelessly into idolatry, despite the exhortations of the prophets, who maintained that the incursions of the Syrians and ultimately the invasions of the Assyrians were sent by way of punishment for this backsliding. The collapse began with the death of Jeroboam II. (747 B.C.). The inhabitants were carried into captivity and their country was colonised by the idolatrous Assyrians.

It is said that "27,000 of the best spirits in the northern tribes were carried into captivity", distributed over Assyria, and definitely lost by becoming irretrievably mixed with the people about them, for they were never to be heard of more.

Such was the end of the Ten Tribes, and of the northern kingdom they

inhabited.

Judah, the southern kingdom, however, was spared only for a short while. After struggling for its existence against Assyria and Egypt in turn, and subsequently against Chaldea, it ultimately succumbed to Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, in about 586 B.C. Jerusalem was sacked, its treasury emptied, its Temple despoiled, and all the better-class citizens, the soldiers and the craftsmen were taken into captivity in Babylon (597–586 B.C.). Only a disreputable remnant of the population was left, while thousands fled to Egypt. Thus Judah now consisted of three dispersed groups — the wretched, dispirited remnant left behind in Palestine, the fugitives in Egypt, and the community of exiles in Babylon.

But this was not to be the end of Judah. Dispersed though its people were, it was nevertheless destined to survive, and the fact that it did so is due chiefly to two factors — the power of the Jewish religion as an integrating force, and the tenacity, faith and stamina of the exiles in Babylon. Unlike the northern ten tribes, there was a nucleus among these exiles of Judah which refused to merge into the life and population of their captors. They retained their identity, their religion and their patriotism. Indeed, the captivity strengthened all these features of their race. They remained a separate people, and after the lapse of about seventy years, in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies, Persia conquered Babylon, and Cyrus, King of Persia, set the tribes free to return to Judah (539 B.C.). Not all, however, availed themselves of the permission. The better adapted remained behind, so that once again there was a searching selection by circumstances of the men of highest stamina and most patriotic sentiments.

Thoroughly purified of all the old tendencies to idolatry, these returned exiles rebuilt the Temple, and a period of comparative peace followed, during which the Jews, loyal to the power that had liberated them, increased rapidly in wealth and numbers, and, under the governorship of a satrap, formed part of a province of Persia (539–330 B.C.).

By the victories of Alexander the Great, the Persian Empire was brought to an end. Alexander did not, however, oppress the Jews who thus became his subjects. On the contrary, he granted them many privileges, which they continued to enjoy under his followers, and he invited numbers of them to settle in the new Egyptian capital, Alexandria. After Alexander's

death (323 B.C.), Palestine, as the bridge between the three kingdoms into which his empire was divided, became for over a century the scene of repeated wars; but in 198 B.C. Antiochus the Great captured Jerusalem, Palestine was definitely made a part of Syria, and the country, although well treated by its new master, was soon to suffer from the tyrannies of his successors. Antiochus Epiphanes suddenly took it into his head to exterminate Judaism as a religion (he profaned the Temple), but, as usual, the very steps he took to do this, ruthless though they were, merely consolidated and provoked the kernel consisting of the most devout and patriotic families in Judea, and rebellion was the result. (Maccabæan revolt.)

Long before this happened, however, a process had been going on which had been causing the greatest alarm to earnest and devout Jews throughout the Jewish state — the rapid Hellenization of their country. Everywhere Jewish practices and beliefs and even the native speech were being superseded by the Hellenistic view of things and the Greek language; and, among the more pious Jews, there was violent opposition to the party in their nation who were responsible for this change, and their supporters among the people. It was the Hellenistic party among the Jews who encouraged Antiochus Epiphanes to stamp out Judaism, "so that the Maccabæan revolt was largely due to what was in effect an alliance between Antiochus and the Hellenistic Jews against the orthodox party".

The party which opposed Antiochus and the Hellenizing Jews was known as the Chassidim, or "The Righteous", and was led by a priest named Mattathias and his five brave sons. Indeed, but for this father and his stalwart progeny, it is not improbable that the whole people, together with their religion, would have been wiped out, or inextricably merged with the pagan populations that surrounded them.

The rebellion led by the Chassidim, and above all by Mattathias and his sons, was marked by the most heroic fighting, often against overwhelming odds, on the part of the orthodox; and eventually, in 165 B.C., the Syrians were repulsed and the Temple dedicated. First Judas and then Jonathan and Simon Maccabæus distinguished themselves in this terrific struggle, and the latter, in 141 B.C., finally secured the independence of his country by capturing the last fortress (Zion) which had remained in the hands of the Syrians. Thus was Judaism again saved from complete annihilation by a handful of stern, orthodox Jews. Rome now first enters the scene, but as a

friend rather than a foe.

John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.), the son of Simon Maccabæus, consolidated the work of his forebears, reduced Edom, conquered Samaria, and compelled the Idumæans to unite with the Jewish people. But with the succession of Aristobulus, his son (103 B.C.), who was the first of the Hasmonean rulers to assume the kingly power, the Hasmonean dynasty suffered a total moral collapse and lost both the religious faith and purity of life of its ancestors. Indeed, it was through the dissensions between the grandsons of Aristobulus that Rome was ultimately called in to arbitrate, and as a result seized the opportunity to assume power.

Pompey, who had lately captured Damascus for the Romans, sided with Hyrcanus against the latter's brother, Aristobulus; took Jerusalem (63 B.C.) and, demolishing the walls, entered the Temple, but left its treasures untouched. "Twelve thousand Jews are said to have been put to the sword."

This was the end of the Jewish State. Judea, greatly reduced in extent, was added to the Roman province of Syria, and Hyrcanus, nominated to the High Priesthood by Pompey, was granted independence in his own land, but became a vassal of Rome.

The weakness of Hyrcanus II., however, gave the wily Idumæan Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, the chance to assume the supreme power, and thus led to the rise of the Herods. Antipater, most successful in his relationship with Rome, became Procurator of Judea, and was followed by his son Herod (44 B.C.) who, with the help of Mark Anthony and Octavianus, became nominal King of Judea in 40 B.C. and actual king of both Judea and Samaria in 37 B.C.

Born an Idumæan, professing himself a Jew, by necessity a Roman, and by culture and taste really a Greek, he did his utmost to reconcile the various parties among the Jews and in the state, and endeavoured above all to make his Greek and Jewish subjects live in harmony. But in this latter task he failed. The orthodox Jews, more than ever alarmed by the behaviour and origin of their sovereign, and by the Hellenization of their land which was still proceeding apace, were alienated from him, as were all decent men; and when he died (A.D. 4) the deplorable effects of his reign were everywhere visible. He had exploited his office to betray his country to Rome, he had cultivated alien customs, encouraged immorality and undermined religious faith. Meanwhile, his Jewish subjects, exasperated

beyond endurance by the loss of their liberties and the oppression exercised by their pagan rulers, were increasingly driven to exclusiveness and religious fanaticism; but although they made an attempt to prevent the succession of any descendant of Herod, and sent to Rome a special mission to urge Cæsar to abolish the Jewish kingship and place the Jewish people under the immediate rule of Rome, they were not successful. Cæsar appointed Archelaus, a son of Herod the Great, Tetrarch of Judea, Samaria and Idumæa. But his unsatisfactory behaviour and unpopularity with the Jews ultimately led to his banishment to Gaul, and Judea was governed by procurators.

Adumbrations of the ultimate disaster that was to befall the Jews could now be discerned. Pontius Pilate, for instance, attempted to introduce Roman ensigns bearing the emperor's effigy into the city and to place brazen shields as military trophies in the Temple; he also endeavoured to utilize money belonging to the Temple in order to provide Jerusalem with a better water supply. And when eventually the Jews revolted, he quelled the insurrection by disguising his soldiers as citizens and making them mix with the crowd, so that at a given signal they might fall on the Jews and beat them with clubs — a drastic measure, but, considering the times, probably no less necessary than Dwyer's in India and Mussolini's in Addis Ababa.

Other procurators followed, but between A.D. 41 and 44 Palestine came once more under the Herodian dynasty in the person of Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, only to be restored to the procurators of Rome, who then remained the actual rulers of the land up to the time of the Roman Dispersion and subsequently.

Meanwhile, however, a partial dispersion of the Jews had, of course, long been a fact, and in Alexandria, Rome, Babylonia, the East and certain parts of Asia Minor there were already flourishing communities of them.

Disliked in Alexandria chiefly because of their treachery on the arrival of the Romans, and the constant source of disturbances there, they were the victims of several acts of violence and bloodshed at the hands of the Gentiles of the city, though more than once they retaliated in kind and managed for a while to secure the respect if not the friendship of their Gentile neighbours. The worst massacre of the Jews, which occurred in A.D. 60 under Nero, seems to have been unusually terrible, for no further clash between the two races occurred for a generation.

The community of Jews in Rome cannot be traced with certainty to any period earlier than that of Pompey, though probably thousands of them, consisting chiefly of freed slaves, had been settled there long before. Tiberius appears to have been the first emperor to banish them, although they were soon allowed to return. In Rome they were disliked by the Gentile population almost as heartily as in Alexandria, but for rather different reasons, into which we shall enter later. (See section on "The Character of the Jews".)

In Babylonia and the East, the very large Jewish community consisted chiefly of the descendants of the Israelites deported after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.), partly of the Jews belonging to the southern kingdom deported by Nebuchadrezzar (597 and 586 B.C.) and who had preferred to remain in exile, and partly of Jews taken captive by Artaxerxes III. on his return from his Egyptian campaign (346 B.C.). They constituted a very strictly religious population; but there were not wanting elements among them who helped to add to the general unrest of the lands forming the Parthian Empire, and for this, and their marked difference from the surrounding population, they were here also cordially hated by the Gentiles. Persecutions and massacres of Jews occurred, and in Seleucia a particularly terrible slaughter took place in which 50,000 are said to have lost their lives.

In the various centres of Asia Minor where there happened to be Jewish communities long before the final upheaval in Jerusalem, the hostility of their Gentile neighbours appears to have been less pronounced, partly because, in these areas, the Jews were much more ready to adopt the Græco-Oriental cults and to abandon their ancestral religion. But this was not universally so, although the influence of Hellenism was doubtless strong.

Generally speaking, the tendencies which led to the outbreak of the Jewish War, with its culmination in the Roman Dispersion, consisted of a certain hardening of the attitude of the Palestinian Jews towards the outside Græco-Roman world as fast as the Near East came under the increasing influence of Rome, a fanatical concentration on Jewish law and rites which emphasised this hardening process, and an increasing feeling of impatience with any interference in their worship or their faith even by powerful rulers of Jewish faith, and much more, therefore, by the procurators and soldiers of Rome.



When Cuspius Fadus was sent to rule Judea in A.D. 44 he found much unrest in the land, caused to a great extent by the mutual dislike between Jew and Gentile, and the religious fanaticism and unbalanced sensitiveness of the Jews on religious matters. Trouble began to grow acute under the procurator Cumanus (A.D. 48?). Owing to the indecent behaviour of a Roman soldier during the Passover festival, and on the demand of the Jews that the man should be punished, a riot occurred in which thousands of Jews are said to have perished. Other incidents of a similar and even more serious nature took place, and the fact that the office of Roman procurator in Judea was no bed of roses is shown by the ultimate fate of Cumanus himself, who was punished and sent into exile (A.D. 52) as the result of his handling of a clash between the Jews and the Samaritans.

The repeated severe castigations of the representatives of Rome for their mishandling of the complex conditions in Judea, however, by leading the Jews to despise these officers of the Roman state, contributed not a little to the final catastrophe. Under the procurator Felix the lawlessness increased to an alarming extent; nor, according to the more sober judgment of recent historians, was it altogether his fault; local disturbances consisting chiefly of violent clashes between Jew and Gentile were constantly calling for his intervention, and ultimately Felix too was recalled, although he was far from being entirely to blame.

By the time the last of the procurators, Gessius Florus, arrived, affairs were quite hopeless, and the only two possible alternatives seemed to be the disappearance either of the Jews or of the Romans from Palestine.

The spark that kindled the final conflict was twofold — a settlement by Florus of the long-standing dispute between the Jews and the Gentiles in Cæsaræa, which seemed to favour the Gentiles, and the fact that when feeling was running high among the Jews of Jerusalem as the result of the alleged ill-treatment of their fellow religionists in Cæsaræa, Florus demanded seventeen talents from the Temple treasury. Apparently he had a perfect right to do so, but owing to the feverish state of the Jews at the time, it was interpreted as piece of sacrilegious robbery, and to the astonishment of the whole Mediterranean world, this little people, whose only solid strength lay in their religion, rose up and declared war on the mighty power of Rome.

The amazing features of this amazing war were the initial success of the Jews, the comparatively long duration of the war (considering the

relative strength of the combatants), the ferocity and courage with which most of the Jews fought, and the impressive resistance offered by them during the siege of Jerusalem, which ended only within the Temple itself, and the account of which in the pages of Kastein's history constitutes one of the most stirring narratives that can be read in the annals of war.

From A.D. 66 to 70 the conflict raged, and "it took nearly three years after the Fall of Jerusalem to clear the country of the last remnants of Jewish troops and insurgents and to capture the three fortresses of Herodeion, Machærus and Masada. In Masada the fanatics swore they would never surrender, and when, after prolonged fighting, the Romans at last took the place, they found only two women and five children alive inside. All the rest had committed suicide." More than 1,000,000 Jews are said to have perished in this war, and over 90,000 were captured and sold as slaves, or reserved for gladiatorial exhibitions.

As for the Jews who remained in Judea, with their Temple and the Jewish state destroyed, and their relationship to Rome, which had hitherto been friendly on the whole, now irrevocably ruined, their position appeared to be desperate enough. But although their number had been constantly reduced by the ravages of war and by the thousands of their brethren who had gone into exile abroad, they were nevertheless strong enough, more than half a century later, to make one final gesture of resistance on a grand scale to the power of imperial Rome, and only when this failed (A.D. 134–135) did they relinquish all hope of re-establishing the Jewish state and restoring Jerusalem to their possession.

The rising, provoked by certain massacres of Hadrian, took the Romans completely by surprise. The Jews, adopting the methods of warfare practised by the Maccabæans in the early days of the struggle, harassed the Romans with their guerilla tactics, and it was only when Hadrian finally sent out his most experienced and famous general, Julius Severus, that the conflict was brought to an end. Even after the arrival of Severus on the scene, however, it dragged on for another three and a half years, and the losses on either side are said to have been appallingly high, the Jews having lost half a million and the Roman casualties having been correspondingly serious.

But this was indeed the end. Jerusalem was now rebuilt as a pagan city. No Jews were allowed to live there, or even to visit the city on pain of death, and the Chosen People became aliens on their ancestral soil.

Thus did the Great Jewish Dispersion become a practical necessity. Henceforward these people could claim but their ancestral religion as their spiritual fatherland and rallying point, and the last of the dispersions sent them wandering to every corner of the known world, but especially into those areas where their brethren were already settled, or where Rome had established a certain modicum of civilisation.

It will thus be impossible to follow the destiny of all the various groups thus formed, and we can concentrate only on the Jews who settled in England. Suffice it to say that, at least throughout the Middle Ages, the fate of the Jews in Europe was very much the same, no matter where they happened to be. Hard and mild treatment followed each other in quick succession, according to the temper of the local rulers or the circumstances of the time. Expulsions from Spain, France and other countries, sometimes enforced with the utmost severity, alternated with massacres or with spells of extraordinarily merciful and even preferential treatment. But everywhere the position of the Jews was more or less insecure, and yet everywhere they survived owing chiefly to the tremendous power of their law and religious tradition, their exceptional stamina, their inflexible will to maintain their unity in dispersion, and their surprising capacity for adaptation.

Indeed, a good, if unduly flattering, description of their destiny is that Lord Beaconsfield gives in his "Biography of Lord George Bentinck", and with this significant quotation this section may well close.

"The world had by this time", writes Disraeli, "discovered that it is impossible to destroy the Jews. The attempt to extirpate them has been made under the most favourable auspices and on the largest scale; the most considerable means that man could command have been pertinaciously applied to this object for the longest period of recorded time. Egyptian pharaohs, Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, Scandinavian crusaders, Gothic princes and holy inquisitors, have alike devoted their energies to the fulfilment of this common purpose. Expatriation, exile, captivity, confiscation, torture on the most ingenious and massacre on the most extensive scale, a curious system of degrading customs and debasing laws which would have broken the heart of any other people, have been tried, and in vain. The Jews, after all this havoc, are probably more numerous at this date than they were during the reign of Solomon the Wise, are found in all lands, and unfortunately prospering in most. All

which proves, that it is in vain for man to attempt to baffle the inexorable law of nature which has decreed that a superior race shall never be destroyed or absorbed by an inferior" (pp. 494, 495).

### III

## History of the Jews in England

Jewish, or certainly Semitic, traders were probably known to the early Britons of the coast long before Cæsar thought of landing on this island, and certainly before the birth of Christ. Speaking of this period, one historian even goes so far as to say: "Merchants and their crews came there [Cornwall] from all the seaports of the Mediterranean, from Marseilles and the Adriatic, from Phoenicia at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and the north African trading centres; some of these surely married and settled in England, and so we find in Cornwall descendants of Asiatic and African peoples — men and women with a Jewish or African or Italian cast of countenance and a temperament altogether foreign to that we find elsewhere in the island."

Hyamson also refers to the subject. He says: "A Semitic origin is found . . . for the well-know Cornish place names. Marazion ('Bitterness of Zion') and Market Jew. Resemblances have been traced between the Hebrew and Cornish languages; and it has been pointed out that Jewish names were once common among the inhabitants of Cornwall . . . . It may be that they are instances of purely accidental coincidence; it may be that they are due to Jewish intercourse with England during the reign of Solomon. It is possible also that they may date from a later period."

Hyamson also thinks it possible that, on the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans, among the Jews sold as slaves some may have come to Britain.

The first mention of Jews is to be found in the *Liber Poenitentialis* of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 669. There are also references to Jews in the days of Whitgaf or Wiglaf, King of Mercia, and Edward the Confessor. There can be little doubt, therefore, that long before the Conquest Jews were established over here, though probably not in large numbers. There is, however, no doubt whatsoever that William I. was responsible for the influx of a large crowd of Jews into England. They came from Rouen, and the fact that he no doubt granted them extraordinary privileges, which were more or less extended to them by every monarch of the Norman and Plantagenet lines up to the time of Edward I., is most significant. It indicates the explanation of a phenomenon otherwise

inexplicable — namely, that the crowned head of the land could have held under his protecting wing for over two centuries a community of foreigners who exploited the people often quite intolerably, and who never pretended to have another qualification for their sojourn in the country than precisely this function of exploiting the people.

Renan, pursuing his customary tactics, tries to imply that since the Jew of the early Middle Ages in England and Germany came from France, and a high percentage of Gallic Jews were converts, a large proportion of the alleged Jews of England and Germany may not have been true Semites at all. The facts, however, are not in harmony with this hypothesis. Neither do Hyamson, Goldschmidt, nor Abrahams — all of them Jewish historians and authors of books on the Jews in England — ever hint at anything of the kind.

Although we cannot discover many details about the Jews under William I., except that they were plentiful, that they helped to fill the royal treasury and diverted much of the odium that would otherwise have fallen on the King and his chief officers, we are justified in inferring from the conduct of the subsequent monarchs towards the Jews, and their functions in the State, that what the Jews did and how they were treated in the 12th and 13th centuries more or less followed the precedents first established by the Conqueror.

What, then, was the function of the Jews and what was their relationship to the sovereign?

There is not the slightest shadow of a doubt that the Jews of the late eleventh century in England were chiefly occupied with moneylending, and probably generally fulfilling the function of middlemen capitalists, some centuries before capitalism became a reality in the land. In addition to lending out money at interest, they therefore probably bought and sold as wholesalers, and it is also not unlikely that they may even have cornered markets in certain commodities.

They had the coin, they had the financial knowledge and experience, they were alone in the field (because the laws of the Church forbade usury to Christians), they had the protection of the most powerful in the realm, and, above all, they enjoyed extraordinary privileges.

None, however, but an invading and victorious dynasty, feeling itself still a stranger in the land and conscious of no traditional ties to its inhabitants, could ever have dropped such a cloud of harpies upon the

country without considering that it was violating a duty and a trust.

