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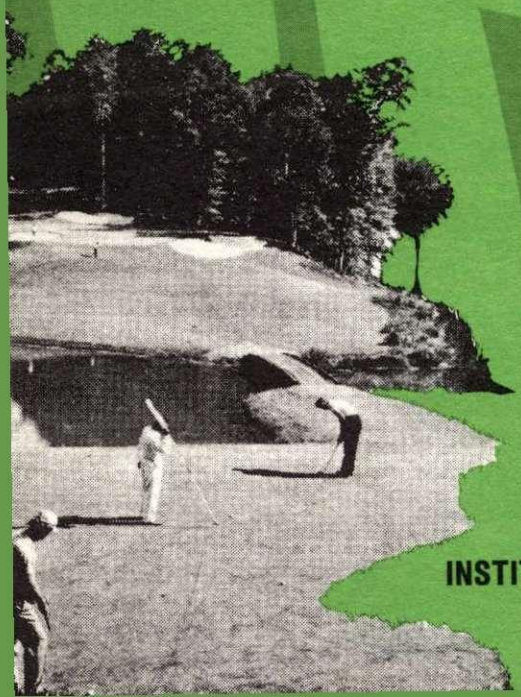
Better Than You

Social Discrimination Against Minorities in America

by TERRY MORRIS



Foreword by
ANDREW HEISKELL
Chairman of the Board
Time Incorporated

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About the Author

TERRY MORRIS, a free-lance magazine writer, has written many major articles for leading national publications, chiefly in the field of human relations. She has also edited a book on magazine article writing and has published a novel, *No Hiding Place*, short stories and a biography for young people, *Dr. America: The Story of Tom Dooley*. For many years she was active on interfaith and interracial committees in Pittsburgh and in New Rochelle, New York. Her biography of Israel's Prime Minister, titled *Shalom, Golda*, will be published in September 1971.

Foreword

By ANDREW HEISKELL
Chairman of the Board, Time Incorporated

When Patrick Kennedy landed at Boston in 1848 and looked in the newspapers for a job, he was almost certainly struck with this admonition in many Help Wanted ads: "Only native Americans and Protestants need apply."

Three short generations later, Patrick's great-grandson, John F. Kennedy, became President of the United States.

Soon into his office, Mr. Kennedy withdrew from a prominent Washington, D.C., club. His reason: Carl T. Rowan, journalist and diplomat, had been refused admission, presumably because he was black.

These two fragments of Americana—one classic, the other mostly and sadly routine—point up how far we have moved in America from the gross discriminations of our earlier days, and how much further we have to go in overcoming more subtle manifestations of the same disease.

As this book amply demonstrates, great progress has been made, primarily during the past two decades, in asserting and honoring the right of individuals, regardless of what the philosophers call the "accidents" of race, creed, color or sex, to move in political and economic spheres as their talents and ambitions propel them. Black men sit with WASPS and Jews on the Supreme Court of the U.S., and on the boards of directors of some of our largest corporations.

At the same time, in February 1971, a Scandinavian journalist lost his reciprocal membership in a famous and prestigious New

York eating club because he had as his luncheon guests what a club functionary referred to as "coloreds."

This book is largely concerned with what it calls "the last bastion" of discrimination in America: private clubs. Because of ethnic origins, among other reasons, millions of Americans are excluded from city clubs, country clubs, social clubs, business clubs and even "do-gooder" clubs. In short, men or women can still be welcomed or rejected by private groups not because of what they are in the substance of their persons but in accordance with the "accidents" they are wrapped in.

Progress against discrimination in the economic and political aspects of life has been hastened in recent years by aggressive legislation. Few fundamental rights, self-evident or derivative, have failed to be reasserted in statutes and particularized in courts. In the social sphere, however, the law is relatively silent. The weight of a local human rights commission or the awkward machinery of public opinion or spontaneous outrage can be brought to bear on specific cases. But for the most part, what can be regarded as the insidious canker of "exclusivity" still festers. It feeds upon a basic human trait—and weakness: the deeply rooted desire to be "among one's own."

Social discrimination, by whomever practiced, is not remedied by the straightforward applications of the same laws which apply to publicly funded schools, publicly owned corporations or politically based institutions or parties. Rather it requires no less than a reorientation of attitudes, a "change of heart." A patient, tolerant, intelligent reappraisal of one's own sense of values—material and philosophical.

