

The Problem of the Jewish Race

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To sum up in a few thousand words a race which has energized for 4,000 years is a task which can only be executed, if at all, by confining oneself to elementals. And of these elementals the first and most important is the soul of the people. The soul of the Jewish race is best seen in the Bible, saturated from the first page of the Old Testament to the last page of the New with the aspiration for a righteous social order and an ultimate unification of mankind of which, in all specifically Jewish literature, the Jewish race is to be the medium and missionary. Wild and rude as were the beginnings of this race, frequent as were its backslidings, and great as were—and are—its faults, this aspiration is continuous in its literature even up to the present day. There is every reason to believe that the historic texts of the Old Testament were redacted in the interests of this philosophy of history, but this pious falsification is very different from the self-glorification of all other epics. Israel appears throughout not as a hero but as a sinner who cannot rise to his rôle of redeemer, of ‘servant of the Lord’—that rôle of service, not dominance, for which his people was ‘chosen.’ The Talmud, the innumerable volumes of saintly Hebrew thought, the Jewish liturgy, whether in its ancient or its mediæval strata, the ‘modernist’ platforms of reformed American Synagogues, all echo and re-echo this conception of ‘the Jewish mission.’ Among the masses it naturally transformed itself into nationalism, but even this narrower concept of ‘the chosen people’ found poetic expression as a tender intimacy between God and Israel.

‘With everlasting love hast Thou loved the house of Israel, Thy people; a Law and commandments, statutes and judgments, hast Thou taught us. . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who lovest Thy people, Israel.’

Such is the evening benediction still uttered by millions of Hebrew lips.

And the performance of this Law and these commandments, statutes and judgments, covering as they did the whole of life, produced—despite the tendency of all law to over-formality—at domestic ritual of singular beauty and poetry, a strenuous dietary and religious régime, and tender and self-controlling traits of character, which have combined to make the Jewish masses as far above their non-Jewish environment as the Jewish wealthier classes are below theirs. No demos in the world is so saturated with idealism and domestic virtue, and when it is compared with the yet uncivilized and brutalized masses of Europe, when, for example, the lowness of its infantile mortality or the heathiness of its school children is contrasted with the appalling statistics of its neighbors, there is sound scientific warrant for endorsing even in its narrowest form its claim to be ‘a chosen people.’

This extraordinary race arose as a pastoral clan in Mesopotamia, roved to Palestine, thence to Egypt, and after a period of slavery returned to Palestine as conquerors and agriculturists, there to practice the theocratic code imposed by Moses (perhaps the noblest figure in all history), and to evolve in the course of the ages a poetic and prophetic literature of unparalleled sublimity. That union of spirituality, intellectuality and fighting-power in the breed, which raised it above all ancient races except the Greek, was paid for by an excessive individualism which distracted and divided the State. Jerusalem fell before the legions of Titus. But—half a century before it fell—it had produced Christianity and thus entered on a new career of world-conquest. And five centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem, its wandering scions had impregnated Mohammed with the ideas of Islam. Half the world was thus won for Hebraism in some form or other and the notion of ‘the Jewish mission’ triumphantly vindicated. A nucleus of the race, however, still persisted, partly by nationalist instinct, partly by the faith that its doctrines had been adulterated by illegitimate elements and its mission was still unaccomplished, and it is this persistence to-day of a Hebrew population of twelve millions—a Jewdom larger than any that its ancient conquerors had ever boasted of crushing—which constitutes the much-discussed Jewish problem.

