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THE NATIONAL PHYSIOGNOMY OF DIASPORA JEWRY TODAY

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PART ONE

THE NEW OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF LIFE AMONG JEWS IN THE DIASPORA

A. The physical changes.
1. Introductory

Before the very eyes of our generation, the whole physiognomy of the Jewish people has changed radically: its geographical distribution over continents and countries, as well as its concentration in various types of localities; its biological potentialities; its social-economic structure and differentiation into classes; its political position and problems and trends; finally, the whole language and cultural milieu and hence the opportunities for its own national creativity, as well as the balance between the assimilative and nationalizing forces in the Jewish people.

Jewish history abounds in strange events, in massacres and wholesale expulsions, in persecutions and mass migrations, which in relatively short periods of time produced radically new situations, completely altered the material basis of the majority of the people and along with that its political and cultural surrounding. Suffice it to mention the cultural disappearance of highly developed and profoundly influential Spanish-Portuguese Jewry, which gave the Jewish people its medieval philosophy and rich Hebrew poetry. ^{Qwert} ~~Qwert~~ apostasy of a large part of this Jewry, and marranism of another considerable part, led to the liquidation of the best source of the creative energies of this exceptionally gifted branch of the Jewish people. The others, those who remained true to their faith, landed in the backward countries of the Turkish Empire, with the result that the creative springs of this wing of Spanish-Portuguese Jewry very soon ran dry.

Nevertheless, even in our extraordinary history, there has never been another such profound and thoroughgoing change in all the living conditions of the great majority of the Jewish people as in the last few decades, and particularly in the last fifteen years. For, although only European Jewry suffered the great catastrophe of the recent past, the destruction of this abundant and gushing fountainhead of political, social, national, organic-historical and modern values and movements, had the deepest and most far-reaching effect upon the national fate of the Jewish people. An effect in the most comprehensive sense of the word with respect to the possibilities and prospects of national creativeness in the newly arisen ⁽⁷⁾ Diaspora centers, but equally with respect to the further political and economic development of the State of Israel and of the future spiritual and cultural complexion of that State.

1. The following prime factors led to the radical, revolutionary change in the life of the Jewish people:

(a) The migrations and, in the last stage, the aliyah (immigration to Israel). The stream of Jewish wanderers in the last one hundred years was of such scope and of such profound and many-sided influence on all aspects of Jewish life, that this phenomenon must be regarded as the most important and powerful factor in the evolution of Jewish life.

The celebrated sociologist Franz Oppenheimer writes in one of his books that "the whole history of man is at bottom a history of migrations. History is the movement of masses of people."

We do not venture to apply this general formula to all the peoples of the world, to territorial peoples who have been settled in their lands for a thousand years; but in relation to the Jews, this formula is 100 percent apt and true, especially during the last hundred years.

From 1840 to 1953 over five million Jews, or half a million more than the total Jewish population of the world in 1840, left their old established homes. This is apart from the over five hundred thousand Jews who migrated within the limits of Europe from the East European countries to those of Western Europe. The picture becomes even more vivid and striking if we take only the last 53 years: during these 53 years, over four million Jews left their old homes and took up the wanderer's staff. There is no other people in the world with such a degree of intensive migration.

Migration is a two-faceted, two-sided process. On the one hand Jewish wandering in the last hundred years scattered and dispersed the Jewish people over scores of countries, with the result that it is absolutely impossible to find a nook or corner anywhere in the world without Jews. The wanderings broke up and scattered the East European Jewish center which contained the great majority of the Jewish people, a deeply-rooted majority with organically grown national customs and creative processes. This historic Jewish center existed in the most favorable politico-economic, cultural, and spiritual conditions as regards living one's life nationally and creatively. To be sure, it was not only the migrations which broke up the East European Jewish center; no less a role in regard to the reduction of the national potentialities of East European Jewry was played by the dismemberment of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, the two conglomerates of peoples and races where the Jewish minority found the best objective possibilities to remain true to itself.

We are speaking here of the objective conditions for Jewish patterns of living and cultural creation. That economically and also politically

is i y badly Russia in tain ts of Austria, such as

Galicia, is well known. Historically viewed, external apprehensions and internal creativity are not mutually contradictory. "Out of the strong came forth sweetness," is almost a rule in Diaspora history.

Indeed, the Jewish migrations of the last period are the best and clearest proof of how apposite the words "out of the strong came forth sweetness" are to Jewish life in the Diaspora. Did not the Jewish mass emigration from Eastern Europe, which was opposed and combated by not a few representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia, both the assimilated and the nationalist but anti-Zionist intelligentsia, as well as of a whole political school of thought in Jewish social life - the Bund - virtually save the lives of millions of Jews? This physical rescue of millions of Jews made possible the rise of two new centers: the numerical one in North America and the spiritual center in Erets Israel. Migration produced two new centers in place of the one of Eastern Europe. We cannot enter here into explanations of the processes which are the result of the breakup of the East European center. Let us merely express the hope that the Israel center, whose main object is not only the ingathering of the Jewish spirit, the redemption of the shekhinah, but also kibbutz galuyot (ingathering of the exiles) in the physical sense, will attain its goal.

(b) The great massacre, which is unequalled both in the number of victims and in the state-devised and applied methods of murder, mechanically altered the forces within the Jewish people. It wiped out one-third of the Jewish people, but virtually the whole East European wing of the people, especially that part of the East European Jewish center where, after the Bolshevik Revolution, which it self cut off a very large part of this center, there was concentrated the whole creative energy of this blessed wellspring of Jewish creativeness. Of Polish - Lithuanian Jewry not more than 10 or 12 percent survived.

The recently arisen young Jewish settlements are still in the first stages of adaptation to the new conditions and fitting into the new cultural environments. The destruction of East European Jewry is fraught with grave consequences for the State of Israel also, for in the last thirty years the Polish-Lithuanian Jews were the principal builders of the Jewish State and the most enthusiastic proponents of the Zionist ideal. The loss of the influx of cultural and spiritual forces from Poland and Lithuania and partly from Rumania and Hungary is no doubt felt much more ^{keenly} strongly in the Diaspora communities than in the State of Israel, where an own soil-and-sky - atmosphere inspires courage and confidence in what is already present and in the new forces and potentialities which spring up daily. From a broader national viewpoint, however, from the standpoint of a spiritual center resting on a numerically broad Jewish population basis, the situation in the State of Israel is much more tragic than in the Diaspora, where the national and cultural prospects are regarded even by the greatest optimists as not very rosy.

So much for the two basic developments which radically changes the physiognomy of the Jewish people. Let us now turn to the results of these changes, which will give us a clear picture of the national resources in the Diaspora countries and the probable national prospects which are feasible in the newly arisen situation. It is only when we take stock of all this that we shall be able to arrive at a practical program that will promise the maximum achievement.

2. The following fundamental developments are the chief results of the manifold changes which have taken place in the life of the Jewish people—developments which are the main factors that will in the largest measure determine the future fate of the Jewish people:

The slaughter - put an end to that flow of spiritual forces from Eastern Europe which had played an enormous role in the throes of adaptation to new cultural milieus.

(a) Nearly all the old, deeply-rooted Jewish communities, communities with 1,000-year-old and even 2,000-year-old traditions, ^{dotted} ~~started~~ with societies, organizations, and institutions, politically and culturally adapted to their environment, have disappeared. Nearly 90 percent of all the Jews are now to be found geographically and consequently also politically and economically, culturally and spiritually, in wholly new countries. As communities they have been living in these countries at the most for 50 years, but in many cases only for the last score of years. If we take the "new" not only in a political but also in a cultural sense, it will follow that over 90 percent of the Jewish people are now living in wholly new conditions which are far from favorable to an organic continuation of the past. Many national and spiritual values accumulated in particular circumstances are bound to be lost in the new conditions. ^S In many cases it is necessary to begin all over again in the new conditions, actually to start ^{from} ~~with~~ the social ABC. What is perhaps the oldest people in the world is faced with elementary material but also cultural tasks which are fit for young people just entering upon their historical course.

In the number of new Jewish communities we also include those Jews who geographically still live in their own homelands (the Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, and in part also Rumania and Hungary), because the great majority of them were torn from the historic roots of their life and after the war they had to begin life anew in completely altered conditions, in the face of the total destruction of their traditional institutions, and in circumstances which do not admit of their revival.

(b) On the eve of World War I, which brought about the first radical turn in the fortunes of the Jewish people because with it began the disintegration

of the East European branch of world Jewry, more than 75 percent of the Jewish people lived areally so compactly and isolated from the non-Jewish population, socially and economically occupied whole branches of the economy so thickly, and this isolation affected also social life to such a degree, as to create the most favorable objective conditions for their own national ways of ~~living~~ *life* and hence also for their own national cultural creations. In addition, these compact and isolated masses of Jews lived among peoples with the lowest assimilative potential, with the weakest linguistic and cultural influences. On the eve of World War II, about 50 percent of the Jewish people were still living under the objective conditions just described.

In the new countries of the Diaspora absolutely different surrounding conditions developed: not only do the majority of Jews now live among peoples with the highest assimilative potential and influence, but areally and social-economically, too, they live under quite different conditions of integration. To be sure, areal compactness marks the Jews in the new countries, too, but compactness without isolation loses much of its positive national effectiveness and areal compactness ~~accompanied by~~ *unaccompanied by* social-economic density and isolation loses even more of its favorable influence.

(e) Thanks to the altered objective environments, the assimilative processes intensified in all their manifestations. The ~~loosening~~ *loosening* of ~~the~~ *the* religious ties among the communities and settlements and the dying out of the Yiddish language - those two most ~~valuable~~ *valuable* and important historical factors of national cohesion and national creative energy - are a universal phenomenon.

Intermarriage, the clearest sign of national disintegration, is increasing in absolutely all Jewish communities; it is more prevalent in the small and isolated communities, but the phenomenon as such is widespread everywhere. At the same time it is evident that intermarriage, the children born

of which are in a majority of cases reared in the religion of the Christian, ceases to be a Jewish family tragedy. ^{Quite} quite the contrary, the Christian spouse is easily ^{received} integrated into the family and with love and respect. This is another proof of the steady weakening of national sentiments, of the national fear of the estrangement of the coming generation ⁵ which was so characteristic of the Jew for thousands of years.

3. So much, in broad outline, for the principal processes of assimilation and disintegration. But there is also another side, a positive process. We will now briefly sketch these developments also.

(a) The rise of the State of Israel is a gain of such tremendous historical, nationalizing ^{power} strength, of such potential nationalizing influence upon the Jewish communities in the Diaspora, that it is impossible to evaluate it now, in the first moments of the life of the State. To be sure, the incredibly difficult process of the fusion of the exiles, of welding and amalgamating Jews not only from the four corners of the earth, but from forty languages and cultures, customs and traditions, will for a long time to come absorb the best energies of the Jewish State. This colossal historic task is unparalleled in the annals of man. For this is not a question of creating a new people by ultimately blurring and ultimately absorbing altogether and amalgamating the cultural remnants and fragments brought over by the emigrant, as is the case, for example, in the United States. Rather it is a question of reviving an old people, of discovering and activating as much as possible those deep subterranean common national cultural values which are capable of transforming the estranged and long separated brothers into children of one people, into members of a single spiritual national organism.

Nevertheless, the first sproutings of a considerable cultural influence are already noticeable. The study of Hebrew, as the living, everyday speech of the

State of Israel, has been more than doubled in the Jewish schools of the Diaspora communities. Today it is simply impossible for the most radical anti-Zionist school to exist without including instruction in Hebrew and, in the more advanced classes, also in Hebrew literature. The teaching of Hebrew in the public high schools and in the institutions of higher learning, in colleges and universities, is growing from year to year, and this affects the spread of Hebrew among the Jewish population. The struggle for Eretz Israel and the birth of the State of Israel are accepted as proper studies in absolutely all Jewish schools throughout the world - and the most inspiring heroisms of the builders of the kevutzot and the kibbutzim, as well as the physical valor of the heroes of the war with the Arab States, are the principal topics of these studies. It is impossible to appraise the profound influence which the studies may and it is to be hoped will, exert upon the rising generation.

The Hebrew seminars for teachers in the Diaspora - seminars held in Israel or in the Diaspora lands - are creating a bridge between the State of Israel and the Galut. In the past three years more than two thousand teachers of Jewish schools in Diaspora countries went through such an Israel - and - Hebrew course. The term "Hebrew courses" does not convey the whole content of the seminars. No doubt great stress is put on the Hebrew language, which is to become the elementary bridge between Israel and the Diaspora, but this does not exhaust the great task of creating intimate spiritual ties between Israel and the Galut. The problem is much deeper and, indeed, is so regarded by the Jewish Agency, which is the founder and driving spirit of these projects. The main purpose is to weave into the Jewish education objectives in the Diaspora countries and render alive

and active, intimate and heartfelt, the same ideals and aspirations, the most distant as well as the most immediate, bound up with the needs and tasks of the historic moment, which inspire the Israel Jewry as a whole, as a Jewish State.

(b) The Great Catastrophe of European Jewry has no doubt powerfully shaken and disturbed the Diaspora. This came to clear expression in the active support in treasure and also in blood which the Diaspora gave to the ^{struggle} ^{struggle} of Israel ^{with} ~~against~~ the Arabs and to the establishment of the State of Israel. But it is also beyond question that the awakening of the national conscience had a certain effect upon the nationalizing processes in the Diaspora countries.

We use the words "nationalizing processes" as if these have long been clear and pronounced phenomena of Jewish life in the dispersion. In our opinion, this has actually been the case. It is enough to glance through the recently published minutes of the New York Kehillah which the late Dr. J.L. Magnes founded in 1912 and which barely managed to exist until 1922, until the departure of this communal worker (and with what faith!) for Israel, in order to be easily convinced that already at that time a deep national uneasiness gripped a large group of Jewish intellectuals in the United States. The establishment of the New York Kehillah, which as such soon ceased to exist, left deep traces in the sphere of Jewish education, the most important sphere of Jewish life. This was an organic result of the uneasiness. This national uneasiness appears even more striking and anxious in the minutes of the Achvah organization, which was also headed by Dr. Magnes, Prof. Israel Friedlaender, Prof. Mordecai Kaplan, and quite a large group of the most prominent Jewish

1) Minutes of the New York Kehillah

2) Minutes of the Achvah

intellectuals who later played a very great role in the life of American Jewry. This group came into being a few years before the establishment of the Kehillah. Its object actually consisted in ^{holding} discussion on the Jewish question, which meant concretely how to resist the waves of assimilation which are already inundating Jewish life in America and threatening to become even more powerful and engulfing.

The Great Catastrophe undoubtedly had an enormous effect in this respect: the national uneasiness has now gripped more extensively and penetrated far more deeply the souls not only of the chosen few and of professional communal workers, but of much ^{masses} broader masses. Spontaneously, the uneasiness manifests itself in the intense interest in Jewish education. We shall dwell at length at the proper place on this cardinal problem of Jewish existence in the Diaspora; but here it can already be said that the number of Jewish children attending Jewish schools in the Diaspora lands has greatly increased. What is infinitely more important, the qualitative aspect of these studies has undergone a thorough revolution in the last decade. We have already pointed out that the study of the Hebrew language and Hebrewism, ⁱⁿ the sense of the cultures of Israel, has become an indispensable part of the curriculum in the Jewish schools of absolutely every type and trend. However, the observance of Jewish holidays, including Israel's Independence Day, and many Jewish customs and traditions, have also become an organic part of Jewish school life. The Communist Yiddish schools have been forced to introduce even Bar ^{Mitzvah} training because the parents of the boys demand it. I am well aware of how little all this is - but I know that the uneasiness which has called forth this concern of the parents with Jewish holidays, as well as with Jewish customs and traditions, can be harnessed and intensified and used at least to check the advance of

of the assimilative processes.

The national uneasiness manifests itself in a particularly original manner in the sentiments of large circles of the assimilated and semi-assimilated Jewish intelligentsia. Journals have sprung up in English which concern themselves especially with the Jewish religion and national problems; they have no clear-cut programs, but they painfully and diligently seek paths to Jewishness. The development of serious Jewish literature in English, as is exemplified by the publication of monumental works on Jewish religious philosophy in this language, attests that the national uneasiness is spreading and deepening and leading to a national awakening of a considerable degree.

We have in very condensed form sketched the main points of this work, whose purpose is to give an objective picture of Jewish life in the Diaspora countries. Broadly speaking, this work, which will concentrate mainly on facts and deeds, will treat of the following:

1. The newly arisen objective conditions of the Jewish people in the Diaspora lands.
2. The assimilative processes in the present stage of Jewish life in the Diaspora.
3. The nationalizing processes in the Diaspora.

We wholly omit from this work one of the historically most important phenomena of Jewish life: anti-Semitism. We do it not because we believe that anti-Semitism no longer plays any role in Jewish life. Not at all! In this work, however, we generally concern ^{ourselves} ourselves only with the question of Jewishness and not of Jews, with the problems of the possibility of a national Jewish life in the Diaspora, and not with the question of the physical and material existence of the Jews in the Galut lands. Accordingly, in what follows, even in the chapter on the socio-economic structure of contemporary Jewry, we shall continue to put the stress on the phenomena which are favorable to national Jewish life. At the time we shall ^{treat} of

spiritual Jewishness, hence not of the philosophy and ethics of Judaism, but of the prosaic, everyday manifestations of the life of the people: not of the peaks of Jewish creations, the possessions of the chosen few, but of the down-to-earth values which usually serve as national nourishment for the masses of the people.

2. Migration and Aliyah

From a people which until the second half of the nineteenth century was almost entirely concentrated in Europe, with a small minority in the neighboring countries of the Middle East and North Africa, the Jews have become in the last hundred years the most scattered and dispersed people on earth, the world people par excellence. Migration and aliyah are these two currents which have removed the center of Jewish life from Europe to the Western Hemisphere and to Eretz Israel. Let us consider these two currents.

Migration is an elemental process, an individual act, impelled and directed by objective forces and factors, chiefly by economic and political persecution. Each individual travels on his own responsibility even if he travels at public expense. The aims of the migrants are individual and essentially negative: to escape economic want, to get away from political or religious persecution.

Quite different is aliyah. Here every step is planned in advance. It is an organized and purposive migration, and even more a purposive and idealistic immigration. It is and must be collective, social, permeated with national or social or both kinds of aims and ideals. Olim are not ordinary immigrants, although in the scope and tempo of the aliyahs a very great part is played by objective factors impelling to

to aliyah:

In the case of elemental migrations, the main object, indeed, the only object is always quantity, numbers. In the case of aliyahs, there are different rungs and stages in the process. In the initial stage, on the first rungs, the main thing is quality. Quantity is the ultimate goal which can and is to be attained at a certain stage of the qualitative development. In the case of elemental migrations, the absorptive capacity of the immigration country has to be given, ready, attractive with decided advantages. If the immigration country becomes saturated with immigrants, the emigrants must seek new outlets and new countries of reception. In the case of the aliyah, the absorptive capacity played no role; from the outset no hopes were pinned on a ready made absorptive capacity. The goal was to create this absorptive capacity, and to this day this goal has not yet been fully attained, and the process of creating immigration possibilities is still far from completed.

The elemental Jewish migrations of the past one hundred years did not at first go to many countries. Concentration was the most pronounced feature of the Jewish migrations in the first 75 years. Thus 90 percent of the Jewish migrants from 1840 to 1914 went to two North American countries, the United States and Canada. With the start of the aliyah to Eretz Israel, that is, of organized migration of Jews, 93 percent of all Jewish wanderers concentrated in three countries, in reality in one country, since the United States alone absorbed nearly 89 percent of all Jewish migrants. It was only at the turn of the century, when the waves of Jewish migration assumed vast proportions, that the elemental Jewish migration began to look for new places

of immigration. And the narrower the opening of the gates to the United States became, the more the Jewish masses were compelled to cast about for new countries of immigration and to scatter over all the continents and scores of countries. Both the concentration in one or two countries and the dispersion in scores of countries were entirely the result of objective external conditions, in which the Jewish will played no part.

Quite the opposite was true of the aliyah. It had one collective national chief aim, one central overpowering aspiration: toward the land of our fathers, toward the Jewish redemption, the rebirth of our people. Here concentration had to be the result not of external conditions, but of the Ql'm's efforts and struggles. To be sure, here, too, it was necessary to reckon with the objective conditions and factors, but never in order to yield to them, but to overcome them; not in order to accommodate to them, but to adapt them to the needs and ideals of the people.

For nearly a hundred years the elemental migrations played the leading role in Jewish life. They failed, however, in the most tragic period in Jewish history - in the last twenty years; in the years of the worst persecutions in countries with upwards of five million Jews; in the years of the massacres, in which six million Jews perished; finally, in the years when hundreds of thousands of Jews in DP camps with fresh physical and psychological wounds were dreaming of a place of refuge and rest. Emigration from Europe, in the Thirties and Forties of the present century, no longer meant deliverance from hunger and want, from political and religious persecution. What was at stake was survival in the most elementary sense of the word. Physical rescue was the chief driving force in Europe. And in these tragic times ^(m) the elemental dynamic migration failed: the chinks and cracks through which one squeezed into the countries of the Western Hemisphere were so narrow they a

mockery of the homeless Jewish masses. Suffice it to cite one fact which will illustrate, on the one hand, the tragic plight of the fleeing Jewish masses and, on the other, the inhumanity of the closed gates⁵ of the immigration countries.

In June, 1939, there stood off the gates of the United States, a ship with more than 900 Jewish refugees from Germany on board. Among the passengers there were hundreds of Jewish intellectuals. They had all been driven by force aboard a ship in Hamburg harbor and set adrift upon the seas. For fully three weeks the ship stood off the shores of the United States. President Roosevelt could not make up his mind to admit these immigrants above the quota, which was filled. The humanitarian Roosevelt addressed a request to about ten Western Hemisphere countries to admit the upwards of 900 refugees. The refusal was universal! Several Jews threw themselves into the ocean - the exact number is not known because it was concealed from the public. The ship carried the Jews back to Europe. France finally admitted them. There is no doubt that most of these wanderers were subsequently slaughtered by Hitler's murderers.

In all those tragic years there was revealed for the first time the historic power of the aliyah, which relied mainly on Jewish forces; which drew courage and daring from the inherent resources of the desperate Jewish masses, which depended upon our own accumulated national powers and aspirations. In the first years of the greatest despair, the aliyah had a great accession of strength and fortitude, of fighting spirit and prowess.

Shocked by the terrible despair of the Jewish masses in Europe, and outraged by the cruelty of the various British governments, which in the most tragic moments in Jewish history tried to liquidate the Jewish hope of redemption and to deprive the desperate people of its last solace, the Jewish community of Eretz Israel applied itself with might and main to the task of independently ing absorptive possibilities, independently opening wide the doors for

the desperate Jewish masses. And all this independently, with its own resources, and against the outspoken will of the powers that be, however powerful and armed they might be.

In reality, after the Hitler massacres, two great historic despairs met. On one side, hundreds of thousands of Jews on Europe's soil drenched with Jewish blood were seized with a feverish desire to leave as soon as possible that vale of tears. These desperate masses were ready for the greatest sacrifices, just so they could ^{the} sooner be delivered from the European nightmares, just so they could the sooner leave Europe's contaminated and bloody soil. Having become more keenly aware than ever before of the orphan-like lot of the Jewish people, its homeless and landlessness, these surviving remnants from the massacres were ready for the utmost sacrifices in the struggle for a home for the Jewish people.

On the other side, the Yishuv (Jewish Community of Palestine) in which so many Jewish material and spiritual assets had been invested and which embodied the greatest and deepest historical national hopes, was faced with a dilemma: Now Or Never! Either the Yishuv would become a majority in the country and attain independence and undertake the achievement of that great redemption with which Zionism had nourished the people for decades; or the Yishuv would ^dsurrender, remain a minority/ in the land of our fathers, a minority faced by a majority which kept growing intensively physically and maturing and advancing politically. In the latter case the result was bound ^{to be} that all the invested treasures of energy, physical, material, cultural, and spiritual, would inevitably be lost. All the millennial hopes and dreams and progress would be blotted out from the real world. The people would then, in the darkest moment of its long tragic history, remain without

that historic belief in the redemption which was a veritable charm that had made possible its existence during the long exile.

These two historic despairs, fraught with powerful explosive material, but also with rich creative energies and hopes; charged with deep disappointment in Gentile peoples and their promises, but with profound faith in our own people, in its resources and objectives - these two despairs fructified and strengthened, complemented and enriched each other. And the "illegal" immigration to Palestine was organically transformed into the last desperate fight for free aliyah, for kibbutz galuyot, for integration independent of non-Jewish forces.

But the difference between the elemental Jewish migration and the organized and regulated aliyah is not merely one of creating our own immigration possibilities, national absorptive opportunities, independent of outside non-Jewish factors. The difference is far deeper and more fateful. It is fraught with much deeper and farther-reaching national consequences. The elemental migration^(s) merely transfer the fundamental Diaspora evil⁽⁻⁾ of the minority status - to new environments, sometimes more favorable from the standpoint of national existence and sometimes worse. To be sure, every immigration, in its first period, ^{plays} the role of kibbutz galuyot, of the fusion of various Jewish groups each with a different non-Jewish language and culture. This kibbutz galuyot, however, is only a transitory phenomenon, which gives way to a new wave of assimilation and of separation and estrangement between the Jewish Communities of various immigration countries.

It is quite otherwise with the organized^(d) and purposive aliyah. It liquidates^(s) the Galut and its fundamental evil, the status of minority. Its basic aim and inherent tendency is not the temporary and passing amalgamation of the sundered members of the Jewish people, but the absolute^{and} final

liquidation of those conditions which lead and are bound to lead to the separation and alienation of the children of the Jewish people.

3. Scope of the Jewish Migrations

The modern epoch of Jewish migration ^{overseas} commenced after the Napoleonic wars. The Jewish ~~emigrant~~ masses in Central and Eastern Europe began to look for an escape from the ⁱⁿ economic straits and political disabilities. The German Jews, spurred by the mass emigration of German peasants and artisans, and being more advanced culturally and better off materially than their East European brothers, were the ^{pioneers} ~~forerunners~~ of Jewish mass emigration from Europe. In the 1840's the stream of Jewish emigrants from Central Europe - Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia - swelled greatly and already took on a relatively mass character. In all these Germanic countries the Jewish population was passing through an economic crisis as a result of the transition from the feudal to the capitalist system, which led to the crowding ^{out} of considerable numbers of Jews from their old occupations before they adapted themselves to the new capitalist order. They were also living through a political crisis in the sense of increased anti-Semitic agitation among the lower - middle-class elements, which looked upon Jewish competition as the chief cause of the birth throes of the new economic order.

In the 1870's the emigration of Jews from the enumerated Germanic countries greatly declined and in the 1880's it stopped altogether. The political emancipation in these countries had been achieved. And in all these countries, in varying degrees, but absolutely all of them, were experiencing a great economic upswing. And ^{as} far as a mass exodus is concerned, it can be asserted that until 1933, the year Hitler came to power, it was virtually non-existent. Commencing with 1933 there begins ^{the second} a new series of emigrants from the countries in question, involving 500,000 to 550,000 persons. All in all, it may be reckoned that from 1840 to 1953 nearly 700,000 Jews emigrated ^{from} the aforesaid Germanic countries. Of these

nearly 700,000 emigrants, approximately 100,000 remained in Europe (in England, France, Belgium, and Holland) and about 600,000 ^{emigrated} ~~emigrated~~ to the various countries of the Western Hemisphere, chiefly the United States, and to Palestine. It may be assumed that of these 600,000 overseas migrants some 150,000 went to Israel and some 20,000-25,000 to South Africa and Australia, and the rest to various Western Hemisphere countries. All the countries of Eastern Europe began to go through the same period of transition from the feudal to the capitalist system that the German countries had passed through 30 or 40 years before. The throes of birth in these backward and thickly populated countries with a high birth rate were much more painful and attended with much sharper political and social conflict. ^(S) These conflicts were further complicated by the multinational composition of the population and with the national antagonisms and clashes.

The Jewish population in the East European countries were more than ten times as numerous and also had a much higher natural increase than that of the German Jews. All this rendered the situation there far more tragic and complicated. The Jewish emigration, which already at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century accompanied in small numbers its sister emigration from the Germanic lands, kept growing and in the Seventies and especially in the Eighties took on a distinct mass character. The waves kept growing intensively, goaded on by the pogroms in Russia and Rumania and by the ever mounting anti-Semitism throughout Eastern Europe. The pogroms in Russia, which contained the largest number of Jews, in the first few years of the twentieth century, whipped up the waves of ^{emigration} ~~emigration~~ to the point where there was an annual ^{exodus} ~~emigration~~ of a hundred thousand Jews from the whole of Eastern Europe.

The First World War interrupted the stream of emigration, but soon after the war it again swelled and manifested a decided tendency toward a rate of

Of the larger migration from the East European countries commenced in the early 1870's.

of increase which might have spelt a veritable exodus from Europe. Unfortunately, the immigration quota ^{system} instituted in the United States, the country with the greatest absorptive capacity, erected a thick wall barring the way for Jewish immigrants. The quota law allotted the smallest numbers to the countries of Eastern Europe. The Jewish masses managed to find immigration possibilities in many Latin American countries and in Eretz Israel, but all these countries could not for a long time compensate for the virtually closed doors of the United States. It was not until the establishment of the State of Israel that the emigration of the East European Jews, who were largely concentrated in the DP camps, took on mass proportions.

In general, we may figure that in the given period from 1840 to 1950 approximately 3,400,000 Jews emigrated from the East European countries, which is far more than the total number of Jews in these countries at the beginning of the period in question.

Naturally, the rate of emigration varied in the various East European countries, but we cannot go into such details and must be content with general figures.

A few more words still remain to be said about the emigration from the Moslem countries. Already in the Seventies and Eighties of the last century small streams of emigration began to flow from Lebanon, and a little later from Syria, mainly to Western Hemisphere countries. There was also a small exodus from Iraq, chiefly to Asian countries, China and India. At the turn of the century, these streams spread to other Moslem countries, but they never assumed the character of large ^{emigration} waves. A real mass exodus from the Moslem countries took place in the very last years as a result of the war between Israel and the Arab States. In general, it may be assumed that in the last 113 years a total of 600,000 Jews emigrated from the Moslem countries.

Altogether we get a total of Jewish migrants to overseas ^{countries} and to Eretz Israel of more than five million - we have unfortunately, no exact figures. The estimates made above are based mainly on the data of the immigration countries. Let us now turn to the distribution of Jewish immigration by periods and countries.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH MIGRANTS BY IMMIGRATION ZONES (1840-1953)

Years	Total Immigration	USA/Canada		Eretz Israel		Other Countries	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1840-1880	220,000	200,000	91.0	10,000	4.5	10,000	4.5
1881-1900	770,000	690,000	89.6	25,000	3.2	55,000	7.2
1901-1914	1,605,000	1,440,000	89.7	35,000	2.2	130,000	8.1
1915-1939	1,250,000	550,000	44.0	340,000	27.2	360,000	28.8
1940-1945	180,000	100,000	55.5	55,000	30.5	25,000	14.0
1946-1947	90,000	40,000	44.4	40,000	44.4	10,000	11.2
1948-1951	870,000	120,000	13.8	715,000	80.2	35,000	4.0
1952-1953	60,000	20,000	33.3	35,000	58.3	5,000	8.4
Total	5,045,000	3,160,000	62.6	1,255,000	24.9	630,000	12.5

The few lines of this table, with figures, are fraught with the most fateful developments and changes in Jewish life during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They reflect the most thorough going revolutionary processes in the life of the Jewish people, those processes which seem as though they had been sent by Providence or dictated by the healthy instinct of the people to safeguard not only the further existence of the Jewish people but its advancement to the highest rung of its historical hopes and prayers. They reflect the rise of new centers, where the great majority of the people must adjust themselves anew to

wholly new conditions, economic, political, and cultural, must begin from the ground up to establish and build institutions, societies, and organizations, the tried and trusty weapons for leading a national existence in a new environment.

This table is far far from exhausting the Jewish migrations of the period under review. Here only those migrations are included which went overseas or to Eretz Israel. Besides these great, historically paramount wanderings, there were others within the confines of one and the same country and ~~from~~ from one country to another within the boundaries of Europe. Thus nearly one and a half million or somewhat more Jews migrated from the Ukraine and White Russia, Lithuania and Latvia, and partly also from the Polish provinces, to Great Russia, especially to the two principal cities of Soviet Russia--Moscow and Leningrad--as well as to the remote Asiatic and Siberian ^{assimilative} ~~provinces~~ provinces. This meant a migration from regions with a minimal ~~potential~~ potential to regions with a maximal assimilative potential. The same thing occurred in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where about 100,000 Jews migrated from Galicia and Bucovina to Vienna, and tens of thousands from Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia to Budapest. There is no need to add that the assimilative potential of the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia and Carpathian Ruthenia was incomparably lower than that of the German culture of Vienna or the Hungarian culture of Budapest. The Posen Jews who removed to Berlin and other cities of Germany went through the same assimilative process much faster and more intensively than would have been the case in their old historical dwelling places with a Polish majority.

There were also considerable migrations from one country to another within the confines of Europe--from Eastern Europe to England and France, Belgium and Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark. This concerns at least half a million Jewish migrants. We thus get ^{at} a minimum ~~of~~ more than two million Jewish wanderers within the borders of Europe itself and within the limits of ^{individual} ~~countries~~ countries, but with radically different cultural ^{individual} ~~conditions~~ conditions, from states and regions with national minorities

cultural influences to states and regions with integrated, unitary nations and a very high assimilative potential.

But let us go back to the table, which gives us upwards of five million Jewish migrants who laid the foundations of those now Jewish centers which today constitute the basis of Jewish national existence and growth.

First of all, one is struck by the fact that, of the more than five million Jewish migrants who laid the foundations of the new Jewish centers and communities, over four million came to the immigration countries in the last 53 years. More than a million Jews came to the immigration countries in the last eight years. And though the "new" country of the last great wave of immigration is the very old Land of Israel, it is new to the immigrants not only in respect of economic adjustment, but also with reference to language and culture.

Logically, the waves of emigration and hence of immigration should be proportionate to the needs of the ^{mass} ~~mass~~ of the people in the emigration countries. Logically and in all fairness. And such was actually the case until the Twenties of the present century--that is, so long as the gates of the immigration countries with enormously large areas of free land begging for human hands to cultivate them stood ^{wide} ~~wide~~ open and swallowed up millions of immigrants. The year 1924 marks the turning point in this respect: the United States introduced immigration quotas favoring the wealthy countries of Western Europe, where there was little need for emigration, and allotting ridiculously small numbers to the countries of Eastern Europe, where the general distress was appalling, and where the Jewish distress and need for physical rescue cried to heaven. This quota barrier became a kind of signal to all the other countries of the Western Hemisphere, which ^{before long} ~~shortly after~~ ~~were~~ followed the example of the United States in practice.

The tragic plight of European Jewry commenced with the First World War. Deportations of thousands of Jews from the border towns by the Czarist government; the pogroms perpetrated by the soldiers of Petlura and Denikin; the Bolshevik revolution, which declassed more than of the Jewish

Population of Russia; the revolutions and inflations in Hungary and Germany, which greatly contributed to anti-Semitism in those countries; the statism in Poland and Rumania, Lithuania and Latvia, which bore a distinctly fascist character with a tendency to oust the Jews from their economic positions; finally, Hitler's accession to power, which not only ruined German Jewry, but poisoned the air all over Europe and made the lot of the whole of European Jewry more than tragic;--all this naturally undermined the very roots of Jewish existence in a majority of the countries of Europe and dictated to the masses the only possible way of seeking salvation in the immigration countries. Emigration became the heart's desire of ^{vast numbers} ~~millions~~ of European Jews. The Twenties and Thirties figure in Jewish history not only because of the daring struggle of the world's weakest people against the then most powerful empire in the world--the illegal immigration to Palestine--but also because of the blazing of immigration trails to the most out-of-the-way countries of Latin America. Jewish emigrants made their way to places which no Jewish foot had ever trodden before. In those years the dispersion of Jews all over the world reached its peak. But regardless of all these superhuman efforts and daring adventures of Jewish wanderers, the need for emigration remained far from satisfied. The illegal aliyah played a certain part with respect to raising the courage of ^{the} Jewish youth, affording it an opportunity to give vent to its sorrow and anger; but in regard to rescuing more and more Jews from the poisoned air of Europe, this was a mere drop in the ^{sea} ~~bucket~~ of troubles and anxieties.

The tragic situation just described is illustrated by the average annual number of Jewish immigrants to all immigration countries.

TABLE 2. AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS TO ALL COUNTRIES

Years	Average Annual Immigration
1840-1880	5,500
1881-1900	38,000
1901-1914	115,000

(Continued on next page).

Years

Average Annual Immigration

1915-1939
1940-1947
1948-1955

50,000
34,000
115,000

The picture is quite clear: even before the tragic years, which began with the outbreak of World War I, European Jewry was straining to emigrate. From an average of ^{some} 5,000 per annum in the period 1840-1880, the ~~size~~ ^{number} ~~had~~ jumped to 115,000 per annum in the first fourteen years of the present century, the years of the Kishinev Pogrom (1905) and of the hundreds of pogroms following the abortive Russian revolution of 1905. The increased emigration of Jews from Rumania, Galicia, Hungary, Slovakia, and Carpathian Ruthenia showed that the high emigration figures for Europe, especially for Eastern Europe, were not the result of political events only, such as pogroms and revolutions.

From 1915 to 1939 the average annual number of immigrants was only 50,000, or less than half of what it had been in the almost normal years--normal, that is, compared with the postwar tribulations--of the initial pre-war part of the twentieth century. And in the most tragic years, when a wholesale slaughter of Jews in Europe was going on before the eyes of the whole world and panic-stricken Jews were fleeing in all directions trying to find an opening, a crevice in the gate of some country in which to save themselves--in those desperate years the volume of immigration was still smaller, only 34,000 per annum. Finally came the year 1948, which will be recorded in history as the beginning of the redemption, the redemption of the Jewish people, and in the place of migration came aliyah, whereupon the average annual number soared to 115,000--higher even than in the first years of the present century.

Let us now glance at the distribution of the Jewish migrants by individual immigration zones. Table 1 affords a clear picture: until World War I the United States and Canada--mainly, the United States--took in about 90 per cent of all Jewish migrants. The share of the United States in the Jewish ^{immigration} ~~immigration~~ began to decline after that, especially after the

introduction of quotas in 1924, and dropped to a minimum of barely 14 per cent in the years 1948-1951, the years of the great historic aliyah. But this was not merely a relative decline of the role of the United States in the solution of the Jewish migration question. The following table will show us the real development of Jewish immigration to the United States.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION OF JEWS TO THE UNITED STATES (center head

Years	Average Annual Immigration
1840-1880	5,000
1881-1900	34,000
1901-1914	100,000
1915-1939	19,000
1940-1947	15,000
1948-1953	16,000

Here we see clearly the effect of the quotas on Jewish immigration: a drop from 100,000 per annum in the opening years of the present century to 19,000 per annum in the tragic years preceding World War II and to 15,000 per annum in the years of the massacres. And it remained at a low point also in the very last six years, ¹⁹⁴⁸⁻¹⁹⁵³ ~~1948-1953~~ inclusive. This is the average for five years. If we take only the very last two years, 1952-1953, in which the new racist immigration law (the McCarran Act) was already in operation, the Jewish immigration amounted to 3,000-4,000 per annum. The need for immigration opportunities is not quite over yet, and the illiberal immigration law is very detrimental to Jews.

Let us now observe the course of Jewish immigration ^{to} ~~the~~ the second country of large-scale absorption: Eretz Israel.

TABLE 4. AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION TO ^{Eretz} ISRAEL (center head

Years	Average Annual Immigration
1840-1880	250
1881-1900	1,250
1901-1914	2,500
1915-1920	
1921-1939	17,900
1940-1947	12,000
1948-1951	179,000
1952-1953	17,500

If we leave out the war years, we perceive in the figures the regulating hand of a purposive movement. With the growth of the Jewish tragic plight there grew organically the immigration to ^{Eretz} Israel. Before World War I, the development, the first stages of the development, proceeded very slowly: from 250 a year to just 2,500 a year at a time when emigration already amounted to 115,000 per annum. But soon after World War I, and immediately after the trials and tribulations described above, the ^{immigration} ~~immigration~~ to Eretz Israel began to mount and attained to nearly 18,000 a year.

The years of World War II and those of the Bevin regime are not typical; they were years of bloody struggle for aliyah, and immigration dropped to 12,000 ^{per annum.} ~~per annum.~~ But with the political victory, ~~the~~ immigration took that leap which will go down in Jewish history as the redemptive leap--179,000 per annum. The very last two years, 1952-1953, are atypical: it is perhaps a pause to catch the breath and digest the ^{large} ~~largest~~ portion of the preceding four years.

We still have to dwell on the third zone of our table, which might be called the zone of dispersion all over the world, of dispersion in the broadest sense of the word. This zone includes not only the more than twenty Latin American republics as well as South Africa and Australia, but many African and Western Hemisphere colonies to which small, often numbered groups and handfuls of Jewish refugees made their way and remained there cut off from the rest of the Jewish people and doomed to national loneliness and isolation.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION TO VARIOUS OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

Years	Average Annual Immigration
1840-1880	250
1881-1900	2,750
1901-1914	2,500
1915-1939	14,400
1940-1953	5,400

In the first stages of Jewish emigration, the Jews avoid dispersion. Only tiny driplets break away from the main current and range far and wide in

quest of fortune. At first barely 250 Jews a year voyage to the most varied countries; such was the beginning of the migration to South Africa and Australia. In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the Jews annually who/break away already number nearly three thousand, who find it more advantageous and promising not to follow the great stream of wanderers, but to look for opportunities in countries with small numbers of Jews or with no Jews at all. It is then that the Jewish migration to South America, mainly to Argentina and partly to Brazil, begins. These tiny rivulets of Jewish migrants already form considerable communities in a few countries, such as Argentina and Brazil, South Africa and Australia, which become centers of attraction for relatives and countrymen. The map of Jewish migrations becomes more variegated; the dispersion grows wider. Smaller groups of Jewish wanderers make their way to the neighboring countries with their small Jewish settlements, such as Chile and Uruguay. In the years of the largest Jewish migrations at the beginning of the present century, there already break away annually more than nine thousand Jews, who scatter over the countries enumerated above. After World War I, when there is a crying need for immigration countries and the absorptive capacity of Eretz Israel is, on the one hand, small for various economic reasons and, on the other, restricted by the British Government, which is the Mandatory, while immigration quotas are instituted in the United States—in this period the dispersion of the Jews assumes truly worldwide dimensions. The actual numbers are not large; on the average, only a little over 14,000 Jews were scattered annually over tens of countries from 1915 to 1939. In these years there arose a score new Jewish communities in Latin America, the Jewish settlement in Australia, and also in South Africa, grew, and there sprang up Jewish communities in the various colonies in the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and partly also in Asia. But the greater the tragedy of European Jewry grew, the more Jewish lives began to be snuffed out, the more narrowly were the gates of/nearly all countries of dispersion opened. And in the years 1940-1953 only a little over five thousand Jews per annum managed to gain admission to all the tens of countries of the Jewish dispersion (exclusive of

the United States).

This affords a vivid example of how terrible it is to be dependent on other people's aid. The economic absorptive capacity of the tons of countries of the Jewish dispersion zone is no doubt incomparably greater than that of Eretz Israel, but in the case of the former the political powers ^{that} ~~these~~ become and lock the gates altogether or leave narrow chinks through which a mere handful manage to squeeze in.

We have devoted much attention to the Jewish migrations in the nineteenth century and in the first half of the ~~twentieth~~ ^{twentieth} because these migrations played a decisive role in the fate of our people. In another section we shall show how radically the map of the Jewish world changed thanks to these migrations. But we cannot close this section without pausing to consider how matters stand now with this erstwhile so cardinal a question of Jewish life. It can certainly not be denied that we no longer possess large numbers of potential Jewish migrants such as we had in the course of a full century before the Hitler massacres. But it would be absolutely wrong to assert that the two principal sources of Jewish migrants, Europe and the Moslem countries, are so exhausted as regards migration that we are no longer interested ^{at} ~~at~~ all in immigration possibilities.

Let us briefly take stock of our potential migrants. The half million Jews in the Moslem countries, for the most part in the North African states, stand in the front ranks of immediately urgent economic, and very probably potentially no less urgent political, emigration. Enough has been written about the poverty of the Jews in Morocco, Tunisia, Persia, and in the Algerian provinces, and we think it superfluous to repeat it. Politically, this sector is unquestionably a seething cauldron and will certainly explode one day with a force that will astound the whole world. The frequent acts of terrorism of the last couple of years in Tunisia and Morocco are flashes of lightning presaging a storm. And there is no doubt that the political storm which will break out will cost the Jews dearly not only as citizens, but especially as Jews. However sincere ^{they} the leaders of the Nationalist parties ~~may be~~ ^{may be} ~~that~~ ^{that}

they do not want and will not permit any anti-Jewish incidents, Political storms have a way of getting out of hand and overstepping the bounds set for them by the leaders. The latter are simply powerless to restrain the passions of the multitude which they arouse. And it is almost a rule that in such cases the Jews are included in the historic score and are always ^{largely} held/ to blame for the wretched economic and political plight of the embattled people.

History and common sense dictate that the number of Jews in these countries should be reduced ^{far} as/much and as soon as possible. So much for that.

The number of potential emigrants from Europe is much smaller, but it, too, amounts to tens of thousands of candidates. These fall into two categories: unfortunate would-be emigrants who consist of the remnants of the refugees, the DP camp Jews, and are to be found in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Together with those who have come back from Israel, they constitute a group of about twenty thousand candidates.

But it is necessary to look at the reality with open eyes. All this time there has been a slow but ceaseless stream of emigration from all the countries of Western Europe. There is a general exodus from England, Holland, France, and partly also from Belgium. And there is also a Jewish emigration from these countries. And the Jewish candidates are not always adapted to the conditions prevalent in the immigration countries, whose doors are wide open to the citizens of the countries just enumerated. In all these lands there are tens of thousands of Jewish inhabitants who are not citizens and cannot make use of the privileges enjoyed by citizens. No need to add that the tens of thousands of non-citizens of all these West European countries are worse off economically than the indigenous population. Take, for example, countries like Belgium and France; in the former, the number of Jewish aliens constitutes nearly ninety/^{per cent} percent of the total Jewish population, and in the latter about fifty per cent. Aliens are greatly handicapped with respect to the right to work. And it is well known, that there is a general

disposition to emigrate among these Jews of the West European countries. They have not yet shaken off the nightmare of the Hitler days and would prefer to leave the contaminated soil of Europe. This explains why every hint of a possible world war throws the Jewish population into a greater panic than the non-Jewish.

With this we bring to a close the section on Jewish migrations and turn to the second factor which had a decisive effect on the fundamental changes in the life of the Jewish people; we turn to the results of the massacres.

44. The Downfall of European Jewry

The active history of the Jewish people during the last thousand years coincides in the main with that of European Jewry. The part played by the Jews of Asia and Africa in Jewish national life has been particularly small in the last ^{five} ~~thousand~~ hundred years, after the spiritual hegemony in world Jewry passed from Central and Southern Europe to Eastern Europe. The history of European Jewry abounds in ups and downs on which we cannot dwell here. As a result of the course of events over many centuries, it came to pass that, at the beginning of twentieth century, approximately 70 per cent of the Jewish people and 85 per cent of Ashkenazic Jewry--the most active and creative branch of the Jewish people, the bearer of all the new social and cultural movements among Jews--lived in Eastern Europe.

This great East European mass of the Jewish people, about eight million strong at the turn of the century, was concentrated in a continuous area which was inhabited by more than ten weak and small nationalities, economically backward and political subject, and formed part of two ^{many-peopled} empires: Russia and Austria-Hungary.

In this area there was historically a harmonious coincidence of a whole series of negative and positive conditions which led to the fruitful many-sided national development of East European Jewry. Jews were densely concentrated in cities and towns, where they often formed ^{an} absolute majority, and even more often a plurality. Thanks to the peculiar social-economic

structure of the non-Jewish and the Jewish population, it came about that the Jews were isolated from the non-Jewish milieu not only areally but also socially and economically. Whole branches of the economy were frequently in the hands of Jews and they could regulate the observance of the Jewish Sabbath and holidays according to their own wishes.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian Jewry, which constituted the main mass of the East European Jewish concentration, went through a process of emancipation which was more a result of organic inner independent development than of rights bestowed by the surrounding world, as had been the case in Central and Western Europe. Russian Jewry was thus not obliged to pay for political emancipation with its national complexion, as had happened in Central and Western Europe. The few political rights which Czar Alexander II granted to the Russian Jews in the 1860's no doubt helped to shake up the ^{"ghettos"} ~~ghettos~~ and to awaken ~~wake~~ ^{narrow small} strata of Russian Jewry; but they were too small and restricted and consequently could not undermine the firm national ground of that Jewry, which was a result of many centuries of development. The accumulated rich cultural heritage from previous periods became, therefore, the sound organic foundation on which all modern Jewish liberation movements developed. And, as a matter of fact, all modern national and social movements among Jews, all modern cultural and spiritual trends and aspirations, were born in this segment of the Jewish People.

The organic inner emancipation of Russian Jewry coincided with the stormy revolutionary period in the Russian empire. The social and national awakening of the surrounding oppressed classes and nationalities contributed little to the rousing and activation of the Jewish masses. The political and social struggle of the surrounding non-Jewish peasants and workers coincided with their national struggle, and this produced particularly favorable conditions for Jewish national development and aspirations.

In the neighboring Austrian empire there lived large sections of those nationalities who in Russia were ~~in~~ waging the revolutionary struggle for liberation--the Poles and the Ukrainians--and the revolutionary confli -

ration lit up the darkest nooks and corners of the same peoples in Austria. As with Christians, so with Jews: the Galician Jews were greatly influenced pervaded by and/~~influenced~~ with the national and social movements prevalent among Russian Jewry. ~~Thus~~ Thus the front of the Jewish liberation movements, both in the Zionist form and in that of Diaspora autonomism, grew still stronger and firmer. It may well be true that both these trends of the Jewish struggle for liberation were born in Galicia at the same time, or even a little before, independently of Russian Jewry; however, we are not concerned here with the primacy of the birth of these ideas, but with their factual and practical evolution, with their transformation into popular ideas and movements.

All modern Jewish achievement of the last period, of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, whether political and national or spiritual and cultural, extending over the scores of countries of the Diaspora, derive from there--from the abundant source which stems historically from conservative Polish Jewry, and in which the leading role was taken over by Russian Jewry, ^{an offshoot of Polish Jewry.} Zionism in all its shadings, the Jewish socialist movement, the movement for national autonomy in the Diaspora countries, the Yiddish and Hebrew press and literature, the Yiddish theatre, Jewish art and music, Jewish scholarship ^{with} ~~in~~/its modern, realistic approach,--all these had their origin there and drew their sustenance and vitality, their courage and fighting mettle from there until the very last years before the Second World War.

The Bolshevist revolution cut off a very important and vital part of this divinely-gifted Jewry of the former Russian empire. Cut off and isolated it from the rest of the Jewish people and choked off all those exuberant movements and development⁵ enumerated above. The heritage was too rich to be stifled at once; accordingly, this heritage⁶ struggled for a very long time with the Bolshevist rope twisted around its neck. On the eve of World War II Jewish culture in Soviet Russia was already in its death agony. The war awakened national sentiments among the Jewish writers, and even more among the Jewish masses. For a moment there was a ^{glimmer} ~~spark~~ of hope of a radical change in

the national policy of the Soviet government, and also of forming ties with world Jewry, which might perhaps have become the beginning of a revival and efflorescence. Unfortunately, these hopes were soon dispelled, and at one stroke toward the end of 1943, the Bolshevist government blotted out every trace of Jewish creativeness, every breath of Jewish individuality.

Fortunately, the Bolshevist regime did not inherit all of the six million Jews who lived within the borders of the Russian empire on the eve of World War I. Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, ~~which were~~ ^{which were} detached from Russia and became independent states, inherited about three million Jews. These three million Jews took over the ~~rich~~ ^{rich} inheritance and the organic continuation of the cultural creative processes and the driving spirit of the Jewish liberation movements. In these countries there was a repetition of the peculiar situation which had existed in Czarist Russia: regardless of the political persecutions and pogroms, Russian Jewry not only had been the cradle of all the above-mentioned cultural processes and political aspirations, but had remained throughout the prime force in their further ~~development.~~ ^{development.}

In the newly arisen states of the Poles, Lithuanians, and Latvians, the lot of the Jews was far from happy, although at the time these nations were fighting for ^{their} political independence, they made all kinds of promises to the Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews of these countries not only continued the vast fruitful work, but enriched it further with new branches and fresh fervor. The flourishing Hebrew school network in Lithuania; the extensive Yiddish and Hebrew schools networks in Poland and Latvia; the widely ramified and flourishing Yiddish press as well as Yiddish and Hebrew literature in all three countries; the advance of the Zionist movement in all its shadings and especially in its Chelutzic branch; the intensive growth of the autonomist movement in its extreme ¹⁾ doik Diaspora form and its limited Zionist concepti

1) Doik: an adjective derived from the Yiddish noun doikeit (literally, "home-ness"). It is used by Yiddish-speaking anti-Zionists to distinguish their national ideology, which stresses local interest and attachment, from Zionism, which emphasizes concern with and devotion to the State of Israel. -transl.

--all these were clear demonstrations of the wealth which these Jewish communities had ^{inherited} ~~inherited~~ from fallen pro-war Russian Jewry, as well as good illustrations of the verse "out of the strong came forth sweetness." Persecution and oppression have always driven ^{to} ~~to~~ Jews to themselves and to creations of their own.

It is very doubtful whether we could even now, thirteen years after the destruction of the East European Jewish center, find in the Western Hemisphere countries enough native-born Yiddish and Hebrew ^{poets and novelists,} ~~poets and novelists,~~ Yiddish and Hebrew journalists, scholars and researchers, Orthodox rabbis and principals of yeshivas, Yiddish actors, and Yiddish and Hebrew singers to count on the fingers of one hand. The whole national cultural wealth in its original Jewish national forms of Yiddish and Hebrew to be found among the six million Jews of the Western Hemisphere, that is, among more than one-half of the Jewish people, derives ~~it~~ from Eastern Europe and is still exclusively in the hands of immigrant elements from Europe. The problem of continuity remains to this day an open question and we do not consider it necessary to solve it here. We are speaking of continuity in the same ^{forms,} ~~forms,~~ national ~~forms,~~, i.e., in organic development. Further on we shall speak of new vessel for the old contents, although our main object in the present work is not to provide answers to questions, but to pose problems and adduce as many facts as possible to elucidate and explain them.

To a certain extent, what has just been said about Western Hemisphere Jewry applies also to Israeli ^{Jewry.} To be sure, shoots of much-promising original creations in Hebrew in every domain of culture, poetry and fiction, research and science, drama and art, have already made their appearance in Israel. Nevertheless, creators and workers in all these cultural fields who have immigrated from Eastern Europe, chiefly from Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, rank foremost not only numerically but also qualitatively. In Israel there is an own soil and an own sky--the surest and best basis for original creations. But the organicity of the national development can be assured only by continuity along the lines of the creations of the Jews of Eastern Europe.

Parallel with the huge millionary and deeply traditional organic East European center, a very important place in the Jewish creations in a non-Jewish tongue ^{was} ~~was~~ held by German Jewry. To begin with, this branch of the Jewish people boasted a history of no fewer than a thousand years, which imparted weight and stability to its national existence. Assimilation greatly corroded this Jewry and robbed it of a great many vital forces. Nevertheless, the instinct and sense of responsibility for continuity did not permit the disappearance of this Jewry and endowed it with considerable national creative powers both in the field of culture and in relation to the Jewish national movement.

There was another factor which fructified and reinvigorated the national feelings and thoughts of German Jewry: there was a ceaseless influx of Russian-Polish Jews on one side, and on the other, virtually the whole of Posen Jewry, at the turn of the nineteenth century a decidedly vigorous branch of Polish Jewry, was swallowed up by German Jewry. Nearly all of the original German Jewish creative workers, especially in the domain of Jewish scholarship and Jewish national education in the broad sense of the word, in the sense of rabbis and teachers, derive from Posen. The part played by German Jewry both in Jewish scholarship and in the Zionist movement is quite considerable and we think it superfluous to cite proofs and examples.

The two centers of Jewish cultural endeavor and national awakening just described have completely disappeared. At present there is literally not a vestige of these spiritually rich communities fraught with continuity and promise of rebirth. What ~~the Jewish~~ ^{the Jewish} Hitler ~~did~~ ^{did} not manage to asphyxiate and annihilate, the Communist devil has ~~almost~~ liquidated spiritually.

Let us turn to the factual material which will show us the whole extent of the horrible calamity which befell European Jewry. It is not our intention to unfold here the Hitler massacres in all their horrifying scope and inhuman course. In keeping with the object of this book to illuminate the present physiognomy of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, we shall concern ourself only with the results of the slaughter--with the fundamental

changes which the catastrophe produced.

The first, elementary task consists in establishing at least approximately the number of lives we lost and which communities suffered more and which less. From the national point of view we must appraise differently the diverse destroyed Jewish communities, although our heart aches for every Jew slain, however assimilated and aloof from the Jewish people he may have been.

TABLE 6. THE DESTROYED JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF EUROPE

Country	Jewish Population in 1939	Slain and Perished Jews		Jewish Population in 1933	
		No.	% 1939	No.	% 1939
Poland	3,250,000	2,850,000	87.7	40,000	1.23
Soviet Russia (a)	2,100,000	1,500,000	71.4	600,000	28.57
Rumania	850,000	425,000	50.0	200,000	23.53
Hungary	400,000	200,000	50.0	100,000	25.00
France	300,000	90,000	30.0	250,000	83.33
Czechoslovakia	315,000	240,000	76.2	18,000	5.71
Germany	195,000	110,000	57.0	25,000	12.75
Austria	90,000	45,000	50.0	12,000	13.33
Lithuania	150,000	130,000	86.6	10,000	6.32
Latvia	95,000	80,000	84.2	10,000	6.66
Holland	150,000	105,000	70.0	25,000	16.66
Belgium	90,000	40,000	44.4	35,000	38.88
Yugoslavia	75,000	55,000	73.3	6,000	8.00
Greece	75,000	60,000	80.0	9,000	12.00
Italy	57,000	15,000	26.3	32,000	56.14
Bulgaria	50,000	7,000	14.0	4,000	8.00
Miscellaneous	15,000	5,000	33.3	10,000	66.66
Total	8,255,000	5,957,000	72.1	1,386,000	16.79

(a) Only the German-occupied parts of Russia.