The major barrier in this area of social progress is manifested in the proposition that there is a valid distinction between *ability* and *acceptability* as applied to persons in different contexts. In economic and political matters, there is an increasing consensus that a person's ability is the supreme criterion for judgment: if a person can do the job, it matters less and less what his "accidents" are. But in social relations, where occupational competence defers to

class and racial elements as the cement of an organization, acceptability—not ability—becomes the central criterion for admittance. The "accidents" then become more important than the substance. The natural tendency—and it is perfectly natural—to feel more at home among people who share a group interest has resulted in the most base form of discrimination: the exclusion of the man because of his race, creed or color. Ralph Bunche may have helped guide the United Nations through crisis and turmoil—but he was not considered fit to play a set of tennis at a neighborhood "club."

John Donne was only partially right in saying "No man is an island." Psychologically, of course, *every* man is an island, configured as no other, his personality unique in all creation. Each of us takes pride in this uniqueness, and each finds joy in what Wordsworth called "that inward eye which is the bliss of solitude." We prize our difference—and some of us don't sufficiently resist the temptation to equate difference with superiority. When this happens, we adopt attitudes epitomized by the hollow claim (and this book's title): *Better Than You.*

For those reasons it would seem imperative for us to conquer a most basic instinct, the a priori conviction that we are superior to others. The tendency toward social prejudice (and hence discrimination) is endemic to the human race. Each of us to some degree is culpable—in one way or another—for setting himself apart as something or somebody inherently special. We are, each of us, somebody special, but so is everybody else.

Despite the fact that the United States of America was conceived and launched as the bastion of the individual; despite the fact that here, as nowhere else, the private person was meant to be revered as the distinct and precious building block underpinning the evolving good society; despite all that, our sheer growth in numbers, compounded by a bewildering technological complexity, has circumscribed some of that independence—and possibly some of our individuality. Rather than lament that fact, we might consider it another evolutionary step in man's progress toward a

more rational and meaningful civilization. As Walt Whitman once noted: "Of all the dangers to a nation, there can be no greater one than having certain portions of the people set off from the rest by a line drawn—they not privileged as others, but degraded, humiliated, made no account."

Rejection by the admissions committee of a country club, or a rebuff by a fashionable hostelry, or banishment to a back table in a restaurant might seem to be superficial manifestations of bigotry. But that's not the point. They do indeed represent "the last bastion" of discrimination, and as such must be overcome. But it won't happen through fiat. It can only come about through a generosity of the spirit and a manifestation of good will in the best traditions of men who have been born free.

The Backgrounds of Ethnic Snobbery

As just about everyone knows by now, discrimination has long blighted American life—including such vital fields as the job market, education, housing, even religion—and has helped plunge us into what may prove to be the most agonizing political and moral crisis of the century.

But racial and religious discrimination has also played a vicious role in the social or personal sphere—the private world of what is supposed to be neighborliness, social contact, friendship. Here it has set people against each other in a destructive game of one-upmanship, poisoning or preventing what might have been mutually rewarding relationships; in fact, it has made it impossible for whole groups of Americans ever to get to know each other.

There are always some affluent Americans who will act out prejudices and practice racial or religious discrimination in deciding who is, and especially who isn't, good enough to live near them, socialize with them, share their leisure with them. There's the suburban home owner who thinks the prestige of his address will be lowered by having an Oriental family on the block; the campus "jock" who votes down a proposed fraternity brother because he happens to have a black skin; the pillar of the community who won't let a neighboring family into the swimming pool club because they attend a synagogue, not a church—and so on.

Social discrimination is the favorite ploy of status-seeking snobs. It becomes more prevalent as one moves up the social ladder. Unlike bread-and-butter discrimination, it does not strike primarily at the poor, the ill-educated, the hopeless, but rather at the well-to-do or those clearly on their way up. One or two

generations ago, when Jews were making it into the middle class, they felt it most severely; in recent years, other groups—blacks, non-Anglo-Saxon whites, Orientals, Latin Americans—have begun to feel it, as growing numbers of them attain middle class status.

The pages that follow explain who introduced the ploy of social discrimination against people of different faiths or ancestries on the American scene, and why. Later chapters pinpoint where it still exists, how it overlaps with other forms of discrimination, particularly in the economic realm, and what is being done about it, or can be.