But there was a Jewish diaspora even before Jerusalem fell; settlements of Jews all around the Mediterranean, looking, however, to Jerusalem as a national and religious center. The Book of Esther is historically dubious, but it contains one passage which is a summary of Jewish history: ‘And Haman said unto King Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all provinces of thy Kingdom, and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the King’s laws; therefore, it is not for the King’s profit to suffer them. If it please the King, let it be written that they may be destroyed.’ The Jewish problem in fact, from the Gentile point of view, is entirely artificial. It springs exclusively from Christian or heathen injustice and intolerance, from the oppression of minorities, from the universal law of dislike for the unlike. In Russia, which harbors nearly half of his race, the Jew is confined to a Pale and forbidden the villages even of that Pale, he is cramped and crippled at every phase of his existence, he must fight for Russia but cannot advance in the Army or the Navy or the Government service, except at the price of baptism. Occasionally bands of Black Hundreds are loosed upon him in bloody pogroms, but his everyday existence has not even this tragic dignity. It is a sordid story of economic oppression designed to keep this mere four per cent. of the population from dominating Holy Russia. Ten years ago Count Pahlen’s Commission reported that ‘ninety per cent. of the Jews in the Pale have no stable occupation,’ and if the Government enforces the Sunday Law recently passed by the Duma, it means that they will in many cases be forced to

choose between their own Sabbath and semi-starvation. Already the ancient hope and virtue of the most cheerful of races are slowly asphyxiating in the never-lifting fog of poverty and persecution. A similar situation in Roumania, if on a smaller scale as affecting only a quarter of a million of Jews, is accentuated in bitterness by Roumania's refusal to fulfil the obligation of equal treatment she undertook at the Berlin Congress, and the passivity of the Powers in presence of violated treaties adds to the Jewish tragedy the tragedy of a world grown callous of its own spiritual interests. The Jews, whose connection with Roumania is at least fifteen centuries old, are not even classed as citizens. They are 'Vagabonds.' In Morocco the situation of the Jews is one of unspeakable humiliation. They are confined to a Mellah, and as the Moroccan proverb puts it, 'One may kill as many as seven Jews without being punished. The Jews have even to pickle the heads of decapitated rebels. Tested by the Judaeometer, Germany herself is still uncivilized, for if she has had no Dreyfus case, it is because no Jew is permitted military rank. Even in America with its lip-formula of brotherhood, a gateless Ghetto has been created by the isolation of the Jews from the general social life.

But if from the Gentile point of view the Jewish problem is an artificial creation, there is a very real Jewish problem from the Jewish point of view—a problem which grows in exact proportion to the diminution of the artificial problem. Orthodox Judaism in the diaspora cannot exist except in a Ghetto, whether imposed from without or evolved from within. Rigidly professing Jews cannot enter the general social life and the professions. Jews *qua* Jews were better off in the Dark Ages, living as chattels of the king under his personal protection and to his private profit, or in the ages when they were confined in Ghettos. Even in the Russian Pale a certain measure of autonomy still exists. It is emancipation that brings the 'Jewish Problem.' It is precisely in Italy with its Jewish Prime Minister and its Jewish Syndic of Rome that this problem is most acute. The Saturday Sabbath imposes economic limitations even when the State has abolished them. As Shylock pointed out, his race cannot eat or drink with the Gentile. Indeed, social intercourse would lead to intermarriage. Unless Judaism is reformed it is, in the language of Heine, a misfortune, and if it is reformed, it cannot logically confine its teachings to the Hebrew race, which, lacking the normal protection of a territory, must be swallowed up by its proselytes.

The comedy and tragedy of Jewish existence to-day derive primarily from this absence of a territory in which the race could live its own life. For the religion which has preserved it through the long dark centuries of dispersion has also preserved its territorial traditions in an almost indissoluble amalgam of religion and history. Palestine soil clings all about the roots of the religion, which has, however, only been transplanted at the cost of fossilization. The old agricultural festivals are observed at

seasons, with which, in many lands of the Exile, they have no natural connection. The last national victory celebrated—that of Judas Maccabaeus—is two thousand years old, the last popular fast dates from the first century of the Christian era. The Jew agonizing in the Russian Pale rejoices automatically in his Passover of Freedom, in his Exodus from Egypt. Even while the tribal traits had still the potential fluidity of life, neither Greeks nor Romans could change this tenacious race. Its dispersion from Palestine merely indurated its traditions by freeing them from the possibility of common development. The religious customs defended by Josephus against Apion are still the rule of the majority. Even new traits superimposed by their history upon fractions of the race are conserved with equal tenacity. The Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 still retain a sub-loyalty to the King of Spain and speak a Spanish idiom, printed in Hebrew characters, which preserves in the Orient words vanished from the lips of actual Spaniards and to be found only in Cervantes.