And what were the privileges granted by the Norman and early Plantagenet monarchs to the Jews, and probably originally suggested by the Conqueror's own treatment of them?

They were, by law, permitted to charge a very high rate of interest for their loans. Twopence per £1 per week, *i.e.*, 40 per cent. to 50 per cent. per annum, was quite common. And Abrahams tells us that "loans were freely contracted which accumulated at 50 per cent.". They were allowed to claim redress if molested, hold lands in pledge until redeemed, probably excused all customs, toils, etc.,<sup>25</sup> and permitted to buy anything except Church property. They had the right to be tried by their peers and, what was most extraordinary, a Jew's oath was held to be valid against that of twelve Christians.

In return for these exceptional privileges, the King levied a tax on all their transactions, sometimes resorted to direct demands on money from them, and, in addition, often accepted money from their debtors, in order to use his influence on the latter's behalf. Thus he derived a double profit from the activities of the Jews.

His income from this source must have been considerable, and Abrahams estimates the average annual contribution made by the Jews to the treasury during the latter part of the twelfth century at about a twelfth of the whole royal revenue. At the beginning of the thirteenth century it amounted to a thirteenth. To appreciate how wealthy the Jews had become in England in a little over a century, however, we need only consider that when, in 1187, Henry II. wished to raise a great sum from all his people, he got nearly as much from the Jews alone as from his Christian subjects. From the former, whose contribution he assessed at 25 per cent. of their property, he obtained £60,000, an enormous sum in those days and equal to £2,400,000 in pre-War money, and from the latter, whose contribution he assessed at 10 per cent., he obtained £70,000, or a sum equivalent to £2,800,000 in pre-War money.

Moreover, the sovereign would frequently make special demands upon the Jews if by any chance they required his help to extricate themselves from a difficulty, either real or deliberately contrived by their protector and master. Thus, in 1130, "on the pretence" that one of the Jewish community had killed a sick man, Henry I. fined them the then

enormous sum of £2,000 (£80,000 in pre-War money).<sup>26</sup>

True, though the Kings of the Norman and early Plantagenet lines protected the Jews, they also regarded them as their own to do as they liked with, and, as the years went by, each King may be said to have protected them less and less. Consequently, although the Jews undoubtedly flourished — thanks to their extraordinary privileges and the peculiar nature of their activities among a people who were not merely children, but virtually infants, in all financial matters — they had to pay fairly heavily for their right to be the King's chattels, and not in cash and goods alone, but also in the odium their wealth and their peculiarly favoured position excited in those about them.

To use a metaphor which, although obstetric, is exceedingly apt, if we wish to form a correct conception of the function of the Jews in England in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we must think of them as a sort of placenta placed between the King and the body of his people, whereby the blood drawn from his subjects by the monarch appeared to the English themselves to be extracted from them by the placenta, and not by the avaricious or exacting organism on the other side of it.

By this means the odium was skilfully diverted from the King to the instrument of his exactions, and a buffer community without parallel in the modern State was thus placed between the ruler and his subjects.<sup>27</sup>

It does not require much ingenuity, however, to perceive that such an arrangement was bound to be ephemeral; for whilst in the first place none but a victorious conqueror and his heirs could ever have displayed the requisite indifference and callousness towards their subjects to institute such a cold-blooded contrivance for extorting money from them, and whilst this indifference and callousness were bound to decline as the royal house grew more and more English and more and more attached to England,<sup>28</sup> the position from the standpoint of the Jews themselves necessarily became less and less enviable and capable of enduring as the year went by. For not only did their activities provoke hostility among the noblest of those who had property to pledge, but the preferential treatment which they enjoyed was also calculated to inflame this section of the nation. True, this did not apply wholly to the common people, who, although they suffered a good deal indirectly from Jewish practices, probably had little to do with them as usurers and financial experts. But



even with regard to the mass of those who had no property to pledge, there were other grounds for dislike. There were, for instance, the differences of the Jews, their peculiar religious beliefs, their peculiar habits, the fact that they almost monopolized the profession of medicine, and often did not scruple to scoff at the magical interpretations which the superstitious people and their spiritual guides gave to the more common ailments of man, and to deride the magical cures of these ailments which the priests often claimed. Moreover, we must not forget that the poorer elements in society would resent the ostentation with which many of the wealthier Jews displayed their riches.<sup>29</sup>

There was obviously, therefore, very little stability about the position of the Jews in England at this time, and any member of the nation gifted with insight might, as early as the end of the twelfth century, have foreseen the inevitable outcome. Their greatest danger clearly lay in the caprice of the sovereign. Given a king who felt himself more English than William the Conqueror or Henry I., and who consequently conceived his duties to his people to be bound more by affection and confidence than by might and violence, and the plight of the Jew, who had no real place in the economy of the feudal State, or who was not allowed, or declined to take, any real place, was bound to become precarious. It is not pretended that the whole story of the circumstances of the Jews in Norman and Angevin England, and of the relation of the sovereigns to them, has been given in the above brief sketch. All that has been done is to select certain salient but characteristic features which, in the small compass of this essay, might suffice to give a fairly graphic picture of the state of affairs.

Altogether apart, however, from any other reasons which the English people may have had for disliking the Jews in those days, the Church had for a very long time, and more or less independently, been trying to excite the populace against them.

Many ecclesiastical bodies were involved in heavy debts to the Jews,<sup>30</sup> which may have been a factor in the Church's growing hostility; but undoubtedly what chiefly incensed the ecclesiastics was the relative rationalism of the Jews at a time when almost every activity was governed by superstition and a belief in magical agencies, and also the religious influence of the Jews on the common people and particularly on the slaves and servants they kept in their households.

As early as the beginning of the twelfth century the Church had forbidden Jews to hold Christian slaves, and any slaves they held who accepted Christianity were at once set at liberty. The Church had also been active in spreading among the superstitious populace tales of horror concerning the secret practices of the Jews in order, if possible, to incite the people against them. It also took steps to obtain converts among them, and any of these who were found guilty of reversion to Judaism were deprived of their children and servants "lest the latter might be influenced to act likewise".

Among the landlord class, hostility to the Jews was also growing steadily in the two centuries preceding their expulsion. This hostility which, among the poorer nobility, was doubtless due to indebtedness, was among the richer inspired by the fact that the presence of the Jews and their contributions to the treasury gave the King an independence which he could not otherwise have enjoyed, and rendered possible "many of those among the King's acts which they hated most".

The towns, however, were the first to feel and express an active dislike of the Jews because, owing to the latter's essentially urban tastes and habits, and the fact that their activities were preponderatingly urban in character, it was the towns "that suffered most keenly and constantly from the presence of the Jews".

Thus, in spite of all the propaganda of the Church, much of which appears to have been believed by the common folk, the latter's fury still remained in abeyance, until the prejudices and passions excited by the Crusades at last let loose the pent-up anger in the country.

And in this respect England was not exceptional.

As early as 1097, soon after Pope Urban II. had announced the First Crusade, there had been massacres of Jews at Treves, Metz, Spiers, Worms, Mentz and Cologne, at cities on the Main and Danube, and even in Hungary, whilst in 1147 there had again been massacres of the Jews for much the same reason (*i.e.*, the hatred inspired by the whole object and ideology of the Crusades) in Cologne, Metz, Worms, Spiers and Strassburg. Although these events found their echo in England, no massacres of Jews on a large scale, which could be ascribed to the Crusades alone, occurred as yet. But in 1146 there began a campaign — the so-called Blood Accusation — which gave rise to persecution and culminated with other influences in bringing about the most appalling

massacres.

Strange to say, the Blood Accusation, the first case of which occurred at Norwich, where a boy of twelve (St William) was alleged to have been martyred by the Jews for the purpose of their religious rites, was originally the work of a man called Theobald, a Jew of Cambridge, who had been converted to Christianity. This fact naturally lent the fantastic features of the accusation all the more plausibility, with the result that, although the sheriff discredited the whole story (some say as the result of Jewish bribery), and would not even allow the Jews to appear answer the charge, the ignorant and infuriated populace, doubtless remembering innumerable vague and long-cherished grudges, fell on the Jews of the city, killed a good many of them, and caused others to take flight in an effort to save their lives.

But the example of Norwich was followed by other cities, and similar accusations were made at Gloucester (1168), Bury St. Edmunds (1180), Winchester (1192 and 1232), London (1244), and finally at Lincoln (1255). Meanwhile, however, other events betrayed the steady deterioration in the position of the Jews in England and in western Europe generally. In 1182 they had been expelled from France, although they were soon recalled; in 1181, by the Assize of Arms, they had been disarmed in England, and in 1189 Philip Augustus of France and Henry II. of England had determined on a third Crusade for which one half of the army had been recruited in England.

These were evil signs, and at Richard I.'s coronation in 1189 the first trouble on a large scale ultimately broke out.

Through causes into which it is impossible to enter here, there was a riot outside Westminster Abbey, in which the Christian population fell on the Jews in the crowd, beat them, killed many of them, and pursued the rest to their houses, which were sacked and burnt, in many cases with their inmates inside them.

The King, who heard of the tumult at his coronation banquet, did his utmost to stop the rioting and protect the Jews, but in vain. The rioting lasted twenty-four hours, and during the massacre a minority of Jews secured their safety only by receiving baptism. After the massacre, Richard I. issued an edict menacing punishment to all those who injured his protégés, the Jews, but before this edict was published the Jews of Dunstable, wishing to forestall the possible repetition of the London

incidents in their town, are said to have gone over in a body to Christianity, and the Jews in other cities are alleged to have done likewise.

In any case, "anti-Jewish outbreaks arose almost simultaneously in all parts of the country",<sup>31</sup> but the most serious massacre occurred in 1190, at York, where the Jews, taking refuge in the castle, when all chance of defending themselves was at an end, deliberately took the lives of their own wives and children, set fire to the castle and perished in the flames. Those who had not the courage to follow the example of the more desperate refugees were subsequently massacred.

From this time onwards, throughout the thirteenth century, the condition of the Jews in England grew steadily worse. John's reign was one of repeated extortions, and under Henry III. the royal demands became so intolerable, and the measures of compulsion so cruel, that the whole of the Jewish community twice requested in vain to be allowed to leave the kingdom. Meanwhile, various measures had been passed which were calculated to destroy the peace of the Jews in England. In 1218, for instance, they were ordered to wear a distinguishing badge. The idea was certainly to protect them so that nobody could say he had molested a Jew in ignorance, but this reason alone indicates the attitude of the populace towards them. (Incidentally, it also shows that, morphologically, they had already become differentiated to the extent that some of them, at any rate, were not recognizable as Jews at sight.) In 1222, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, forbade the Jews to possess Christian slaves and prohibited all intercourse of Christians with them. Moreover, by certain laws of Henry III. all sexual intercourse between Jew and Christian was strictly forbidden, and Jews were not allowed to practise as physicians.

All through Henry III.'s reign, community after community of Jews was ransacked and massacred, while in various parts of the country the Blood Accusation was again advanced as a pretext for oppression, slaughter and plunder.

Apart from the hostile temper of the populace and the vindictive attitude of the barons, the Church and the towns, who had grown more powerful *vis-à-vis* of the Crown, the material circumstances of the Jews had, in any case, deteriorated considerably in England owing to the competition they had to encounter on the part of another order of usurers who filched their business from them. Early in the thirteenth century, "the merchants of Lombardy and of the south of France took up the business of

remitting money by bills of exchange, and of making profits on loans", and "the Lombard usurers established themselves in every country". Hallam says that at this time the Caursini are mentioned almost as often as the rich Italian bankers of Lombardy.

Thus, in addition to the Church and the landowners, even the King felt himself growing independent of the Jewish money-lenders, and not only did their business and wealth decline in consequence, but the only purpose they served in the country, from the point of view both of the ruler and his more powerful subjects, also diminished.

Late in the reign of Henry III., moreover, disaffection was caused among large sections of the community, owing to the fact that the Jews had become possessed of land. Whether they had obtained these properties by purchase or foreclosure is not clear, but Milman tells us that they might become possessed "of all the rights of lords of manors, escheats, wardship, even of presentation to churches. They might hold entire baronies with all their appurtenances."

The temper of those who had been dispossessed, and the horror of the Church at finding Church property in the hands of the alien and infidel race, may be imagined, and one of the last acts of Henry III.'s reign was to disqualify all Jews from holding lands or even tenements, except the houses which they actually possessed, particularly in the City of London.

But it is a curious reflection on the state of England at that time, and a powerful reminder that there must, in spite of all we have said, have still existed large numbers of Christians in the country who were friendly to the Jews, that at the very moment, late in Henry III.'s reign, when the feelings of the powerful were running high against them, the Jewish community deliberately petitioned the King to grant them the full enjoyment of all the remaining privileges that usually accompanied the possession of land. We refer to such rights as the guardianship of minors on their estates, the right of giving wards in marriage, and the presentation of livings.

And, what is even more extraordinary, there were among the King's councillors a certain number who "were at first in favour of granting the request". Indeed, had it not been for the energetic intervention of a Franciscan friar, who obtained admittance to the Council, we are led to suppose that the request would have been granted.

We may explain the attitude of these councillors as due either to bribery or to a friendliness towards the Jews which still survived among

many in the land. But, in any case, it is strange, for even if due to bribery, one would have thought that the other side — the Church and the baronage — would have been in a position to offer much more substantial bribes.

At all events, the appeal came to nothing, and at the beginning of Edward I.'s reign steps were already being taken to try to compel the Jews to abandon usury altogether and to adopt such occupations as ordinary commerce, manufacture or tilling the soil. Louis IX. of France had already adopted this policy. But in neither case was it successful. Dr. Cunningham remarks: "From the time of Richard I. their usury had been regulated rather than prohibited, but Edward I. forbade them to live by such means, and insisted that they should seek their living and sustain themselves by other legitimate work and merchandise. They had, however, continued to carry on usurious dealings under the colour of honest trade, and Edward was forced to revert to the plan of limiting the rate of interest to 42 per cent., and decreeing that the Jew should not be able to recover more than three years' interest, along with the principal." <sup>1</sup>

As Milman says: "Manual labour and traffic were not sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews", and the only practical result of this endeavour to absorb them into the ordinary life of the country was that they were driven to means even less tolerable than usury in order to make an easy living.

Thus they resorted to clipping and adulterating the coinage and, according to Jewish tradition, their final expulsion was the outcome of charges arising out of these practices. There seems to be no doubt about the implication of the Jews in this crime of clipping, for early in the century the Jewish community, *i.e.*, probably the most respectable among them, had petitioned the King to expel from his realm all Jews guilty of tampering with the coinage. But Christians, and particularly the Caursini and certain other foreign business elements, were probably implicated as well.

At all events, these charges and the odium they excited, by adding to the general hostility towards the Jews which, as we have shown, had been steadily increasing through the century, led to a national movement in favour of their expulsion, and Edward I., according to Green, "swayed by the fanaticism of his subjects", and "eager to find supplies for his treasury . . . bought the grant of a fifteenth from clergy and laity by consenting to drive the Jews from his realm". <sup>32</sup>

Green implies that the writs for the expulsion of the Jews were issued reluctantly by Edward I., and that he was a severe loser by their expulsion. We take a rather different view. We submit that the expulsion of the Jews had become a necessity, not merely owing to the feeling in the country but also owing to a change in the sovereign himself. Having become more of an English king than were any of his predecessors, and feeling himself no longer merely the heir of a line of conquerors imposed on a foreign population, but the protector and leader of a people with whom he was more closely identified than were any of his Norman ancestors, he was naturally inclined, in a way the latter could not be, to relinquish a patronage and a source of revenue which were discreditable to any but a foreign tyrant.

Sixteen thousand Jews are supposed to have left England — *i.e.*, all those who preferred exile to apostasy. There is ample evidence to show that if any cruelties were perpetrated against them — and there are many instances of such acts — they were certainly not intended by the King. For Edward I. not only allowed them to take their movable property with them and "all pledges that had not been redeemed", but he also ordered all sheriffs to see that no harm should overtake them, and "the Wardens of the Cinque Ports were commanded, under penalties, to treat the Jews civilly and honestly, and to furnish the poorer ones with transport to the Continent at reduced rates".<sup>33</sup>

Thus ended the first sojourn of the Jews in England. Before we examine the circumstances of their return, and the events which followed it, however, two matters must be dealt with.

We refer to:

(a) The reasons for the restrictions of the Jews to the particularly odious calling of money-lending and pawnbroking during the Middle Ages, and

(b) The extent to which Jewish apostasy must have caused an influx of Jewish blood into the population of England under the Norman and Angevin kings.

In his "History of the Jews", Milman says: "In that singular structure, the feudal system, which rose like a pyramid from the villains or slaves attached to the soil to the monarch who crowned the edifice, the Jews found no proper place", and "the general effect of the feudal system was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil".

Hyamson, discussing the same question, puts the matter rather differently. He says: "In the feudal system as adopted in England, the Jews were given a definite function, and, by the closing of all other paths, from this there was no escape. The English Jew of the early Middle Ages had either to be a capitalist, in most instances a money-lender, or to depart the country." These two paragraphs sum up the explanation most people usually accept and believe regarding the position and occupation of the Jews in feudal Europe. But it would be a mistake to suppose that it is the whole truth.

For instance — to raise no other objections — we might usefully ask ourselves whether the members of any other nation, finding themselves more or less isolated in the Middle Ages, would necessarily have taken to money-lending and pawnbroking as a means of livelihood.

We might ask ourselves further whether the Norman and Angevin kings of England and the kings of France would have used the Jews as they undoubtedly did — that is to say, as a means of sucking the wealth out of their subjects — unless they had in their guile perceived in the Jewish people peculiar aptitudes for this particular function.

Finally, we might ask ourselves why the attempts made by Louis IX. of France and Edward I. of England to make the Jews abandon usury and "to betake themselves to traffic, manufactures, or the cultivation of the land", were such a dismal failure.

Without anticipating too much the contents of our section below ON THE CHARACTER OF THE JEWS, it seems important to consider these questions somewhat carefully.

Milman was a very honest and impartial historian, at least where the Jews were concerned, and we can hardly conceive it as likely that he would have answered our third question as he did, unless there had been serious grounds for so doing.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, Dr. Cunningham abundantly confirms him. Commenting on this very question, the learned historian of English industry and commerce says: "Every legislative effort was made in the thirteenth century to induce them [the Jews] to conform to ordinary ways and take other callings so that they might be assimilated into the life of the places where they lived. Their devotion to their own faith, even if it was not the sole reason of their isolation, was at any rate a very serious obstacle to their being absorbed into ordinary English society."



We cannot discuss more deeply this all-important question without forestalling much of what is to be said in Section 4, but perhaps the following considerations may be added to the above remarks. As Hyamson points out, one of the most striking differences between this age and the Middle Ages is that, whereas the former exists for and represents the values, tastes, occupations and pastimes of a middle class, in the latter there was no middle class, or none that counted.

The middle-man, the middle class that springs from his breed, and the middling breed that results from his hegemony, were either unknown to mediæval Europe, or known only to be despised. Their very claim to exist was deprecated and challenged. For "an observant son of the Church was prevented from entering any commercial undertakings". As Dr. Cunningham says: "The duty of working, as a mode of self-discipline, and as supplying the means for aiding men serving God, was strongly urged by the Fathers . . . . This was probably the element in the public feeling against the Jews which can be most directly traced to Christian teaching."

Mary Bateson gives enough evidence of the contempt in which shopkeepers, tradesmen and mere profiteers were held in twelfth-century England. But it was from this contemned class that the middle classes were ultimately to arise, and the reputation they enjoyed in Western Europe of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries was hardly calculated to promote their multiplication.

Now the Jews, not being bound by Christian laws, whether against usury or commercial undertakings, were the predestined occupiers of the middle-class position at a time when no such approved class existed. Not only did they by their values and natural equipment easily drop into the empty niche, but they also found everybody in the land, from the sovereign to the poorest burgess, ready to accept them as adorners of it, and were, moreover, perfectly impervious to the contempt which those about them might feel for the occupations associated with the middle-man's position.