Since until recently Jews were the chief objects of social snobbery, this is in large part a Jewish story. But in a way that is incidental. Ethnic and religious snobbery is a threat to all minority groups; and when one ethnic or religious group succeeds in bucking it and putting it down, this helps others who sooner or later are likely to meet with the same treatment.

We've Always Squabbled

Ethnic and racial tensions have always been a fact of American life. From the first, we have been, as the title of a book by John F. Kennedy puts it, a "nation of immigrants," transplanted from everywhere in the world. And, almost from the start, the different national, religious and racial groups among us have intermittently quarreled with one another.

As long ago as the early 1700s, those who were already here greeted those who arrived after them with what Maldwyn Allen Jones, in his book *American Immigration*, called "welcome tinged with misgiving." For example, when French Protestant refugees arrived here after freedom of religion was abrogated in France in 1685, their strange customs and foreign language quickly aroused hostility, and one of their settlements, at Frenchtown, Rhode Island, was attacked and routed by a mob of earlier settlers who had originally come from England.

The Scotch-Irish made themselves useful as frontiersmen, opening the inner reaches of the colonies to settlement; but as early as

1729, a Pennsylvania official reported that they were resented as aggressive, lawless squatters, who, it was thought, might "soon make themselves Proprietors of the Province" if not checked.

Also in Pennsylvania, the Germans, with their foreign language and the natural clannishness of newcomers in a strange land, were popularly suspected of disloyalty or subversiveness. At one time, in the early 1700s, they were forced to take a special loyalty oath.

Conflict arose over differences in religion, as well as in nationality or culture. The hounding of Baptists, Quakers and other dissenters in colonial Massachusetts is a familiar story. But Massachusetts was not alone. Nearly all colonies—with the noteworthy exception of Rhode Island—originally had discriminatory laws directed against Catholics ("Papists") and Jews.

Relations with Indians and blacks, our only racial minorities until the arrival of Orientals much later, were unspeakable. We stripped the Indians of their lands and their cultures and nearly exterminated them. We brought the blacks from Africa as slaves and kept them in bondage for two and a half centuries.

In short, group conflict has deep roots in the American past. But in the early pioneering days it did not generally take the form of snobbish social discrimination. That came much later, in the wake of 19th-century mass immigration and the Civil War.

The Shocks of Mass Immigration

During the American Revolution, ethnic conflicts were temporarily shelved as men from every part of the world could, and did, distinguish themselves while fighting side by side. This heroic chapter was followed by half a century of steady growth, with little new immigration and more than sufficient opportunities for everyone, provided he was not an Indian or a black.

But in the 1830s and 1840s, as more and more of the interior was opened up and industrialization began in earnest, immigration increased once more to massive proportions, and ethnic hostilities erupted again. Almost at once, the mood grew bitter, for old-stock Americans now began to fear that the flood of newcomers would

change the nation's ethnic and religious character for the worse.

Although we had been a mixed crew from the beginning—there were 18 nationalities represented in New York when the British took the city from the Dutch in 1664—people of British ancestry were heavily in the majority, and it was assumed that America was destined to remain an Anglo-Saxon Protestant country. Now most of the people arriving as immigrants were from Ireland or Germany. That was the first shock.

The majority of the Irish could speak English (although some knew only Gaelic), but they were nearly all Catholics. The Germans might be Catholics or Protestants, but most of them didn't know English. The bulk of both groups were paupers (after the potato famine of 1846, masses of hungry peasants, many of them illiterate, left Ireland) and included the usual ratio of good-for-nothings. Before long, both the Irish and the Germans were stereotyped as ruffians who drank beer or whiskey on Sundays, and indulged in other kinds of sinful behavior. "An Irishman and a drunkard [have] become synonymous terms," one P. H. Morris asserted in 1841. "License reaches the most daring recklessness and profanity," one J. D. Angell pontificated apropos of the Germans in the *North American Review* in 1856; "vice swells into shameless crime."

The ensuing confrontation between old-stock Americans and Irish is described in Carl Wittke's history of immigration, *We Who Built America*. It led to gross discrimination in the job market ("No Irish need apply"). It erupted in anti-Catholic disorders—among them the burning of a convent near Boston in 1834 and a miniature civil war in Philadelphia in 1844. It sparked the formation of a nativist (that is, antiforeigner) party, the Know-Nothings—so named because it operated semisecretly, and members were instructed to plead ignorance when asked about party affairs. The Know-Nothings figured briefly but importantly on the political scene in the 1850s.