This impotency to create afresh—which is the negative aspect of conservatism—translated itself after the final revolt of Bar-Cochba against the Romans early in the second century, into a pious resignation. The Jewish Exile was declared to be the will of God, which it was even blasphemous to struggle against, and the Jews, in a strange and unique congruity with the teachings of the prophet they rejected, turned the other cheek to the smiter and left to Caesar the things that were Caesar's, concentrating themselves in every land of the Exile upon industry, domesticity and a transmuted religion, in which realities were desiccated into metaphors, and the Temple sacrifices sublimated into prayers. Rabbinic opportunism, while on the one hand keeping alive the hope that these realities, however gross, would come back in God's good time, went so far in the other direction as to lay it down that the law of the land was the law of the Jews. Everything in short—in this transitional period between the ancient glory and the Messianic era to come—was sacrificed to the ideal of mere survival. The mediaeval teacher Maimonides laid it down that to preserve life even Judaism might be abandoned in all but its holiest minimum. Thus—under the standing menace of massacre and spoliation—arose Crypto-Jews or Marranos, who, frequently at the risk of the stake or sword, carried on their Judaism in secret. Catholics in Spain and Portugal, Protestants in England, they were in Egypt or Turkey Mohammedans. Indeed the *Dönme* still flourish in Salonika and provide the Young Turks with statesmen, the Balearic Islands still shelter the *Chuetas*, and only half a century ago persecution produced the *Yedil-al-Islam* in Central Asia. Russia must be full of Greek Christians who have remained Jewish at heart. Last year a number of Russian Jews, shut out from a university career, and seeking the lesser apostacy, became Mohammendans, only to find that for them the Trinity was the sole avenue to educational and social salvation.

Where existence could be achieved legally, yet not without social inferiority,

a minor form of Crypto-Judaism was begotten, which prevails to-day in most lands of Jewish emancipation, among its symptoms being change of names, accentuated local patriotism, accentuated abstention from Jewish affairs, and even anti-Semitism mimetically absorbed from the environment. Indeed, Marranoism, both in its major and minor forms, may be regarded as an exemplification of the Darwinian theory of protective coloring. The pervasive assimilating force acts even upon the most faithful, undermining more subtly than persecution the life-conceptions so tenaciously perpetuated.

Nor is there anywhere in the Jewish world of to-day any centripetal force to counteract these universal tendencies to dissipation. The religion is shattered into as many fragments as the race. After the fall of Jerusalem the Academy of Jabneh carried on the authoritative tradition of the *Sanhedrin*. In the Middle Ages there was the *Asefah* or Synod to unify Jews under Judaism. From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, the *Waad* or Council of Four Lands legislated almost autonomously in those Central European regions where the mass of the Jews of the world was then congregated. To-day there is no center of authority, whether religious or political. Reform itself is infinitely individual, and nothing remains outside a few centers of congestion but a chaos of dissolving views and dissolving communities, saved from utter disappearance by persecution and racial sympathy. The notion that Jewish interests are Jesuitically federated or that Jewish financiers use their power for Jewish ends is one of the most ironic of myths. No Jewish people or nation now exists, no Jews even as sectarians of a specific faith with a specific center of authority such as Catholics or Wesleyans possess; nothing but a multitude of individuals, a mob hopelessly amorphous, divided alike in religion and political destiny. There is no common platform from which the Jews can be addressed, no common council to which any appeal can be made. Their only unity is negative—that unity imposed by the hostile hereditary vision of the ubiquitous Haman. They live in what scientists call symbiosis with every other people, each group surrendered to its own local fortunes. This habit of dispersed and dependent existence has become second nature, and the Jews are the first to doubt whether they could now form a polity of their own. Like Aunt Judy in ‘John Bull’s Other Island,’ who declined to breakfast out of doors because the open air was ‘not natural,’ the bulk of the Jews consider a Jewish State as a political perversion. There are no subjects more zealous for their adopted fatherlands: indeed they are only too patriotic. There are no Otto mans so Young-Turkish as the Turkish Jews, no American so spread-eagle as the American Jews, no section of Britain so Jingo as Anglo-Jewry, which even converts the Chanukah celebration of Maccabean valor into a British military festival. Of the two British spies now confined in German fortresses one is a Jew. The French Jewry and the German reproduce in miniature the Franco-German rivalries, and the latter

