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### AMONG THE NATIONS

A STUDY OF
THE JEWS AND ANTISEMITISM

ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU

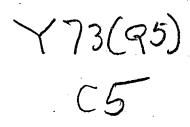
TRANSLATED BY
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## INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH VERSION.

OUR age will constitute a critical, a supreme epoch in the long history of Israel. To-day the prophecies of the seers are at last approaching their fulfilment, and Israel is really being scattered to the ends of the earth. We are witnessing a new diaspora, the great and final dispersal.

The tree of Israel, the ancient vine of Judah, transplanted to the Sarmatian plains, has again been rudely shaken by the blast of persecution; its branches have fallen and its seeds have blown afar, over the hills and across the deserts and oceans.

As in earlier times, the wrath of their persecutors is forcing Jews and Judaism into countries where the Sabbath-lamp has never yet been lighted. The spectacle witnessed during the Renaissance and at the end of the fifteenth century, in consequence of the edicts of Isabella of Castile—the exodus of a people driven forth without means of existence, from the land of its ancestors because it clung to the faith of its fathers,—this spectacle disgraces the closing years of our nineteenth century, in consequence of the ukases of a Russian Czar.

What will be the verdict of history as to the effects upon Judaism of the harsh policy of Alexander III.? Possibly in years to come, when the tears of her exiles and their present sufferings shall be forgotten, the historians of Israel may affirm that the Russian autocrat

contributed, more than any other man, to the expansion and renovation of Judaism.

The Jews who are driven from the Slavic soil by the law or by their own poverty, are forced to begin a new life under kindlier skies and in freer lands. They are torn from the old Jewries where, closely herded together, they had barely air enough to breathe; and this painful expatriation may well prove of equal benefit to their souls and their bodies.

The majority of these exiles have gone to America, and especially to the United States. To their brethren already established between the Atlantic and the Pacific this sudden influx of a whole people, in the main poor and ignorant, who demand from them shelter and support, must indeed prove a very heavy burden. Tews of the United States have been confronted here with an enormous task, to which, however, they have shown themselves equal. Fortunately, the most trying years seem to be over. The accession of the young emperor, Nicholas II., to the throne of Russia gives rise to the hope of some mitigation of those antiquated laws which, under Alexander III., had furnished official intolerance with the means of hypocritical per-The stream of emigration, whose volume is already lessening, will probably slacken. It will not wholly cease, for free America will long continue to attract the victims of persecution.

I, for one, do not believe that the United States ought to view this Jewish immigration with any disquietude; I cannot see what there is to fear from it. Among all the races and nations that have furnished the United States with colonists and have thus helped to advance its marvellous growth, I can find none more intelligent or more industrious; nor can I find any that

is more capable of assimilating American civilisation and of introducing into it a useful competition.

I am told that one of the charges brought against the Jews of America is that they frequently manifest leanings toward socialism; or rather toward anarch-This may be the case with many Russian and Roumanian Jews,-we have some in Paris who show such tendencies,-but the fact is due less to the racial character of the Jews than to the conditions under which they have long been forced to live in Europe. and to which they are still subjected in Russia and If Lassalle and Karl Marx were the prophets of German socialism, one of the causes of their revolt against the old social order lay in the sort of life which that order imposed upon the sons of Israel, even in Germany. This is still more evident in the case of the Jews who have been infected in Russia by the germs of nihilism and anarchy. The Iew of the old secluded Jewry is-as I have shown in this book—essentially conservative. If, in the past twenty or twenty-five years, a certain number of young Jews and Tewesses have joined the ranks of the nihilists, if some of them have been concerned in the conspiracies against the person or the authority of Alexander II. and Alexander III., this is due to the social conditions imposed on the Jews by the Russian laws. This I think I have conclusively proved, both in my present volume and in my larger work: The Empire of the Tsars.

Only the most systematic vexations and humiliations could have aroused the children of Abraham to this spirit of revolt, to these political conspiracies, so opposed to Jewish ideas and traditions. A further proof of this, which ought to appeal to the most furious An-

tisemites, is that in Russia conspiracy can lead to nothing, as yet, but transportation or the gallows.