There were not two or three but scores of reasons for the Jew of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England to feel superior to those about him. He was so in education at a time when many amongst even the high in the land could not write their names. He was a rationalist when they — even the highest in the land — were still steeped in superstition. He was the product not of a century but of millennia of civilization, while all about

him were people who, hardly a thousand years previously, had been little better than savages. He was possessed of a law, of values and of a religion of his own, which made him feel aloof in any case, and which, compared with the practices of many of the more superstitious and fanatical people in his environment, must have seemed like Divine wisdom itself. He knew every trick of trade, exchange, forestalling and regrating that centuries of civilized urban life could have taught him, and all about him were men who, in these matters, were mere children. Above all, however, he was proud of his race and kept himself aloof because he wished to.

Speaking of the Jews of this period, Dr. Cunningham, whose reputation for impartiality does not need to be emphasized, says: "They were also personally unpopular because they maintained themselves in their isolation, just as the Chinese now do in San Francisco; they were determined not to adopt the industrial and commercial usages of a Christian community."

Now, it does not require much insight to perceive that, in such circumstances and with such feelings, the Jew was not unnaturally prone to be impervious to the contempt of those about him. Apart from the practical inconveniences to which this contempt might lead, as a form of censure, as a rebuke which might induce him to reconsider his ways, his values and his tastes, it was clearly negligible. He felt the population about him in the Middle Ages, even those sections of it which held exalted positions, as capable rather of violent than of moral or intellectual assaults on his position. Consequently, their opinions, their point of view, did not impress him.

So much for the first question, on which more will be said in Section 4.

Regarding the second question, there can, we think, be little doubt that in the centuries up to A.D. 1290, during which the Jews lived in England, there must have been a good deal of mingling with the native population.

Apart from the existence of pre-Roman or pre-Saxon Jewish settlements, such as that mentioned by Mr. Finn, in Cornwall, which, according to him and other authorities, left their racial stamp upon the local inhabitants, we have to bear in mind two potent factors making for mixture during the Norman and Angevin reigns up to 1290.

(a) The bearing of children to Jewish masters by converted or unconverted Gentile female slaves, against which much of the Papal and

local English anti-Jewish legislation was directed (indicating that the evil was recognized),<sup>35</sup> and the bearing of children by Gentile wives to Jews who became converted to Christianity.

(b) The apostasy of the more pusillanimous Jews during the periods of persecution and massacre, and finally at the time of expulsion. Although these cases come under the head of conversion to Christianity, they were examples of involuntary, as compared with voluntary and free, apostasy.

Regarding the first-mentioned source of miscegenation, by which Jewish blood must have entered the native stocks, it is, we submit, by its very nature difficult to establish beyond any possible doubt, not only because of the absence of contemporary records of births, whether legitimate or illegitimate, but also because, in any case, what happened to female slaves in those times was certainly not regarded as of great importance. When, however, we bear the circumstances in mind — the opportunities created by the position of master and slave, and the power vested in a master at that time — it would seem incredible that such illegitimate progeny should not often have resulted from the relationship, and the fact that the Church in England and at Rome took into consideration only those cases where conversion was likely to take place or had taken place is the best proof of our contention. For this was typical of the mediæval ideology. Blood mattered much less than religious profession. It was not the fact that the Jew might have children by his female slaves that perturbed the ecclesiastical authorities, but that he might win her and them for Judaism.

When, moreover, we bear in mind that, in addition to the rich and superior Jews in England, there was a large proportion who, through their comparative poverty, lived with and like the common people, probably carrying on in a very small way the kind of financial middle-man's functions of their more fortunate co-religionists, it does not require much imagination to suspect that here, in the lowest levels of Jewry, where intercourse with the more humble in the land was common (there is much indirect evidence of this), the relationship must often have led to both legitimate and illegitimate offspring.

Regarding the actual bearing of legitimate offspring to Jews whose conversion to Christianity, or whose conversion of their prospective wives to Judaism, enabled them to marry female Gentiles, whereas in the first case — apostate Jews, concerning the prevalence of which there is much

indirect evidence — the children would have represented an influx of Semitic blood into English stock, in the second case — against which the legislation of the Church was chiefly directed and of which there is much direct evidence — the children would have represented an influx of English blood into Semitic stocks.

In reckoning the contribution of Semitic blood to early English stocks, however, we must bear in mind the fact already mentioned — that, in any event, mixed Jew and Gentile marriages are never very fertile. (See Section 1.) On the other hand, and as against this, we must not overlook the wide distribution of Jews in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. A glance at the map in Hyamson's book, showing the distribution before the expulsion, immediately reveals the fact that there was hardly a town of any importance where Jews were not to be found. At least seventy towns can be counted, including such distant places as Newborough and Beaumaris in Anglesey; and in estimating the mixture of blood, all these foci of Jewish activity must be taken into account.

As to the apostasy of the more pusillanimous Jews during the times of popular uprisings accompanied by massacres of Jews, this seems to have been a factor of which, both on the Jewish and the English side, much too little has apparently been made — by the Jews probably in order to conceal the weakness of their co-religionists, and by the English writers in order not to stress the element of Jewish blood which doubtless came into the population by this means.

When, however, we remember that both at Richard I.'s coronation and on countless similar occasions the alternative of baptism was always seized upon by a certain percentage of the Jews involved, in order to save their lives, and when we bear in mind the apostasy of the Jews of whole towns like Dunstable, together with the fact that among the lower orders of Jews there would always have been less shame — because less material loss and less publicity — about their conversion, it seems quite unhistorical and gratuitous to deny this factor as an important source of Semitic blood in mediæval English stocks.

True, the converted Jews lost by their baptism.<sup>36</sup> But this merely supports the point we are here making, namely, that among the poorer Jews the deterrent to conversion and baptism would operate with much less rigour and, as against the saving of their lives, would tend to be much less potent.

Much is made by historians, on both the Jewish and the English side, of the small number of inmates in the Domus Conversorum throughout its history. But how about the converted Jews who immediately merged into the population because they had slender means of independent support? This Domus Conversorum<sup>37</sup> was instituted specially to provide for well-to-do Jews who were impoverished by conversion to Christianity. But can it really seriously be maintained that the records of this institution and those like it cover the whole of the conversions to Christianity effected among Jews during the period of their existence?

We suggest that only those in the direst straits would have availed themselves of these charitable foundations,<sup>38</sup> and that probably a far greater number remained outside. These, the poorer Jews, having lost much less by baptism, and having already accustomed themselves to humbler and less remunerative occupations than the richer apostates, became insensibly merged into the general population in order to live on as Christians and Englishmen, and became permanently lost to Judaism.

This factor in the mixing of Jewish and early English blood is all the more likely to have attained importance, moreover, when the day came for the whole of the Jewish community to be expelled. We are, it is true, led to infer that there were many poor Jews among the expelled, but how many more, finding themselves adapted to English life and comfortably settled in inconspicuous occupations in the urban centres in England, must not have been tempted to accept baptism rather than face the perils and uncertainties of a sea journey with permanent exile in some Continental country in such times as the Middle Ages?

And, be it remembered, that those who thus adopted Christianity would thenceforward be reckoned as English, and would probably adopt English names.

On the whole, therefore, there would seem to be sound historical grounds for assuming an influx of Semitic blood into our mediæval population, and it probably accounts for all those cases, noticed by observant Englishmen, of marked Jewish types living as Englishmen, passing among their fellows as Englishmen and claiming, on the basis of a long purely English or Celtic ancestry, to be purely Anglo-Saxon or Celtic.

Very often we confess to having been puzzled by the conspicuous Semitic appearance of certain Englishmen, Welshmen and southern

Scotsmen who would bitterly have resented any doubt being cast upon the British purity of their stocks. It seems difficult to account for these except on the grounds above outlined.

One last word. It is often argued, both from the Jewish and Gentile side, that Jewish apostates who embraced Christianity were insignificantly few in number, and that they were inclined quickly to return to the religion of their fathers if they received the slightest inducement to do so.<sup>39</sup>

There is, however, a certain amount of evidence which conflicts with this point of view. It is known, for instance, that William Rufus, who was a pagan at heart and very friendly to the Jews, was bribed by the Jews of Rouen to "coerce" converts from Judaism to return to their original faith, and that by means of "terrible threats" he forced most of them to do so.

Is it then supposed that Jewish converts to Christianity in the reign of Rufus must have been different from converts in any other reign? But if they were not different, and it was necessary under Rufus to "coerce" them with terrible threats, their allegiance to their new faith could not, after all, have been as frail as is often alleged. Besides, we know that at least in one case — that of a man called Stephen — even Rufus's terrible threats failed. So it seems to us that too much has probably been made of the unsteadiness of the converted Jews and that far many more remained steadfast in their new faith than is generally supposed, particularly as there were many distinct advantages to be gained by so doing.

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As regards the period between the expulsion and the resettlement of the Jews, much could be written. The belief that during this period no Jews were admitted into England or were allowed to reside there, however, must in any case be abandoned. Their number was not large but, on the other hand, there is much evidence to show that it was not entirely negligible. And this evidence leaves us in no doubt that not only were there crypto-Jews (Jews who merely posed as Christians) in England in the three hundred and fifty years following the expulsion, but also that there were Jews openly living as such. Strange to say, the eastern counties are mentioned as an area in which crypto-Jews were chiefly to be found.<sup>1</sup>

Jews as physicians, as philosophers and men learned in various departments of knowledge were admitted almost in every reign from the 14th century onwards. Jews are mentioned in public life under Henry VI., Spanish Jews as having taken refuge in England under Henry VII., Eastern Jews as being favoured by Henry VIII; under Elizabeth, Houndsditch was already inhabited by Jews, and two or three Jewish doctors came into prominence, one being physician to the Queen. Jews inhabited England under James I. and Charles I.,<sup>40</sup> and there was a large influx of them in the latter years of Charles I.'s reign.

But, relatively speaking, the number of Jews settled or active in England during the three hundred and fifty years following the expulsion was small. It was not until Puritanism with its Old Testament ideology and Hebraism came into power that the ground was cleared for a return of the *Jews en masse*.

Various reasons have been suggested for the change in the attitude of the authorities in England towards the Jews after the death of Charles I. It has been said, for instance, that the Puritan-Whig-Trade mentality which came to the fore after the Civil War must inevitably have favoured good business and consequently philo-Semitism. It has been said that the effects of Menasseh Ben Israel's Humble Address and Declaration to the Commonwealth of England in 1655 softened the Protector's heart; that many Republicans, including Henry Marten, had long been cherishing the hope of readmitting the Jews; and that Cromwell hoped to have the co-operation of great Jewish merchants in extending and promoting the commercial activities of his country, and for this reason he wished to encourage them to settle in England. Cromwell and the Government of the Commonwealth were, moreover, undoubtedly indebted to the crypto-Jews of London for much assistance in the matter of secret service. And there were other reasons connected with events outside England. At any rate, to cut a long story short, in 1656 Cromwell tolerated the presence of Jews in England, and not only was his tolerance to them extended under Charles II. and James II., but in the latter's reign the alien duty was also remitted in their favour.

There was a good deal of opposition to the readmission of the Jews, both from the clerical, cavalier, and commercial sections of the community, and in 1658 the merchants made an attempt to effect their expulsion. But it failed, as did other subsequent attempts of a similar nature.



The outstanding events relating to Jews since their resettlement in the country under Cromwell are:

The passing of the Act under George II. which provided for the naturalization of Jews who had resided in the British Colonies for over seven years (1740).

The passing of the Jewish Naturalisation Act, which provided for the naturalization of Jews in the United Kingdom (1753). This was immediately repealed owing to popular clamour.

The passing of the first Jewish Emancipation Bill (1830). Owing to the opposition of the whole of the Tory party, however, it had to be dropped.<sup>41</sup>

The passing of the Sheriff's Declaration Bill in 1835, whereby Jews were made eligible for the ancient and important office of sheriff.

The creation of the first Jewish baronet (Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid) in 1841.

The passing of a Bill providing for the admission of Jews to municipal office in 1845.

The passing of the Religious Opinions Relief Bill, which left only the doors of Parliament closed to the Jews (1846).

The election of a Jew — Baron Lionel de Rothschild — to Parliament (1847).

The passing by the Commons of a Bill to admit Jews to Parliament (1848). Three times, in 1848, 1850 and 1853, the Lords, who were preponderatingly Tory, rejected the Bill; and although in 1858 it was agreed between the two Houses that Jews might be admitted by special resolution, it was not until 1866 that the Liberals freed the Jews from all disability.

The appointment of the first Jew (Benjamin Disraeli) as Prime Minister (1868). The appointment of the first Jew (Sir George Jessel) to take a seat on the judicial bench of Great Britain (1873).

The creation of the first Jewish peer (Lord Rothschild) in 1886.

The appointment of the first Jewish Colonial Governor (Sir Matthew Nathan) in 1900.

The appointment of the first Jewish Viceroy of India (Lord Reading) in 1921.

There is now no appreciable difference between the careers and possible appointments of Jews and Gentiles in Great Britain, and one may



say that, except perhaps for the highest ecclesiastical honours, from which the Jews are barred only by their religious convictions, there is no position of influence, responsibility or importance in the land which is closed to a Jew.

## IV

# Character of the Jews

"We find Semites in the land [Babylonia] and in possession of considerable power almost as early as we can get back . . . . When history commences, the inhabitants of Babylon were already civilized."

This passage from the anthropologist A. H. Keane is really the key to the mystery, if there is such a thing as a mystery, of the Jews.

Abraham and the Aramæan ancestors of the Israelites were in the district of Ur of the Chaldees about 2350 B.C. The whole of the area, including this place and west of it, was throughout antiquity and from the earliest times to within living memory not only the strategic connecting link between three continents, but also the isthmus of land across which the trade routes of three continents lay. Thus the ancestors of the Jews, as also probably all the Semitic stocks with which they mingled and which, after the fall of the Sumerians, settled in that area, have now been continuously in touch with civilization of a kind, with city life of a kind, and with trade of every imaginable variety, for probably 4,500 years.

This, apart from the Near Eastern Alpine and the Oriental Mediterranean strains in their blood, which differentiate them distinctly from Western European stocks, would of itself suffice to mark them out as a people fundamentally different from ourselves. When therefore Keane, speaking of the characteristics of the Semites, also says, "their whole mental outlook, their mode of thought, their religion and organization, indicate their derivation from a desert people", he says something probably less significant than the first paragraph quote above, and refers to a period in their history too distant to have left upon them the mark of more than or two stubborn and primitive traits.

Before dismissing Keane, however, it may be interesting to consider his statement, for it may be that it is precisely these few stubborn and primitive desert traits in the Jews which have repeatedly moulded their history, in spite of the thousands of years which now separate them from desert life.

What are the traits of the desert people — the primitive Semites or Bedouins — from whom the Jews ultimately derive?

According to Dr. S. A. Cook, they are energy, enthusiasm,

aggressiveness. "Courageous, furious in attack, contemptuous of death, the Semites are better in skirmishes and raids than in prolonged attack; they are soon discouraged, and . . . organising power is rare . . . . But they can meet defeat and misfortune with resignation, await a proverbial forty years for revenge, and they pass easily from extremes of optimism and confidence to pessimism and despair. They have been called superficial, vain, aristocratic and swift to feel humiliation. The heroic virtues of the various warriors were group-loyalty, self-sacrifice, defiance of the strong foe and protection of the weak kinsman. Tribal or family pride readily conquers civic or national loyalty, and is a disintegrating factor when nomads take to settled life. The personal or tribal interest is all-compelling; but the bravest deeds are often isolated, or of no social value . . . . Personal feeling is the source of action, not common sense, or plan, or morality. A personal claim is recognized, and there is admiration for any manifestation of personal power and ability as distinct from its ethical value or its consequences. Ideas of leadership, power and control have a fascination, and here again ethical distinctions are secondary."

Further on Dr. Cook writes: in the desert "there is much to feed fancy, little to encourage discursive thought . . . . But life is a fight; one must be heedful, and everything is ominous. So there can be no repose, and the self-control of the Bedouin is apt to be an affectation, a truce, or a prelude to some sudden explosion . . . . Moreover, desert life does not promote social stability."

Discussing the Bedouins of to-day, who are probably the equivalent of the earliest Semites, the "Encyclopædia Britannica" says: "They are shepherds and herdsmen, reduced to an open-air, roving life, partly by the nature of their occupations, partly by the social characteristics of the countries in which they dwell. For . . . the prolonged drought of summer renders considerable portions of it [their land] unfit for pasturage, and thus continually obliges the herdsmen to migrate from one spot to another in search for sufficient herbage and water for their beasts . . . . Descent has something to do with rank, but not much, as every individual of the tribe considers himself equal to the others . . . . The 'sheik' is consulted, though not necessarily obeyed . . . . But in fact, for most personal and private affairs, every man does pretty much what is right in his own eyes."

This gives a more or less complete picture, and is all the more valuable for coming, as it does, from wholly impartial sources.

We see a people hardened and sharpened by the merciless life of the desert; recognizing no differences of rank among themselves, intolerant of dominion, disinclined to obey, independent, not given to manual labour, and scorning laws that are not based on their customs and religion. But a people fitted by millenniums of privation, uncertainty and simple living to become formidable in any close struggle for existence with a type less hard and less hardened; and a people accustomed to wait, to endure, and to be masters of their own destiny.

But the above, although important, are really less significant for the history of the Jews than are certain other equally strong characteristics which may be inferred from them. We refer to that complex of mental habits, emotions, gifts and tastes which necessarily forms in the nomad State — such, for instance, as the inability to become, or to feel, rooted to any territory, hence the lack of appreciation and capacity for a territorial national's attachment to a particular soil and environment. Such also is the ready ability to become adapted to new surroundings and to a new soil, provided it offers opportunities for a livelihood which are not too offensive to Bedouin or nomad taste. Such, too, is the inability to recognize any obligation to any other man or to any community, in respect of property possessed — in fact, the inability to understand property as a privilege involving responsibilities and duties. The nomad is essentially a particularist who is by nature, as it were, born into the philosophy of the Manchester School, whether this came after or before him. Not only is it difficult for him to recognize mutuality in the institution of property, but he is also quite incapable of building up a society in which the relations of the various classes and of their members are based on mutuality. He knows only personal property, and when he packs up his household goods and his tent, and moves to a fresh pasture, driving his herd before him, he feels an obligation to no man. He moves, moreover, not merely because he is a rover by nature, but also because he tends, by his congenital disinclination towards productive labour, to exhaust the land on which he establishes his temporary settlement, and his constant refrain, like the essential particularist that he is, is *après moi le déluge!*

Nor, if there is any accuracy in the accounts of the modern Bedouins with their persistent raids on each other's areas and property, their constant need of migrating in search of sufficient herbage and water for their beasts, and their incessant quarrels with one another,<sup>42</sup> can there be

anything strange in those early mass movements which led to the gradual invasion of Mesopotamia, the overthrow of the Sumerian dominion, the absorption of the Sumerian civilization, and the formation of the city states of Babylon and Assyria, and ultimately, of course, of Judah, etc., followed by persistent cousin-warfare between all the Mesopotamian and Palestinian Semites.<sup>43</sup>

What can now be deduced in the form of characteristics from this description? An ardent friend of the Jews, Ernest Renan, says: "The character of the Semite is, generally speaking, hard, narrow and self-seeking."<sup>44</sup> Again, discussing the same subject, Renan says: "The Semitic genius is essentially dry and hard."<sup>45</sup>

Accepting for the present the epithets "narrow" and self-seeking" as probably not unfair — for this is the last thing Renan would willingly have been to the Jews — what evidence is there in support of the charge of hardness and dryness?

Hardness is of two kinds. People can be hard only on others and soft towards themselves; they can be prepared to make things as difficult as possible for others and as easy as possible for themselves. Such people are usually effete and degenerate. This is clearly not what Renan meant. For the Jew is not soft towards himself. His history proves that he is capable of imposing the greatest hardships on himself and capable of the greatest bravery. In his three greatest feats — the conquest of Palestine after the sojourn in Egypt, the Maccabæan revolt, and the clash with Rome — there stand revealed his indomitable courage and his exceptional powers of endurance. Besides, after the Great Dispersion, when all Europe began persecuting and martyring him, his behaviour was in most cases exemplary. It is said that the way in which many of the Jews, condemned by the Inquisition to be burnt alive, went to their death, so much stirred the onlookers that the Church often dreaded a revulsion of feeling among the populace. In England the Jew accepted martyrdom much more often than baptism. And the fact that some of Napoleon's bravest generals — Ney, Masséna and Soult<sup>46</sup> — are supposed to have been of Jewish extraction casts doubt on the idea of the Jew as a skulking coward, prepared always to see others bear the heat and burden of the day.