even apes the aggressive *Welt-Politic*. All this ultra-patriotism is probably due to Jews feeling consciously what the other citizens take subconsciously as a matter of course; doubtless, too, a certain measure of Marranoism or protective mimicry enters into the ostentation. At any rate each section of Jewry, wherever it is permitted entrance into the general life, invariably evolves a somewhat over-colored version of the life in which it finds itself embedded, and fortunate must be accounted the peoples which have at hand so gifted and serviceable a race, proud to wear their livery.

What wonder that Jews are the chief ornaments of the stage, that this chameleon quality finds its profit in artistic mimicry as well as in biological. Rachel, the child of a foreign pedlar in a Paris slum, teaches purity of diction to the Faubourg St. Germain; Sarah Bernhardt, the daughter of Dutch Jews, carries the triumph of French acting across the Atlantic. A Hungarian Jew, Ludwig Barnay, played a leading rôle in the theatrical history of Germany, and another, von Sonnenthal, in that of Austria. For if, like all other peoples, the Jews can only show a few individuals of creative genius—a Heine, a Spinoza, a Josef Israels, a Mendelssohn, etc.—they flourish in all the interpretative arts out of all proportion to their numbers. They flood the concert-platforms—whether as conductors, singers or performers. As composers they are more melodious than epoch-making. Till recently unpracticed in painting and sculpture they are now copiously represented in every gallery and movement, though only rarely as initiators. Indeed, the Jew is a born intermediary and every form of artistic and commercial agency falls naturally into his hands. He is the connoisseur *par excellence*, the universal art-dealer. His gift of tongues, his relationship with all the lands of the Exile, mark him out for success in commerce and finance, in journalism and criticism, in scholarship and travel. It was by their linguistic talents that the adventurous journeys of Arminius Vambery and Emin Pasha were made possible. If a Russian Jew, Berenson, is the chief authority on Italian art, and George Brandes, the Dane, is Europe's greatest critic, if Reuter initiated telegraphic news and Blowitz was the prince of foreign correspondents, if the Jewish Bank of Amsterdam founded modern finance and Charles Frohman is the world's greatest entrepreneur, all these phenomena find their explanation in the cosmopolitanism of the wandering Jew. Lifted to the plane of idealism, this cosmopolitan habit of mind creates Socialism through Karl Marx and Lassalle, an international language through Dr. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, a prophecy of the end of war through Jean de Bloch, an International Institute of Agriculture through David Lubin, and a Race Congress through Dr. Felix Adler. For when the Jew grows out of his own Ghetto without narrowing into his neighbor's, he must necessarily possess a superior sense of perspective.