The figures of this table do not pretend to absolute accuracy--this, unfortunately, cannot be predicated of most of the figures cited about Jews. Jewish statistics are very often forced to resort to estimates and approximate data. Nevertheless, we are firmly convinced that the figures cited are very close to the truth; an error of 2 or 3 per cent either way can nowise change the general picture presented by this table. This is particularly true in the present case, where it is mainly a question of establishing these changes which the holocaust produced in the life of the Jewish people.

The table does not give only the number of the directly murdered and gassed by the Hitler gangs; it includes all categories of victims, all who perished: those who fell ^{on} the various fronts and in the partisan battles; those who died of hunger and various diseases caused deliberately or inadvertently by the Hitler restrictions; those who committed suicide, whose number was not small in Germany and Austria; and finally, those murdered by the local population even before the Germans occupied these places. There were not a few of these cases in Lithuania, Latvia, and the Ukraine. Yet the moral ^{responsibility} ~~responsibility~~ for all these deaths rests squarely on the shoulders of the German people.

the first three

Let us first analyze briefly ~~the first three~~ columns of the table; here we have the physical losses. According to these figures, we lost in the war years 1939-1945 close to six million lives. However, not all communities were equally hit. The heaviest physical losses were sustained by those three Jewish communities which played the greatest and most important role in the national life of the entire Jewish people; Polish Jewry lost nearly 88 per cent of its numbers; Lithuanian Jewry, nearly 87 per cent; Latvian Jewry, over 84 per cent. Physically lost, that is, an absolute loss: not only was there a decrease of the Jewish population in the historically established and firmly rooted locality, but an almost total extermination.

After these three East European countries with the largest losses comes Greece with a physical deficit of 80 per cent. Here was wiped out a community with a record of very distinguished services and roles in Jewish history. It was a deeply traditional Sephardic community with centuries-old institutions. Sephardic communities throughout the world drew their spiritual sustenance and national courage from them.

After Greece comes Czechoslovakia with 76 per cent of her Jews annihilated. Two of its Jewish communities were more than 90 per cent destroyed -- communities which were among the most backward in relation to secular education, but which were perhaps the richest and most important as regards fidelity to old Jewish traditions and to the Yiddish language. We have

mind the Jews of Carpathian Ruthenia and Slovakia. Those who saved themselves by emigration and also on the spot were mostly the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia, the more assimilated.

We do not consider it necessary to dwell on every group of Jews who perished. ^{at least} Yet one must say/~~mention~~ a few words about the German and Austrian Jews. The figures in the table do not exhaust the whole number of victims. For in Germany the murders had begun already in 1933, and there is no doubt whatever that by 1939 no fewer than 30,000-40,000 Jews had been murdered. To which must be added the suicides. According to a reputable German weekly (Die Zeit, Hamburg, February 18, 1954, ^{as} quoted in Press Survey No. 1636, London, World Jewish Congress, February 23, 1954), 68,000 Jews in Germany committed suicide! It is not specified how many of the suicides took place from 1933 to 1939 and how many afterwards. The number is positively horrifying! It was well known that there had been Jewish suicides under the Hitler regime, but no one had dreamt of such a number. It is hard to believe, however, that the German paper thought it necessary to invent such a number. What for? At any rate, there were already a great many suicides prior to 1939. Vienna followed in the footsteps of Berlin, where there was the largest number of suicides in Germany. In our table, the slain and perished Jews in Germany are given as 37 per cent of the Jewish population of that country in 1939. But if we take the year/~~1939~~, ^{1933,} when there were ~~325,000~~ ^{325,000} Jews in Germany, the percentage will be smaller even if we add the number of victims prior to 1939. In general, it may be estimated that from 1933 to 1945 about 180,000 Jews perished or were killed, which constitutes more than a third of the Jewish population of Germany in 1933.

We pass on to an analysis of the last two columns of the table. Here we have an account of what we possessed in Europe in 1933. If we add the number of victims (5,957,000) and the number of Jews in the same countries in 1933 (1,386,000), the sum will fall 912,000 short of the number of Jews in these countries in 1939. This shortage roughly coincides with the number of Jews who emigrated from Europe from 1945 to the end of 1953.

Jews fled from the blood-soaked continent of Europe as from a nightmare. Had the conditions for immigration been more favorable, the number of Jews in Europe would surely have ~~been~~ ^{grown} even smaller. For, to this day Jews are straining to leave Europe. At the ~~offices~~ ^{offices} of the Jewish ~~aid~~ ^{aid} organizations in Paris, where their ~~headquarters~~ ^{European} are situated, as many as 30,000 candidates for emigration are registered. Let there but be the slightest opening anywhere promising better prospects of immigration, and Jews start a stampede like persons possessed. Thus, under the new immigration law of the United States, Greek ~~Rumanian~~ ^{Greek} nationals enjoy certain advantages. Accordingly, although of the 75,000 Jews before the Great Catastrophe not more than 9,000 are left, and of the more than 60,000 Jews in pre-war Salonika a mere 1,200 remain, about 700 Greek Jews have applied for emigration to the United States, the majority of the applications coming from Salonika. (The Jewish Chronicle, London, February 12, 1954.) And were ~~the~~ ^{there any} possibilities of emigration from the Communist countries, the exodus would unquestionably assume a stormy tempo, irrespective of the conditions in the immigration countries. This was evident in the years 1949-1951, when the satellite countries opened their doors for Jewish emigration. Conditions in Israel were already at that time very unfavorable, but no one gave any thought to the conditions in the immigration country. The main factor was, and still is, the burning desire to escape from the Communist cage in which one is confined without any prospect of ever getting out.

It is enough to glance superficially at the last two columns of Table 6 to see that the East European communities were the hardest hit: of the more than three million Jews in Poland before the war, a mere 40,000 are left, or slightly over one per cent. And even these Jews are dreaming of how to get out of the Communist "paradise." In Lithuania and Latvia, two countries where from 80 to 85 of all Jewish children of school age used to attend Hebrew and Yiddish integrated schools, with the majority of the general subjects taught in one of these national languages, and with government subsidies which covered virtually all expenses,--in these two once blessed lands a mere six per cent of the pre-war Jewish population is left. And this pitiful remnant is

kept under lock and key and is denied the right to a single Yiddish paper, let alone Yiddish schools.

Even greater, at least no smaller, is the havoc wrought in German Jewry. The present number of Jews in Germany is estimated at 25,000. This constitutes nearly 13 per cent of the Jewish population in 1939. But if we base our computation on the number of Jews in 1933 (525,000), when the murderous work of the Hitler gangs began, we get a bare 5 per cent. But it is necessary also to glance at the physiognomy of this pitiful remnant: "The average age of the Jews in Germany is between 54 and 55--about 20 years more than the average of non-Jews. The children of mixed marriages conceal their Jewish descent. Among the 251 members of the Hanover Jewish Community, there are only thirteen persons aged between 20 and 30. The percentage of young Jews in other communities is even lower." (Die Zeit, Hamburg, February 25, 1954, as quoted in Press Survey No. 1638, London, World Jewish Congress, March 2, 1954.)

This picture of the decay of the German remnant fits 100 per cent the surviving 12,000 Jews in Austria.

We do not think it necessary to dwell further on all the communities; we will merely strike a balance for the Jews of the whole of Europe. In the countries stricken by the Hitler holocaust, there were 1,386,000 Jews in 1953. To this number must be added the Jews of the regions or countries which were not hit by the catastrophe. In the European part of Soviet Russia which did suffer at the hands of the Hitler hordes, there are about about 900,000 Jews; in England, approximately 400,000; in the small countries (Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal), some 40,000. Altogether, the non-stricken areas contain about 1,340,000. Add the 1,386,000 Jews of the stricken countries and it follows that in 1953 there were in Europe not more than 2,726,000 Jews. As in 1939 there were about nine and a half million Jews in Europe, it follows that today, after the holocaust and after the mass emigration of the postwar years, there remain only about 28 per cent of the number of Jews in 1939.

But it is t enough to establish the numerical size of the Jewish

population and to draw conclusions therefrom as to the possibility of a Jewish life in Europe. We must approach this question more concretely and practically.

From the above-estimated Jewish population of Europe in 1953, nearly two and three-quarter million, the great majority of the Jews of the Communist countries must ^d be deduced; they are not only cut off from the rest of the Jewish people and vice versa, but they are divided and estranged from one another. If the approximately two million Jews of all the Communist countries in Europe were free in the matter of living nationally and engaging in national activity, one might entertain some hope for this major part of European Jewry. The situation is quite different, however.

The Soviet Jews--numbering nearly two million, including the Jews of the Asian parts of the Soviet Union--are doomed to total extinction. Recently there was some news ^{about} ~~of~~ these Jews as a religious group, but not otherwise. In the Hosh Hashanah message of the Chief Rabbi of Moscow, published in the London Jewish Chronicle of September 4, 1953, it was hinted that the Jews of the Soviet Union are able to practise their faith and carry out their religious duties "in conditions of complete religious freedom." But, apparently, not to unite even as a religious group. And according to a Reuter dispatch from Moscow in The New York Times of November 22, 1953, the synagogues--the only Jewish institutions still functioning in Soviet Russia--have no religious classes for children. Thus a Jewish generation is growing up in the Soviet Union which will be completely sundered and estranged from Judaism.

The situation ^{here} ~~there~~ is different from what it used to be in the countries where Jews were persecuted and afflicted; there it was possible to lead a Jewish life with respect to religion, language, and culture. With the exception, of course, of the lands where the Crusades or the Inquisition raged. For the most part, especially beginning with the eighteenth century, Jews were persecuted, but Judaism was let alone. The Jewish people made ample use of this privilege accorded Judaism, and during the past two hundred years created a ~~wonderfully~~ wonderful, widely-ranified, and deeply-rooted Jewish

culture. The Soviet case is brand-new in Jewish Diaspora history; the individual Jew is absolutely free, he shares equally with non-Jews in the good things of life; but Jewish group life and Jewish culture in all its forms are proscribed and being destroyed. This is an absolutely new situation in Jewish history. Our ^{usual} ~~unshakable~~ hope in ^{Jewish} ~~the~~ pertinacity and obstinacy and the historically well-tried principle of "out of the strong came forth sweetness" does not, unfortunately, apply here. The Soviet whip does not strike the individual, but the community; and the decay and degeneration of the younger generation, which has no idea whatever of Judaism and does not know what the Hebrew alphabet looks like, have no doubt already assumed frightful proportions and forms. Suffice it to say that already in the years 1924-1926 intermarriage involving Jewish men in Central Russia constituted 20.7 per cent, and those involving Jewish women, 12.5 per cent. Mixed marriages were even more widespread in Leningrad: in the case of Jewish men, 25.6 per cent, and in the case of Jewish women, 20.30 per cent. ¹⁾ The percentage of Jews in Soviet Russia who live in the central provinces, chiefly in Moscow and Leningrad, is now much higher than in the Twenties, and a very large percentage of Soviet Jewry is to be found in the Asiatic regions, where intermarriage is undoubtedly still more widespread.

We come to the sad conclusion that, for the time being, we must exclude the Soviet Jews from the account of European Jewry; they are not even passive recipients of Jewish cultural creations, let alone active participants in Jewish cultural and spiritual life.

Of the Jewries in all the other Communist countries, there is still some sign of life in Polish Jewry, or more properly, in the small group of Yevseks (Jewish Communists). There still exist three Yiddish periodicals in Poland: a triweekly newspaper, a monthly magazine, and a quarterly, the last-named devoted mainly to studies on the Great Catastrophe. There still vegetate

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Jews in the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1926, p. 26 (Russian).

five or six Yiddish schools, where the majority of subjects are taught in Yiddish; and in a few public schools with a large enrollment of Jewish children, a special course is given in Yiddish as a modern language. All this, however, has no future whatever. To begin with, the number of Jewish is terribly small, and assimilation is swallowing up this infinitesimal percentage of Jews. In the last three or four years the number of Yiddish schools has dwindled to one-fourth, and the number of children attending Yiddish schools must have declined even more. However, it is not merely a question of language; the important thing is what is being taught. In the schoolbooks, which have been published in relatively large editions, one cannot find a line about a Jewish national holiday, about a Jewish historic events. The children are being instilled with an intense, frenzied patriotism toward Soviet Russia and Communist Poland and an active hatred for the State of Israel. Obviously, it would have been much better without Yiddish schools. The sound national instinct of the Soviet Jews, who from the very start of the Communist dictatorship and the Yevsek school program, preferred to send their children to the public school and not to the Yevsek Yiddish schools,--the selfsame instinct now prompts the Polish Jews to keep their children ^{as far away as possible} from the anti-Jewish schools of the Jewish Communists.

From a national point of view, we must, unfortunately, also subtract the small Jewish communities. Further on, in the section on intermarriage, we shall cite interesting data on mixed marriages in Switzerland and Denmark, and we shall see that assimilation is very rapidly devouring the younger generation in the small Jewish communities.

The question now arises, What have we left in Europe, on the continent where the last thousand years of Jewish history unfolded with such rich and vital national creations and achievements?

Of historic European Jewry we have left only two major communities which are active members of the Jewish people; England with her 400,000 Jews, and France with her 250,000, a total of barely 650,000 Jews in two countries with an aggregate population of 95,000,000; in other words, 0.7 per cent of

the surrounding population--and that, too, a population with the highest as-
similative potential. As long as the/~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ East European Jewish center existed, a
considerable stream of immigrants flowed from there to England until about
World War I and to France until the very eve of World War II. The East Eu-
ropean/~~ghettos~~ "ghettos" in London and Paris contributed no little to the national
awakening of the old-established, already deeply assimilated Jewish groups.
Through these "ghettos" the influence of the East European center did not
cease even after the cessation of Jewish immigration to England. It was
weaker, to be sure, but still sufficiently effective, if only by providing
these two communities with spiritual leaders, religious and national. Today
these communities stand orphaned in the midst of Europe's half-billion ~~new~~
people.

The news coming out of these orphaned communities in Europe ^{is} ~~are~~ more
than sad. In England: many intermarriages, and apostasy, too, is not uncom-
mon; race suicide among the upper and middle classes, while the Jewish lower
class is steadily diminishing, through social advancement and through emigra-
tion. The only Yiddish paper, which ~~it~~ existed for decades, has discontinued
publication. The Yiddish theatre has ceased to exist, and the attempts to
establish a theatre for the production of Jewish plays in English have fail-
ed. The closing of one of the oldest synagogues in Whitechapel, in the Lon-
don quarter which for decades nourished the whole of British Jewry with mod-
ern Jewish culture and with living and close contacts with all Jewish national
movements, is very ominous and alarms all British Jews. Scarcely forty per
cent of all Jewish children of school age receive a Jewish education and the
instruction continues for a short time and leaves very faint traces in the
hearts and minds of the children.

Further on we shall speak of the slight revival noticeable in the
last few years. But there is no doubt that, for the time being, the State
of Israel is still very weak as regards cultural influence; accordingly, this
revival, no matter how organically it has grown out of, and been influenced
by, the rise of the State of Israel, cannot check the assimilative sweep of

the surrounding world.

Much more alive and fruitful is the Jewish community in France, which consists two-thirds of recent East European immigrant elements, and which after the last war received a considerable influx of Jewish intellectuals and prominent Jewish public workers, thanks to the flight from the Communist countries. There are three Yiddish dailies in France, as well as several weeklies and four monthlies. Moreover, books are being published in Yiddish and, though infrequently, also in Hebrew. In the chapter on the nationalizing processes and trends we shall dwell at ~~greater length~~ ^{greater length} on the spiritual and cultural activity of the Jewish community in France, particularly in the field of consolidation and of rapprochement between the old-established and the newly arrived Jews. It is, however, the general view, including also that of very competent public workers, that this is a revival without roots, without future prospects. Attention is called to the significant fact that it is precisely in France that only 10 to 12 per cent of all Jewish children of school age attend the various types of Jewish schools. Of late there has been a great stir in the field of Jewish education, and undoubtedly there are certain improvements, but very few and small ones, and heaven only knows how far they will reach.

The French Jewish community, especially its newly immigrated segment, dreams of emigration. A few years ago, immediately after the ^{Great} Catastrophe and later on during the panic produced by the fear of a new world war, French Jews sat on their traveling bags, as it were. In the last couple of years they have regained their composure, but they are still looking for connections in the immigration countries and have not entirely given up the dream of leaving the European continent.

So much for the balance sheet of European Jewry, of a branch of the Jewish people which gave so much to the Jewish spirit and held out promise and inspired hope for more, and came to such a tragic and fatal end! Thus ends the story of European Jewry, the most fruitful bearer of Jewish creations and values for more than a thousand years!

5. The Liquidation of the Jewish Communities in the Moslem Countries

The story of the metamorphosis of Diaspora Jewry is not exhausted by the downfall of European Jewry and the rise of two new Jewish centers: North America and the State of Israel. A very large role was also played by the liquidation of the Jewish communities in the Moslem countries, communities deeply rooted in their environments and thickly overlaid with institutions.

The Jews of the Oriental countries reckon their Diaspora history at more than two thousand years. As for ~~Iraqi~~ Iraqi Jewry, it is well known that its history covers more than twenty-five hundred years; it is actually a continuation of the Babylonian captivity, since not all the captive Jews returned to the Land of Israel with Ezra and Nehemiah. The same may be said of the Jews of Yemen. And there is no doubt whatever that none of the many Jewish communities in the Moslem countries is less than two thousand years old.

It is but natural that the purely Jewish original culture and spiritual heritage should have become encrusted with a ~~mass~~ ^{rich} layer of foreign elements, positive and perhaps even more negative ones. However, all students of Jewish life in these backward countries agree that the foundation of Jewish spiritual life there has nevertheless remained quite sound, traditional-Biblical and conservative-Talmudic. Of special importance is the fact that the education of the young has remained inherently Jewish, traditional and national. The children spend many years at heder (Hebrew elementary school), and the Hebrew language is not unfamiliar to the Jews of these lands. In the poorest household in Yemen, the poorest country in the Middle East, Jewish books were to be found, and it is well known that knowledge of the Hebrew language is very widespread precisely among the poorest Jews of the Oriental Diaspora.

The great majority of the Jewish communities in the Oriental countries lived, and those extant still live, in abject poverty and want, just like the Jews of Eastern Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, they possessed, and the surviving communities still possess, a

great many eleemosynary and also educational institutions.

Institutions

As an example of the Jewish educational ~~xxx~~/in one of the Moslem countries, we will give some data on the school system of the Iraqi Jews, about which we happen to have very detailed and extremely interesting information.

In Baghdad, the capital of Iraq, where prior to the great exodus more than 80,000 Jews lived, there were 29 Jewish schools in 1955 with a ^{combined} enrollment of 13,448 boys and girls. This constituted nearly 17 per cent of the whole Jewish population, which means that all children of school age received a Jewish education. Of these 29 schools, sixteen, with an attendance of 10,458 pupils, belonged to the Kehillah (Jewish Community), which thus provided nearly 80 per cent of all school children with Jewish instruction. The schools were of three types: elementary, ~~English/intermediate~~/intermediate, and advanced. The Baghdad Kehillah maintained two high schools, two intermediate schools, and twelve elementary schools. It also maintained two ^{trade schools} with an ^{enrollment} of 570. One of the Kehillah's elementary schools dated from 1852, or more than a hundred years ago. Another Kehillah school was established in 1864. The first school was attended in 1955 by 1,000 pupils, and the second by 230. A third school was founded in 1893 and had an enrollment of 1,388 in 1950. From the fact that already in the nineteenth century the Baghdad Jewish Community founded schools which were attended by large numbers of children, it is easy to deduce that it was a well organized and efficiently functioning Kehillah.

Granted that the Baghdad Jewish Community was not very typical, since it was ^{relatively} one of the wealthiest in the Orient, it is nevertheless well known that the precept that "the study of the Law is equal to them all" was held sacred even in the poorest Oriental Jewish communities and scrupulously observed, just as it had been among the Polish Jews in the seventeenth and

1) Talkut Hamigrach Hatikhon, Jerusalem, Ab-Elul, 5711 (August-September, 1951), P. 7 (Hebrew).

eighteenth centuries, who were also poor enough. Besides the educational institutions, there were many social ones, and organized Kehillot functioned everywhere and developed a certain communal activity. In our opinion, even the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which are still attended by more than 45,000 Jewish children, could not have functioned regularly without the cooperation of local communal forces.

The moral of the foregoing is quite clear: the liquidation of Jewish communities even in the poor and backward countries of the Orient spells a loss of considerable communal cultural assets. Especially when the liquidation is carried out under the lash of pogroms and authorized robberies, as was the case in Iraq and partly in Yemen and in many other Moslem countries.

Let us see how the liquidation of the oldest Jewish communities in the Diaspora is proceeding. In this case we will compare the number of Jews in the Arab countries in 1948 with that in 1953, since the liquidation of entire Jewish communities in these lands did not begin until the establishment of the State of Israel.

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF JEWS IN VARIOUS MOSLEM COUNTRIES EARLY IN 1948 AND AT END OF 1953

Country	1848	1953	
		No.	%1948
Iraq	130,000	8,000	6.1
Yemen and Aden	50,000	500	1.0
Syria and Lebanon	15,000	12,000	80.0
Asiatic Turkey	30,000	10,000	33.3
Iran	100,000	75,000	75.0
Lybia (1)	35,000	4,000	11.4
Morocco (2)	240,000	200,000	83.3
Tunisia	100,000	90,000	90.0
Algeria	140,000	130,000	92.8
Total	840,000	529,000	63.0

(1) Including Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

(2) Including Spanish Morocco and Tangier.

In these nine countries taken together, the Jewish population has declined only a little over one-third. But if we take individual countries,

the picture becomes clearer and more striking. Three large Jewish communities --Iraq, Yemen and Aden, and Lybia--have been almost completely liquidated;

of 215,000 Jewish inhabitants in 1848, only 12,500, or not more than 5.8 per cent, are left. At the same time it is important to bear in mind that Jewish life has become so shrunken that it is ^{dwindling} ~~shrinking~~ from day to day. The small Jewish remnants in Lybia would gladly leave the country, for they are afraid of remaining alone with the Arabs. Of late their plight has become even sadder: the Lybian Government has prohibited any postal communication with Israel. And the Lybian Jews have relatives and friends in Israel, to which nearly ninety per cent of the Jews of Lybia have emigrated.

The situation in the North African countries is ^{growing} ~~becoming~~ more tense from year to year, and the political cauldron threatens to blow up. And wherever a political cauldron explodes, the Jewish population is among the first to be hit, however honest and sincere the leaders ^{of} ~~is~~ the Nationalist movements may be in their assurances that they will not ^{permit} ~~allow~~ any excesses against Jews. Particularly precarious ~~and dangerous~~ and dangerous of late has been the situation in Morocco, where the dethronement of the former Sultan and his replacement by the new pro-French Sultan ^{provoked} ~~caused~~ terrorist outbreaks which resulted in scores of ~~casualties~~ casualties. At the same time a miniature pogrom, resulting in the killing of four Jews, took place in August, 1953, in Oujda, in the same city where during the last ten years there have been several anti-Jewish riots with a number fatalities. As it happens, the new Sultan is a friend of the Jews and is known to have saved Jews from pogroms on several occasions during the war years; but this cannot and must not allay the fears of Jewry at large. At any rate, we must reckon with a potential emigration of about half a million ^{Jews} ~~people~~ from North Africa and Iran, ^{where} ~~where~~ the plight of the Jews is economically so catastrophic that they have continued to migrate to Israel even in the very last months, regardless of the difficult situation in the Jewish State.

The process of transformation of the picture of the Jewish people in the Diaspora countries is not yet complete, but the basic changes are largely

finished and it is already possible to cast up certain sum totals. To this task we now address ourselves.

6. The Altered Distribution of the Jewish People by Continents and Countries

We have already shown above that the transformation of the picture of the Jewish people actually began with the ^{organic process} of migration which first swept German Jewry, later East European Jewry, and lastly the Jews of the Moslem countries. A profound change in the distribution of the Jewish people by continents and countries was produced by the Hitler massacres, which at one stroke reduced the number of Jews in Europe by nearly six millions.

The following table reflects the results of the main factors which radically changed the geographical physiognomy of the Jewish people:

TABLE 8. DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE BY CONTINENTS (1840-1953)

(In 1,000's)

Continent	1840		1900		1939		1953	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Europe	3,950	87.8	8,900	80.9	9,500	57.8	2,725	23.7
America	50	1.1	1,200	10.9	3,250	31.9	6,100	52.8
Asia:								
Eretz Israel	10	0.2	35	0.3	480	2.9	1,475	12.8
Other Coun-tries	290	6.5	475	4.3	550	3.4	600	5.2
Africa	198	4.4	375	3.4	625	3.8	600	5.2
Australia	2	0.0	15	0.2	35	0.2	55	0.3
Total	4,500	100.0	11,000	100.0	16,440	100.0	11,555	100.0

First of all, we must explain the total figure for 1953 as against that for 1939, since it gives the impression that not more than 4,890,000/are missing, and not six millions, as we saw above. The apparent discrepancy is to be explained by the natural increase in the years 1939-1953. For among the Western Hemisphere Jews there was a natural increase all the time; for the whole ^{hemisphere} atmosphere it amounted to no fewer than half a million. In Israel, too, there was a considerable natural increase during the period from 1939 to 1953; together with the natural increase among the Jews of the remaining Asian countries and of Africa, it amounted to about 450,000. Finally, among the

European Jews, too, there was a natural increase of some 140,000 in the years from the end of the war to the end of 1953. The total natural increase for the entire period was thus about 1,070,000. This is a biological surplus which covers a small part of the Jewish losses in the war years.

Let us now try to analyze Table 8. The figures for the period 1840-1939 reflect mainly the changes caused by the migrations. We say "mainly," because European Jewry, during the years of World War I and of the wholesale pogroms in the Ukraine and White Russia and partly in Poland, suffered a loss of approximately 600,000 souls. This, however, played a small part in comparison with the Jewish emigration from Europe, which amounted to 4,500,000.

We have divided the whole period of ^{the influence} ~~effect~~ of the migrations upon the distribution of the Jewish people over various continents into two parts: first, the period from 1840 to 1900, when the Jewish emigration from Russia took away a small part of the national increase, and second, the period from 1900 to 1939, when the Jewish emigration from Europe already carried off almost the entire natural increase. Thus, the Jewish population of Europe more than doubled in the first period (1840-1900), increasing from not quite four million to nearly nine million. In the second period, the emigration from Europe carried off virtually the entire Jewish natural increase, so that the net increase from 1900 (when the Jewish population of Europe was nearly nine million) to 1939 was only some 600,000.

In the section on migration we discussed at great length the magnitude of the Jewish emigrations from Europe in various periods and so we can be brief about it here. The figures on the relative weight of European Jewry in the whole Jewish people are extremely interesting: from nearly 90 per cent of the entire Jewish people in 1840 it had experienced a slight drop by 1900, declining to nearly 81 per cent. European Jewry was then still identical with the Ashkenazic branch of the Jewish people. But from 1900 to 1939 there was a sharp decline to less than 58 per cent.

What continent fell heir to this decline--a slow one, but still a decline? America: from 50,000 Jews in 1840, to more than 1 per

per cent of the Jewish people, it jumped to 1,200,000 in 1900, nearly 11 per cent of world Jewry; and from 1,200,000 in 1900 it took an even higher jump to more than 3,000,000 in 1939, or nearly one-third of the Jewish people.

Of the remaining continents it is worthwhile to pause on that part of Asia which bears the holy name of Eretz Israel: from 10,000 in 1840, or 0.2 per cent of the Jewish people, its Jewish population jumped to 480,000 in 1939, or nearly three per cent of the Jewish people. ^{In itself} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ this constitutes quite a considerable advance, but in comparison with America it cuts a small figure.

So much for the changes, great and historically very significant, which were the result of migrations, an organic process, which affected all the peoples of Europe, but operated relatively more intensively and fatefully in Jewish life. In numbers the emigration from England, Ireland, Germany, and Italy was larger than in the case of the Jews. But among none of the aforesaid European nations did the emigration in the course of the given period of one hundred years--1840-1939--amount to approximately the same number as the total population at the beginning of the period; it did in the case of the Jews!

Let us now glance at the effect produced by the second factor of the fateful changes in the distribution of the Jewish people by continents. Of the 9,500,000 Jews in Europe in 1939 there remained in 1953 a total of 2,725,000, less than one-third. Migration, too, played a part here, but the deepest gap in European Jewry was caused by the massacres: from nearly 58 per cent of world Jewry there was a drop to under 24 per cent, or less than a fourth of the Jewish people! And if we compare the 1953 figure with that for 1840, it will appear that the percentage of European Jewry in world Jewry declined nearly three-fourths: from nearly 88 per cent to less than 24; from virtually constituting the whole Jewish people, since the Asian and African Jews then played no part whatever in the destiny of the Jewish people, it declined to virtually nil; for, as we have shown in an earlier section, the Jews of the Communist countries do not at present figure as active or even passive

members of the Jewish people--and today they comprise nearly three-fourths of European Jewry.

Between 1939 and 1953, however, there occurred an event of great historic significance: in Eretz Israel there was an influx of approximately a million Jews, part of them from Europe and a considerable number from Asia and Africa. If we omit Soviet Jewry from our account, the Jewish community of the State of Israel is the second largest numerically. In general, the Asian continent again looms large in Jewish life: from some 300,000 in 1840 its Jewish population jumped to over two millions in 1953. Further on we shall see that, ^{owing} ~~amounting~~ to its ^{high} natural increase, this continent occupies a very important place in Jewish life.

The Asian continent has been enriched with Jews not only on account of the concentration of a million and a half Jews in Eretz Israel; in Asiatic Russia, where a hundred years ago there were only a handful of Jewish families, mostly of deported criminals or of Jewish soldiers who served in the Russian army during the reign of Czar Nicholas I (1825-1855), ¹⁾ there are now close to half a million Jews. It is the irony of Jewish fate: on the one hand, the State of Israel, with a maximum of Jewishness and maximum prospects of national progress, and, on the other, nearly half a million Jews doomed to national extinction.

The conclusion from all that has been said is clear: from a decidedly European people up to the end of the nineteenth century we have become an American-Oriental people. From a people deeply rooted in the soil of the European continent by a thousand years of history we have become a people who must begin to build its homes anew and lay fresh foundations for its specific national needs.

¹⁾ These Jewish soldiers were drafted at the age of 12 and placed for their military education in special schools of distant provinces. At the age of 18, they were enrolled in the army and served for a period of 25 years. The system was abolished in 1857 by Czar Alexander II.--Israel.

Continents, however, are too large units to reflect the whole radical revolution which the geographical regroupment embodies and represents. It is only the concrete picture of the distribution of the Jewish people among the countries and nations with the new political-economic and cultural-spiritual conditions that will properly illumine the profound upheaval caused by the outward, geographical change. We therefore proceed to ^{the} more detailed and concrete regroupment of the Jewish people. We shall continue to make comparisons mostly with the year 1900 as the culmination of the creative flowering of European Jewry. At that historic moment all the powers of East European Jewry in all fields of national creativeness became manifest. These powers revealed themselves with special richness ^{and} creativity in Russian-Polish ^{Jewry,} which in fact consisted of Jewries among a whole group of politically subject peoples: Ukrainians, Lithuanians, ^{Letts,} White Russians, and Poles who were divided among Russia, Austria, and Germany.

We consider it advisable to make comparisons with the situation in 1900, because the national hopes of Diaspora Jewry are now pinned mainly on the Jews of the United States, whose present number is roughly the same as that of the Jews in Russia and Poland in 1900. Our task consists, accordingly, in studying the objective conditions which led to the rich flowering of Jewish culture in all its shapes and forms in Russia and Poland and seeing whether we possess in the Western Hemisphere countries at least approximately the same objective conditions, if we are to expect the same or similar national results.

7. Spatial Compactness and Isolation

Before taking up the statistical data, it is necessary to point out one factor which cannot be expressed in figures. We have in mind the long experience of East European Jewry, which reckoned the age of its settlement at a full thousand years and, at a minimum, five to six hundred years. This gave rise to the following characteristic traits of this Jewry: rootedness; deep traditionalism and creative inertia; a wholesome religious and national

conservatism; conscious and demonstrative national pride; highly developed national discipline. This was an organic result of the long and uninterrupted life of these Jews on one and the same soil, under one and the same sky, and under the same objective conditions as regards spatial and economic isolation from the surrounding non-Jewish population.

The persecutions, again, were directed mainly against the Jews and not against Judaism, against the individual and not against the community.

In most cases Jews were not hindered from forming ~~Kehillot~~ ^{Kehillot}, building synagogues, hedarim (elementary Hebrew schools), and yeshivas, organizing into country-wide federations, establishing and developing welfare and cultural institutions--in a word, from fostering and promoting national unity and national assets. Before the twentieth century it never occurred to anyone to demand of the Jews that they renounce their own language and culture. Thus, besides the very high and thick ^{religious} partition between Jews and non-Jews, there was a very thick dividing wall not only as regards the conception of life and accumulated traditions, as at present between Jews and Gentiles, but also as regards absolutely all current patterns of life and all manifestations of life in the course of every day. Apart, ^{of course,} ~~mainly~~, from trade, which bore a purely outward, business character, without any intimate ~~social~~ relations.

We know all too well that there were Crusades, Inquisitions, pogroms by Haidemacks, ¹⁾ and various other sporadic collective misfortunes and calamities; yet it has to be admitted that they were the exceptions. The centuries-old policy of persecuting the individual Jew and letting the community alone gave the Jews wide opportunities to build and develop their own religious and national-social institutions. This was particularly true of the

¹⁾ Haidemacks; Russian brigand bands of the eighteenth century, composed of runaway serfs, Saporogians, and Cossacks from Russian Ukraine. The disorganized condition of Poland during the eighteenth century made it possible for the discontented peasants and Cossacks of the Greek Orthodox faith to make organized attacks on their Catholic masters--the Polish nobles--and the Jews.--Transl.

whose situation in Poland, ~~whose~~ Jewry became, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the central haven of the Torah in the broad sense of the word, religious and national. ^{haven of} ~~A/xxxxxxx~~ the Torah in the deepest and broadest sense of the word; indeed, the central haven of the Torah, a center whose ~~a~~ fruits provide all the Jewish communities of the world with spiritual nourishment to this day.

A hundred and seventy-five years ago Polish Jewry was virtually synonymous with world Jewry if we consider only Ashkenazic Jewry, which already at that time had held the hegemony of Jewish life for about two hundred years. In Poland, on the eve of the first partition of the country (1772), there lived upward of 80 per cent of Ashkenazic Jewry, compact, concentrated, and socially wonderfully organized in local, regional, and central organizations and institutions.

All the large and small Jewish communities which have sprung up in the last 150 years, both in Europe and in all other parts of the wide world, ^{biologically and culturally} ~~are/xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ offshoots of the Polish Jewish tree--of the only Diaspora tree which derived its sap from one and the same soil during a long and uninterrupted epoch, for nearly ten centuries. ^{In Poland there} ~~xxxxxx~~ were no general expulsions ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~, ^{such as} ~~which~~ in the Central and West European countries did ^{permit the} ~~not/xxxxxxxx~~ Jews to become sufficiently acclimated, and often interrupted the creative processes the moment they began to strike deeper roots in the country.

When we say Polish Jewry it must be understood at once that this also included all the Ukrainian, White Russian, Lithuanian, and Letti Jews --in other words, the whole of the massif which sent forth its numbers not only into the neighboring countries, such as Rumania, Hungary, and Bucovina, but also into Central Europe, Germany and Austria and later also into France and England, and the core of which Russian Jewry, constituted in the nineteenth century.

Russian Jewry received a rich and ready-made heritage, an accumula-

tion of religious and national traditions and institutions, creations and values, which formed the very foundation of the subsequent flourishing and ramified cultural and spiritual possessions. To be sure, conditions in Russia favored the growth and efflorescence of the inheritance from the preceding centuries in Poland. But without the accumulation of whole treasures of spiritual and cultural creations briefly described above, without the vital groundwork inherited from Poland, the favorable conditions in Russia could not have produced that abundance of social and cultural wealth which constituted the renaissance of world Jewry toward the end of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth century.

Suffice it to mention two creations of Polish Jewry in order to appreciate properly the colossal role which the spiritual accumulations of this branch of the Jewish people played in the renaissance of world Jewry toward the end of the nineteenth century. We have in mind, first, the transformation of the German dialect, Yiddish, into a vernacular language which advanced to a national niveau of tremendous importance not only as the most important link between Jewish communities, but as an organic medium of national cultural creations. Second, Chassidism, that regeneration of the heart (as many historians characterize this popular movement) and also regeneration of the Land (as the latest historians assert), for Chassidim were the first in modern times to emigrate to Eretz Israel and even more to awaken the longing for the land of our fathers.

The ^{immigrant} ~~transplanted~~ Jewish masses from Eastern Europe, as they sailed for the new lands, certainly did not ^{overboard} ~~throw~~ the accumulated traditions and creations. By these transplanted traditions and values, patterns of behavior and spiritual creations they live to this day, not only in the countries of the Western Hemisphere but in their own Land of Israel. The basic question consists in this, whether a further organic development of the transplanted national traditions and values is possible in the new countries--whether the new social climate is favorable to the transplanted East European cultural assets or, heaven forbid. Further growth, obviously, ~~is not~~ ^{is not} a mechanical copy of the

old; it means, in the main, organic evolution with fidelity to the fundamental forms which are the ^{products} ~~the~~ of thousands of years of history, and to the fundamental contents, which are the roots of our national culture.

There is no need to adduce many proofs that the development of the Jewish community in the State of Israel is essentially a continuation of our past. There is no denying that the renunciation of Yiddish, of a cultural creation of a thousand years of Jewish history, is a serious ^{break} ~~loss~~ in our cultural development. But it is a return to our own, to something even more deeply ingrained in the Jewish soul and more hallowed by Jewish traditions -- to Hebrew. Above all, it is a voluntary act and not done under pressure of a non-Jewish milieu. The ^{changes} ~~changes~~ in the State of Israel are indigenous and organic, derived from ~~the historical treasure-house~~ ^{the historical treasure-house}, marking a return to the roots of an own soil and to the dreams of an own sky. These are factors which can cover with large and rich gains the losses caused by the abandonment ^{ment} of certain values of the East European heritage.

Quite different is the case in the Diaspora countries with their non-Jewish ways of life and cultural values. Here one must watch like the apple of one's eye ^{every} ~~every~~ existing valuable national cultural ^{form and} ~~content~~ every content of our national heritage. And the fundamental question is whether the new ^{Further} social climate in the Diaspora countries permits the continuation and ~~growth~~ growth of the transplanted treasures. More important, whether the new conditions surrounding the Jews in the Diaspora countries are not only unfavorable to the further growth of Jewish cultural values, but distinctly negative in their ^{influence} ~~effect~~, devouring at a rapid tempo all Jewish patterns of living and cultural forms. The rest of this work will be devoted to an inquiry into the factors which, on the one hand, affected ^{favorably} ~~the~~ the growth of Jewish national patterns of living and cultural forms in the East European countries and, on the other hand, have an unfavorable, negative effect upon the growth and further development of these patterns of living and cultural forms in the new immigration countries.

We assume that a community of at least 500,000^{Jews} is necessary in order more or less to develop national creative energy and not only to create charitable and elementary educational institutions, but to develop considerable national resources and fructify the cultural life to such an extent that the coming generations will receive for their continuation not only the capital but also a large increment.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
TABLE 9. COMMUNITIES WITH MORE THAN 500,000 JEWS IN THE DIASPORA (IN 1,000'S)

Country	1900		1953	
	No.	% Diaspora Jewry	No.	% Diaspora Jewry
Russia:	3,050	45.0	1,400	13.9
Ukraine ¹⁾	2,450	20.9	500	3.0
Poland	1,400	12.7	—	—
White Russia ²⁾	1,400	12.7	—	—
Great Russia	—	—	500	8.9
Galicia	810	7.4	—	—
Hungary	700	7.7	—	—
Germany	500	5.9	—	—
USA	1,100	10.2	5,200	51.6
Total	6,350	76.5	6,600	63.5

- 1) Including Bessarabia.
- 2) Including Lithuania and Latvia.

We took only the Diaspora countries because the main problem which concerns us here consists in uncovering those changes in the distribution of the Jewish people among the nations which produced wholly new objective conditions for our national existence and continuity in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in the Diaspora amounted to eleven millions in 1900; in other words, it coincided with the total Jewish population of the world. In 1953, it was already necessary to subtract the million and a half Jews of the State of Israel and we got a total of only 10,050,000 in the Diaspora. Thus, in giving the figures for 1953, we gave the percentages in relation to the latter figure and not to the total number of Jews in the world.

Let us proceed to an analysis of this table. The last line shows

that a little over fifty years ago more than three-fourths of all the Diaspora Jews lived in large communities of over 500,000 each; in 1953, less than two-thirds of them did. The question is, however, How was the approximately one-fourth scattered in the year 1900 and the more than one-third of Diaspora Jewry in 1953? At the turn of the century, a fourth of Diaspora Jewry was scattered over 45 countries, and in 1953 more than a third of Diaspora Jewry ^{dispersed} was ~~scattered~~ over 90 countries. This fact alone suffices to lead to the conclusion that the objective conditions for the further struggle for national in the Diaspora have greatly deteriorated.

One is struck by the fact that the number of Jews in the United States in 1953 ^{was} ~~is~~ even larger than the Jewish population of Russia in 1900. In one country, in the United States, over one-half of Diaspora Jewry was concentrated in 1953, whereas in 1900 we had in one country--in Russia--only close to 46 per cent of all the Diaspora Jews. Such a ~~concentration~~ ^{concentration} of over one-half of Diaspora Jewry in one country is certainly a great comfort. It shows us that the law of dispersion on one side and of concentration on the other which is characteristic of the Jews not only on the world level, but also in respect to distribution within one and the same country and within one and the same city,--this law continues to operate.

But it is not enough to state bare figures and draw conclusions from them; one must penetrate more deeply into the meaning of the figures. It is very noticeable that the largest Jewish center of 1900, the Russian, was in reality divided among three peoples, while the largest center of 1953, the American, is included within the framework of one people. On the surface, this may seem to be an advantage. In reality, it is a great ~~drawback~~ ^{drawback}. In 1900 the five million Jews of the then largest center lived among several peoples, who were all waging an intensive struggle for their national existence and growth. The Jewish aspirations for further national development and cultural advancement blended harmoniously with the interests and struggles of the surrounding majorities. The more than five million Jews in the American center, on the other hand, live among ~~many~~ ^{many} nationalities, yes, even

g more nationalities than formerly in the Ukraine or Poland, but among splinter nationalities and hence with quite other tendencies--with tendencies to strive in every way to merge into the general, official culture of the country, to forget their own language as soon as possible, to forsake as thoroughly as possible their own national customs and ways of life. The Jewish aspirations, in so far as they are ^{distinctly} national and not religious, come into ^{sharp} conflict with the prevailing cultural atmosphere in the United States.

Table 9

In ~~the~~ we took no account of state boundaries and paid more attention to the actual national situation. Thus we left out ^{nearly half a million} together the ~~the~~ Jews of Asiatic Russia. Russia is a vast country; the cultural and spiritual conditions, which have a vital bearing on the assimilative potential, vary tremendously. One cannot include in the same table the Jews of the Ukraine and those of Kazakhstan. We took only the Jews of European Russia. Too, we purposely divided the Jews of Russia under various national headings. The picture is therefore more concrete and corresponds more to the real situation. Thus we set apart ^{Great Russia:} the 200,000 Jews of Great Russia, who had previously lived in other parts of the country, found themselves in wholly different, much more intensive assimilatory conditions than in the Ukraine or White Russia or even in Poland. The other ^{parts} of Russia, where 95 per cent of all the Russian Jews lived in 1900, also differed from one another as regards the assimilative potential. Those conversant with the former Jewish life in Russia are well aware of this; they know that, among the Jews in the Pale of Settlement, the degree of assimilation was highest in Poland and South Russia and lowest in White Russia and Lithuania. But can this be explained by the objective conditions? We shall see further on.

Let us glance at the percentage of Jews in the various countries of the Diaspora. This will show the basic differences between the distribution at the turn of the century and in 1953.

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN TOTAL POPULATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES
OF EUROPE AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Country	1900	1953
A. Eastern Europe:		
Carpathian Ruthenia	15.7	1.0
Lithuania	13.7	0.4
Bucovina	13.2	3.3
White Russia	12.7	1.0
Poland and East Galicia	12.1	0.1
Ukraine	9.4	1.5
Hungary	6.5	1.1
Slovakia	5.5	0.2
Latvia	5.5	0.1
Rumania	5.0	1.2
B. Western Hemisphere:		
United States	2.1	3.4
Argentina	0.7	1.0
Canada	1.1	1.4
Brazil	0.0	0.1
Uruguay	0.0	0.4
Chile	0.0	0.1
Mexico	0.0	0.4
Cuba	0.0	0.1
Colombia	0.0	0.1
Bolivia	0.0	0.1

This simple table presents a striking picture of the revolutionary upheaval which has taken place in the life of the Jewish people and apparently also in its fate. The figures for Eastern Europe reveal that of all the ten countries ~~where~~ ^{where} formerly ~~was~~ ^{was} the center of nearly eight million tradition-trace Jews, and where the percentage of Jews in the total population was high, amounting in one country to nearly 16 per cent and in five others to more than 10 per cent,--of those ten countries, there remains only one small community ^{In} ~~in~~ ~~summit~~ ~~there~~, that in Bucovina, where they still constitute about 4 per cent. ^{there} all the other countries where ~~they~~ ^{where} lived large numbers of Jews, as in Poland, the Ukraine, etc. the Jews constitute a tiny, insignificant percentage.

We know that the process of the disappearance of Jews from the countries of Eastern Europe was a result not only of the Hitler massacres, but also of migration, mainly to the Americas. What did the transplantation of millions of Jews to the Western Hemisphere produce with respect to the Jewish proportion in the total population? Unquestionably, the concentration of Je

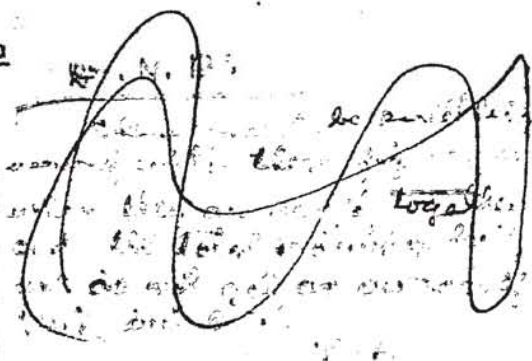
in one and the same country is very important, but no less important is their relative weight in the total population. And equally important is the national composition of the non-Jewish population.

The second part of the table shows that in none of the ^{listed} ten countries of the Western Hemisphere does the percentage of the Jews in the total population in 1953 equal the lowest percentage of Jews in any of the listed ten countries of Eastern Europe in 1900. The percentage of Jews in the Western Hemisphere countries ⁽²⁾ undoubtedly increased, and if, of the ten Western Hemisphere countries concerned, seven contained no Jews in 1900, or so few that did not amount to even one-tenth of one per cent, the percentage of Jews ^{had} increased everywhere by 1953. But the increase was so small that it can ⁽³⁾ hardly be taken into consideration. As regards the just mentioned seven countries without any Jews or with an insignificant number of Jews in 1900, the Jews constituted 0.4 per cent of the total population in 1953 in only two of them (Uruguay and Mexico); in all the others, the percentage barely amounted to 0.1. The three countries with larger numbers of Jews--the United States, Argentina, and Canada--are noted for their high percentage; but in the United States, which contains the largest Jewish community, it amounts to only 3.4 per cent of the total population, and to considerably less in the other two.

Continents, individual countries, still do not offer a concrete picture of the transformation which has taken place in Jewish life as regards those objective conditions which made possible a truly Jewish life, truly Jewish patterns of living, with a Jewish language and with all the creative consequences which follow from such conditions of life. We must study the concrete localities in which the Jewish masses were actually concentrated. Here, again, mere Jewish compactness is not enough. It plays a great role, ^{Jews} no doubt, but equally important is the relative weight of the Jewish over against the surrounding population. And no less important is the national composition of the non-Jewish population.

To these two points we now address ourselves. Of the more than five million Russian Jews, 95 per cent lived in the twenty-five provinces of the

<u>Province</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Volhynia	83.7
Mohilev	71.9
Kiev	76.7
Podolia	68.7
Kovno	66.2
Vitebsk	63.0
Vilna	60.9
Minsk	48.9
<hr/>	
<u>Total</u>	70.7



As we shall see further on, the rest of the urban population did not consist ~~of~~ ^{of} one national group but of several, which ~~lowered~~ ^{lessened} still more the assimilative potential of the non-Jewish population. The situation in the other seventeen provinces was no different than in the eight just enumerated. From 1864 to 1897, however, a great economic revolution took place in Russia. The city population grew apace, swelled mainly by the influx of non-Jewish industrial proletarians, but also by that of non-Jewish artisans, merchants, and intellectuals. Nevertheless, the figures for 1897 show that the Jewish proportion in the urban population was then still so large that the isolation of the Jews was ^{quite considerable} ~~quite considerable~~ and effective.

(a) Jews constituted an absolute majority in the cities of the following provinces:

<u>Province</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Minsk (White Russia)	59.4
Grodno (White Russia)	58.3
Siedlee (Poland)	53.7
Vitebsk (White Russia)	52.7
Mohilev (White Russia)	52.6
Kielec (Poland)	51.5
Volhynia (Ukraine)	51.0
Radom (Poland)	50.6

b) Jews constituted a plurality in the cities of the following provinces:

Lonsa (Poland)	46.5
Podolia (Ukraine)	46.4
Lublin (Poland)	45.8

1) Jacob Leatschinsky, The Jewish People in Figures, Berlin, 1902 (Yiddish).

2) Ibid.

<u>Province</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Vilna (Lithuania)	44.1
Kovno (Lithuania)	43.4
Suwalki (Poland)	40.0
Bessarabia (Ukraine)	37.2

(c) Jews constituted over 30 per cent of the urban population of
1)

the following provinces:

Kalish (Poland)	37.6
Plotak (Poland)	35.0
Warsaw (Poland)	33.9
Petrokov (Poland)	32.0
Kiev (Ukraine)	31.6
Kherson (Ukraine)	30.5

had

We thus ~~have~~/eight provinces with an absolute Jewish majority of the urban population; these included all four of the White Russian provinces of Czarist Russia, three provinces of Russian Poland, and only one of the ~~White~~ Ukraine. The second group, with a Jewish plurality, included both Lithuanian provinces of Czarist Russia, three provinces of Russian Poland, and two of the Ukraine. Concerning the last two, it should be noted that Bessarabia contained a/ ~~considerable~~ considerable Moldavian population. Finally, the third group, with the Jews constituting only over 30 per cent of the urban inhabitants, comprised four provinces of Russian Poland and two of the Ukraine.

In twenty-one of the twenty-one of the twenty-five provinces the weight of the Jews in the urban population was quite considerable, sufficient to give the cities a Jewish physiognomy. For the non-Jewish population was not homogeneous, but consisted/ ~~very~~ very often of three groups among which there always raged a bitter struggle. The assimilative potential of the non-Jewish population was very often nullified by this national division. Let us cite a couple of examples.

In the province of Kovno the Jews constituted nearly two-thirds of the urban population in 1864, and in 1897 only 43.4 per cent. Had the decline of the Jewish percentage been caused by the influx of Lithuanians into the cities, and had the Lithuanians produced from their ranks merchants, professionals, and skilled workers, / ~~as was subsequently~~ as was subsequently independent the case in/ ~~the case in~~

1) Ibid.

Lithuania, the Jews would have felt their decline acutely, as actually happened between 1920 and 1939. Such, however, was not the case: in 1897 the Lithuanians formed barely 11.5 per cent of the urban population. Who were the other national groups in the city population of the province of Kovno in 1897? There were Poles (19.5%), Great Russians (18.5%), and miscellaneous minor groups (Germans, Letts, and White Russians). As may be seen, the majority was so split up that its assimilative potential was bound to drop greatly or was wholly without influence. If nevertheless a certainly very small part of the Jewish population became linguistically assimilated, this was not due to the influence of a surrounding Russian culture, but to Russian literature, to attendance at Russian intermediate and advanced schools. Such assimilation as existed was very superficial and in fact only linguistic and, so to speak, cold, dry, unemotional, without attachment to Russian culture in a national sense. The great majority of the inhabitants of the province were Lithuanians.

It should be remembered, moreover, that not all classes possess the same assimilative potential; one cannot compare the ~~assimilative~~ ^{assimilative} potential of the intelligentsia, or even of the commercial class, with that of the peasantry or of skilled workers. The Russians in the province of Kovno were mostly military men, who exerted the least influence in respect to culture. The Poles consisted of more influential elements; large landowners and also intellectuals, artisans, and workers. But they did not belong to the politically dominant group, and this greatly reduced their influence, for schools with Polish as the language of instruction were prohibited. The aforesaid eleven per cent Lithuanians in the urban population of the province of Kovno in 1897 consisted virtually of only the ~~lowest~~ ^{very} lowest social classes, such as unskilled laborers, housemaids, drivers, etc.; in other words, the majority group in the province not only was in an insignificant minority in the cities, but, in addition, was composed of social elements with an assimilative potential that was nil.

Kovno was no exception to the rule; I could name at least over ten

provinces where the situation was approximately the same.

As we shall see further on, the percentage of Jews who in the census of 1897 gave Yiddish as their mother tongue generally corresponds to the picture we obtained from the figures on the percentage of Jews in various provinces. No doubt, the linguistic assimilation was also influenced by other factors, as we have stated; but in general, the larger the percentage of Jews in a province, the larger the percentage of those who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue.

Let us cite ^{one} an example from ^{among} the four provinces where the Jewish percentage of the urban population was less than 50 per cent. In the province of Ekaterineslav the Jews formed not more than 23.9 per cent of the city population. Of whom did the remaining nearly three-fourths of the urban population consist? The Great Russians constituted fully 41.3 per cent and the Ukrainians, who formed 69 per cent of the inhabitants of the province, comprised only 27 per cent of the urban population, roughly the same as the Jews. The provincial majority--the Ukrainians-- was a minority in the cities, like the Jews. Besides its low assimilative potential as a result of its ^{meager} cultural development and the ban on schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, it was a minority in the cities. The Great Russians, who were ^{a small} minority in the province as a whole--barely 13 per cent--constituted a plurality in the ^{urban} population. This plurality, though also made up of a large number of military men and officials, exercised great influence in respect of linguistic assimilation. The same situation prevailed in the province of Kherson, where the percentage of Jews in the cities was only 28.4, while the Great Russians formed 45.2 per cent of the urban population.

A few more figures on the situation in Galicia with respect to the city populations of the 123 urban ^{points} ~~places~~ in Galicia in 1880, there were 55 cities, or 44 per cent, where Jews comprised over 50 per cent of the population; 62 points, or 65.6 per cent, where Jews constituted more than 40 per cent of the ~~populatsion~~ inhabitants. And 40 per cent in Galicia very often

On p. 68, line 12 from top, this passage, being a de Gruyze as 30.5. 1914.

very often meant a plurality, especially in East Galicia.

The developments after World War I led everywhere in Eastern Europe to a decline in the percentage of Jews in the cities. On the one hand, it was a result of the economic and political progress of the countries which gained their independence and promoted industrialization with governmental means and created large political apparatus, composed exclusively of members of the majority population; on the other hand, it was a result of the artificial increase of the non-Jewish population in the cities by including rural suburbs within the city limits.

Nevertheless, the percentage of Jews in the urban population was still sufficiently large until the very outbreak of World War II. Let us cite an example from Poland, for Polish Jewry, after World War I, inherited from Russian Jewry the leading social and cultural role in world Jewry, just as Russian Jewry had inherited it from Polish Jewry toward the end of the eighteenth century.

TABLE 18. PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF CITIES IN POLAND (1897-1931)

Type of City	Percentage of Jews	
	1897*	1931
Cities with over 100,000 inhabitants	30.1	25.9
Cities with 50,000-100,000 inhabitants	44.6	33.1
Cities with 20,000-50,000 inhabitants	48.5	37.6
Percentage of total urban population	36.0	27.5

*The ~~data~~ figures for Galicia are those for the year 1900.

The proportion of Jews had greatly declined, yet they still constituted quite a considerable percentage of the population in all types of cities. We consider it necessary to remind the reader again, that the non-Jewish population did not consist of a single ethnic group. Poland before the Second World War was a decidedly multinational country. The minorities formed 36 per cent of the total population. And in the province of Wolyn, for example, Jews, even in 1931, constituted 53.6 per cent of the city population. Second place was held by the Ukrainians, while the Poles, the dominant group in the country, held third place.

Turning to the countries of the Western Hemisphere, we can be briefer, because here, unfortunately, the picture is all too clear. The Jews are everywhere a small minority.

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF CITIES IN U.S.A. (1937) ¹⁾

Type of City	Percentage of Jews
Cities with over 100,000 inhabitants	10.9
Cities with 25,000-100,000 inhabitants	2.8
Cities with 10,000-25,000	1.2
Cities with less than 10,000 inhabitants	0.7
Percentage of total urban population	6.5

There is no doubt whatever that the percentage of Jews in the first three groups of cities has greatly declined: the Jewish natural increase is about half of the non-Jewish. This is one thing. In the immigration of the past ~~last~~/sixteen years, the percentage of Jews was large during the war years, but in the last five or six years it has been very small. And above all, in the last sixteen years there has been a tremendous ~~shift~~ ^{movement} from the farms and small towns to the middle and large cities, and it has been exclusively a non-Jewish ~~shift~~ ^{movement}. For all these reasons it may be assumed that the percentage of Jews in the urban population of the United States is now not more than 4. It is a matter of simple arithmetic: if we classify all the 5,000,000 Jews as urban [—] as against the 125,000,000 city dwellers, according to the latest estimates [—] it will ~~constitute~~ ^{follow that the Jews} constitute not more than 3.6 per cent. This is roughly one-tenth of the percentage of Jews in the urban population of Russia in 1897 (36.9) and slightly over one-eighth of the percentage of Jews in the urban population of Russia in 1931 (27.5).