This does not mean that Renan was necessarily wrong, or that the above account exhausts all the kinds of hardness of which man is capable.

It is possible to be hard both on oneself and on one's neighbour. This is nobler than hardness only on the neighbour; but it can be just as formidable.<sup>47</sup>

It may explain the callousness necessary to the type who can persevere in methods which mean ruin or at least distress to the neighbour. It may explain the ruthlessness of the Jews as climbers where a society provides the opportunity to climb by ruthless means. It may explain the resolute and single-minded self-assertion of the Jews which is so often displayed in the Old Testament.

The question is whether this is more essentially Jewish than non-Jewish. Gibbon emphasizes the cruelty of the Jews. He says: "Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrene." He then adds: "In Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus 240,000; in Egypt a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawn asunder, according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round their bodies." He also speaks of their "irreconcilable hatred of mankind".

Whatever may be the truth of the last two statements, the fact remains that no matter what the Jews did, their worst acts of brutality could easily be paralleled by those of any other people, particularly those who have been the empire builders of history.

It has been said, moreover, that the peculiar cruelties of the Russian Revolution, particularly in its early days, were largely due to Jewish influence. The fact that the Jews feel themselves different, and standing aloof from mankind, may possibly be a factor in making their native hardness merge insensibly into cruelty when they find members of the "rest of mankind" in their power. But it does not seem either rational or fair to ascribe an exceptionally high degree of cruelty to them on that account alone, more especially in view of the black record of other peoples in this respect.

More convincing as proof of their native hardness is perhaps their proneness for the calling of usury, which for its successful pursuit presupposes ability to contemplate unmoved the distress of an insolvent debtor. This hardness was displayed long before the conditions of mediæval Europe drove them, as some allege, to practise usury almost

exclusively. Listen to the account given by a modern Jewish historian of what happened in Judea after the return of the first batch of Babylonian exiles: "During the fifty years of exile the ground had been neglected and had run to waste. Out of the frugal returns it made, contributions in kind had to be handed over for the support of numbers of priests and Levites, tributes had to be paid to the Persian governor, and any surplus had to be devoted to the building of houses. It was only the very few who succeeded in meeting all these charges . . . . It was for this reason that the consequences of the state of economic decay were, in the present instance, particularly hard. There sprang up overnight, as it were, side by side with the respected families with old traditions, a new capitalist class who were in a position to lend the needy money for house building, the purchase of seed, and the payment of taxes, and accepted the arable land, the vineyards, and even the debtors themselves and their children as security for the debt. And if the loan was not repaid, they seized the property together with the owner and his family and made them slaves. Thus this young community which had set out to rebuild the Temple merely succeeded in creating a plutocracy. Deprived of the symbol of the idea that was their inspiration, economically oppressed, and divided into a plutocracy and a band of paupers, even the question of administration could not be settled." <sup>48</sup> So appalling was the distress caused by these conditions, and the sense of injustice felt by the former yeoman cultivators, that in due course the situation became intolerable, and about ninety years later Nehemiah appeared in Jerusalem to try to remedy the state of affairs. He did so, but only by forcing the wealthy citizens to free those whom they had enslaved for debt; to restore the lands they had confiscated, and to cancel all debts. And this is by no means the only instance of the kind in early Jewish history.

History also records the early association of the Jews with the slave trade in Europe, and some may ask: Who could do it? Who could pursue this calling who did not set gain above all things? As regards usury, we may wonder whether the kings of France and England — to mention only these — would have found such ready instruments of indirect extortion to hand if the Jews had not shown a native capacity and a native taste for the rôle. As a question of Sombart's suggests, would Eskimos or Laplanders have fallen so perfectly into the part, had they been similarly situated?

On the other hand, other peoples have been successful slave-traders

— the English above all — and Christians in ever-increasing numbers have practised usury ever since the Middle Ages.

Whether Renan meant by the hardness of the Jews that quality which makes them singularly suited to follow such professions as those just mentioned, it is difficult to say, as he does not amplify his statement. On the whole, however, it seems probable that he did, and with it the dryness he mentions is really implied.

Turning now to other qualities which seem steadfast in the Jews, to which most historians bear witness, and which may well derive from the desert, it has been said that they turn instinctively from manual labour and prefer those means of gaining a livelihood which ensure a sedentary, or at least an urban, existence free from toil.

Henry Ford charges them with this peculiarity, as does also the famous political economist, Friedrich List, who goes so far as to say that "the Jew has never been content with the returns yielded by agriculture. They are too slow and too poor. Two per cent is only good enough for children and paupers." Milman, as has been seen, makes the same statement, and it is re-echoed by scores of writers both among the friends and foes of the Jews.

Thus Dr. Cunningham, than whom none could be more impartial, commenting on the congenital dislike of hard work always manifested by the Jews, writes: "For centuries they [the Jews in the East] continued to live habitually by sordid callings. In the days of their great King foreign labourers had been required to build their temple, and their prophets in their highest moments of inspiration (Isaiah lxi., 4) rejoiced in the thought that the Gentiles were to do all the work while the Jew would idly enjoy the fruit. The contemptuous estimate of honest labour as compared with cultured leisure in Ecclesiasticus (xxxviii., 33) brings this side of the national character into fuller relief, while the ingenuity of the Talmudists was devoted to the elaboration of a code of dealing by which they might continue to spoil the peoples among whom they sojourned."<sup>49</sup>

The Talmud certainly offers some confirmation of Dr. Cunningham's point of view, for long before any Christian or anti-Jewish legislation could be blamed for the Jews taking to callings which did not demand hard work, we find Rabbi Meir giving the following advice to his people: "Always teach your son a clean and easy profession." And later in the same chapter we read: "The world cannot do without perfumers and tanners; but blessed is



he whose business is perfumery, and woe unto him whose business is tanning!"

Even Dr. Arthur Ruppin, himself a Jew, says: "The kind of occupations favoured by Jews, as compared with non-Jews, reveals a world-wide sameness to this extent, that the percentage of Jews employed in agriculture is everywhere extraordinarily small, while on the other hand the percentage of Jews active in commerce is extraordinarily high." Among the tables he gives in support of this statement the following may be selected as sufficiently convincing to relieve us of the need of giving any further statistical evidence:—

### Occupations Adopted by Jews <sup>50</sup>

Country	Year	Jews % of total population	Agriculture and Afforestation	Industry and Manufacture	Commerce and Insurance	Transport	Public Service and Liberal Professions	Army and Navy	Unskilled Labourers	House Servants
Germany	1907	1.0	0.04	0.6	4.2	1.1	—	0.3	0.3	
Italy	1911	0.1	0.01		0.6	0.2	—	—	—	
Austria	1910	4.6	0.8		19.2	6.7	—	7.1		
Hungary	1920	5.9	0.4	11.7	45.1	5.7	10.5	2.7	1.3	1.0
Galicia	1910	10.1	1.2	28.8	60.5	17.4	4.8	—	—	
Poland	1921	10.4	0.9	23.5	62.6	10.2	12.4	4.4	16.7	16.1
Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia	1921	1.3	0.1	0.7	9.5	0.7	2.3	0.8		
Slovakia	1921	4.5	0.8	5.7	50.3	2.2	9.6	1.0		
Carpathia	1921	15.4	6.1	24.4	87.3	24.8	25.2	3.0		

Dr. Ruppin points out, however, that the figures in the above table, as in all such tables, should be carefully compared in order to determine first

the percentage of Jews in the general population, because, as he says, where Jews are plentiful there tends to be greater competition in the merely middleman, or commercial, jobs — hence the higher percentage of Jews in other callings when Jews are plentiful.

Here is another table from Dr. Ruppin:—

#### Professional Categories in Lettland

	% of Jews	% of Letts	% of Germans	% of Russians	Total Population
Agriculture	2.53	82.31	30.29	82.68	79.46
Industry and Manufacture	32.49	5.63	22.23	5.63	6.64
Liberal Professions	5.36	0.54	7.44	1.00	0.87
Other Professions	11.56	10.52	30.45	9.27	10.69

Both of these tables bear out what has been so often alleged and yet has recently been regarded as unjust by all Jews and Liberal Gentiles.

Curiously enough, however, the facts revealed are really implicit in the claim that the Jew is by predilection a middleman. He buys and sells. He does not, as a rule, produce. Whether this predilection is rooted in his dislike of manual labour is ultimately beside the point. What really matters is that his fondness for the middleman's job is well established.

Israel Zangwill, describing the essential character of the Jews, says: "Indeed the Jew is a born intermediary, and every form of artistic and commercial agency falls naturally into his hands."<sup>51</sup> Lord Melchett acknowledges the same characteristic. He writes of the Jews: "They have . . . become pedlars, merchants, money-lenders, doctors, lawyers, professional men, following any occupation which does not imply a rooted existence, and which makes rapid removal possible . . . In fact, the Jews have become the middlemen and the town-dwellers of the countries in which they have been dispersed."

But in the very manner with which Lord Melchett prefaces this

admission, he tenders the most eloquent excuse for it. He says: "After an experience of many centuries, the Jews have been driven by law, by religion, by terrorism, to avoid the ownership of immovable goods. Those who are liable to be expelled at a moment's notice take care to have no property that cannot easily be taken with them." — Hence, etc. etc.

In making this apology for the middleman proclivities of the Jews — a plea which he is by no means alone in advancing — Lord Melchett raises a most important point, which is: "Are the Jews as we now know them — i.e., a preponderatingly commercial people, middlemen, shunning productive labour — the outcome of our oppression of them, and of our having forced them to specialize in the callings for which we now unfairly criticize them?"

Many people would answer this question offhand in the affirmative. Most Jews would do so and have actually done so. Mr. C. M. Salaman, for instance, writing in 1882, spoke of the Jews as "having been subjected . . . to the exceptional disadvantage of being forced for many years to pursue, in order to sustain life, many avocations calculated to degrade and depress the human character". We have also seen that Disraeli answered the question in the same way.

Scores of similar passages from Jewish writers could be given, and the notion is one firmly held by Gentiles.

Is it substantiated by history? Is it substantiated by what is known of the ethnic origin of the Jews, and of the character of those from whom they derive? Can we, in view of their history, subscribe to the view that the Jews as we find them to-day are chiefly the outcome of Christian environment? For that is what the question boils down to.

Before hastily giving an affirmative reply, there are many points which would require elucidation. It would be necessary to find out whether the Bedouin's natural disinclination towards manual labour had at any time been lost by the Jews, never to be recovered. Some of the awkward points enumerated in the passage just quoted from Dr. Cunningham would have to be met and we should require to explain away certain characteristics of the Jews revealed, as has been shown, in their history and in the Talmud long before the Roman Dispersion. Above all, we should have to account for their having displayed the same predilection in favour of commercial and middleman occupations before the Christian era, with its oppressive anti-Jewish legislation, was thought of.

It is well known, for instance, that life in Rome was made quite tolerable for the Jews, that they were persecuted less than the Christians, and that if they were banished or otherwise punished it was not out of any motive comparable to that which operated in the later persecutions of the Jews in mediæval times, but because they themselves created intolerable disturbances.<sup>52</sup> It is known, moreover, that they were not liked. Dr. Oesterley mentions, among the chief reasons for this, "the distinctive customs of the Jews, exhibited with ostentatious display". This matter of ostentatious display is found mentioned in Classical writing. The Jews seemed to take a delight in exhibiting their aloofness and difference from the Roman world, which naturally caused offence.

Juvenal speaks of them rather as a public nuisance, as preying on the credulity of the more simple Roman by begging, selling him dreams of any kind (or their interpretations?). He also accuses them of unsociability and of flouting the laws of Rome. Cicero, in his speech in defence of Flaccus, speaks of the Jews as despicable and turbulent, but, as will be shown later, he also hints very broadly indeed at their power (probably financial) and implies that he himself was not free from fears of it. But even in tolerant pre-Christian Rome, "trade, commerce and shopkeeping were the most usual pursuits of the Jews", and it is here that we really reach the kernel of the whole matter. Count Franz de Champagny, speaking of the influence of the Jews in Italy and Rome before Nero, says: "Avoiding agriculture and, for religious scruples, avoiding the exercises of war, they were all men engaged in commercial pursuits and consequently concentrated in the towns, living in districts of their own, and standing there shoulder to shoulder. Moreover, they were rich, efficient, intelligent, relatively numerous, and made their weight felt in the affairs of the State." Elsewhere, the same author, comparing the Jew of ancient Rome with the Jew of the modern world, says: "He was then, as he is to-day, the banker and the man of commerce."

As far as can be gathered, there was no influence, except native proclivity, which at that time drove the Jews to these occupations, and the fact that they must have grown rich in them is known, not merely by the accounts of historians, or by the complaints of their ostentatious displays at the baths and elsewhere, which can be read in contemporary literature, but also in the fact that Domitian, when he was "reduced to financial straits by the cost of his buildings and shows", resorted, just as a mediæval

French or English monarch might have done, to a rigorous taxation of the rich Jewish community.

The immense urban experience, the vast conditioning in civilized habits of mind and body which he possessed and which was implied in the opening passages of this section, must have served the Jew in great stead in Rome, as everywhere else in Europe in the days immediately before and after the Great Dispersion; and if a historian as impartial and learned as Dr. Oesterley thinks it fair to tell us of the Jews in Rome that "sooner or later their energy and their sharp wits had to be reckoned with in every sphere", and "it was a source of pleasure to the Jew to measure his acuteness with that of the less endowed Roman, and to overreach him" — if, as we say, a historian as judicial as Dr. Oesterley thinks fit to speak in these terms of the Roman Jews, it surely lends colour to the view that probably everywhere in antiquity the Jew was using his immense experience and inherited adaptation as a civilized urbanite to get the better of all those who were more fresh both to civilization and urban conditions, and also that he was everywhere also displaying his proclivities for finance, trading, commerce and generally buying and selling, although at that time there appears to have been no legislative or other influence compelling him to confine himself to these pursuits. <sup>53</sup>

Besides, it is only necessary to consider the peculiar genius the Jews display in financial matters in order to doubt whether external pressure alone could have been responsible for making them so constantly ready to practise usurious methods and such expedients as forward buying, regrating and cornering in order to secure quick returns with the least possible amount of effort. When it is remembered that they were the first to make use of letters of credit, and that most of the secrets and problems of modern finance were known over 3,000 years ago in Babylon, it is, to say the least, difficult to concede that in the modern Jew, as we know him, we have the descendant of a simple, honest, hard-working and horny-handed son of toil whose seed has been wholly disfigured and corrupted by the oppressive and hostile legislation of mediæval Europe.

Against the excuses usually made by the Jews and by Liberal Gentiles for the Jews having been money-lenders and traders in the Middle Ages (i.e., that Christian laws forced them to these pursuits), and against the claim made by the same group of apologists that the Jews to-day, with all their unpleasant concentration on unproductive means for money-making,

are the creation of Christian conditions, Dr. Cunningham writes, therefore, as follows:—

"We cannot but feel that an opinion which has asserted itself in so many lands and so many ages, deserves at all events to be examined, before it is contemptuously dismissed as an idle prejudice; and a little reflection on the conduct of the Jews in the East, or in pagan Rome, will serve to disprove the calumny that the faults of the Jewish race originated wholly in the maltreatment they received at the hands of the Christians."

In order to show how general and how monotonously similar Gentile complaints against the Jews always are, no matter where they may chance to be found, Dr. Cunningham quotes an interesting Consular Report on Russia, dated 1882, in which the people of Pereyaslav are said to have made certain demands regarding the Jewish community in their midst. And what is here found? Much the same kind of thing as a Roman of the time of Domitian and an English burgess of the time of Henry II. might have said.

Among the twelve demands, the following are the most characteristically traditional:—

"That the Jews should cast off the cloak of pride and braggadocio — that the Jews should impress on their wives and daughters not to deck themselves out in silk, velvet, gold, etc., as such attire is neither in keeping with their education nor the position they hold in society . . . . To forbid all Jews to abuse Christian burgesses, and in general to scoff at them. To prohibit Jews from buying up in the markets the first necessities of life with the intention of reselling them to the Russians . . . . To prohibit Jews buying wheat for trading purposes within 30 versts of the town of Pereyaslav . . . . To prohibit Jews from buying up uncut wheat . . . . The Town Council is begged not to let, and the Jews not to hire, the grounds at fairs and markets, with the object of farming them out."

Always the same kind of complaint! The Jews are to be forbidden from constantly stealing financial marches on the less wily Gentile, or from using methods not immediately obvious to the Gentile, for extorting money from him — such, for instance, as hiring fair and market grounds from the Town Council, not in order to use them, but in order to farm them out at a higher rate to the Russian producer who comes to the fair or the market with his produce.

This is exactly the same sort of complaint as is implicit in Dr. Oesterley's observation to the effect that "it was a source of pleasure to

the Jew to measure his acuteness with that of the less endowed Roman, and to overreach him".

The kind of excuse advanced by Lord Melchett and writers like Disraeli, Mr. C. K. Salaman, and scores of others, to the effect that if the Jews now show a predilection in favour of commerce and finance, and a bias against manual and productive labour, it is due to Christian oppression and agitation, does not therefore seem altogether adequate. And the inevitable conclusion seems to be that, very far from this trait having been reared in the Jew by his European environment since the Great Dispersion, it was there certainly as early as Roman times, and according to the evidence of Dr. Cunningham's and others, given above, most probably before.

What, then, does it amount to? Taking into account the Asiatic Bedouin origin of the Jew, his 4,400 years of association with civilization and big cities,<sup>54</sup> his unspeakably hard struggle for his millennial association with that narrow isthmus of land which included all the principal trade routes between three continents in the ancient world, and the consequent effect of this long start on any conflict of mere business wit with the Gentiles (even if the Jew's advantages be set no higher than a superior eye to the main chance), is it not clear that when he spread over Europe he would naturally tend, owing to his inherited and acquired characteristics, to scorn the more laborious and slower methods of accumulating wealth, and gravitate to those in which precisely his past, his training, his endless experience of trade and civilized conditions could best be utilized?

It is here submitted that this view of the matter probably explains a good deal of the financial success of the Jews, their peculiar pursuits, and the dislike which, as has been sufficiently shown, they have everywhere provoked. And in estimating their character, it would be inaccurate not to reckon with the tremendous impetus of all the forces above mentioned in directing the Jews away from manual and productive labour into channels where money can be made by mere buying and selling, not necessarily commodities, but actual cash, at the right time and in the right place.

But no discussion of the Jew's characteristics could be complete, particularly in regard to the subject of finance, without some reference to the fundamentally particularistic basis of the Jewish character inherited from his desert ancestors. For it is this particularism of the Jew, combined with his native hardness, which makes him not only incapable of understanding property except as an individual possession free from all

ties, but also incapable of living among a people with the more gregarious view of property — i.e., as a trust involving certain obligations, duties and responsibilities — without trying to convert this gregarious and only practical view of property into a particularist view.

The repeated instances in history of the gregarious view of property degenerating and hardening with time into the individualist or particularist view, until legislators had to restore order and happiness by redistribution — and instances of this can be found in Jewish, Greek, Roman and even modern history — may or may not always have been due to Jewish influence. But it is difficult not to see this influence in the changes that came over at least the Roman and the Mediæval European views of property. For both in ancient Rome, where the notion of property certainly degenerated with time from a gregarious to a particularist standard, and in the Middle Ages of Europe and particularly of England, where definite survivals of the former gregarious view of property are still extant, the changes from mutuality to exclusiveness in property have all been contemporaneous with steadily increasing Jewish influence

All this, however, becomes perfectly clear and understandable when we bear in mind Keane's statement that the "whole mental outlook", the "mode of thought" and the "religion and organization" of the Semites "indicate their derivation from a desert people". For how can an independent nomad, moving with all his personal and family goods from pasture to pasture and from oasis to oasis, conceive of any gregarious attitude towards property, or of any obligations implicit in his possessions, other than those he feels towards perhaps his own children?

Add the factor of high sophistication relative to those about them, the quality of hardness of which Renan speaks, and the further gift of psychological insight, and there results an equipment of formidable power in the presence of any people who have not been as accustomed to the individual struggle for private possessions as long as the Jews have.

Dr. Ruppin convincingly supports his claim that the Jews are gifted with unusual psychological insight, by pointing to their success as interpreters of all kinds: actors, musical executants, journalists and producers of drama.