As a physician the Jew's fame dates from the Middle Ages, when he was the

bearer of Arabian science, and the tradition that kings shall always have Jewish physicians is still unbroken. Dr. Ehrlich's recent discovery of '606,' the cure for syphilis, and Dr. Haffkine's inoculation against the Plague in India, are but links in a long chain of Jewish contributions to medicine. Nor would it be possible to mention any other science, whether natural or philological, to which Jewish professors have not contributed revolutionizing ideas. The names of Lombroso for criminology, Benfey for Sanscrit, Jules Oppert for Assyriology, Sylvester for Mathematics, and Mendeleiff for Chemistry ('The Periodic Law') must suffice as examples.

In law, mathematics and philosophy, the Jew is peculiarly at home, especially as an expounder. In chess he literally sweeps the board. There is never a contest for the championship of the world in which both rivals are not Jews. Even the first man to fly (and die) was the Jew, Lilienthal.

But to gauge the contribution of the Jew to the world's activity is impossible here. To mention only living Jews, one thinks at random of Rothschilds with their ubiquitous financial and philanthropic activity, Sir Ernest Cassel financing the irrigation of Egypt, Mr. Jacob Schiff financing the Japanese war against Russia and building up the American Jewry, Herr Ballin creating the Hamburg-American Line, Maximilian Harden's bold political journalism, the Dutch jurist Asser at The Hague conference, or the American statesman and peace-lover Oscar Straus, the French plays of Bernstein, or the German plays of Ludwig Fulda, or the Dutch plays of Hyermanns, or the Austrian plays of Schnitzler, the trenchant writings of Max Nordau, the paintings of Solomon and Rothenstein, of Jules Adler and Max Liebermann, the archeologic excavations of Waldstein, Hammerstein building the English Opera House, Imre Kiralfy organizing our Exhibitions, Sidney Lee editing the Dictionary of English Biography, Sir Matthew Nathan managing the Post Office, Meldola investigating coal-tar dyes, the operas of Goldmark, the music-plays of Herr Oscar Straus and Humperdinck (Herr Max Bernstein), the learned synopses of Salomon Reinach, the sculpture of Antokolsky, Mischa Elman and his violin, Sir Rufus Isaacs pleading on behalf of the Crown, Signor Nathan polemizing with the Pope, Dr. Frederick Cowen conducting one of his own symphonies, Michelson measuring the velocity of light, Lippmann developing color photography, Henri Bergson giving pause to Materialism with his new philosophy of Creative Evolution, Bréal expounding the science of Semantics, or Herrmann Cohen his neo-Kantism, and one wonders what the tale would be both for yesterday and to-day if every Jew wore a yellow badge and every Crypto-Jew came out into the open, and every half-Jew were as discoverable as Montaigne or the composer of 'The Mikado.' The Church could not even write its own history; that was left for the Jew, Neander. To the Gentile the true Jewish problem should rather be how to keep the Jew in his

midst—this rare one per cent. of mankind. The elimination of all this genius and geniality would surely not enhance the gaiety of nations. Without Disraeli would not England lose her only Saint's Day?

But the miracle remains that the Gentile world has never yet seen a Jew, for behind all these cosmopolitan types which obsess its vision, stand inexhaustible reserves of Jewish Jews—and the Talmudic mystic, the Hebrew-speaking sage, remains as unknown to the Western world as though he were hidden in the fastnesses of Tibet. A series of great scholars—Geiger, Zunz, Steinschneider, Schechter—has studied the immense Hebrew literature produced from age to age in these obscure Jewries. But there is a modern Hebrew literature, too, a new galaxy of poets and novelists, philosophers and humanists, who express in the ancient tongue the subtlest shades of the thought of to-day. And there is a still more copious literature in Yiddish, no less rich in men of talent and even genius, whose names have rarely reached the outside world.