The Irish reacted with great bitterness to the inferior status they were assigned. Their anger eventually exploded in the New York

draft riots of 1863—an outbreak far more severe than any of the 20th century's race riots. Yet, whether they fully realized it or not, the Irish at this time were already on the way up.

Newly arrived groups in America—whether foreigners from overseas or natives transplanted from Southern farms to Northern cities—usually go through several more or less clearly defined stages. The sociologist Andrew M. Greeley, in his book *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (published by the American Jewish Committee), distinguishes six steps: At first, the bewildered newcomers simply struggle to stay alive; soon they learn to organize for cultural survival and political power; next, the ablest individuals begin to find success in the larger society; for a while, the group becomes militant and self-assertive; later it grows self-critical; and finally it settles down in American middle-class or upper-middle-class style, but without completely giving up its distinctive traits. At each of these stages, the new group encounters resistance and learns to cope with it more or less effectively.

By the time of the Civil War, the Irish were already well into the second, organizing phase, and were clearly headed for a controlling position in municipal politics. As their influence increased, their image changed—from "lazy," "wild" and "uncouth" to "funny" (for decades, the "comic Irishman" was a stock figure on the stage, always good for a laugh), and eventually to "hardworking," "respectable," even "prim." Similarly, the Germans gained eventual acceptance.

But just as this was happening, old-stock America experienced an even greater shock. American industry, skyrocketing after the Civil War, needed workers; and the steamship companies (who found human freight profitable because it loaded and unloaded itself) made it their business to recruit labor where they could find it most easily—no longer in Northern and Western Europe but in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries.

Compared to this "new immigration," as it came to be called, the "old immigration" now came to look positively desirable. The "old" immigrants had at least been North European in ancestry

and appearance, or English-speaking, or both. But the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians, East European Jews, Greeks and Italians who now streamed in, with their unfamiliar languages, foreign appearance, strange customs and huge families—surely they could never adapt to an American style of living!

Many were convinced that the newcomers would drag down American wages and living standards to those of their homelands, and the hostility they aroused rose to a hysterical pitch at times. John F. Kennedy quotes this scurrilous welcome extended to Italian immigrants by a New York newspaper:

> The flood gates are open. The bars are down. The sally-ports are unguarded. The dam is washed away. The sewer is choked . . . the scum of immigration is viscerating upon our shores. The horde of $9.60 steerage slime is being siphoned upon us from Continental mud tanks.

The Blacks and the Orientals

While this was happening in the Eastern United States and the industrial Middle West, other parts of the country were caught up in ethnic conflicts of their own.

In the South, the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves had left the relationships between whites and blacks confused rather than improved. During the Reconstruction years, Congress had enacted legal guarantees to make blacks full and equal citizens; but Southern whites, long conditioned by slavery, could not imagine that the interests of blacks might ever be anything but diametrically opposed to their own. To "defend" themselves against being "swamped" by the black race, they resisted every effort to translate legal equality into practice.

The strategy adopted by the white South was to keep blacks as close to a state of slavery as possible. And so, from the mid-1870s on, the legal guarantees of equality were deliberately nullified. In the two decades that followed, Southern blacks were systematically barred from voting. That accomplished, it was easy to legislate demeaning forms of segregation (under the pretense of "separate but equal facilities")—an undertaking accompanied by much

fantasy about the need to protect white women from the "bestial instincts" of black men.

Thomas F. Gossett, in *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, tells the sad story of how a system of legally sanctioned racial inequality gradually emerged in the South. For a long time, this system remained unchanged and ostensibly stable, maintained by rigid oppression, periodic lynchings and other forms of terror. The blacks' bid for equality and opportunity was thus delayed for fully half a century—at an appalling social and moral cost.

On the West Coast, meanwhile, another conflict was brewing. A severe depression during the 1870s caused widespread unemployment, and the Chinese who had been settling in California for several decades became the scapegoats.

Formerly thought of as industrious, honest, thrifty and peaceful, the California Chinese were now pictured as clannish, deceitful undercutters who were robbing white men of their jobs. They were stoned, robbed, battered and murdered in such numbers that, in the words of Mary Coolidge, the author of *Chinese Immigration*, "it is a wonder . . . any Chinese remained alive in the U.S." And the California bigots made themselves heard in Washington as well. In 1882, a Chinese Exclusion Act forbade further Chinese immigration. But that did not prevent those who were already here from making their way up in the world.