Moreover, I have often noticed that all the Israelites implicated in political trials were what I call "de-judaised" Jews—that is to say, Jews who have renounced the beliefs and practices of Judaism. It was Christian contagion that gave the Jews their revolutionary ideas.

Some of the Jewish emigrants from Russia and other parts of Europe have been obviously degraded and corrupted by centuries of oppression. Many yearsperhaps one or two generations—will be needed to raise their moral plane, to imbue them with a sense of honour and dignity. It is a great mistake to believe that this moral uplifting can be facilitated by detaching them from their religion. On the contrary, the least praiseworthy Jews that I have met have generally been "de-judaised" Jews, those who had ceased to observe the Mosaic law. The Jew-such, at least, is my opinion-stands in even greater need of religious support than the Christian; and, as a rule, he can find that support only in the faith of his fathers. There are, indeed, Israelites who become converts to Christianity. But, in order to be morally efficacious, such conversion should be genuine and disinterested. Its object should be to find favour, not in the eyes of society or of man, but of God. Now, it is well known that such true conversions are rare, and this accounts for the fact that the baptised Jews are often the least commendable.

I must confess that, in many cases, the Christian missionaries are to blame. They are too often satisfied with purely external, nominal conversions, and, for the winning of souls, they too often employ means that are neither holy nor honest. I have been told that there are

missionaries—mainly of the Protestant faith—in London, New York, and the East, who angle for Jewish souls with the coarse bait of worldly benefits, taking unfair advantage of the poverty, abandonment, and loneliness of immigrants driven out of their country by want or persecution, to lead them to the Christian font. These conversions by seduction, if I may venture so to call them, are not a whit less odious than conversions by force. Such proselytising is unworthy of the Christian ministry and is a disgrace to the churches that encourage it. It can result only in making bad Christians and in educating bad citizens.

I need say little, in addressing my English-speaking readers, of the fear entertained by some persons that the Jewish new-comers are likely to monopolise the national wealth. Although such apprehensions are quite common among the simple souls of the old world, I do not imagine that they have crossed the channel or the Atlantic. Englishmen and Americans have too much faith in themselves to share such visionary fears. However great may be the commercial talents of the Jews, the Anglo-Saxons feel themselves by no means inferior to them; and when it comes to "making money," the Yankee does not fear the competition of the Semite.

Nor do I believe that, in extending hospitality to the sons of Israel, the United States, or Australia, or even old England herself, has reason to apprehend what German Antisemites call the "judaising" of modern society.

This expression is often used in Europe to indicate the growing ascendancy of material interests and the encroachments of the mercantile spirit. I do not think that the Jew can be held responsible for this tendency,

and I shall attempt to show this in my forthcoming work: Le Règne de l'Argent. What the Antisemites call the "judaising" of society might, as I have taken the liberty of asserting, be more correctly called the "Americanising" of morals. I trust that this remark will not bring down upon me the resentment of my American readers. That would be unfair, for I am, in many respects, a sincere admirer of their great Republic. If I have ventured to speak of the "Americanising" of modern society, it is simply because the typical characteristics of democratic industrial society were first revealed in the United States, and have there been developed on a larger scale than in any other country. This form of social organisation, new to history, is gradually becoming dominant in all parts of the old world, as well as in the new. If it has its advantages, it has also its faults, which we are all in duty bound to strive to correct. The ascendancy of material interests, the greed for money, the frantic race for wealth, are the most deplorable characteristics of our modern industrial and democratic society. These are not social characteristics; they are peculiar neither to the Yankee nor to the Jew, although they sometimes seem to be most pronounced in the Tew and the Yankee. the result of our social conditions, and it is not by proscribing any particular race or any particular faith, but only by appealing to moral forces and by bringing all such forces to their highest development that our modern democracies can escape from the practical materialism that threatens to engulf them.

A. L. B.

#### PREFACE.

E.