No larger is the percentage of Jews in the urban population of Argentina: 380,000 in a total of more than eleven million city dwellers, or 3.5 per cent. A great deal smaller is the percentage of Jews in the urban population of Brazil: if we take only the ~~five~~ ^{seven} cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants each, which according to the estimate of 1951 had a combined population of 6,640,000, and if we assume all the 120,000 Jews to be concentrated

in these seven largest localities, it will follow that the Jews constitute barely two per cent of the inhabitants of the major cities, and an even smaller percentage of the total urban population.

If in ~~the~~/Mexico, too, we take only the six cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants each, we shall find that, according to the census of 1950, their combined population was ~~2,740,000~~ 2,740,000. The ~~only~~ only 20,000 Jews of Mexico thus constitute a shade more than 0.5 per cent!

We think it superfluous to dwell on ~~all~~ other/Latin American countries; the percentage of Jews in the urban population of all of them is in only rare cases a quarter or half of one per cent larger; in most cases it is even smaller.

Heretofore we took either the total urban population or only the very large cities regardless of the distribution of the Jews per se. But for us the distribution of the Jews is in itself extremely important. Granted that compactness alone is not enough for a fruitful national life, yet compactness plays a great role in many respects, especially as regards educational institutions. We will therefore dwell a little longer on Jewish compactness per se and on the percentage of the Jewish population in the given localities in which it is concentration.

Let us begin with the largest Jewish community, about which we now possess more reliable data than formerly.

TABLE 15. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS IN U.S.A. ACCORDING TO SIZE OF COMMUNITIES

Type Size of Community	No. of Comm.	Number of Jews			Av. no. of Jews per comm.
		No.	% total popula.	% of Jews in USA	
Over 500,000 Jews	5	3,295,000	20.1	65.0	659,000
50,000-100,000 "	7	451,000	7.1	8.9	64,430
25,000-50,000 "	5	164,000	5.5	5.2	32,800
10,000-25,000 "	25	385,000	7.2	7.6	14,800
5,000-10,000 "	36	250,000	—	4.9	7,000
1,000-5,000 "	156	331,000	—	6.6	2,120
Under 1,000 "	369	189,000	—	3.8	540
Total	795	5,065,000	—	100.0	—

¹⁾ American Jewish Year Book, 1954, pp. 3-12; Information Please Almanac, 1954, pp. 124-127.

This table is of extreme interest: it affords a very significant picture of the compactness of the Jewish population in the United States, a compactness which exceeds by far the same phenomenon in the most crowded ghettos of pre-war Europe.

Let us first dwell on the total Jewish population of the United States. The total figures of the table must be increased somewhat, because the authors of the article in the American Jewish Year Book from which the data on which our complicated table are derived, admit that many localities are not represented on the list because they failed to report or because they had fewer than 100 Jews ~~and~~. There is no doubt that there are many such localities in the vast country called the United States, thousands of places with small Jewish populations which remain unknown to any Jewish institutions, even to the fundraising agencies. It may therefore be assumed that ^{at} the time the quoted authors were writing there were at least 5,100,000 Jews in the United States. In the case of many localities, past estimates were used and no allowance made for natural increases in the intervening years.

Let us now see how the Jews of the United States are distributed over the country. In the five largest cities with over a million inhabitants each (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston) there live 3,295,000 Jews, who constitute 65 per cent of all the Jews in the country. If we add up the non-Jewish populations of these cities, the sum will be 13,060,000 (16,355,000 minus 3,295,000), which is only 3.6 per cent of the total ^{popula-} population of the United States. Jews are thus nearly eight times as metropolitan as non-Jews. Such a degree of concentration in five major cities is unparalleled in Jewish history. There is no need to expatiate on the important role, economic and political, which ^{Jewish} such/concentration plays. To begin with, ^{it} is well known ^{income} that the ~~income~~ of the inhabitants of the enumerated large cities is from one and a half to two times as large as the average for the whole country. It is equally well known that these major cities very often play the decisive part in political campaigns. In the five largest cities the Jews constitute a full 20 per cent of the total population, or six times as much

as their percentage in the whole country. And inasmuch as Jews occupy a prominent place in the two ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ vocations which play the chief part in the cities --commerce and the professions--their role must be at least doubled.

The second group of cities--those with 50,000-100,000 Jews--comprises seven communities which have a combined Jewish population of 491,000, or an average of more than 64,000 Jews per city. This, again, is no mean number and may be added to the localities with compact Jewish populations. Added together, they number twelve Jewish communities with a combined Jewish population of 3,750,000, about three-fourths of all the Jews in the United States.

Further on we shall dwell on the negative aspects of this concentration in the largest centers of the country, where the assimilative potential is ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ highest.

Under American conditions, at least five thousand Jews are needed to make possible an organized Jewish life supplied with ample Jewish institutions. This is of special significance in view of the fact that the average Jewish community in the group ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 Jews numbers slightly more than 1,000. In the very last group (under 1,000 Jews), the average community comprises only 240 Jews. We shall therefore not err if we estimate that over half a million Jews, a full ten per cent of American Jewry, are scattered and dispersed over the vast country in small and in tiny numbers and are unable to organize a cultural Jewish life of their own.

In the five largest cities of the United States, Jews constitute quite a considerable percentage; 20. But in the middle cities with Jewish populations of only 50,000-100,000, they form only 7 per cent. In the next group in size--25,000-50,000--their percentage is only 5.5. With so small a percentage and with the high assimilative potential ^{of} ~~obtaining in~~ the United States, the position of the Jewish population with respect to the fight against assimilation is becoming quite difficult.

From ^{categories} ~~groups~~ of cities let us turn to specific urban points and make a comparison with the Jewish population in the cities of Eastern Europe. It

is only then that the profound difference between the national conditions in both cases will become evident.

TABLE 14. PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN CITIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA

(a) Eastern Europe 1897 1926-1931*			(b) America 1953		
City	% total pop.	% total pop.	City	No.	% total pop.
Berdichev	75.7	65.5	New York	2,300,000	29.0
Pinsk	74.2	63.4	Chicago	325,000	9.0
Bialystok	65.5	55.0	Los Angeles	325,000	16.5
Grodno	59.5	42.6	Philadelphia	270,000	11.8
Honol	55.6	45.7	Boston	140,000	17.5
Lublin	51.3	34.7	Detroit	72,000	4.0
Minsk	52.3	40.8	Cleveland	85,000	5.0
Kremenohug	47.3	53.4	Baltimore	78,000	8.0
Kishinev	46.3	55.0	Newark	56,000	12.0
Vilna	45.4	28.2	Pittsburgh	54,000	8.0
Kovno	55.9	25.3	San Francisco	51,000	8.1
Odesa	34.4	41.2	Miami	55,000	20.0
Warsaw	33.9	30.1	Buenos Aires	250,000	7.5
Lodz	31.8	33.5	Toronto	66,000	7.0
Jassy	53.4	50.0	Montreal	85,000	5.5
			Montevideo	32,000	4.0
			Sao Paulo	40,000	3.0
			Santiago	30,000	2.5
			Rio de Janeiro	40,000	2.0
			Mexico City	20,000	1.0

*The figures for the Russian cities (Berdichev, Honol, Minsk, Kremenohug, and Odesa) are those for 1926; the figures for all the other cities (except Jassy (Rumania) are taken from the Polish census of 1931.

That Jewish national-cultural life is concentrated in the cities, it is superfluous to say. And here we see that toward the end of the nineteenth century Jews in Czarist Russia constituted more than half of the population in seven cities out of fifteen, amounting in a couple of cities to over 70 per cent! The fifteen East European cities listed in the table are not exceptional; on the contrary, they are absolutely typical. They are cited because in them was concentrated a large percentage of the Jewish population toward the end of the last century, and also because they were centers of various provinces of Russia. In eleven of the fifteen cities the Jews constituted more than 40 per cent and in fourteen of them, over a third. And it should be added that in many of the fifteen cities the non-Jewish population was divided not only in ^(L) three or four nationalities but frequently re. According to the census of 1897, there were tens of ethnic groups in Odesa. The Ukrainians,

who had a majority in that province (Kherson), comprised not more than four per cent in the largest city in Southern Russia. ^{Thus, while} ~~the~~ Jews formed not much more than a third of the inhabitants of Odessa, in a city with so diversified a population, a third represents a decisive force in respect of cultural influence.

In Table 14 we cite also figures for a later year--for 1926 in the case of the cities of Soviet Russia, and for 1931 in the case of the cities of Poland. One is struck by the fact that in the cities of Communist Russia, the percentage of Jews rose in a couple of cities (Odessa and Kremenobug). This is because, during the Ukrainian pogroms of 1918-1921, the Jewish population fled from the villages and small towns and gathered in the ^{larger major} ~~large~~ localities, where one felt safer. In the subsequent ^{affluent} ~~industrial~~ ~~regions~~, ^{which} ~~which~~ attracted millions of rural people to the cities of Soviet Russia, the percentage of Jews in these cities, too, fell sharply. Generally speaking, the percentage of Jews declined in all cities.

There was a great decline of the Jewish percentage in all the cities of Poland, especially in those of the eastern border province, as Bialystok, Vilna, Grodno. This drop in the percentage of Jews in the cities of the independent Polish state was only partly a result of organic development; for the most part, it was a result of the ^{the} policy of ~~successive~~ ^{their} Polish governments, ^{ideologies} ~~of~~ ~~political~~ ~~orientation~~, pursued a policy of Polonizing the cities.

Yet even after World War I and almost up to the eve of the Great Catastrophe, Jews still constituted more than half of the inhabitants in five of the fifteen cities, and more than 40 per cent in ten of the fifteen cities. And in thirteen of the fifteen cities listed in Table 14, the population was very heterogeneous. In Jassy, Rumania, Jews at both dates comprised more than half of the inhabitants.

When we turn to the cities of the Western Hemisphere, the picture changes radically: a Jewish majority, be it even a relative majority (i.e., a plurality), is out of the question. In fourteen of the twenty cities listed,

stitute less than 15 per cent, falling below 5 ^{per cent in six} ~~per cent in six~~

cities. The highest percentage is 29, but only in one city, New York. In only four cities do the Jews form over 15 per cent.

It will be remembered that in all the Western Hemisphere cities listed the population is even more diversified/^{ethnically} than was the case in the cities of Eastern Europe. The situation is quite different, however; in the cities of Eastern Europe the various nationalities strove for the continued development of national languages and cultures, whereas in the cities of America they try as soon as possible to get rid of their European cultural baggage.

The assimilative potential of the various languages and cultures will be discussed further on. Here I merely wish to say, that in the cities with a relatively high percentage of Jews, as in several localities in the United States, the assimilative potential of the rich surrounding culture is very effective; in the cities of Latin America, the assimilative potential of the surrounding culture is not high, but it is reinforced by the virtually insignificant percentage of the Jewish population, which is under three per cent. At the same time it should be borne in mind, that the/^{immigration} of Jews has virtually come to a complete halt, ^{while} and the growth of immigration and of the influx from the country to the city will in the near future consist exclusively of non-Jews, which will further reduce the Jewish proportion.

We cannot dwell here on the Jewish compactness within the limits of the cities where they constitute a high percentage. One thing is clear: the concentration in "ghettos" in the large cities, which was a general phenomenon in the period of/^{mass immigration} on a big scale, is becoming sparser and sparser. Those born in the immigration countries do not manifest such a strong tendency to live unconditionally in a district where there are many Jews. But dispersion even within the limits of the same city greatly weakens the national influence of compactness in a small number of localities.

II. SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND ASSIMILATION

1. Introductory

Concentration in a small number of localities and compactness within the limits of cities are no doubt ~~one of the most~~ important factors in the struggle of the Jewish people for national survival. These factors ~~are de-~~^{exist} ~~veloped~~ to a ~~very~~ high degree in the United States, where close to one-half of the Jewish people is now concentrated. Nearly 45 per cent of all the Jews of this country live in one city: New York. Numerically, we have in this one ^{metropolis} community 2,300,000 Jews--a concentration never before equaled in Jewish history and ^{far} ~~is~~ greater than the ^{former} concentration in ~~the~~ European countries. In five cities (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Boston) ^{live} ~~are~~ 3,500,000 ^{Jews,} ~~approximately~~ nearly two-thirds of American Jewry! And in all these cities Jews are concentrated in certain sections--in Brooklyn, one of the five boroughs of Greater New York, a ^{whole} ~~part~~ million of them!

Of late there is a tendency to disperse, but it has not yet affected the bedrock of concentration in certain parts of the city.

This very important factor is, however, far from sufficient to safeguard the ^{Continuation} ~~existence~~ of the Jewish minority in ~~a non-Jewish world,~~ in a world with a majority which swallows up tens of nationalities and races, languages and cultures. It is only when this factor is supported and reenforced by a whole series of attendant circumstances that its ^{produces the effect of} ~~beneficial~~ role fully reveals itself. But if this factor does not concur with the attendant national positive developments, it often happens that it is nullified, that it is so weakened and reduced in its effects that its whole national rescue action goes to waste.

Only harmony between the factor of concentration and compactness and nationally favorable social, economic, cultural, and spiritual influences produce those wonderful results of national efflorescence and creative national isolation which we witnessed in the East European countries. In the new immigration countries, however, especially in the United States, such disharmony prevails among the influencing factors, that much of the beneficial effect of

the concentration and compactness aspect is lost.

In the East European countries, where we experienced the modern Jewish national renaissance, the areal isolation factor coincided with the Jewish social-economic isolation and with the minimal assimilative potential of the surrounding ~~majority~~ ^{majority}; this ~~historical~~ historic harmony of all the nationally positive factors produced the richest and most fruitful national-cultural results. ^{The} ~~The~~ situation in the new immigration countries, especially in the United States, is quite the contrary: the areal compactness is confronted with a degree of social-economic integration and growth into the surrounding majority as well as a degree of cultural influence on the part of this surrounding majority, with the result that the benefits of concentration and compactness lose much of their effectiveness.

2. The Varying Assimilative Potential of Different Social-Economic Groups of the Majority and the Varying Degrees of the Tendency to Assimilation among Different Groups of the Minority

The assimilative pressure on the minority varies greatly with different social-economic majority groups. And the degree of adaptation and assimilation to the majority also varies greatly with different social-economic strata of the minority.

Many factors are at work in both cases, social-economic, political, cultural, and spiritual. All these factors interact, positively in the sense of ^a minimal assimilative influence and a minimal tendency to assimilation, and negatively in the sense of ^{maximum} ~~maximum~~ assimilative pressure and ^a maximum tendency ^{to adaptation} on the part of the minority. ^{effect} The ~~basis~~ ^{effect} of both ~~influences~~ ^{aspects of} the influences ^{depends on} of both sides ~~lies in~~ ^{on} the social-economic structure of the majority and in the place which the minority occupies in this structure.

The action is harmonious and reciprocal in both groups, both parties, in the assimilative subject as well as the assimilated object. The greater the assimilative pressure of the majority, the stronger the tendency of the minority to fit ever more into the majority and to adapt itself to its language and culture. And contrariwise: the weaker the potential of the assimilative subject, the more languid and passive is the tendency of the minority to

adjust to the majority.

Obviously, this is not a question of forced assimilation and forced adaptation. It is a question of objective processes, which work mechanically and automatically. The political factor is certainly capable of intensifying the process of assimilation; but it often happens that it is just the political coercive factor which prompts resistance on the part of the minority that is the victim. It is in the nature of coercion to meet with resistance from the victim. It is precisely where the political coercive factor does not interfere that the processes develop freely, as is the case in the new immigration countries, especially in the United States. It is precisely under such free conditions that the influence potential is strongest, both on the part of the assimilative subject and on the part of the assimilated object. The assimilative processes develop most intensively under free conditions, in a normal, as it were healthy, way, without ~~compulsions~~ and ~~interferences~~ from outside factors. A "normal," "healthy" way--in the sense of smooth and painless progress of the processes, in the sense of a rapid and intensive assimilation of the minority. Perhaps the greatest peril to the Jewish future in the Diaspora lies in this, that the assimilative processes are just normal, normal nationalities for tens of ~~millions~~ and hence also for the Jews from the standpoint not only of non-Jews, but also of considerable parts of the Jewish people itself; normal from the standpoint of the economic interests of the minority; normal, too, from the standpoint of the political interests of the Jewish minority. For any isolation, any ~~detachment~~ ^{separation} from the majority, any isolation and detachment from the generality is dangerous for a minority. It is certainly not normal from the national point of view; more properly, it is not desirable from the national point of view; it is even a great chagrin from the national point of view. But we are not concerned here with subjective wishes and aspirations, but with objective processes and their effects, with objective facts and their inevitable results.

There can be no question of an exact gauge either for the degree of the assimilative potential of the ~~most diverse~~ diverse

social-economic groups of the majority or for the intensity of the assimilationist tendency of the various social-economic strata of the minority. In general, one may set up a scale of influence of approximately the following character: intelligensia and officialdom, commerce, industry, ~~skkkkdxlax~~ handicraft, peasantry. As regards the various classes, it may be considered axiomatic that the assimilative pressure of the employers of the majority, as well as the assimilationist tendency among the employers of the minority, is stronger and more intense than among the ~~workers~~ ^{employees}.

The influence of the intelligensia of the majority with respect to assimilative potential cannot be gauged by its percentage in the population. In general, its influence is much deeper and more varied than ^{would appear from} its relative numbers. The same is true also as regards assimilation. Its assimilative influence is much greater than its proportion in the population. The intelligensia is the elite ~~skkkk~~ to whom one looks up to and emulates. The intelligensia is the arbiter of everyday patterns and principles of life, as well as of higher philosophies of life and moral credos, political trends, and cultural tastes.

The intelligentsia, however, is the trumpet of the majority culture, of the ^{strong} spirit of the majority, of the national values of the majority. Its ^{sways} influence ~~skkkk~~ the minorities no less than the majority. Its assimilative influence is ^{many-sided} ~~skkkkkkkkkkk~~ and compelling. Especially in our time, when it has at its disposal not only the school in the broad sense of the word, from the primary school to the university, but also the radio and television by means of which it penetrates into the homes of all the inhabitants, including the minority, and catches in the nets of the majority culture the whole family, from the five-year-old child to the octogenarian. The larger the area of the majority intelligentsia in a country, the more penetrating its influence; the wider and more extensive its activity; the more overpowering its ^{attraction, its} ~~promising prospects~~ ^{perspectives,} for the minority elements of the same class.

The intelligentsia of the minority assimilates in harmony with these qualities of the intelligentsia of the majority of the population. In its propensity to assimilation it rushes and bends all its energies not only not/ ^{to} fall behind the main intelligentsia with respect to the expression of the ~~majority~~ psychology and pattern of the majority, but to outrun and surpass it. The field of the majority's influence is so wide and various, / ^{offers} ~~XXXXXX~~ such rich and far-reaching prospects, beckons with such future achievements, ~~and~~ material ~~XXXXXX~~ and spiritual, that it would be unnatural for the minority intelligentsia to renounce voluntarily the almost palpable great opportunities and chances.

Among the minority, too, the intelligentsia is very much imitated, and it is particularly admired by the young. Its assimilationist tendencies and its efforts at adaptation influences far out of proportion to its numerical weight in the national organism. It is superfluous to point out that the Jewish intellectual in a Diaspora country spends more than twenty years in the atmosphere of the majority language and culture. This is a third of the average life span. Moreover, these are the youngest years, when the mind's receptivity and retentivity are at their best and most creative. Let it be added that the Jewish youth contributes more than the average percentage of talents and gifted ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ / persons in the most varied intellectual fields. And the higher the intellectual potential, the more intense and persistent the striving for the great wide world, the search for a wider field of activity and self-expression.

We have not dwelt on the assimilative influence of the bureaucracy belonging to the majority, because the social weight of this class is slight. Quite different is the case with the minority. Even if the latter enjoys equal ^{country's} ~~Eqn/~~ rights and is wholly integrated with the whole body of the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ citizens, a political office has long been regarded by it as a promotion, ~~as~~ a social advancement, ^{as} a gain that must be paid for. And it is dearly paid for with the maximum separation from one's own ethnic group and of integration and absorption into the majority atmosphere in the broadest sense of the

word. Especially high is the price paid for the higher and even the intermediate political posts.

The more tolerant the majority intellectuals are to their colleagues of the minority, the greater is the endeavor of the intellectuals of the latter ~~to~~ more perfectly fit into and adjust to the majority. And it is a peculiarity of the liberal professions that, even in countries where a bitter campaign was waged by the majority intelligentsia against the Jewish minority, the latter was nevertheless sufficiently assimilated, and this by no means in language only. This is natural in the liberal professions, which make it necessary to spend the best years of one's youth in the atmosphere of the dominant language and culture.

Among professional men assimilation is a general phenomenon, wholly independent of the percentages of the various ethnic groups, and ~~is~~ inevitable under ~~any~~ all circumstances. Its influence in the minority group is no doubt dependent on the numerical strength of the latter and its intellectual weight in this stratum. Such is already the case in this respect in the United States, while the ~~course~~ course of development in the other Western Hemisphere countries tends to make this influential class occupy an ^{ever} ~~even~~ bigger place in economic life.

A different situation prevails in commerce, the second group with a high assimilative potential on the part of the majority group and with a strong tendency to assimilate on the part of the minority. Here the conditions are more complicated and involved. Commerce is a conspicuous occupation, a clamorous, demonstrative occupation; here competition is keenest and most inventive. The cultural state of the mass of customers plays a very big part in the matter of the adjustment of the sales conditions not alone as regards the selection of goods and the ability to display them in an attractive form. There is ^{also} ~~also~~ an adaptation to the majority buyers with respect to language and culture and behavior. But this is true only in the case of a highly cultured and not a primitive body of buyers, in the case of buyers of a greatly diversified and complex assortment of goods.

on the part

Obviously, the degree of adaptation/of a minority group in business depends first of all on its numerical strength in this branch of the economy. A minimum of adaptation is inevitable even in the case of a 100 per cent participation by the minority group. Linguistic adjustment to the mass of customers is an inevitable phenomenon; it is evident, however, that the linguistic adjustment of Polish and Ukrainian Jews to the primitive, illiterate peasant of the village could not lead to assimilation, while the adaptation to the customer of a large American city, or even a middle or small American town, is quite another matter.

Adaptation to the mass of buyers in a large city depends on the degree of competition from the majority group. In the Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Moldavian, etc. small towns, the Jewish shopkeeper had virtually no competitors. In the large cities, where there was competition from the majority group, the result was that, although the Jewish business element constituted a large ~~percentage~~ ^{proportion} there, too--in all cases, more than half--the trend led to the opening of Jewish stores on the Jewish Sabbath and holidays. One was struck by the fact that, parallel with the increase in the number of non-Jewish competitors, there was an increase in the number of Jewish stores kept open on the Jewish Sabbath and holidays.

Quite the contrary is the situation in the Western Hemisphere countries: here the Jews constitute everywhere a small percentage of the ^{total} merchant class, although everywhere more than half, and often even more than two-thirds, of all the gainfully employed Jews are engaged in business. In the United States, where we have large concentrations of Jews in a limited number of ~~towns~~ cities, Jews constitute a very large percentage of all merchants. But business in the major cities is generally dependent on the situation throughout the country. In Warsaw, for example, the out-of-town buyers, whether wholesale or retail buyers, were nearly one hundred per cent Jews. It is wholly different in New York, for example: the out-of-town non-Jewish wholesale buyers are undoubtedly many times more numerous than the Jewish buyers, since Jews constitute no more than 8 or 9 per cent in the commerce of the entire

country. The situation is not determined by the conditions in one or two localities but in the whole country. The same may be said about the different lines of trade: the complexion of trade is not determined in accordance with individual lines, but in harmony with the whole ramified and many-sided structure of this branch of the economy. Although Jewish merchants constitute 100 per cent in the ready-made wearing apparel and jewelry lines, it is not they who determine the physiognomy of the trade in these lines, but the general situation. Jews are a minority in the country's commerce and must abide by the practices and management rules of the great majority.

In industry and handicraft the situation is quite clear: industry levels, assimilates, fuses. Handicraft is individual and can afford to remain true to an exceptional ~~xxx~~ language and an exceptional arrangement of rest and work days. In the East European countries the Jewish workers and artisans were concentrated in handicraft; they constituted more than a third of the total Jewish population. Because handicraft was bound up with the home of the master, the latter always strove to employ Jewish workers and apprentices. Consequently, in the provincial towns Jewish handicraft was fully one hundred per cent Jewish. In the big cities there were already large workshops with an occasional Christian worker, but the Jewish worker still formed no less than 85-90 per cent of all the ^{employees} ~~employees~~. If one adds that in all the urban trades, such as needle work, cabinetmaking, hatmaking, Jews constituted between 70 and 80 per cent, it becomes evident that this branch of Jewish employment, too, had every opportunity to choose its own day of rest, as well as its own vernacular. The adaptation to the backward peasant customer, who comprised the great majority of buyers, was minimal.

Handicraft and commerce, especially in the provincial localities, provided employment for over 70 per cent of the Jewish population and were very little influenced in ^{respect of} ~~any way~~ ~~in~~ adjustment to the surrounding world. To some extent they were autonomous.

Handicraft, in its European form, has all but disappeared in the Western Hemisphere countries, especially in the United States. Even the Jewish

needleworkers are now industrial workers and subject to the workings of industry, where, even in the so-called "Jewish" trades, they constitute a small minority--not more than 15-16 per cent.

3. Statistical Data

A comparison between the social-economic structure and class differentiation of Jews and non-Jews in former Czarist Russia, the country of the highest and richest achievements in every field of Jewish national life, cultural, spiritual, political, and social, and in the United States, the country of the hardest and most painful efforts to keep up somehow the ready-made cultural heritage brought over from Eastern Europe,--such a comparison casts a bright light upon the whole modern national problem in the Diaspora. The profound difference in the ^{circumstances} ~~circumstances~~, which formerly were favorable for peculiarly Jewish ways and patterns of life, the indispensable basis of any national cultural achievement, and which today, under incomparably better economic and political conditions, are unfavorable and admit of no separate ways of life,--this profound difference ^{appears} in all its magnitude and also in all its historical ominousness.

TABLE 1. SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF JEWS AND NON-JEWS (IN PERCENTAGES) ¹⁾

Occupation	In Russian Pale of Settlement (1897)		In Independent Poland (1921)		In USA (1953)	
	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews
Agriculture	3.5	76.3	9.8	78.4	1.5	15.0
Commerce and Credit	38.6	2.7	35.1	2.0	55.0	20.0
Industry and Trades	35.5	10.2	32.2	7.7	25.0	30.0
Professions and Public Service	5.2	2.0	4.4	2.3	15.0	18.0
Communications	5.0	4.9	6.2	4.4	2.1	8.5
Others	12.2	3.9	12.3	5.2	1.4	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1) We consider it necessary to make some comments on a couple of points in the table. The high percentage of non-Jews employed in agriculture in Poland in 1921 may be explained by the fact that two very backward areas--East Galicia and a large part of White Russia--were annexed to the independent Polish State.

Let us first analyze the table in relation to the subject of the process of assimilation. More than three-fourths of the ~~Jewish~~ ^{non-general} population in Czarist Russia, in the cradle of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literatures, was employed in agriculture, and that, too, in its most primitive forms. This means that over three-quarters of the majority population consisted of economic and cultural elements with the least assimilative potential. We say "with the least" and not "with no," because even this socially and culturally/backward element exercised some assimilative influence. There were primitive tunes and dances which were undoubtedly influenced by the non-Jewish milieu. What matters is that, in relation to language and culture in the higher sense of the words, this influence was virtually nil.

It is also important for us to state that, in independent Poland, in the country which after the First World War took over the leading role in the Jewish national movement in all its political, cultural, and spiritual shades and forms, the great majority of the non-Jewish population again consisted more than three-fourths of peasants of about the same cultural level as in Russia in the year 1897.

We venture to assert that if, at the census of ¹⁸⁹⁷ ~~1904~~ in Russia, 99 per cent of the Jewish population gave Yiddish as their mother tongue, and at the census of 1931 in Poland 89 per cent of the Jews still gave Yiddish as their native tongue, it was in the first place the result of the fact that the assimilative influence of the majority of the non-Jewish population, which consisted more than three-fourths of rural elements, was ^{virtually} nil. In the analysis of the data on the mother tongue in Poland it appeared that the rural Jews, although an insignificant percentage compared with the surrounding non-Jewish population, furnished a much larger percentage of Yiddish-speaking persons than the Jews of the large cities, where they constituted a much larger percentage.

Let us assume that in America, too, the farm population ~~is~~ exercises the least assimilative influence; however, it forms only 15 per cent of the general population, one-fifth of the percentage in the first cases, where we

found the minimum of assimilation trends.

We turn to the second point of the table: commerce. Only 2 per cent of the ~~total~~ population/^{of} in Poland, and only 2.7 per cent of the population of former Czarist Russia, engaged in commerce, in one of the occupations which exert the greatest pressure upon the minority to adapt itself ~~king~~ in language and/culture to the surrounding milieu. In the United States, on the other hand, the percentage of those employed in commerce among the non-Jewish population is/^{respectively} ten and eight times as ~~large~~ large.

If we/^{take industry} ~~take industry~~ and handicraft, the percentage of the American population employed in them is respectively three and four times as large. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that in Czarist Russia and/ⁱⁿ the Polish Republic handicraft, with its weaker assimilative influence, played the chief role in this branch of the economy, whereas in America the chief role is played by large-scale industry, which swallows up millions of people of tens of nationalities and amalgamates them easily in its melting pot into one linguistically uniform mass.

If we take the branch of the economy with the maximum assimilative potential--the liberal professions and the public service--we find again that the percentage of those employed in them in America is nine and eight times as large as in Czarist Russia and in Poland, respectively. ~~large~~

Let us turn to the object of the processes of assimilation--the Jews --and try ~~is~~ a more concrete approach to the picture. We do not think it necessary to dwell at length on the Jewish agricultural element, although in the Polish State the percentage of this social group was quite high and comprised/^{a full tenth} ~~one tenth~~ of the Jewish population. And if, in the United States, the Jew living in a village or small town contribute the largest percentage of intermarriages, the/^{rural} ~~same~~ Jew in Poland and also in all the other East European countries was the most conservative element with a minimum of linguistic assimilation and also with a minimum of other symptoms of assimilation.

Next we come to commerce among Jews. This is a branch of the economy which for centuries kept the Jewish population of the East European countries isolated from the non-Jewish inhabitants. The Jews formed such a vast majority in this branch that virtually in all cases they were not afraid of competition in these countries. Wherever the fear of competition arose, as in a few countries, for example, in Hungary and partly in Rumania and in the large cities of Russia and Poland, such as Odessa, ^{and} Kiev, Warsaw, ^{and} Lodz, this important national front was breached. Jewish stores ~~were~~ ^{opened} on the Jewish Sabbath and holidays and linguistic assimilation scored considerable victories. I recall a tragic case in Warsaw in 1936, a case which stirred the whole Jewish ^{population:} ~~population:~~ A Jew who had closed his store for half an hour on a Sabbath preceding the New Moon in order to repair to a nearby synagogue and join in the New Moon prayer, dropped dead as he recited the words Chayim shel parnasah ("O grant us a life of sustenance"). It was with such ^{anguish of} ~~anguish~~ the heart ~~that~~ Jews set out to adapt to the majority of the population when the latter began to reach out for the traditional Jewish livelihoods. "Earning bread for my children will atone for the desecration of the Sabath," a Jew on Leszno Street, a street which was like a line of demarcation between the "ghetto" and the mixed part of the population, explained to me personally.

The following table will explain why in hundreds of urban and even more of rural points of East European countries Jews could afford to observe fully their Sabbaths and holidays and to adapt themselves only slightly to the language of the majority.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF JEWS AMONG THOSE ENGAGED IN COMMERCE IN EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND CITIES 1)

Country or City	End of 19th Century		After World War I	
	Year	%	Year	%
East Galicia	1900	88.6	1921	85.7

(Continued on next page)

1)

J. Lestschinsky, The Economic Ruin of the Jews after World War I, Paris, 1934, p. 32 (Yiddish).

(Continued from preceding page)

Country or City	End of 19th Century		After World War I	
	Year	%	Year	%
White Russia	1897	88.0	1921	84.8
Lithuania	1897	85.7	1923	73.1
West Galicia	1900	73.0	1921	67.4
Congress Poland	1897	75.4	1921	66.8
Grodno	1897	87.5	1921	78.4
Kovno	1897	87.3	1923	74.6
Vilna	1897	72.4	1921	52.4
Warsaw	1897	69.5	1921	60.0
Lodz	1897	67.8	1921	61.6

Here, it seems to me, we have the key to the riddle that in many localities of Eastern Europe Jews/ ~~in countries~~ where they enjoyed no rights, where from time to time there were pogroms, nevertheless observed their Sabbaths and holidays one hundred/ ~~per cent~~ ^{per cent}. The Christian population adjusted, and had to adjust, to the Jewish national way of life.

In saying this I have no desire whatever to minimize the value of the tenacious piety of past generations, and of certain circles also in the very last years before the outbreak of the last war in Poland, where despite Christian competition Jews starved and suffered and still remained true to themselves and to their people. No doubt there were such circles, especially in Poland, whose Jewry ~~was~~ ^{was} in general/ ~~noted~~ ^{noted} for its national tenacity and extraordinary readiness for sacrifice. But everyone who lived in Poland in the Thirties will certainly agree with me that there, too, the Jewish way of life broke down. The necessity of making a living commanded and one had to submit.

Table 2 reflects to some extent the course of development in the countries on which we present data. In the two most backward countries, East Galicia and White Russia (the Polish part), the percentage of Jews in commerce was in 1921 almost at the same ~~xxx~~ level as at the turn of the century. It should be kept in mind, moreover, that eighty-odd per cent in commerce as a whole often meant in reality a full hundred per cent in many lines of commerce, because the non-Jewish merchants were mostly engaged in special lines

of trade, such as the sale of pork, non-kosher food in general, bakery products and similar articles which Jews did not handle.

In districts where the population went through an intensive development in the direction of industrialization, as in Congress ~~Russland~~ Poland and West Galicia, the proportion of Jews in commerce during the twenty-odd years covered by Table 2 declined greatly. In Lithuania, where the non-Jewish population made wide use of governmental subsidies and credits to establish cooperatives of various types, including ~~marketing~~ ^{commercial} cooperatives, such as for the sale and export of farm products or for the import of farm machinery and marketing it in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{village,} the proportion of Jews in ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{trade} dwindled. Unfortunately, concerning Lithuania we have figures only for the year 1923, at the very beginning of the campaign of the Lithuanian government to draw Lithuanians into urban occupations. Later on the decline of the Jewish ~~shaka~~ ^{part} in commerce proceeded more rapidly.

Let us now look at Jewish commerce in the United States. Fully 55 per cent of the Jewish population is here engaged in commerce, or more than one and a half times than in the East European countries. But the percentage of Jews in the total number of those employed in commerce is only 8 or 9, or ten to twelve times less than in the East European countries. Consequently we have the most unfavorable conditions for the observance of the Jewish Sabbath and holidays. On one side many Jews are employed in a trade the basis of which is competition, and on the other they constitute a small minority in this trade and hence ~~xxx~~ ^{are} under the necessity of adapting themselves. To be sure, there are cities where Jews constitute a very high percentage in business, as in New York, where Jews comprise nearly 60 per cent of those ~~are~~ employed in commerce. But it should be remembered that Jews are strongly represented in the wholesale trade, both as ~~employees~~ ^{proprietors} and as salaried employees and wage workers--and the wholesale trade is dependent on the situation throughout the country, where Jewish merchants constitute an insignificant percentage of the total number engaged in business.

The Jewish retail trade, particularly in Jewish districts, could no

doubt observe the Jewish Sabbath and holidays, but here other factors are already at work, such as the decline of ^{religiosity} ~~the religion~~ and the linguistic and cultural assimilation, aided and impelled forward by other factors on which we cannot expatiate here. One thing must be added: the mass of buyers in America is by and large an urban one, more or less educated, and the commercial class must adjust to it linguistically and culturally. A minority group, 55 per cent of which is engaged in trade, must reckon with the majority and with its language and culture, for this is a pursuit which serves the general public, a very conspicuous and demonstrative pursuit.

Passing on to industry and handicraft, it suffices to say that, according to the 1931 figures for Poland, 82 per cent of all Jewish skilled workers were employed in handicraft and small-scale industry. This means that all of ^{the} 82 per cent worked for Jewish employers, at least 95 per cent of whom employed only Jewish workers. Another 15 per cent were employed in middle-sized industry, where the Jewish workers were already a minority, but only if one considers the group as a whole. In point of fact, the situation was quite different: there were Jewish middle-sized factories with exclusively Jewish workers, and other Jewish medium-sized factories with exclusively, or with a majority of, Gentile workers. Only three per cent of all Jewish workers were employed in large-scale industry, where they were overwhelmingly outnumbered and had to adjust to the Polish majority. But this adjustment was very far from the adaptation which had to be ^{made} ~~made~~ by a Jewish storekeeper who had a shop in one of the main streets of Warsaw and wished to attract an educated Polish buyer. He had to speak perfect Polish, just as the Jewish storekeeper of Fifth Avenue in New York must speak good English.

Over two-thirds of Jewish labor in America is employed in commerce and is thus exposed to all those compulsive assimilative influences mentioned above. In so far as there are Jewish workers in the technical and mechanical trades, as is lately asserted, their number is so ~~negligible~~ small that only total assimilation, in language and culture, can gain them access to large-scale industry. For the Jewish worker does not go in ^{for} unskilled labor, but

for skilled or at least semi-skilled work. Yet even in the traditional Jewish industry--the needle industry--the Jew already constitutes only 15 per cent. The proportion of Jewish workers in the needle industry has declined not only because of the absence of ~~was~~ a new influx of Jewish workers into the industry, but because of the great influx of non-Jewish workers. And although the latter consist of at least half a score nationalities, probably more, there ^{is} not one ethnic group among them that does not bend all its energies to assimilate linguistically as soon as possible. And in such an environment it is hard to remain isolated.

There still remain to be considered the liberal professions and the public service. Let us first say a few words about the public service. Jews are to be found only in the high and intermediate posts. In the last twenty years the number of Jewish public officials has grown enormously--Federal, State, and municipal. Their exact number is not known, but it runs into the tens of thousands. According to the latest figures, the total number of officials of the three categories just mentioned amounts to seven millions, or eleven per cent of all gainfully employed persons in the United States. Even if we assume that the Jewish officials constitute only one per cent of the total, they would amount to 70,000. This is a veritable army of Jewish intellectuals and semi-intellectuals who are impelled by their social status and function to the fullest integration into the language and culture of the majority.

America is not like the old Poland or Ukraine, or Rumania, where public officials belonging to the minority groups, in so far as there were any such officials, fought for the right to speak their national tongue and to respect the customs and habits of their ethnic brothers. Here it is quite the reverse: all, absolutely all national minorities--and their number exceeds forty--are making the greatest efforts to get rid of the whole heritage brought over from their old homes and, in the first line, of the "foreign" language--foreign, that is, ~~the~~ ^{the} the new country.

Let us glance at the liberal professions and public service figures

in Table 1. Among Jews in America the percentage of this group is three or four times larger than in Eastern Europe. This percentage is steadily growing. The influx of Jews into the universities is tremendous. The economic situation enables large sections of the population to send their children to college. The discriminations in the medical schools have virtually ceased. Finally, the employment of Jewish engineers, chemists, ~~technicians,~~ technicians, and other professionals in big industry is becoming an everyday affair, and one no longer hears of discriminations.

Today there are more than 200,000 Jewish students in the ^{colleges &} universities. ~~This is more than ten per cent~~ ^{This is more than ten per cent} of all the students and about three times the percentage of Jews in the country. In the provinces the Jewish professionals constitute about 20 per cent of all the gainfully employed Jews. And because Jews are now admitted equally with all other citizens, there is an increase not only in the influx of Jews into the institutions of higher learning in order to take advantage of the favorable situation, but also in the inclination of the Jewish intellectual to integrate ^{fully} into the culture of the milieu which has opened up for him such wide possibilities and such great opportunities.

We have already spoken of the strong assimilative influence of the majority intelligentsia; but still stronger and deeper ^{of the intelligentsia} is the influence of the Jewish minority, which is steadily growing in numbers and in status. Every advance in status, in occupying ever more high academic and intellectual positions, means an intensification of the assimilationist tendency and of the desire of large sections to emulate and imitate.

Here are a few figures on the percentage of Jews in the liberal professions in New York in 1937, before the aforesaid wide opportunities arose: 1)

<u>Profession</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Lawyers and judges	65.7
Dentists	64.0
Musicians and music teachers	58.7

(Continued on next page)

1)

Manuscript, Conference on Jewish Relations, New York.

to assimilate to the majority.

Of course, the minority is influenced by the factors of its own cultural wealth, its accumulated spiritual resources, which have a restraining and retarding effect on the process of assimilation. But the example of German Jewry, which toward the end of the eighteenth and ⁱⁿ the first half of the nineteenth century was certainly not poorly equipped with national cultural heritage, a fact borne out by the creation of the science of Judaism which has played so great and fruitful a part in the progress of the whole Jewish people in the last epoch,--the example of German Jewry affords very little comfort and less hope in this regard.

In Eastern Europe there was an extremely fortunate, ^{most} ~~very~~ unusual historic conjuncture of external and internal conditions and factors which enabled the Jewish minority to enjoy the minimum of assimilative influences from without and the maximum of its own accumulated national cultural assets from within.

To begin with, it should be remembered that the most powerful assimilative potential, that of the Great Russians, was far removed from the Jewish masses. Ninety-five per cent of the Russian Jews lived among the national minorities. In so far as the ~~the~~ Great Russian potential exercised any influence in the cities of the Pale of Settlement, where the Great Russians often constituted quite a considerable percentage, this influence was greatly weakened by the national struggle in the cities of two and frequently three national minorities. The latter waged a revolutionary struggle, but until 1905 they possessed no cultural institutions of an influential character--no schools, no press, no theatre, no literature. ^{In a sense the} ~~The~~ Poles were an exception, with the result that a large part of the Jewish intelligentsia was lost to Jewry even in the nineteenth century, when Polish culture was oppressed and without rights. Hardly a decade after the territorial minorities, following the Russian Revolution of 1917, obtained wide opportunities for cultural development, a considerable percentage of Jewish children were to be found in the Ukrainian and ~~also in the~~ White Russian schools, although there were also

Yiddish schools in Soviet Russia at that time.

To the extent that the assimilative influence of the Great Russians made itself felt, it was, as regards the provinces of the Pale, purely linguistic and literary, and therefore superficial and not cultural and spiritual, as, for example, in Germany. This largely explains why even that part of the Jewish intelligentsia in Russia which lived in the two metropolises, ^{St.} ~~Wars~~ Petersburg and Moscow, was not so ~~completely~~ ^{deeply} integrated into the Great Russian culture, as was the case in Germany or France, and ~~felt~~ ^{body} organically ^{bound} ~~bound~~ up ~~with~~ with the whole/ of Russian Jewry.

Extremely interesting, as regards assimilative influence, was the situation in Austria-Hungary, where there was a whole symphony of assimilative influences and assimilationist tendencies. It is easy to prove there that the larger the percentage of Jews in comparison with the surrounding population (Carpathian Ruthenia, Galicia and Bucovina, Slovakia); the more compact the Jewish settlements in the towns and cities; the more backward the economic condition of the region and hence the larger the percentile part of Jews in commerce and partly in handicraft; finally, the more culturally backward the surrounding non-Jewish population and hence also the Jewish community, the weaker was the assimilative potential even of that powerful assimilative factor which was dominant through the Austro-Hungarian empire: the German factor. And the weaker and more passive the tendency to assimilate among the Jewish population, the richer the Jewish cultural heritage from before the emancipation, the more luxuriant Jewry's own accumulated national spiritual wealth, the more fruitful its national progress after the emancipation (e.g., Galicia).

No doubt Germanization in Galicia and Bucovina and Magyarization in Slovakia and partly in Carpathian Ruthenia made themselves felt in all these countries ~~with~~ ^{but} only in the top layer of the intelligentsia. Parallel with the assimilated Jewish intelligentsia in the aforesaid lands there arose, especially in Galicia, a rich and full-bodied Jewish national intelligentsia which played a very big part in the general revival movement among the Jewish

people and in the national rebirth in Eretz Israel in all its stages and froms, both in the matter of supplying chalutzim (pioneers) from the very inception of Jewish colonization in Palestine and during the entire period of the ^{pioneering} ~~chalutz~~ movement and in the revival of the Hebrew language and culture.

X It would be erroneous to conclude that the more separate and detached the Jewish population was in a country, the richer and lusher it was in the matter of Jewish cultural accumulation and national and spiritual progress. Again the Austro-Hungarian empire offers us/a ~~convincing evidence~~ ^{convincing evidence} ~~that is far~~ ^{that} ~~from being the case: Carpathian Ruthenia was the most backward province and its Jewry the most isolated from the influence of both the German and Magyar culture, and this Jewry was also the most barren and desiccated in regard to Jewish culture. On the other hand, Galicia and Bucovina, which were influenced, but no more than that, by the rich German culture, produced the best fruits of an organic Jewish national movement. In these two countries the influence of German culture was about the same as that of Great Russian culture in the provinces of the Pale of Settlement: purely linguistic and literary, but not spiritual and cultural. This influence was sufficient to arouse the Jews' dormant cultural energies and broaden their narrow horizons, to infect them with the most modern political and intellectual movements and trends and thus to fructify them with a view to the development of their own national energies ~~and culture.~~ ^{and culture.} The external influence did not stifle their own weak cultural ^{capabilities} ~~resources~~, did not lead to the loss of self and eventually to assimilation, as happened in other parts of the same empire where Jews were relatively few in number and the surrounding rich uniform German culture possessed such overwhelming and ~~appealing~~ ^{appealing} ~~power~~ ^{power} ~~strength~~ that it crushed the weak remnants of the Jewish heritage and the weak sprouts of modern Jewish culture and led not only to assimilation but to disintegration. Did not Vienna furnish the highest percentage of cases of apostasy and also of intermarriage?~~

It is possible to establish a whole scale of assimilative potentials and assimilationist tendencies in the former Austro-Hungarian empire of approximately the following character: In Lower Austria and in Bohemia and Moravia, where there was the smallest percentage of Jews and the most powerful

influence of a strong German culture, there prevailed the highest assimilative potential and the greatest tendency toward assimilation. Approximately the same was the case in Hungary, wherever Hungarian culture was monolithic, like German ~~XXXXXX~~/culture in Lower Austria. Budapest was a strong competitor of Vienna in respect of apostasy and intermarriage. And in both parts of the empire ^{aspects of} both/~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the process, the assimilative potential and the assimilationist tendency, declined the more we approached the regions where the proportion of ~~XX~~/ Jews was much greater, where the share of the Jews in the urban economy was well-nigh monopolistic, and where the cultural influence of the local majority was very weak and anemic. In addition, the culture of the local majority was often divided, as in East Galicia between Poles and Ukrainians, in X Slovakia between Magyars, Czechs, and Slovaks.

It goes without saying that these processes were ^{much} more intricate and complicated.

^{that}
In Czarist Russia, where ~~the~~/Jewish community was forged which shone with such an abundance of creations in all spheres of national life, and where undoubtedly the whole fate of the Jewish people was determined for ages, there arose such exceptionally favorable and such unusually fructifying conditions toward the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth that it is worth our while to dwell specially on this matter although we have already pointed out this development above.

The emancipation in the case of Russian Jewry, which had received the rich cultural heritage developed by Polish Jewry in the course of many centuries, had already begun toward the end of the eighteenth century and intensified early in the nineteenth century. It was a purely inner, ^{spiritual} ~~see~~/emancipation, very modest, very limited, but with one great and extremely important advantage: it was completely Jewish, organic, called forth by maturing cultural energies within Jewry. We are not thinking here of that haskalah (enlightenment) movement which had at first repeated the slogans of the Berlin movement, basing everything on the Jewish religion and preaching complete accommodation to every non-Jewish milieu in language and patterns of life, in

cultural and spiritual tendencies. We have in mind those subterranean rivulets and later rivers of renewal and revival which essentially began with Chassidism in the middle of the eighteenth century; a movement which placed in the center the common man, the man of the people and his spiritual interests and yearnings; a movement which plowed the ground for the subsequent still limited and modest appeals for education and manual labor, for renewal and for radical changes in vocations, even before there was so much as a hint of political rights, of emancipation, on the part of the powers that be.

The so-called Berlin *haskalah* was a reaction, a response to the sentiments ~~of~~ within enlightened German society; and in fact, shortly after Moses Mendelssohn settled in Berlin, there ^{were} ~~very~~ very frequent meetings between Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals. In a word, there was some thought in the surrounding society and also in government circles about rights for Jews. The course of events was quite different in Russia, where Jews were completely new inhabitants, taken over from the dismembered Polish State and ~~wholly~~ ^{totally} unfamiliar with the Russian language, let alone Russian culture. Russifiers, in the same sense as those in Germany who preached that Jews abandon Yiddish and adopt German, did not make their appearance in Russia until the 1860's, after the great Russian reforms, after the emancipation of the serfs, and after that puny emancipation of the Jews which was barely enough to send a ^{few} ray of light into the Jewish Pale and awaken the dormant Jewish energies and stir a narrow stratum of the Jewish rich and of the more alert and active among the poor yeshiva students and thus to call into being a certain movement ^{inclining} ~~tending~~ toward Russification. But this anti-national Russifying *haskalah* movement very soon ran up against the two organic ^{national} movements which were a result of the inner development of Jewish thought and after the 1860's became a stimulus to the broadening and deepening of their influence, ~~as~~ a stimulus to those spiritual tendencies and to that cultural development which toward the end of the nineteenth century produced the whole pleiad of Hebrew and Yiddish writers and along with that a multitude of national revivals in the most varied spheres, as music, the theatre, science, etc.

Characteristic of the organic development of Russian Jewry on the rich black soil of large and compact masses with a/cultural accumulation is the appearance of the pious Manasseh Ilyer, the most brilliant pupil of the Gaon of Vilna, who advocated the most radical reforms in education and vocations, without waiting for the maskilim (devotees and/~~representatives~~ ^{exponents} of the haskalah movement) and wise men who had tasted of the Berlin haskalah. The Gaon of Vilna himself fought against pilpul (Talmudical dialectics or casuistry) and urged the study of positive disciplines, such as mathematics and natural science. Mendel Satanover translated the Proverbs of Solomon into Yiddish as far back as 1812. Cheikel Hurwitz translated into Yiddish Campe's celebrated book, Discovery of America (1818). Chassidism produced a rich literature in Yiddish: the tales of Rabbi Nachman Bratzlaver were more than popular among the masses, and the volume Shivhe ha-Besht ("The Praises of the Baal Shem Tov") scored an even greater success. In the 1820's and 1830's Yiddish writers appeared who produced uncommonly fine secular works; we have in mind Israel Aksenfeld and Dr. Solomon Ettinger. In the 1840's Isaac Mayer Dick and A.B. Gottlober broadened Yiddish literature and gained a large reading public --large, of course, in relation to the cultural condition of the Jewish masses in those days. In the 1850's, there appeared in Berdichev--in the city with a population composed more than 80 per cent of Jews and with a highly developed economy which served the whole of the Ukraine, and which was, if not 100 per cent, at least 95 per cent in Jewish hands, from the highest levels, such as a bank and a large export and import trade, to ~~an~~ extensive small-scale industry staffed with Jewish workers--in this thoroughly Jewish city there ~~appeared~~ ^{arose} ~~arose~~ a Jewish intellectual by the name of Joshua Mordecai Lipschutz, a man who had mastered Russian, German, and French, and began to advocate Yiddish as the national tongue of the Jews. He advanced many arguments against those who did not regard Yiddish as a cultural medium and ridiculed them. In 1869 he published his Russian-Yiddish dictionary and in 1876 his Yiddish-Russian dictionary.

Let us also mention that in the year 1823 an attempt was made to publish a weekly paper in Yiddish, Beobachter and der Weichsel, of which 42 numbers appeared.

We do not think it necessary to dilate on the progress of Yiddish literature which began in the 1860's with Mendele Mocher Sforim and I.J. Linetzki and produced the classic writers I.L. Peretz and Sholom Aleichem and afterwards a whole generation of Yiddish writers who subsequently/scattered all over the world and created branches of Yiddish literature of varying levels and importance. What we wanted to show was that the wealth of Jewish achievements in all fields of culture did not drop from heaven like manna, neither was it a deus ex machina, nor the work of ^{certain} ~~some~~ gifted individuals; it sprang from a culture with a millennial tradition, with a base firmly rooted in broad, dense masses who were steeped in religion, and only in religion, and whom it was certainly hard to awaken and to link with modern cultural forms and spiritual creations, but for this very reason the fruits were original, grown on Jewish soil, sprinkled with Jewish dew, cultivated and raised with Jewish calluses.

Yiddish

Parallel with the foregoing/stream flowing from the ~~firm~~ grass roots --the Jewish masses--there was the small Hebrew streamlet, which in its first stage was a slave to the ideology of the Meassefim¹⁾ of the Berlin school of haskalah with its negation not only of Yiddish but of all the most sacred Jewish traditions in general, even of Hebrew as a permanent cultural factor and as a future dream of Jewish national existence, and also of Eretz Israel as the land of our national dream and of our real national hope. The Hebrew maskilim, however, soon shook off the influence of Berlin and went over, on the one hand, to concrete, vital, truly burning social questions, as Isaac Baer Levinsohn did in his Te'uddah be-Yisrael and Bet Yehudah and, on the other hand, to that romantic attitude toward Hebrew and Eretz Israel which was so little appreciated by the literary historians of the preceding generation, but which must now, in

1) Literally, "collectors"; hence the name of the Hebrew-language periodical Ha-Meassef, "The Collector." The name Meassefim is applied to the group of Hebrew writers who between 1784 and 1811 published their works in the periodical Ha-Meassef, which they had founded. Among the contributors were Moses Mendelssohn and Naphtali Herz Wessely. The periodical is considered the fountain head of the Haskalah movement. -Transl.

the era of the State of Israel, be quite differently evaluated and appraised. The Micah Joseph Lebensohn's Shire Bat Ziyyon ("Songs of the Daughter of Zion") and Abraham Mapu's romances Ahabat Ziyyon ("Love of Zion") and Ashmat Shomeron ("The Sin of Samaria") were essentially an organic continuation of all the prayers/Jews had uttered for thousands of years and directed ^{to} ~~to~~ heaven; and they also became the heralds of the succeeding generation of Zionist poets headed by Bialik.

Both of the described currents were organic, original, purely Jewish, drawn from our own source and created and developed with our own national efforts. This ~~is not to say~~ ^{is not to say} that they were not influenced by the culture of the Great Russians, especially in the subsequent period of ramification and expansion toward the end of the nineteenth century: they were influenced and fructified, most certainly, but no more than that.

There was also a third current, which must not be ignored, but it was at bottom the fifth wheel to the wagon of the national revival of Russian Jewry. We have in mind the Russian ~~current~~ ^{current} trend of the linguistically assimilated wing of the Jewish intelligentsia, which certainly accomplished much in the way of awakening and stirring, adding colors and tints, enriching with knowledge and information, but not in a vital way, and still less as regards ~~the~~ ^{enrichment of} ~~enriching~~ the national spirit. In this last respect the first two currents were a 100 per cent ^{more} original and independent and hence so creative and fruitful nationally.

What does this prove? What do we learn from this short stroll across a page of Jewish spiritual and cultural history of fateful importance and no less fateful influence reaching into our own day, into the era of the State of Israel?

The lesson is clear: To the areal isolation and social-economic self-sufficiency there was added the grass-roots accumulation of cultural resources of a thousand years; the favorable objective factors were reenforced by subjective cultural wealth which formed the basis of all ~~the~~ modern Jewish social, economic, spiritual, and cultural movements and trends which have so enriched Jewish life and blessed us with social and cultural resources for the

creation of the State of Israel.

The central problem in relation to world Jewry consists in this: ^{How} ~~how~~ wide and deep is the course of historic continuity in the new countries, to what extent is the social climate in the new immigration countries, especially in the land with the largest Jewish community, favorable or unfavorable to organic continuity, to such a degree of adaptation that the core, the national identity ~~will~~ ^{our} remain whole and possess sap and strength to continue to weave the golden chain of/bilingual culture, of that unique and ~~extra~~ extraordinarily complex Jewish national cultural wealth which ~~has been~~ ^{was} produced under absolute-exceptional circumstances ly/~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as regards the Jews' own conditions of development equally as regards the and/~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ environmental factors?

For, while we have given a picture of an uncommonly rich ~~exit~~ accumulation of cultural resources of our own and therefore of strong resistance to non-Jewish influences from the outside, we believe that ~~the~~ ^{this} great national good fortune was largely the result of misfortune, of/~~xxxxxxxx~~ ^{hardships}, of political and cultural restrictions, of the backwardness in respect to general education of the surrounding population and therefore also of the Jewish. "Out of the strong came forth sweetness" is not an unusual phenomenon in the history of Diaspora Jewry. We venture to express a strong doubt that we would have possessed the national opulence described above if the people of Russia had been on a higher plane of cultural development and if political freedom had prevailed in that country and the Jews had enjoyed every opportunity to make use of the educational institutions and freedom of movement over the vast and far-flung Russian empire. It was precisely the restrictions on movement which kept the more than five million Russian Jews together in compact masses; it was precisely the backwardness of the non-Jewish population and therefore its low cultural assimilative potential, and the restrictions on the number of Jewish students in the high schools and universities / which curbed the appetites of the Jewish youth for the liberal professions and for callings with the strongest assimilationist tendency, --it was precisely these hardships and handicaps, against which we fought so so hard at the time, which produced the complex of favorable external and internal conditions and factors that yielded

the greatest positive national results.