In psychology it is notorious that men like Freud and Adler have been not only pioneers but have cleft the history of the science into two, the more or less dark and groping era lying behind them.

Mention has already been made of Zangwill, who claimed this gift of



the born intermediary in the Jew and said that "every form of artistic and commercial agency falls naturally into his hands". There can be no doubt that much of this gift finds its strength in psychological insight — the capacity to sum up a psychological content, whether in the living or in their works. And it is difficult not to see in both Offenbach and Sullivan's almost uncanny gift for musically interpreting the idea and even the wit in a lyric (whether by Meilhac or Gilbert) the quality of their Jewish origin.

Dr. Ruppin would add to this enumeration of the Jew's peculiar gifts a quality we have already indicated as belonging to his remotest ancestors — i.e., an inability to bend or bow to domination, and intolerance of any power demanding obedience, which, he says, is "reconcilable alone with democracy — a state when obedience is not recognised by anyone".

This explains, more satisfactorily than Zangwill explains it, the Jew's tendency to Socialism. Zangwill believes that this Jewish tendency is due to a racial gift for acting as an intermediary, "lifted to the plane of idealism". But surely it is due rather to the Jew's rooted democratic bias. Mr. Salaman also frankly recognizes this trait in his co-religionists. He says: "The revolutionary feeling in Europe owed its life and stimulus to the Jews . . . and the liberal ideas slowly dawning in Europe and mainly due to Jewish brains and money." True! But he does not explain it. It seems to be explained by the congenital intolerance of dominion which characterizes the Jew rather than by his gifts as an intermediary. There are, however, other reasons for the Jew's association with Socialism, Liberalism and revolutionary feeling in Europe, which will be pointed out in the next section.

Much has been said about the great intellectual gifts of the Jew. Renan made a great point of this in his address on Jewish Contributions to Civilization, and goes so far as to ascribe to Jewish genius not merely the alphabets of the Greek and Roman languages, but also the idea of phonetism, "whereby each articulation is expressed by a sign, and these signs themselves are reduced to a small number (twenty-two)". He also says of them that, even in the artistic sphere, it is impossible to imagine a Milton, a Lamartine, a Lamennais, if the psalms had not already existed. Others have ascribed to the Semites — at least the Babylonian and Assyrian branches of the race — many of the discoveries connected with our calendar and time divisions. Milman, for instance, says that long before Europe had any knowledge of the true relation of the spheres, the

Jews knew about the spherical nature of our earth, and that their sacred and secret writings — the CABALA and the TALMUD — dared to assert "the earth to be spherical and rotary, and the existence of the antipodes". According to Milman, they also knew that certain parts of the earth are bathed in the light of the sun whilst others are in darkness, and that certain parts at certain periods have very short nights. Still more surprising is the claim made by Milman that they knew of the triple division and peculiar integuments of the human brain, and the thirty-two nerves which ramify through the body.

Much of this has been violently contested, not as to the facts about Jewish knowledge but as to the suggestion that the knowledge was originally discovered by the Semites themselves.

Ferdinand Fried, for example, <sup>2</sup> denies that the Semitic race had any hand whatsoever in the invention either of the Greek or Latin alphabet, or of phonetism and the signs expressing articulations. He would allow that they may have modified or handed on certain original inventions which formed the basis of our modern script and alphabets, but ascribes the main inventions to the Sumerians. He says the same of the alleged original contributions of the Semites to the calendar and our divisions of time, all of which, he declares, were already either present or implicit in Sumerian culture.

Even allowing for some prejudice on Fried's part, it is impossible not to be impressed by the high tribute Professor Longdon pays to the influence of the ancient Sumerian culture upon the peoples who absorbed it, and when he says "it is not easy to disentangle the interwoven influences of Sumerians and Semites", he clearly justifies much of what is contended by the German author.

Count Franz de Champagny is another who recognises the superior intellectual endowments of the Jews. He says: "The race of Judah is certainly among those races most highly gifted by God; for He endowed them with patience combined with energy, eloquence combined with subtlety, and a feeling for the beautiful combined with the sense of what is profitable." But he is also careful to stress their unchanging character and assures us that, if we wish to form a picture of the Jew of the ancient world, we need but turn our eyes on the Jew as we know him to-day in every modern city of the civilized world.

Dr. Ruppin, who also claims exceptional intelligence for the Jews, lays

great stress on the factor of mate-selection in the development of their shrewd and alert brain. He says: "The rich Jews of eastern Europe were less concerned about seeking out rich suitors for their daughters than young men who were first-class students of the Talmud, and thus contributed constantly to a selective process which cultivated mental acuteness and intellectuality in the race."<sup>55</sup>

Although the natural endowments and other factors mentioned may have done a good deal towards making the Jews above all shrewd as compared with the more recently civilized peoples about them, it would seem as if the two factors that have all along been insisted upon in this section — four and a half millenniums of contact with civilization, and at least three millenniums of contact with trade and urban life — adequately explain all that is known about the Jew's character and his peculiar relationship to his Gentile environment, more especially when the latter is either preponderatingly agricultural and rural or has relatively recently achieved civilization.

There now remain to be discussed those characteristics of the Jews which, though not reducible to their ethnic origins and their vast experience as civilized products, are nevertheless connected with their peculiar experiences as a people who, again and again, have been dispersed from a common native focus.

It is hardly necessary at this stage to point out that the Great Roman Dispersion was by no means the first of the dispersions. There were communities of Jews in Egypt and Babylon long before the Romans had made the first conquest in the history of their empire.

But in considering the whole phenomenon of Jewish dispersions, whether before the Roman conquest or as the result of it, something must here be said which, so far as can be ascertained, has never yet been said or even hinted at.

It might be argued, for instance, and undoubtedly has been argued, that when we are discussing those traits of the Jewish character which are the outcome of the Jews being a dispersed people without a national home, we are surely concerned with traits which, far from being basic or essential to the Jewish character, have actually been cultivated or even created *de toute pièce* by the force of circumstances, by outward violence and a *vis major*.

This sounds so obvious and unquestionable that by thousands of

ordinary readers it might be allowed to pass without further inquiry. Regarded a little more narrowly, however, it loses much of its cogency, and for the following compelling reasons.

In the first place, we know that long before the Roman Dispersion there had been dispersions many of which were voluntary. Communities of Jews, many of them voluntary exiles from Judah, had formed in Egypt, in Asia Minor and elsewhere.<sup>56</sup> This is one fact worth remembering. But a fact of far greater importance is the natural roving quality of the Jews, apparently implanted in their nature long before any external pressure whatsoever was brought to bear upon them.

What is the earliest history of their ancestors but a continuous pilgrimage? What was the explanation of their very presence in Mesopotamia and Palestine, if it was not that they were wandering from an area in which, at all events, they had always been rovers into another area seeking fresh woods and pastures new?

In fact, it may very seriously be questioned whether their Bedouin ancestry in itself did not implant in them for all time a roving and restless spirit which could not and actually did not shoot any lasting roots of deep attachment into any soil. In their origin they were nomads. But can one speak of nomads as possessing a fatherland, a home country, a *patrie* from which they are dispersed? And would it be logical to say of nomads who had been dispersed from a temporary common focus that certain unsettled roving elements in their nature had been forced upon them by their dispersal?

In this sense, it seems timely to utter a warning — particularly in these days of courtesy and kindness at all costs, even at the cost of Truth — against the tendency to account for every less prepossessing attribute in the Jew to the force of his unfortunate circumstances amid a barbarous and oppressive environment.

What the Great Dispersion did, therefore, was not so much to give the Jews a fresh experience in the form of dispersion, or to force upon them a new taste for it, but to make it impossible for any common native focus to be established again for some time. For, as we have seen, the Jews had had the experiences of a dispersed people long before the Roman conquest of Judea, and often (though this is constantly forgotten) the dispersion had been to some extent voluntary and, at all events, met an ancestral need of their natures.

Now, the peculiarity of the Jews in dispersion — to mention one important factor in their psychological constitution — was that they retained a sense of national unity and a sense of a native focus without the need of any territorial basis. It was a sense of national unity built only on a common religion, a common law and a common ethnic origin. This is often spoken of — for instance by Kastein — as a marvellous phenomenon, as a *pis aller* in a terrible crisis. But is it not in itself a proof that the Jews were by nature, from the very beginning, a nomadic people who in any case would have no other unity except one of this ideological type?

They could, in fact, preserve their non-territorial sense of nationality only by forcing, as it were, the note of their common religion and their "clannishness". They were one non-territorial kith and kin against a world consisting of territorial nationalities.

This meant, however, not merely aloofness and a certain eagerness and pride in exhibiting the evidence of their peculiar form of unity (which, incidentally, is one their characteristics which most provoked the anger of the Romans) but also — and this is important in understanding the psychology of the Jews — it meant that in their heart of hearts they were at home nowhere. Their common home was only in the spiritual realm of their religion and in the consciousness of their common ethnic derivation.

This is magnificently explained in the chapters of Joseph Kastein's book, and it is the only explanation which accounts for certain traits in the Jews which all ages, almost, have commented upon, and which marks them out as a peculiar people.

If to-day the Jew is in the forefront of every international movement, whether the creation of a language like Esperanto or the support of an ideology like Socialism with its brotherhood of mankind as against Fascist Nationalism, it is due not so much to the fact that the Jew is at heart a democrat and intolerant of dominion, as to his being himself a creature without a nation in the territorial sense, and with a primitive ancestry which, in any case, did not know of any such territorial nationality.

Zangwill himself recognises this "cosmopolitan habit" of mind in the Jews, which, he says, "creates Socialism". But whether it creates Socialism or not, it certainly inspires in all those who possess it an attitude of indifference to the nationalism of the particular people among whom they may be living, and tends, therefore, to make the Jews set their own spiritual and ethnic unity above any merely local national striving or crisis

which may stir the non-Jews of their particular environment. They do not appreciate what a territorial national feels about the home-country, because it is not in their blood or traditions to have these feelings.

Thus Dr. Joseph Dulbeeg, a Manchester Jew, writes: "Judaism is not a religion merely, like Catholicism or Protestantism; it is a brotherhood, a race if you like; and that it will remain as long as there are two Jews left in the world. Say what you will, no matter how an English Jew or a German Jew may love and feel for his English or German neighbours, he will have a greater love, a greater sympathy for another Jew, even if that Jew may come from the other end of the world."<sup>57</sup>

This is probably true, and this trait in the Jewish mind, while it makes for good world citizenship, can hardly square with the national feeling of those among whom the Jews may merely be sojourning. It may so square. But if a national crisis be imagined in which the Jews do not feel themselves involved in the national issue at stake, or in which the Jews have reasons of their own for sympathizing with the opponents of the nation among whom they are but sojourners, is it not conceivable that they will either act or use their influence in a way hostile to their local hosts?

This has certainly happened again and again, and the historical evidence alone abundantly confirms Dr. Dulbeeg's frank admission.

Only three historical examples of it need be mentioned.

Not only from the positive statements of Jewish historians themselves, but also from the fact that a large number of the Jews of Babylon remained behind when Cyrus of Persia set the Jewish exiles free, it is known that the rulers of Babylon treated the Jews very mercifully and considerately during their half century of sojourn in Babylon.

And yet Isaiah and his people obviously desired the downfall of Babylon, and welcomed the prophesied arrival of Cyrus, who was to be the conqueror of Babylon, merely because Cyrus happened to be a convenient instrument for the momentary purpose of the Jews.

"For your sake", saith the Lord, "I have sent to Babylon, and have brought down all their nobles, and the Chaldæans, whose cry is in the ships."

"Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of Kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall be shut."

And then the final prophetic curse:—

"Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldæans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.

"Take the millstones, and grind meal: uncover thy locks, make bare thy leg, uncover thy thigh, pass over the river.

"Thy nakedness shall be uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen: and I will take vengeance . . .

"Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldæans: for thou shalt no more be called The Lady of Kingdoms."

And Cyrus came and conquered the Babylonians, while the Jews rejoiced to see Isaiah's prophetic curse fulfilled. And yet they were living in a country which made them so comfortable and happy that, even after Cyrus's conquest, according to Josephus — and there is no doubt that he was right, for there is other evidence of the fact — "many abode in Babylon, not willing to leave their possessions."

Much the same sort of thing happened in Egypt. The large Jewish community there was treated with great tolerance and hospitality. And yet when the Romans came as invaders, the Jewish community, hoping to gain some advantage by the arrival of the hostile strangers, sided with the Romans against their old hosts. At the end of the Alexandrian War, Cæsar granted the Jews the right of citizenship in Alexandria, doubtless in return for the support they had given to the army brought by Mithridates to his relief, at a time when he was in the sorest straits in the Egyptian city.

Writing on this very point, the scholarly historian, Dr. Oesterley, says:

—  
"The friendly relations existing between Rome and the Jews of Alexandria had the effect of embittering the non-Jewish population of the city against the Jews in their midst. This we can readily understand. Rome was the conqueror, and therefore, naturally enough, not beloved by the conquered people; to have the friends of the conqueror as close neighbours could only result in hatred of them."

What Dr. Oesterley does not point out, however, and what seems important if a fair estimate is to be formed of the situation in Alexandria in the last half century B.C., is the fact that the Jews were not only neighbours of the Alexandrians, but very old neighbours, having enjoyed Egyptian hospitality for centuries.

A third and last instance is the attitude of the Jewish community in Algiers when the French conquered the country in 1830. The Jews welcomed and sided with the French against their ancient hosts, and completely forgot any past obligations. But perhaps it were best, in this matter, to quote a Jewish writer's own statement of what occurred. Mr. Maurice Block says:—

"On landing in 1830, the French army found friends, guides and interpreters in the very heart of the enemy's country. They were the Jews who were only too glad to rally to the tricolour standard, which in its folds was to bear them freedom and toleration."

A similar case of going over to the enemy is reported of the Polish Jews during the Bolshevik invasion of Poland. But enough has been said to make it quite clear that the Jew, through being by long tradition a nomad, a cosmopolitan, a man of no fixed territorial home, but only a member of a body whose unity is essentially spiritual and ethnic, cannot be expected to be anything else than an indifferent spectator when the local human environment in which he happens to find himself is threatened. Only if the interests of this local human environment coincide with his own does he appear to be other than indifferent. But suppose circumstances in which only a slight advantage would accrue to himself and his co-religionists by the defeat of his former hosts, then his indifference would seem to turn to active sympathy with the latter's enemies. <sup>58</sup>

It is this trait in the Jewish character which doubtless has earned him the reputation of being self-seeking, and when Ernest Renan, a man so notoriously friendly to the Jews, is found readily admitting this self-seeking quality in the Jewish character, we may confidently accept it as a fact.

It may not be the Jew's fault that he necessarily feels and acts in this way. But in an enumeration of his qualities it would have amounted to a grave inaccuracy not to mention this trait of his character — the instinctive loyalty to a spiritual and ethnic unity which transcends all other loyalties, and therefore makes him appear egotistical and self-centred.

Before closing this all too brief outline of the quintessential character of the Jews, another effect of being territorially nationless must now be mentioned, and with this the present section may be closed.

The sense of spiritual and ethnic unity which possesses the Jews and which makes them act as one, despite their sundered existence in many lands, may be intense and satisfying, but it inevitably has the result of



making them, as compared with the territorial nations, feel in one very important respect appreciably inferior. For human nature, even in a people as sophisticated and relatively senior as the Jews, still remains actuated by most of the familiar springs of ordinary human conduct, and it would be daring to deny that the Jews are in any way privileged to be free from those motives and incentives which we normally ascribe to the rest of humanity.

If, however, it be admitted that the Jews, in view of their non-territorial mentality amid territorial nationals, must be constantly reminded of their deprivation and their consequent relative inferiority — and their study of their own history alone would suffice to bring it to their attention had they not become aware of the fact by other means — then it follows that the customary consequences of these inferiority feelings would be bound to manifest themselves in a characteristic course of conduct in Jews as a whole.

What are the customary consequences of inferiority feelings? With surprising regularity they consist in an intensified longing for self-assertion and ascendancy. They drive those who are possessed by them to what is known not merely as compensation, but also as over-compensation.

Whether this sufficiently accounts for the trait universally recognized in the Jews of ancient Alexandria, ancient Rome, mediæval Europe, and modern America and Europe, which has so constantly provoked the Gentiles about them — we refer to their love of display — is a question which may be left unanswered because, in any case, there may be other springs to such behaviour. It may be, for instance, that the Jews reveal in their love of display only an Asiatic or Oriental feature, which has no root in inferiority feelings and could be found even in Orientals not possessed of such feelings.

But the belief that the inferiority feeling of the Jews constitutes an adequate and necessary explanation of their exceptionally intense *arriviste* or climbing propensities is probably more soundly established. For this indomitable ambition, this restless and indefatigable striving after importance and power, is exactly the kind of psychological result which might be expected from the inferiority feelings in question.

Hardly any writer, from Renan to Dr. Ruppin, fails to mention this indomitable ambition as an outstanding feature of the Jews, and added to their other qualities enumerated above it naturally makes them formidable

exponents of the will to power, and ruthless competitors in any contest for influence and ascendancy.

But again, it may not be the Jew's fault that he is predisposed by his inferiority feelings to be ever striving for influence and supremacy, a striving which, according to the Jewish psychologist Adler — and this claim alone on the part of a Jew is significant — is the principal motive of all human conduct.

We are, however, not concerned here with praise or blame, but merely with stating facts, and in an estimate of the Jewish character it would have been unpardonable to omit this important factor in the springs of Jewish behaviour.

Enough has now been said, if not to provide a full description of the Jewish character, at least to indicate its main features and its more striking differences from the character of the average Gentile — for, after all, that was what we chiefly set ourselves to do. How these differences peculiar to the Jews operate in influencing the life, institutions and politics of a people among whom they become powerful will be the burden of the ensuing section

## V

# The Influence of the Jews

Some exception is commonly taken both by the Jews, and the Liberals among the Gentiles, to the very discussion of such a subject as the Influence of the Jews. They say: "You do not discuss the influence of the Catholic, or the Mahomedan, or the Irvingite. Why pick on the Jews?"

The reply to this is contained in the whole of the four preceding sections. If the influence of the Jews compels attention in a way not comparable to that exerted by the Catholic, the Mahomedan or the Irvingite, it is because the former, as their history and destiny has shown, constantly re-create among the peoples with whom they settle the same pressing and difficult problems. As a peculiar ethnic type, not normally represented to any considerable extent in European countries, and possessed of psychological qualities and of a will to ascendancy which make them conspicuous in any environment not organised on their own lines and peopled by men of their own blood, their influence inevitably attracts notice, not merely by its strangeness but also by the invariable sameness of its effects.

Despite their frequent superficial morphological distinctions, there is a singular uniformity and standardization in the behaviour and activities of the Jewish communities of all countries, and the fact that in the history of the last four thousand years they have provoked remarkably similar reactions among the different peoples with whom they have come into contact is a sufficient demonstration of the regularity of their habits of mind and character, and of the latter's social expression. Possessed by a people less energetic, less ambitious, less determined, it is possible that their peculiar psychological qualities might have been overlooked, and that their influence upon the customs, institutions and policies of the nations among whom they settled might have been negligible. But correlated, as they are, with a will to ascendancy and power, probably unequalled by any other ethnic type, their peculiar psychological qualities naturally become the object of attention and study; and it is for this reason that in ancient Egypt, ancient Rome, mediæval Europe, and modern Europe and America there has always been a "Jewish Question", and that it is considered legitimate to discuss *The Influence of the Jews*.

At bottom, the kind of influence exercised by the Jews follows necessarily from the catalogue of their own salient characteristics, as given in section 4 above. As, however, many of the more subtle consequences of these characteristics are not obvious, it may be useful to examine them with some care.

1. The Asiatic, Oriental origin of the Jew and his peculiar ethnic type being the most fundamental feature about him, it naturally has the first claim on our attention.

Now, one of the strangest phenomena of modern times is the fact that in most discussions about the Jew in his relation to Western culture and institutions this consideration of his essentially Oriental character and type should almost without exception have been sedulously overlooked. It is as if the belief in the independence of mind and body, of soul and physique, had been so profoundly inculcated upon modern Man as to make it impossible for him to see the absurdity of regarding character and mental and emotional constitution as unrelated to, or unconditioned by, their physical correlatives. For if the Jew is essentially an Asiatic, then his mental and characterological features must have an Asiatic colour and quality. If he is really an Oriental, he cannot think and feel as a Westerner.