THE author of this book is a Christian and a Frenchman. As a Christian he is one of those who believe that a spirit of intolerance is repugnant to Christianity, and nothing appears to him less consistent with the Gospel than race-hatred. Be it a war of races or a war of classes, popular jealousy can never screen itself behind the robe of Christ. Be it Aryan or Semitic, a nation should never purchase its salvation at the cost of another's rights.

As a Frenchman, the author is one of those who are convinced that France ought to remain true to her traditions of justice and liberty. They are the only glory and the only wealth which the fortunes of war cannot wrest from her. The more severe the trials that she has undergone, the more menacing the dangers that await her, the more essential is it to her honour that she should remain herself and not belie, in the eves of the nations, those great ideas which she was the first to proclaim. To abjure them would be not only an act of apostasy, but a forfeiture of her place in history. A France that should stoop, more than a century after 1789, to abridge religious and civil liberty and to establish among her inhabitants distinctions based upon name or birth, would no longer be the France that the world has thus far known.

The inheritance of the Revolution, which we have come to regard with so much reverence, may possibly

include rash postulates and exaggerated inferences that tend to intoxicate, almost to madness, a people infatuated with its title of sovereign; but surely neither religious liberty nor civil equality is likely to produce such effects; neither the one nor the other can have any tendency to turn the people's heads; and, after having been the first to preach these principles to Europe, France will not disavow them now, when, thanks to our propaganda or our example, they have conquered almost all the countries of both hemispheres. On others be the shame of such a recantation!

Antisemitism is consistent with neither the principles nor the genius of our nation. It came to us from the outside, from countries which have neither our spirit nor our traditions. It came to us from across the Rhine, from old Germany, always ready for religious quarrels, and always imbued with the spirit of caste; from new Germany, all inflated with race-pride and scornful of whatever is not Teutonic.

Antisemitism may be traced also to Russia, to that huge and shapeless Russia, which, with its steppes and forests, has remained isolated from the great currents of modern life; to holy, Orthodox Russia, half Oriental, half Asiatic, which endeavours to find its national unity in its religious unity, and which regards the Catholic and the Lutheran with little more favour than the Israelite; to that autocratic Russia, which differs from us in all its institutions, as well as in all its conditions, be they economic, political, religious, or social. Whatever sympathy we may feel with the Slavonic mind or the Russian spirit, the Russians, who have so often emulated us, would be greatly astonished to see us copying them; as well might one propose to the Czar to model

the government of his moujiks and cossacks on that of the French Republic.

Men of my age, who have grown up under the Second Empire and in the worship of liberty—it was fashionable then among the young,-have witnessed many distressing sights. How often was the lie given to our youthful faith in right and justice! How many truths which we thought established for ever were again called into question by the selfish passions or the ignorant claims of new generations! How many of the conquests won by reason and liberty were we unable to maintain against the encroachments of power or the delusions of political sophistry! Popular rights trodden underfoot in the name of the principle of nationality, everywhere heralded as a principle of emancipation; European states transformed, for half a century, into entrenched camps and separated once more from each other by custom-house barriers and ramparts of prejudice almost as high as the Wall of China: freedom of thought and religious toleration cynically overridden or hypocritically evaded by those very political parties that professed to be their champions; laws passed to the detriment of special persons; decrees of exile or confiscation, promulgated in the name of liberty, within so-called free countries and by self-styled liberals; appeals to secular power, demands for legal restriction, for paternalism, addressed to the government by all manner of clashing interests and passions. this, not only in Eastern Russia, buried neck-deep in the Middle Ages or rather in the ancien régime, but in the West, in France, in Germany, among nations said to be the most advanced of ancient Europe. Oh, how old she is, this ancient Europe, and how difficult it is

for her to slough her skin and regain her youth! What an effort it is for her to strip off her old prejudices and practices and clothe herself in the spirit of a new age!