Let us try to compare the influence of the cultural and educational factors in Czarist Russia with its more than five million Jews and in present-day United States with roughly the same number of Jews. We wish to say at the very outset of this discussion, that the conclusion must, of course, not be that we ought to dream of barriers and restrictions. The best national remedy lies in a Jewish majority in the Land of Israel. However, we are concerned here not with the practical/~~possibilities~~^{politics} of the Jewish people, but with the objective conditions of life.

In 1897, the percentage of literate persons in Russia was slightly more than 16 per cent; in ~~American~~^{the United States}/today, it is 98 or 99 per cent. These ~~very~~ figures brilliantly illuminate the profound difference between the objective cultural conditions in the two countries with the largest Jewish communities; in the two countries, in one of which the national fate of the Jewish people was once decided, and in the second of which the fate of our people is being largely determined now.

The term "literate" ~~does~~ still does not tell us much; we will therefore turn at once to that educational factor which in the case of one party possesses the highest assimilative potential and in the case of the other the strongest assimilationist tendency.

And since the Jewish side interests us most, we will begin with it. There is no doubt that Jewish professional persons are everywhere the most assimilated; for, a person who graduates from a university spends no fewer than 18 or 20^{years,} very frequently 25, at the educational institutions of the majority. He imbibes such a vast amount not only of dry & data and facts, but of ~~his~~ history, literature, and other branches of national spiritual life that, even though he may receive considerable Jewish supplementary instruction and a national supplementary education, these are submerged, blurred, and blotted out by the quantity and quality of the dominant culture of the country, by the wealth of the surrounding non-Jewish, but at bottom more one's own and more deeply experienced and imbibed, culture than the nationally

own, actually alien, in point of fact supplementary, which languishes in a remote nook of the soul, humiliated and dejected.

In 1910-11, there were approximately as many inhabitants in Ruusia as in the United States in 1950. The number of Jews in Russia at the earlier date was about 5,600,000, or ~~xxx~~ half a million more than in the United States at the later date. Let us see how many Jewish students there were in the various ~~institutions~~ institutions of higher learning in Russia in 1911, for which we have official figures, and in the United States in 1950.

In Russia the number of Jewish/^{college} students in 1911 was 4,599,¹⁾ and in the United States in 1950, about 200,000. This last figure is the lowest estimate; in reality the number was, and must also be now, even larger. The number of Jewish students in America, where there are half a million fewer Jews than in Russia in 1911, is thus 44 times greater. In other words, in Russia there was one x Jewish college student in every 1,217 Jews, and in the United States one in every ²⁵ ~~1x~~ Jews. The & latter ratio is 48 times larger than the former. If then in Czarist Russia, where there was such a rich Jewish mass culture with such a deeply rooted traditional way of life, the Jewish college student was the most active bearer of assimilation, the most deeply integrated in the non-Jewish milieu, one can easily imagine how the Jewish college student in America, where his number is 44 times larger than in Czarist Russia, is detached and alienated from his people and how deeply he is rooted in the surrounding non-Jewish world.

Such is the situation as regards the Jewish population. The non-Jewish milieu, however, plays a very big role with its assimilative potential, and we have already pointed out above that the educated class exerts the greatest assimilative pressure upon the minorities. Let us therefore see how large was the number of non-Jewish college students in the two countries under consideration.

In Russia, in a population of 150,000,000 in 1910, there were, in

1)

Jewish Encyclopedia, XIII, 58 (Russian).

round numbers, 40,000 non-Jewish college students. If we base our computation on a non-Jewish population of ^{only} 145,000,000, we get one non-Jewish college student in every 3,625 non-Jewish inhabitants. In America the number of non-Jewish college students (subtracting ^{the 200,000} ~~the 200,000~~ Jewish college students) in 1950 was 2,460,000 in round figures, ¹⁾ or one student in every 60 inhabitants, a ratio which is sixty times larger than in Czarist Russia.

The figures cited above need no lengthy explanations. In the United States we have a very high degree of advanced education among the non-Jewish population, and an even higher degree among the Jewish inhabitants. This means that we are living in a country blessed with a high level of education among the majority population and with an even higher level among the Jewish minority. In the event it means the highest assimilative potential on one side and the strongest assimilationist tendency on the other.

The figures on high school, or secondary, education reveal the same development in an even more striking way: an ~~enormously~~ ^{enormously} large ^{percentage} with a high school education among the non-Jewish population in America than in Czarist Russia, and a still larger percentage with a high school education among the Jews of America than among the Jews of Czarist Russia.

So far we have spoken only of students. We also possess figures giving a clear picture of the percentage of Jews with a college education. And this picture is a remarkable demonstration of how Jews are taking advantage of freedom and material opportunities. A recent study made in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, ²⁾ which contains 9,500 Jews, ~~disclosed~~ ^{disclosed} the following percentages of those with a college ^{education} ~~education~~ among various age groups of the Jewish population:

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Percentage of College-Educated</u>
61-70	22.5
41-50	42.6
21-25	82.8

1) Information Please Almanac, 1954, p. 257.

2) The Jewish Population of New Orleans, Louisiana--1953: A Demographic Study, New York, The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, p. xxxiv.

We are approaching a stage when a 100 per cent of the Jews will possess a college education. If we take only the males in the age group 21-25, they furnished 92.1 per cent with a college education in 1953! This is certainly a fortunate thing and a great achievement, provided we overlook the fact that it is just this college-educated group which is affected with the strongest assimilationist tendency.

The situation in New Orleans is unquestionably typical of all Jewish communities of the same size, and even more of the smaller communities. In the ^{big} ~~large~~ cities with a ~~an~~ large percentage of less prosperous elements and ^{workers,} also with a certain percentage of ~~physical and white collar,~~ the proportion of Jews with a college education is smaller. We shall not be far from the truth if we assert that ^{half} ~~an~~ of the Jewish age-group ⁽²¹⁻²⁵⁾ in the whole country is possessed of a college education. This, of course, does not mean that a full half of this age group is engaged only in the liberal professions. A certain percentage of the college ^{graduates} shifts to other more lucrative occupations. For the purpose of our theme, it does not make much difference whether a graduate lawyer practices law or has become a businessman; whether a graduate engineer runs a machine in the factory or is the wealthy owner of ~~the~~ factory. His college education has imbued him with so much of the culture of the surrounding majority that his Jewish education is drowned out even if is considerable.

Further on we shall ^{consider} ~~examine~~ in great detail the question of Jewish education in the United States; but already it is possible to draw ~~here~~ this general conclusion: The Jewish child in the United States is most inadequately ^{provided} ~~equipped~~ with Jewish knowledge and cultural values while he is permitted to swim in a non-Jewish sea, where the assimilative waves are the most powerful ^{surging.} ~~and~~ ^{in America not infused imbued} ~~surging.~~ Not only is the young Jew ~~deprived~~ with such a rich and deeply traditional heritage as the young Jew was in Czarist Russia; not only is he not surrounded by such a ^{vital} ~~rich~~ and ^{dense} ~~thick~~ Jewish atmosphere as in ^{former} ~~the~~ Russia and Poland, but he lives and breathes in a highly educated non-Jewish atmosphere, in an atmosphere where persons with a higher education are many times

more numerous than formerly in Russia and Poland, in Rumania and the East European parts of Austria-Hungary.

The assimilative potential is tremendously high and pressing, not by police methods nor (perish the thought!) by any social coercion, but just by absolute freedom, just by letting the child of the minority swim freely, and this absolute freedom intoxicates, ~~skaznaya~~ bewitches, ~~razstavayushchaya~~ and leads to the question we so often heard from American Jewish youth before the Great Catastrophe: Wherefore Judaism? Why Judaism?

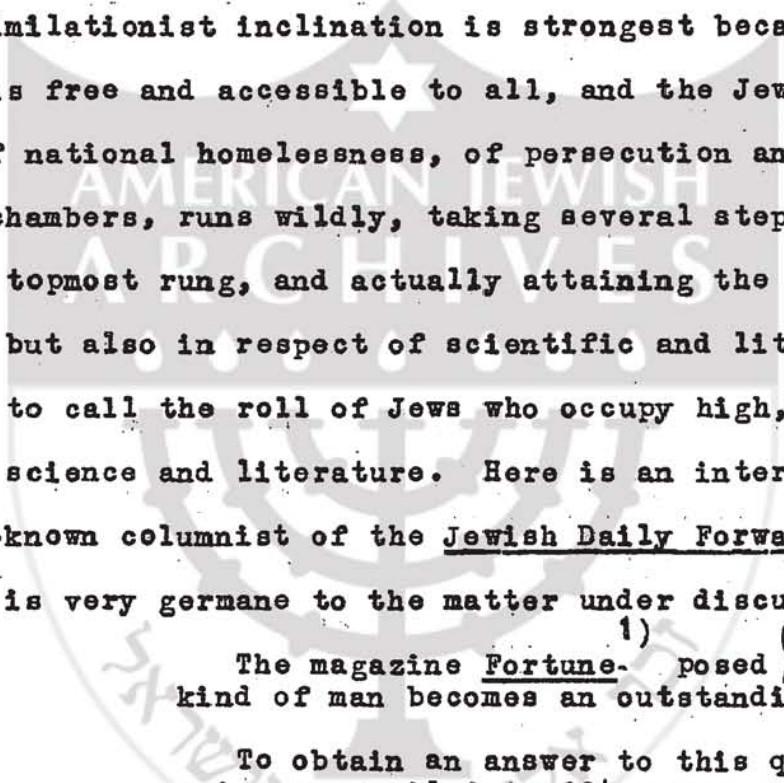
The assimilationist inclination is strongest because the social and cultural ladder is free and accessible to all, and the Jew, a child of two thousand years of national homelessness, of persecution and oppression, of pogroms and gas chambers, runs wildly, taking several steps at a time, striving for the very topmost rung, and actually attaining the highest place not only materially, but also in respect of scientific and literary eminence. It is not necessary to call the roll of Jews who occupy high, nay, the very highest positions in science and literature. Here is an interesting notice by Zivyon, the well-known columnist of the Jewish Daily Forward (issue of June 12, 1954), which is very germane to the matter under discussion here:

The magazine Fortune ¹⁾ posed ^{the} this question, "What kind of man becomes an outstanding scientist?"

To obtain an answer to this question, a questionnaire was mailed to 104 young non-industrial scientists (under forty years of age) who were regarded as "outstanding" by their senior colleagues. Of the 87 who replied to the questionnaire, 53 per cent reported that they came from Protestant homes, 5 per cent from Catholic homes, and 29 per cent from Jewish homes. At the same time about two-thirds of them stated that they had no religious affiliation, and this included ~~all~~ all who came from Catholic families.

High intellectual and scientific positions bind one to the country of one's success, which means to his country of residence, much more strongly than high material positions ^{acquired} ~~acquired~~. The minority loses, and ^{cannot but} ~~is bound to~~ lose, its best children, its ablest and most gifted ~~members~~ ^{members}. The higher the intellectual position, the stronger the appetite to reveal and develop oneself among the majority, on the highest and not on the lowest stage. The

See issue of June, 1954, pp. 142 ff.



richer and more promising the intellectual potentialities, the stronger the aspirations for wider and richer fields of activity.

A striking illustration of the burden of this and also of the preceding sections is afforded by the situation in Argentina. The immigration of East European Jews to Argentina commenced two or three decades after the start of the mass immigration of such Jews to the United States. This means that the immigrants now living in Argentina are imbued with more highly developed and fresher East European Jewish culture. Second, the immigrant Jewish community in Argentina did not ~~have~~, in its first stages of ^{striking} ~~taking~~ root in the country, have before it the assimilationist example of the German Jews. The most important reasons for its superior national activity and weaker assimilationist tendency are the following: The Jewish settlement is even more concentrated and compact than in the United States. In the capital city, Buenos Aires, there live nearly two-thirds of the entire Jewish community: over 250,000 out of a total Jewish population of 400,000. Of much greater importance and influence is the social-economic factor. The Jews of Argentina did not, on their arrival in the country, encounter a highly advanced economy into which they had to integrate themselves; they were pioneers and initiators in all those branches of trade and industry in which they are engaged. From 20 to 25 per cent of the Jewish population live by peddling, but by a kind of peddling that is peculiar and perhaps unique: the Jews have established large cooperative stores, where buyers from the ~~most~~ remotest and most isolated villages and small towns come and pick goods on credit, on the installment plan, or else they select articles according to the samples left with them by the peddler. These cooperatives have ^{turnovers} ~~gross sales~~ totaling hundreds of ~~th~~ millions of pesos. These cooperatives called into being cooperative banks, which play a tremendous role in the Argentine Jewish economy. They, too, have turnovers running into hundreds of millions of pesos. Both of these economic branches remain to this day ~~in~~ 100 per cent in Jewish hands, wholly isolated from the surrounding non-Jewish population.

This economic isolation in trade and credit is further enhanced and

rendered complete by the isolation or ~~the vast majority~~ ^{Jewish} great/majority in a few branches of industry in which Jews are concentrated. Jews have contributed greatly to the textile industry and constitute a considerable majority of the ^{factory} owners. They have a virtual monopoly on the furniture and knit goods industries. ^{Every industry} ~~Each of these industries~~ has a collective institution; for example, a cooperative for the purchase of raw materials, as ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the case of the furniture and knit goods manufacturers. Where the Jews have no country-wide monopoly, they have it in the capital city, or in many a country town.

It thus appears that the majority of Argentine Jewry ^{are} is at present greatly isolated economically from the non-Jewish population and ^{have their} lives in an environment of its own. No small part is played by the cultural factor: Spanish culture is intrinsically not so advanced nor does it possess such a high assimilative potential as English culture. The cultural state of the country is very much backward compared with that of the United States and does not open up such bright and promising prospects as education in the United States does. Spanish culture is ^{profoundly} ~~deeply~~ Catholic, which to a certain ^{extent} ~~amount~~ must ~~be~~ repugnant to a Jew.

Yet, when all has been said, it is a fact that the assimilation of the younger generation is a crying evil there, too. To be sure, not on such a scale ~~as in the United States~~, nor with such deep immersion in the surrounding culture, as in the United States, but sufficiently menacing as regards the future of Argentine Jewry. The causes are evident enough and we do not think it necessary to expatiate on them. Compared with the United States, the conditions for national continuity or the struggle for continuity are more favorable in Argentina, but compared with the situation at the turn of the century in Russia, or even in the Thirties in Poland, the conditions are certainly "worse," not so "favorable." Jews are living much more comfortably and freely in Argentina than in the countries of Eastern Europe. The prospects are brighter and more ^{allowing} ~~promising~~. Not only are there no pogroms and legal restrictions, but there are also no pickets in front of Jewish stores and no anti-Jewish boycott organizations. The Jew is not preparing to leave the country nor dreaming of radically changing the course of his life, as was the case in all East European countries.



5. The Political Situation and Assimilation

It is unnecessary to adduce many proofs that the political situation in a country, pogroms and rightlessness on one side, full freedom and equality on the other, greatly affects the degree of patriotism and consequently also the degree of integration into the milieu, the degree of identification with the destiny of the country of residence, of ~~an~~ readiness to sacrifice oneself for the good of the country.

Jews had lived in Europe for more than a thousand years, in the southern regions for upward of fifteen hundred years, yet absolutely everywhere they did not feel at home, regardless of the length of their sojourn in this or that country. Thus it was until the French Revolution. A great role was played by the deep-seated belief in the ultimate return to Zion. Galut was only a pause, an interruption, which must eventually come to an end. Galut meant a divine visitation which must be regarded as a temporary visitation, a temporary state. Temporariness, provisionality in every country was a matter of course.

By the surrounding non-Jewish population, too, Jews were everywhere regarded as temporary sojourners, as transients who had halted on the way, but who would ultimately leave the chance country of their sojourn.

This correspondence in the relationship of the Jews to their countries of residence and of the non-Jewish majorities to their Jewish "guests" ran like a red thread all through Jewish Diaspora ~~history~~ history.

With the French Revolution, a profound, ~~well-known~~ stormy upheaval began in this respect on both sides: on the part of the masters of the countries and on the part of their Jewish "guests." We cannot pause here on the enormously interesting chapter of Jewish history during the last century and a half with all the struggles of the Jews not only for equal rights at the price of national renegacy, but, what was far more daring, for autonomy with political representation and with social and cultural institutions recognized by the State. Not lightly nor without misgivings and opposition did the non-Jewish world receive the bold dreams of the Jews; but there were promising

moments, revolutionary, morally and politically exalted moments in the East European countries, when certain classes, more properly parties, agreed to the greatest and most ambitious/^{national}dreams of certain segments of the Jewish people. The air was charged with messianic hopes--not for one people, but for all mankind--and Jewish dreams of autonomy with an own language in the midst of the nations, with ^{an} ~~its~~/own quasi-governmental organization, and that for a minority who lived in ^{the} cities and whose relative numerical/~~strength~~ ^{weight} was diminishing from day to day. Faith knows no bounds, and very small strata of the non-Jewish population and of the Jewish themselves had faith. Not only did the broad Jewish masses not believe in the dream of autonomy, but a large section of the intelligentsia--and that, too, the most deeply rooted in our heritage, the most thoroughly Jewish in outlook and hope for national continuity--was also skeptical. They did not believe in and yet demanded autonomy, because they wanted somehow to make life more dignified in the Galut, which would ^{certainly} not cease to be Galut even ~~if~~ with the enjoyment of the ~~widest measure~~ ^{broadest} national rights. For, to them Galut meant/that the Shekinah was in exile; it meant linguistic and cultural assimilation which no paper rights could prevent.

But what did the reality look like? On one side, persecution and oppression, pogroms and massacres, very often at the hands of the very elements in whose name the Jews had been promised the broadest rights, including national rights,--perpetual Jewish inhabitants in the midst of other nations. On the other side, Jewish emigration, amounting to hundreds of thousands annually, with desires for still large emigrations, for escaping from Eastern Europe, where Jews were cherishing the most ambitious dreams of national life in the Diaspora. Life is more complicated than any theory, and certainly one can easily point out that, parallel with running away from Europe, Jews were fighting not only for the elementary right to breathe freely, to trade freely, and to toil freely in factories, but also for the right to have a language and culture of their own. If, however, one probes more deeply the processes which shaped the destiny of European Jewry, one must ~~xxxxxxx~~ come

to the conclusion that both ~~physically~~ materially, spiritually, culturally, nationally, ~~nationally~~ and/~~historically~~, the Jewish masses saw salvation and a future mainly in emigration from Europe to America as regards the body, and to Eretz Israel as regards the soul. And if possible, and to the extent possible, the body in America was to preserve also the Jewish soul, but the main thing was the body. And if possible, the soul in Eretz Israel was also to care more and more for the body, but the most important thing of all, the central idea and historic dictate was to save the national spirit, which was in even greater danger than the body.

Let us pass over Eretz Israel, which does not come within the purview of this work, and turn to the Western Hemisphere countries, especially to the United States. The Jewish immigrants frantically sought physical security, peace of mind, a livelihood, freedom, equality--and the blessed land gave all this in such profusion, with such a liberal hand, that one could ^{actually} ~~become~~ become intoxicated with happiness and gratitude, that one could indeed easily forget the higher Jewish national interests. One had come to a country where everything was different than in Europe--different and ^{for the} ~~far~~ better, nay, for the best!

In Europe one was continually reminded and made to feel at every step, especially by the organs of government, that one was in a Christian country. Non-Christians, especially Jews, had always, even in their sleep, to remember that not only were they not Christians, but that they had crucified Christ. As non-Christians, the Jews in Europe were handicapped even in the most liberal countries, as France and Germany before World War I. Not so much in the law books as in real life.

In the new country Church and State are strictly separated. Separated to such an extent that it is forbidden to give religious instruction in the public schools. The Jewish child breathes/~~freely~~ quite freely in the American public school: there is none of the Jesus pressure which in most European countries so terrified the tender Jewish child. There are no icons nor priests in the schools, both so numerous in the Russian and Polish,

Rumanian and Hungarian schools.

In the new country there live tens of nationalities, but instead of fighting hard for the right to have each its own schools conducted in its own language, there is no such desire among them. The various ethnic groups plunge voluntarily and gladly into the American melting pot and feel happy. The pot is broad and deep, pervaded by love for all languages and peoples, and allows them liberally not to ~~mix~~ ^{amalgamate} in the pot. But none of them has any desire to remain separate and apart. With all their heart they wish to disappear in the melting pot. ^{The} ~~With~~ generations which have passed through the melting pot are ^a living demonstration ^{to} the newcomers that the New World without national distinctions is finer, better, more tranquil, friendlier, more brotherly, more devoted to common aims and ideals. And in reality, happier: the energies which Europe wasted in ceaseless conflicts between countries, and even more between peoples, is used here for common ~~tasks~~ ^{tasks} objectives, economic and cultural ~~tasks~~ which benefit equally all the children of formerly diverse, quarreling, and warring ~~nations~~ nations.

This is the general picture, as it must have impressed itself upon the Jew who had fled from Russian-Ukrainian massacres, Rumanian pogroms, Czarist restrictions on residence, Magyar anti-Semites, etc. To be sure, there were stains also on the American escutcheon: one might mention the persecution of the Irish in the early days of the nineteenth century and the subsequent pulling of Jewish beards by the same Irish, and anti-Semitic meetings in Columbus Circle in New York City in the recent past. But all this pales into insignificance when compared with the hundreds of good points which have given five million Jews not only the possibility of straightening their backs and walking with head held high and feeling perfectly free and equal even to the Nordics, the elite of the country's racial stocks, but a degree of economic well-being which everywhere ranks second only to that of people of British ^{origin} ~~descent~~ and ahead of all other ethnic groups, and an intellectual and cultural position which places Jews in the ranks of the foremost scientists in the country, among whom they constitute 25-30 per cent, or ten times the

percentage of Jews in the country!

How can one help being carried away by such prosperity and advancement, by prospects and opportunities, when every day brings one a step higher, both materially and spiritually? So even the most ordinary Jew shouts that America is not Galut! And the same is ^{shouted} ~~shouted~~ even louder by the intellectual.

Among the Jewish immigrants there were elements who were not swept off their feet by their admiration for America even in the face of this magnificent ascent; elements who knew and preached that the Jews were not like other nations. All the non-Jewish immigrants who amalgamate in the American melting pot, they said, are ~~assured~~ ^{assured} of the national existence of ~~the~~ ^{their} respective peoples in their homelands; but we are not so sure of our national fate even now, after the establishment of the State of Israel. It behooves us, therefore, to be on the historic watch and care for our ~~our~~ national continuity even in a country where the individual has the brightest prospects for advancement. We must swim against the general current even in a country where the melting pot is acclaimed by tens of nationalities and cultures, ^{they urged.} We must cling to the ^{dictum} ~~truth~~ proclaimed in the verse that "their laws are diverse from every people" (Esther iii. 8) even in a country where we shall have to be a glaring exception to the rule, something almost abnormal, the one and only group that refuses under any conditions to jump into the American melting pot, where ethnic groups with ^{far} ~~more~~ more concrete and developed modern national assets have plunged. So these dissident elements argued.

No need to speak of the ~~rabbis~~ ^{rabbis;} ~~from~~ from the very first moment they opposed the melting pot in the name of the verse "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One" (Deut. vi. 4). Later came the Zionists and, in the name of the verse "The Glory of Israel will not lie" (I Samuel xv. 19) and for the sake of the rebirth of the people, advocated the revival of the Hebrew language and faith in the return to Zion. Still later came the Bundists and in the name of the common people sought to save the Yiddish vernacular and all those abundant creations which had become flesh of the people's flesh, the soul of East European Jewry.

Further on we shall try to cast up the sum total of all the efforts and attempts, beginnings and struggles, for national existence and continuity. We wish to close this chapter with a quotation from an outstanding authority on Jewish education, on that most important desideratum which determines the national fate of our people in the Diaspora countries. Yudel Mark had this to say in the March, 1954, issue of Kultur un Derziung:

The saddest thing in the history of Jewish education in this country consists in this, that there are always so many beginnings and so few follow-ups. There is a lack of stability, perseverance, steadfastness, tradition in Jewish education in America. There is a maze of mere starts. This is what the picture looks like when viewed in its entirety over all the years, over all the trends.

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It is true that our community does not care about continuity or has no understanding for Jewish education. The care exists, the concern is present, and attempts to transplant values have been made. However, all this comes in ships. All this is imported. But how much takes root? How many of the ~~imported~~ imported seeds turn into plants on the American soil? And does the fault lie in the soil or in the planters?

The answer to this question has already been given above: The planters are industrious and conscientious--"the care exists, the concern is present, and attempts to transplant values have been made"--but the soil is too good for separate national fruits. It is not enough to transplant trees, one must test the soil in order to find out whether it is suitable for the given trees. And the American soil, a soil consisting of an amalgamation of tens of nationalities and cultures; a soil on which the Jew feels he is in a supremely free atmosphere, in a country of vast opportunities and prospects in all fields, both material and spiritual,--in such a country, any separation, any isolation is a very difficult undertaking. Just because such isolation is permitted, just because no one is prevented from building separate palaces, it becomes difficult to separate from the rest. And so Jews are afraid to establish Day Schools because that leads to isolation, which no one forbids. To isolate from the great majority, to keep apart, is indeed a step which must give one pause.

We shall have to come back to this point in discussing the problem of

Jewish education; here we have touch^{ed} upon it only as far as it was necessary for us to demonstrate that it is precisely in the freest^{est} country on earth that the Jewish national question is the most difficult, complicated, contradictory.

If one glances at the political situation/^{of}~~among~~ the Jews in the South American countries, one must come to the conclusion that their stronger national sentiment and greater national activity are to some extent a result of their much lesser political security. The primacy of the Christian religion is felt at every step. Religious instruction has been introduced in the public schools of Argentina, and Jewish children frequently remain in their seats during these lessons, being reluctant to separate and isolate themselves from the other pupils. But one can easily imagine how a Jewish child feels when he hears the priest tell how the Jews crucified Jesus.

In the South American countries, too, there is a melting pot, but/^{one}not so ~~mix~~ open and inviting as in the United States. A warm welcome is given to Italians and Spaniards, but a much less warm welcome to other Christian ~~pe~~ peoples, and none whatever to Jews. Assimilation is hindered there, first, by the religious pattern of political and especially cultural life; and second, by the political upheavals and storms which convulse/^{practically}~~practically~~ ~~all~~ every country of ~~the~~ this part of the Western Hemisphere. The Jew cannot feel so secure, so free and equal there as in the United States. The situation varies in different countries, but we do not think it necessary to dwell on individual countries. In general, it is unquestionably better than it was in the East European countries, but not so secure and free by far as in the United States.

PART TWO

THE PROCESSES OF ASSIMILATION IN JEWISH LIFE ~~Center head~~

1. Introductory

In the first part of this book we treated of the objective conditions as they formerly looked like in the East European countries, where they were in every respect favorable and helpful to the natural growth of a distinctive Jewish culture which develops organically and relies on its own, inner resources, and as ~~it~~ they look like in the new immigration countries, especially in the United States. We showed and also proved that not only are the objective conditions in the immigration countries unfavorable to the organic growth of the cultural heritage transplanted from Europe, ~~but~~ but that the assimilative potential is of such strength and efficacy that the assimilationist trend among the Jewish population is bound to grow ever more and increasingly engulf Jewish life.

We now turn to the assimilation processes themselves among the Jews in the Diaspora countries, more especially in the Western Hemisphere, where the phenomena of assimilation/are familiar to us from the West European countries take on more intensive forms, and in line with the swift tempo of development so ~~typical~~ characteristic of the Western Hemisphere countries, especially of the United States, the processes of assimilation assume more dangerous dimensions than in Western Europe.

If one looks with sober eyes at the vital processes among the Jews in the Diaspora, those processes which are organic and elemental and can only be slightly restrained and retarded but not halted and changed, one must ~~in~~ inevitably come to the conclusion that being a Jew is becoming less ^{and less} an objectively ~~state, situation~~ given ~~fact~~, an objective ^{by} established fact, as among territorial nations, as among the Jews in the State of Israel, and as it was among the great majority of Jews in the destroyed national Jewish center in Eastern Europe.

Being a Jew is becoming more and more a matter of the subjective, free

will, a ^{distinct} ~~certain~~ conscious act, a subjective effort, a national mitzvah, as it were, a kind of protest against the environment which blurs and destroys national traditions of thousands of years.

Assimilation is spreading ever more, extending from culture and language to everyday usages, to rest and festive days, to all the customs and mores which spin the national life in actuality, impart to it particular colors and hues, and give it the flavor of union with the heritage and experience of generations.

Insofar as the modern Jew in the Diaspora ^{has recourse to} ~~is one of~~ one of the Jewish languages, ^{to} ~~is~~ one of the Jewish literatures, ^{to} ~~is~~ Jewish cultural values and patterns of life in general, this act is not an integral part of his daily life, an organic common ^{practices} ~~phenomenon~~ which the individual ^{performs} ~~experiences~~ as a matter of course, automatically, without giving any thought to the national importance and significance of the act. Rather it is a conscious national act, a national accomplishment, a ^{personal} ~~subjective~~ effort, a subjective deed which is the result of an active subjective will, ^{of} a special volition, a kind of national demonstration--in a word, a ^{mitzvah} ~~phenomenon~~, a national mitzvah, which the national historic conscience dictates. It is dictated, not by the concrete life of the community, but by the individual conscience, which is aroused and galvanized by strange negative and positive events which do not touch the Jew directly but indirectly, which lie on the surface of the national memory rather than in the center of the soul and heart, which are a reflex action rather than an experience.

It goes without saying that we are not speaking here of the automatic ⁱⁿ historical membership of every Jew ~~in~~ the Jewish religious or national group: this is precisely that objective condition which troubles the individual's conscience, which rouses and urges and compels one to ponder on the national fate of the people. Nor are we speaking of exceptions to the rule, such as the Orthodox minority of Diaspora Jewry and nationally-minded choice spirits who fence in their homes and close their hearts and minds and institute among themselves an organic Jewish life with its own traditional languages, with its

own ^{bestial} ~~body~~ and rest days--in short, with a national-religious pattern of life that is absolutely foreign and contrary to the entire milieu, not only to the non-Jewish but also to the Jewish/~~milieu~~ milieu. We are speaking of the great majority, of that Jewish majority which creates the concrete character and actual color of modern Jewish life in the ~~countries~~ Diaspora countries.

One cannot even say that the modern/~~Jews~~ ^{Jews live} ~~live~~ in two cultures, in the culture of the surrounding majority and in their own Jewish culture. Such a synthesis would be a very great and/~~high~~ ^{high} achievement indeed, something worthy of acclaim. /~~As a matter~~ ^{As a matter} of fact, the situation is far, far worse. In reality, they live in one culture--in the cultural sphere of the surrounding majority. They breathe its air from early ~~in the~~ morning till late at night; its interests, problems, and aims constitute the main cares and the chief joys of the Diaspora Jew's heart and soul. At the same time there are Jews, who are far from being in the majority, who snatch from the surrounding atmosphere minutes, at the most a couple of hours, for Judaism, in order to appease the national conscience, to still the longing for their own, for the rich heritage bequeathed by more than a hundred generations.

Being a Jew has become a subjective, conscious effort. It therefore varies in degree, and often also in kind, with different individuals of one and the same community: one satisfies his national conscience by reading Peretz and another by reading Bialik; one by attending an evening affair for the benefit of the State of Israel and another for the benefit of a new book in Yiddish, etc. Still more varied, both in degree and in kind, are the national efforts in different communities, depending on the assimilative potential of the surrounding majority, as well as on the national heritage transplanted from the old country and on the extent to which it has been been preserved and maintained.

The differences in the national efforts of diverse Jewish communities are growing more dangerous and alienating from day to day: the more linguistic assimilation sunders the Diaspora communities and ~~weakens~~ the weaker the influence of the Yiddish language and literature grows, the deeper becomes the

chasm between the communities and the more different, too, become the subjective efforts in the struggle against the assimilative waves. The disappearance of the common language and literature proceeds at a faster tempo than the rise of the new unifying and cohesive factor represented by the State of Israel and the revival of Hebrew.

So far we have been speaking of generations, or ^{rather} of a generation, which is rich in national heritage, which is laden with considerable baggage from the old home and forced to save it from the obliterating and engulfing assimilative waves flowing from the surrounding non-Jewish world; a generation which has not only personally taken an active part in the accumulation ^{of} the rich possessions brought to the new immigration countries, but ^{been} has personally hit hard by the Great Catastrophe which destroyed East European Jewry, and has personally had a large part in the rise of the State of Israel. We thus have to do with a generation which is nationally ^{rich} ~~rich~~ in many respects--in ready-made ^{rich} ~~rich~~ Jewish culture; in tragic, harrowing experiences, and also in messianic perspectives of national redemption. These are all factors of ^{enormous} ~~enormous~~ national value, of tremendously strong ^{influences} ~~influences~~, of extraordinarily rich and fructifying experiences.

If we ^{turn} ~~turn~~ to the younger generation, the situation becomes infinitely more complicated, tragic, hopeless. No doubt the younger generation inherits ^{leftovers} ~~leftovers~~ and crumbs of all the factors and influences we have spoken about, but only leftovers and crumbs, whose national import and fructifying effects are slight and often actually barren. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that the first generation somehow forgot that one must provide for continuity, that one must at once provide ~~provide~~ not only for the bodies of the children, but for their Jewish souls. And all admit that a whole generation has been lost in the immigration countries--lost in the sense that it is very poorly supplied with Jewish knowledge, and still less with Jewish feelings, Jewish traditions, and Jewish values.

We have ^{repeatedly} ~~repeatedly~~ ^{continually} ~~continually~~ spoken of "subjective efforts," "active national consciousness." What do we mean by that? We have in view a conscious struggle;

but it is a very peculiar, a unique struggle. It is a struggle not with the outside world, for Diaspora Jewry, at least the great majority of it we have in mind, is living in countries where Jews are neither legally nor socially driven to assimilation, are absolutely not forced to adopt unconditionally the living patterns and customs, the Christian holidays and rest days, of the surrounding population. It is solely and exclusively a struggle with oneself, the hardest and most complicated struggle.

The sum total of Jewish social/endeavor and activity, insofar as it does not concern ~~charity work~~ pure and simple, consists in this inner struggle, both individually and collectively. The struggle for national existence and continuity begins, in the case of each Jew, at his home, in his own family, and is magnified and multiplied by the organized local community, by the country-wide organization, culminating in the highest worldwide organization, whose ~~purpose~~ ^{real} purpose and historic mission also consists in ~~organizing~~ ^{organizing} ~~the~~ maximum national efforts under the given/conditions, in order to strengthen the local individual and communal endeavors for the struggle against the menace of assimilation. It is an organized national rescue action; the organized social rescue effort strengthens the hands of ~~the individual~~ ^{the individual} and of the small community.

The chasm between Jewish existence and Jewish consciousness in the present Diaspora countries is daily growing deeper and more menacing. It is a chasm between ~~concrete~~ ^{concrete} everyday and festal ~~life~~ ^{current} ~~contemporary~~ life on the one hand and national feelings, thoughts, longings, and aspirations on the other; ⁱⁿ ~~is~~ a word, between real life and the life dreamt of and yearned for. This dream and yearning differs in degree with different groups and generations, but the yearning never ceases altogether.

Everyday life is determined by the surrounding objective conditions, economic, political, cultural, and spiritual. Jewish consciousness is a very complex and thick skein, or ball, which is very hard to unwind. The skein winds, on the one hand, from Mount Sinai, where Moses gave the Law to the Jews, to the most modern Yiddish and Hebrew spiritual and cultural creators;

and on the other, from Amalek, concerning whom it was commanded "that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under ~~the~~ heaven" (Deut. xxv. 19), to Hitler, ^{to whom} the Amalek commandment unquestionably applies, too. It is a skin proudest and most national ~~of the loftiest humanitarian ideals and the~~ spiritual and cultural missions together with superhuman sufferings and torments, massacres, inquisitions, ^{blood baths, holocausts} and ~~and~~. These two fateful burdens, which history imposed upon the weak tribes of Israel after the exodus from Egypt, have guided the Jewish people along its historic road replete with the highest achievements in the most varied spheres of human thought and human relations, and at the same time drenched by rivers of Jewish blood.

A wonderful illustration of the effects of this historic, fateful road with its two currents, one of the highest ascent in the ^{realm} ~~world~~ of the mind and the other of the most terrible suffering in physical existence, is afforded by ~~the~~ two world-famous philosophers of the last epoch, which demonstrated both fundamental characteristics of the Jewish people. We have in mind, on the one hand, Franz Rosenzweig, who was already on the verge of embracing Catholicism when, in a synagogue on Yom Kippur, he ^{had} ~~saw~~ a vision which consecrated him for the role of renewer and reviver of the highest ethical principles of Judaism; and on the other hand, Henri Bergson, who was so close to ^{Catholicism} ~~Existentialism~~ that in his will he requested that a Catholic priest be summoned to assist ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ his obsequies at a Jewish cemetery, but who was unwilling to be baptized because Hitler was then shedding seas of Jewish blood.

In ^{this} ~~the~~, the second part of our work, we shall confine ^{ourself} ~~ourselves~~ to a description of the actual ^{complexion} ~~complexion~~ of the Jewish reality and its trends, leaving for the ~~the~~ third part the national-religious efforts in the struggle against the assimilative trends or, more properly, the assimilationist tendencies of the Jewish population.

At this time ^{material} ~~we~~ intend to give much more ~~and~~ illustrating and describing concrete Jewish life as it is than reflections and views, evaluations and conclusions about this life. We shall therefore ^{resort to} ~~use~~ many more and much

longer quotations. And since we are very anxious that the picture of Jewish life shall come out as clear and vivid, as concrete and complete as possible, we will not cut up the longer quotations according to the different topics discussed therein, although these will often emerge clearly from the main subject of the given chapter.

In this introduction to Part Two of our book, we take the liberty of quoting the general characterization of American Jewry by Dr. Mordecai Kaplan, Dr. Kaplan, a rabbi of note, is one of the foremost leaders of American Jewry and undoubtedly one of the profoundest and best students of the concrete, ~~xxxx~~ everyday life of this Jewry. Said Dr. Kaplan: 1)

Fifty per cent of the Jews in the United States have no relationship whatever to Judaism; 30 per cent are conscious assimilationist; 10 per cent are vacillating elements, neither here nor there; and only 10 per cent are loyal sons of their people, who desire and strive to continue their national existence as full Jews and are ready to resist the alienating influence of the non-Jewish environment.

Here we have in clear and concise form the distribution of the forces of American Jewry between national death and national/active in favor of life: 10 per cent active in favor of life as against 30 per cent active in favor of death. At the same time it is to be assumed that the 10 per cent in favor of life may potentially gain allies among the 10 per cent vacillators, while the 30 per cent in favor of death are beyond doubt actively supported by the 50 per cent who have no relationship whatever to Judaism.

Naturally, the quoted statement does not pretend to mathematical exactness; it is a general estimate and not a definitive statement. Nevertheless, it sheds a bright light upon those processes which are about to illustrate further with pictures and descriptions by persons who by profession and the nature of their activity have been observers of Jewish daily life for years and are concerned to give us pictures which are true to the reality.

1)

Sheviley Hahinuch, New York, June, 1951, p. 135 (Hebrew).

2. The Decline of Religious-National Observances

One of the strongest and most shielding coats of mail of the Jewish minority among the majority peoples, one of the most protective and creative conditions for the preservation of our national way of life under the extraordinary dispersion among non-Jewish languages and cultures, undoubtedly was and is the Jewish religion, that mainspring of Jewish national survival. Its "fences," its precepts and obligations, its holy days of rest and rules for prayer and sacred study made, on the one hand, for the maximum of Jewish separation and isolation from the surrounding non-Jewish world and, on the other, for the maximum of Jewish cohesion, cementing and binding together, uniting and making alike not only individuals in one and the same community, but also communities of many lands and different continents. The religious wall, which remains to this day the highest, produced those wonders which saved Jews from extinction in years when "Jeshurun waxed fat," and when they were burned at the stake in the days of the ~~Inquisition~~ Inquisition.

It is not only a beautiful picture and fine symbol, but a profound and extremely important historic truth, that when a Jew in Berdichev or Warsaw recited the kiddush prayer and sang ^{zemirot} ~~szmitot~~ (Sabbath hymns) on Friday night and sighed during grace after meals when he said the words, "O Lord our God, let us not be in need either of the gifts of flesh and blood or of their loans," ^{similar} ~~the same~~ voices with the same words and tunes, inflexions, and sighs, hence with the same Jewish feelings and dreams and hopes and prayers, were heard at the same time in thousands of Jewish cities and towns the world over. This chorus of voices not only on Friday night but during the divine services day, this chorus of voices calling seas, was ~~reaching~~ ~~across~~ ~~frontiers~~ and ~~the~~ most effective factor in saving the weak people of Israel from the waves of assimilation and also in time of persecution.

The very fact that the Jewish religion is the faith of a single ethnic group makes it nationally richer and more individual, nationally more separating from the outside world and more unifying as regards its own devotees. All the other religions are international, although each nation has

imparted a slight national tinge to religion also, but this cannot be compared with the national succulence of the Jewish religion. The Jewish fate, the fate of a homeless, wandering people, led and was bound to lead to it, that the Jewish religion is charged and infused with many national elements in order to enhance and intensify its influence as regards separating the Jewish people from other peoples and making the wall between Jew and Gentile as thick and high as possible. The national elements have become so interwoven with the religious that it is often hard to separate them. It is impossible, for example, to determine where, as regards ~~the holy Sabbath~~ ^{the holy Sabbath,} the will of God begins and where the will of the people ^{ends} ~~effect~~ ^{effect}. The national ~~effects~~ ^{effect} of the holy Sabbath ~~has~~ ^{has} certainly been no less important and fateful for the national existence of the Jewish people than the religious aspect. As Ahad Ha'am has wisely said, more than the Jews have kept the Sabbath, the Sabbath has kept the Jews. The same may be said of the principal holidays, and even of the High Holy Days. ~~These~~ ^{They}, too, have become national guardians, perhaps more than religious. Strictly speaking, it may be said that it is precisely the High Holy Days, the most religious of the festal days by tradition and the content of the prayers recited thereon, which have ^{become} ~~the~~ most national. For the High Holy Days have in fact ~~become~~ ^{become} national demonstrations. Very large sections of the Jewish people, who do not attend synagogue even on Yom Kippur, keep their places of business closed on that day, demonstrating that they belong to the Jewish group, to the Jewish ethnic group, since they are devoid of any trace of religion. In New York and Chicago, in Philadelphia and Detroit, and in all the large cities of the other Americas, the main streets fairly shout on the High Holy Days, especially on Yom Kippur, that Jews remain Jews. And if ^{today} in Europe one can tell that it is Yom Kippur by looking ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ the streets of Paris and London only, but not in those of Moscow and Warsaw, Kiev and Odessa, Bucharest and Budapest, Berlin and Vienna, Prague and Bratislava, it is one of the most eloquent illustrations of the Great Catastrophe which has befallen the Jewish people, our worst disaster since the destruction of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. True, intimate piety is the possession of a few ~~chosen spirits~~ ^{salert} and

is not to be found among the great majority of those who keep their places of business closed on Yom Kippur. They do it not from piety but out of ^{respect} regard for a national tradition which is deeply rooted in the soul of the people.

Unfortunately, assimilation already dares to raise its destructive hand against this deeply rooted folk tradition, as we shall see further on.

How does religion fare in Jewish life today? I am not going to X preach religiosity, for I myself am not religious. I am chiefly concerned to show to what extent this factor, this mainstay of Diaspora Jewry, this keeper of the national soul, has disappeared. Disappeared is too mild a word. The synagogue, which was always a holy place, a house of worship, a meeting house, and all those appellations were full of Jewish content because Torah was studied at the synagogue by scholars and by the unschooled, the former doing the teaching and the latter hanging on their lips; the ^{synagogue,} ~~synagogue~~ where morality was taught, where one felt uplifted and transported to a higher world,--this holy place has been transformed into a profane place where one feels and behaves as in a theatre, a dance hall.

Worse yet, the function of the synagogue, as a factor of separation from the non-Jewish world, has completely vanished. Very often the rabbi preaches that, strictly speaking, all religions are good and the differences are not important and so one may hold divine services also in a church by merely transferring the Ark of the Law to it; and it is also proper to have a Christian clergyman preach in a synagogue, for he, too, is a preacher of religion and disseminator of the truth. Everything is permitted; one may do X everything in a synagogue: not only may men and women sit together, but also exchange kisses over the Scroll of the Torah, to the reading of which both husband and wife are called up. In short, the synagogue has been so profaned, X so ~~stripped~~ ^{stripped} of holiness, that its function as a national guardian is respected and duly performed only and exclusively among the truly Orthodox.

To be sure, in one respect the synagogue is still important and still has a great part to play in Jewish life: in the matter of organization, of a framework embracing all Jews, of a traditional band which holds together more

or less all those who do not want to give up Jewish life altogether and look for an outward symbol of belonging — belonging which is very often a mere decoration, since all that congregational affiliation obligates one to do is nationally so meager, religiously so thin, that it would be light-minded to build the Jewish future on it.

We know very well that a certain religious awakening is noticeable of late among the assimilated intelligentsia, and among considerable strata of the nationally-minded intelligentsia there is evidence of a longing for traditions. And surely, Jewish traditions are hard to divide into religious and national ones. All this will be thoroughly discussed in Part Three, which will be devoted to the developments of the struggle against the waves of assimilation. We shall assemble there all the signs and manifestations of deliverance from assimilation. But we consider it our duty first to show the havoc — the havoc wrought in a sphere which was the cornerstone of Jewish national life. And it must be admitted that so far the Diaspora has not found a substitute for religious separation and religious cohesion; a substitute to perform to some extent those functions which the aforesaid factors have fulfilled in the long history of the Diaspora.

We turn to the material which will illustrate the aforesaid havoc. We begin with the United States.

(a) Jewish Religious Life in the United States.

We do not think it worthwhile to engage in estimates of the number of enrolled members of the various congregations. The membership dues paid to the congregations play such a small part in the budget of the great majority of American Jews that enrollment proves nothing. All agree that affiliation

with congregations is an echo of the Christian milieu: the majority of Christians belong to churches, so Jews must follow suit. One cannot remain on the fence. This explains why in the small Jewish communities nearly all Jews are enrolled in the local congregation, and no question is asked about the religious trend of the given congregation.

What is important is the attendance at the synagogues. And here it is worth citing figures: The aforesaid Dr. Mordecai Kaplan estimates that about 600,000 individuals are members of synagogues (besides approximately 250,000 High Holy Days seatholders), and that the average synagogue attendance seldom amounts to more than 10 percent of the synagogue membership. 1)

An arresting picture of the religious life of American Jews is afforded by a survey undertaken by the United Synagogue of America in 1953. The survey dealt only with the lay leadership of the synagogues; not with the spiritual leaders, but with the members of the synagogue Boards. In any case, these Board members, as the more active religious elements, must be regarded as Jews with a stronger interest in Jewish religious life and also in Jewish national life.

Let us first set down some facts which are necessary for an appreciation of the full value of those data which constitute the heart of our interest in the given case. To 9,100 questionnaires sent out, answers were received only from 1,787, or only from 20 percent. It is to be assumed that these were the more active and alert Board members, who were probably also better trained in respect to Judaism and Jewish education. The majority who answered belonged to the middle and upper-middle income brackets: 31 percent had an income of

1)

Cited from Rabbi Herbert Parzen's article, "Religion," in The American Jewish Year Book, 1951, pp.86-87.

over fifteen thousand dollars a year; 54 per cent had an income of over ten thousand dollars a year. Only 2 per cent had an income of less than four thousand dollars.

Also of interest is the occupational distribution of the "leadership" of the congregations: 30 per cent belonged to the liberal professions; 26 per cent were proprietors or top executives of big and medium businesses; only 5 per cent were white collar workers and laborers. There were also owners or top executives of small businesses, and miscellaneous others.

A couple of figures more on the general education of the Board members and we shall turn to the Jewish complexion of the leaders of these religious institutions. Sixty-seven per cent of the Board members had a college and even more advanced education, in other words, over two-thirds possess a very high degree of general, essentially ~~at-bottom~~ American education. This is an excellent demonstration of the assertions we made in the chapter on the "Cultural Condition and Temp^o of Assimilation" ~~situation in part One~~ ^{of this} of our book. Only five per cent of the members received less than a high school education.

We have before us a group of men with a great amount of general education and with a rich American culture. Let us see now how great their supply of Jewish knowledge is and how deeply they are rooted in Jewish life and culture.

Fifty-four per cent attended a Jewish weekday afternoon school for four years or more. Twenty-four per cent attended such a school for less than four years. Six per cent did not attend any Jewish school. Another 6 per cent attended only one-day-a-week (Sunday) school. And only 7 per cent attended an all-day (parochial school) for at least a year. Three per cent made no reply to this question and may be added to the 6 per cent who received no Jewish education at all.

In the case of 60 percent of the Board members, their formal^{Jewish} education came to an end after their bar mitzvah training, while 37 percent continued their formal Jewish education after bar mitzvah.

Let us see how far the members' knowledge of Hebrew reaches. Thirteen percent cannot even follow the Hebrew text of the service. Fifty-one percent can follow the Hebrew text but understand very little of it. Twenty-seven percent can follow the Hebrew and can understand a lot of it. And only 8 percent can follow and understand all the Hebrew text.

Eighty-five percent of the Board members do not say their daily prayers regularly, either at home or with their congregation. Only 13 percent say their daily prayers regularly, either at home or with their congregation.

How often do the Board members attend the main Sabbath service in their Congregation? Sixteen percent, hardly ever; and 49 percent from time to time.

Fifty-eight percent of the Board members do not take along their children to the main Sabbath service. Twenty-eight percent do.

Only 5 percent of the Board members attend quite regularly the daily services in the synagogue. Twenty percent never attend such services. Forty-two percent attend only on special occasions (e.g., yahrzeit, Rosh Chodesh), and 22 percent occasionally.

Let us cite a few figures on Jewish observances in the homes of the synagogue leaders and the picture will be complete.

The households of only 37 percent of the Board members were strictly kosher in their observance; those of 36 percent were not ^{at} all kosher, while those of 27 percent were partially kosher.

The wives of 76 per|cent of the synagogue leaders do not light the Sabbath (Friday night) candles.

Fifty-seven per|cent of the Board members do not recite Kiddush and grace¹⁾ after meals at their Sabbath table. Forty-one per|cent recite Kiddush only.

We do not intend to interpret and draw conclusions from all the data cited. Nevertheless, we think it necessary to quote some of the conclusions²⁾ of the author of the report and study, Dr. Emil Lehman: The Board members "are not religious! they lack a deep religious feeling! they have no religious training! they don't adhere enough to religious practices to set an example!" And Dr. Lehman, in the course of an address delivered at the National Convention of the United Synagogue of America in Miami Beach, Fla., Monday, November 16, 1953, in which he summarized the results of the survey, declared:

Yes, there is drama in these figures. [↓] Supposedly figures are cold, but behind their facade there rage in tumultuous inter-action all those elements that go into making the story of congregational life in our days, a drama of penetrating impact.³⁾

An inquiry among children attending the Talmud Torahs and Sunday Schools of the Conservative wing of American Jewry[Ⓜ] disclosed the following:

1) National Survey on Synagogue Leadership, undertaken by the United Synagogue in cooperation with the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, pp. 4-16 (mimeo).

2) Ibid., p.17.

3) Surveying Synagogue Leadership, by Dr. Emil Lehman, 1953, p. 1. (mimeo).

Not more than 74 percent of all the fathers attend the synagogue on Yom Kippur, 15 percent on other holidays, and not more than 9 percent attend the Sabbath services. Fifteen percent of the fathers work on Rosh Hashonah, while 10 percent work even on Yom Kippur. Only 11.8 percent do not work on Saturday. Not more than 22 percent recite the kiddush prayer on Friday night. But 62.7 percent have separate meat and milk dishes, over 70 percent kasher their meat, 87.8 percent do not eat leavened bread on Passover, while 84.6 percent have mezuzot on the doorposts. Only 19 percent have Hebrew books at their homes; and not more than 16.6 percent have Yiddish books; and only 5.6 percent have Yiddish or Hebrew records. The great majority of the parents know Yiddish, but only 8.5 percent read Yiddish papers regularly.¹⁾

phonograph

We shall certainly not err if we assume that the majority of the fathers in question belong to the East European wing (i.e., know Yiddish) and are well imbued with Jewish traditions. Before us there unfolds a picture which reflects the ~~causes~~ ^{causes} that affect so powerfully the religious and also the national life of the American Jews. To work on the Sabbath and on holidays, a certain percentage even on Rosh Hashonah, even on Yom Kippur, - here the economic factor, the material condition, is at work. Not (perish the thought!) because they are in need, but because they are not religious, they go in for the greatest compromises as regards Sabbath and holiday observance, and the smallest compromises as regards Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur. But as for matzoth on Passover, mezuzot on doorposts, and kashrut at home, why not? They are assimilated linguistically and rarely read a Yiddish paper and still more rarely play a Yiddish phonograph record, as their children understand neither Yiddish nor Hebrew.

The view is certainly correct that the discarding of such important national features as the Jewish Sabbath and holidays would perhaps not be so terrible a tragedy if it were not accompanied by the adoption of Christian rest days and holidays, and not only of rest days, but of purely Christian customs.

1)

Abraham S. Ducker, "Religious Trends in American Jewish Life," Yivo Bleter, New York, 1949, p.127 (Yiddish)

Duker, whom we have just quoted, says in the same article: "The Christian religious atmosphere is ubiquitous, and thus Christian culture also molds the thoughts and habits of the majority of Jews."

He cites figures showing that in a certain section of Manhattan, in New York, Jews bought more than 70 percent of the Christmas trees. He writes further: "When the Assistant Superintendent of Schools of New York forbade the ^{singing} ~~singing~~ of Christmas songs and the use of dramatizations and decorations with a religious import to any creed in schools with a majority of Jewish pupils, a number of Jews came out against him. They argued that Christmas was a festival not connected with any religion and possessed of a universal character. Most of the Christians, on the other hand, declared that it was a religious holiday."

For years now a discussion has been going on in the Anglo-Jewish press about the Christmas tree. It is rather fortunate that the Jewish festival of Chanukah often falls at about the same time as, or not far from, Christmas. Many mothers, accordingly, have decided that one may combine the two holidays and have both Chanukah candles and a Christmas tree. Unfortunately, the children are more attracted to the resplendently decorated and brilliantly lit Christmas tree than to the modest Chanukah candles. The children receive double gifts, and heaven ~~xit~~ only knows what will come of this compromise.

The Chanukah candles do not surrender so readily. In recent years the fight has spread even to the public schools with a majority of Jewish pupils. There have been cases - to be sure, few and far between - where the teachers (Jews, of course) told the children about the miracle of Chanukah. The Christmas tree is like a thorn in the flesh of nationally-minded parents. The Christmas festival has penetrated so deeply into Jewish life, into the life of the broadest masses, even of those who are not at all culturally or linguistically assimilated, that one must will-nilly join in the celebration. It is in this celebration of Christmas by the largest

majority of the Jewish population in the United States that one finds the ^{clearest} ~~dearest~~ expression of the enormous effect which an alien culture, free and not imposed by force, has and must have upon a minority.

Let us continue with the material which illuminates the question objectively and scientifically. Rabbi Albert J. Gordon of Minneapolis, a city containing [↑] approximately 20,000 Jews, who constitute about 4 percent of the total population, made a thorough study which may well ^{serve} ~~serve~~ as a model of objectivity both as regards the collection of data and as regards its elucidation.

We will copy from this study not only dry figures but several descriptions ~~because~~, first, because they are objective and authentic, and second, because they force one to ponder more deeply and thoroughly on the inevitable results of such an objective development. Rabbi Gordon writes:

The Sabbath, with all its traditional sanctity and beauty, has ceased to exist as a vital factor in the lives of most Jews in Minneapolis. Not only has synagogue attendance been materially reduced on the Sabbath even and the Sabbath morning, but the traditional practices that were associated with the observance of the day are being neglected if not totally ignored.*** Economic factors have made it almost impossible for most men to be present at the Friday evening service, except the few who are either strong-willed or possess leisure or wealth.¹⁾

He relates further:

Until 1941, none of the nine Orthodox synagogues had established late Friday evening services. In that year two of these congregations, located in the very center of the Orthodox Jewish community on the North Side, established such a service. In the first few years attendance was heavy and it was not uncommon to find the synagogue filled to capacity. But the novelty of the service soon wore off and the numbers

1)

Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Transition, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949, pp.91,94.

in attendance dwindled until today [1946] only about one hundred and fifty persons are to be found at each service.¹⁾

In this quotation there is a point which must be stressed in particular: 1941, the year which marked the beginning of Hitler's great slaughter of Jews, stirred the Jewish hearts of the less assimilated and they began to attend the services at the synagogue. But life cut short this momentary exaltation of the soul, notwithstanding that the slaughter grew more terrible and tragic, and drove and compelled one to yield. And how easily the Jews of our generation yield!

Significant are the answers of some of those interviewed about their non-attendance of the Friday evening service. One gave as the reason fatigue and the desire to spend the evening at home with the entire family. Another said that he liked to go to the Minneapolis symphony concerts, which took place on Friday nights. And here is a most curious reason, but one that is very characteristic of the younger generation in America: "All the sporting events in town take place on Friday nights. I like boxing and see no reason why I shouldn't go to them, even if it is Friday night."²⁾

We have already pointed out that, while the Jewish Sabbath is not observed, Sunday is. As Rabbi Gordon says, "The day of rest and leisure is, in reality, Sunday."³⁾

1) Ibid., p.94.

2)
Ibid., p.95.

3)
Ibid., p.96.

Let us cite a few data from his book. The figures were obtained from a sampling study of the pupils of Talmud Torahs of Orthodox and Conservative synagogues in 1946¹⁾ and not of the thoroughly assimilated Reform congregations.