Toward a Showdown

By the end of the last century, a showdown was approaching. On one side were the old-stock Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who saw themselves as the only "true Americans" and sought to preserve the America they knew by maintaining their own political, economic and social leadership. On the other side were the massive and growing numbers of immigrants with their distinctive life styles, who seemed likely to transform America into a different, no longer predominantly Anglo-Saxon nation. And waiting in the wings were the blacks and Orientals, whose day was also bound to come sooner or later.

The "ins" now began to defend themselves against the "outs" on all fronts. One part of their program was to stop the influx of foreigners—a goal shared by organized labor and eventually realized by the immigration laws of 1917-24, which closed the gates to all but a handful of newcomers, and saw to it that this handful consisted mostly of North and West Europeans.

The other part of the program was to keep the supposedly lower orders already here in their place. Unfortunately, some had already started to rise "above their station" with such amazing speed that they became a threat to the status and prestige of the Anglo-Saxon upper crust. To counter the threat of successful minority group members, the weapon of snobbish social discrimination was devised, and exclusionary techniques were refined and honed into a virtually complete network of social discrimination against white minority groups.

Master Races and Noble Ancestors

To lend respectability to these practices, supposedly scientific race theories were dreamed up to prove that non-Anglo-Saxon whites (not to mention blacks and Orientals) were baser types of human beings—less intelligent, less capable, and destined by nature to be subordinate to their betters. One of the sad ironies of American history is that similar arguments were sometimes used by the "inferior" groups against each other—for example, by non-Anglo-Saxon whites against blacks.

From the 1880s until well after the First World War, a whole cult of pseudoscientific racists made it their business to defend the racial purity of old-stock Americans against the supposed taints of both foreign and black blood.

The best-known of these viewers-with-alarm, an amateur anthropologist named Madison Grant, trembled at the thought that the "Nordic race" (which he described as fair-skinned, blue-eyed, tall and having a high instep) was being "mongrelized." Lothrop Stoddard (like Grant a lawyer by profession) and Henry Fairfield Osborn, a professional paleontologist who ought to have known

better, published widely accepted books "proving" that the progress of civilization was solely the doing of "Nordics."

In the work of Charles Darwin, Stoddard and Osborn saw indisputable proof of the "pure Nordics' " ethnic, political and cultural superiority—even though poor Darwin, disturbed by earlier perversions and exploitations of his theories, had cautioned racial zealots that the traits of man were extremely variable and "the races of man graduate into each other."

Simultaneously, old-stock upper-class American families concentrated on proving that they "belonged." In 1883, the founding of the Sons of the Revolution touched off a frantic genealogical treasure hunt for ancestral roots, and the family tree, painstakingly traced branch by branch and handsomely bound in morocco leather, took pride of place alongside the family Bible.

Ancestor worship among upper-class Americans spread throughout the land with the founding of the Colonial Dames (1890), the Daughters of the American Revolution (1890), the Daughters of the Cincinnati (1894), the Society of Mayflower Descendants (1894). One organization, misusing a term later made notorious by the Nazis, called itself the *Aryan* Order of St. George or the Holy Roman Empire in the Colonies of America (1892). Another, with truly monumental presumption, adopted the name of The Baronial Order of Runnymede (1897)—implying that the members' ancestors stood at King John's elbow when he accepted the Magna Carta on Runnymede Isle in 1215.

All of these organizations were clearly exclusionary in intent—motivated by the fear, euphemistically expressed by a D.A.R. lady, of "our being absorbed by the different nationalities among us."

(Many years later, in 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was to slap the wrists of these lineage-proud ladies at a D.A.R. convention. "Remember," he said, "remember always, that all of us, and you and I especially, are descended from immigrants and revolutionists." He might also have reminded them that the three ships which discovered America sailed under the Spanish flag, were commanded by an Italian captain and had among their crew

members an Irishman, an Englishman, a black man and several Spaniards known to have been of Jewish lineage.)

To make certain that no undesirables would turn up in their midst, upper-class Anglo-Saxons began to compile printed directories of people who "belonged." In 1887, the first Social Register was issued, and a listing in it soon became a *sine qua non* for entry into their fast-closing ranks.