And this new age, the age that we have so ardently invoked, what will it bring us and how will it fulfil its boastful promises? To judge by the methods and the teachings extolled by those who proclaim themselves its representatives, this new age is in great danger of reviving the worst practices of the past. Men who boast of being the pioneers of the future openly praise deeds of absolutism, and smile sanctimoniously at legal brutalities borrowed from the ancien régime by the jurists of the Revolution. Visions of the future and mediæval prejudices; Utopias conceived by dreamers deluded with misty ideals and belated memories of a superannuated past: unceasing race-competition and ever-recurring class-jealousies,—all these have become confused and entangled in the minds of the learned as well as in those of the masses. And something of all this is contained in Antisemitism; something of the old and of the new, of the far-off Middle Ages and of visionary socialism, of reactionary instincts and of revolutionary passions: and it is because of this that Antisemitism finds an echo in such different quarters, from the drawing-rooms of society to the grog-shop of the workingman.

Let us confess it once again: we have presumed too much on reason, and relied too confidently on civilisation. This brilliant civilisation, which inspired our idlers with such ludicrous pride, is often shallow and unsound, even in the most advanced countries of the continent. In our proudest capitals it is barely thicker than a light veneer, underneath whose surface, if we scratch it ever so little, we shall find all the ignorance

and savagery of the ages that we deem barbarous. Thus, in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, the close of our century suffers the disgrace of seeing measures of proscription and confiscation advocated by people who are really good-natured and ordinarily harmless.

It must not be inferred from what has been said that the complaints of the Antisemites are wholly imaginary. By no means. Whether they attack our private or our public morals and customs, many of their complaints are but too well founded. Abroad, as well as at home, and most especially, perhaps, in our republican France, they are right, these noisy Antisemites, in loudly denouncing certain governmental methods, certain praca tices which seem about to take root in the life of modern nations. Antisemitism may have been, in its time, a protest, on the part of public conscience, against culpable concessions of men in office, against the venality of politicians, and the domination, at once mysterious and contemptuous, of stock-jobbing interlopers. Despite its excesses and outrages, Antisemitism is within its rightful province when it assails the worship of money, the scandalous barter of political influences, and the shameless exploitation of the people by the men whom they have elected; or, again, when it unmasks the hypocritical intolerance of inconsistent freethinkers, who have erected irreligion and corruption into a method of government.

Modern society is ailing indeed, more ailing than the most honest Antisemite imagines. The error of Antisemitism lies in its misapprehension of the origin and the seat of the evil. It sees, or is willing to see, but one of the symptoms, and it calls this symptom the cause of the disease. Antisemitism is essentially "simple-minded," in the literal sense of the word. It

fails to grasp the complexity of social phenomena. But this failure, which should prove its ruin, is largely the cause of its success with the masses, who in their simplicity are always carried away by that which they deem simple.

Even if the Jews had all the vices and all the power which the hatred of their enemies sees fit to ascribe to them, it were none the less childish to discover in a handful of Semitics the source of the evils that afflict modern society.

It is not true that, in order to restore it to health, we need but to eliminate the Semite, as the surgeon's knife eradicates a cyst or a malignant excrescence. The extent and gravity of the evil are of a different nature. The evil is in ourselves, in our blood, in the very marrow of our bones. To cure us, it will not be enough to remove a foreign body from our flesh. Though every Jew be banished from French soil, though Israel be swept from the face of Europe, France would be not one whit more healthy, nor Europe in any better state. The first condition of a cure is a knowledge of the nature of one's malady. Now, Antisemitism deceives us; it blinds us to our condition by trying to make us believe that the cause of the evil is external, instead of internal. There is no more dangerous error. We are afflicted with an internal trouble, due to our constitution and our entire mode of living; and the Antisemites insist upon telling us, over and over again, that it is but a superficial ailment, brought on by chance, and foreign to our race and our blood. Even when they boast of exposing our secret wounds, they misconstrue their nature: consequently, instead of furnishing a cure for them, they are in great danger of inflaming them still more.