Of 144 fathers of Talmud Torah pupils, the number attending synagogue on Friday night was 20, or barely 14 percent. Of 155 fathers of pupils, 12 or slightly over 7 percent, attended synagogue on Saturday morning. Of these 155 fathers, the following did not work on:

Yom Kippur	132	85.1 percent
Rosh Hashonah	131	85.0 percent
Passover	35	22.6 percent
Sukkot	28	18.0 percent
Shavuot	30	19.3 percent
Saturday	24	15.5 percent

These figures are very significant and no doubt typical. To begin with, they show that even the days which were so sacred to the whole Jewish population, have ^{already} ~~already~~ sustained the first blows from assimilation. And one sin leads to another: an example is very dangerous and contagious. What a pity there are no comparative figures for two points of time so that we might be able to establish the trend and its tempo. It would be extremely interesting to know what the situation is in 1954 as compared with 1946. Let us remember that 1946 was the first year of the great national mourning, for it was then that there was established the true number of the Jewish victims and the full extent of the national catastrophe.

1)

Ibid., p.96.

We have pointed out above that the modern synagogue has been secularized, profaned. We are well aware that in the past Jews also indulged in secular talk at the synagogue, but there is a great difference between secular talk and vulgar talk and behavior. Let Rabbi Samuel Dresner describe the atmosphere in a modern American synagogue:

1)
If religious emphasis is not the prevailing tone of the Jewish Community at large, one might at least expect it to be so in the synagogue. But a perusal of the typical Synagogue Bulletin shows that this is not the case. The Men's Club and Sisterhood seem to spend most of their time at an endless chain of teas, card parties, sporting events, book reviews, fashion shows, and so forth.

Worse yet, even the so-called religious events are often painfully vulgarized beyond recognition. The cabaret-like wedding salons, the lying in state at funerals in plush-lined metal coffins, the transformation of the Sabbath service into a dramatic spectacle on Friday night featuring the choir, responsive readings and a lecture on the latest best-seller. Sabbath observance is virtually gone and the daily minyan is slowly dying out. The religious fervor of old, which challenged a man to the depths of his being in the name of the living God, has been supplanted by publicity, pageantry, noise, superficiality and too often plain dullness. Instead of counteracting Hollywood, Television and Miami Beach, we have incorporated them into our communal life and even into our Synagogues. German Jewry assimilated to the best of German culture; we seem to be assimilating to the worst in American culture.

Here is a concrete picture of the "sanctity" which prevails in a New York synagogue on Yom Kippur:

It was a semi-Orthodox synagogue, the kind where men and women sit in the same hall but separated by a low partition. The boys and girls sat together in the back rows. People not only chatted but told jokes and shouted greetings to those standing some distance away. Suddenly the rabbi or gabbai rapped on the bookrack and announced

1)

Samuel Dresner, "A Rabbi Looks at Jewish Leadership," The Jewish Spectator, New York, June, 1953, pp.17-18.

cantor in English: "Ladies and gentlemen please keep quiet. The cantor and his choir will now sing something for you which you will enjoy." Silence fell. The cantor launched into a popular tune set to a liturgical hymn. When he finished, the audience broke into applause. Soon the place became noisy again. I ran out of the synagogue.¹⁾

One can no doubt find more than one synagogue in New York where the mood on Yom Kippur is quite different. The writer of these lines attended a Kol Nidre service at the synagogue of the Bobover Chassidim in Manhattan. The mood prevailing there was precisely the same as fifty years ago among the Jews of the small town in the province of Kiev, Russia, from which I hail. Unfortunately, the synagogue of the Bobover Chassidim is a ~~his~~ heritage of the past, recently transplanted from Galicia. The synagogue described in the preceding quotation is more typical of America; it is the type of the future.

The writer we have just quoted concludes his article with the following true and apposite words.

If one lives an empty life all year, never touches a Jewish book, puts the accent on amusement and enjoyment, the three or four solemn days cannot suddenly become holy and awe-inspiring.

An illustration of the words just quoted will be found in a description of a Friday evening in a very populous Jewish district of Brooklyn, in a district where a great deal of Yiddish is still spoken, where the heritage of Eastern Europe is still fresh and vital enough, but already tinged with that transitory Americanism which is neither here nor there, neither genuine Judaism nor true Americanism.

Prof. Zevif Scharfstein, the noted Hebrew educator, who took a walk in this solidly Jewish district - Coney Island - writes;²⁾

1) Dr. Shlomo Simon, "American Judaism," Jewish Journal, New York, October 25, 1952 (Yiddish).

2) Hadoar, New York, December 13, 1946 (Hebrew).

Boys and girls, healthy, products of ocean and sun, stand almost nude and play ball. All stores are open. The restaurants are crowded. Youngsters sit on the benches and devour ice cream. The street is full of tumult and shouting. I set out in search of a store closed in honor of the Sabbath. Thank God, I have found one. But what is written on the sign? "Kosher Meat"! It is a kosher butcher shop.

I peep into three synagogues which I happen to pass. Very few worshippers. When I emerge from one synagogue, it is already dark. Through the windows of the houses one sees half-clad persons sitting at the table and eating. Not a trace of the Sabbath spirit. Only the teeth are working diligently. In the restaurants, too, even in the kosher ones, there is no sign of the Sabbath: money is accepted openly. Many are sitting on the balconies and playing cards.

Jews constitute between 75 and 80 percent of all the residents of that neighborhood. Probably more than 90 percent of the customers of the Jewish stores are Jews. Given the will, some spark of the former sanctity of the Jewish Sabbath, the stores could easily be kept closed on the Jewish Sabbath, especially as it is not hard at all to obtain the right to keep one's store open on Sunday.

Prof. Scharfstein writes further on in the same article: "On Sunday I again strolled through the same neighborhood. There was a holiday atmosphere about the place. The stores were closed." He describes how the Jews were dressed in their holiday attire.

One may say without any qualm that Sunday, not merely as a day of rest and recreation, but truly as a day of spiritual exaltation, is already so ingrained in the Jewish life of the broadest masses, that no one has any scruples about it; one accepts it as a matter of course, as something traditional.

All the data cited above concerning the decline of the Jewish religion as a wall between Jew and non-Jew, concerning the decline of those religious traditions which were the most important factors in the education of generations in the Jewish national spirit, - all this is only a tiny part of the vast amount

of data which I have amassed and which illustrate in the most appalling manner one of the ^{greatest} ~~most important~~ processes of assimilation.

We consider it imperative to add the following: According to the latest reports made public at the conference of Reform Rabbis on June 24, 1954, two hundred new synagogues were erected in the United States in the last ten years at a cost of more than \$400,000,000. There is no need to add that the Jewish population did not grow ^{at} such a rate as to necessitate 200 new synagogue structures on so lavish a scale. Rather it is proof that the synagogue is becoming ^{to} even more the national symbol of belonging to the Jewish group. The more the secular signs of belonging to the Jewish group ^{— dash} language, press, Sabbath and holiday observance ^{— dash decline} the more there is recourse to the last refuge: the synagogue. It has the great advantage of being in harmony with the general trend in the country: with the religious distribution and the separation of church and state. But besides these external causes and factors, there are unquestionably internal positive ones inherent in the tendency to ^{organize} ~~organize~~ around and under the roof of the synagogue. The moment of the disappearance of the various landsmannschaften and ideological organizations - by which latter we mean organizations representing different religious, political, cultural, and national orientations - is drawing nearer and nearer. But once the bonds which held Jews united through common countries of origin and through the various ^{has disappeared} ~~and~~ more serious and soul-enriching motives just mentioned, the Jew remains suspended in mid-air, neither here nor there.

At present the majority of the Jewish population is only outwardly assimilated, and however deeply the Jew may be immersed in American culture, it does not completely satisfy him: He looks for a Jewish nook, even if only for appearance' sake, to satisfy the national conscience, to demonstrate his

belonging.

"Belonging" has lately become the most popular word among the younger generation of the Jewish population. The younger generation, which has neither landsmannschaften, Yiddishist or Hebrew heritages, nor any other more or less distinctly Jewish ties, other than the purely philanthropic ones, which are losing much of their value and usefulness because the State is taking over a great many of the functions of private charity, - the young Jew is looking for signs of belonging, of somehow demonstrating his Jewishness to his/^{own}children, and also to the surrounding non-Jewish world. The American Jew, in his great majority, including even the highly assimilated ones, does not want to hide his Jewish belonging. Even assuming that this is a result of the recent Great Catastrophe and also of the rise of State of Israel and not of inner organic national forces which strain forward and seek forms and patterns of revealing and manifesting themselves, - the fact is there, and it stands to reason that we should make the fullest use of this tendency and endeavor to fill this "belonging" with meaning, with national content.

Of the efforts to utilize the growing role of the congregation for positive national purpose, we shall speak in Part Three, which will be devoted to the positive trends in American Jewry.



(c) Jewish Religious Life in Argentina.

The processes just described of the decline of Judaism in general and of the development of a vulgar attitude toward the synagogue are not a special disease peculiar to the Jews of the United States, but a universal disease, or rather a Diaspora disease. We say "Diaspora disease" because, while we are well aware that a large part of the Jews of the State of Israel are not religious and do not attend synagogue services, we do not know of a single case of vulgar behavior in a house of worship. Indeed, it is just this which constitutes the basic difference between Homeland and Diaspora: if the homeland loses God in heaven, there still remains the home heaven, which has a very strong effect on the forms of national life. But in the Diaspora, if one loses the synagogue, one loses everything. Here one clings firmly to the synagogue structure when one has lost God in heaven. But the sanctuary without God in heaven loses much of its sanctity and is turned into a theatre, a dance hall.

The Jewish community of Argentina is a good deal younger than that of the United States. East European Jewish immigration to Argentina began two or three decades later and proceeded more slowly in the first years of the twentieth century. A very large part of Argentine Jewry came to the country after World War I. We thus have a relatively young Jewish community, richly laden not only with a national but also with a religious heritage. Nor did the Jews, on arriving in the country, encounter any assimilationist traditions bequeathed by the German Jews, as was the case in the United States.

Let us see how things stand there with regard to the Jewish religion, what place it occupies in Jewish life, and how great its influence is in regard

to educating the younger generation in such a way that isolation from the non-Jewish milieu shall be the most important and most beneficial result of Jewish piety.

In 1952 the Buenos Aires Yiddish daily, Die ^{Idische} Yidishe Zaitung, ran a symposium on the state of the Jewish religion in Argentina. It was understood in that connection that it was not a question of religion in the narrow sense of the word, but of religion in a broad national sense.

Rabbi David Schieffman, minister of Congregation Mishnayot Shomre Shabbath in Buenos Aires, wrote in the Idische Zaitung of June 20, 1952:

4 The state of Judaism in this city, let alone in the provinces, is appalling in every respect: from purification to circumcision and kashruth, from the study of the Torah to Sabbath and holiday observance, etc.

9 The fifty synagogues, which might perhaps be taken as proof of the prevalence of religious sentiment, unfortunately are most of them almost deserted. And even in those in which services are still held on weekdays, the number of worshippers is diminishing from year to year. A certain number of synagogues are most harmful to the religious cause. These are the synagogues which derive their income from weddings, at which people sit bareheaded at tables facing the Ark of the Law, with intermingling of the sexes, with all kinds of forbidden food on the table, including peck, and with non-Jewish wine and women. And when the hearts of the wedding guests are merry with wine, there is mixed dancing of men and women. And all this is done in the house of God, where the Torah cries out from the Ark, "Ye shall not eat trefe! Ye shall not eat of the flesh of the swine!"

peck,

This is a shocking picture, and I actually waited to see if anyone would deny these terrible charges in the ensuing issue, or at least seek to extenuate them. Unfortunately, this did not happen. The subsequent articles made the picture still blacker; at all events, they confirmed the charge of the synagogue's desecration.

In the same issue of the paper there was a report on the situation in the provinces by a well-known local public worker, Ephraim Janovsky, who wrote:

¶ The authentic news about the religious state of affairs in the provinces is very depressing. On the Jewish colonies (agricultural settlements) - I mean those which still exist - there are no shochetim. The synagogues stand idle. In some of the colonies the Scrolls of the Torah are growing moldy. I have seen a couple of Torah Scrolls which were decayed and crumbling, a sight at which one ought to rend one's clothes, according to the Jewish ritual law. Several colonies have torn down the synagogues, sold the salvaged materials, and contributed the proceeds to the Israel campaign or to institutions in neighboring towns. There is no need to talk of Sabbath observance. The desecration of the Sabbath is so widespread that even the oldest and largest cooperatives are open for business on Saturday.

¶ ...In the colonies, the largest synagogues, where services are held on Sabbaths and holidays, attract few worshipers, though the attendance is large on the High Holy Days. It saddens one to see how during the most solemn prayers, such as when the Torah Scroll is taken from the Ark or during the recitation of Kol Nidre, many young men stand staring blankly without even once looking into the prayerbooks, simply because they cannot read Hebrew. So they stand and watch the "scene" and look as though frightened, like the Gentile in the old country who was called into the synagogue to light the candles at the Neila services on Yom Kipur.

Such is the painful news about the state of the Jewish religion in the province of Entre Rios, the onetime Jerusalem of Argentina.

These two quotations are by no means exception; at least ten other articles and letters to the editor are written in the same vein; and all of them by men who do not look at Jewish life from the outside, but from within. What hurts even more is that this shocking state of affairs is also said to exist in the colonies, where the Jewish population is in a position to ~~not~~ lead its own life, and keep the Jewish Sabbath and holidays. One cannot demand strict piety of people, but

observing the Jewish Sabbath and holidays, teaching the children to recite the prayers and the weekly lesson from the Torah, these are elementary requirements.

Let us listen to the Chief Rabbi of Argentina, Dr. S. Schlesinger, who introduced a few new and extremely interested and important features.

Writing in the Idische Zeitung of June 19, 1952, the Chief Rabbi said in part:

¶ At least 75 per cent of our children receive no Jewish education; on the other hand, they attend public or private schools which are required by law to give instruction in the Catholic faith or in morality tinged with Catholicism. Thus our children live and breathe in a Catholic atmosphere. When one converses with Jewish youths on Jewish religious topics, they express themselves in non-Jewish terms because they think in Catholic terms. In this situation it is hard to erect dams to stem the rising tide of intermarriage.

How is one to explain this deplorable situation? Where lies the root of this misfortune?

An answer to this was given in the July 13, 1952, issue of the same paper by Judah Leib Chidakk^el, the author of the two-volume work, Chants and Prayers among Jews. He wrote in part:

¶ In all this hullabaloo about Jewish education, the rabbinate, kosher meat, and monumental edifices for synagogues to worship in which stand idle from the High Holy Days till the next High Holy Days there is no religious, traditional Jewish life. (The exceptions are too few to be taken into account.)

Judaism, which includes everything - religion, tradition, nationalism, and above all, continuity - must rest on the firm foundation of the Jewish home, which supplied vitality for many generations and became the impregnable fortress of Jewishness. The Jewish home weathered the most terrible storms of history. Our greatest enemies in every age who sought to destroy us, could not destroy that fortress, the Jewish home.

How fares the Jewish home, that fortress, among us here in Argentina?

It seems to me that what our enemies were unable to destroy for thousands of years - the Jewish home - we have

destroyed with our own hands. The truth must be told: the Jewish home, with few exceptions, is destroyed. And if the foundation has collapsed, how can the super-structure be kept from falling?

The last writer touched the very root of the great tragedy: there is no Jewish home any more! The children of the first generation of immigrants were everywhere utterly neglected as regards their Jewishness. The non-Jewish school which they attended molded their souls and forged their characters. It has been established everywhere that a whole generation was lost. The third generation in the immigration ^{wake} ~~made~~ up, not of its own accord, but ^{shaken} ~~forced~~ out of its national slumber by the rivers of Jewish blood spilled by Hitler's murderers and later ^{AP} (lehadil!) by the Messianic news from Israel. It opened ~~the~~ its eyes and saw itself, nationally speaking, before a deep ^S ~~chasm~~. Such is the situation in the United States, such it is in Argentina, and the situation is no better in the minor Jewish communities, even in the newest, where they could have learned something from the failure in the older immigration countries. And they did learn a good deal, but the root of the malady, the vanished Jewish home, this tragic malady lingered on even in those countries where from the very start of the Jewish immigration they collected funds to build palatial Jewish schools for the children and integrated schools, at that. Mexico is a good case in point.

2(c) Jewish Religious Life in Mexico . -

The Jewish community of Mexico - some 20,000-22,000 souls - is of even more recent date than that of Argentina. It is not more than 30 years old, while a large part of it is only 15-20 years old. It thus brought with it from the old country not only a rich heritage of Jewish religious and national basic traditions, but also wide experience in the struggle for Jewish culture, a large supply of modern national values and achievements.

It is therefore not surprising that this tiny community is noted for its model societies not only in the spheres of social assistance and of charity pure and simple, but in the fields of culture as well. Mexican Jewry is famous throughout the world for ~~its~~ its Jewish schools, and also for its relatively extensive publishing activity.

^{Be} ~~But~~ it ~~was~~ added that the assimilative potential of the surrounding culture is in this case much lower than in Argentina, let alone the United States.

Under the circumstances one might certainly have expected here the utmost success in point of national-religious continuity, in point of organically continuing to forge the chain of old and modern Jewish culture. One might even have hoped that on the new soil, ^{under} more favorable economic and political conditions, the progress of organic fusion of the new and old Jewish culture would assume exemplary forms. The small number of Jews in the present case was considered an advantage: it often gave the impression of being one family, in which, despite occasional bickering and squabbling, the members make up and give in to one another, because the interests of the family as a whole are more important and valuable than the interests and often whims of this or that member of the family. The Jews were acquainted with one another, knew the resources of each of them, as well as his cultural rating. And, in fact, the communal work, because of these favorable factors, proceeded at such a tempo and with such initial and superficial results, that the eyes of the entire Diaspora was turned on the Mexican Zion of the Galuth.

Let us take a look at this "beloved son" of the Diaspora.

Let us listen to a noted pedagogue who has lived in Mexico for more than a decade and is thoroughly familiar with Jewish life and very active in Jewish affairs there. His analysis may be strongly colored by his personality, but it is undoubtedly based on facts, on a great many facts. The pedagogue in question is A. Golemb.

In the course of an article published in the New York Yiddish daily The Day, of August 12, 1952, he wrote:

☞ Nearly 80 per cent of all Jewish children attend Jewish schools, and this not for one or two but for nine and also eleven years, and even larger. The Jews spend large sums of money on the schools in tuition and subsidies. All the schools have spacious buildings, and their own buses take the children to and from school. In a word, would that all Jewish communities fared no worse in this respect. *longer.*

sumptuous ☞ Things would thus seem to be quite satisfactory. Lately, however, voices have been heard to ask, "And what, pray, are the results of this ramified and ~~rich~~ Jewish education?" The influence of the Jewish schools is not at all noticeable in the life of the Jewish community. The Chief Rabbi of Mexico City says that he has officiated at the marriages of more than a thousand young couples. The community has thus been enriched by new Jewish homes, at least by over 25 per cent. And the great majority of these couples have gone through a Jewish school. Yet there is no evidence of this in the life of the Jewish community.

☞ The hardest hit is religious Judaism. There is no trace of the traditional Jewish Sabbath. There has been no increase in synagogue attendances even on the High Holy Days, nor in the number of those who buy kosher meat, although one of the Jewish schools passes for a religious institution ~~and~~ boasts a great deal about its achievements.

in vain ☞ Things are no better with secular Judaism. There are Jewish libraries, but nobody borrows any books. A Jewish bookstore was opened, but it was forced to close its doors. The circulation of the Yiddish papers has not increased. You will ~~in~~ ~~vain~~ search for a young Jew at a Jewish concert or lecture....

Interest in Jewish affairs is virtually nil; at all events, there is no sign of it in the life of the community.

A very dark picture, indeed, even if we assume it to be somewhat exaggerated. What are the causes of such a sad state of affairs, of such sterility in so young and vigorous a Jewish community - a community which came ^{so} richly laden and equipped with ready-made national and religious patterns of culture and encountered such favorable and helpful external conditions? Here is Golomb's answer (nor is it only Golomb's):

¶ There is a race on ^{to} ape the dominant people in everything. The chief casualty is the Jewish religion. The Sabbath is totally forgotten. There is no sign of it in the street or in the home. Sunday, on the other hand, is a regular holiday and is celebrated as such. The whole family eats in a restaurant. There must be no meetings or conferences on Sunday, as no one will come. Jewish stores with exclusively Jewish customers are open on Saturday, when Jewish women do their shopping for Sunday. If you see an open store on Sunday, you may rest assured that it is a Gentile establishment, as no Jew will desecrate Sunday.

¶ To talk Yiddish to one's ^{children,} not to mention grandchildren, one must be crazy. A community numbering a score of thousands of Jews has no permanent cantor. They engage one for the High Holy Days in order to boost the sale of seats - in short, a matter of business.

¶ Jews often complain, Why is this so? They have made so many sacrifices to give their children a Jewish education, they have spent a fortune, yet the results are so insignificant! So they look everywhere for some one to blame, but they will never admit that the fault lies in them, in the non-Jewishness of their homes: (Ibid.)

I consider it necessary to add that this dark picture, too, was not challenged. On the contrary, it was fully corroborated in the same paper (The Day, September 16, 1942) by Salomon Kahn, a professor

Kahan

1952) by Solomon ~~Coim~~, a professor of music and one of the earliest Jewish settlers in Mexico. He wrote:

Unquestionably the Jewish home has sinned grievously and continues to sin greatly. The teachers and educators of the local Jewish schools often fall into despair. Nay, a large part of the local teachers and educators have come to the far from happy realization that the average Jewish home is, from a Jewish educational point of view, bankrupt.

(d) to Jewish Religious Life in England . -

We jump from the Americas to Europe and turn to the community which did not suffer from the Hitler massacres. British Jewry has yet another merit: it is more or less conservative, in keeping with the spirit of the majority of the British people.

Harold Soref, the veteran editor of The Jewish Monthly (London), ~~writes~~ in the course of a long article, entitled "The Passing Scene," in its issue of October, 1950 (pp. 426 f), wrote:

In the East End of London every aspect of religious life, but particularly education, is neglected if not ignored. The responsibility is not that of the community's, but of the parents. * * * The distinguished Rav of Manchester, in a stimulating analysis of "What is Orthodoxy?" declared that Anglo-Jewry is politically mature, economically alive, socially busy, but religiously asleep.

In the same article ~~writes~~ the author tells us that "There are 161,000 kasher meat registrations in London, and 8,000 in Liverpool, the latter including virtually every known Jew." This might be cause for rejoicing, did he not add that only "a minority of the child population of the community receives any religious instruction."

We have to do here with London's East End, the district which once seethed and bubbled over with Jewish religious, national, and political life. And here is how a brilliant student of Jewish life in the East End describes the former state of affairs in the famous district:

they joined

The fathers of the greater part of Anglo-Jewry were a distinct people, clearly marked off from the ~~surrounding~~ population, . . . That generation carried with it a distinct culture, almost.

a national existence of its own: a religious faith, an outlook on the world, an attitude to its surroundings, a distinctive cookery, a mode of living, separate holidays, and even a definite form of inner organization that included chedarim for the teaching of the young, places of worship, and arrangements for the visiting of the sick and their relief in the little measure open to them at the time. (A. Abrahams, "End of an Era," The Jewish Monthly, London, December, 1950, p. 573.)

This picture is extremely valuable: it ~~gives~~ ^{gives} a clear idea of how ~~distinctive, how~~ ^{how} ~~organically~~ ^{how} and harmonious in point of religious and national patterns the life of the East European Jews ~~was~~ was. The picture of Jewish life in the East End of London is essentially ~~that~~ that of Jewish life in ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ the cities and towns of Poland, Lithuania, and White Russia, of Galicia, Bucovina, and Carpathian Ruthenia. And it was transplanted to London--but on the new soil it disintegrated and passed away. One might think that the tragedy was caused by persecution and oppression. But not at all! Quite the contrary is the case.

Let us listen further to this competent observer of Jewish life. After describing graphically how on Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur the synagogues were packed with worshippers; how "they held fast by the Yiddish language as though it was something sacred"; how, ^{"when} ~~when~~ they came to establish their Talmud Torah it was not without a struggle that they finally allowed Yiddish to give way to English (or Ivrit b'Ivrit) as a medium of instruction"; how, "when the first Yeshiva was established in the neighborhood, Yiddish was accepted as the language of teaching without any demur or question"; and how many Yiddish dailies and weeklies, trade union and Zionist periodicals were published in the district, he goes on to say:

But in only a few years the transformation began to peep out from what looked like an unchanging facade. Instead of the children inheriting the Yiddish of the parents, the elders began to mingle their Yiddish with English, producing a new jargon which was destined to be the stepping-stone to the new era. After the passing of the Aliens' Restriction Act of 1905, Yiddish was plainly faced with a losing battle. (Ibid. , p. 576.)

It was a losing battle because the children of the East End tailors and carpenters attended secondary schools, while many enrolled in the universities, so that today it is estimated that no less than 50 per cent among the Jews of London possess a higher education. And the percentage of ^{professionals} ~~professionals~~ among the Jews is several times that among the non-Jewish population. And a large percentage of the children of the tailors and carpenters, the shoemakers, and the tobacco workers have large clothing, jewelry, and other shops in the main streets of London and many other English cities. To be sure, not all of them reached the top of the ladder of success or even rose very high; but the rest, who remained on the lower social and cultural rungs, became sterile. Last year the last Yiddish paper in London ceased publication and the last Yiddish theatre passed out of existence. The attempts to produce Jewish plays in English failed.

Thus complete political freedom and good economic opportunities put an end to a Jewish nook in Europe, where the Jewish Socialist movement had its birth, and where there grew up a great many of the teachers and leaders of the Jewish Socialist and trade union movements in the United States.

Concerning the rising Jewish generation in England we have information which offers slim hope of a religious Jewish life, which means also of a national Jewish life. A survey conducted of all the Jewish students who could be traced during the academic year 1949-1950 yielded the following data:

(1) Sixty-seven of the men and 80 per cent of the women stopped their Jewish education after the age of 13.

(2) Only 11 per cent of the men and 7 per cent of the women described their Jewish education as "very good."

(3) Only 20 per cent of the parents of the students were Orthodox.

(4) Only 12 per cent of the male students and 13 per cent of the female students were Orthodox.

(5) Only 11 per cent of the men and 12 per cent of the women observed Jewish religious rites and customs.

(6) Fewer than 3 per cent of all the students said that they had a

fluent knowledge of modern Hebrew, and only 15 per cent claimed a fluent or moderate knowledge of the language; 54 per cent said that they had no knowledge of the language at all. About 20 per cent of all the students were studying Hebrew.¹⁾

We conclude the section on British Jewry with a quotation from a letter to the Tel Aviv Davar of September 9, 1953, by its London correspondent:

It is customary here, when one comes to console a person in mourning, to bring "dainties": sweetmeats, fruit, cake. Immediately upon returning from the cemetery, the mourners and their friends sit down to tea and sweets. The atmosphere of grief quickly evaporates and the conversation ~~falls~~ runs along the usual lines: horse races and other sports.

We have ^{given} ~~quoted~~ this excerpt for two reasons: (1) Because this strange non-Jewish custom has virtually become traditional among the great majority of American Jews. I have personally witnessed it in the homes of families which are deeply national. (2) I believe that just this strange Gentile custom is the most striking evidence of how weakly modern Jewry is protected from assimilative influences, of how ^{easily} ~~readily~~ and light-mindedly modern Jews ^{copy} ~~are~~ the customs and ways of the non-Jewish majority. Comforting a mourner with a bottle of wine and cake, -- what can be more ~~un-Jewish~~ un-Jewish from the Jewish point of view?

* * *

*

We have cited ~~the~~ information on the religious decay of the Jewish communities in the countries with large Jewish populations and in those with small numbers of Jews; in the Western Hemisphere, where the Jewish communities are of very recent date, and in the British Isles, where the Jewish community is somewhat older. We cannot give any data on Jewish life in countries with

1)

The Jewish Chronicle, London, February 16, 1951, p. 13; ibid., February 23, 1951, p. 9.

centuries-old traditions, because all the older European Jewish communities are in Communist hands, which means that a religious Jewish life is wholly out of the question, if there can be any talk at all of ~~any~~^{some} kind of national Jewish life.

The picture has come out pitch black. Nevertheless, I ~~urge~~^{beseech} the reader ~~the reader~~ not to be in a hurry to draw any final, definitive conclusions. As we shall see further on, there is a stirring in Jewry, the Jewish national-religious organism has become aware of the imminent danger and is endeavoring feverishly to check the disintegrative trend, to infuse fresh blood into the numb veins of the Jewish communities, to awaken the dormant Jewish traditions by giving them new forms and meanings. However dark the picture may appear, we must not despair. I would even say that it is the object of the World Jewish Congress to ^{lay bare} ~~expose~~ the wounds relentlessly, to show the assimilative abysses in all their magnitude, without losing hope that salvation will come.

3. The Assimilative Potential of Modern Languages (Center head)

(a) Introductory.- Language has in our time become quite a different instrument of exerting influence than at any other time in the history of man. Its mediums and methods of influencing are of such compelling and penetrating power that it is ~~is~~ impossible not to yield to them.

Besides the public school, ^{where} ~~attendance~~ ~~is compulsory~~, and accessible higher stages of education; besides the modern press and literature, which have become ^{much} more widespread and ~~effective~~^{powerful} factors; besides the ~~theatre~~^{theatre}, which first became a popular institution with extensive influence on the masses in the past one hundred years, account must be taken of the most modern mediums, such as the radio, television, and ~~the movies~~^{the movies}. These are mediums which penetrate one's home, one's very bedroom, follow one in the street, captivate and charm with the colorful variety of their subjects. They captivate the heart and soul of the child and of the elder, for they come to them and do not demand any exertion on the part of the listener or spectator, and are so rich in the selection of their themes that every type and age can find what it wants.



But this external and also inner wealth is always the privileged possession of the language of the country, the language of the majority. That is why the assimilative influence of a modern majority language, unlike that of the majority languages before the twentieth century, must be multiplied, not by two, but by ten and possibly a hundred.

This is the reason that large and compact masses of Jews with a highly developed journalistic and literary language surrendered in a historical twinkling to linguistic assimilation. They surrendered and are daily giving in more and more. It is painful to admit this, and it ^{is} still more painful to prove it with indisputable objective facts; but it is foolish and misleading to deceive oneself. Further on we shall ^d well in greater detail on the tragedy of giving up a language ^{that} ~~which~~ still plays ^{an} enormous role in the national life of the Jews in the Diaspora countries. But facts must be established, because only thus can ways and means be found to lessen the negative aspects of this development and to increase and enrich its positive effects.

The trouble consists in this, that not only is the assimilative subject in our epoch much stronger and more powerful in his influence, but the assimilationist inclinations of the object are in these days much more yielding and complaisant. It would be more correct to say that the present-day linguistic assimilation tendencies of the Jewish minority are of a wholly different nature than in previous periods. They are more intimate, more spiritual, more deeply penetrating into the ~~envi~~ ^{en}non-Jewish culture, more inward, than in the past. The present linguistic assimilation has from the very ^o outset borne a cultural and spiritual character, a tendency not only to be able to converse somehow with the master of the country, as was the case in former ^{times,} ~~times~~ but to plunge at once into the cultural treasures of the majority, to dip into its spiritual waters.

A brief account of the transformation of a German dialect into a national tongue will make clear the deep chasm between linguistic assimilation in the Middle Ages and in our time.

The Jew who began to speak German in the cities of southern Germany a

thousand years ago, not only continued to be 100 per cent spiritually isolated from the surrounding cultural world, but he immediately commenced to Hebraize the alien tongue in his home, to Hebraize it with many Hebrew words, and eventually to change the syntax and thereby also the character of the language.

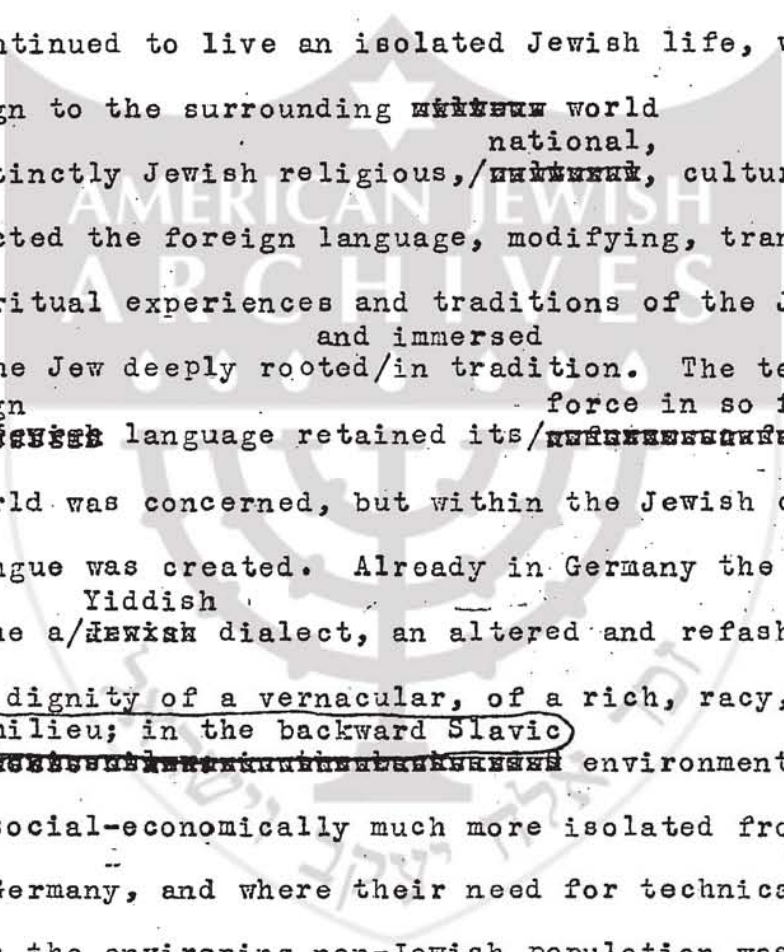
In the street and in the market place he had to speak German and ultimately this obliged him also to speak German at home; but he went to the synagogue, taking along his prayer shawl and phylacteries, and there he recited after the service some Psalms or studied a chapter of En Jacob,¹⁾ and on coming home in the evening he continued to live an isolated Jewish life, with books of his own, wholly foreign to the surrounding ~~world~~ world

This distinctly Jewish religious, ^{national,} ~~national,~~ cultural, and spiritual milieu daily affected the foreign language, modifying, transforming, and adapting it to the spiritual experiences and traditions of the Jew, of the historical type of Jew, of the Jew deeply rooted ^{and immersed} ~~in~~ tradition. The technical ^{character} ~~force~~ of adopted foreign language retained its ^{force} ~~surrounding~~ surrounding non-Jewish world was concerned, but within the Jewish community a new, distinctly Jewish tongue was created. Already in Germany the borrowed German language had become a ^{Yiddish} ~~Jewish~~ dialect, an altered and refashioned dialect. Yiddish first rose to the dignity of a vernacular, of a rich, racy, heart-captivating the Slavic milieu; in the backward Slavic tongue in ~~the backward Slavic~~ environment, where Jews were both areally and social-economically much more isolated from the surrounding majority than in Germany, and where their need for technical and linguistic communication with the environing non-Jewish population was satisfied with a very small number of foreign words and without any connection with the spiritual life of ~~the~~ this non-Jewish milieu.

As we shall see further on, toward the end of the nineteenth century 99 per cent of the Russian Jews spoke Yiddish as their mother tongue. And in Poland, even as late as 1931, approximately 90 per cent still spoke (and this means lived) Yiddish as their principal language.

The case is wholly different today in the countries with a high culture, as in the English- and French-speaking countries and, to a lesser extent, in the countries with Spanish and

A familiar collection of the Haggadic parts of the Talmud. - Transl. 1948



Portuguese as their vernaculars. The Jew is no longer spiritually isolated from the surrounding world; quite the contrary: from the first day of his arrival in a new country, the Jew sends his children to the public school. To be able to read a paper in the language of the country is the ideal of every Jew in the immigration country. The synagogue, the prayers, the Jewish holidays, the Sabbath, Jewish books of an advanced or elementary caliber,--all this, which created a 100 per cent Jewish atmosphere in the Jewish home, has disappeared or is disappearing. There is no counter-atmosphere to weaken at least in some measure the assimilative waves flowing in from the surrounding milieu with its powerful mediums of exerting influence. And not only is there no counter-atmosphere of a Jewish character but, on the contrary, the Jewish home is filled to overflowing with the culture and spirit of the environment, perhaps to a much greater extent than the non-Jewish home, even than that of the Nordics in the United States. We have shown above how high the percentage of persons with a high-school or college education is among Jews. And the higher the educational level, the more one imbibes the juice of this education, which means the cultural and spiritual juice of the non-Jewish milieu, which has actually become more ingrained in the Jew than any branch of Jewish culture.

4. The Role of Yiddish in Jewish Life (C.C.C., center)

(b) The Role of Yiddish in Jewish Life.-- In the last four or five centuries Ashkenazic Jewry has played the leading and most decisive role in Jewish life. Its accumulated national spiritual treasures and its modern secular cultural wealth, sprouted, grown, and ramified on the wholesome historical soil of a completely Jewish life, were the main factors in all Jewish artistic and cultural ~~achievements~~ ^{creations} and all Jewish liberation movements, including the rise of the State of Israel.

It is certainly no exaggeration to say that the Yiddish ^{folk} language, imbued with folk spirit and folk dreams, and the creations in this mother tongue occupy one of the foremost places in the rich history of Ashkenazic Jewry of the last few hundred years, particularly of the past hundred years, drenched with seas of Jewish blood, but also distinguished for very high cultural and

spiritual achievements. The Yiddish vernacular was that wonderful medium through which the Jewish masses imbibed the most modern secular ideas and ideals, while remaining true to the original historic Jewish root; remaining organically within the framework of inner historic Jewish development.

The raciness of the language was only a reflection of a comprehensive and racy Jewish folk life. The already sufficiently described Jewish concentrations, Jewish areal isolation, ^{and} ~~and~~ social-economic autonomy created a broad basis for a multicolored and multifaceted rich Jewish life, socially and ~~and~~/culturally differentiated, full of problems and conflicts, but essentially integrated and unitary because it was a normal and organic folk life.

Here is how a Yiddish/~~author~~ ^{author} depicts the variegated reality/~~surround-~~ ^{formerly}ing the Yiddish creative writer in the now destroyed East European Jewish worlds:¹⁾

Formerly the Yiddish writer of Poland and Lithuania was surrounded by Jewish figures and subjects, by Jewish Sabbath, holiday, and weekday life, by the Jewish lot and the Jewish scene. All this registered word by word in his lines. Here we behold the rich and the poor, the young with their love affairs and problems, Chalutzim and Bundists, Menachem

²⁾ Mendel and ³⁾ Bontsche Schweig, toilers, day-dreaming ne'er-do-wells and looted pushcarts, country gentry and woods and quarreling partners who on Saturday evening after the havdalah rite sit at the round table at grandfather's under the white blitzlamp. ⁴⁾

Also seated at the table is the prophet Elijah himself, a familiar ~~poor man~~ poor man, a wanderer. And it would seem, the Almighty Himself is also a frequent visitor at Jewish homes. This was the integrated

1) From a speech by M. Gross-Zimmerman in a symposium on "Israel, the ^{Yiddish} Jewish Writer, and the Jewish World" held in Tel Aviv and reported in the Jewish Daily Eagle, Montreal, July 4, 1954.

2) A famous fictional character created by Sholom Aleichem.--Transl.

3) The hero of a famous short story by I.L. Peretz.--Transl.

4) ~~A kind of~~ A kind of kerosene lamp.--Transl.

whole extending from Mount Sinai to the Vis-
tula, strong, thick Jewishness, which burned
and shone in the Yiddish writer, gave him to
see and to hear, to grieve and to rejoice,
sharpened and matured his mind and made him a
writer. All this was genuine and not borrowed
or copied from any one. This was the phenome-
non, Yiddish. I know one writer in Israel who
writes Yiddish ~~in~~ in Hebrew. It is S.J. Agnon,
the master of Hebrew prose.

of

In the course of

While describing the destroyed Jewish world of Eastern Europe he
comes to the lot of the Yiddish writer and ~~admits~~ admits:

For, it was not only the Yiddish Jews who
perished, the readers of Yiddish books, of
Yiddish papers, those who spoke Yiddish in
stores, workshops, factories, and in the mar-
ket, at the synagogues and in elementary He-
brew schools, at meetings and at the Jewish
theatre. There also perished the creative
mythos of Yiddish--the world of motives, the
atmosphere, the black earth of elevated Yid-
dish which gave the Yiddish writer strength,
which ~~set him apart~~ and nourished him with
its own, with unrest from its own garden, with
a Yiddish Mount Sinai of its own in a world
of Gentiles.

single him out
food,

Where today is there in the destroyed Yid-
dish world the mystic power center from which
the Yiddish writer may draw sustenance? How
long can one live on memories? How long can
one maintain in ~~the Yiddish world~~
~~the Yiddish world~~
~~the Yiddish world~~
the Yiddish of America the holy spirit
of Jewishness, which did not die there but
only ~~departed~~ departed? The holy spirit in translation?

disappeared?

We have anticipated a good deal because we wished to cite ~~the~~
all of the foregoing quotation which gives such vivid, clear-cut picture of
both of the rich Yiddish atmosphere in the extinct, destroyed world and of the
disappearance of
~~the~~/ this atmosphere in the free countries where the Jews are now
concentrated.

Let us go back to the role of Yiddish in the past one hundred years.
With the dispersion of the Jewish people over all/ ~~the~~ and countries
the role of Yiddish rose to the level of an enormously important factor. Yid-
dish and its cultural creations, especially the Yiddish press, Yiddish litera-
ture, and the Yiddish theatre, became the magic bond which held together the

See in B. vs. Ruffner

Nov. 13, 1972

scattered members of the wandering people. The Jew of Argentina and New York, of far-off Brazil and Chicago, of remote Chile and Philadelphia, read the same Yiddish press ~~paper/paper~~, was filled with nostalgia and reverie by the same Yiddish classics, and was entertained in the evening by the same play. "The same" is, of course, not to be taken literally; the subject-matter and the form were the same. A Chicago Jew once told me that the Yiddish paper he read early in the morning was to him a substitute for the morning prayers because through it he felt bound up with the Jewish people the world over, sharing with the rest of Jewry in Jewish pogroms and persecutions, and also in Jewish celebrations and festivals.

Cuba,

In the history of the small Jewish communities, as in Mexico and/Columbia and Venezuela, the great influence of the Yiddish press of the United States is well-nigh palpable: before the ⁴ grew large enough to have any kind of periodical of their own, they breathed and fed on the Yiddish papers of New York and were linked through it with world Jewry.

It is clear to every student of the history of the Jews in the immigration countries that the Russian-Polish Jews assimilate more slowly and with greater throes. This is because they brought with them a rich modern national equipment. This equipment consisted of Hebrew and Yiddish, but the function of Yiddish in the new country was more active, more fruitful, and exerted more influence on the Jews from other countries. So long as Rumanian or Hun-garian Jews could not read English with ease, they took eagerly to reading the Yiddish newspapers and very often remained lifelong readers of these papers. Thus the Yiddish press and theatre made thousands and tens of thousands of converts among the half-assimilated and three-quarters-assimilated Jews. The Yiddish creations retarded and halted the process of assimilation not only of the Jews who in the old country had a Yiddish press and theatre of their own, but also of those Jews who were about to play the second round of assimilation. Thus Yiddish and its creations performed another historic mission: it bound and knit together the members of the Jewish people who, as a result of the nineteenth-century process of differentiation, were already separated and

and alienated from one another linguistically in Europe.

And to this day, notwithstanding the reverses and declines which the Yiddish press and theatre have suffered and are actually suffering daily, their national role is inestimable. Perhaps it is just because the assimilative processes have been greatly intensified and the assimilationist tendencies have gained strength, the national role of these factors makes itself particularly felt. The Yiddish press still unites and causes the pulse of hundreds of thousands of Jews in all parts of the world to beat in unison. And let me say that ^{these} ~~these~~ Jews, who remain ^{true} ~~loyal~~ to the Yiddish press, and in many cases also to the Yiddish book, are ^{the chief asset of the Jewish} ~~the backbone of the Jewish~~ people-- not in a financial sense, of course, but in the sense of Jewish atmosphere, Jewish ardor, Jewish climate. And all this is vitally necessary also to those elements who are true to the Jewish people with their pocketbooks rather than with their hearts. One perceives this at every mass meeting where English or Spanish is spoken, and suddenly a speaker mounts the rostrum and begins to speak in Yiddish. The effect is as refreshing as a cold shower on a hot summer day.

The same may be said of the Yiddish theatre. A Jew hustles all day and lives in a purely English or Spanish atmosphere. In the evening he strays into a Yiddish theatre. He is truly transformed into a new man, in reality into ^{an} ~~a~~ old man--back into a Jew with Jewish wrinkles not only on the face but ^{mind. At} ~~work~~ on the soul and ~~mind~~ ~~work~~ here is not only the language, but the whole climate, the whole atmosphere.

But we would be sinning grievously not only against the truth, but also against our sorely tried people, if we did not disclose the whole tragedy that Yiddish culture in all its branches and spheres is ^{living} ~~living~~ ~~through~~ through. The thought that a moment may come when the Jews in the scores of countries of their dispersion will lose the Yiddish factor of spiritual cohesion and hearty speech haunts one like a nightmare. Nevertheless, we feel morally and nationally bound to lay bare the wound in all its extent and not to hide or conceal anything. The people must know the whole truth in order to take

precautions betimes, in order to draw the necessary conclusions, to have a deeper understanding of the finger of God which is pointing in a new direction: to the old and ever new sources, to the ancient language which is passing through ^{a period} such/of rejuvenation, of blossom and growth, such a magic synthesis of the Torah given at Mount Sinai and the latest discoveries of modern science.

Jewish destiny is a great historical riddle and it has presented us more than once with trials and changes which seemed so strange and yet were woven into the golden chain of Jewish creations. Perhaps we are on the eve of a new change which will again prove a surprise: the sacred tongue is becoming an everyday language and the everyday language a sacred tongue. We say "is becoming," because this language is grown too firmly to the navel of the people, it is woven too deeply into the soul of the people, and its spiritual treasures are too rich to admit even for one moment/^{of} the thought that we are facing/~~the~~ ^{its} end, that we are witnessing/~~the~~ ^{its} death agony.

We will conclude this section with a prose version of a poem by the late Yiddish poet Abraham Liessin which gives us the pedigree of Yiddish:

I do not come to you irradiated with God's word, as my sister used to come once, sanctified by great, ancient times, with ~~lightning~~ lightning and ~~thunder~~ the echo of thunder in her voice. I do not come, like her, from a sun-drenched height basking in the bluest sky. I do not possess the softness of green hills, the wild desert grace of proud rocky mountains. I come to you, my child, from silent exiles, from ghettos closed tight as if with a vice; I have only the charms of pious women's prayers, I have only the beauty of dying for the glory of God.

(a) Yiddish as Mother Tongue.—In order that the foregoing picture of the impregnation and saturation of the bygone Jewish life in Eastern Europe with the/~~Yiddish~~ ^{Yiddish} language may not be left hanging in the air and considered a mere figment of a gifted writer's imagination, we shall cite official figures on the mother tongue from the census of 1897 in Russia and from that of 1931 in independent Poland. In this way we shall get some important inklings of ~~the~~ assimilative potential of various majority languages.

TABLE. YIDDISH AS MOTHER TONGUE IN RUSSIA IN 1897 (IN PERCENTAGES)

Regions and Cities	% Jews Speaking Yiddish
Lithuanian-White Russian Region 1)	99.3
Ukraine (minus South Russia) 2)	99.4
Russian Poland 3)	95.7
South Russia 4)	96.4
Warsaw	84.4
Odessa	89.5
Kiev	94.0
Lodz	93.5
Baku	64.1
St. Petersburg	75.0
Moscow	61.2

1) Provinces: Grodno, Minsk, Kovno, Vilna, Mohilev, Vitebsk.

2) Provinces: Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava.

3) Provinces: Warsaw, Petrokov, Lomza, Syedlitz, Radom, Lublin, Keltsy, Suvalk, Plotsk, and Kalish.

4) ~~Provinces: Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Bessarabia.~~ Provinces: Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Bessarabia.

The first four regions, which constituted the Jewish Pale of Settlement and contained about 95 per cent of all the Russian Jews at the time, included two regions where over 99 per cent of the Jews were Yiddish-speaking, and ~~where~~ in the other two regions the percentage exceeded 95. The difference is not considerable, yet it is worth ^{noting.} ~~dwelling~~ The Polish part of the Pale of Settlement with the most highly ^{developed} ~~developed~~ language and literature furnished the highest percentage of Jews with a non-Jewish mother tongue--4.3--while in Warsaw, the Polish capital, ^{over} 15 per cent of the Jews were linguistically assimilated. After the Polish provinces came South Russia, where the percentage of linguistically assimilated Jews was 3.6, while in the principal cities of this region it was over ~~the~~ 10 per cent. This may be explained by the fact that this region contained many Great Russians with the Great Russian language, which had a very high assimilative potential. For example, in the cities of the province of Kherson the Great Russians, according to the census of 1897, constituted more than 45 per cent of the population whereas in the province of Vilna their percentage was only 18; in the cities of Taurida the Great Russians formed over 94 per cent whereas in the cities of the province of Grodno they constituted only 15 per cent, including the Great Russian

soldiers stationed there.

The linguistically least assimilated Jews were to be found in the Lithuanian-White Russian and the Ukrainian provinces, where the majority languages had the lowest assimilative potential because their culture was the poorest and most backward.

In St. Petersburg a full 25 per cent of the Jews had a non-Jewish mother tongue; in Moscow, over 38 per cent; and in Baku, 36 per cent. The farther away from the Pale, the more removed from the compact Jewish masses, the more assimilated linguistically.

From these figures one may learn that Jewish linguistic assimilation largely depends on the cultural state of the majority people. But toward the end of the nineteenth century the Jews of Russia, then comprising about one-half of world Jewry, had the good fortune of living, in their great majority, among ~~backward~~ backward peoples and ^{so} virtually all of them (over 99 per cent!) spoke Yiddish. It is therefore no poetic phrase to say that Jews spoke Yiddish in the market place and in the store, in the factory and in the workshop, etc. It was the concrete reality! To be sure, they spoke to their Ukrainian or Lithuanian customer in his language, but briefly and to the point and hence sparingly. The language of their life was Yiddish--life in the broadest sense of the word, not only at the synagogue, at the heder and at the yeshiva, but ~~also~~ distinctly also in the market place and in the store, insofar as the transaction took place between Jews alone; and also in the factory and the workshop, insofar as one had to do with Jewish workers.

Life did not stand still; even East European Jewry went through a process of linguistic assimilation. Toward the end of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth century, there was a rush of Jews to the public schools; they began to read non-Jewish newspapers; they were drawn into the political conflicts of the country, and all this led to linguistic assimilation. However, the process was a slow, long-drawn one, which could not halt the growth of those creative forces ^{that} ~~which~~ sprang ^{grew} up in the healthy soil of "a people dwelling apart" (Nu. xxiii. 9). This slow process of assimilation is reflected

in the figures on the mother tongue among Jews in independent Poland, which inherited a very large part of former Russian Jewry.

TABLE. YIDDISH AS MOTHER TONGUE IN POLAND IN 1931 (IN PERCENTAGES)*

Provinces and Cities	% Jews Speaking Yiddish
Former Russian Poland 1)	94.8
Former Russian Lithuania 2)	97.7
Galicja	72.0
Wolyn 3)	98.9
Posen Province, Pomerania, and Silesia	39.5
Total	87.8

*The Polish provinces did not wholly coincide with the former Russian provinces, but the difference is a slight one and does not affect the percentages. In giving the figures of the Polish census, we combined those for Yiddish and Hebrew, proceeding on the assumption that those who gave Hebrew as their mother tongue no doubt spoke Yiddish quite fluently, but they gave Hebrew in order to demonstrate their attachment to that language. In the whole of Poland 243,539 Jews gave Hebrew as their mother tongue. This figure is interesting per se, but is of no concern to us here.

(Keltsy),

- 1) Provinces of Warsaw, Lodz, Kielce, and Lublin.
- 2) Provinces of Bialystok, Wilno, Nowogrodek, and Polesie.
- 3) Wolyn (Polish name of Volhynia) was the only Ukrainian province of Czarist Russia included in the new Poland. In the Russian census of 1897, as we have seen above, 99.7 per cent of the Jews of Volhynia were Yiddish-speaking.

Let us analyze this table. The percentage of the Yiddish-speaking among the Jews of Russian Poland changed but little: from 95.7 in 1897 to 94.8 in 1931. But one must take the following factor into account: In 1897 there was no agitation among Jews at the time of the census in favor of giving Yiddish as the mother tongue. The nationalist movement among the Jews at that time was still in its swaddling clothes, and the census takers displayed no tendency to underrate the languages of the minorities. The situation was quite different in 1931 in independent Poland: on the one hand, the enumerators had instructions to magnify the number of the Polish-speaking; and on the other, the minorities fought energetically for their national rights and in the first line for their national languages. The census figures played no small part in the political struggle. Nevertheless, one should not conclude that the figures for 1931 are very far from the reality; there may have been 2 or 3 per cent among the Jews who in 1931 already spoke more Polish than

Yiddish and yet gave Yiddish as ~~their~~ the language of their home and family.
data

The conclusion is obvious: the/figures sufficiently reflect the actual situation. The figures on the percentage of the Yiddish-speaking among the Jews of the Lithuanian-White Russian region show the same development: the decline in the percentage of the Yiddish-speaking is minimal--from 99.3 in 1897 to 97.7 in 1931.

The same may be said of Wolyn. In 1897 the percentage of the Yiddish-speaking Jews was over 99 and in 1931 nearly 99.

Thus, in the former Russian parts of the revived Polish State there was for more than thirty years virtually no change in the status of Yiddish as a mother tongue, as a language of customary speech, as a vernacular, as a basis of national life. And as is well known, nearly all the national schools, whether Yiddishist or Hebraist, were concentrated in the former Russian regions of Poland. The Yiddish press and Yiddish and Hebrew literature were also concentrated chiefly in the former Russian areas of Poland: Warsaw and Wilno (Vilna) were the two metropolises of the Jewish national movements both in their political/~~aspect~~ and in their national-cultural aims.

If we turn to the former parts of Austria and Germany, the picture changes radically. Galicia, which had been so traditionally Jewish and had played so big a part in the Zionist movement, nevertheless had in 1931 only 72 per cent Yiddish-speaking Jews. The German language and literature had a very high assimilative potential and wrested even from the ultraorthodox and traditional ranks of Jewry a large stratum of linguistically assimilated elements--28 per cent! ^{Still} ~~Even~~ sadder was the situation with respect to linguistic assimilation in the former German parts--a full 60 per cent of linguistically assimilated Jews! ^{Moreover, it} ~~It~~ should be borne in mind, ~~however~~ that in 1931 there were already in the former German regions immigrant Jews from other, more nationally-minded areas. Had only the old-established Posnanian or Silesian Jews been taken, the percentage of the Yiddish-speaking Jews would have been much smaller.

On the strength of all the aforecited figures one may safely draw the

following conclusion: The national language base in the countries under consideration was deeply rooted in the people, and in the period after World War I, when the Polish Jews won certain political rights, it already boasted such cultural and spiritual wealth that the process of assimilation, which nevertheless took place, encountered powerful conscious national resistance. On the hand, it must be admitted that the process of assimilation went on/~~even~~^{also} in Poland, the center of Yiddish culture and of the Jewish national movements; and had the Jews of Poland enjoyed real, full freedom instead of pogroms, excesses, and pickets in front of Jewish stores, this process would unquestionably have been much more intensive and destructive. The biblical saying, "Out of the strong came forth sweetness" here scored its greatest victories, and thanks to the persecutions and the poisoned atmosphere which kept growing and mounting, the Jewish national trends in all their forms and hues developed greatly.

Let us now turn to the countries where the ~~processes~~^{processes} of assimilation encounter no poisoned atmosphere or pogroms and where all the objective conditions for the tendencies to assimilation among the Jewish population are extremely favorable: all educational institutions, including the topmost, are open to Jewish children; all occupations, even those requiring a 100 per cent linguistic assimilation, are accessible to Jews as to non-Jews. The insignificant remnants of discrimination do not figure as a seriously effective factor.

Figures on Yiddish as a full-fledged ~~vernacular~~^{Yiddish language}, as this was understood in the censuses in Russia and Poland, we possess in relation to the Jews of Canada. And they are unmistakable, official figures.

The percentage of Jews in Canada who gave Yiddish as their customary speech was as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1931	95.2
1941	77.3
1951	50.5

These are tragic figures. It should be remembered that from 1941 to 1951 more than 29,000 Jews immigrated to Canada. From this it may be inferred

that if the Jews already in Canada in 1941 could/~~have been~~^{be} separated from the rest, the percentage of those habitually speaking Yiddish would be smaller still. However, even the given figures are enough to cause alarm; for this is no normal development but a leap and a bound, a stampede from Yiddish to the non-Jewish languages.

One of the best students of Jewish life in Canada, B.S. Zack, writing in the January 20, 1953, issue of the Montreal Jewish Daily Eagle, complains:

It is hard to understand why, at a time when the Jews of Canada have the largest educational budget in their ~~country~~ history, at a time when we have throughout the country such fine and modern Yiddish schools, which not only are splendid buildings, but are doing excellent work, why at just such a time the attachment to Yiddish should be growing smaller and weaker among the Canadian Jews.

We also possess some statistical data on Yiddish in the United States. This material lacks the high quality of the figures on Canada just cited. In the first place, it is not the product of a census but of a sample poll. And although the U.S. Census Bureau carefully evaluated the results, they still remain inferior to census data. In the second place, the information dates from the year 1940, and as it happens, it is precisely in the years since then that the process of linguistic assimilation has been most intensive because of the great decline in the percentage of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and the great increase in the percentage of American-born Jews. This information has several other defects: the questionnaire was formulated quite differently than in the censuses of 1900 and 1920. In the census of 1940 it was not a question of the language spoken by the person/^{himself} but of the language spoken in the person's home in his childhood days. In the earlier censuses the question was far more clearly and ~~definitely~~^{concretely} stated: it concerned the ~~immigrant's~~ immigrant's mother tongue in the country of emigration. At all events, it was clear at that time that we had to do with actual Yiddish-speaking Jews, as a considerable period of time must elapse before the immigrant/~~adapts~~^{takes} to

speaking English in his home. Especially in the years before the majority of the Jewish population consisted of native-born and consequently English-speaking persons.