Other expensive forms of snobbery also became a must. Travel to Europe was the "in" thing, and upper-class English and French manners and modes were slavishly mimicked. Whole rooms from manor houses and châteaux were transported to Fifth Avenue mansions; and French chefs and English governesses were installed to ensure that the right palate and the right accent were passed along to the next generation.

To top it off, the *haut monde* legislated rigid rules of social behavior. Etiquette, declared a Victorian manual (quoted in Dixon Wecter's book, *The Saga of American Society*), was "the barrier which society draws around itself, a shield against the intrusion of the impertinent, the improper, and the vulgar." It was understood that those with the proper genealogy were never among the vulgar.

In these ways, caste lines were tightly drawn, and exclusionary practices proliferated. Eventually, people of one group, no matter what their individual personality, character, achievements or means, could no longer be educated, vacation, reside, work or socialize with their peers of another background.

Fencing Out the Jews

At the start, and for many decades thereafter, Jews were the primary targets of social discrimination. Among all the minority groups, they were considered most guilty of "impertinence," "impropriety" and "vulgarity," and the highest barricades were erected to keep fraternization with them to a minimum.

Why the Jews? And why just then?

Small numbers of Jews, of Spanish, Portuguese or German background, had lived in America from the early colonial days. In

the later colonial period, Jews—some of whom were wealthy and civic-minded merchants—commonly lived on terms of equality, even close friendship, with their Christian neighbors. And when, from about 1830 on, the great German influx brought a new contingent of German Jews, they, too, were generally quite well received at first. Starting modestly as back-country peddlers or small merchants and working up from there, they were respected as energetic and resourceful. Until about the time of the Civil War, discrimination against Jews was rare.

Attitudes began to change when the German-speaking Jewish immigrants produced a crop of millionaires: such men as Meyer Guggenheim, immigrant from Switzerland who rose from peddler to merchant prince and mining magnate; the banker Joseph Seligman; Emanuel and Mayer Lehman, cotton merchants from Montgomery, Alabama, who later became commodity brokers in New York and whose descendants established an important investment banking house.

Old-stock Americans, resenting the rapid rise of men like these, began to profess that the Jews were upstarts who, in spite of their crass talent for acquiring money, would never make it culturally or qualify as gentlemen and ladies of breeding. By the late 1870s, when the number of Jews in the country had increased to 250,000—with about 50,000 in New York City alone, and some in every state—the pattern of discrimination against them began to emerge. It accelerated rapidly from about 1880 on, when large numbers of Jews from Russia and her subject nations—Poland and Lithuania—began to arrive as part of the "new immigration."

In 1881, Czar Alexander II had been assassinated by revolutionaries and, to deflect widespread discontent with the tyrannical Czarist rule, the Russian government instigated recurring "spontaneous" pogroms. Masses of Jews now fled the Czars' realm, joined by poverty-stricken fellow religionists from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Most of them sought a better life in the United States—and some of them found it with surprising speed. While they were generally penniless and came from city ghettos or small, primitive

villages, they showed the same vigor and upward mobility as their German-Jewish predecessors. Unlike the Irish, whose rise had been relatively slow, many of them moved into the middle or upper income echelon in a matter of years.

How did they achieve so much so soon? Mainly, of course, it was the result of unremitting effort; but in this effort they had some important advantages. Beneath their long beards, strange-looking caftans and peculiar manners, the East European Jews were better prepared by their religion, culture and experience to succeed in an industrial, democratic country than were most other immigrant groups.

Traditional Jewish religion obligates every man to study the religious law, and so most of the Jewish newcomers were literate, eager to learn and familiar with ethical, legal and economic thinking. Having been excluded from most other occupations, they were experienced in commerce. Their families were stable; they had always planned ahead and tried to save for the morrow; they believed in individual achievement and they had a social conscience. These qualities were precisely the ones called for by the American formula for success. As a sociologist, Dennis H. Wrong, has noted: "If one looks at the historic stereotypes of the Yankee and the Jew and removes the labels, it is hard to know which is being talked about."

If the new Jewish immigrants had contented themselves with their economic advance and had remained isolated in American ghettos, they probably would not have incurred the hostility of the old-stock Americans. But as they moved toward affluence, they also sought the other privileges and opportunities of middle- and upper-class society. In the 1880s, with the Gilded Age at its most glittering, newly rich Anglo-Saxons who were not always any too certain of their own claims to pedigrees found Jews climbing the social ladder right alongside them.