And if the Jew, with that strange polarity which his historian Graetz remarked in him, displays simultaneously with the most tenacious preservation of his past the swiftest surrender of it that the planet has ever witnessed, if we find him entering with such passionate patriotism into almost every life on earth but his own, may not even the Jewish patriot draw the compensating conclusion that the Jew therein demonstrates the comparative superficiality of all these human differences? Like the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady all these peoples are the same under their skins—as even Bismarck was once constrained to remark when he saw Prussians and Frenchmen lying side by side in the community of death. Could Jews so readily assimilate to all these types, were these types fundamentally different? The primitive notion of the abysmal separateness of races can scarcely survive under Darwinism. Every race is really akin to every other. Imagine a Canine Congress debating if all these glaring differences of form, size and color could possibly consist with an underlying and essential dogginess. It is curious that Houston Chamberlain, the most eloquent champion of the race-theory and the Teutonic spirit, is himself an Englishman married to the daughter of Wagner (*alias* Geier) and that with quasi-Semitic assimilateness he has written his book in German after a career as a writer in French.

Not only is every race akin to every other but every people is a hotch-potch of races. The Jews, though mainly a white people, are not even devoid of a colored fringe, black, brown or yellow. There are the Beni-Israel of India, the Falashas of Abyssinia, the disappearing Chinese Colony of Kai-Fung-Foo, the Judeos of Loango, the black Jews of Cochin, the negro Jews of Fernando Po, Jamaica, Surinam, etc., the Daggatuns and other warlike nomads of the North African deserts who remind us what the conquerors of the Philistines were like. If the Jews are in no

metaphorical sense brothers of all these peoples, then all these peoples are brothers of one another. If the Jew has been able to enter into all incarnations of humanity and to be at home in every environment, it is because he is a common measure of humanity. He is the pioneer by which the true race-theory has been experimentally demonstrated. Given a white child, it is the geographical and spiritual heritage—the national autocosm, as I have called it—into which the child is born that makes out of the common human element the specific Frenchman, Australian or Dutchman. And even the color is not an unbridgeable and elemental distinction.

Nor is it only with living races that the Jew has manifested his and their mutual affinity, he brings home to us his brotherhood and ours with the peoples that are dead, the Medes, the Babylonians, the Assyrians. If the Jew Paul proved that the Hebrew Word was universal, the Jews who rejected his teaching have proved the universality of the Hebrew race. One touch of Jewry makes the whole world kin.

The labors of Hercules sink into child's play beside the task the late Dr. Herzl set himself in offering to this flotsam and jetsam of history the project of political reorganization on a single soil. But even had this dauntless idealist secured cooperation instead of bitter hostility from the denaturalized leaders of all these Jewries, the attempt to acquire Palestine would have had the opposition of Turkey and of the 600,000 Arabs in possession. It is little wonder that since the great leader's lamentable death, Zionism—again with that idealization of impotence—has sunk back into a cultural movement which instead of ending the Exile is to unify it through the Hebrew tongue and nationalist sentiment. But for such unification, a religious revival would have been infinitely more efficacious: race alone cannot survive the pressure of so many hostile milieux—or still more parlous—so many friendly. The Territorial movement, representing the original nucleus of the Herzlian idea, is still searching for a real and not a metaphorical soil, its latest negotiation being with the West Australian Government.

But if the prospect of a territorial solution of the Jewish Question, whether in Palestine or in the New World appears remote, it must be admitted that the Jewish race, in abandoning before the legions of Rome the struggle for independent political existence, in favor of spiritual isolation and economic symbiosis, discovered the secret of immortality, if also of perpetual motion. In the diaspora anti-Semitism will always be the shadow of Semitism. The law of dislike for the unlike will always prevail. And whereas the unlike is normally situated at a safe distance, the Jews bring the unlike into the heart of every milieu and must thus defend a frontier-line as large as the world. The fortunes of war vary in every country, but there is a perpetual tension and friction even at the most peaceful points, which tend to throw back the race on itself. The drastic method of love—the only human dissolvent—has never been tried upon the Jew as a whole, and Russia carefully conserves—even by a ring

fence—the breed she designs to destroy. But whether persecution extirpates or brotherhood melts, hate or love can never be simultaneous throughout the diaspora, and so there will probably always be a nucleus from which to restock this eternal type. But what a melancholy immortality! ‘To be *and* not to be’—that is a question beside which Hamlet’s alternative is crude.