But anyone reading the debates in both Houses, which preceded the various Acts providing for the Emancipation and Naturalization of aliens and Jews in England, and their admission to Parliament and to the various offices of State, must be struck by the scrupulous delicacy with which almost all the speakers avoided all but the most superficial and "personal" issues.

The debate is kept aloft, soaring in philosophical altitudes, in which metaphysics and theology crowd out the more thorny problems of biology, mental science and the realities of national self-protection.

Again and again, by most of the speakers, from Macaulay to the Marquess of Westminster, the question of the Emancipation of the Jews was made to appear merely one of religious views, as if Christianity and its principles alone were at stake and no other aspect of the national life involved.

Not once in that least enlightened of centuries in English history did anybody appear to appreciate that a relationship might possibly exist between an ethnic type, marked, in spite of certain superficial differences, by well-established morphological features, and the psychological

characteristics it commonly displays. Not once did it occur either to a member of the Lower House or to a Peer taking part in that controversy that, if Englishmen were reputed to have behaved in a certain fairly standardized manner in all the circumstances of home and public life, the peculiar type recognized as English must be in some way correlated with their characteristic behaviour and psychology — in fact, with any expression of their personality in legislation, administration, etc. And that, consequently, if English legislation and administration were to remain true to type, it was essential that no un-English type should mingle his influence with that of Englishmen.

Had such a thought occurred but once to any of the debaters, they must have seen that English customs and institutions could hardly retain their identity unless the type which had hitherto been responsible for them remained exclusively in control.

To introduce into the administration and public life of the country a psychology correlated with another type must necessarily modify, if not imperil, those very aspects of it which theretofore had depended for their peculiar form and character on the fact that they were the social expression of Englishmen.

It was not a question of whether it was "cricket" or "kindly" or "gentlemanly" to exclude the Jews with other aliens from Parliament. It was a question of whether England did or did not wish to continue her national life as an expression of her national type.

As Ripley has sufficiently shown in his monumental work on "The Races of Europe", the peculiarity which distinguishes the English people from their Continental neighbours is that whereas the latter are a mixture more or less proportionate of the Teutonic, the Mediterranean and Alpine races, the former were until comparatively recent times a blend of only Teutonic and Mediterranean stocks.

In modern scientific jargon, then, the morphology of Englishmen cannot be divorced from the ethnic components in their ancestry. And since morphology and psychology can no longer be separated either, except by those who abide by a superstitious outlook, it follows that the character of the pure Englishman must in some obscure way, which need not be investigated here, be correlated with his morphology.

But it has been seen that, at least as far as the Jews are concerned, we are confronted with an ethnic type which, according to one scholarly

Jewish investigator, is a compound of the Near Eastern branch of the Alpine, and the Oriental and Occidental branches of the Mediterranean races, i.e., they have in their physical composition two human stocks which are, or were until recent time, unrepresented in these islands, and they entirely lack a third.

Was it really supposed by the legislators of the nineteenth century that the introduction into English public life of an element so manifestly foreign as the Jew would leave the character of our institutions and the spirit of our customs and laws unmodified?

It is not suggested here that the Jew, because of his peculiar ethnic components or of his individual type, should necessarily have been as odious to our legislators of the nineteenth century as he was to the Spanish priests of the Middle Ages.

But it did not show a very deep concern about the fundamental problems connected with his admission into our public life and administration that no one should have invited Parliament to consider its possible effect upon the national life.

Anyone wishing to convince himself of the levity and fantastic levels maintained by the debates should read, not only Macaulay's "Statement of the Civil Disabilities and Privations Affecting the Jews In England", but also the reports of the relevant debates in both Houses. He will then be able to appreciate more fully than from anything that can be said here the lamentable superficiality of most of what was thought and said on both sides. And nothing that has been thought and said since has added one iota of wisdom to the frivolities of our nineteenth-century ancestors.

Maybe the Asiatic outlook, the Asiatic way of solving English problems, was thought definitely desirable by the advocate of Jewish emancipation. They may have imagined that English public business and administration could only be improved by the addition of Asiatic elements both to the electorate, the legislature, the Civil Service and the Bench. But if so, why did not they frankly come out with this plea? Why did they not declare their conviction that we needed this new element in our national life in order to carry on more successfully?

Why, like mediæval prelates and monks, were they content to argue as if the one difference between Englishman and Jew was religion, and that, if the Jew undertook not to undermine Christianity, the last remaining objection to his emancipation would be removed? Did they perhaps think

that he had so deeply influenced the life of the nation already, since his re-admission under Cromwell, that to raise barriers to his now confirming by legislation the radical modifications he had brought about amounted to straining at a gnat after swallowing a camel?

Much might be said in support of this point of view had it ever been advanced. It might have been argued, for instance — though no one did argue in this way <sup>59</sup> — that since the first half of last century, not only England, but her House of Commons and her House of Peers, was full of men who were not only practising Jewish methods in business, finance, general trading and manufacture, but were also convinced of the soundness of these methods, what difference could it make if the Jews themselves were represented on our public and administrative bodies?

It might have been argued that since, very often, legislation merely regulates methods and practices already established by custom, how could the admission of Jews into the electorate and Parliament affect our lives, except perhaps by merely hastening a process which was in any case inevitable — namely, the legalisation of Jewish customs and usages already well established in the country?

For, truth to tell, the process of change ever since the seventeenth century, whether wholly influenced or merely speeded up by the re-admission of the Jews, had been characterized chiefly by the Judaisation of the productive and business life of the country. True, certain fatal steps towards Capitalism — the institution peculiar to the Jewish genius, as Werner Sombart has so ably shown — had been taken before even the Jews were readmitted. But it is legitimate to ask whether such fatal steps might not perhaps have been retraced, or whether they would have been allowed to culminate so logically and rapidly in the modern capitalistic state, had the Jews never settled in this country.

In this sense, however, and in view of the fact that they had been allowed to re-settle and to help mould the life of the nation throughout the latter half of the seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it would perhaps have seemed rather a pedantic quibble in 1830 to resist, on the score of their undesirable influence, their final elevation to power as electors, legislators and public servants.

But, again, even this point of view was never stated. Had it been, the fact would have revealed a state of mind in Parliament which might have led to a more enlightened grasp of the whole situation as it appeared in

the thirties of last century.

The taking of the ultimate steps which introduced the Jews as participators in, and part-controllers of, the life of the country thus really did no more than set the coping-stone to a social edifice which had already been in process of construction for over a century and a half. But it solidified and hardened the structure beyond any hope of modification, and doubtless precipitated many an extreme development which to-day we are deploring.

As an Oriental, as a descendant of a race inured in the desert to an existence which, though precarious, was certainly neither industrious nor laborious,<sup>60</sup> and, ever since his abandonment of the nomad's life, attracted to and becoming more and more occupied in trade and general trafficking, the Jew, not only in his own community, but also as an influence outside his community, was bound to promote and cultivate precisely that kind of culture — which, for the lack of a better name, we may call "black-coated" — in which clean, easy and quick paths to wealth, or at least to self-support, are preferred to strenuous, slow and clothes-soiling paths, in which a love of the work as such, apart from the profit it brings, may be a motive for choosing and clinging to it.<sup>61</sup>

Owing to his age-long connexion with civilization, urban life and trade, the Jew was bound to promote and develop the culture which is built upon a vast expansion of urban rather than of rural habits and occupations. For men invariably tend to choose and foster the conditions in which their peculiar mastery is best displayed. A swordsman does not choose pistols for a duel.

Finally, by his congenital proclivity to traffic with the products of other men's labour rather than to be a producer himself, the Jew was bound to favour all those activities which we now know as speculating, forward buying, forestalling, regrating, and the promotion of every variety of agency and middleman function until, in the whole of the labour and products of the nation he influenced, there was nothing that remained immune from the "rake-off" of the purchaser with the capital to anticipate a demand.

In the preceding section it was shown how inaccurate is the ascription of the Jew's predilection in favour of trade, financial activities and mere profit or margin-taking, by means of every subtle variety and ramification



of the middleman's function, merely to the oppressive laws of the Middle Ages and Christian Europe.

Nor is the knowledge which made the establishment of this fact possible a thing of yesterday. It was accessible to Cromwell, to the legislators of the Restoration, and to all those who, in both Houses, were entrusted by the nation to examine the question of the Jews in England after 1830. And yet it was completely ignored, and everybody acted as if our present-day culture, which has undoubtedly been developed largely under Jewish influence, were the consummation most desirable for England.<sup>62</sup>

The asperities of the Manchester School and its régime were but a practical application of the accepted principle of converting — even the flesh and blood of infants if necessary — into profit. Although born Englishmen in vast numbers were inextricably involved in this grisly traffic in white slaves (thousands of whom were mere children), to which only the noble efforts of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury and Michael Thomas Sadler (both Tories) ultimately put an end comparatively late in the nineteenth century, it can hardly be denied that, both in the philosophy of *laissez-faire* and the practical exponents of it, there was nothing fundamentally foreign to the time-honoured methods of the typical Jewish businessman, or to the spirit which the increasing influence of Jewish finance and trading morality had spread in England.

"Politically", says Sombart, "he (the Jew) is an individualist", and it was extreme individualism, with its slogan *saue qui peut*, in a ruthless struggle of everyone against his neighbour, which was responsible for the worst excesses of nineteenth-century Industrialism.

One of the outstanding features in the growth of modern Capitalism has been the gradual transformation of the notion of property as involving privilege *plus* duty and responsibility into a notion of property as free and devoid of any responsibility whatsoever. In fact, it is impossible to conceive of modern Capitalism as not forestalled by this significant transmutation of values.

Property, as involving privilege *plus* obligation and responsibility, presupposed certain ties and stakes in the land, certain relations to dependents, assistants and equals, and certain obligations to the community as a whole for its incessant contribution to all forms of property, which were possible only to a legal denizen with traditions and

contacts in his locality and usually his soil. This being so, however, no alien, no "free-lance" sojourner, wishing to settle in this country and to accumulate property could do so unless the very notion of property became suitably modified.

Before thus modifying it, no one, however, once paused to consider whether property as such could possibly continue to be defended or justified. Apart from the Jew's ancestral inability to understand the gregarious view of property, the desire naturally was to divorce it from obligation and responsibility, particularly that kind of obligation which was implicit in the ancient usages of the country, and which prescribed duties that none but a man of property with a certain traditional status could discharge. What did it matter if, by divorcing it from such obligations, property must cease from having any meaning?

Thus, all notion of responsibility and duty which, from the beginning of settled life in England, had been inseparable from ownership, was allowed to drop out of the institution of property, as if for all the world such a modification made no difference to its odour, its philosophic justification and its function in the theory of the English realm.

It was a change eminently favourable to the Jew as a congenital particularist and a free-lance aspirant for property and power in a foreign land. And although in the history of the divorce of Property from Obligation, as a development of Capitalism, certain fatal steps were undoubtedly taken before the resettlement of the Jews in England, it would be daring wholly to exclude Jewish influence from the drastic reforms which secured the establishment of free and irresponsible ownership (really a contradiction in terms) after the Grand Rebellion, and which ultimately culminated in the institution which we know as modern Capitalism.

In its very first principle, this new institution harboured the seed of its own ruin; for, since in order to be free, property had abandoned its only philosophic and political justification, and propertied people consented to a cash payment discharging all their duties; and since, moreover, the traditionally accepted measure in the relationship of ownership to duty tended to become entirely lost after ownership was divorced from its time-honoured usages in this country, it necessarily followed that the cash payment became an arbitrary tax which, at any moment, might be increased even to the point of confiscation. The fact that this is exactly the

state of affairs which, as has been seen, existed in England with regard to the Jews, for centuries before their expulsion in 1290, shows how similar conditions and behaviour provoke similar reactions. But whereas in the thirteenth century only the Jews were constantly menaced with partial confiscation, to-day it is the whole of the nation's property owners who are quite unaware of the extent to which they have been Judaised, and therefore of the singular justice of the treatment which is now being meted out to them.

Since, however, the only philosophic justification of property has been abandoned not only by a section of the nation (in the Middle Ages, the Jews), but also by all property owners, the alternative to confiscation is no longer a change over to the more reputable callings which Edward I. offered the Jews early in his reign, but a new institution on a national scale, i.e., the abandonment of property itself.

Thus the road has been cleared for the ultimate transition from modern Capitalism, or Judaised property (everybody a money-lender), to Communism, i.e., the inevitable culmination of the national Judaisation of property, in which confiscation becomes a national cry.

In this way, a point is reached when the only barrier between Capitalism and Communism (which, as institutions, can be shown philosophically to be equally ridiculous) is the avidity of the propertied classes to preserve what they can from confiscation. That is why, in ages like the present, the only active Conservatism to be found consists in that kind of political outlook which wishes to secure "Safety First" for bank deposits and bank balances.

Now, in following the decline of property down to its present indefensible position, it is, as we have seen, impossible not to inculcate to a very great extent both the Jew and his inveterate habits of mind. And if to-day we see the Jew everywhere advocating and even anticipating the next logical move in the only line of development which he can understand — the merging of Capitalism into Communism — it is probably due merely to the fact that, with his proverbially quick wits (especially in regard to economic trends), he has inevitably perceived the hopelessness of the wreck his methods have made of the Western institution of property, and now wishes to pilot the dilapidated hulk into a dock where he can hope to continue to survive and function, if only in the guise of a despotic bureaucrat.

Certainly, no enlightened Jew with whom we have discussed present trends has ever revealed the slightest doubt that Capitalism is waning to its end. And if, in the inevitable cataclysm, power is only to be retained by sponsoring and controlling the new institution, Communism, it is not surprising that we should find Jews prominent in the patronage of all forces which are now inclining to the extreme Left.

The relation between Capitalism, Liberalism and Judaism has been sufficiently demonstrated by Werner Sombart. What Sombart fails to point out, however, is the incredible blindness of all those, whether in Germany, France or England, who failed to foresee the only culmination which could result from the radical substitution of the free-lance, independent and, as it were, Bedouin conception of property for the Western, socialized and functional conception. And what no one who took part in the fateful debates of 1834 saw, was that the choice of ways and means, the framing of a national policy, could not, in the conditions that then prevailed, and cannot even now, be divorced from the type of man who chooses and who frames, and therefore that the intervention of the Jew in the control of the national destiny must mean the abandonment of all hope of preserving the nation's identity.

It may have been no one's wish to preserve the nation's identity or to preserve any definite meaning for the epithet "English". If that is so, however, the title "Conservative" has for the last hundred years been meaningless and spurious. In the confidence it has sought to inspire in the nation it has been a fraud.

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2. The fact, moreover, that in England after the resettlement the Jew was in the position of a stranger aspiring to power in a society already organized to a great extent upon the aristocratic and hereditary principle, meant that his one form of power — Money — found itself opposed, or at least limited, by other kinds of power which, besides having no necessary basis in money alone, were inaccessible to money as such. These other kinds of power were Gentile aristocratic lineage, Gentile aristocratic privilege, hereditary honours and functions, all of which could not be bought, had no market price, and belonged to a political system and a

constitution which would need to be transformed and if necessary wrecked, if these forms of power were to be released to merely affluent candidates for their possession.

Thus, if in such a society the Jew was to persist in his ambition to acquire power that had no insuperable limitations, it meant that, willy-nilly, he must give the weight of his support in influence and money to all those tendencies in the land which were aiming at destroying these peculiar and unpurchasable forms of power, and at dismantling the political framework into which they fitted.

Whether the political incompetence of the occupants of these seats of power, or their stupidity or their gross neglect of their duties played into the hands of those elements in the nation which were anxious to displace them is a question which need not be gone into here. Suffice it to say that, from the most humble squire to the most exalted member of the nobility, there were throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a sufficiently high proportion of unworthy men of privilege and power in the country abundantly to equip the arsenal of any section of the nation which happened to be determined upon their destruction.

But what is important is the fact that, no matter how virtuous or efficient they might have been, and no matter how exemplary might have seemed their administration and their leadership in the eyes of the masses, the Jew could not logically have acted otherwise than he did; for he was by the very nature of his position committed to siding with their political critics and opponents. Fundamentally, there is no reason — no fact in the past history of the Jews — which would justify us in assuming that, had the privileged rulers of this country satisfied all the demands of the nation, the Jews, as inveterate strangers, knowing only their own ethnic and spiritual solidarity, would have allowed the efficient performance of their functions by the privileged classes to weigh against the more pressing desideratum of opening up all avenues to power for themselves.

Hence, throughout the latter part of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth centuries, two movements aiming at the reform of the House of Lords — to mention no other modifications of the national political structure — ran side by side. On the one hand, there was a steady crescendo of denigration levelled at the hereditary principle, and, on the other, a tendency to lower the prestige of the Upper House by making money alone a means of access to it. The younger Pitt openly promoted

the latter movement, and, in spite of George III.'s protests, flooded the Lords with his creations. By 1801 the number of newly created or promoted peers who were selected chiefly because of their wealth and their support of the Government was 140, and there is no doubt that as a result the Upper House became "inferior in ability and devotion to its legislative duties than the small assembly of earlier days". This policy was persisted in throughout the nineteenth century, towards the end of which attacks on the Lords were invited by the very ignominy of their origin and of the system that placed them in power.

Meanwhile, all through the century, the hereditary principle, which as a ground for an attack on the Peers had steadily grown ever less and less relevant, came more and more into prominence as a butt for the Radicals who, conveniently overlooking the preponderatingly elective nature of the assembly, continued to assail hereditary privilege because, in dealing with the masses, this was the form of criticism which generated most warmth and most resentment.

Early in the nineteenth century, by a curious coincidence which requires some explanation, the same publicist who wrote a "Defence of Usury" had also attacked the constitution as being "aristocracy-ridden", and if by 1911, after a propaganda campaign which for fraudulent misrepresentation surpassed anything of the kind in history, and in which the landed nobility were persistently represented to the people as their only real oppressors and parasites, the Parliament Act virtually removed the House of Lords from any functional position of importance in the constitution, it was because there had been no rest, no pause, in the steady advance of Radical anti-Lordism from the day of Bentham onwards, and because the peers had largely forfeited their claims to respect and honour by abandoning the only course which would have justified their privileges — to wit, an efficient and conscientious performance of their functions.

Now, the whole of this anti-peer campaign was supported and directed by the Liberals and their extreme Left Wing, and it was on the side of the Liberals that the English Jews necessarily ranged themselves.

Disraeli, in one of the most ingenious and misleading essays on the Jews to be found in literature, says: "All the tendencies of the Jewish race are conservative. Their bias is to religion, property, and natural aristocracy; and it should be the interest of statesmen that this bias of a great race

should be encouraged and their energies and creative powers enlisted in the cause of existing society."

He then goes on to say that if they cease to be Conservative, if they turn from Conservatism to Radicalism, it is only because of persecution. They side with revolution only "because they wish to destroy that ungrateful Christendom which owes them even its name, and whose tyranny they can no longer endure".

But in this passage Disraeli entirely overlooks what it has been our object to point out — that even where persecution is entirely non-existent, as it was in Germany before the War, in France before the Revolution, and in England throughout the nineteenth century, the Jews are bound to be on the side of Liberalism and the Radical ideology, because in Western Europe, where civilization was, before the late nineteenth century, still based to a great extent on hereditary and aristocratic privilege and obligation, there were whole spheres of power from which the Jew as a stranger was naturally excluded.

*Pari passu* with this decline in the prestige and power of the peerage, another change was also in progress, which consisted in a persistent assault on honours and titles, and the conversion of such stigmata of prestige into purchasable commodities. What Pitt had done in the Lords at the end of the eighteenth century became more or less the rule in regard to all honours and titles inside and outside its walls throughout the nineteenth century. And by the dawn of the twentieth, the sale of honours had become such an accepted and conventional practice with the administrations on both sides of the Lower Chamber, that when, soon after the Great War, a particularly unsavoury person and scandal suddenly came to the notice of the country in connexion with this traffic, there was not a political party in the nation whose hands were sufficiently clean to investigate the whole matter and bring the real delinquents to justice.