The battle was joined and the issue was simple. The Jews wanted in; the "ins" and "almost ins" were firmly determined to keep them out.

This called for a fundamental revision of the Jewish stereotype current in the earlier era of good relations. Stereotypes, like coins, have two faces. Earlier, Jews had been considered keen, resourceful and enterprising in commerce. Now that a "Jewish invasion" loomed, they were seen as "cunning," "avaricious," "conniving Shylocks." Moreover, they were common "parvenus," who had "risen above their station in life" and made great pretensions because of their acquired wealth. They were loud and pushy, it was said, and glittered with vulgar jewelry.

While the parvenu stereotype emphasized the Jews' foreignness and their alleged cultural limitations, what really rankled was their remarkable upward mobility, which seemed to pose a threat to established society. As the historian John Higham points out, here was a people that was actually disliked for its strengths rather than for its weaknesses.

On the Job, Too

While the social set was building its barriers, so were the big corporations, insurance companies and others. And here the lines were drawn against any and all non-Anglo-Saxons.

Corporations were then looked upon by their captains somewhat like private clubs. As Edwin Kiester, Jr., describes it in *The Case of the Missing Executive*:

> It wasn't so much that minorities (not only Jews, but Irish, Italians, Slavs and other recent immigrants) were barred—were discriminated *against.* Rather, the bankers felt their investments would be best protected by "people like us," who "spoke our language"—"safe" people who had come from the "right" families, had gone to the "right" schools, belonged to the "right" clubs, and attended the "right" churches. Top managerial jobs went to persons who met these criteria; and soon the new managers not only monopolized business leadership but signaled to others that anyone "different" was out of luck.

As things developed in the business world, two patterns of exclusion arose: one for minority-group whites, the other for blacks. Both patterns remained almost universal until well after the Second World War.

Usually, blacks were not flatly barred from any industry, but were hired only for the most menial jobs; for example, they could become porters in a factory, but could never rise to become machine operators. White minority group members, on the other hand, could rise as high as their capacities permitted in some lines of business, mainly the newer and smaller ones, but were altogether excluded from the larger corporations in long-established fields. Obviously, in both instances the reality bore no relation to the American credo of equal opportunity.

Discrimination at Resorts

Social discrimination thrives in its purest (perhaps one should say impurest) form where people go solely to enjoy themselves, where economic competition and political strife scarcely intrude. When an "in" group finds other groups not good enough to share its playgrounds, economics and politics may be discounted; snobbery or status seeking is usually the motivating force. Thus, not surprisingly, the first recorded skirmishes against social discrimination were fought in resort towns frequented by the "in" people.

Beginning about 1880, the social elite, seeking surcease "far from the madding crowd" of the seething cities, established new exclusive out-of-town preserves where, as E. Digby Baltzell puts it in his book, *The Protestant Establishment*, "one knew who one's daughter was seeing, at least during the summer months when convenient alliances for life were often consummated." The snobbery permeating the watering places of the rich and well-born was epitomized by J. Pierpont Morgan, who observed that "you can do business with anyone, but only sail with a gentleman."

Bar Harbor, Newport and Oyster Bay were among the most prestigious of these homogeneous playgrounds. Philadelphians also flocked to Cape May in New Jersey; Bostonians sun-and-surfed at Nahant or built palatial "cottages" in the Berkshires; New Yorkers discovered the Adirondacks and the baths at Saratoga Springs.

Saratoga and Other Playgrounds

As late as the 1880s and 1890s, leading Jewish families of Philadelphia summered at Cape May along with upper-class Christians, but elsewhere social discrimination against Jews was already in full

swing. One of the first publicized instances occurred in 1877, when Joseph Seligman, the New York banker, was excluded from the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga, New York—an incident which came as a rude shock to unprejudiced Americans of whatever national or religious background.

From his pulpit at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, Henry Ward Beecher, a friend of the Seligmans, delivered an impassioned, if overdrawn, defense of the Jewish character and ethic:

> What have the Jews of which they need be ashamed? . . . Is it that they are excessively industrious? Let the Yankee cast the first stone. Is it that they are inordinately keen on bargaining? Have they ever stolen ten millions of dollars at a pinch from a city? Are our courts bailing out Jews, or compromising with Jews? Are there Jews lying in our jails, and waiting for mercy? . . . You cannot find one criminal Jew in the whole catalogue.