We think it necessary to quote the formulas of both censuses so that the reader may be able to appraise the value of the data cited further on. We have to do here with the largest Jewish community in the world, a community comprising almost one-half of the Jewish people, and the developments in this Jewry determines the fate not of Diaspora Jewry alone.

Here is ^{of} ~~The~~/formula employed in the censuses/~~in~~ 1910 and 1920: "The language of customary speech in the homes of the immigrants prior to immigration."--
Census of 1920.

And here is the formula used in the questionnaire of 1940: "Mother tongue is defined as the principal language spoken in the home of the person in his earliest childhood."--Census of 1940.

Before taking up the statistical data, we think it advisable to make some remarks on the peculiar situation in the United States, where we have to do with a congeries of tens of languages and cultures, and where all the non-Jewish ethnic groups without exception rush to the altar of total assimilation and national extinction as to a wedding. A comparison between Jews and other ethnic and religious groups will reveal the peculiar exceptional position and evolution of the Jewish community.

Heretofore we have adduced proofs that the assimilative factors and assimilationist tendencies are strongest among the Jews of the United States. However, this is true only as long as we compare the Jews of America with those of Eastern Europe. The situation changes radically the moment we make a comparison between Jews and other ethnic groups in America itself. Here there is a repetition of the phenomenon, but in reverse: both the assimilative factors and the assimilationist tendencies are much weaker in the case of the Jews of the United States than in that of all other ethnic groups. Jews offer a much more intensive fight against total and absolute assimilation than any other religious or ethnic group.

In order that this extremely complicated question may become clearer, we must expatiate on the concept "assimilation" and on its real and concrete meaning. In its general form, this concept is very vague and ^{covers} ~~embraces~~ phenomena of differing ^{quality.} ~~character.~~ But when one speaks of assimilation in the case of Jews, one generally means only linguistic and cultural assimilation. Apostasy and ^{also} ~~intermarriage~~ ^{is} ~~are~~ already regarded as national treason, as a total flight from Judaism, as complete identification with the non-Jewish group and hence absolute separation from the Jewish community. It is well known that in the United States there are plenty of mixed couples who are members and even leaders of Jewish congregations and of many other Jewish organizations and institutions. This is a typically American phenomenon: even in Western Europe, where linguistic ^{and} ~~and~~ cultural assimilation was more deeply rooted in Jewish life than in America, this was an extremely rare occurrence. Apostasy and intermarriage are indeed a legitimate offspring of illegitimate linguistic and cultural assimilation; nevertheless, they were always more tolerant of spiritual and cultural assimilation, while intermarriage, let alone apostasy, was always not only regarded but treated as treason, as desertion of the Jewish people. There were rare cases where intermarriage ^{was} ~~was~~ condoned, but these were exceptions to the rule.

Logically, linguistic and cultural assimilation must eventually lead to complete fusion with the majority with which one is spiritually integrated. In Jewish life, however, this has never happened in so absolute a way. The disappearance of the Jewish community of Alexandria, Egypt, was a result of assimilation, but also of ~~po~~ ^{plagues}. There is no way of knowing what might have been the fate of the two ^{most assimilated} ~~most assimilated~~ Jewish communities in Europe, the Spanish and the German, because the assimilative processes were interrupted. Nevertheless, there is much we can learn from these two communities.

The assimilation of these two Jewries did not succeed in bringing about their complete coalescence and ~~total~~ total disappearance, but it did manage to render these two communities nationally sterile. German Jewry

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became so alienated from the Jewish people that even the ^{Great} Catastrophe did not succeed in fructifying them, as has always (including this time) been the case with the Orthodox and nationally-minded Jewish elements. Before our eyes tens ~~of~~ of thousands of German Jews, among them thousands upon thousands of intellectuals, have come to countries with large Jewish communities in which the national pulse still beats quite strongly, and in which Jewish national movements are deeply engrossed with the struggle against assimilationist trends, yet the influx of an element so intellectually rich as the German Jews does not make itself felt in any way. In the United States alone more than 20,000 German-Jewish intellectuals ^{have come,} ~~came~~, and the great majority of them promptly substituted American for German assimilation. And the same thing has happened in England and France and in absolutely all Latin American countries.

Somewhat different was the fate of those German Jews who either voluntarily or under compulsion sought refuge in Eretz Israel. ^{Too} ~~Very~~ dense is the national atmosphere there and too attractive the national development work, for anyone to remain wholly aloof from this feverish activity of renewal. But even in Israel one is struck more by the technical abilities of the German-Jewish wing than by its creativeness in Jewish national spheres.

Sterility, barrenness is certainly a tragic phenomenon, and it may well be that it is much more tragic than complete fusion with the ~~the~~ surrounding non-Jewish population; but the fact remains that, in the case of Jews, linguistic and cultural assimilation is still very far from total disappearance. This will also make clearer to us why not only mixed marriages, which are the shortest way to apostasy, to total submersion in the majority sea, are rarer among Jews than among other nationalities, but linguistic and cultural assimilation itself is also slower, more restrained, and nationally more limited among Jews in comparison with other ethnic groups. We are well aware that technically, literarily as it were, Jews master foreign languages and cultures more quickly and skillfully. Certain types of Jews sail into foreign literatures and cultural spheres with more brilliancy than non-Jews. →

Nevertheless, the last step leading to ~~complete break~~ ^{total} submersion in the non-Jewish milieu, to a ~~complete break~~ with the parent stock, is much rarer among Jews than among any other people.

How explain it? There are many reasons for it. We shall dwell on some of them. The Jewish group is a glaringly exceptional one the world over. The ~~gulf~~ ^{chasm} between Jews and non-Jews, of whatever Christian denomination and nationality the latter may be, is the deepest. This chasm is filled with Jewish blood. The repugnance between Jews and Gentiles is mutual, it is charged with 2,000-year-old conflicts, antipathies, and Jewish blood. To be sure, in different degrees among different peoples; but there is no people in Europe with ~~whom~~ ^{whom} we do not have a bloody account outstanding. And while outwardly it may appear that in certain countries all this is a matter of history--forgotten history--the Jew cannot so easily shake off the nightmare which recurs so often historically and which cries to the Jew not to be too credulous of non-Jewish ~~love~~ professions of love. The American is at bottom a European, and although his hereditary memory may in this respect be weaker than that of Europeans in their old habitat, the bloody account is not completely wiped out even in America. The mutual hatred--call it antipathy, if you wish--is historically of such long standing and of such psychological depth that it cannot evaporate and disappear in a generation or two. Although outwardly it may not come to light and expression, the Great Massacre has made the blood-filled chasm still deeper. Especially ~~since as~~ ^{since as} many as twenty European peoples took part in the Great Massacre, which actually means that the participants were the brothers and sisters of American citizens. And America herself did not overexert herself to save Jews on the eve of the war during the small-scale massacre nor during the war years when the wholesale slaughter with its millions of Jewish victims was in full swing.

There is no doubt whatever that the Great Catastrophe halted the course of assimilation, especially of its final stages, intermarriage and apostasy. Which means that in the past ten or fifteen years ~~there~~, the years of ~~intense~~ ^{intensive} outward linguistic adaptation to the non-Jewish milieu, there

actually occurred a psychological and spiritual national awakening among deeply dormant and virtually dead members of the Jewish people. Whether this will yield nationally creative fruit, is doubtful.

So much for the negative factors which act as a brake on the end results and final stages of assimilation. Let us also point out a couple of positive factors which hinder the complete amalgamation with the non-Jewish environment, the total disappearance of the Jewish stem.

The immigrants of all other peoples are quite undisturbed about the national fate of their brothers and sisters they left behind in the old country. They bring with them family cares, but ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ not national cares. They may be worried about the independence and freedom enjoyed by their own people, but not about its national existence and survival. Even now, after the rise of the State of Israel, concern about the existence and future of our people has not been removed from the shoulders of Jews throughout the Diaspora. Whether he knows it or not, this factor influences the psychology of the Jew and compels him to remain in his own camp and not to desert a people that is fighting for its life.

In the second place, the Jews are a persecuted and murderously assaulted people. It is not easy even for the average man to forsake such a camp. Conscience dictates that one remain with the weak and not go over to the side of the strong.

The Jews are an old people, and every Jew harbors somewhere in his heart a certain pride in belonging to a martyred and heroic people.

The coincidence of the Jewish religion with the national factor renders Jewish exceptionalism bolder and deeper, spiritually and psychologically richer and much more decidedly separate and apart from the surrounding world, which is nationally and ^{even} religiously more disunited, divided, and fragmented. The Jewish people strides among nations and states like a historically fashioned extraordinary spiritual giant, and this sense of pride extends to the most backward members of the people. To be and remain a Jew is a heroic act and

impresses and allures those most alienated from the people whether they realize it or not. It has become a ^{deep-seated, hereditary} ~~deep-seated, hereditary~~ "chosen people" trait.

Let us add, finally, that the ^{rise} ~~birth~~ of the State of Israel has unquestionably ^{uplifted} ~~enriched~~ nationally the mass of Jews, including the linguistically and culturally assimilated, infusing fresh national blood and marrow into the driest bones of the Jewish people.

But notwithstanding all the enumerated ^{factors} ~~causes~~ and causes inhibiting the course of Jewish assimilation even in its first stages--linguistic and cultural amalgamation--it is ^{spreading among} ~~extensively~~ ^{among} ~~permeating~~ the Jewish masses and causing considerable havoc. And the shadow of barrenness, of sterility in the national sense, while being at the same time productive in the culture of the surrounding world, already constitutes a serious threat and extends to very large segments of the Jewish intelligentsia.

It should also be borne in mind that among no other ethnic group in the United States is such an active and purposefully organized fight being waged against the assimilative factors and assimilationist tendencies as among the Jews. And this, too, contributes to the fact that among the Jews there are fewer cases of the final stages of assimilation--intermarriage and apostasy--than among any other ethnic group in America. Unfortunately, however, ~~there are enough~~ ^{they are sufficiently numerous} ~~they are sufficiently numerous~~ ^{of them} to clip the wings of national creativeness and to cut the ground from under the national endeavors.

Let us now take up the statistical data, dwelling first on the statistics concerning language. In 1940, the number of American Jews who gave Yiddish as the principal language spoken in their homes in their earliest childhood, was 1,751,100. This number of Jews consisted of three categories: (a) foreign-born immigrants, 920,440; native Americans, one or both of whose parents were of foreign birth, 773,680; (c) native Americans, both of whose parents were born in America, 52,980.

The true index of the future of Yiddish as a spoken language is the third group. The number of Jewish grandchildren in America in 1940 cannot be

established. But if one remembers that in 1900 there were already more than a million Jews in the country, and in 1914 about three millions, one must conclude that of the 4,400,000 Jews in the United States in 1940, at least one million and a half were American-born grandchildren. Of this number, only 52,000 gave Yiddish as their mother tongue,--an insignificant percentage which is not worth computing at all. But let us take both of the last categories. The first group--immigrants--can certainly not be taken into account when one is concerned not with the statics but with the dynamics of the situation, with the development and the outlook for the future. Jointly the last two categories number 826,660 persons who declared that in their childhood years they spoke Yiddish at home. In the year 1940 there were, as said, about 4,400,000 Jews in the United States. Deducting the first group, the immigrants, we have left approximately 3,500,000. It is of this number that we have to compute the percentage who stated that in their earliest childhood Yiddish was the principal language ^{spoken in} ~~spoke at~~ their homes, roughly 25 per cent.

Altogether, 1,751,100 gave Yiddish as their mother tongue in 1940. In 1920, 2,043,616 gave Yiddish as the language of customary speech in their homes before immigration. The number was thus 292,516 less in 1940. In ¹⁾ ~~the~~ ^{twenty} ~~twenty~~ years from 1920 to 1940 there immigrated to the United States 433,000 Jews, of whom at least 300,000 were from the East European countries, because in the 5-year period 1921-1925 280,000 Jews immigrated to this country, for the most refugees from the Ukraine, White Russia, and ^{Poland} ~~Poland~~, hence unquestionably Yiddish-speaking Jews. This number must be deducted from the number of those who in 1940 gave Yiddish as their mother tongue. We shall thus find that in 1940 there were not ^{much} more than 1,400,000 who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue, ^{or} ~~or~~ 643,000 less than in 1920. What does it mean that in 1940

1)

C.B. Sherman, Jews and Other Ethnic Groups in the United States, New York, 1948, pp. 181-182 (Yiddish); S. Sokal, "Yiddish in the National Census," Yiddisher Kemfer, New York, October 30, 1942.

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there 643,000 less Jews who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue? It means that those of the older generation who had passed away were not succeeded by young people who in relation to Yiddish would/ordinarily have taken the place of the departed.

By way of comparison let us take the German group--the most self-assertive and chauvinistic. It has many other advantages yet in relation to ethnic/loyalty. Historically it arrived here almost simultaneously with the English. Already in 1759 there existed a German-language paper in Pennsylvania. 1) Shortly after the American Revolution there were about 25 German newspapers in Pennsylvania alone. 2) Further on we shall discuss the question of the foreign-language press at length; here we merely wish to establish the long duration of the German immigration. According to their numbers it is estimated that persons of German descent constitute about 25 per cent of the total white population of the United States, 3) not much less than the percentage contributed by those of British/origin (i.e., English, Scotch, North Irish, and Welsh), who constitute about 33 per cent. 4) There was a particularly great increase in the immigration of Germans in the first half of the nineteenth century. In nine years--1846-1854 inclusive--almost 900,000 Germans immigrated to the United States. 5) They endeavored to concentrate in particular areas, although they were spread over many States. Thus they constituted over a third of the population of Pennsylvania, 6) and so it is not surprising that in 1828 they introduced a bill in the State Legislature providing that German be declared an official language on equal footing with English. 7)

Describing in great detail and thoroughly the national tendencies of immigrants, the German/immigrants, C.B. Sherman says: "Rarely has an immigrant group included so large a percentage of persons who, upon their arrival here, set

1) Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Rouchek, eds., Our Racial and National Minorities, New York, 1937, p. 54.
2) Ibid., pp. 574-575. 3) Ibid., p. 166. 4) Ibid., 5) Ibid., 170.
6) Sherman, op. cit., 119.
7) Ibid.

themselves to achieve clearly formulated programs of collective and ethnical living together, as was the case with the Germans." 1)

And he adds: "The Germans came early in large numbers and created for themselves important cultural and social points d'appui both in ^{farming} ~~agriculture~~ and in industry. They had a concentrated agriculture and props: church, language, and family. In the cities, too, the settlement of the Germans was concentrated and accompanied by an intensive development of cultural, welfare, and mutual aid organizations. They brought with them a strong German nationalism and much more than average social consciousness. They were in large measure swayed by ideological considerations and set themselves clear-cut goals of ethnical self-preservation. They did not neglect the education of their children; while the religious Germans built parochial schools, the free-thinking Germans established secular schools." 2)

Here we have a picture of a group which from the outset set itself clear-cut national aims, and Sherman relates that "from time to time the Germans put forward demands which ^{bore} some resemblance to a number of demands ^{which} national minorities put forward in heterogeneous states of Europe." 3)

"the He adds that ^{the} German immigration ~~was~~ was continuous; it was not interrupted by long pauses." This is certainly one of the most important factors. And let us add that in the countries of ^{South America} ~~the Americas~~ the Germans succeeded in developing whole districts with a German majority, with German as the dominant ^{tongue,} ~~language,~~ with a network of schools with German as the language of instruction. But what has become of the vast immigration of millions of Germans into the United States?

Sherman gives this sum total: "In the light of the facts, only one

1) Sherman, op. cit., p. 121.

2) Ibid., pp. 125-126.

3) Ibid., p. 126.

conclusion is possible: the German group in the United States is disintegrating. And at an ever quicker tempo. Germans who came with a language and culture of their own and with a strong attachment to both were only able to slow up the assimilation but not to halt it." ¹⁾

Let us cite a few figures on the mother tongue of Germans in America. In 1940, the number of Germans who gave German as the language of their earliest childhood was 4,949,780, whereas in 1920 the number was 8,164,111, a drop of 3,214,331 in 1940, or nearly one-half! But this is not the whole story yet: we must deduct from the figures for 1940 the number of German immigrants from 1920 to 1940--192,691--since the latter were certainly German-speaking, for the German Jews, too, were 100 percent German-speaking. We shall then find that in the ^{space} ~~course~~ of twenty years the loss to the German language was 3,407,022. So rapid was the process/~~the~~ ^{of} assimilation ~~that~~ in the twenty years from 1920 to 1940, years when German chauvinism grew by leaps and bounds in Germany and spread its wings over the entire German world on all continents.

Sherman rightly remarks that the general number of Americans who in the census of 1940 gave their national tongue as the speech of their childhood in their parents' home is not so very important. Far more important and significant is the number of grandchildren who gave their national language as the speech of their earliest childhood. We saw above that among the Jews/~~this~~ ^{the} number was quite insignificant--less than 55,000 out of a Jewish population of more than four millions. At the same time one must keep in mind that the Jews are the most urban of all the immigrants, even in comparison with the Germans, let alone the Poles, Italians, and other minorities. As an urban and and culturally more advanced element, and also as historically more experienced in adopting foreign languages, the Jews furnish the smallest percentage of grandchildren with Yiddish as their mother tongue. One cannot, of course, assess exactly the effect of these factors, but, as we shall see further on from the

1)

Sherman, op. cit., p. 129.

figures on the national press, Jews fight more zealously for their traditional speech.

Let us cite figures on the grandchildren among several ethnic group in 1940 and the language they listed as their mother tongue.

<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Number of Grandchildren</u>
German	925,040
Polish	185,820
Italian	125,040

Concerning the number for the German language, one can certainly figure out the percentage. in the/ ~~the~~ ~~middle~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~1930's~~ middle of the 1930's the Germans constituted 25 per cent of the population of the United States, which means that in 1940 there were about 33,000,000 persons of German descent in America. Of this number, only a little over 925,000 grandchildren gave German as their mother tongue, or a bare 3 per cent!

On the eve of World War II, Polish statisticians and authorities on the emigration from Poland to the United States estimated the number of Americans of Polish descent at about eight millions. Hence the number of grandchildren who gave Polish as their mother tongue constituted no more than two per cent.

The number of Italian Americans is about the same as, or even a little more than, the number of Polish Americans. The number of grandchildren among them is still less and does not constitute even two per cent.

As we see, in regard to the national prospects of the mother tongue, which is certainly the most important factor in the struggle for national creativeness, all ethnic groups are virtually alike: the linguistic assimilation devours all/ ~~the~~ ^{the} scores of languages of the immigrants. We took the languages of the nationally stronger peoples, of ethnic groups which had brought with them cultural treasures in their national language or had had to fight historically for their national existence and language and were particularly sensitive and militant in this respect.

The question arises, Where lies the root of this phenomenon? There is but a single clear-cut and very simple answer! The assimilative pressure

of the American milieu, which tends with tremendous force toward identity and ~~harmony~~ uniformity, exerts tremendous influence and solely and exclusively by virtue of complete freedom! All ^{the} speculations about pluralism are of value only insofar as it is a question of infusing the various cultures into the unitary and harmonious American culture, but not of perpetuating or even of merely preserving for very long the existence of ^{the} tens of languages and cultures. Homogeneity and conformity are the most characteristic features of the evolution of American society; it is as though the amalgamated American society were instinctively afraid of national ^{schisms} ~~divisions~~ and conflicts and in a hurry to wipe out as soon as possible all traces brought over from nationally rent and corroded Europe and to amalgamate and fuse at the earliest possible the conglomerate of languages and cultures. In such a society it is, of course, extremely hard to ^{stand apart} ~~separate oneself~~ from the rest and to make oneself conspicuous by difference and dissimilarity in the national sphere. And not by chance nor without a sound instinct does ^{American} Jewish society make haste to obliterate at the earliest possible the linguistic and cultural distinctions and clings to the one distinguishing mark which is characteristic of America -- religion and synagogue. But about this we shall have occasion to speak more extensively in Part Three of this book.

Let us cite a few figures on Yiddish in smaller Jewish communities. Mexican Jewry affords us such an opportunity but, unfortunately, a very sad opportunity. For this is a Jewish community which is famous the world over, which has its own Yiddish integrated schools that are attended by about three-fourths of all Jewish children of school age. One might therefore expect good news from there with respect to Yiddish. Yet here is what the Mexican Yiddish newspaper Di Shtime writes in its issue of December 19, 1953:

The published returns of the last census, taken three years ago, show that the number of persons who gave their nationality as "Israelite" was 17,500.

X

The paper makes certain computations and comes to the conclusion that there were about 25,000 Jews in Mexico at the time of the census (1950), but many Jews registered as Germans, Poles, Rumanians, according to their countries of origin. Be that as it may, ^{among} ~~at least~~ the more than 17,000, there were undoubtedly some 12,000 or 13,000 from Eastern Europe, hence Yiddish-speaking. How many of them gave Yiddish as their mother tongue?

An answer to this question is to be found in the second Yiddish newspaper of Mexico (Der Weg, January 18, 1954):

Of the 182,000 naturalized citizens, the number of those who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue was barely 1,841. This figure well-nigh cries for an explanation. According to all estimates, it is accepted among us that there are in Mexico about 13,000-14,000 Ashkenazic Jews, Yiddish-speaking Jews, who derive from Lithuania, Poland, the Ukraine, White Russia, and from other countries where Yiddish was their mother tongue. We also believe that approximately 75 per cent of our children receive a Yiddish education and that Yiddish is their mother tongue. The question arises, How did we lose so large a number of Yiddish-speaking Jews in the census?

The writer of the articles waxes plaintive and angry by turns and comes to the very sad conclusion that

Jews are ashamed to give Yiddish as their mother tongue and preferred to give Polish or German instead. The number of natives of Germany and Austria is given as 4,576, yet when it comes to the mother tongue, the number of German-speaking persons soars to 9,386.

Is there any need for comments on these fatal figures? It almost appears that Jews from Galicia, from the former Austrian provinces, gave German as their mother tongue. The figures are fatal for still another reason: it appears that the younger Jewish generation also gave Spanish as their mother tongue. And this, unfortunately, is in keeping with the reality. Despite attendance at Yiddish schools for ten, eleven, and twelve years, the younger generation speaks Spanish and only Spanish.

We have left for the end of this section the figures concerning a

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Jewish community which enjoys the great distinction of stemming from Lithuania, where the Yiddish language was fostered and prized more than anywhere else. We have in mind South Africa. South African Jewry consists more than 80 per cent of Jews of Lithuanian origin. The Jewish community of South Africa, moreover, is of quite recent date: most of the Jews came there in the first thirty years of the present century. It may be assumed that a large number of the immigrants themselves are still alive and that the native-born generation of Jews grew up in homes where Yiddish still had to be the language of customary speech. Unfortunately, we have to disappoint the reader this time, too. We possess official census figures on this point, and we are going to give the returns of the last two censuses. The number of those who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue was as follows:

<u>Census</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Total Jewish Population</u>
1936	17,687	19.5	90,645
1946	14,000	13.5	104,136

One is ~~surprised~~ ^{shocked} to have to report such a decline of Yiddish among a Jewish population originating from Kovno and other Lithuanian cities and towns, and that, too, in a country where there is a sharp conflict between ^{the} ~~two~~ ^{principal} languages: English and Afrikaans.

(d) The Decline of the Yiddish Press.— The Yiddish press is the best gauge and most important index of the state of Yiddish in the world and of the trends affecting the Yiddish language. The immigrant who linguistically was mute and physically and spiritually tired, hungry, and isolated, found in the Yiddish paper in the countries of immigration a guide, a teacher in the broadest sense of the word, a comforter and herald of a brighter future. This explains the close attachment of the Yiddish reader, even after he had learned to read English or Spanish, to the paper which had served him so kindly and faithfully in the first difficult years. But this was true only of the first ~~generation~~ ^{generation} of immigrants; their children already grew up in wholly new conditions and seldom read a Yiddish paper.

The figures cited below are official and unquestionable; their value and importance are very great indeed.



TABLE. THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE YIDDISH PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Year	Jewish Population	Circulation	% relative to Preceding Year	No. of Jews per Copy
1900	1,000,000	66,252	-----	15.1
1905	1,700,000	190,732	288.1	9.0
1910	2,400,000	269,332	141.2	8.9
1915	3,100,000	605,705	225.0	5.1
1920	3,300,000	523,254	85.9	6.3
1925	3,700,000	585,978	112.0	6.3
1930	4,000,000	562,382	96.0	7.1
1935	4,250,000	486,881	86.5	8.6
1940	4,500,000	403,235	82.8	11.0
1945	4,750,000	287,850	71.4	16.5
1953	5,100,000	213,093	70.0	25.8

Until 1925, when the immigration quotas went into effect, the circulation of the Yiddish papers ^{grew} ~~increased~~ steadily. The rate of increase fluctuated, but it was always intensive enough. In the first five years of the present century the circulation ^{almost} tripled. This is not surprising in view of the fact that during this period and the year following--i.e., 1900-1906--there was an influx of nearly half a million Jewish immigrants. Moreover, the caliber of the immigrants was somewhat different: they were more advanced culturally and more alert politically. To which must be added the first Russian revolution, the Kishinev Pogrom of 1903, and the wholesale pogroms of October, 1905. All this stimulated the interest of the immigrant Jews, three-fourths of whom derived from Russia. The new immigrants from other countries, such as Rumania and Hungary, Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, also turned to the Yiddish newspapers, since they were still a long way from reading English with ease. As a result, the circulation of the Yiddish press increased ~~by~~ from over 66,000 to more than 190,000.

In the next five years the circulation again increased nearly one and a half times. The immigration of Jews from the East European countries

1) ^N

N.W. Ayers, American Newspaper Annual and Directory, 1940-1953; N. Goldberg, "The Circulation of the Yiddish Press in the United States, Sefer Hashannah, 5705, New York, p. 566 (Hebrew); Jacob Lestschinsky, "The Position of the Jews in the United States of America," Year Book of the Jewish National Fund, Tel Aviv, 5708, p. 297 (Hebrew).

continued to soar and in the five years--1906-1910 inclusive--there immigrated over half a million Jews, again almost exclusively from the Yiddish-speaking i.e., East European--~~countries~~ lands. In 1915 there was a still bigger jump in the circulation--a more than/~~twofold~~ 200 per cent increase in the number of Yiddish papers sold, from a little over 269,000 to more than 605,000. Two factors were at work here: another large immigration in the years immediately preceding World War I--i.e., 1911-1914 inclusive--of half a million Jews, and the war.

At ~~the~~ the end of the war the circulation dropped a little: immigration had dwindled to a mere trickle, and the war was over. Shortly after the war there was again an upsurge in the circulation, but a very slight one: an increase of some 12 per cent from 1920 to 1925. And that was the end! Immigration quotas were instituted, with the result that the influx of new Jewish immigrants was restricted and the percentage of American-born Jews gradually began to catch up with that of the new arrivals and later to surpass it. In 1930 came the first decline of four per cent in ~~the~~ five years ~~since 1925~~. The next five years--1930 to 1935--produced a drop of over 13 per cent. And the following five years--1935 to 1940--produced a decline of over 17 per cent. From 1940 to 1945 the decrease was even greater: over 28 per cent, while the decline from 1945 to 1953 amounted to 30 per cent! From 287,850 copies in 1945, the circulation fell to 213,093 in 1953.

The table just analyzed tells us a chapter of Jewish history of fate-ful import: it tells ^{us} how millions of Jews fled from the European hell to the United States and here created a daily press with a circulation that would have done credit to ^{very} wealthy and old-established ^{naturalities} peoples. But it likewise tells us how the loophole of European Jewry was stopped up, thereby cutting down the newspaper tree which had blossomed and grown and begun to play so tremendous a role in world Jewry.

consolidate the figures of the table and

pivotal The picture becomes clearer and more vivid if we take only three *key* dates:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Jewish Population</u>	<u>Circulation</u>	<u>Annual Index</u>	<u>No. of Jews per Copy</u>
1900	1,000,000	66,252	100.0	15.1
1925	3,700,000	585,978	885.1	6.3
1953	5,100,000	213,095	-294.0	25.5

In the first 25 years the circulation increased almost ninefold; in the next 28 years it shrank to a little over one-third. At the turn of the century one in every 15 Jews bought a Yiddish paper. In 1925 ~~one~~ in every 6 Jews bought a Yiddish paper. In 1953 only one in every 25 Jews bought a Yiddish paper.

The picture will become apparent in all its magnitude and significance if we also set forth the growth of the English-language press during in the past 30 years. In 1920, the combined circulation of the English-language dailies in the United States was 27,790,000, and in 1951, 54,018,000. This means that the American public ~~has begun~~ ^{has begun} ~~to read~~ ^{the} papers to a much greater extent, since the population of the United States ~~has~~ ^{has} increased, not twofold, but less than one and a half times: from 105,000,000 in 1920 to 150,000,000 in 1950. If the ~~population~~ ^{population} ~~has begun~~ ^{has begun} to read more news papers, the Jews ~~have~~ ^{have} most certainly ~~done~~ ^{did} so, since the Jews are more urban and metropolitan. The decline in the circulation of the Yiddish papers is therefore much more significant.

We have cited figures on the circulation of the Yiddish dailies for the country as a whole. But it is important to note that in 1923 there were ten Yiddish dailies, and today only three. The smaller cities--Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and San Francisco--then had their own daily newspapers. ¹⁾ This means that at that time there were enough Yiddish readers in the smaller Jewish communities with sufficient local Jewish interests to ~~maintain a Yiddish daily.~~

In 1923 there were more than 20 Yiddish weeklies and 8 Yiddish monthlies in the United States; ²⁾ today there about 10 weeklies and fortnightlies

1) American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 26 (1924-1925), pp. 550-556.

2) Ibid.

and only three monthlies. We shall be very close to the truth if we add that in 1923 a majority of the periodicals were more or less self-supporting, while today all non-daily Yiddish periodicals are run on a deficit and are able to exist only thanks to the large subsidies they receive from the various parties and cultural organizations.

We will not enter here into an analysis of the contents of the periodicals thirty years ago and today. Suffice it to say that at the earlier date there was a monthly magazine devoted to music and the theatre, while nothing like that exists today. And this is very important, for, next to the ~~daily~~ press, the theatre played the greatest part in furthering the development of the Yiddish language and keeping it alive and flavorsome among the masses.

Who reads the Yiddish press in the United States? If ^{perhaps} ~~possibly~~ over two hundred thousand copies are sold, it is to be assumed that the Yiddish newspapers are read by no fewer than half a million persons. Is it only the older generation, which has an inadequate knowledge of English and can better find its bearings in a Yiddish paper, or is it rather conscious, nationally-minded Jews, who read a Yiddish paper because they find in it specifically matter?
Jewish/~~matter~~

Unfortunately, we cannot answer these very important questions, as no surveys ~~studies~~ have lately been made on this subject. But we possess a splendid study of thirty years ago, and although it must be antiquated by now, its findings are extremely important and ^{of interest} ~~also~~ ^{also} also for our day.

Thirty years ago Dr. Mordecai Soltes, ^{now} ~~present~~ ^{Professor of Semantics} Executive Director of ^{Satire at} Yeshiva University, made a study of the type of persons who read Yiddish newspapers and of the contents of these papers,--a study which will remain a classic in the annals of the Yiddish daily press. We shall give a few quotations from it which are extremely instructive.

1) American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 26 (1924-1925), pp. 165-572.

First, a few replies from readers to the questionnaires submitted to them. About 20 per cent of the latter stated that they read the Yiddish newspaper because "Yiidish is my mother tongue; it must not die." "Not to forget the Yiddish language." "Because I like it." "Because I like the Yiddish style of writing."

These are general expressions of love and attachment to the Yiddish language. But here are more detailed and interesting answers:

A sign painter's answer to this question:-- "I read the Yiddish newspaper for news not generally found in English papers, such as Jewish trade news, stories, Jewish ~~staxias~~ events, etc."

A clothing cutter (age 21--born in U.S.A.) : "It being a newspaper of my own-race, I find in it very important information that concerns me and my race."

A lawyer's reply to this question:-- "To get news of Jewish interest not otherwise found in the English dailies, and for editorial comment on Jewish events."

A housewife says:-- "I'm used to it and I like it."

A number of readers ~~asserted~~ that they ~~do~~ did not like the way Jewish news ~~is~~ presented by the English newspapers: the same news had a different flavor when reported in a Yiddish paper. Some went so far as to say that, on the whole, the general content of the Yiddish paper "is... superior to that of most of the English dailies."

Let us cite some statistics that will shed much light upon the quoted opinions.

Distribution of the readers of Yiddish newspapers in 1923 according to knowledge of English:

Those who read English newspapers	66.1 %
Those who read English somewhat, but not well enough to understand English newspapers	20.0 %
Those who do not read English at all	13.9 %
Total	100.0 %

1) Ibid., p. 193.
 2) Ibid., ~~194~~ pp. 193-194.
 3) Ibid., p. 197.

(2)

These are extremely important figures. If, already thirty years ago, there was among the readers so large a percentage of active Jews, nationally-conscious spirits, who could not be satisfied/~~with~~^{by} the English dailies and had to read a Yiddish newspaper, it is obvious that among the present-day readers of Yiddish papers the percentage of those reading English must certainly be much larger. The Yiddish newspaper, accordingly, was even at that time not a paper for grandfathers and grandmothers, but for the most active, nationally-minded Jewish elements.

Distribution of the readers of Yiddish newspapers according to the number of years in the United States:¹⁾

Less than 10 yrs.	20.9%
10-19 yrs.	43.5%
20 yrs. or over	26.9%
Native-born	8.7%
Total	100.0%

The last two categories certainly consisted of those who read English fluently and understood it well. There were exceptions, of course, but, generally speaking, most of the Jews who had lived twenty or more years in the United States read English with ease. Together the two/~~categories~~^{groups} constituted more than 35 per cent of all the readers of Yiddish newspapers in 1923. But there is no doubt whatever that among those who lived from 10 to 19 years in America, there were many young children who made their way to a public school almost immediately after disembarking from the ship that brought them to these shores. In general, these last figures corroborate the information cited above that about two-thirds of the readers of Yiddish newspapers ~~could~~^{no doubt} could and often did read also English papers.

It will/also be of interest to quote figures on the native countries of the readers of Yiddish newspapers:

1) Ibid. , 197.

2)
Ibid.

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Russia	48.7
Poland, Galicia, Hungary	41.7
United States	8.7
Rumania	0.9
Total	100.0

The most interesting thing about these figures is the percentage of the American-born--an indication or even proof that the American atmosphere is not entirely unfavorable to the language of a minority. And it may be that a mistake or something much graver was committed by the Yiddish newspapers themselves in that they did not foster Yiddish patriotism, did not try to instill deep love into the hearts and souls of their readers, as well as a profound awareness that the Yiddish press is a great asset and national factor which must and should be prized and handed down as an inheritance to the succeeding generations. By this I do not mean to say that it would have been possible to halt completely the process of assimilation, one of whose manifestation is the transition to English. However, it was the part of the Yiddish press to apply a brake to the process of assimilation, to place obstacles in its way, to ^{combat} ~~resist~~ it with every means, and to weaken it in every way possible. Unfortunately, it did not do so.

Following is the sum total arrived at by Dr. Soltes in his masterly study of the character of the Yiddish press in ~~1925~~ 1923:¹⁾

...While the Yiddish newspapers generally do not permit any opportunity to go by to comment on problems of vital significance to the Jewish people, one might conclude from the results of this study, that this press conceives its main editorial function to be to interpret American events, ideals, and institutions to their immigrant Jewish readers. * * *

It consciously attempts to bring them much nearer to America in sentiment, thought, and action. It endeavors to inculcate an understanding and respect for American institutions; to explain to its readers the significance of American festivals and customs...to imbue its readers with American ideals and with reverence for the principles of American

1)

Ibid., pp. 327-329.

democracy; to give them a proper conception of the duties and opportunities of American citizenship. ...

The relatively greater frequency with which the Yiddish newspapers deal editorially with American issues, as compared with the attention given to foreign and specifically Jewish problems, the emphasis which they generally put upon the inculcation and development of citizenship, and the efforts which they exert in the direction of uprooting or correcting civic deficiencies, place the Yiddish press in the front rank as an Americanizing agency.

the virtues or desirable qualities of

Much has changed in Jewish life during the last thirty years, and the form and content of the Yiddish press have gone through ~~all~~ every change: the Yiddish newspapers are no longer "Americanizing agencies," but national organs of the Jewish people and the most active and zealous guardians of Yiddish as ^a ~~vernacular~~ *folk language*. The Yiddish dailies are not like the English newspapers, which give chief place to the news, nor to the papers in many foreign languages, which remain to this day Americanizing agencies: they devote much space to Jewish affairs throughout the world and, in the first line, to the State of Israel; and even as regards America, special Jewish social and cultural problems receive a good deal of attention.

In comparison with the growth and expansion of Jewish life in America the Yiddish press has greatly retrogressed. Its place has been inherited by the rising ^{English-language Jewish} ~~Anglo-Jewish~~ periodical, no longer a daily but a weekly or monthly. The Jewish periodicals in English have made tremendous headway in recent years, both in quantity and in quality.

In 1923 there were 42 Anglo-Jewish weeklies in the United States; in 1953, over 60. And there has been a tremendous change in the level of these publications. We deliberately refrain from naming names; the experienced reader knows them very well. The circulation of the Anglo-Jewish weeklies is in excess of 200,000 and continues to mount, in line with the growth of Jewish social and cultural problems. In 1924 there were only 16 Anglo-Jewish monthlies and quarterlies; today their number exceeds 70, and the differentiation in content shows how far and wide Jewish life has developed. Social-economic problems, communal questions, religious tasks, cultural and spiritual

inquiries and problems, educational aims and tasks--in short, the whole gamut of a complex Jewish life, all dealt with in the English language.

That these Anglo-Jewish publications constitute great competition to Yiddish literature, including the Yiddish press, is beyond question. We now have an intelligentsia which has a perfect command of both languages but feels more at home in the English language. If it can find the necessary information and dissertations in the English publications, it gives up the Yiddish ones.

(c) The Foreign-Language Press in the United States.— The fate of the foreign-language press in America reflects most clearly and vividly the future of all the nationalities and races which ^{in the course of} ~~have~~ ^{have} streamed into America--of all the nationalities except the Jews! This is not a question of being a "chosen people": the whole history of the Jews differs so profoundly and radically from the course of development among all the other nationalities and races which have ^{flowed} ~~passed~~ into the America sea of peoples that it is not surprising that the Jewish future, too, in this ^{country} ~~country~~ seems to be somewhat different. The Jewish group follows the tendency ^{toward as-} ~~similation~~ along with all the other ethnic groups, but at a certain point which begins to threaten national extinction, the Jewish group halts, saying, Thus far and no farther, and certainly no deeper! Linguistic and cultural assimilation? With pleasure! But no further! And because one refuses to go further, one must, first, fight to preserve longer one's own national possessions, including one's folk language; and second, insofar as linguistic assimilation is forced upon the most religious and nationally-minded elements, one must try to create one's own values and national-religious assets in the foreign language, which in time ^{may} ~~perhaps~~ become one's own tongue; which, as has happened more than once in Jewish history, may perhaps imbibe so much of the Jewish spirit and way that it will change from an assimilative to a nationally conserving factor.

In what follows we shall dwell briefly on the fate of the foreign-

language press, bearing in mind that the literature of the other foreign-language groups is of a wholly different character than that of the Jews: it does not set itself the task of continuing on American soil national endeavors and the development of an own national culture and spirit. It merely fosters memories of the old country, instills in the American-born children those who remain in or grandchildren honor and love for the old homelands, where the one and only center of national life and creativity is to be found.

And because a complete assimilation in America is a natural ~~development~~ development ~~process~~ ^{remains} to these groups, they are not so apprehensive, as we Jews are, for their own press, which to this day ^{remains} an Americanizing agency. The foreign-language press, including the Yiddish, is literally sinking, but the latter struggles with more energy and tenacity for survival.

Here are some figures on the foreign-language press in the United States:¹⁾

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Papers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1917	1,350	100.0
1937	1,076	79.7
1953	857	63.5

The author from whom we borrowed the figures for the first two dates, Mark Villchur, admits ~~that~~ ^{that, while} the decrease in the number of foreign-language publications was unquestionably caused also by the same general American tendency toward mergers and consolidations of papers, there is no doubt whatever that the main cause ^{was} ~~is~~ the decline in the number of readers. In view of the fact that the immigration quota law of 1924 and the long economic depression which began in 1929 cut the ground from ~~us~~ under the foreign-language press, it seemed evident to many at the time that "the foreign-language press was doomed."²⁾

1) Brown and Roucek, eds., op. cit., p. 578; Foreign Language Publications in the United States, September 9, 1954; Ayer's Directory, 1953.

2) Brown and Roucek, eds., op. cit., pp. 576-577.

We shall come closer to our subject by stating the number of foreign-language dailies in the United States: in 1937, 129; in 1953, 73, a drop of 56, or nearly one-half.¹⁾

The daily, semi-weekly, and weekly publications serve mainly the most urgent needs of the immigrants. The majority of the immigrant papers, about two-thirds, are labor papers, or friendly to the cause of labor. The monthly and quarterly publications concern themselves more with the history of the immigrants, their progress in the new country, and their integration into American society. The first category of publications carries much more material on the old country because these papers cater to the recently arrived immigrant, who is still strongly attached to his old home, where he has many relatives and friends. The decline in the number of daily and weekly publications^{is,} accordingly, the surest sign of the linguistic Americanization of the immigrants, who are already satisfying their current needs and interests through the English-language press. We therefore think it advisable to give the number of semi-weekly and weekly^{papers} at two different dates:

In 1937, 645; in 1953, 322, a drop of exactly one-half!

As said, the dailies and weeklies are the most important caterers to the immigrant in the stages in which he is not yet sufficiently at home in the English language.

Let us draw a comparison between the Jews and the Germans which will bring out clearly, on the one hand, the great strength of the assimilative potential of the American milieu and, on the other, the greater national tenacity^{and endeavor} of the Jews not to surrender so important a factor as the folk language.

1)

Brown and Roucek, eds., op. cit., p. 578; Foreign Language Publications in the United States, September, 1954; Ayer's Directory, 1953.

The number of German dailies in the United States was:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1937	19
1943	9
1953	4

We saw above that in 1953 the Yiddish dailies had a combined circulation of over 200,000, while the four German dailies had an aggregate circulation of only 41,690,²⁾ or about one-fifth of that of the Yiddish daily press, although there are 6 or 7 times as many persons of German descent in the United States as there are Jews.

The German immigration is much older than that of the East European Jews. This no doubt accounts for the higher degree of linguistic assimilation among the former. Let us take the circulation of the Polish dailies, hence of papers in the language of immigrants who came here at about the same time as the Jews. In 1953 there were eight Polish dailies with an aggregate circulation of 210,143,³⁾ or roughly the same as that of the Yiddish dailies, although there are eight million Poles in America as against five million Jews.

Italian

The five/~~xxxxxx~~ dailies had a circulation of 142,095 in 1953, although the number of persons of Italian extraction in the United States is one and a half times that of Jews.

The above-mentioned Mark Villchur, who contributes a searching article on "The Immigrant Press" to the book Our Racial and National Minorities, edited by Brown and Roucek, say^s of the various foreign-born ethnic groups generally that they devote their monthly and quarterly publications to "their historic roots in America,/~~xxxxxx~~ political and social activities, sports, organizations." Only about the Jews does he say the following very

1) Brown and Roucek, eds., op. cit., p. 578; Sherman, op. cit., p. 129; Ayer's Directory, 1953.
 2) Ayer's Directory, 1953.
 3) Ibid.

significant words: "...the development of Yiddish for literary expression was largely due to the development of the Yiddish press in America, and to the galaxy of brilliant writers it has produced."¹⁾

In Part One of this book we established that both the social-economic structure of the Jews and the prevalence of elements with a college or high school education must lead to a more intensive tempo among the Jews. Here we have just seen that the Yiddish press is fighting more obstinately and strenuously for its survival. This is no doubt due to the fact that among the Jews, and only among the Jews, there has sprung up a whole national movement which is building the future of the people by means of the Yiddish language. The Great Catastrophe in Europe and the great miracle of the rise of the State of Israel have undoubtedly helped to prolong the existence of the Yiddish press. The conditions among the Jews are absolutely different from those among any other ethnic group. Already thirty years ago Dr. Mordecai Soltes showed that among the readers of the Yiddish papers there was a very large percentage of conscious nationalists ~~to whom~~ to whom the Yiddish language was a spiritual need and its preservation a national duty. After the Great Catastrophe, which resulted in the destruction of European Jewry, these feelings must certainly have been intensified, and this had, and still has, its effect on the existence, and the prolongation of the existence, of the Yiddish press.

Mr. Villchur writes in the closing section of his article on "The Immigrant Press": "Granting that our present restrictive immigration policy will remain in force indefinitely, it is simply a question of time before foreign-language papers will begin to decline."²⁾ Stating that many foreign-language publications now include English sections, and that the number of those ~~with English departments~~ ^{with English departments} is increasing, he adds that the Yiddish papers

1)

Brown and Roucek, eds., op. cit., p. 588.

2)

Ibid., p. 592.

"abandoned such sections after experimenting with them for a number of years" because of the "existence of a large English-language press devoted to Jewish problems and community life."¹⁾ And yet the Yiddish press has declined less than the non-Jewish foreign-language press. This is unquestionably due to the influence of the heightened sentiment among the mass of Jews in America and throughout the world.

C.B. Sherman concludes his survey of the foreign-language press with these words: "The foundation of the foreign-language structure is vanishing and the building itself is on the way to complete collapse."²⁾ As the best proof of this he cites the fact that "the circulation of the German papers declined from 756,116 [in 1909] to 192,669 in [1937]."³⁾ And as we have seen, to not more than 41,000 in 1953. The largest of the ethnic groups after the British, the group which was the best armed with language and culture, religion and chauvinism, tenacity and national ambition, had to yield to the tremendous assimilative pressure of the American milieu, of its powerful tendency to homogeneity and uniformity; of its basic historical policy of national unity and cohesion; a policy which did not employ coercion but wrought solely with absolute freedom for all/~~the numerous~~ ethnic groups to live freely with their transplanted national cultural heritages and voluntarily and cheerfully to integrate themselves into the new national amalgam.

4) (a) Linguistic Differentiation of the Jewish Press throughout of the World. - The Jewish ~~people~~ ^{of} the Diaspora are scattered over scores of countries and hence subject to the linguistic influence of many nations. Present-day political and economic conditions dictate that ~~the~~ immigrants integrate as soon as possible into the milieu of the majority, ^{that they} acquire at the earliest possible the most essential means needed in the struggle for

1) Brown and Roucek, eds., op. cit., p. 593.

2) Sherman, op. cit., p. 178.

3) Ibid., p. 179.

existence. And the language of the majority is the first and most elementary factor in fitting into the new economic conditions, in integrating ^{with} ~~the~~ the majority organism.

In today's complex and differentiated social-economic conditions, it is not enough, as was the case in the Middle Ages, and in Eastern Europe until the very end of the nineteenth century, to acquire a couple of hundred words and a score of phrases from the dominant language and to lean ^{upon} ~~on~~ the majority body and serve it by performing certain economic functions. Present-day society demands a higher cultural level and a more exact knowledge of economic conditions in the country where one wishes to establish a home. Hence it is not surprising that the Jewish immigrant in the Western Hemisphere countries or in Western Europe hastens not only to make provision for a Jewish burial ground and a place of worship but to adapt himself linguistically at the earliest possible to the new environment and to provide his children with facilities for complete linguistic and cultural adaptation to the new world.

Jews lived in Poland for nearly a thousand years, yet a Jewish press in the Polish language did not make its appearance until the beginning of the twentieth century and, at that, it was only a weak supplement to the principal press, which was in Yiddish. Jews lived for many centuries in the Ukraine, White Russia, and Lithuania, yet until the very end not a line appeared in the language of any of these countries. But after a bare two decades of Jewish immigration to Argentina or Brazil, to Chile or Mexico, Jewish publications were already appearing in the languages of the dominant peoples. And the trend is in the direction of mastery of the non-Jewish language, which in the course of a single generation is transformed into one's own vernacular. And the Jews' own language, the thousand-year-old tongue, the tongue that is deeply rooted in the soul and rich in tremendous national Jewish works and imbued with Jewish experiences of joy and sorrow, is becoming more and more unfamiliar.

A balance sheet on the Jewish periodical press of the world, there-

fore, is certainly fraught with great interest. Josef Fraenkel, a member of the staff of the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress in London, has made an attempt to compile a list of all Jewish papers. At the same time we have at hand the annual publication of the World Jewish Congress titled Survey of Events in Jewish Life in 1953, so ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~resultant~~ ~~picture~~ ~~given~~ ~~below~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~opinion~~, ~~sufficiently~~ ~~complete~~ and valuable.

We know full well that the productions of the ~~mind~~ ~~matter~~ cannot be appraised in terms of quantity but of quality, that cultural ~~matter~~ cannot be counted but must be weighed. Nevertheless, we take the liberty of citing the figures on Jewish publications in various languages: they afford some idea not only of the trend in the field of linguistic assimilation, but also of the tendencies with respect to forming a quasi-national basis for Jewish creations. From the data it becomes clear, first, ~~how~~ ~~Jewish~~ ~~spiritual~~ ~~production~~ ~~is~~ ~~divided~~ linguistically and by that very fact its ability to influence all parts of Diaspora Jewry is weakened. Second, one gets some idea of what language is becoming dominant in the Diaspora. The linguistic differentiation in the Diaspora is a subject calling for serious treatment because, unfortunately, ~~the State of Israel~~ ~~has~~ ~~not~~ ~~yet~~ ~~reached~~ the stage of being the dominant influence in the Diaspora countries. /Israel is not yet so rich ~~spiritually~~ and so national ~~original~~ as to be able to lay claim to spiritual hegemony over the cultural development of the rising ~~generations~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~lands~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ Jewish dispersion. ~~The~~ ~~Diaspora~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~position~~ ~~not~~ ~~qualified~~ ~~linguistically~~ ~~to~~ ~~enjoy~~ ~~the~~ ~~Hebraic~~ cultural fruits from the ~~treasure~~ ~~house~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~State~~ ~~of~~ ~~Israel~~. Willy-nilly, a certain influence is exerted upon the small communities of the Diaspora by the large center, which means the English-speaking center. Hence even quantitative information is very important.

1) Josef Fraenkel, The Jewish Press of the World, London, 1953.

TABLE. DISTRIBUTION OF DIASPORA JEWISH PAPERS BY ~~LANGUAGE~~ LANGUAGES*

Language	Number of Papers	Percentage
English	260	52.5
Yiddish	106	21.4
German	30	6.1
Spanish	26	5.2
Hebrew	25	5.1
French	23	4.6
Other Languages	25	5.1
Total	495	100.0

*I have added several new publications to Fraenkel's list, with the result that the totals do not coincide.

English ranks first. Today the English-speaking countries contain about six million Jews, which means about 80 per cent of the Jews in the free lands of the Diaspora (seven and a half millions). It is therefore not surprising that more than half of all the Diaspora papers are printed in the English language.

Next comes Yiddish with 106 papers, or a little over one-fifth of all the publications. Hebrew is very poorly represented, accounting for 25 papers in all, or only 5 per cent of the publications.

~~*****~~

The data just cited are in themselves of scant interest. Only a further, more detailed and penetrating analysis of the essence of the figures will reveal their true meaning. Let us first see how frequently the 495 papers appear.

TABLE. DISTRIBUTION OF THE 495 PAPERS BY FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCE

Type of Paper	Number	Percentage
Dailies	12	2.4
Weeklies	150	30.3
Other Papers	333	67.3
Total	495	100.0

All of the twelve dailies are printed in Yiddish and published in the following countries: United States, 3; Canada, 2; France, 3; Argentina, 2; Uruguay, 2. As we saw above, the combined circulation of the three American Yiddish papers is over 215,000. The nine other Yiddish dailies have an aggregate circulation of about 100,000. All the enumerated countries are immigration countries, because even France, which in reality means Paris, has a relatively large number of Jewish immigrants. And not just immigrants, but more or less recent ones, having arrived in the last 30-40 years. British Jewry, too, consists in its majority of immigrants or descendants of immigrants, but of immigrants who arrived toward the end of the nineteenth century or in the opening years of the twentieth. The East European Jews in England, who, until World War I and for a while after it, had a relatively rich Yiddish press and also other Yiddish cultural institutions, such as the theatre,--these Jews have become thoroughly acclimated, and about three years ago the last shrunken Yiddish paper died a "natural" death.

It is only in a country where there still is a sufficiently large mass of first-generation immigrants that a Yiddish newspaper has a secure existence. This is not to say that France, for example, with her ^{250,000 -}~~25,000~~ 260,000 Jews, of whom only about 150,000-160,000 are first-generation immigrants, needs three Yiddish dailies. They are all largely subsidized by parties, their respective ~~waxks~~ and only thus is their existence made possible. The same can be said of the two Yiddish papers in Uruguay--one of them is a Communist organ and, naturally, is extensively supported by the Party.

After all ^{these} pessimistic comments and, unfortunately, justified comments, it must be acknowledged that the twelve Yiddish daily papers in the whole world, exclusive of Israel, constitute the most important national factor in Jewish life in the Diaspora. These Yiddish papers reflect the organic processes in Jewish life and foster and develop further the best and richest traditions of a distinctive Jewish folk life. The approximately ^{million} one readers of these papers, the remnant of that historic East European mass which had organically raised Jewish ghetto life to that high cultural stage

which will go down in Jewish history as the most creative ^{period} ~~epoch~~ in the wandering life of the Jewish people,--these readers of the Yiddish press are the guardians and bearers of that healthy national conservatism which is a condition sine qua non for/a distinctive Jewish process of development.

The small number of Yiddish dailies are supported and culturally elevated by 34 weeklies and 60 other periodicals in Yiddish. We are well aware that many of these publications are barely able to exist. But we also know that we possess many more healthy and creative forces of the Yiddish wing which cannot come to expression or to light because the aforesaid weeklies and other periodicals are unable to publish/~~knix~~ ^{these exuberant} surging and often very talented creations. The gulf between our spiritual and artistic potentialities in Yiddish and the public demand which must provide the material means for these potentialities to fulfill and manifest themselves, is daily growing deeper and wider. But from this it is necessary to draw one important and serious conclusion: the Jewish public which is interested in the revelation of all the creative talents accumulated in Eastern Europe must see to it that they come to light. History will not forgive our generation any negligence ~~neglect~~ in this field.

We cannot enter here into a lengthy and detailed evaluation of the periodicals in non-Jewish languages which keep growing, and which are growing not only in number but also in quality, in content and in seriousness of approach to Jewish problems. The trouble is, however, that they lack genuine, distinctive Jewish life. They often write with much earnestness and skill, and also with a good deal of knowledge, Jewish as well as general; but all this is about/~~farmer~~ ^{past} or imagined Jewish life and not about actual Jewish life. Jewish history, Jewish ideas, Jewish problems, Jewish desires and desiderata, Jewish struggles in the midst of a non-Jewish world, Jewish dreams and aspirations,--all these are very important and necessary things, provided, however, that they serve as accessories to ^{the} concrete, current, ever changing, ^{yet} ~~but~~ at bottom ever remaining true to itself, folk life.

We already possess a very rich foreign-language literature not only

in English but also in French and Spanish, and it is growing richer from day to day. Richer in content and more nationalistic in sentiment and dream. But all this is still quite ~~starched~~, ~~also~~, cold; it appeals to cold reason but very feebly to the warm Jewish heart; it no doubt enriches the Jewish mind, but moves very little the Jewish soul. The most intimate, the deeply hidden, the national sap of the creative process,--this treasure which is nursed by centuries-old traditions and secretly spins the spiritual fate of the people from generation to generation, this magic elixir of a genuinely national of one's own, is lacking. This explains why there are no Jewish dailies in the non-Jewish languages.

The previously mentioned Dr. Mordecai Soltes predicted thirty years ago that Jewish daily papers would one day appear in English. There have been many attempts to add English pages to the Yiddish dailies and all of them have ended in failure. For one does not live Jewishly in English and hence there is no need for a special Jewish paper in English, as was the case in Poland where, although there were nearly a score of Yiddish daily newspapers, there were also three Jewish dailies in Polish. Even the linguistically assimilated Jews of Poland--apart from a narrow stratum of the intelligentsia which had already been baptised or was so near apostasy that the formal act, baptism, was superfluous--were organically woven into the Jewish community and formed an integral part of it. The Polish-Jewish papers were first published in Cracow and Lemberg, where Yiddish, as we saw above, had lost a large percentage of the Jewish population. ^{This} ~~Was~~/linguistic assimilation was a superficial one; the isolation from the surrounding Polish population ~~was~~ continued and one lived out one's life within the framework of one's own people in Polish. It is different in the English-speaking, and perhaps also in the ~~English~~ ^{Spanish}-speaking, countries; here assimilation runs deeper. And if there remains a Jewish spark, it is more around Jewish life than ⁱⁿ ~~within~~ it. One thinks about Jewishness, one is nostalgic ^{for} ~~about~~ Jewishness, but one does not live a Jewish life and does not need a special daily whose function is to serve the current ~~everyday~~ ^{day-by-day} interests. And it is just these day-by-day

concrete living interests, just the common, ordinary life processes of the masses, just the ^{simple} ~~praxix~~ living patterns of the common people which constitute the folk essence that is sublimated into national ^{works of art.} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Be the philosophic ideas and systems ever so lofty and original; be the ethical principles ever so sublime and humane, they are good and nationally valuable ^{only} as a roof over a base of folk life. Detached from the folk base, they remain beautiful ornaments for the history of the Jewish people, but they do not fructify the living culture of the people nor increase its liquid spiritual assets. They remain suspended in mid-air and, while they do bring great honor to the abstract people, the historic people, they do not possess seed to make a living folk culture germinate.