Thus wealth had, in the space of a century and a half, become the only honour, title and source of prestige — a culmination which, whether consciously envisaged by the Jews or not, was singularly favourable to their position. And although nobody who knows the history of the movements and influences which led first to the loss of credit and then to the loss of power by the Lords, and at the same time inaugurated the purchase of honours and titles, would argue that it was wholly Jewish, or wholly due to Jewish influence, the fact remains that wherever the Jew becomes

prominent and powerful, or wishes to become so, such factors in the national life of the country of his adoption — aristocratic lineage, privilege, honours, titles and functions — generally tend to become denigrated and ultimately to acquire their market price. This explains the inevitable transformation of old aristocratic societies into plutocracies, while it also sheds light on the constant association, whether in Germany, France, England, or elsewhere, of the Jews with a Liberal and money party, standing opposed to all those elements in the land struggling to maintain tradition, lineage and untarnished titles and honours.

Nor is this tendency on the part of the Jews confined to their recent history. There is every reason to suppose that in their pursuit of power in ancient Rome they adopted a similar policy, regardless of the welfare of the country in which they found themselves, and when Mommsen speaks of Judaism as "an effective leaven of national decomposition", he is referring to Rome and to a phenomenon not unlike that which has been examined above.

Count Franz de Champagny speaks of their "counting for a great deal in the affairs of the city" — *i.e.*, Rome before Nero — and he adds: "Do not let us imagine, therefore, that the Jewish community in the Roman Empire before Nero was either obscure, poor, sparse, timid or vegetating in the shade. On the contrary, in spite of the hatred and mockery of certain sections of the population, it was insolent, proud and cunning. It was deficient neither in numbers, wealth, solidarity, efficiency, truculence nor promptness to require an affront."<sup>63</sup>

Dr. Oesterley, discussing the same subject, says: "The poor Jews, importunate though they might be, were a nuisance rather than a serious annoyance. Far worse were the well-to-do Jews in the eyes of the Romans; for their innate pushfulness made their ubiquitous presence very distasteful." He also points out how, when the Jews appeared in the public baths, they would "seek to get the best places" and bring themselves everywhere "into evidence".

The history of the Roman procurators in Palestine and the frequency with which they were recalled for disciplinary reasons, or punished and disgraced, is a sufficient testimony to the power of the Jews on the spot,<sup>64</sup> and when we hear that both Cicero and Seneca were terrified of Jewish influence in Rome, we can feel little doubt about the power they



had acquired even in those comparatively early days in Roman history.

The occasion on which Cicero expressed his fear of the Jews is so interesting, and presents such a strangely vivid parallel to much that is happening in these times, that it is worth describing.

Cicero was engaged in 59 B.C. in defending Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who, besides having to answer certain charges of which he was probably guilty, had fallen foul of the Jews in a province of Asia to which he been appointed as administrator. Apparently he had, quite justifiably, and in keeping with his duties as a Roman administrator, prohibited the Jews from carrying out of his province the gold which they used to collect annually throughout the Empire for the Temple at Jerusalem. He had not appropriated this gold, but merely seized it and remitted it to Rome, as he conceived it his duty to do, and among the charges against his client which Cicero had to meet, some of which were more serious, this was one. When, however, Cicero came to that part of the defence which dealt with the question of the Jewish money, his manner and speech suddenly became extraordinarily cautious.

In the first place, turning to Publius Lælius, who was impeaching Flaccus, he complained that the cause should have been pleaded "near the steps of Aurelius", where the mob, and particularly the Jewish mob, was wont to collect, and said: "It is on account of this charge, Lælius, that this place and that mob have been selected by you. You know how numerous that crowd is, how great its unanimity, and of what weight it is in the popular assemblies."

Then, turning to the judges, he added: "I will speak in a low voice, just so as to let the judges hear. For men are not wanting who would be glad to excite that people against me and against every man; and I will not assist them and enable them to do so more easily."

In the course of his speech, he said certain unkind things about the Jews, for instance, that "to despise the multitude of Jews, which at times was most unruly in the assemblies, in defence of the interests of the republic, was an act of the greatest wisdom".

But what better proof could we have of the power the Jews then wielded in Rome than Cicero's opening remarks and his aside to the judges? He certainly obtained the acquittal of Flaccus. But then, as Dr. Graetz is careful to point out, one year later "Cicero was banished from Rome, was not permitted to come within a circumference of eighty miles

from Rome, and his house and his villas were razed to the ground", so that his fears were perhaps only too well justified.

Seneca is another thoughtful and cultivated Roman who appears also to have recognized and deplored the power of the Jews in Rome, for Augustine quotes him in the "De Civitate Dei" as having said of them: "When, meanwhile, the customs of that most accursed nation have gained such strength that they have been now received in all lands, the conquered have given laws to the conquerors." This statement by a Roman of the first century A.D., that the conquered race was becoming a powerful influence in the empire of its conquerors, was repeated some four centuries later by Rutilius Numantianus, who, writing about 417 A.D., expressed his regret that the Roman conquest should ever have driven the Jews from Judea, and added that now "the virus creeps through the veins, and the conquered nation overcomes its conquerors".

The perfectly similar efforts of the Jews to acquire power in the modern world, however, and the success with which they have met, is proudly admitted and even extolled by Jewish writers themselves, and would have been called to our notice by them, even had the modern world failed to notice it.

Thus, the Jewish writer Simon Wolf, writing as long ago as 1888, was able to say of the Jews: "We all know that the first bankers of the world — Rothschilds — are Jews; we know they control not only the money market, but also the political destiny of the European world . . . The Press of Europe is mostly controlled by Jews; the leading editors are Jews."

These facts are not denied to-day by anyone who is tolerably well-informed. Wherever an important strategic position is to be found, from which opinion, and political and financial interests, can be controlled, there Jews will be discovered in a far higher proportion than among the rest of the population, and the fact that this is not a mere accident, but an end deliberately and consciously pursued, is revealed by a speech delivered by the Jew Moses Montefiori before an assembly of Rabbis at Cracow as long ago as 1840, in which, rebuking them for their ineffective methods, he said: "What are you drivelling about? As long as we have not got control of the Press, all your chatter is useless. You can do no good whatsoever with your societies, loans, bankruptcies and that sort of thing. As long as we cannot make use of the Press in order to stultify and delude the world, our efforts will be of no avail, and our domination will remain a will-o'-the-wisp."<sup>65</sup>

Reviewing the literature on the influence and power of the Jews in the Roman Empire, there seems to be no ground for doubting that, had there been such a thing as a large and highly organized Press in ancient Rome, the Jews would have been found in preponderating numbers on the staffs of all the large dailies and weeklies.

But if we conclude that, as in ancient Rome, so in the modern Western world, the Jews are everywhere striving for and acquiring power, it is essential, in order to understand the phenomenon, to appreciate the nature of this striving. And, in this matter, we must carefully review and bear in mind everything that has been said in the previous sections. For if we are satisfied that in all classes of society to-day there is a tendency to value all things in terms of money and financial profit, to behave as if there were nothing more respectable than to live the artificial existence of urban and non-productive middlemen, and generally to exalt what can be merely ephemeral in the life of the country, we must carefully consider our position. And since, as we have seen, this tendency now exists irrespective of the presence of the Jews or their influence, it seems justifiable to take such steps to resist or neutralize it as are implied in a wholesale transmutation of values.

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3. The Asiatic origin of the Jew, his knowledge and his feelings of strangeness in all the countries into which he has wandered since the Roman Dispersion, especially those of north-western Europe from whose population he is most conspicuously differentiated, <sup>66</sup> have inevitably induced him to exert all his powers in every possible way to weaken or break down the national barriers which either recognized, provided against, or emphasized his own and any other foreign element.

It has been seen that the Jew tends by his origins to be democratic in spirit and Liberal in outlook. When, however, as an alien, as a man of strange blood, he finds himself confronted by a national population in which any vestige of the Conservative spirit remains, and whose national institutions are hedged round by exclusive rights and traditions tending to exclude the foreigner and his influence, his very lust for ascendancy,

irrespective of any congenital Liberalism in his being, inevitably inclines him to promote all those Liberal principles which are best calculated to eliminate the rigid barriers about him and to undermine their philosophic justification. Thus, wherever he may be, he applies his peculiar gifts, both as a sophisticated intellectual and as a formidable exponent of the Will to Power, to denigrate all the rigorous policies and measures tending to preserve the typically national character or personnel of the institutions and corporations he finds about him, and becomes a Liberal out of expediency in addition to being a Liberal by hereditary bias. Consequently, he is always found wherever there may happen to be movements engaged in modifying the time-honoured features of a nation's character, and for opposing as "reactionary" and "fossilized" those barriers to his ascendancy which are rooted in the nation's self-preservative traditions.

True, he will be careful not to attack the institutions of Guy Fawkes' Day, or the Lord Mayor's Show. For, provided most Englishmen are simple-minded enough to suppose that their ancient institutions are being sufficiently safeguarded by the annual burning in effigy of a Papist, and by an obsolete and quite unessential pageant, even if many more essential and precious features of the national life should have disappeared completely, why should anyone trouble to tamper with these harmless historical heirlooms?

He will also take care not to attack the ritual and ceremonies of Parliament and the Throne. But again, he will be making an insignificant concession, so long as Englishmen are sleepy enough to imagine that while there may be un-English, although "native", elements in both Houses, among the Ministers of the Crown and at the very foot of the Throne, the mere regalia and "*panache*" of parliamentary life and of the Constitution amply suffice to preserve the ancient character of these institutions.

Thus the Jew becomes a militant Liberal, not out of any hostility to what is ancient *per se* — on the contrary! he is often the most ardent advocate of the merely Wardour Street and Fancy Dress Ball aspect of a people's venerable institutions. Like the Liberal, he opposes the latter only to make all paths free. And since it is the purely Wardour Street and Fancy Dress Ball aspects of a nation's institutions which most delude the mob and the shallow middle class into believing that all is as it should be and as it always has been, the Liberal finds his task a fairly simple one.

Hence the universal association of the Jew with Liberal tendencies!

Hence, too, when it comes to fighting European Conservatism or Nationalism, his complete oblivion of his own people's fits of Conservatism in the remote past.

What Ezra did in Jerusalem in 485 B.C., what Nehemiah did in that same city in 445 B.C., is conveniently forgotten, if it is a matter of ridiculing the action of a Tory like the Earl of Malmesbury in opposing the Bill to repeal the civil disabilities of the Jews, or if it is important that the National Socialists of Germany should be refuted and ridiculed.

On the other hand, when it is a matter of a Jew trying to get himself accepted as a power by the Conservatives of his time, nobody could speak in a manner more persuasive and eloquent about the fundamental principles now actuating German National Socialism than Disraeli himself.

Listen to him on the question of the equality of mankind. "They [the Jews] are a living and most striking evidence of the falsity of that pernicious doctrine of modern times, the equality of man . . . the natural equality of man now in vogue, and taking the form of cosmopolitan fraternity, is a principle which, were it possible to act on it, would deteriorate the great races and destroy all the genius of the world. What would be the consequence on the great Anglo-Saxon republic, for example, were its citizens to secede from their sound principle of reserve, and mingle with their negro and coloured populations? In the course of time they would become so deteriorated that their States would probably be reconquered and regained by the aborigines whom they expelled and who would then by their superiors. But though nature will never ultimately permit this theory of natural equality to be practised, the preaching of this dogma has already caused much mischief, and may occasion more. The native tendency of the Jewish race, who are justly proud of their blood, is against the doctrine of the equality of man."

How different are the arguments of Jewry to-day, when Hitler's influence threatens to kindle anti-Semitic conflagrations in the other countries of Europe! Now, with the Liberal backing of enlightenment in the form of books like "We Europeans", the argument turns in favour of the brotherhood and equality of mankind, and the denigration of race. And here we touch upon the character of the Jews described in the previous section — their inability to place considerations not germane to their cause, in no matter what country they may be, above the interests of what they regard as freedom — which tends to make them neglect the question

of the stability or durability of the nation whose Conservatism or whose institutions they help to change, provided this freedom is served. They never ask themselves how a nation which thus loses its old usages and abandons its Conservative principles, will ultimately survive the loss. The immediate advantage of so-called freedom is all that they really consider and concentrate upon.

This may be perfectly natural and inevitable and only human, all-too-human. It does, however, constitute them a disruptive or disintegrating force within the body of any nation among whom they settle, and the fact that this tendency of their influence is not a novelty, or a manifestation only of their life in the States of modern Europe, is shown by Mommsen, who, in his "History of Rome", makes the important and very ominous statement that "even in the ancient world Judaism was an effective leaven of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition".

Their influence, therefore, tends to impoverish and weaken all local tradition, national character and national identity where these happen to be at all resistant to alien invasion. And since these factors are integrating forces, it follows that extreme Jewish Liberalism atomizes a population, turns each man into an isolated individual, and ultimately culminates in a State bordering on anarchy in which, at the turn of an eyebrow, anarchy becomes a fact.

The functional ties which join class to class, like articulating members of a body, and make each class feel the advantage it derives from the social hierarchy — a condition which, in a sound society, is one of the most harmonizing and binding of the social factors — naturally perish when ownership loses its essential obligations and leadership is deprived of its national personnel. The typical society, or lack of society, of the bedouin, with his obligations to no man, his canvas or hide shelter and his other property all wholly his own, and his liberty to move hither and thither without severing any ties, thus becomes revived. But it becomes revived in a community built up on functional ownership, stability, national feeling, and traditional leadership, and, therefore, cannot help dismembering such a community and bewildering its members.

Meanwhile, the nation and the people of a country that have suffered these changes may, owing to their city banquets, their handing of the Keys of the City to the reigning Sovereign, their beefeaters, their pageants, their national anniversaries, their monuments, and their many heirlooms and art

treasures, imagine they have retained the reality of a world that has preserved its ancient usages. They may still fancy they live in "good old" England.

But, at bottom, the nation is really unrecognizable. The age-long rake-off of the transformed ruling or possessing classes — whether Jews or Englishmen — who have considered profit rather than service, quick and clean sources of income rather than production, has left the people and their soil not only disintegrated but exhausted. Everywhere in plant, animal and human being there are signs of generations of ruthless exploitation, systematic devitalization. The people no longer even care for the greatness on which their ancestors squandered their blood and treasure.

They are no longer interested in their own ascendancy, in maintaining their own strength against the world. So incapable have the majority become of any self-assertion or productive work requiring initiative and spirit that even the production of their own entertainment is a thing of the past, and the practice of passively receiving entertainment or of having some distracting or diverting process performed upon them, preferably while they are sitting in a chair, has become a national addiction and habit. Meanwhile, the whole of Western civilization marches steadily on towards Communism, and it is difficult to repress the impulse to inquire whether that too may not be merely a device or substitute for moving on to some fresh oasis or pasture, where docile flocks of sheep will continue to maintain their bureaucratic masters in idleness.

## VI Conclusion

We have seen that there are no reasons, either anthropological or historical, for considering the Jews as other than a definite, highly specialized type of humanity. From their Bedouin ancestors they have inherited certain characteristics, of which some have been retained to a notable extent unaltered to this day. Their retention of these ancestral traits has been favoured partly by the circumstances of their history as a people and partly by the original momentum possessed by the traits themselves. Among the more salient of these traits we may name:—

(a) The non-territorial sense of nationality and ethnic unity, which makes the Jews prone to disperse by choice and prone to suffer compulsory dispersion kindly. This trait, which has a nomad origin, also makes it difficult, if not impossible, for them ever to feel rooted in an ancestral soil as the territorial national feels.

(b) The inability to grasp or accept an institution of property, in which mutual obligation is implicit, in which privilege is proportionate to responsibility, and in which the contribution of the community, either present or past, has made it impossible to isolate property as a possession to be enjoyed individually, or divorced from all ties or limitations. The nomad may know of a family contribution, but not of a communal contribution, to his property, and when he packs up his tent and his household goods, and drives his flock before him to a new pasture or a fresh oasis, he can recognize obligations to no man.

(c) A distaste for those forms of gaining a livelihood, or of sustaining themselves and families, which involve manual or generally physical labour. The Bedouin is at bottom the antithesis of the horny-handed son of the soil, and his tastes differ accordingly.

(d) A capacity for hardness both to themselves and others. An individualistic existence like that of the nomad necessarily involves periods of privation, hardship and lonely struggle often against equally individualistic rivals (e) A latent tendency to a democratic and Liberal outlook, which becomes active and militant when Jews are faced with the problem of establishing themselves among a Conservative people. This democratic and Liberal tendency has two possible roots — the habit of



individual freedom and of owing obedience to no man in a nomad state; and the recognition by the Jews, when they find themselves faced by a Conservative people or a people organized on aristocratic lines, of the usefulness of siding with and supporting all those elements in the land which are undermining the Conservative and aristocratic traditions, and

(f) A seniority over all those types of mankind which have had a relatively much shorter connexion with civilized and urban life. This has endowed the Jews with a superior shrewdness regarding all the circumstances and problems that are likely to arise in closely herded urban communities. (The psychological insight and the intelligence of the Jews may be merely other aspects of this seniority.) This trait, as we have seen, springs from the Jew's millennial association not only with civilization but also a civilization of trading and urban centres.

Further traits which manifest themselves as the result of the above innate tendencies, when Jews find themselves among a people more recently civilized than themselves or organized on an aristocratic, feudal, and mutualistic institution of property, are:—

(1) A general intolerance of all the restrictions imposed on a free use of property, on a free use of business shrewdness. For instance, an intolerance of any laws or regulations which may exist against regrating, forward buying, cornering markets, concentrating large fortunes in single hands, etc., all of which practices our Tudor and Stuart sovereigns did their utmost to suppress.

(2) A general intolerance towards all purely hereditary titles, honours or privileges which have their root in custom, ancient usage, above all in the soil, and which cannot be bought. Hence Jewish Radicalism.

(3) A tendency to convert a society based on a mutualistic conception of property, and on a system of graded service with protection of the subordinate in return for his obedience, into a society in which the population is atomized, in which each man's interests and hand are against his neighbour's, and which is characterized by a *bellum omnium contra omnes* — in fact, modern Capitalism. (4) A general feeling of inferiority towards territorial nationals which, as the result of the phenomenon known as over-compensation, forces their natural will to ascendancy to inordinate levels when they are among territorial nationals.

(5) A late and ultimate tendency to meet the general break-up of Capitalism and the society built upon it — a society which necessarily

proves incapable of enduring owing to the faulty foundations on which it rests — by siding with those elements which desire to hasten and consummate its break-up. The tendency of the Jew in decadent Europe may be due to his recognition of the fact that the system he has created, Capitalism, is inevitably doomed, and to his desire to secure himself a modicum of control, if not of leadership, in the new system which is Socialism or Communism. For it must be remembered that the Jew is congenitally incapable of visualizing or framing a system of gregarious life based on the old ideas of limited property with responsibility and mutuality, and, therefore, when Capitalism fails, he can see no other alternative than Socialism or Communism.

Now, every one of these characteristics, far from having been modified or eradicated, have been rather confirmed and intensified by the events in the Jews' long history, and as throughout this history the Jews have been subjected to a constant process of rigorous selection by which only those who were most true to type have been able to survive, they now represent a highly specialized group of human beings, with all the limitations and all the highly developed gifts imparted to them by their unique destiny.

We have seen that it is not historically correct to regard any of the characteristics by which they are generally recognized as created in them by circumstances comparatively so recent as the treatment they received at the hands of the mediæval European peoples, among whom they sojourned after the Roman Dispersion.

We have seen, moreover, that this applies even to their indomitable desire for ascendancy, which is making them strive everywhere for the strategic positions from which modern civilized states may be directed or controlled, and to their notorious predilection in favour of trade, finance and all those occupations which, while being what is known as "clean", secure those who pursue them a share in the productive labour of others.

Having, moreover, recognized these facts and established them on what appears to be irrefutable data, the question is, what should be the attitude of the territorial nationals in any modern state to the Jews sojourning among them?

From the purely anthropological standpoint, it may be concluded right away that anything in the nature of mixed marriages with the Jews, particularly on the part of English people, cannot fail to introduce into pure English stocks many ethnic elements which are not merely foreign to the

English as a people, but the absence of which from English strains constitutes one of the principal claims to the specific character of the English as a particular people in north-western Europe.

Mixture with the Jews through marriage must, therefore, seriously modify the English strain. And all those who any longer wish those specific elements in civilization which are commonly regarded as English, and which are but the external expression of the English type, to be retained as an essential part of the English nation will, therefore, naturally avoid mixed marriages with the Jew.