It only remains to consider what part the world should be called upon to play in the solution of this tragic problem. To preserve the Jews, whether as a race or as a religious community, is no part of the world’s duty, nor would artificial preservation preserve anything of value. Their salvation must come from themselves, though they may well expect at least such sympathy and help as Italy or Greece found in their struggles for regeneration. The world’s duty is only to preserve the ethical ideals it has so slowly and laboriously evolved, largely under Jewish inspiration. Civilization is not called upon to save the Jews, but it *is* called upon to save itself. And by its treatment of the Jews it is destroying itself. If there is no justice in Venice for Shylock, then alas for Venice.

‘If you deny me, fie upon your law!

There is no force in the decrees of Venice.’

Even from the economic standpoint Russia with her vast population of half-starved peasants is wasting one of her most valuable assets by crippling Jewish activity, both industrially and geographically. In insisting that Russia abolish the Jewish Pale I am pleading for the regeneration of Russia, not of the Russian Jew. A first-class ballet is not sufficient to constitute a first-class people. Very truly said Roditchev, one of the Cadet leaders, ‘Russia cannot enter the temple of freedom as long as there exists a Pale of Settlement for the Jews.’ But abolition of the Pale and the introduction of Jewish equality will be the deadliest blow ever aimed at Jewish nationality. Very soon a fervid Russian patriotism will reign in every Ghetto and the melting-up of the race will begin. But this absorption of the five million Jews into the other hundred and fifty millions of Russia constitutes the Jewish half of the problem. It is the affair of the Jews.

That the preservation of the Jewish race or religion is no concern of the world’s is a conclusion which saves the honest Jew from the indignity of appealing to it. For with what face can the Jew appeal *ad misericordiam* before he has made the effort to solve his own problem? There is no reason why a race any more than a man should be safeguarded against its own unwisdom, and its own selfishness. No race can persist as an entity that is not ready to pay the price of persistence. Other peoples are led by their best and strongest. But the best and strongest in Israel are absorbed by the superior careers and pleasures of environment—even in Russia there is a career for the renegade, even in Roumania for the rich—and the few who remain to lead lead for the most part to destroy. If, however, we are tempted to say, ‘then let

this, people agonize as it deserves,' we must remember that the first to suffer are not the powerful but the poor. It is the masses who bear almost the entire brunt of Alien Bills and massacres and economic oppression. While to the philosopher the absorption of the Jews may be as desirable as their regeneration, in practice the solution by dissolution presses most heavily upon the weakest. The dissolution invariably begins from above, leaving the lower classes denuded of a people's natural defences, the upper classes. Moreover, while as already pointed out the Jewish upper classes are, if anything, inferior to the classes into which they are absorbed, the marked superiority of the Jewish masses to their environment, especially in Russia, would render *their* absorption a tragic degeneration.

But if dissolution would bring degeneracy and emancipation dissolution, the only issue from this delimita is the creation of a Jewish State or at least a Jewish land of refuge upon a basis of local autonomy to which in the course of the centuries all that was truly Jewish would drift. And if the world has no ethical duty to take the lead in this creation, it may yet find its profit in getting rid of the Jewish problem. Many regions of the New World, whether in America or Australia, would moreover be enriched and consolidated by the accession of a great Jewish colony, while to the Old World its political blessing might be many-sided. A host of political rivalries, perilous to the world's peace, center around Palestine, while in the still more dangerous quarter of Mesopotamia, a co-operation of England and Germany in making a home under the Turkish flag for the Jew in his original birthplace would reduce Anglo-German friction, foster world-peace and establish in the heart of the Old World a bridge of civilization between the East and the West and a symbol of hope for the future of mankind.