Unfortunately, nothing can as yet be said about the Hebrew periodicals in the Diaspora countries. If they were periodicals of the younger generation, one could hope for growth and progress. To our regret, the periodicals in Hebrew are mostly of the older Orthodox elements and Zionists belonging to the East European immigrant generation. One may note a certain, very slow growth of young Hebrew readers. Among the youth one also encounters Hebrew-speaking pupils of high schools and Mizrachi yeshivas. These are all ~~xxx~~ frail sprouts whose future is veiled and dependent on the progress of the State of Israel and of the influence which the latter will gain over the Diaspora.

¶(a) ~~(b)~~ The Tragedy of Yiddish.— We have cited statistics to illustrate the decline of Yiddish. We know full well that figures can speak very clearly and reveal the full extent of tragic events. Nevertheless, figures remain abstract signs, ^{mere} symbols of concrete phenomena. This is particularly true of cultural-spiritual phenomena, where behind the figures stand, not so many and so many individuals, mere units, but the chosen few, creative personalities, movers of historical processes, dreamers and fulfillers of intimate folk dreams.

In the matter of the rise and decline of Yiddish we have to do with

the same chosen few--the same creators who in Eastern Europe plowed and sowed the Yiddish soil and lived to see and ~~to~~ enjoy and be intoxicated with the joy of the harvest and the hope of abundance, with the prospects of cultural efflorescence,--the same men of the holy spirit who are now doomed to witness the downhill/~~downfall~~ of the language of their soul, the decline of their heart's beloved.

The autochthonous Yiddish folk has been massacred, slaughtered. This is a fatal blow to the fortunes of that part of the Jewish people which linked its national future and spiritual dreams to the concrete folk culture and the ardently hoped-for rich potentialities of the latter. But it is also a tragic blow to that part of the Jewish people which tied the national future of the people to the Land of Israel and the Hebrew language, but which drew its spiritual sustenance and courage from the rich national treasures of the spirit and culture accumulated in the Yiddish vessel; in the hallowed Yiddish vessel, which in the process of development had so fitted into the intimate recesses of the soul of the old Oriental people that it became, not a hand-¹⁾maiden to the mistress, but an intimate companion, a devoted sister.

Now God sends the cure before the disease. ²⁾ And so, a hundred years before the unexampled mass murders, Jews began to assemble on a new continent, as if they had a premonition of the coming catastrophe. And along with this gathering of Jewish masses the cultural and spiritual riches they had brought with them began to reveal themselves, and not only in their already attained form and scope/^{but} ~~was~~ on a much wider scale and in new tender and intimate forms.

Not only the Yiddish press, Yiddish journalism, and the Yiddish theatre--those cultural feeders of the ~~Hebrew~~ broad masses--grew and expanded

1) An allusion to the nineteenth-century maskilim and Hebraists who looked upon Yiddish as the handmaiden, and Hebrew as the mistress, in the House of Israel.--Transl.

2) A familiar ^{Hebrew} ~~Yiddish~~ proverb.--Transl.

on a scale undreamt of in Europe, but also the higher and more delicate forms of creative writing, of ~~expression~~, such as Yiddish poetry and fiction, struck a note of ascent and growth rivaling the work of the greatest Yiddish masters of Eastern Europe.

The so-called "Young" in America, who in the first decade of the twentieth century began to gather in considerable numbers in the United States, intoxicated, on the one hand, by their own riches and vitality and, on the other, by the freedom and pace of life in America, aimed high and wide from the very start. They did not find it necessary to ask themselves to what extent the free soil of America would be favorable to the transplanted East European literary tree, to what extent a minority culture could flourish and grow in the rich and free majority garden.

Here is how the late Menachem Boraisha characterized the "Young" in America about forty years ago:

A generation of young writers and poets, men from an old world, thrown into the cauldron of the city of stone, dejected and trembling, live on fragmentary memories which they have brought with them and on the quivering dreams which begin take shape in their new world. 1)

And at the end of his characterization of this generation of poets, which actually enriched Yiddish poetry with many a gem of rare beauty and sublimity, Boraisha writes:

We stand on the threshold of what is being born here. Step back a little, stand aside and behold: Miracles are taking place!

Another gifted young writer, A. Raboy, conveys those sentiments of the small band of talented young immigrant Yiddish writers who were dazzled by the large American city, by the magnitude of the prospects held out by the big city, where hundreds of thousands of Jews were gathering at an extraordinary tempo. And New York, where, along with the broad masses, the best and

1)

Given here as quoted in Nachman Maisel's article, "Concerning the American Yiddish "Young," Yiddish Kultur, July, 1954, p. 15 (Yiddish).

ripest young talents were concentrating, already contained at that time (1910) more than a million Jews. Raboy writes:¹⁾

We ought all to come out of the narrow confines of the café and scatter over America and imbibe the American atmosphere. We shall then, perhaps, be able to write something of moment. We all write of life in the old ~~shtetl~~ shtetl. Everybody writes of the shtetl....Where is the great American Jewish life?

There were palpable signs of a new era in the development of Yiddish literature. The great wide world was wide open to the Yiddish-speaking man and the Yiddish creative writer; why should not one hope for a new, rich era?²⁾ Raboy relates in his book My Life:

The group of young Yiddish writers at that time was a very beautiful and bright phenomenon on the American Jewish horizon. There had to be such a great revolution in Jewish life as the mass emigration and the proletarianization of the Jewish masses in order that there might ^{[suddenly} spring up so large a group of writers as the "Young," with whom there set in such an abundance of poets and storytellers and of such scope as had previously been unheard of in Yiddish literature.

None of the "Young" paused to wonder whether the medium of their creative work might not perhaps ^{fade} ~~fade~~ and wither in just the free conditions existing in America; whether the ^{rich} ~~rich~~ surrounding culture might not perhaps ^{small} stifle the tender growths transplanted from the ~~shtetl~~ shtetl, from that nest which had been so ~~rich~~ fertile a soil for the whole rich modern Yiddish culture. But how could one expect of dreamers and rapt poets a sober appraisal of objective conditions for the growth of tender shoots transplanted from the poor shtetl to rich New York, when even the greatest historian of the age was incapable of such a sober analysis?

In his Letters on Old and New Jewry (1897-1906), Simon Dubnow, the historian of the Jewish people, a sober and rationalistic thinker, paints such a grandiose picture of how, in the free political conditions prevalent

1) Ibid., p. 17.

2) Ibid., p. 18.

in America, a democratic Jewish community would begin to develop, with Day Schools in which Yiddish and Hebrew would be the languages of instruction, and, on the basis of these elementary principles of Jewish national life, the higher cultural and spiritual possessions, too, would blossom and grow.

It is significant that the modern Yiddish schools with Yiddish as the language of instruction sprang up simultaneously in Czarist Russia and the United States between 1908 and 1910. And one can also find in the United States parallels to the famous "improved hedarim" with Hebrew as the language of instruction, educational institutions which began to sprout in Russia toward the end of the nineteenth century and flourished in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The builders and creators of all these national edifices, whether educational institutions or very lofty spiritual and cultural castles, were so equipped and imbued with creative goods, ready-made and potential, which they had brought with them from Europe, that they did not notice, or pretended not to notice, that, parallel with their poor, small nook of Jewish creativity, waves of assimilation were flooding and undermining the very foundations of national life, the springs of every national creation. Moreover, it should be remembered that until 1925 there immigrated ~~xxxxxxx~~, except for the few war years, many hundreds of thousands of Jews and with them fresh national cultural ~~xxxxxxx~~ creative forces. The leaks caused by the waves of assimilation would be ~~xxxxxxx~~ plugged and the losses made up, often even more than made up.

In Eastern Europe, after World War I, Jewish culture went through a renaissance of miraculous scope, of a richness and depth which, under the greatly deteriorated conditions of life, was amazing. Accordingly, the influx in America of ready-made spiritual goods and also of creators of culture was on such a scale and level that it blinded one in regard to the soil in which one tried to transplant the assets from the shtetl. In the Twenties ~~xx~~ achievements the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ of the new American Yiddish cultural center began to soar to such a height that voices were heard saying that not Warsaw, where the Jews were sitting as if on hot coals and ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{dreaming} of emigration, nor Moscow, where

Yiddish culture was led on leash by the narrow-minded Yevseks, but New York with its two million Jews, its compact masses, its modern voluntary ghettos, self-determined imposed its living conditions/~~מײַפֿאַרזאַמלונג~~ and not/~~פֿאַרזאַמלונג~~ by barriers, discrimination, and ~~פֿיזישע~~ physical excesses, was the ~~מאָדערנע~~ center of modern Yiddish culture destined by history. Common sense told them that the better off economically and the freer politically a nation was, the greater and richer its cultural contributions would be, including also the cultural fecundity of a minority bringing with it a wealth of highly developed cultural creations and an abundance of spiritual vitality, accumulated in its own original, organic, historically-rooted environment. Especially when one did not come to a country with a monolithic national culture, founded, molded, and crystallized by history, but to a world invaded by scores of languages and cultures, and whose strong democratic principles did not admit of any compulsion to assimilation, any coercion to bow to any majority language and culture.

They did not see, or refused to see, that this absolute freedom for all languages and cultures to develop and entrench themselves was the worst thing for the latter; that the same peoples and tribes who, in Europe, had been ready to shed their blood for the rights of their languages and cultures, were, here in America, rushing gladly and joyously/~~צוזאַמאַן~~ toward the melting pot of assimilation. And they did not want to listen to the warnings of that Jewish national movement which, in accordance with its historical approach to Jewish problems and in line with its analysis of the Jewish reality in Western Europe, warned that the fate of Yiddish in America would be no better than it was in Western Europe, where the emancipation of the Jews had stifled the folk tongue and the economic advancement had crushed the life out of it.

With sorrow and pain Zionists and Zionistically-minded thinkers painted the future of Yiddish in black colors. Thus Dr. A. Coralnik wrote a quarter of a century ago the following words of lamentation:-

1)

Writings,

Dr. A. Coralnik, Collected/~~מאָס~~, Warsaw, 1928, p. 102 (Yiddish).

And some day, the Jews--the English-speaking, the Polish-speaking, the Hebrew-speaking--will experience a longing for the peculiar ring of the language spoken by many generations of Jews. They will long for the sounds born in the Middle Ages, planted in the Slavic steppes; sounds of Jewish loneliness, of ecstasy and intimacy, of sorrow and playfulness; sounds imbued with the heartblood of a people.

was

And they will be sorry--they who will come after us--for the songs which, ~~not~~ sung, for the sigh which did not grow into a symphony, for the treasures which remained unused.

And now we, the surviving remnants of the slaughtered Yiddish people, the fortunate ones who saved ourselves on the wonder island called America,-- it is our lot to witness how Yiddish poets are struggling with the songs of their souls; how Yiddish novelists are choking on their characters which pursue them and beg to see the light of day; how Yiddish teachers are spending themselves trying to teach a class of Jewish children to whom the sound of Yiddish is already so foreign that they seem to have been born in the twenty-first century; how Yiddish philologists and folklorists are making haste to note down as soon as possible the still warm Yiddish words and sayings dropping from the mouths of old men and women; how Yiddish actors are wandering all over the vast Diaspora world to find a handful of Jews who love a Yiddish popular play; how national Yiddish historians, sociologists, economists, and students of literature are hastening to give permanent expression to their researches, and findings in the deep conviction that their spiritual proximity to the Jewish masses, their rootedness in the folk life, has revealed to them phases and phenomena to which the foreign-language ~~Jewish~~ *Jewish* scholar will certainly have no access, nor a heart to feel and a mind to understand them so deeply and so truly.

We ~~therefore~~ believe that it will be best to let the great host of Yiddish creators and dreamers, of Yiddish teachers and writers, pour out and lay bare their embittered and dependant hearts, but also their deep faith in



role
the future/of Yiddish in the further development of the Jewish people.

Let us first give the floor to that Yiddish poet to whom Yiddish is sacred and the one and only medium for the expression of both his conscious creations and his deepest dreams--H. Leivick:

A fellow-poet said to me: Let us all write the last poem, place it in a coffin, and carry it through the streets where American Jewry lives.

We will wrap the poem in blue cloth, and maybe in ordinary white, in the white leaves of all the poets' books, which are lying in cellars--food for mice. (The Day, December 28, 1952; prose paraphrase.)

It would be a mistake to believe that this is a chance mood on Leivick's part, a ~~passing~~ ^{flashing} mood which is not characteristic of the real feelings and sentiments of the poet. One might think so from his polemical articles against the anti-Yiddishists. But if one follows Leivick's writings, when he not only polemizes with opponents, but reports on his travels over the length and breadth of the United States, one finds that the poem just quoted is the most intimate summary of all his sorrows, of his deepest despair resulting from personal observations.

And here is a lament on the plight of the Yiddish tongue by another Yiddish poet: the late I.J. Segal:

Not good deeds, but the last bit of Yiddish which is dying on every lip, and it is so strange and surprising that someone still loves it.

Loves it as one does a child who is doomed to die but lingers on for a day, a minute, and each of us brings an offering: three drops of hallowed blood. (Yiddisher Kemfer, July 13, 1945; prose paraphrase.)

And here are a few more lines from the Yiddish threnodies of the same poet:

1)

Throughout this section, and not infrequently also in ~~earlier~~ earlier ones, we have employed the adjective "Yiddish" in order to stress that we have in mind all those writers for whom Yiddish was the chief medium of their creations, of their works.

I sing a lullaby to a whole generation. Sleep, my generation, you are tired, you are old. Your little golden goat has run away to the wild fields and desolate woods, and what has befallen it I cannot tell, but I suppose that, with the roads lying in ruins, it will not come back here.

This song of despair, too, is not a momentary mood, nor the result of a casual fit of melancholy. The poet was filled with these feelings of despair and the terrible words, "last bit of Yiddish which is dying on every lip," came from the depths of his bleeding heart.

Truly national poetry, be it ever so individualistic, be it ever so soaring in the empyrean of the individual poet's imagination, must somewhere in its most intimate and delicate weaving be bound up with the folk lay, with the racy folk saying, with the ^{primitive} images and tales ~~of the folk~~ of folk. Not only the ~~essence~~ root of the word but also its sap is produced and stored up in the depths of the mass of the people and is elevated by the poet to his height, to his experiences and longings, however delicate and individualistic, and however far removed from the folk-primitive.

But if the folk lay, the folk tale, the folk humor, the folk metaphor is lacking, there is no hope for poetic creations. No tree grows without roots; if one does not sow, one does not reap.

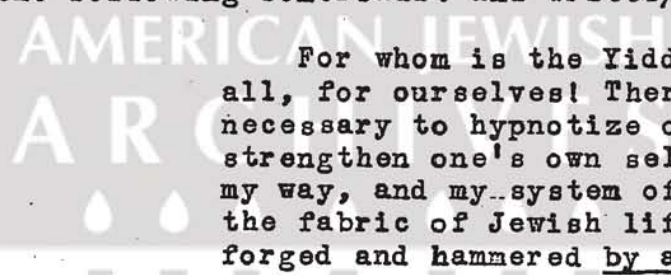
And here are the ^{remarks} ~~words~~ of a young Yiddish ^{poet} ~~man~~ who has applied himself earnestly and diligently to the task of ascertaining ~~whether~~ whether there is a folk lay among the five million Jews making up American Jewry:

After years of collecting folklore, especially Yiddish folk lays, first in Europe and the last fifteen years in America, I have not yet found a single Yiddish folk lay which originated in America. (Wolf Junin, "The Yiddish Folk Lay in America," Yiddishe Kultur, May, 1946, pp. 64-68.)

After stating that "an even greater national tragedy has happened here: the whole treasure of Jewish folklore has virtually disappeared here in America," he asks, ~~why~~ "Why?" and answers, "Because to this day no Jewish folk life has arisen in North America, such as formerly existed in the countries of Europe, and that is why there is no folk creation. In North America

children who speak and understand only English, and he admits "that the con-
tinued existence of the Yiddish school does not guarantee/~~the~~ ^a return to Yid-
dish as the language of the home but assures the existence of Yiddish as a
national tongue, as a connective link with the recent past, with grandfathers
and great-grandfathers, ~~and~~ with our own cultural background, and certainly
with Jews of other lands."

But Mark is too/~~sober~~ ^{sober} a man to forget for one moment that the time
of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers is nearing its end and that the
children of the Jews in other countries, too, no longer speak Yiddish. He
therefore executes the following somersault and writes/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{as follows:}



For whom is the Yiddish school? First of
all, for ourselves! There are times when it is
necessary to hypnotize oneself in order to
strengthen one's own self. Where will my self,
my way, and my system of thought be woven into
the fabric of Jewish life? Was not our self
forged and hammered by and through Yiddish?

Here Mark has voiced the sorrow of thousands upon thousands of writ-
ers and teachers and cultural workers and common Jews who live out their lives
in Yiddish. In Jewish life there is no other fabric into which all the accu-
mulated forces and spiritual potentialities ^{could} ~~may~~ be woven.

Here is a small picture which will impart concreteness to this cry
of grief over the fact that a whole generation has become rootless, naked,
wandering souls who ~~xxxxxx~~ have nothing to cling to and choke/~~on~~ ^{on} their crea-
tive potentialities and there is no way out!

Jacob Pat, who is not inclined to overstate the desperate plight of
Yiddish creative writers, tells the following about a visit of his to Paris: ¹⁾

A delegation of the Yiddish Writers' Soci-
ety of Paris called on me. "How do you do,
~~xx~~
colleagues! Have you any good news to tell me,
brothers?"

"Good news? ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{Hardly any.} ~~xxxxxxx~~ A

1)
See The Friend, New York, May-June, 1954, p. 3 (Yiddish).

large part of the Yiddish writers in Paris have emigrated to Argentina. The letters they write are such as to take away one's appetite to go there. What can Yiddish writers do in Paris? So they write memoirs, reflections, poems, fiction. One has completed a book on Galicia, another on Lithuania, a third on his wanderings and sufferings in Soviet Russia, a fourth on Poland. How can one write books at all if one knows that the manuscript will remain in a crowded drawer?"

He reports further that the Polish Yiddish poet Michael Borvitch's book on the Warsaw Ghetto has received a citation from the Sorbonne and is being published by the latter in French, but there is no publisher for a Yiddish edition.

In the Buenos Aires Yiddish periodical, Illustrirte Literarische Bletter, No. 6-7 (March-April, 1954), we find the following balance sheet of the Yiddish writing fraternity of Poland, of the pre-war center of Yiddish creative writing, of that historically most deeply rooted garden of all branches of the Yiddish literary tree:

After an interval of seven years of war and catastrophe, the surviving remnants of the Yiddish writing fraternity met again amid the ruins of Poland.

authors Of the nearly three hundred Yiddish penmen on the eve of the downfall of Polish Jewry, hardly one-fifth saved themselves. Only sixty Yiddish ~~writers~~ emerged alive and whole from the conflagration, and there were an additional thirty young Yiddish writers.

Dusty from the trek, we gathered among the ruins to say kaddish, recite lamentations, after which we scattered silently like mourners.

The writers' table at No. 13 Tlomacka (the pre-war address of the Yiddish Writers' Club in Warsaw) again stood vacant, deserted.

Of the ninety Yiddish authors after the catastrophe, only ten remained in Poland. All the others left the country, heeding the voice which called for departure from the Polish soil.

In the final balance, it appears that thirty are now in Israel; sixteen in the United States (apart from several who have died, such as Leo Finkelstein, Nuchim Bomze, etc.); nine in Argentina (apart from those who have passed away,

such as Szmerke Kaczerginski, Tania Fuchs, etc. etc.); ten in France; four in Canada; one in Italy; and one in Sweden.

The article enumerates all the scattered and dispersed Polish Jewish writers and closes with these heart-rending words:

Such is the sum total of the Yiddish literary remnant of Poland. One merely fled from destroyed Poland, from the ruins of Poland. But from the catastrophe itself it is hard to get away. It follows us wherever we go and cries for an answer.

The largest Jewish community--American Jewry, five million strong--which numbers twice as many Jews as all the other countries we have just enumerated, took the smallest portion of the spiritual inheritance from devastated Polish Jewry: about sixteen of the ninety homeless, orphaned Yiddish writers. Barely 18 per cent!

We are unable to dwell here on the fate of these orphaned Yiddish writers in their new homes. Homes? Heaven knows, not even warm, comfortable inns, and this goes also for Israel. Yet we can say with a clear conscience that, as regards spiritual atmosphere, creative climate, psychological recovery, the air of Israel has proved to be the best, healing and soothing.

The Yiddish poet Arie Shomri has published two volumes of Yiddish verse in Israel. In the first volume he lamented:

On the threshold of a shingly hut Memory kneels and sheds hot tears.

I kneel on a doorstep, on all the doorsteps, and feel as though all the doors are about to fall.

And the moon, slaughtered, looks down upon a mound of humped lanes, and a blind man cries and implores: "At least say kaddish; ~~don't~~ forget me!" (Prose paraphrase.) do not

In the second volume, however, he sang quite another tune:

Take light from the sun, and faith from the field, and heal hearts of mockery and hatred. Do not point at the broken tree; do not say, the well has run dry. From new depths Spring bubbles forth, ~~hungers~~ craves for apples and prepares the pails. Spring is bringing a new day, and it is near and it is fairer. (Prose paraphrase.)

Here we have a lament for the vanished Jewish world in Poland, but "take faith from the field and light from the sun" in Israel. In vain I have sought for something similar in the writings of tens of Yiddish poets wandering through the Diaspora lands. This does not mean that the thirty Polish Yiddish poets now in Israel have already found ^{complete} peace of mind and a favorable atmosphere for creative work. Yet there is food for thought in the fact that the Jewish community of Israel, numerically less than a third of American Jewry and without Yiddish papers having a combined circulation of more than 200,000, has nevertheless given ^{some} ~~given~~ peace of mind and a homelike atmosphere to nearly twice as many homeless Yiddish writers as the Jewish community of the United States.

Let us get back to our subject. Let us again listen to the words of a Yiddish teacher of a class of children in the United States.

It is not a question of teaching Jewish children to read Yiddish; this technique can easily be mastered. But what one fondly dreams of is to catch the young mind of the Jewish child in the net of the rich Yiddish culture, to link him to the treasures of Yiddish culture, and to inspire him with longing for the creations of the Yiddish writers in their original form.

Here is what a Yiddishist teacher recounts in a Yiddishist journal:

Most of the children who come to our school do not know Yiddish. And since the attachment of the child to the school consists in the interest we arouse in him immediately on his entrance into the school, it follows naturally that if the child does not understand what is said to him, he will drop out of the school. (Z. Stein, "Shul-Problemen," Kultur un Derziung, January, 1950.)

Nevertheless, there have been successes. In the space of four months ^{has} the teacher/~~has~~ succeeded in teaching the children to read and ^{write} ~~write~~ Yiddish. What ^{have begun} ~~has~~ is more, the children/~~begin~~ to read and speak Yiddish with almost a good Yiddish accent--proof that somewhere in the young minds there still linger sounds of Yiddish spoken by grandparents, and this heritage bears fruit.

The teacher is overjoyed: the miracle has been accomplished! But he writes further: "When, however, it comes to understanding, the difficulty arises. In

most cases the children do not understand what is said to them, and one must often have recourse to English. The same is true for Jewish history. I start to recount it to them in Yiddish, but observing the puzzled expression on the children's faces and hearing their cry, 'We do not understand!' I change over to English. I have had the same experience with reading. The more the children read in the textbook, the harder it is for them to understand what they are reading."

So far we spoken almost exclusively of Yiddish in the United States, where conditions are exceptional both as regards the pressure of the assimilative potential and as regards the assimilationist tendencies of the Jewish population. Let us now cast a glance at those Jewish communities in the Western Hemisphere countries where the Jewish immigration is of much more recent date; where our East European brethren have received no tradition of assimilation; where the assimilative potential of the surrounding majority culture is much lower, and where the Jewish immigrant masses brought with them a much richer and more zestful heritage of Yiddish culture and came much better equipped with national awareness and readiness to fight for Jewish patterns of living and cultural creations.

We will ~~begin with~~ ^{take as an example} Mexico, ~~and~~ that Jewish community which is famous the world over, whose integrated Yiddish and Hebrew Day Schools are celebrated throughout Jewry, and whose cultural institutions are no less renowned.

A local communal worker and prominent journalist, A.I. Berbichez, writes:

Already today, when our community is barely thirty years old, our young are linguistically 90 per cent assimilated. I am afraid to look for ten Jewish homes of those born or reared here where Yiddish is spoken. I am afraid to look for them because I know I shall not find them. I am afraid of the statistics on these young, new homes, as to which of them the Yiddish press reaches and how many Yiddish books they have purchased during the period of their existence. And how many of them know when a Jewish holiday falls, and how many of them keep the Sabbath? (Der Weg, Mexico City, February 2, 1954.)

Another authority on Jewish life in Mexico, Professor Solomon Kahan, a cultural worker who has stood at his post from the very first moments of the Jewish immigration, writes:

The final sum total of all the facts adduced is that, together with the end of the immigrant period of the Jewish community, there came to an end its cultural bloosomtime. With the beginning of economic advance and its ~~xxxxxxx~~ social enrootment, there set in a culture decline, with the Yiddish language as the first victim. This was followed by further steps toward assimilation. (Solomon Kahan, Mexikanische Reflexen, Mexico City, 1954, p. 118.)

We consider it unnecessary to cite further evidence that an intensive process of linguistic assimilation is going on in absolutely all Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora. And in our time linguistic assimilation spells very deep and far-reaching cultural assimilation.

How bad things are with Yiddish, as a language of the home, becomes especially evident from the following fact: the Yiddish newspapers of South Africa, Australia, and Brazil often publish pictures of Jewish children who speak Yiddish well! Can there be any greater mortification? Can there be a more tragic decline of a language so thoroughly saturated with Jewish tears and sighs?

(f) The Sad State of the Yiddish Theatre.—Parallel with the Yiddish press the Yiddish theatre played a very great role in the cultural advancement of the broad Jewish masses and also in the flowering and development of the Yiddish language. We are well aware of the complaints put forth against both of these cultural institutions concerning their careless or frivolous attitude toward the language; but now, in retrospect, in casting up the sum total, it must be acknowledged that both had a great share in the cultural uplift of the Jewish masses in America and also in the progress of the language. ~~That~~ They had many faults, ~~such~~ as, for example, catering to popular taste, but they had one merit that outweighed all their faults: they won over the masses and ~~also~~ quantitatively elevated them to a higher standards of taste and judgment. Surely, it must be admitted that the Yiddish theatre made considerable progress onward and upward not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.

The Yiddish theatre, like the Yiddish press, arose in the years of the ~~an~~/intense cultural awakening of the Jewish masses in Russia. This was in the 1870's and 1880's. The accumulated cultural forces sought to reveal and devote themselves to the masses, while the awakened and aroused Jewish masses sought food for their hungry souls and longing hearts. And just as the Jewish masses with their/~~en~~^{advanced} appetites and cultural notions had no opportunity in Czarist Russia to satisfy their enhanced needs and aspirations and had to go abroad, first to Berlin, Paris, London and later to far-off America, so the Jewish intelligentsia, especially, the nationally-minded intelligentsia, bridled and restrained in Russia, had to find scope for its manifestations in remote places.

It is an established fact that both the Yiddish press and the Yiddish theatre were created by Russian Jews, and not only in Russia but in absolutely all countries of the Diaspora. And, like the Yiddish press, the Yiddish theatre attained its quantitative zenith in the United States.

We cannot deal here with the history of the Yiddish theatre and must rest content with/~~noting a few facts~~ noting a few facts which will show the peak of achievements and, unfortunately, also the nadir of decline. That the year 1925, the/~~fatal~~^{fatal} fateful ~~year~~/year when the America immigration quota law went into effect, was also fateful for the Yiddish theatre and the end of ceaseless advance, which means the beginning of decline, it is superfluous to say.

In 1925, between ten and twelve Yiddish playhouses were in operation in New York alone, and the theatrical/~~seasons were~~ seasons were long and prosperous. There was not a single major Jewish community (Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, etc.) without a/~~Yiddish~~^{Yiddish} theatre. It is estimated that the Yiddish theatres were attended nightly by about 15,000 Jews. It would be hard to estimate what this meant for Jewish culture and even more for Jewish national life in general. At the theatre the Jew lived intensely with his rich East European heritage and was united with all the other Jewish communities. Even if the play performed was ~~the~~ the feeblest kind of operetta,/~~it was~~^{there was} in it Jewish style, Jewish wit, Jewish humor--in a word, ~~that~~ all those compartments of national

life which are imbued with a great deal of the sap of the people, of the common people, of the most active and strenuous bearer of national patterns of living.

In the Twenties, ^{the} ~~and~~ Yiddish theatre in the United States also attained its qualitative peak. Maurice Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theatre ranked foremost among the many Yiddish theatres and by its high standard forced many of the others to follow its example, to reckon with the improved taste of the Jewish masses and especially with the new type of Yiddish playgoer--the newly arisen Jewish nationally-minded intellectual, who was quite familiar with the English-language theatre and often went there, but who also wanted to satisfy his national cravings with the Yiddish theatre. The Yiddish stage produced many superior plays by Peretz Hirschbein, David Finski, H. Leivick, Leon Kobrin, Harry Sackler, I.J. Singer, Bimko, Chono Gottesfeld, Jonah Rosenfeld, and many others. The plays of the foremost European playwrights, Ibsen, Strindberg, Materlinck, Hauptmann, etc. were also produced on the Yiddish stage of America. There arose Yiddish actors of a very high order of excellence. And this quantitative and qualitative progress of the Yiddish stage in the United States had a beneficial effect not only on the Yiddish theatre in Argentina, London, and Paris, but also in Poland, where Jewish culture went through a miraculous rebirth--miraculous because the economic and also political situation of the Jewish masses in Poland grew worse and more desperate from year to ~~year~~ year, yet all branches of Jewish culture in both languages, Yiddish and Hebrew, passed through a period of growth, including also the Yiddish stage.

We ~~now~~ turn now to the period of decline. The eminent Yiddish dramatic critic, Dr. A. Mukdoni, wrote in 1940:

Twenty
~~Twenty~~ years ago there was not a single large city that did not have a Yiddish theatre. Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, Newark, Cleveland, each had a Yiddish theatre, some of them even two. In Canada, too, there were two or three Yiddish playhouses. Today there is not one theatre in the afore-said cities. There still are some 7 or 8 Yiddish theatres in New York, but their material condition has been desperate for the last few years. (Algemei-

ne Encyclopedie in Yiddish, "Yidn," Vol. B, Paris, 1940, p. 460.)

Some idea of the "desperate condition" just mentioned is afforded by a speech of the late R. Guskin, at that time President of the Hebrew Actors Union. We quote:

Last year there were eleven Yiddish theatres and, with the exception of two which closed their doors ahead of time, most of them played the whole season, thanks solely to the Union, which did everything possible to keep the theatres going until the end of the season. The actors had to operate on themselves, making sacrifices, accepting reductions, bleeding, and only thanks to this was it possible to carry on until the end of the season. (Jewish Daily Forward, New York, September 6, 1940.)

And here is what the dramatic editor of the Jewish Daily Forward wrote in its issue of January 22, 1954:

Among others, the theatrical season is now at its peak. Among us, it is already over. Only one play can now be seen by a Jew who likes to hear a Yiddish word: Kampf farn Negev at the Folksbiene, and that, too, only three times a week--Saturday and Sunday.

The Folksbiene is not a private enterprise. It is a group of amateur players founded by the Workmen's Circle and less dependent on box office receipts.

The aforesaid editor concludes sadly: "This season is already finished in the case of the Yiddish theatre, finished almost at the very start."

And altogether three Yiddish theatres opened for the season. And this at a time when the ~~English~~ ^{Jewish} drama in English is scoring a great success. At this writing (November, 1954) three ~~Jewish~~ ^{Jewish} plays in English ~~versions~~ are having successful runs in New York.: The Dybbuk is playing in the very heart of the former Jewish ghetto, on East Fourth Street; The Sands of the Negev is playing on Broadway in the very center of the theatrical district, and also with great success; The Fifth Season is likewise playing on Broadway. In addition, the group which last year played The World of Sholom Aleichem to packed houses sold out weeks in advance, will soon produce another Jewish show.

The question arises, Why is the fate of the Yiddish theatre so much

audience at the Yiddish theatre of Buenos Aires. Today their number is steadily diminishing.

Formerly the Yiddish theatre was crowded with Jewish youngsters at matinee performances. The Yiddish theatre was the greatest attraction of the week for the children.

The youths and maidens who are now rarely seen at ~~the Yiddish~~ a Yiddish show, are very seen at the Spanish theatre.

Having thus painted a dark picture, he said in conclusion that "all recognize the fact that the Yiddish theatre is in a critical condition."

In the Yiddish periodical Der Argentinier Magazin (July-August, ?) there is an article which begins as follows:

It is no secret to anyone that our Yiddish theatre has led a most precarious existence in the last two or three years.

And just as in New York the public Folksbiene is the only Yiddish theatre which breathes longer than any of the private theatrical ventures, so in Buenos Aires a public theatre was established under the name of Kunstbiene (Art Theatre), a hint that the private theatres/~~are~~ ^{was} not on a sufficiently high level. But it is more than a hint that the theatre/~~is~~ ^{was} passing through a severe crisis and ~~is~~ ceasing to be a profitable private enterprise. Hence the public must assume the risks of the Yiddish theatre, as in the United States. But now we read/in the Buenos Aire Idische Zaitung of October 8, 1954:

Overnight there disappeared from the columns of our papers the advertisements of the Kunstbiene which, for months, had daily informed the public about the shows. Without any explanation.

A theatre closed its doors and did not say it was closing ~~down~~, neither did it give any reason or explanation why it was closing.

The Argentinier Magazin relates in the same issue from which we quoted above how many sacrifices the actors made to enable the newly founded Kunstbiene Society to begin to function and save the Yiddish theatre in a city famous for its playgoing public. Unfortunately, however, this public venture did not have much success, either. It is quite possible that the doors of the Kunstbiene will open again: in Argentina there ~~is~~ are devotees and ~~enthusiasts~~

champions of Yiddish. Faith moves mountains and leaps across seas; and more than one dying Yiddish cultural institution in that country has been literally snatched from the jaws of all-devouring assimilation. Unfortunately, it is very doubtful that such a rescue would assure a long existence.

Thus far we did not pause to consider the situation in the Communist countries, nor will we now dwell on the state of the Yiddish theatre behind the Iron Curtain. The Jews there are so walled in and isolated from any contact with the rest of the Jewish people that one cannot hope for any Jewish future there. All the more so as in Soviet Russia, where the Yiddish theatre had reached great heights qualitatively, and where at one time between ten and twelve Yiddish ^{playhouses} ~~theatres~~ were in operation, all traces of and even suggestions of Yiddish culture have been obliterated.

5. Mixed Marriages

(a) Introductory.— Mixed marriages are undoubtedly a symptom, an alarming symptom, of a great decline not only ^{of} Jewish religious sentiment, but also of national feeling. On the other hand, intermarriage is unquestionably a clear sign of a high degree not only of cultural and intellectual but also of psychological fellowship with the surrounding non-Jewish majority population. For, to join one's life to a partner of another religious ~~group~~ denomination means at bottom in a majority of cases to renounce the continuity of one's own people and very often also ^{personal} one's ties with one's ancestral community.

The American sociologist, Ray Baber, remarks truly:

Judaism is a culture, not merely a religion. It involves not only certain theological conceptions at variance with ~~Christian~~ Christian doctrine...but also differences of diet, day of rest, observance of holidays, etc. ("A Study of 325 Mixed Marriages," American Sociological Review, 1937, p. 709.)

There is no doubt whatever that in the fact that prior to World War II, there were virtually no mixed marriages among the Jews of Eastern Europe (excluding Soviet Russia), a decisive part was played not only by the religious factor, but by the ~~sharp~~ wide gulf between Jew and Gentile in daily life, in

psychology, in the whole complex of customs and patterns of living. They were so alien to each other, so different at every step, in the most important processes of life, as well as in the simplest everyday happenings, in the attitude to wife and child, in the duties of the wife to husband, children, and home, that it was simply impossible to think of the two living a harmonious living together. Two different worlds, heaven and earth! The traditional usages and ways were ingrained in both groups and there was thus a mutual repulsion.

Intermarriage as a mass phenomenon and not as a rare occurrence, an exception, began to spread among West European Jews after the emancipation, with the growth of assimilation, with the commencement of adjusting Jewish life to the living patterns and concepts of the surrounding majority; with the renouncement not only of Jewish religious traditions, but also of Jewish folkways.

In the countries and cities with a large percentage of mixed marriages, such as Germany, Austria, Italy, Budapest, the largest percentage of such marriages was contributed by the intelligentsia, the group which had intellectually and psychologically become most integrated with and adapted to the surrounding population, not only as regards its language and culture, but as regards its daily life, its customs and everyday conduct -- in a word, its taste. The more aloof one is from Jews and Jewish notions and patterns of living, the easier it is to become accustomed to non-Jewish tastes and ideas, to non-Jewish notions and habits.

The second place according to the percentage of intermarriage was occupied by the Jewish upper middleclass, which included the largest proportion of professionals, and which was also in itself deeply assimilated and imbued with the notions and ideas, habits and tastes of the non-Jewish majority.

Such was the case in Europe, where the Jewish majority was confronted by a homogeneous mass of people with millennially formed tastes and patterns of living, with a well-nigh ironbound traditional attitude towards Jews as an inferior, accursed group. To enter such a society was possible only for a Jew who was already aloof and estranged to the utmost from Judaism and whose Jewishness was so faded and worn that it was least palpable and noticeable. The homogeneous surrounding non-Jewish society, armored with millennial traditions and customs, had a natural aversion for ~~these~~ ^{those} Jewish elements who in motions, appearance, and in speech and manners still manifested typical Jewish traits and gestures. These served as a check on Jewish tendencies to enter the majority and become submerged in it. This explains why even in Germany or Lower Austria, where mixed marriages in the cities were very numerous, they very rarely occurred in the villages, where the antipathy of the Christian population was stronger and the assimilationist tendency of the Jewish population was weaker. The barrier between Jew and non-Jew in the village was higher and much thicker than in the cities, although the number of Jews as compared with the non-Jewish population was much smaller.

A wholly different situation has developed in the United States and partly also in all the other Western Hemisphere countries. Here both sides represent immigrant masses, among ~~them~~ ^{whom} the second, and still more the third, generation rids itself largely of the handful of traditions which were brought over from the old country, and begins to build a new world with new ideas, new conceptions of life, and also with new inter-community relations. Strictly speaking, even the first generation of immigrants throws overboard a large part of its national traditions.

Religiously, too, the immigrant is more tolerant and liberal. As for political nationalism, he already forgets the European doctrine on the way to America. And this is exceedingly important and significant. For, although

religion unites, we have seen that community of faith has not once prevented wars between nations professing the same religion. The fact that the same masses who shed their blood for their national rights in Europe, so readily and eagerly renounce all their national possessions in the New World, still remains a riddle, and sociology has not yet adequately explained it. But this fact plays a tremendous role in the development of the Western Hemisphere, and the fate of the Jews is intimately bound up with this quite new evolutionary phase of the life about them.

In the process of fashioning new patterns of behavior and molding new customs and new mutual relations, Jews participate equally with the whole congeries of scores of nationalities. There is no millennial gulf between Jew and non-Jew; there are no accumulated strong mutual aversions and hatred and no deep hereditary antipathy; the ocean has ~~at all events~~ in any case washed away quite a large part of all these feelings and thoughts. It cannot be said that they have disappeared altogether, but they have undoubtedly lost much of their potency and immediacy, their tenseness and intensity. The non-Jew does not have the sense of being the master of the house and the Jew does not have the sense of being an unbidden guest. This factor plays a tremendous role in the relationship of the non-Jewish population to the Jewish and still more in respect to the self-reliance and self-assurance of the Jew. Even if one agrees that such feelings do exist in both groups, they are certainly not of such potency and such influence on daily life, on the daily relations, as in Europe.

To be sure, America is a Christian country and the Christian religion exerts a great influence not only on the culture of the country, but also on everyday life. Nevertheless, one cannot compare the situation in this respect

with that in Europe. The Christian holidays have lost much of their fanatical ~~religious~~ rigor and outspokenness and become largely folk festivals and customs. In the remark of the assimilated and semi-assimilated Jews, that Christmas is a folk festival, there is a good deal of truth. It cannot be denied that the most solemn Christian holidays are not so strictly observed in America as in Europe. Nor is Sunday rest so ⁴vigorously enforced as in Europe. America is free of that thick fanatical and primitive religious darkness which is still a common phenomenon among large masses of people in Europe. And there is an absence here of the ~~mutual~~ offensive attitude of one creed toward another, even toward the Jewish, the "anti-Christian" religion.

Americanization, therefore, is not the same thing as what used to be called assimilation in Germany or England, ^{in France or Holland,} for it does not imply taking over crystallized and finished behavior patterns and ^{conceptions} ~~conceptions~~ of life of a particular, traditionally alien ethnic group. Rather it means joining an amalgam of people which is still forming its physiognomy and forging its conceptions of life; an amalgam which is in the very midst of the process of creating its own customs and patterns of living. The joiner does not take over ready-made customs and concepts of life, but rather takes part in the process of creating new common traditions and usages. To be sure, the joining Jew plunges into the midst of a Christian majority and must adjust himself to its tastes and its ways of life and thought, and in a large measure also to Christian traditions, which, as we know, constitute the foundations of the new American ways and usages, notwithstanding that in the new country they have lost and voluntarily discarded much of their fanaticism and exclusiveness.

Consequently, in America, too, a degree of similarity develops among all the immigrant Christian groups and also a common degree of Christian ^{conversion} ~~conversion~~ for the non-Christian Jewish group, just as there is a certain tendency among the

Jewish group to keep apart from the Christian majority. Nevertheless, this wall of divisions and alienation is not so thick and so imbued with hostility as it was in Europe, where the dividing and alienating gulf was filled with the dynamite of millennial hatred and where the mutual repugnance was that of two deeply traditional homogeneous national groups.

Intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews in America are much rarer than between diverse Christian denominations. Religious and national factors also play a certain part in the case of the latter, but far from the role they play in the case of an intermarriage between a Jew and a non-Jew. In the case of intermarriage between Christians of different denominations, the chief role is played by the social factor, whereas in the case of intermarriage between a Jew and Gentile the main factor is religion. The ~~social~~ ~~niveau~~ social factor should here be construed very broadly: the cultural niveau and the ~~standard~~ ^{style} of living no less than the material condition.

Further on we shall dwell on the many-colored phenomenon of intermarriage in America, where the amalgam is so varied. For our purpose it has been most important to establish the fact that in America both sides, the Jews and the non-Jews, are much less burdened with mutual repugnance inherited or acquired, and for this reason mixed marriages take on a wholly different character, much less dramatic or tragic, than was long the case in Europe, even in the countries with a high degree of Jewish assimilation.

If one follows the developments in American Jewish life with respect to intermarriage, one is struck by two things: First, this is a common occurrence, an everyday affair, which the whole Jewish community, including the parents and often even the grandparents, regard as not very tragic, and frequently as not at all tragic. The same is true for the non-Jewish population, in whose eyes the Jew is not so tref and ineligible as he was regarded in

Europe. Second, over here intermarriage is not a "prerogative" of the upper classes, as was the case in Europe. To the contrary, it is an established fact that mixed marriages occur more readily in the Jewish middle class than in the Jewish upper crust. This is because entrée to the American higher strata, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the creators and builders of the economic bases and social institutions of the country, of its political organizations and cultural foundations, is very difficult. They ~~are~~^{lead} a very exclusive, well-high $\frac{1}{2}$ sectarian life. And the Jewish upper class, too, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those who laid the foundations of the Jewish social institutions - in reality, the Jewish haute bourgeoisie - has adopted this trait of American society: it, too, to a certain extent, leads an exclusive sort of life, and matrimonial matches are made within the confines of this social set.

The locale of the majority of mixed marriages, actual and potential, is the university, which in the United States, especially in the last two decades, has been a mass institution, and where the social and cultural background of the students, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, is about the same. The number of students in the institutions of higher learning in the United States was 2,659,000 in 1950. Today it is larger. If we add the students in the advanced classes of high school, we get at least 5,000,000 young people, among whom there are at least half a million young Jews. These youngsters often spend ten or fifteen years together in the same educational institutions.

In most European universities there was not only a religious barrier, but a very high social class wall: most of the non-Jewish students stemmed from the upper social strata, such as the large landowners, higher officials, and high-ranking military men, and very few from the middle class, whereas the Jewish students belonged almost exclusively to this class.

(b) Statistical Data.- We think it essential to dwell at least briefly on the spread and growth of mixed marriages in Europe. From Europe one may infer about America: the increase of intermarriage in the European countries with considerable Jewish communities is a warning to the major Jewish settlements in the Americas; the growth of mixed marriages in the small Jewish communities of Europe is a warning to the small Jewish settlements in the Americas/. ~~MEMORANDUM FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS~~ We are well aware that there are considerable differences between the Jewish communities and settlements of Western Europe, where intermarriage was widespread and where Jewry had already been assimilated for more than a century, and those of the Western Hemisphere, where the Jewish population consists almost exclusively of East European Jews who emigrated to the Americas in the past 50 years and to a large extent in the past 25-30 years. But this advantage is offset by the fact that conditions are more favorable to ~~MEM~~ assimilation in the latter, that the assimilation trends are much more intensive in the Americas and the obstacles in the way of intermarriage much smaller, than in Western Europe.

TABLE ~~2~~ MIXED MARRIAGES AMONG JEWS OF GERMANY, 1901-1936 (In %) 1)

Years	Jewish Grooms	Jewish Brides
1901 - 1905	8.8	7.6
1911 - 1915	18.9	13.6
1921 - 1925	20.6	13.0
1926 - 1930	25.7	16.6
1931 - 1933	30.0	17.8
1934 - 1936	10.8	5.0

1) J. Lestschinsky, "Mixed Marriages among the Jewish Population," Klal Yidnel, Jerusalem, 1934, p. 127 (Hebrew).

Very significant is the steady rise in mixed marriages up to Hitler's accession to power in 1933. Nor do they wholly disappear with the coming of the Nazi regime. In thirty years the percentage of mixed marriages with Jewish grooms more than tripled. It requires no great imagination to imagine the further organic (I repeat, organic) process if Hitler had not "come to the rescue." In the case of Jewish brides, the rise was slower, but sufficiently intensive.

It will be of interest to give more detailed figures for the three Hitler years listed last⁴.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Jewish Grooms</u>	<u>Jewish Brides</u>
1934	18.1	8.5
1935	11.4	5.2
1936	2.1	1.2

In 1934 not only the Nazi persecutions but the Nazi murders were already in full swing. The situation was quite clear; nevertheless, that year still witnessed 18 per cent mixed marriages with Jewish grooms and over 8 per cent with Jewish brides. What does this mean? It means that the bond between the Jewish mate and the Christian was so close that it was hard to call off the marriage. It was not until 1936 that the percentage of mixed marriages became very low: a shade over 2 percent in the case of Jewish grooms and over 1 per cent in the case of Jewish brides, the law against such marriages, which the Nazis stigmatized as "Rassenschande" having been promulgated in 1935.

What do all these figures teach us? First of all, that after a whole century the mixed marriages amounted to nine per cent in the case of Jewish husbands and less than eight per cent in the case of Jewish wives, but in the subsequent period the rise in such unions was much more intensive.

In 1933 there were scarcely half a million Jews in Germany, but a full hundred thousand of them were East European Jews, the majority of whom had come to Germany after the pogroms in Russia of the 1880's and a considerable part after the pogroms of 1905 and 1918-1919. Inasmuch as it is to be assumed that intermarriage was a rare occurrence among the ~~the~~ East European Jews, pious ~~orthodox~~ and nationally-minded and strangers in the country, one must conclude that the above-cited figures on mixed marriages relate only and exclusively to the purely German Jews. To put it more precisely, the number of homogamous marriages among the East European Jews was much greater than among the German Jews. Were we in a position to separate the marriages among the hundred thousand East European Jews and compute the percentage of mixed marriages only on the basis of the marriages among the indigenous German Jews, we would undoubtedly get a much higher percentage of intermarriage, probably close to one half.

This is the complexion of a community which enters into the stage of the intensified process of assimilation, the stage of the decay of sentiment for one's own nationality, of speedy submergence into the majority sea.

The stage of ~~development~~ development just noted is not peculiar to the German Jews; we encounter it in positively every community of West European Jewry, of emancipated and hence assimilated Jewry.

The following table will illustrate how intensively the disintegration proceeds in the highest stage of the process of assimilation, if no political persecution forcibly interrupts this trend.



TABLE . PERCENTAGE OF INTERMARRIAGE AMONG JEWS IN VARIOUS CITIES

<u>Jewish Community</u>	<u>Opening Years of 20th Century</u>			<u>In the 1930's</u>		
	Year	Men	Women	Year	Men	Women
Berlin	1904	9.6	6.2	1933	36.6	20.3
Budapest	1896-1900	6.7	7.2	1936	20.7	15.5
Amsterdam	1900-1908	4.0	3.0	1937	19.1	16.7
Prague	1901	2.4	2.2	1933	19.1	13.9

This picture must be held up before the eyes of the Jews of all American countries - "if thou hast begun to fall, thou shalt surely fall." This European scourge now gravely menaces all Jewish communities of the Western Hemisphere and possibly ^{at} ~~with~~ a much quicker tempo, like all the social developments in this Hemisphere.

To be sure, at this moment, in the first stage of assimilation, the situation with respect to intermarriage among the Jews of America is much better than it was in Europe in the Thirties, but far, far worse than at the turn of the century.

In Prague the percentage of those married to non-Jewish spouses increased nearly ninefold in the case of Jewish grooms and sixfold in the case of Jewish brides. In Budapest it more than $\frac{1}{2}$ tripled in the case of Jewish grooms and more than doubled in the case of Jewish brides. In Amsterdam there was a more than fourfold increase in the case of Jewish grooms and a more than fivefold increase in the case of Jewish brides.

There was a sharp rise among the Jews of Berlin; a fourfold ^{increase} in the case of Jewish grooms and a more than threefold increase in the case of Jewish brides. In connection with Berlin, it should also be borne in mind that, according to the census of 1933, the city contained some 40,000 East European Jews, who must be excluded from any consideration of mixed marriages. If, as

in the case of mixed marriages in the whole of Germany, we were able to separate the marriages of the native German Jews, the percentage of mixed marriage would be considerably higher. And let us not forget that in 1933 Hitler already raged with sufficient ferocity throughout Germany and still more in Berlin. However, this was of no avail at all. It was only the law against ~~RECHENUNGSUNFAHIGEN~~ Rassenschande ("racial pollution," i.e., intermarriage between Jew and Aryan, - Transl.) which put an end to the mixed marriages, although not to all of them. The law was promulgated in 1935 and the prosecution of Jews and also non-Jews for Rassenschande commenced in 1936. ~~trials~~

The only thing that is of importance to us here is the proportions which the fellowship between Jews and Germans had attained.

Copenhagen has had the highest percentage of mixed marriages both at the turn of the century and today: close to 60 per cent. That city, too, has a relatively high percentage of immigrant Jews. But here are a few figures on a Jewish community in a city which lies far from the beaten path of Jewish migrations: Trieste. From 1869 to 1922 there were in Triests 1,568 homogamous Jewish marriages and 721 mixed marriages, roughly one third of the total. From 1923 to 1927 inclusive there were 73 homogamous Jewish marriages and 79 mixed marriages, or more than the homogamous. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the smaller the Jewish community, the smaller the percentage of children born of mixed marriages who remain in the Jewish fold. Only in compact Jewish settlements, where the Jewish spouse is under the influence of a Jewish community, are Christian spouses, especially women, often ready to embrace Judaism and to bring up the children in the Jewish faith.

It should be remembered, however, that the present small Jewish communities have virtually no hope of any influx of fresher and more conscious

Jews from Europe. And this not only because immigration to most of the Western Hemisphere countries is at a virtual standstill, but because the centers which supplied all the major and minor Jewish settlements and communities scattered and dispersed throughout the world with religious and national Jews have been destroyed and an influx of invigorating elements is not to be expected. All Diaspora Jewish communities are now forced to depend on their own resources for a national life. This must be seriously taken into account in studying the assimilation trends in our days. The wonderful reservoir of Polish-Lithuanian Jews which supplied absolutely all new and old Jewish settlements the world over with fresh blood, is filled up with Jewish corpses, and there is no hope for a resurrection of the dead except in Eretz Israel. It is from there that we must expect, not live Jews, but spiritual sap and cultural values. Hence the question of the influence of the Israel center is much more complex and difficult, more problematic and subject to setbacks and conflicts.

We turn now to the present and, in the first line, to the United States, where we have the largest number of Jews and where the quantitative center ~~MMH~~ tends in some measure to become ~~also~~ ^{also} the qualitative center, parallel with the Israel center, and as some dream and ardently desire, even the cultural center.

(c) Intermarriage in the United States. - Before taking up the figures, I should like to dwell on what, to my mind, is the more important question: How do Jews in the United States react to intermarriage? Is it regarded as a tragedy in the family, ϕ and does it lead to sharp conflicts between parents and children?

An article, entitled "My Son's Intermarriage," which appeared anonymously in the March, 1953, issue of Jewish Frontier, sheds a good deal of light on this subject. In it a Jewish mother, whose son is about to be married to a Christian girl, pours out her heart. First she describes her family

and background: she herself was raised in an Orthodox home, but she has not been to a synagogue since her mother's death many years ago. From this it may be inferred that when her mother was alive, she did attend synagogue services with her. She pays dues in several Jewish organizations; she is deeply interested in Israel. She thus feels quite nationally Jewish; she does not merely "belong," she is active. Her two sons received the Jewish education common in America - up to their "Bar Mitzvah." Both, as she puts it, "had the traditional Bar Mitzvah." We see before us a typical, not too deeply assimilated Jewish home; to put it more plainly, linguistically but not spiritually assimilated. Not only do the members of her household know that they are Jews, that they belong to the Jewish group, but they feel quite sufficiently Jewish. And here is what this mother writes:

In my immediate family, including my first cousins, there have been ten intermarriages. Among my friends and acquaintances there are at least a score more. Among the Jewish boys who have taken Christian wives there are professional men, white collar workers, all types and all degrees of mentality.

Going over in her mind all the intermarriages she has known, she is struck by the fact that, with the exception of two cases, it is usually the husband who is Jewish and the wife Christian. She says she would have been happier if her son had chosen a wife of her own faith. She tells herself that marrying within one's faith helps stabilize a union. But deep down in her heart she knows that she is rationalizing, that among the ten intermarriages in her immediate family, "there hasn't been one broken one."

Still, her mother's heart is troubled. For she harbors nostalgic memories of her parents' home and would have liked her grandchildren to know "the thrill of a Passover Seder, or the poignancy of the Shofar sounding on Rosh Hashanah," which would bind them somewhat to their people, to the Jewish people.

Her uneasy heart winces at the thought that "if anything were to happen to my son, his children, if any, would be brought up as Christians and, who knows, perhaps as Christians who will hate and despise Jews."

In the end the mother finds some consolation. The mother, whose Judaism consists of pale memories and very feeble Jewish concerns, concludes: "Of course, it is silly of me to entertain thoughts like this, silly to look so far ahead, silly to look only on the dark side.... I, my thoughts and memories are of yesterday. My children, their hopes and dreams are of tomorrow."

This confession of a mother, published anonymously in a Zionist periodical, paints a very typical picture of Jewish life, based on personal experiences. The mother of the bridegroom, the future grandmother, is still afraid, still apprehensive about the coming generation. She is uneasy and looks for solace; she seeks to reassure herself with optimism. But the Jewish boy and also the Christian girl no longer give it a thought. Religion, nationality, and similar "trifles" do not concern them now. We say "now," because later on, right after the birth of the first child, the problem will grow more complicated and disturbing. But now they do not think about it because the wall that divides them is quite flimsy, especially on the Jewish side, while their American community of thought and feeling is very deep and strong. They, the parties most concerned, are serene and happy. And the serenity and happiness of the children ultimately ~~xxx~~ induces the mothers and future grandmothers to look for plausible excuses with which to reassure themselves. As for interfering with the match, this is out of the question. That happens very seldom in America nowadays. The pale remnants of religious memories are too weak to arouse more than temporary uneasiness in the future grandmother.

An American magazine, Woman's Home Companion, published in its issue of March, 1953, the results of an opinion poll among Jewish and Christian women about intermarriage. These results afford an excellent demonstration of our contention that the dividing wall between Jew and non-Jew in America is very thin and this makes intermarriage a common phenomenon.

Two of the questions asked were as follows:

Do you think mature intelligent people of basically different religious backgrounds can have a happy marriage?

If your son or daughter wished to marry someone of basically different views, would you approve or disapprove of the marriage?

Eighty-seven per cent of the Jewish women, 85 per cent of the Catholics, and 78 per cent of the Protestants answered the first question in the affirmative.

The answers to the second question were more restrained and cautious; 67 per cent of the Catholics, 58 per cent of the Protestants, and only 42 per cent of the Jewish women voiced approval.

Let us first ~~pause to consider~~ dwell on the Catholic women, because their answers arouse great doubts. For we are accustomed to find Catholics more intransigent and less tolerant than Protestants. And here it appears that more of them are favorably disposed toward mixed marriages. Here we find confirmation of what we wrote above, namely, that the social factor plays a bigger part in America than the religious. The Protestants in the United States belong mostly to the Nordic nations, hence to the wealthier and more cultured strata. The Catholics, on the other hand, belong to the poorer nations, such as the Italians, Poles, Spaniards, etc. The former keep aloof from the other elements and feel superior and more aristocratic. Marrying a Catholic spouse is regarded by Protestants as a social comedown. And they feel the same in regard to a Jewish spouse.

Yet we see that in the eyes of mothers of all three religious groups intermarriage is not such a crying sin that one must move heaven and earth to prevent it. Theoretically, the Jewish women with 87 per cent of the answers in the affirmative hold first place, the Catholics second place, and the Protestants third place, though with no less than 78 per cent of the answers in the affirmative.

But when it comes to practice, the sentiment of the three groups changes somewhat. The Jewish women fall far behind: the percentage of approvals drops from 87 to 42, though, taken by itself, this is no small percentage at all. The Catholic^(F) rank first and the Protestants second - and both groups give a sufficiently large percentage of answers expressing practical and actual readiness to accept an intermarriage, including one with a Jewish spouse.