Such will be, I doubt not, the feeling of every reader who is sufficiently thoughtful and independent to base his opinions upon reflection, and not upon the antipathies of the mob. Antisemitism, even when most justified in its complaints, is mistaken as to the source of our evils. It would be easy for me to prove this conclusively, could I, in this volume, have treated of finance, capital, and the ascendancy of the stock-exchange. Unfortunately, I have been obliged, for the present, to omit a part of my subject,—that which in these days of subserviency to material interests so completely engrosses the public mind,—the money-question. I had intended at first to devote one or two chapters to it. But this moneyquestion has assumed so prominent a place in our democratic society; it so easily takes the lead everywhere, is so complex, and so liable to give rise to confusion, that it seemed to me worthy of separate treat-Therefore this volume will be followed by another, in which I shall attempt to define the rôle played by money among the nations of to-day. On that occasion I shall take up again some of the views set forth in my book on Papacy, Socialism, and Democracy. There may, perhaps, seem to be no connection between these two subjects. That is a mistake, for Antisemitism, too, is a social question. And as for myself, in studying the influence of the Jew and of modern Israel, as well as in examining the teachings of the Pope on socialism and democracy, I have always the same object in view; religious liberty and social peace. Caritas et Pax, such is ever my motto; and, if I mistake not, it is a Christian motto, not unbecoming a Frenchman.

A. L. B.

#### GLOSSARY OF HEBREW WORDS.

Amoraim = the authorities given in the Ghemara,

Apicoresim = epicureans; also infidels and sceptics.

Askenazim = German Jews as contrasted with Spanish Jews.

Bar-Cocheba = "Son of a Star," a pseudo-Messiah; led the last great but unsuccessful war of the Jews against Rome under Hadrian, A.D. 132-135.

Beni- or Bnai-Israel = Sons of Israel; also a Jewish tribe in India, remnant of an ancient Israelitish colony, and having retained or adopted many pagan rites,

Chanuka = Feast of the Maccabees.

Cohanim = Priests of the Synagogue.

Gher = a proselyte.

Goi = a Christian.

Goïm = plural of Goi.

Golouss or Golus = exile.

Hakham = "The Wise": also name for a

Hakham = "The Wise"; also name for rabbi or teacher in Eastern communities.

Halakha = single decisions of the codified, but originally oral, portion of the Rabbinical Law.

Halakhot = plural of Halakha.

Halukka = distribution of relief money among poor Jews, especially in the Holy Land.

Hassidim = "The Pious Ones"; also a mystic sect among Russian and Galician Jews, believing in miracles performed by their rabbis.

Hazzan = reader or cantor.

Hebra = charitable society or association.

Hebroth = plural of Hebra.

Heder = school; narrow school-room of the Ghetto.

Herem = excommunication, anathema.

Kahal = congregation, especially the Jewish community of Russia. Kedeshoth = harlots, or women who worship at the shrine of

Kosher = food prepared according to Jewish dietary law.

Maggid = Polish Jewish preacher and interpreter of the Bible.

Mazzoth = unleavened cakes, the only bread eaten at Passover.

Melamed = teacher.

Mitzva = divine commandment; also, religious practice.

Mitzvoth = plural of Mitzva.

Mohel = the one who performs the rite of circumcision,

Nabi = prophet.

Rosh-Hashanah = Jewish New-Year.

Sanhedrim = highest court of justice in Judæa.

Schächter = butcher, the same as Schochet.

Schochet = slaughterer of animals according to traditional custom.

Sephardim = Spanish Jews, as contrasted with German Jews.

Shames = sexton, or care-taker in the Synagogue.

Shir-Hashirim = The Song of Songs.

Sivan = third Tewish month.

Sopherim = scribes; the ancient interpreters of the written or Mosaic Law.

Talar = gaberdine.

Tales, or Talet = white shawl with fringes worn in the Synagogue at morning service.

Talmid = pupil, student.

Tammouz = fourth Jewish month.

Tarefa = opposite of Kosher. Food forbidden to the Jews.

Tossafists = glossators of the Talmuds in eleventh to thirteenth century.

Tzadig, or Tzadik = a righteous one.

Zehar, or Zohar = the great Book of Mystic Lore, or Cabala, ascribed to Simon ben Jochai of the second century, but compiled thirteenth century B.C.

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