As a colonizing people, which has come into contact with all sorts and varieties of races and types, and kept singularly free from intermarriage with them, this, to the English, should not be a difficult form of abstention, and apart from the English peerage, there is little evidence that mixed English and Jew marriages are much in favour.

With regard to the attitude of the English to the Jews in social and political life, however, the position is not so simple.

There can be no doubt that, from the standpoint of a strictly Conservative attitude, the Jew should be precluded from too much control over our institutions and customs, because as they are not an external expression of his type, his intervention as a power over them cannot fail to modify them in an un-English way.

Prudence would, therefore, seem to dictate a policy of exclusion both of the Jew and his influence from all those departments of English life in which his influence may so alter the character of the nation as to make it lose all its specific qualities.

Thus it would seem hardly needful to state, if we desire to preserve that character and those qualities, that the Jew should be excluded from all those positions in which the chance or opportunity occurs of fundamentally modifying the character and customs of the nation. For, whether intentionally or not, it would seem as if the Jew could not help modifying these national features in a non-Occidental direction.

On the other hand, there are grave logical objections to these apparently obvious policies. (a) For instance, our data above have shown that ever since 1655 English life has undoubtedly become more and more Judaized — that is to say, that the people of this country and the life they lead have tended to approach more and more to Jewish standards or to standards under which the Jewish character flourishes.

Would there be any sense in now excluding the ethnic Jew, when his Gentile counterpart, his Gentile pupil and slavish imitator is everywhere enthroned by his side, and in greater numbers than the Jews themselves?

Is there any sense in excluding the creator of a culture if you retain his values?

Modern English life is bristling with evidence of the victory of the Judaized Englishman and of Jewish values. What sense, then, would there be in so empty a gesture as excluding the ethnic Jew and retaining his Gentile understudy? What purpose would be served in excluding the Jew and in continuing to worship at the shrine of his idols?

No exclusion of the Jews from the administrative or cultural life of England, therefore, could be more than a piece of shallow, hysterical patriotism, if it did not contemplate and include the far more fundamental but infinitely more difficult task of freeing the country of its wrong values. And all bodies of Englishmen who seriously wish to recover English civilization at this stage cannot be regarded as any more than emotional and hysterical flag wavers if they do not see the compelling need of that infinitely difficult task — the task of accompanying any gesture of organized reform by a frontal attack upon the Judaized elements in their kith and kin and their own Judaized values.

(b) In addition to this necessary warning — the burden of which has been to some extent, though not wholly, overlooked in Germany — there is a further difficulty that requires stating, and it is a great difficulty which is peculiar to England as the head of a great empire.

The difficulty arises from the complicated problem of administering even by proxy a vast area such as the British Empire, in which scores of different races have to be treated as legitimate British subjects. And it is very questionable whether, at this stage, we can revert to a policy which even the Romans considered injudicious, of withholding full civic rights from any ethnic unit within the length and breadth of the Empire. To differentiate our policy in this matter according to what kind of people we are dealing with, and to make one adverse exception in the case of the Jews, would hardly be practicable, more particularly as we know from history that the Jews received equal rights in the colonies long before they did in England.

The policy of excluding the Jews from administrative influence and power, therefore, could only prove practicable if it were consistently

pursued with regard to all other races and types. But whereas this might have been possible two centuries ago, it is hardly possible now.

The only alternative to the radical exclusion of an ethnic type in an empire like ours, therefore, is a demonetization of all the current values which can definitely be classed as disruptive, decadent and destructive of what is regarded as the essential culture of England. For, just as the Jews have, by the support of values favourable to their existence ever since the seventeenth century (though really much earlier owing to influences coming from the Continent throughout the centuries following the banishment) helped to modify England and English life and made them both much more adapted to their needs and tastes, at the cost of transforming England, so it is possible by a wholesale demonetization of these values to make English life and England, and possibly even the Empire, adopt a culture and an outlook as different as chalk from cheese from those which we now see about us.

But such a transformation and wholesale demonetization of established values is a stupendous undertaking, and although none other offers any hope, it may be questioned whether at this stage in our history we still possess the energy, the fire and the will which alone could be adequate to carry through such a fundamental and far-reaching change.

If we do not, and if we ourselves cannot move towards a sounder, healthier and saner condition which will restore our ancient institutions and ancient stamina, health and self-esteem, there can be no practical solution of the problem at all. It is essential to set out with a transmutation of existing unsound and corrupt values, especially those which have Bedouinized not only our society but also our pure type. And if we wish to be practical, it is to this task that we of this generation will address ourselves with all the energy and resolution at our command.

# Notes

# Aantekeningen

[←1]

Only in the sense of being products of a mixture of Semite and Sumerian could the Babylonians have introduced strange blood into the Jews by mingling with them.

[←2]

"Journ. Anthropological Inst." Vol. XV. (1886), p. 18.



[←3]

Where they plunge hastily into error is by claiming so dogmatically that the Jews were "originally of mixed descent". "We Europeans", p. 274.

[←4]

"Man Past and Present", by A. H. Keane (London, 1920), p. 493. As regards the Sumerians, Dr. S. H. Langdon is of the opinion that they were a non-Semitic people from central Asia (see "Cambridge Ancient History", Vol. I., pp. 356-362). A prehistoric European (Nordic) origin has, however, also been claimed for these people (see "Der Aufstieg der Juden", by Ferdinand Fried Goslar, 1937, pp. 13-21).

[←5]

"Le Judaïsme comme Race et comme Religion" (Paris, 1883), p. 24: *"Il est hors de doute . . . qu'il y a eu dans le phénomène de la race Israélite un apport de sang palestinien primitif."*

[←6]

If, however, we assume that the Semitic Babylonians must have mingled with the Sumerians whose dominion they wrested from them, the mixing of Israelite and Babylonian necessarily meant, as we have seen, the introduction of another foreign strain into the blood of the Israelites.

[←7]

Herodotus tells us that they despised the foreigner (Book II., 41 and 74), and strangers were forbidden to enter the country (see Wilkinson, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians". Vol. I., p. 328).

[←8]

"The Races of Man" (Cambridge, 1896), p. 99. See also "A History of Israel", Vol. I., by Dr. T. H. Robinson, and Vol. II., by W. O. E. Oesterley (Oxford, 1932). Vol. I., pp. 63-64, 71-72.

[←9]

See "Le Judaïsme", etc., p. 12, where he admits that up to the Græco-Roman period the Jewish people were fairly endogamous: "*Jusque-là (i.e. the Græco-Roman period) l'ethnographie du peuple juif*" was "*renfermée dans des limites assez resserrées.*"

[←10]

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[←11]

"Le Judaïsme", etc., p. 23. Renan also mentions a Queen of Adiabene — Helena by name — who with her whole family went over to Judaism, and adds: "*Il est bien probable qu'une grande partie de la population suivit l'exemple de la dynastie.*" See on this point also Oesterley. op. cit., Vol. II., pp. 422-423.

[←12]

According to Dr. Joseph Jacobs, Jewish tradition actually recognized the Ammonites, the Moabites, and even the Idumæans — not mentioned hitherto! — as of the same race as themselves. ("Journ. Anthropological Inst." Vol. XV., 1886, p. 40).

[←13]

Even Renan admits that it is thus that a type is produced. He says ("Le Judaïsme", etc., p. 26):  
"*La concentration des types résulte du fait des mariages s'effectant, pendant des siècles, dans un cercle resserré.*"

[←14]

Renan admits all this. See *Op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27. Dr. Ruppin also frankly admits the cogency of this line of reasoning and even uses it himself in his attempt to claim for the Jew a definite well-established type. See "Sociologie der Juden" (Berlin, 1930). Vol. I., p. 36.

[←15]

"Histoire des Juifs", by H. Basnage (Rotterdam, 1707), Vol. III., Livre V., Chap. VII., p. 595: "*S'il l'avait déjà reçue . . . on se contentait de tirer quelques gouttes de sang de la plaie.*"

[←16]

Basnage, op. cit., Vol. III., Livre V., Chap. VII., p. 590: "*La première [de la Porte] est celle des Esclaves, qui embrassoient le Judaïsme sans recevoir la liberté. Ces gens là n'étoient que des demi-Prosélytes, qui n'appartenoient ni aux Juifs ni aux Gentils.*"

[←17]

In fairness to Renan, it must be said that he was perfectly well aware of the fact that "*il y avait donc, parmi les convertis [he means the Jewish proselytes] des gens qui menaient la vie juive sans être circoncis, et d'autres qui étaient de véritables juifs.*" ("Le Judaïsme", etc., p. 19). But he does not clinch the argument or discuss the rigid rules surrounding proselytism as Basnage and Jacobs do.

[←18]

See particularly pp. 4, 11 and 12 of Marcuse's monograph. Dr. Ruppin also recognizes the infertility of mixed Jew and Gentile marriages, and, like Marcuse, ascribes the phenomenon to sociological factors. See Ruppin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 223, 224



[←19]

Op. cit., p. 44. We should also bear in mind the general dislike of the Jews in Mediæval Europe. Speaking of the period 395 A.D. to 800 A.D., Dr. J. B. Bury says of the Jews: "they were hated everywhere." See "History of the Later Roman Empire". Vol. I., p. 69.

[←20]

Among the calculations he makes, he estimates the total number of Jews of "doubtful" purity, introduced into the Jewish fold by such proselyte communities as the Chazars of south Russia, the Arabs of Yemen, the Daggatouns of the Sahara, and the Beni-Israel of Bombay, as only 1 per cent of Israel. (Op. cit., pp. 42-43.)

[←21]

"Le Judaïsme", etc., p. 25: "Mon opinion est qu'il n'y a pas un type juif, mais qu'il y a des types juifs. J'ai acquis à cet égard une assez grande expérience, ayant été pendant dix ans à la Bibliothèque Nationale, attaché à la collection des manuscrits hébreux, en sorte que les savants israélites du monde entier s'adressaient à moi pour consulter notre précieuse collection."

[←22]

Dudley Buxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 and 99. We have already called attention to Dr. Ruppin's support of this view (Ruppin. Vol. I., p. 36), and Dr. Ruppin, as a Jew, gives the pre-Hitler Jewish standpoint. Dr. Jacobs also notes the remarkable survival of the Jewish type. (See "Jewish Encyclopædia". Vol. X., p. 284.)

[←23]

"We Europeans", p. 274. This argument is difficult to concede, seeing that, despite almost entirely similar religious and social traditions among Europeans for centuries, one is still able to speak of German "thoroughness", for instance, French "thriftiness", and English "tenacity".

[←24]

In this brief narrative, the early chronology, at all events, is based on Theodore H. Robinson, M.A., D.D. Op. cit., Vol. I.

[←25]

Hyamson, p. 10. This was certainly so under Henry I., and probably as a privilege before this.

[←26]

Hyamson, p. 16. See also on this point, "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages", by Henry Hallam (London, 1860), Vol. II., p. 320: "The Jews paid exorbitant sums for every common right of mankind, for protection, for justice. In return, they were sustained against their Christian debtors in demands of usury, which superstition and tyranny rendered enormous." The estimates of the above-mentioned sums in pre-War currency are based on Hyamson's use of 40 as the multiplier in regard to the £2,000 paid by the Jews to Henry I. Dr. Jacobs, however, in "The Jews of Angevin England" (Appendix, pp. 316-320), suggests 30 as the multiplier in regard to sums referred to during the period in question.



[←27]

See Abrahams, p. 17: "The arrangement by which Jewish money-lenders received on English soil the protection of the King against his own subjects was not very honourable to either of the parties."

[←28]

That this change actually occurred is shown by the fact that the first three Norman kings, as Hyamson admits (p. 13), gave no annoyance to the Jews, and it was only gradually, as the sovereigns of the late Norman and early Plantagenet lines increased in their clemency to their English subjects, that they also grew more harsh and callous towards the Jews — at least, that is our reading of the course of events.

[←29]

*ibid.*, p. 32. See also Hyamson, p. 18, where we are told that in the twelfth century the Jews lived in great luxury in London, and the fact that many of their houses in Old Jewry were purchased by contemporary barons shows what important mansions they must have owned. Bishop Stubbs certainly declares that the Jews "were hated by the poor". (See "The Early Plantagenets", London, 1884, p. 229.)

[←30]

Some idea of the indebtedness to one Jew alone — Aaron of Leeds — on the part of the ecclesiastical bodies may be gathered from Hyamson (p. 28), who tells us that the owners of the Abbey of St. Albans, Lincoln Minster, Peterborough Cathedral, and nine Cistercian abbeys, owed him the equivalent of £250,000 of modern money at his death.

[←31]

Hyamson, p. 39. The author mentions Lynn, Stamford, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, Colchester, Thetford, and Ospringe, where the Jews were plundered and massacred.

[←32]

Hallam in a footnote to p. 369, Vol. III., says that, according to an annalist of Edward I.'s reign, "the Jews clipped our coin till it retained hardly half its due weight, the effect of which was a general enhancement of prices and a decline of foreign trade".

[←33]

Hyamson, p. 100. The famous incident of the wealthy Jews who were disembarked on a sandbank in the Thames estuary and allowed to drown, led to the punishment of those who were responsible for it; for we are told that they were tried and hanged.

[←34]

It will be remembered that he said (Vol. III., p. 258): "manual labour and traffic were no sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews".



[←35]  
1

[←36]

See Cunningham. Vol. I., pp. 233, 234: "The converts ceased as Christians to be the chattels of the King, but as they were unable to claim their goods from him, they had to begin life as mere paupers."

[←37]

The first was established in Southwark in 1212; the next in Oxford in 1221; and the next in New Street (now known as Chancery Lane) in 1233.

[←38]

This is all the more probable seeing that conditions in these Homes were by no means ideal.

[←39]

Both Hyamson and Dr. Cunningham (to mention only these two) argue in this way, though the former does say: "The bulk of the Jews of England preferred exile to apostasy. As in the case of Spain, however, there can be little doubt that a minority, weaker in will and constancy, chose baptism rather than the terrors of banishment, and as Christians, more or less sincere, remained behind and became gradually lost in the general population" (p. 116).

[←40]

In Hyamson's book, from which these details are taken, there is much more evidence of Jews in England during the centuries after the expulsion.

[←41]

It should be borne in mind, however, that it was the Tories under Lord Derby, who, in 1858, after twenty-seven years of opposition, granted emancipation to the Jews.

[←42]

A profoundly interesting light is shed on this aspect of the Bedouin's life-habits and on his character as a whole in Chapters II. and III. of the Introduction to Lawrence's "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom".



[←43]

Even when unity was most vitally important for the success of the Jewish revolt against the Romans, just before the Great Dispersion, the Jews remained divided until the end.

[←44]

"De la Part des Peuples Sémitiques dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation", by Ernest Renan (Paris, 1862), p. 18.

[←45]

*Ibid.*, p. 26. See also the last paragraph on p. 15 of Lawrence's "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom", and the first twelve lines of p. 16.

[←46]

This is alleged by the Jewish writer, Simon Wolf ("The Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World", Washington, 1888, p. 39), but we have been unable to confirm the statement in regard to Ney. We do not, however, claim to have consulted all possible sources.

[←47]

For a description of the Bedouin's hardness towards himself, see Chap. III. of Introduction in "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom".

[←48]

Kastein, p. 73. For Nehemiah's own account of this, see Nehemiah, v., 1-12: "And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters, are many: therefore we take up corn for them, that we may eat, and live. Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already: neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards. And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words. Then I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them. And I said unto them, We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? or shall they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and found nothing to answer. Also I said, It is not good that ye do: ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the approach of the heathen our enemies? I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you let us leave off this usury. Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them. Then said they, We will restore them, and will require nothing of them; so we will do as thou sayest."

[←49]

Cunningham. Vol. I., pp. 202, 203 (footnote). See also Sombart (p. 331): "We never find these wandering Jews, be their origin Judea or Palestine, establishing agricultural colonies or independent settlements of any sort, as most other emigrants did. But what do we find? That Jewish settlers scattered themselves in all corners of the inhabited globe among foreign nations, preferably in large towns, where they sought their livelihood."

[←50]

Ruppin. Vol. I., p. 357. It should also be noted that in the Middle Ages, at least in Germany, although most callings were closed to Jews, agricultural work was not, and yet they did not take it up.



[←51]

"Report of the Fifth Session of the Universal Races Congress." Article: "The Jewish Race", p. 274. Renan actually suggests that in the Middle Ages the Jews were middlemen even in philosophy. See "De la Part des Peuples Sémitiques", etc., p. 18: "*Le rôle philosophique des juifs au Moyen Age est aussi celui de simples interprètes.*"

[←52]

Thus does Lecky explain the dislike which the Romans felt for the Jews. He says (Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 416): "The Jews, on account of their continual riots, their inextinguishable hatred of the Gentile world, and the atrocities that frequently accompanied their rebellions, had early excited the anger and contempt of the Pagans."

[←53]

Mommsen, for instance, says (Vol. V., p. 418): "The Jewish trader moved everywhere with the conquering Roman merchant there, in the same way as he afterwards accompanied the Genoese and the Venetian, and capital flowed in on all hands to the Jewish, by the side of the Roman merchants."

[←54]

There is a good deal of misapprehension rife concerning the origins of the gregarious view of property with its essential features of obligation, duty and responsibility. These limitations on property in a sanely run society are not due to benevolence, generosity or magnanimity on the part of the rulers. They are due to simple common sense. For, not only is any other view of property unpractical and therefore incapable of enduring, but it also fails to recognize the essential element in all property, which is the contribution made to it daily and yearly, throughout the generations of a people, by the community as a whole. The fact that the particularist view of property overlooks this makes the particularist view of property thoroughly unworkable.

[←55]

Ruppin. Vol. II., p. 55. This explanation, however, would make it appear that the peculiar qualities of the Jews were due to comparatively recent European cultivation and not, as Champagny argues, to congenital factors which have remained unchanged throughout millenniums.

[←56]

A surprisingly large list of the places in the Near East in which Jewish communities lived before the first century A.D. will be found in Oesterley, Vol. II., Chap. XXVI.

[←57]

"Jewish Chronicle", quoted by Joseph Banister on pp. 59, 60 of "England under the Jews"

[←58]

Commenting on this very indifference of the Jews to any merely local or national patriotism in those about him, Champagny says: "*Les juifs qui ne s'étaient liés à la cité qu'ils habitaient par aucune tradition nationale, quand cette cité était vaincu ou envahie, saluaient sans regret le vainqueur et savaient se rendre nécessaires au nouveau venu.*"



[←59]

If they had, the debates might have steered a course towards a more realistic conception of the problems that had to be solved.

[←60]

Sombart goes so far as to say that Capitalism springs naturally from the shepherd and nomadic life, not from the agricultural (p. 343).

[←61]

Sombart argues that the Jew is by nature incapable of liking anything for itself. He says: "He is for ever asking, what for, what will it bring? *Cui bono?* His greatest interest is always in the result of a thing, not in the thing itself" (p. 265).

[←62]

Nobody reading Werner Sombart, checked by the Jewish writer Dr. Ruppin, can possibly perceive any mystery in this culmination

[←63]

*Ibid.*, p. 95: "Ne nous figurons donc pas la population juive de l'empire romain, avant la règne de Néron, comme une population obscure, pauvre, peu nombreuse, timide, végétant dans l'ombre. Elle était bien plutôt, malgré la haine et les railleries de quelques uns, insolente et fière, en même temps que rusée. Ni le nombre, ni l'argent, ni l'habileté, ni le verbe haut et la main prompte, ne lui faisaient défaut."

[←64]

On this point see Mommsen (Vol. V., p. 418) who, when speaking of the influence and solidarity of the Jews in ancient Rome, says: "How clearly . . . the Jews even then kept together as fellow-countrymen is shown by the remark of an author of the period, that it was dangerous for a governor to offend the Jews in his province, because he might then certainly reckon on being hissed after his return by the populace of the capital."

[←65]

"Die Ausbeutung der Christlichen Konfessionen und Politischen Parteien Durch die Jüden", by Franz Kayser (Münster in Westfl., 1895, p. 36).

[←66]

The Jewish writer, Dr. Ruppin, frankly admits this. He says (Vol. I., p. 6): "It was only when the Jew came in contact with the northern European, so different from himself in type, that the peculiarity of the Jewish nature received the background from which it stood sharply out."