Here we have a true reflection^(C) of the sentiments in America, where the cleavage caused by religion is not so sharp, so hostile, so mutually repugnant.

As for the future of the children born of mixed marriages, we know that in Germany about 20 to 25 per cent of such children were reared in the Jewish faith. In Hungary the percentage was higher. It was believed that these Judaized children of mixed marriages were the most likely candidates for subsequent intermarriage or apostasy. Naturally, this ~~is~~^{was} hard to ~~ascertain~~^{prove}. In the United States there are rumors in circulation that many Christian women married to Jews raise their children more in the Jewish spirit than do many Jewish mothers. Such cases are known to the present writer also. Yet it would be premature to draw broad conclusions from such rumors. Unfortunately, there are no extensive studies on this exceedingly important question. We have one good paper on the upbringing of children of interfaith marriage in the interior of the country and we think it advisable to give the essence of this article.

In an article entitled "The Disappearing Small-Town Jews," which appeared

in the August, 1952, Commentary, the well-known Reform rabbi and writer, Lee J. Lewinger, tells about a reunion of a group of his father's cousins in a little town in the Middle West which he attended twenty ~~years~~ years earlier. The sons of a large family had come back from their widely scattered homes. The author ~~paints~~ paints the following picture:

In the whole mishpoche, the only Jewish wife, besides my own, was Emil's - he kept a delicatessen store in St. Louis. The children of the mixed marriages were Lutherans, Methodists, Christian Scientists, according to the churches of their mothers. Frank from Texas boasted that his son, brought up by a pious Catholic mother, resembled him in appearance and was nicknamed "the little Jew"; Frank also told me that he subscribed to an anti-Catholic paper just in order to read it ostentatiously when the priest comes to visit.

It is very probable that this picture is typical, especially in country towns where the number of Jews is very small and the Jewish father simply has nothing to lean upon. So the children are surrendered to the Christian Church.

The following pithy figures may serve as a commentary on all we have set forth thus far on intermarriage: The Jewish Post, one of the best and most widely read Anglo-Jewish weeklies in the United States, published several years ago the results of a poll conducted among the members of the Reform Temple Adath Israel in Louisville, Kentucky. Sixty per cent said that they celebrate Christmas. Fifty per cent stated that they celebrate the Christian Easter as well as Christmas. Seventy per cent declared that Jewish children in the public schools should join the Christian children in singing Christian hymns. (Quoted from The Day, New York, August 28, 1952.)

This upbringing of the children prepares the ground for mixed marriages. And although we intend further on to give some statistical data on the growth of intermarriage in America, we believe that the descriptive material quoted above is far more important and symptomatic. It gives us the atmosphere in which the generation which will produce the large number of mixed marriages is growing up. It should be well remembered that American Jewry is at bottom still East European and of very recent origin. And though three-fourths of the Jews of the United States already are native Americans, the great majority of them are an East Side generation, reared in a very dense Jewish atmosphere. It is only the third generation which is the first generation with regard to assimilation in the true sense of the word, and only the fourth and fifth generation will yield, as we saw in Europe, the negative results. Would we were wrong! But the above-quoted figures on Germany and on certain European cities teach us that assimilation does not begin simultaneously with mixed marriages. The latter are a result of a long trend of assimilation. It took nearly a hundred years before the percentage of intermarriage among the Jews of Germany amounted to barely ^{sight} ~~sight~~. Subsequently this percentage was quadrupled in the space of three decades.

Let us turn to the figures, which are very instructive indeed. There are no official data on intermarriage in America. The figures given further on are all taken from private studies and are no doubt far from the reality. One always manages to count ~~the~~ those mixed marriages in which the Jewish spouse remains in the Jewish community. But if the spouse takes advantage of the opportunity to merge with the majority, he is very often overlooked by the private study. To be sure, the great majority of Jewish spouses in mixed marriages

remain within the Jewish community even when the children are brought up as Christians, which is very characteristic of the climate of opinion which has arisen in American Jewry in relation to intermarriage.

Let us finally take up these figures on mixed marriages in the United States that we possess.

In the American Hebrew of May 19, 1905, the following figures were given: From 1895 to 1904 there was a total of 8,627 all-Jewish marriages and only 85 mixed marriages, or roughly only 1 per cent. The figure given in The Jewish Encyclopedia (vol.12, p.377) for the same period is even smaller: 78 mixed marriages as compared with 9,668 all-Jewish marriages, or less than one per cent. This is approximately the percentage of mixed marriages to be found among the Jews of Eastern Europe before World War II. In the 1920's and 1930's the mixed marriages in Poland amounted to about one per cent and in Latvia to nearly two per cent.

We have much more detailed figures on intermarriage among $\frac{1}{2}$ Jews in New York for the years 1908 - 1912. At that time the percentage of mixed marriages in New York among various Jewish groups in New York was as follows: 1)

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
French Jews	6.54
German Jews	5.16
Dutch Jews	4.00
English Jews	3.47
Hungarian Jews	2.24
Austrian Jews	0.99
Turkish Jews	0.80
Russian Jews	0.62
Rumanian Jews	0.45

1) Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation, New York, 1920, p.121.

Here we see how the first generation of each immigrant group brings with it its traditions and beliefs of its old home. The four groups listed last in the table all comprise East European Jews (Austrian really signifies a Galician majority) and they all have a rate of intermarriage that is less than one per cent. In the case of the Turkish Jews it may also be assumed that the majority were Russian Jews who had fled to Turkey following the wholesale pogroms of 1905, acquired Turkish citizenship for various reasons, and then came to America as Turkish Jews. But even if they were actually Turkish Jews, they may be ascribed to the East European type of Jews by virtue of their traditional piety.

All West European Jews have an intermarriage rate of more than three per cent, while in the case of French Jews it exceeds six per cent.

From the foregoing figures we get some idea of what the situation was like with respect to intermarriage in the first decade of the twentieth century. True, the figures are for New York City; in the country the percentage of mixed marriages was perhaps already somewhat larger at that time. But it was certainly no ~~more~~ mass phenomenon.

Let us now ~~xxx~~ turn to the present. We possess data concerning one city covering a long period of time and these figures are extremely significant. In New Haven, Connecticut, whose present Jewish population is estimated at 20,000, who constitute about 12 per cent of the total population, the rate of intermarriage among Jews was as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1870	0.0
1900	1.1
1930	5.0
1940	6.3
1950	8.0

1) Nathan Goldberg, "Zu der demographie fun Yidn in America," Yivo Bleter, Vol. 25
 ← New York, 1945, p. 283 (*Yiddish*).

I would say that this rate of increase in intermarriage is typical of the whole country. Not until 1930 do the first symptoms of assimilated elements manifest themselves; assimilated to such an extent that they are ~~assimilated~~ ripe for intermarriage. The number of these sufficiently assimilated elements grows steadily but still very slowly because even after 1930 there is still a steady influx of immigrants - true, of assimilated German Jews, but still not Americanly assimilated, still alien, still not adjusted to and sufficiently integrated into the American milieu to find an American spouse. The rate of increase in intermarriage from 1940 to 1950 is virtually the same as from 1930 to 1940. The important thing is that the increase is steady, uninterrupted, which in itself is a sign that with the growth of assimilated elements, with the enhancement of assimilation, and with the halting of the influx of fresh Jewish immigrants, the tempo of intermarriage is bound to be intensified.

Once more it is necessary to ~~hear~~ bear in mind the trend we witnessed in Europe; and if the situation in America is different than in Europe, it is only in the sense that it is a change for the worse and not for the better - worse from a national point of view because ^{rather} ~~better~~ for the individual Jew. There was no lack of a dense anti-Semitic atmosphere in Germany even in the best years of the life of German Jewry; in America it is absent and, let us hope, it will be lacking for a very long time to come. And this means that we must expect an intensified and enhanced assimilation.

In his article entitled "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage: Facts and Trends" which appeared in Commentary for October, 1953, Hershel Shank ⁵ cites the following figures on intermarriage in a number of localities:

<u>Jewish Community</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Des Moines, Iowa	1949	8.0
Indianapolis, Ind.	1941	12.0
New Haven, Conn.	1950	8.0
New London, Conn.	1938	5.0
Stamford, Conn.	1938	7.0
Trenton, N.J.	1937	1.0

These figures are interesting only in that they show that the percentage of intermarriage increases from year to year.

Concerning the United States we have figures for intermarriage among Jews in small or, at the most, medium-sized cities, if a city with a population of more than 100,000 may be counted as medium-sized. The question whether the rate of intermarriage in the big cities with large and compact Jewish settlements is higher or lower than in the small Jewish communities remains unanswered. On the one hand, Jews from the ~~provinces~~ small towns send their grown up children to the large cities because in the small towns the choice of a spouse is limited and the danger of an intermarriage is great. On the other hand, there is a fairly widespread opinion that the rate of intermarriage is much higher in metropolitan areas because the Jewish mate has ^{wider} ~~broader~~ opportunities there to escape the burden of community disapproval. The embarrassment of the parents can also be better mitigated in the city, because neighbors in the house, or fellow members of societies (including the synagogue) are less inquisitive about one another's family life.



The figures given below may perhaps clarify somewhat the question just posed. Mr. Shanks, whom we quoted above, made the following study at Columbia University. The Jewish students at Columbia and Barnard Colleges were divided into large-towners (mostly from New York), and small-towners, the line of division being a home-town population of ⁵500,000. Twelve hundred questionnaires were sent to those students, who were asked (1) whether they had dated a Gentile within the past six months; and (2) whether they had "gone steady" with a Gentile in the preceding half year. "Going steady" is often a prelude to marriage.

The answer to the first question revealed the following: Of the large-towners (i.e., mostly Jewish students from New York), 32 had dated a Gentile in the preceding six months, while this was true for fully 62 per cent of the small-towners. In other words, nearly twice as many people from small towns had dated non-Jews as people from large towns. But in reality both percentages are quite high. Dating frequently results in "going steady."

Of greater importance, unquestionably, were the answers to the second question. Only 4 per cent of the large-towners had "gone steady" with non-Jews, while this was true for fully 21 per cent of the small-towners. While "going steady" does not always result in marriage, it is, as we have said, often a prelude to it.

Here we have proof that the institution of higher learning is a nursery of mixed marriages. Other fertile fields are large places of employment, such as department stores and big factories, where Jews and non-Jews very often meet at the tender age of 17 or 18 and work together for many years.

Mr. Shanks makes some excellent and pointed remarks. He believes that there are no barriers or deterrents to intermarriage among the young. The main obstacle is parental objection. He writes:

¶ This study of Jewish youth raises one last problem. It is the problem of being led to the waters but forbidden to drink. We have encouraged the cultural and social contacts which lead to intermarriage while condemning the intermarriage itself. It is ironical indeed that the very programs so favored by the Jewish group to reduce prejudice and anti-Semitism also have the latent function of increasing the temptation of intermarriage. The same personal associations and social contacts that show both the Jew and the Gentile that the Jew is no different from other men tend to encourage the contacts that lead to intermarriage. Campaigns to abolish religious restrictions in fraternities and sororities, to abolish college quota systems (instead of setting up Jewish colleges); ... interfaith cultural and social activities — all have the beneficial result of helping the Jew and Gentile understand each other, of enabling them to work together; but these same programs also result in smoothing the road that leads to intermarriage....

The author hastens to add that he is not suggesting that these programs be discontinued or reversed. His "purpose is only to show the other side of the coin, the problems that accompany present gains."

How widespread the practice of interdating and "going steady" with non-Jews, which leads to intermarriage, is, becomes particularly evident from the following story related in the Jewish Daily Forward of January 26, 1954, by its editorial staff ~~MEM~~ member, N. ~~EMM~~ H. Lang:

There is interdating between young Jews and non-Jews, and how far is interdating from intermarriage?

This became a problem in Pueblo, Colorado. Thereupon Rabbi Nathaniel Polack hit upon a plan to stop interdating. Since the main thing was to provide for the social needs of Jewish youth, the young Jews of Pueblo ought be brought together with the Jewish youth of the surrounding towns.

Negotiations produced results. Pueblo negotiated with Denver and Colorado Springs, and the latter agreed that a tri-city circle be set up with meetings of young couples through visits from one town to the other. Special evenings are arranged in the Jewish Center of each city for the out-of-town visitors. The rabbi has organized a special system of transportation. Mothers drive their own and other children to the appointed place in their motor cars and then bring them back.

You might call this a Jewish matrimonial system of transportation.

Some may think that this picture of mothers in three towns uniting for the purpose of saving their children from intermarriage conflicts with the statement I made above, namely, that intermarriage has become an ordinary affair among the Jews of America. In reality there is no contradiction. Of course, Jewish parents do not want their children to marry Christians, but once it has happened they do not treat it as a tragedy.

A more precise idea of the atmosphere in a Jewish community is afforded

by Samuel Koenig in his paper on Stamford, Conn. ^m 1) According to him, of the 823 married couples in the Jewish community of Stamford in 1938, 59, or 7.2 per cent, were Jewish-Gentile couples. He hastens to add that "this number of intermarriages is probably an underestimate, particularly in the case of the women, concerning whom data were less easily obtainable."

In 40 of the 59 cases, the Jews marrying Gentiles were men; in the remaining 19 cases, women.

The largest number of intermarriages were with Italians. The Irish ranked second; the Old Americans, or Yankees, third, while fourth place was held by the Poles and Germans.

Nearly all of the Jews married to non-Jews were born in the United States.

And here is the most interesting information of all: in 25 cases of intermarriage out of the 31 about which it was possible to obtain some data regarding the nature of the intermarriage, the parents belonged to the Orthodox and in 5 cases to the Conservative synagogue.

The majority of the Jewish men and women who married non-Jews continued to be regarded as members of the Jewish community; some even retained their membership in a synagogue.

A survey made in 1951 of 168 small towns with a Jewish population of 100 to 1,000 revealed the following: Of 633 marriages among the Jews, 66, or 10 per cent, were contracted with non-Jewish spouses.²⁾

1) Samuel Koenig, "The Socioeconomic Structure of an American Jewish Community," Jews in a Gentile World, New York, 1942, pp. 235-238.

2) Robert Shosteck, Small-Town Jewry Tells Their Story, Washington, B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau, 1953, p. 45.

A study made in 1949 of a new suburb of Chicago - a garden-apartment housing project - revealed that among the 141 Jewish families living there, there were ~~14~~ 15 mixed marriages, "with both husband and wife having rejected any identification as Jews." 1)

We will close this section by quoting from an account of the situation in the South by the editor of Carolina Israelite, Harry L. Golden, ~~Golden~~, who is thoroughly familiar with the state of affairs in that section of the United States. He describes how the first Sephardic Jewish settlers disappeared in the course of time through apostasy and even more through intermarriage:

In most cases the family drifted into Christianity through the process of "alienation." The Jew married a Christian; the children were raised as Christians; ^{and} this the head of the family continued to maintain at least a perfunctory connection with Judaism and the Temple; but upon his death the link was irrevocably broken.

This "slow" Christianization has its own folklore. Every community in the South has at least one leading Protestant layman of whom it is whispered, "he was once a Jew." Even the names have persisted. You'll find Christians in the South with such names as Herschberger, Mordecai, Salomon, Goodman, Hayman, Hertzinger, Rosenblatt Some humorous situation has arisen.

1) Herbert J. Gans, "Park Forest: Birth of a Jewish Community,"

← Commentary, April, 1951, p. 330.

and they in turn
married others of
their faith. Through
all of

In one Southern town the name of the president of the Hebrew congregation (an immigrant from Poland) was Smith; and the name of the local Lutheran Pastor was Kohn." 1)

¶ Further on he states:

About one out of every three Jewish boys takes a Christian wife. The percentage is only slightly lower in the larger cities ^{↑ here} ~~There~~ "mixed marriages" ~~have become so commonplace that they do not cause a ripple within the Jewish community.~~ 2)

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- 1) Harry L. Golden, "The Jews of the South," Congress Weekly, December 31, 1951, p. 7.
- 2) Ibida., p. 9.

(d) Mixed Marriages among Various Ethnic and Religious Groups in U.S.A. -

← So far we have discussed spiritual and cultural assimilation among various ethnic groups. Of far greater importance and significance is biological assimilation, physical amalgamation. This is the highest and final stage in the extinction of minorities, in their disappearance in the sea of the majority. And here it appears clearly that, on the one hand, Jews show ^a much smaller percentage of biological assimilation than any other ethnic group, but that, on the other hand, biological assimilation of Jews, too, is growing, slowly but surely.

There are many studies on this subject, so important for the United States. Unfortunately, we can only give very limited attention to this problem.

Beyond doubt, the study on this question in New Haven, Connecticut, made by Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy,¹⁾ is one of the best, if not the very best. It has many merits: first, it covers a long period (70 years); second, it gives us figures for four different dates, thereby ~~makes~~ ^{making} it possible to ascertain the rate of increase of mixed marriages; thirdly, it covers a large number of ethnic groups and all three faiths.

1) Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Inter-marriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," The American Journal of Sociology, January, 1944, pp. 331-339.

TABLE . PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INTERMARRIAGE BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN NEW HAVEN

Ethnic Groups	1870	1900	1930	1940
Jews	100.00	98.92	95.00	93.70
British-Americans	92.31	72.00	58.82	54.56
Germans	86.67	55.26	39.84	27.19
Irish	93.05	74.75	64.25	43.06
Poles	—	100.00	68.04	52.78
Italians	—	97.71	86.71	81.89

In degree of biological assimilation the Jews rank last and the Germans ~~rank~~ first. Nearly three fourths of German marriages in 1940 were intermarriages. In 1870 there were less than 8 per cent mixed marriages among the British-Americans and over 13 per cent among the Germans. In 1940 the percentage of such marriages was only 45 in the case of the British-Americans and 73 in the case of the Germans. This is because the social factor plays a great role in intermarriage and the British-Americans comprise a large percentage of upper and middle class people, who keep aloof from other groups.

^B
~~The~~ Biological assimilation is sufficiently high among all the ethnic groups listed by ^{the} Kennedy in the table. If we take the percentage of intermarriage for the entire period of 70 years, the various ethnic groups rank as follows:¹⁾

1) Ibid., p. 333.

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Percentage of Intermarriage</u>
Germans	52.56
Poles	42.39
Irish	35.47
British-Americans	32.50
Italians	14.88
Jews	5.28

Various factors were in play among different ethnic groups: first, the length of the group's settlement in America and also of its continued residence in New Haven; second, the social-economic status of the group and with this its educational and cultural advancement. We cannot dwell here on all these details. The important thing for us was to show how intensively the biological assimilation of non-Jews is proceeding in the United States and how far Jews fall behind all other nationality groups in this respect. Jews are considerably behind other nationalities but, considered separately, they are subject to the general law of biological assimilation which keeps growing in accordance with the length of settlement and cultural assimilation. One is struck by the fact that, in the case of all ethnic groups except the British-Americans, the biological assimilation in the last decade - 1930-1940, was more intensive than in the preceding decades.

According to Mrs. Kennedy's figures, it appears that Jews in New Haven marry Protestants somewhat more frequently than Catholics. In 1900, the rate of intermarriage between Jews and Protestants was 1.18 per cent, and ^{none} ~~was~~ between Jews and Catholics; in 1940, the rates were 3.62 and 2.06 per cent, respectively.¹⁾

1) Ibid.

The above-quoted Ray Babes¹⁾ cites figures on 130 mixed marriages between Jews and Christians, 83 of the latter being Catholics and 47 Protestants. Of the 83 marriages between Jews and Catholics, 54 involved Jewish men and 29 Jewish women. Of the 47 marriages between Jews and Protestants, 31 involved Jewish men and 16 Jewish women.

Babes dwells at some length on these questions and it is worthwhile to quote a pertinent passage from his article:²⁾

Religious separatism is still a formidable barrier to the intermarriage of persons otherwise compatible. Young folks today, who consider religion to be on the wane, are likely to be impatient with the restraints it still imposes on yearnings of the heart. They make the common error of assuming that two young people of different faiths are different only in their religious beliefs. Far more than that is involved.

He therefore proceeds to discuss the happiness ratings of mixed marriages. In marriages between Jewish men and Catholic women, the union was a happy one in 75 per cent of the cases; in marriages between Jewish women and Catholic men, the marriage was a happy one in 60 per cent of the cases. In marriages between Jewish men and Protestant women, the marriage was successful in 80 per cent of the cases; in marriages between Jewish women and Protestant men, the marriage was successful in 76 per cent of the cases. In general, Jewish-Protestant marriages have better chances of success than Jewish-Catholic unions. This may be explained by the greater religiosity of Catholics. According to Babes²⁾, in those marriages between Jews and Catholics in which there were conflicts, religion was the cause in twice as many cases as were non-religious factors. In the majority of cases in which there was conflict based on religious differences, the trouble arose over the upbringing of the children.

1) Babes¹⁾, op. cit., p. 710.

2) Ibid., p. 709.

The large percentage of happy intermarriages proves, in our opinion, that the high traditional barriers which for two thousand years divided Jews from non-Jews, have become much lower. Over three-quarters of the intermarrying Jews live happily with their non-Jewish spouses.

Let us go back to the subject of biological assimilation among non-Jewish nationalities. Bessie Bloom Wessel gives the following figures on mixed marriages in Woonsocket, Rhode Island:¹⁾

In 1926 ~~men~~ she counted 2,876 marriages in that town, of which 17.8 per cent were mixed marriages. The distribution of the intermarriages by generation was as follows: first⁽¹⁾ generation (immigrants) individuals, 9.6 per cent; second-generation (native) individuals, 20.9 per cent; third-generation⁽¹⁾ individuals, 40.4 per cent. Such is the real tempo of biological assimilation. And since many of the inhabitants of the United States already belong to the fourth and the fifth generations, it is obvious that the biological assimilation is now much further advanced than in 1926. And the more homogeneous the surrounding society grows, the more harmonious America becomes in a national sense, the harder it is for Jews to remain separate as an ethnic group.

Elsewhere Mrs. Wessel states that if we regard as persons of mixed ancestry those whose four grandparents are not of the same ethnic⁽¹⁾ derivation, it will follow that of the 4,097 children surveyed in Woonsocket, 12.6 per cent of the French Canadian children were of mixed ancestry, 36.9 per cent of the British, 40.9 per cent of the Irish, 8.2 per cent of the Slavic, 3.5 per cent of the Italian, and 2.6 per cent of the Jewish.²⁾

1) Bessie Bloom Wessel, An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1931, p. 104; *Shanman, op. cit.*, p. 219.

2) ~~Wessel~~, p. 37.

Wessel, *op. cit.*, p. 37

Jews rank last, and it may be assumed not ~~only~~^{merely} because of the recency of their immigration, as is the case with the last two non-Jewish groups (Slavs and Italians), but because of the chasm which still separates the Jew from the non-Jew. The chasm is being filled up, unquestionably, but very slowly. But the slow rate quickens the deeper the cultural assimilation grows, the more the economic status improves, the more the Jews feel free and equal with all other citizens; in short, the better the Diaspora, the more doubtful the national future of Diaspora Jewry. This is no longer a case of "Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked"; it is in the very nature of the development. And Jews are ~~beings~~^{creatures} of flesh and blood and subjects to the universal laws of evolution and adaptation. Jewish history has imposed certain peculiarities and distinctions upon the Jewish situation and upon Jewish behavior, but it has not abolished the laws of life with respect to the Jews.



(e) Intermarriage in Canada. - When one comes to Canada, one breathes easier: here we have exact official figures for a sufficiently long period and no longer grope in the dark, but see clearly and plainly the rate of increase of intermarriage.

First, a few words on the physiognomy of Canadian Jewry. In 1901 there were slightly more than sixteen thousand Jews (to be exact, 16,401) in Canada; in 1951, nearly 205,000 (204,836). The whole Jewish settlement is thus of very recent date. It consists for the most part of two categories of Jews: of natives of Canada who are the children of the first generation of immigrants, and of the immigrants themselves. The great majority of immigrant Jews in Canada ~~come~~^{came} from East European countries. The immigrants of the last ten or fifteen years comprised a very large percentage of ultraorthodox Jews. And in the last decade more than 30,000 Jews immigrated to Canada, which has had a very noticeable effect upon Jewish education in this country.

Canadian Jewry is famous throughout the world, and deservedly so, as a nationally conscious and active Jewish community. A very large percentage of Jewish children attend integrated Jewish Day School, where they receive a thoroughly national education.

Here are official figures on the percentage of intermarriages in this young and nationally admirable Jewish community (average figures) ¹⁾

<u>Years</u>	<u>Percentage of Mixed Marriages</u>
1921-1925	5.8
1944-1946	10.5
1947-1949	9.8
1950-1951	10.4

1) The figures on both the Jewish population of Canada and the mixed marriages are taken from the works of Louis Rosenberg, director of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

The very small number of old-established Jews (numbering 16,000 in 1901) already had a record of nearly 6 per cent intermarriages in the Twenties. In the course of the next two decades the percentage of mixed marriages nearly doubled. True, in the very last eight years - years of the Great Catastrophe on the one hand, and of the rise of the State of Israel on the other - the percentage has been virtually stable. The slight fluctuations have no great significance. Generally speaking, it may be estimated that Canadian Jewry now has an intermarriage rate of ten per cent, a higher percentage than among the German Jews in 1900, after a hundred years of a strong assimilation trend, of assimilation preached as an ideal.

The fact that in a very young Jewish community of East European origin and in a period of an intensive national movement the percentage of mixed marriage is higher than in a community which had gone through an assimilatory development of about a hundred years, ~~is~~ - this fact is very significant. It points up the difference in the intensity and perhaps also in the character of assimilation in a European Jewish community which is after all permeated by millennial traditions and at the same times breathes, even under the best conditions, the poisoned air of hereditary, deeply-rooted anti-Semitism, and a Jewish community in a North American country, where the Jewish community is after all an immigrant one, which means up-rooted and with clipped national wings, while the surrounding air is virtually free from hatred of the Jews.

(f) In England. - We leap from America to Europe because all English-speaking countries have several characteristics in common: first, the assimilative potential in these countries is a high one because of their advanced material and cultural development; second, anti-Semitism in all these countries is weaker than in any other Diaspora lands. Both factors make for the intensification of intermarriage.

Yet Anglo-Jewry possesses some features which distinguish it from the Jewish communities of the above-discussed English-speaking countries. To begin with,

the Jewish settlement in England is older: the immigration of German Jews came to an end in the first half of the nineteenth century and that of the East European Jews at the beginning of the twentieth century. The new immigration in the ~~and~~ ^{Hitler} war years consisted mainly of assimilated German-Austrian and Bohemian-Moravian Jews.

Concerning the Jewish immigration to England toward the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century, Dr. Ignaz Zollschan has this to say:¹⁾

In the course of the nineteenth century, the old-established Jews of England, who had been living there for several generations, amalgamated with the highest English social circles.

The dimensions assumed by Jewish circulation in England are evident from the number of apostates during the nineteenth century - 128,830. ²⁾ It is only when one considers that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were not more than 10,000 Jews in the whole of England, in mid-nineteenth century not more than 40,000, in the 1880's not more than 75,000, and at the end of the century barely 200,000, that the full significance of the afore-cited number of apostates becomes apparent.

Turning to our own day, we are struck by the concern which prevails among the Jewish public in many English cities with respect to intermarriage. The most widely read weekly of ~~English~~ Anglo-~~Jewry~~ Jewry, The Jewish Chronicle of London, is literally flooded with articles and letters dealing with ~~this~~ this problem. No figures are available, but judging by the fear which has seized certain circles of Jewish society, it is obvious that intermarriage has become such a

1) Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, Das Rassenproblem, Wien und Leipzig, 1920, p. 479.

2) The Jewish Encyclopedia, II, 888 (Russian).

frequent and widespread phenomenon that ways and means are sought to combat this evil. As we have no figures, we shall take the liberty of giving excerpts from several issues of The Jewish Chronicle for 1953. Naturally, we have selected the more interesting and significant ones.

In The Jewish Chronicle for April 24, 1953 (p.17), there is an article entitled, "Intermarriage - A Communal Dilemma," by Henry ^{Shaw.} ~~Schaw.~~ Mr. ^{Shaw} ~~Schaw~~ writes:

It may be said ... that although the incidence of mixed marriage is not confined to, or excluded from, any class, group, or section within the community, it is still an exceptional occurrence among genuinely Orthodox families, more frequent in less observant circles, and quite common among old~~d~~ Anglo-Jewish families. There are signs that university graduates, and young professional men (especially doctors) marry out of the faith in greater numbers than do others in the comparable social scales, and it is a very marked feature in the ^{so-called} ~~so-called~~ artistic circles where a mixed marriage might well be regarded as the customary expression of revolt against convention. At the other end of the social and income scale, intermarriage is not infrequent among working-men engaged in a variety of "un-Jewish" occupations (public service and the like)....

The author states further that in the surveys that have been made of intermarriages "there are clear indications that the proportion of divorces among partners to mixed marriages is far greater than those within the communal fold." He is convinced that the children in such marriages will almost certainly be lost to Jewry, "for, as members of a 'between' group, they are far more likely to be absorbed in the majority culture than take their place in the minority group."

This last view must be taken into account in the United States, too, and we must not persuade ourselves that we score a big gain in those cases where the Christian spouse embraces Judaism. Very often there is a divorce even after the Christian spouse has entered the Jewish fold. The latter then goes back to his or her original faith and takes the children with him or her. This is particularly true of Christian wives who readily embrace Judaism, but do not remain long in the new Jewish

milieu, and if the marriage ends in divorce, return to their ancestral religion and take the children along.

In the May, 8, 1953, issue of The Jewish Chronicle there is a report on a conference of Anglo-Jewish rabbis. The very heading over the report is significant: "Jewish Family Life in Danger." The report begins as follows:

Grave warnings about the decline in Jewish family life in this country and the very considerable increase of intermarriage were given at the tenth conference of Anglo-Jewish preachers, held in London this week.

At one of the sessions of the conference Dayan Dr. I. Grunfeld read a paper on "Practical Problems of Modern Anglo-Jewish Family Life, with particular reference to the question of Intermarriage," in the course of which he estimated that "at least 10 per cent, but possibly 12½ per cent, of the marriages of Jews in this country were marriages out of the faith." (Ibid., p. 9.)

In the May 22, 1953, issue of the same publication (p.12) there is an account of the extremely interesting Lucien Wolf Memorial Lecture, which Dr. Redcliffe N. ^{Salaman} Saloman, F.R.S., delivered before the Jewish Historical Society of England on "Whether Lucien Wolf's Anglo-Jewish Community?" In the course of his address, in which he surveyed the changes which had taken place in the community during the past fifty years, Dr. ^{Salaman} ~~Saloman~~ touched upon the problem of intermarriage, which he termed "the most destructive force in Jewry." But, he is reported to have added very significantly, "there were many, both Jews and non-Jews, men and women of the highest character, who felt that the time had come for the removal of all barriers between equals."

In conclusion, Dr. ^{Salaman} Saloman said that "if the external conditions remained the same and there was no further immigration," one could say that "(1) the community would decrease in volume as a result of intermarriage; (2) the community would in-

creasingly tend to pass to the left, namely, away from Orthodoxy and towards Reform;

(3) the numbers who silently transferred their allegiance to the Gentile community would steadily increase."

The October 16, 1953, issue of the publication carries \int on page 22 an article on "Intermarriage Problems" by Rev. Saul Amlas, who during the last war was a British Army Chaplain and in that capacity visited "most parts of Great Britain, including Northern Ireland, Scotland, and the Orkney Islands." Recalling that "the policy of evacuation brought into being Jewish communities in many corners of the British Isles where no Jews had been before," he goes on to say:

Perhaps the most pressing of the many anxieties which this spreading of the Jewish population brought was that of the danger of intermarriage.... There were few families where intermarriage had not occurred.

He refers to the paper Dayan Grunfeld read at the aforesaid Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers in the spring of that year, when the Dayan said that "in the long run the question of intermarriage is one of life or death for Anglo-Jewry."

We pass over his practical suggestions for the revival of the ancient Jewish institution of the Shadchan, as they are strongly reminiscent of the facts recounted above concerning the Jews in the small towns of the United States.

In the November 6, 1953, issue of the publication there are three letters from readers commenting on Rev. Amlas' article. The first is from a man in Newcastle upon Tyne, who, after quoting Dayan Greenfeld's estimate that "at least 12½ per cent of the marriages of Jews in this country were marriages out of the faith," goes on to say: "I think this figure is an underestimate, as I feel convinced that in the north-east area it must be at least 20 to 25 per cent, in spite of the fact that there is a very active Jewish social life." He seconds Rev. Amlas's proposal for the revival of the Shadchan.

The other two letters to the editor do not contribute anything of importance to this problem.

We will close this depressing subsection on England with this brief quotation from J. Litvin's article, "What Future for the Diaspora?" which appeared in the June, 1954, issue of the New York monthly, Jewish Spectator:

In spite of the awakening of our national conscience intermarriage is continuing. A short time ago a Jewish author who knows his East End only too well, asserted that there was hardly one family in this Jewish Center of London without cases of intermarriage.

I am well aware that one cannot base exact conclusions on mere impressions and opinions. But the mind is haunted by this question, Why such panic, such despair? Why such harping on this menace when there are so many other troubles and tribulations in Jewish life? Surely, there is something behind it. And this "something" is no less significant than exact figures. Despair and panic of such dimensions attest to a defect which affects the fate of the entire community.

From estimates and opinions and panicky outcries let us turn to a country where we have the most exact official figures. To be sure, the Jewish settlement there is a tiny one, but it is undoubtedly typical of at least ten ^{ies.} other small Jewish communities. We refer to Switzerland.

(g) In Switzerland. - First, a few introductory remarks. According to the census of 1941 there were 19,429 Jews in Switzerland. Official estimates put the number of Jews in the country in 1950 at about 18,000. An idea of the biological physiognomy of Swiss Jewry is afforded by the ~~following~~ which follow figures on the percentage of children and old people. The percentage of children up to and including 14 years was as follows: 16.0 in 1930 and 12.2 in 1941. The latter figure is approximately one-third of the percentage of children among the Jews of Poland In 1931 and about one-fourth of the percentage of children among the Jews of Morocco in 1946.

The percentage of those over 65 years of age was 7.5 in 1930 and 13.4 in 1941. The latter figure is more than double that among the Jews of Poland in 1931 and among the Jews of Israel in 1950.

And now about mixed marriages. From 1940 to 1951 inclusive 2,120 Jewish men were married. Of this number, 852, or 40.2 per cent, took Christian wives. Of the 1,597 Jewish women who were married during ^{that} ~~this~~ period, 329, or only 20.6 per cent, married Christian husbands. Of the combined number of 3,717 Jews of both sexes who were married, 1,181, or 31.8 per cent, married non-Jewish spouses.

What was the progress of intermarriage among the Jews of Switzerland? There are very important and eloquent figures on the subject. The percentage of intermarriage was as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Jewish Grooms</u>	<u>Jewish Brides</u>
1880	2.8	1.9
1941	12.5	6.9
1951	40.2	20.6 1)

Swiss Jewry consists of two wings: ⁱ/~~i~~ Indigenous German Jews and immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe. But the latter are also old-established by now, since virtually no new immigrants have been admitted since about 1905. In the ^{last} ~~past~~ 50 years the majority of the East European Jews have become West European, which means very much assimilated. The surprising thing about the

1) All the figures on Switzerland cited thus far are taken from Festschrift zum 50. jaehrigen Bestehen, 1954, pp. 96-97, published by the Federation of Swiss Jewish Communities on the occasion of its jubilee celebration.

figures just cited is the tremendous spurt in intermarriage from 1941 to 1951. From 1880 to 1941 the ~~rate~~ of increase in intermarriage was very gradual, and it was precisely in the last ten years, years of the greatest catastrophe in Jewish history and of the greatest redemptive miracle in Jewry, that there was such an enormous upsurge. Among both sexes the percentage of intermarriage tripled. Apparently, assimilation has already attained such a high ^{degree} ~~level~~ and such deep integration into the surrounding milieu that not even grandiose national developments can restrain it.

Things have come to such a pass in Switzerland with regard to ~~a~~ intermarriage that the local rabbis have refused to convert any more Christians to Judaism, for the most part Christian women, who are much more often inclined to adopt the Jewish religion than Christian men. The heads of the Jewish communities have protested against the decision of the Council of Rabbis, on the ground that it will only contribute to the apostasy of the Jewish young men.

We cannot discuss the question whether we lose or gain by mixed marriages, because many Christian women embrace the Jewish religion and the children are thus brought up in the Jewish spirit. We cannot do it because there are no data to go by. A couple of figures on Jewish children in Basle in 1952 may perhaps indirectly answer this question. In that year 26 children were born to Jews in Basle. Of this number, 7 were of mixed parentage. None of the seven children with one Jewish parent was registered as a Jew.¹⁾

(h) In Southern Africa. - We will in the first instance consider the situation in countries about which we have some figures. We have such figures concerning Rhodesia. Rhodesian Jewry consists in its overwhelming majority of immigrants from the Union of South Africa, hence of Lithuanian Jews who have shaped the physiognomy of the Jewish community there.

1) Israelitisches Wochenblatt, Zuerich, August 21, 1953.

In 1954, The Rhodesian Jewish Board of Deputies reported that among 263 married couples in outlying Jewish centers there were 35 intermarriages, or more than 13 per cent.¹⁾ According to the report, "intermarriage is more widespread in the scattered and small communities of the country areas" than in the large cities. Of great interest is the statement that "a considerable number of mixed marriages are contracted by young South African men while studying at overseas universities, particularly in England. Young people with a good Jewish background and education find themselves, on settling in English university centers, unable to establish contacts with Jewish families," thanks to the aloofness of the latter.

After an extensive discussion of the situation in the small centers, the Rhodesian Board of Deputies comes to the conclusion that in a small center, where there may be no more than a dozen Jewish families, one cannot exclude from the community couples who have intermarried, lest the whole community be destroyed thereby.

The situation in Rhodesia is quite similar to the state of affairs throughout Southern Africa. Says the African Jewish Newspaper in its issue of May 29, 1953:

There is scarcely a small country town in South Africa without mixed marriages. There are also record towns where intermarriages comprise twenty per cent of the total.

1) The Jewish Chronicle, London, July 2, 1954, p. 11.

(1) In Miscellaneous Countries.- We are forced to make use of material in the press which contains only views, hints, and sentiments. If there was any hope for better and more reliable data on intermarriage in many countries, we would certainly eschew disconnected bits of information in the papers. But, unfortunately, there is no such hope. Hence we take what is available, for anything is better than nothing.

We have no information on the native Jewish community of France, and believe that the above-quoted statement of Dr. Zollschan on the native English Jews fully applies also to the indigenous French Jews. To be sure, the figures on apostasy are much smaller for the French Jews than for the English: *l.c.* / Altogether, 2,400 cases during the nineteenth century.¹⁾ This is because there were fewer Jews in France and because France is a Catholic country. The burden which Catholicism imposes upon its communicants is much heavier than is the case with Protestantism.

Confirmation that there is a high percentage of intermarriage among the autochthonous Jewish community of France is to be found in the Paris Consistory's marriage statistics for 1953, as analyzed by Rabbi Simon Schwarzfuchs. He said:

In more than eight out of ten cases, bride and bridegroom belonged to the same ethnic group....

The proportion of French-born Jews who had a religious wedding was so minute as to confirm the widely held belief that the drift from Judaism is great and still gathering momentum among the French-born community, (The Jewish Chronicle, London, February 12, 1954, p.15.)

1) The Jewish Encyclopedia, II, 888 (Russian).

A correspondent reports as follows in the Paris Yiddish weekly

Die Zionistische Stimme of July 8, 1952:

When I spoke at a Herzl-Bialik memorial meeting in Claremont and touched upon the question of Jewish education, I noticed unusual excitement among the audience. At first I was puzzled. It was not until I was leaving the hall that a prominent woman explained to me the sad state of Claremont Jewry. "That one," she said, "has a Christian son-in-law; this one, a Christian daughter-in-law, and that communal leader has a Christian wife. And these are all East European Jews."

This is a picture of Jewish life in a community of 300 Jews. In a communication printed in the Paris Yiddish daily Unger Wort of November 1, 1952, it is stated that "there is a veritable epidemic of mixed marriages."

The Paris correspondent of the Jewish Daily Forward reports in its issue of March 27, 1951, that a Parisian Jewish girl has undergone baptism. "She picked the Christian religion, not knowing that the Jews, too, had a religion." When the news of it appeared in the Jewish press, "a Jew of Rheims sent a letter to one of the papers in which he related that during the last few years from 60 to 70 Jews intermarried with Christians in Rheims. Many of these Jews had fine Jewish parents who had come to France from Poland when their children were still very small. These children of the former immigrants from Poland are now Catholics and wear crosses on their chests."

The same correspondent relates that "in 1945 the numbers of mixed marriages in Denmark exceeded 60 per cent." He recounts the following extremely interesting and significant story which ~~happened~~ happened to the well-known Yiddish writer in Denmark, Pinchas Wellner:

Some time ago the writer Pinchas Wellner was invited by the Danish Radio to take part in an interview on Jewish problems. The interviewer, a well known Danish writer, one of

the best friends of the Jewish people, suddenly touched upon the subject of inter-marriage. He wanted to know the attitude of the Yiddish writer toward this question. Wellner tried to get away from this subject, but was driven into a corner, as it were. He ~~was~~ faintedly answered briefly and pointed out that mixed marriages greatly weaken the Jewish people.

The radio station received many protests from Jews for having raised this question. They motivated their objections as follows: "It sounds very strange to Christian ears, virtually like Hitlerism or Nazism."

The New York Yiddish daily The Day and Jewish Journal carried the following dispatch from Brussels in its issue of June 10, 1952:

The local rabbinate was shocked when it became known that in the last twelve months the majority of Jewish boys and girls had married Christian partners.

On page 19 of the London Jewish Chronicle of July 4, 1952, there appeared an article entitled "Drift from Judaism in Brussels," and written in that city, which contained the following portentous passage:

The future of the Jewish community is a matter which is causing Jewish leaders here much concern. Assimilation is their biggest problem. Since the war the drift from Judaism has been on an unprecedented scale. Indeed, within the last few years more mixed marriages (between Jews and Gentiles) than Jewish marriages have taken place in the Belgian capital. It is, therefore, not surprising that most Jewish youth clubs which have been established here in the postwar period have been forced to close because of the apathy of their members.



In the course of his opening address to the tenth Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, to which reference was made earlier in this chapter, Chief Rabbi Brodie, referring to his pastoral visit to Australia, gave this picture of Jewish life there until a few years ago:

disintegrating

General disregard of the Sabbath, neglect of kashrut, frequent intermarriage, ignorance of the Hebrew language, unhampered assimilation in an easy-going society were ~~disintegrated~~ forces against which the heroic efforts of ministers and the few faithful seemed to be powerless. (The Jewish Chronicle, London, May 8, 1953.)

This is a general picture. But we possess exact figures on a Jewish community which is typical of all the other communities in Australia and is in no way exceptional.

In 1952, the Jewish community of Perth in Western Australia set up a special committee to survey the biological physiognomy and development of the local Jewish population, numbering about 2,500. And here are some of the committee's findings:

Our population is aging and the annual number of deaths is rising. The number of Jewish children per family is astonishingly small. If there is no change for the better, then, regardless of whatever we may do for our community, its final doom is inevitable. Assimilation and intermarriage are only contributory factors tending to accelerate the process of Jewish disintegration. No fewer than 300 persons of both sexes ~~MM~~ married non-Jewish spouses. This means 12 per cent of the Jewish population, or one out of every eight Jews.

The picture is clear enough. Nevertheless, we would like to add a few words written by Rabbi Jekuthiel Klein (Jewish Daily Eagle, Montreal, June 2, 1953), who had made a tour of the cities of Australia. He writes: "The old-established Australian Jew is totally assimilated -- so much so that there is hardly a Jewish family without cases of intermarriage."

reasons

We come now to South America. For many ~~persons~~ several of the larger Jewish communities of South America, especially Argentina and its capital, Buenos Aires, have

gained, no doubt deservedly, the name of faithful heirs and continuers of the full-bodied national East European Jewry. We have no desire, on the basis of the meager information about intermarriage in these countries, to deprive them of their good name. But we certainly cannot pass over in silence so vital a phenomenon as mixed marriages. We will therefore give the available information, adding at the same time that fear tends to magnify and that the estimates of persons who may themselves have suffered this misfortune are somewhat exaggerated. Yet the fear is symptomatic and deserves to be noted.

At a conference of Jewish Communities in ^AArgentina toward the end of summer, 1952, many provincial delegates reported that the percentage of mixed marriages in the country towns exceeded 60. Without entering into statistical computations let us observe life in the row as reflected in the press.

The well-known Yiddish journalist M. Shenderay, who visited the two small towns of Rio ^{Qu}Quarta and San Luis, reports the following about the Jews of the latter town:

A settlement of about thirty families. There is a "benevolent" society that is already twenty-seven years old and possesses its own building, which, however, stands closed most of the time. The Jews assemble only for divine worship on the High Holy Days. There used to be a library, but it no longer exists. Intermarriages are a not infrequent occurrence, and an Orthodox grandfather experienced the personal tragedy of seeing one of his grandsons, whose mother was a Gentile, brought to burial in a Christian cemetery, although the child had been duly circumcised. (Idische Zaitung, Buenos Aires, January 20, 1953.)

Another prominent Yiddish journalist, J. Horn, writes as follows in the same paper of March 3, 1953:

A Jew who lives in a remote town containing about two hundred Jewish families, came to Buenos Aires to buy Yiddish and Hebrew books. He poured out his heart: "Our life is being devoured by serpents - mixed marriages. There are Jewish merchants

his in Buenos Aires who know our town and the other towns, where things are no better as regards inter-marriage. The Jewish father is busy at his shop, and the non-Jewish wife raises the children. And all the grudges she bears against her husband, she pours out to the children, who in most cases are brought up to hate their own father. #

"There are women who at first are afraid to take the children to church, but do it after the latter grow older. In our part of the country," the Jew related, "one ~~man~~ hears complaints on all sides about mixed marriages. Recently, a Jewish grandfather rent his cloths in mourning when a grandson of his called him a 'Christkiller.'

"At that time a group of Jews gathered and began to count up the numbers of intermarriages in the town; their hearts sank when they saw how far things had gone. It was agreed that the Jewish fathers should be approached in a tactful way and enlightened about the situation they were in and how their children were being brought up. Fathers can exert some influence. It is worse with Jewish girls married to Christian husbands. They have not even the courage to utter a word and to interfere, although many of them suffer on account of it. Their homes are Catholicized, and the children go to church.

"I do not know," said the Jew with tears in his eyes, "how matters stand with regard to inter-marriages in Buenos Aires. In my town they are causing havoc. The term 'mixed marriage' says nothing. What we actually have is apostasy and a crop of children who go to church and hate their Jewish fathers."

We could cite many more such complaints by provincial Jews about the fate of their children, but will content ourself with a single quotation, which vividly ~~sums~~ sums up the psychial state of Jewish parents in the interior of Argentina and without exception in all South American countries. One of the delegates to the aforesaid conference of Argentine Jewish Communities unbosomed himself as follows:

Whenever I think of my children, I am seized with fear. Who knows what will become of them? I left one place on account of my children, and I fear I shall have to pull up stakes again I am afraid for my children, they are becoming estranged, and who knows if it is not already too late? (Di Idische Zaitung, Buenos Aires, September 8, 1952.)

A short explanation of the fear which obsessed the father in the foregoing quotation is to be found in a Yiddish paper published in a much smaller Jewish community than that of Argentina. The quotation about to be given, which relates to Cuba, undoubtedly reflects the situation in the more than a score of Jewish communities in Latin America.

In the Cuban Yiddish paper, Havaner Lebn, of February 7, 1951, we come upon the following item:

If they succeed in changing things, it will be nothing short of a miracle.... They would gladly consent to a civil marriage, just as others have done, since marriage in court is by now hardly a novelty among us. But marriage in a church? to let their child get married in a church?

It appears that in most Latin American countries it rarely happens that the Christian partner in a mixed marriage embraces Judaism; far more often does such a union lead to the apostasy of the Jewish partner. And this is mainly because in localities where the number of Jewish families is small, the Jewish children have no one to associate or pass the time with. So they chum with Catholic children from pious Catholic homes and are influenced thereby.

The aforesaid Havaner Lebn published on February 10, 1951 a letter to the editor from a young woman wherein she tells how she nearly left the Jewish fold. She and her parents had lived in the interior of the country. On several occasions she had gone with her girlf friends to church, not because she believed in that, but because there was no other place to go. Moreover, she did not want to be different from her schoolmates. Fortunately, the matter ended well, for when her parents noticed that she was keeping company with a Christian youth, they sold their business and moved to Havana.

One cannot help remembering that throughout Eastern Europe hundreds of thousands of Jews lived in villages, often only two or three families to the village, very seldom

more than a score of Jewish families in one place. And how rarely, indeed only once in a village in decades, did it happen that a Jewish boy or girl fell in love with a Christian and left the Jewish fold. Indeed, love for a Christian ended in a hundred per cent of the cases in the apostasy of the Jewish partners. But both intermarriage and apostasy were exceptions, glaring exceptions, which created a ~~scar~~^{renaissance} not only in the local community where these tragic events occurred, but throughout the province.

Of course, assimilation would lead to intermarriage in Eastern Europe, too. And we think it necessary to dwell on this subject in relation to the East European countries. From the few figures in our possession it is sufficiently evident that assimilation leads, and must lead, everywhere to intermarriage and also to apostasy. In the Communist countries the most favorable conditions for intensive assimilation and consequently also for intermarriage have arisen. And no one dares to combat mixed marriages -- not the parents and certainly not the Jewish community, which does not exist as such, as a Jewish organism that fights against disintegration.

(j) In the East European Countries. - A very striking picture of the deep chasm between assimilated and unassimilated Jews is afforded by the figures on mixed marriages in two sections of pre-war Czechoslovakia. Thus the percentage of Jews who married non-Jewish partners in 1933 was as follows:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Jewish Grooms</u>	<u>Jewish Brides</u>
Bohemia	30.73	25.25
Carpatho-Russia	0.72	1.25

It should be borne in mind, ~~more~~ moreover, that in 1933 there were in Carpatho-Russia Jewish officials from Bohemia and Moravia and it is very probable that the few cases of intermarriage did not involve local Carpatho-Russian Jews. As is well known, the latter had the highest percentage of Jews engaged in agriculture of any Diaspora country (over 27 per cent of all the gainfully employed), hence a very high percentage of villagers.

Some figures on the Jews of Poland confirm the foregoing data on the Carpatho-Russian Jews. In 1927 there were 25 mixed marriages in the whole of Poland with a Jewish population of about three million: 16 Jewish men married Polish women, and 9 Jewish women married Christian men. In 1928 there were only two cases of intermarriage in Warsaw with its upward of 300,000 Jewish inhabitants. In Cracow, too, with a Jewish population of 56,000, there were only two cases of intermarriage in that year. In Posen, which had been a German city for more than a hundred years, and which had only 1,500 Jews in the same year, there were seven mixed marriages.

In pre-war Poland there was a quite considerable stratum of assimilated Jewish intellectuals, yet the percentage of intermarriages was insignificant, because even this assimilated layer lived in the midst of a compact Jewish population and there was a wide choice of Jewish marriage partners. There was no need to have recourse to the majority, with which one was deeply integrated in language and culture. Quite different was the case of the assimilated Jewish intelligentsia in the Great Russian metropolises, such as Petrograd (now Leningrad) and Moscow. Fortunately, we have exact figures on the situation in the former Petrograd and subsequent Leningrad. We shall thus get an idea not only of the percentage of intermarriage in the capital of Russia under the Czars, but also of the effect of the Communist revolution on the disintegration of Soviet Jewry.

The percentage of Jews who married non-Jewish partners in Petrograd-Leningrad was as follows:¹⁾

1) L. Singer, The Jewish Population in U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1932, p. 26 (Russian).

<u>Years</u>	<u>Jewish Grooms</u>	<u>Jewish Brides</u>
1906-1910	8.1	8.9
1922-1924	21.3	10.5
1925-1927	25.5	18.1

The first line shows how far assimilation had already advanced at the turn of the century among a layer of Jewry which played the leading role in all national movements among the Jewish people. Shortly after the revolution there is a tremendous rise in the percentage of intermarriage, notwithstanding that the large numbers of Jews who poured into the city from 1917 on came from the provinces of the Jewish Pale of Settlement and hence were buttressed with a high degree of national sentiment. These figures, like those frequently cited above, confirm the view that assimilation is proceeding more intensively in the twentieth than in the nineteenth century. This may be partly due to the fact that the tempo ^{of} our life has in general grown more intensive. But in addition there is a special Jewish factor: as long as 95 or possibly 98 per cent of the Jewish people led Orthodox lives and were completely isolated in every respect from the non-Jewish world, the first islets of assimilation developed slowly, and still slower was the growth of intermarriage, which naturally is a result of a high degree of fellowship and intimacy with the majority in regard to patterns and concepts of living. It is quite otherwise in the twentieth century, when even deeply national and in part even Orthodox elements of the Jewish people are no longer so hermetically sealed off and separated from the surrounding world. Even if the Jewish young man came to Leningrad straight from the Mir Yeshiva, it did not take long for him to become integrated into the Russian milieu and to form a warm friendship with a non-Jewish girl and ultimately marry her.

However, even in the state of irresponsibility prevalent under the Bolshevik regime, where it was proclaimed, especially by the Jewish Communists, that everything was permitted and social and ideological solidarity was much more important and decisive than religious and national affiliation, there was a great difference in the matter of mixed marriage² between the provinces of the Jewish Pale, where the traditional Jewish way of life was still fighting the destructive flood let loose by the Bolsheviks, and the principal city, where there were no historically built dams and where the destructive inundation wrought its havoc without any resistance from the Jewish side. It should also be borne in mind that the non-Jewish side in Leningrad was much more affable and inclined to marriage with a Jewish partner than was the case in the Ukraine or White Russia.

The figures which follow will illustrate what has just been said. The percentage of Jews who married non-Jewish partners in the years 1924-1926 inclusive were as follows:¹⁾

<u>Country</u>	<u>Jewish Grooms</u>	<u>Jewish Brides</u>
Central Russia	20.7	12.5
Ukraine	4.2	4.9
White Russia	1.9	3.7

Among Jewish men the percentage of intermarriage in the central provinces is five times as large as in the Ukraine, and more than ten times as large as in White Russia. Among Jewish women the difference is not so great but still quite considerable: the percentage of intermarriage in Central Russia is two and a half times that in the Ukraine, and over three times that in White Russia.

1) Jews in U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1927, p. 74.

The difference in the percentage of intermarriage between the Ukraine and White Russia may be explained by the fact that the former contains two such major cities as Kiev and Odessa. To begin with, in these two cities there was a large percentage of Great Russians, with whom the Jews intermarried more often; second, the Jewish population of these two large cities was, even before the revolution, much more assimilated than that of Minsk, the largest city in White Russia.

The figures just cited on Soviet Russia are no doubt quite antiquated and possess only a historical value. Nevertheless, we can draw ^{one} unquestionable conclusions from them: things have certainly grown worse. In the years 1924-1926 the Jews of the Ukraine and White Russia were still under the influence of centuries-old ~~MMMM~~ traditions. All this tended to disappear ~~fast~~ under the impact of Communist policy in the course of two decades and was utterly wiped out by the Hitler hordes. The new Jewish settlements, without any Jewish educational institutions and without any trace of national or at least religious organizations, are no doubt much more exposed to disintegration, including also intermarriage. More than two-thirds of the Soviet Jews now live very far from the former tradition-bound provinces of the Pale, intersprinkled in small numbers among a non-Jewish population in the cities of Asia and more concentrated, although here, too, submerged in an overwhelming non-Jewish majority, in the two principal cities of Soviet Russia, Moscow and Leningrad.

For, in the Soviet Union we already have a generation without any Jewish education, severed and hermetically sealed off from world Jewry. Where are there any deterrent factors to prevent intermarriage? Not only has the former deep chasm between Jew and non-Jew been filled up, but negative and positive conditions and factors have arisen which make the Jewish youth physically and psychically, spiritually and culturally not only integrated into but organically and completely interwoven with the majority milieu.

It may well be that there are Crypto-Jews in Soviet Russia who in basements or attics teach their children secretly the Jewish prayers and even the Pentateuch with Rashi's commentary, and perhaps also the Talmud. It is also possible that there are loyal Zionists who teach their children the Hebrew language and Jewish history and instill Jewish national sentiments in them. We assume this on the strength of what is reported by Polish Jews who spent the war years in Soviet Russia. And also on the strength of Jewish history, which has always produced men who are unyielding and ready to die a martyr's death. I fear, however, that the number of such Jews is infinitesimal, perhaps a couple of scores or hundreds; large numbers are out of the question. We are living under wholly new conditions, and the examples of history cannot be accepted wholesale in relation to the assimilative conditions of Bolshevism. Even in the days of the Yevseks the positive factors of assimilation were far more important and influential than the persecution of Hebrew, Zionism, and religion. With the disappearance of the Yevseksia the preponderance of the positive factors of the assimilative potential greatly increased. This explains why even the traditional Jewish religious and national tenacity ^{has} greatly declined in Soviet Russia. To pin great hopes on it would be to deceive oneself.

Concerning the remaining Communist countries, where there still are 350,000 Jews (200,000 in Rumania, 100,000 in Hungary, 45,000 in Poland, and 17,000 in Czechoslovakia), no information is available with respect to intermarriage. As regards Poland, the handful of Jews who have come out of that country during the last two years say that the number of Jewish women greatly exceeds the number of Jewish men and this drives the former to marry Christians. Much to our regret, it can be stated that intermarriage is common in all these countries and there is no deterrent factor.

* * *

With this we conclude the second part of our book, dealing with the processes of assimilation in Jewish life. We proceed now to the third part, which will show us that old Israel does not give in so easily; simultaneously with the processes of assimilation there are going on nationalizing struggles. The Diaspora refuses to yield and is producing men who fight against the current, fighters of varying character and energy, of differing perspectives, but with one general aim: to check the assimilatory tendencies, to strengthen and foster the rich national and religious heritages, to intensify their influence on Jewish life in the Diaspora lands.