It was a nice try. But it was not the sort of appeal that could have swayed crusty old Anglo-Saxon aristocrats like John Jay Chapman. After watching Jewish vacationers on the boardwalk at Atlantic City, Chapman wrote to a friend:

> They are uncritical. Life is a simple matter for them: a bank account and a larder . . . They strike me as an inferior race . . . These people don't know anything. They have no religion, no customs except eating and drinking.

The Jewish answer to the bigots of Saratoga, after the Seligman incident, was to buy out several hotels there. To distinguish his establishment from these newer hostelries, one old-line hotel keeper is reported to have displayed a sign reading: "No Jews or dogs admitted here." Nevertheless, within a decade Jews made up half the summer population of Saratoga Springs.

The pattern of discrimination against Jews at resorts became so fixed and so predictable that it might be reduced to a four-step pattern: Typically, old-stock Christians staked out certain resort areas as their own playgrounds; Jews sought admittance and were snubbed; in retaliation, Jews built their own playgrounds next door; in the showdown that ensued, the area became either all-Christian or all-Jewish.

For one example, in the 1890s another prominent Jew, Nathan Straus, was refused admittance to the leading hotel in the fashionable winter resort of Lakewood, New Jersey. Straus at once built a hotel twice as large next door, "for Jews only." Today Lakewood is, as it has been for many years, an almost solidly Jewish resort.

The contest grew more heated after the turn of the century. By this time it was no longer just the old, Americanized German-Jewish families who sought to ensconce themselves in attractive summer resorts. Numbers of first- and second-generation Jews from Eastern Europe who had made good in clothing manufacture or real estate were also looking for a place in the sun, and they met stiff resistance. New battles were fought—in Far Rockaway, the Catskills and all over the East.

"The problem was circular," John Higham observes. "The more desperately the Jews sought to escape from confinement and move up the social ladder, the more panic-stricken others became at the possibility of being 'invaded.' "

Legal Counterattacks

In the years that followed, discriminatory barriers went up in other parts of the country as well. In 1913, the *Chicago Tribune* began to run resort advertisements soliciting a "Christian" or "gentile" clientele. A hotel keeper in Minnesota told B'nai B'rith, the Jewish fraternal organization, that he would be equally willing to accept Jews or non-Jews, but that he was sure the latter would stop coming to his place if Jews turned up in any number.

Eventually, exclusion from resort areas became so ugly that the American Jewish Committee mounted a public campaign against the "restricted" resorts of the Adirondacks. Confronted with the facts, the New York Legislature in 1913 amended the state civil-rights law, forbidding places of public accommodation to advertise their unwillingness to admit anyone because of race, creed or color. Several other states soon followed suit, and by the 1920s discrimination at resort hotels was lessening, thanks partly to these laws, partly to vigilance on the part of Jewish organizations.

However, resort discrimination is a hydra-headed monster, and isolated instances crop up even today. In September 1969, for example, the United States Eastern Amateur Ski Association complained to the New York State Division of Human Rights that three of its members, who were Jews, had been subjected to unequal treatment at the Hidden Valley Ranch in Lake Luzerne. During a two-day gathering at the ranch, the complaint stated, these guests had been discriminated against in the assignment of rooms and in dining-room service. Also, their personal checks and credit cards were not honored, although those of other guests were readily accepted.

The Human Rights Division managed to conciliate the parties. As part of the agreement, the resort operators were required to display prominently a nondiscrimination poster issued by the Division. A letter of apology was sent to the aggrieved guests.

Unwelcome Patrons

Resort discrimination was a relatively minor problem for blacks, Spanish-speaking Americans and other severely disadvantaged minorities until fairly recently. Few had either time or money to spend at vacation resorts. Much more important to them were the indignities they suffered whenever they tried to get, say, a hotel room, a hamburger or a haircut—the nearly universal racial discrimination and segregation (imposed by law in the South, by custom elsewhere) that covered eating places and theaters, beaches and parks, buses and trains, and even public toilets.

But over the last few years, new laws, state and Federal, have forbidden discrimination in these and other kinds of public accommodation, including resorts. It is safe to predict that the emerging black, Puerto Rican and Mexican middle classes, like the Jews before them, will refuse to let others decide, on the basis of prejudice, where they may or may not spend their vacations.

Prep School and Campus

In the years when the Anglo-Saxon upper class was working feverishly to set itself apart from the common herd, one of its chief aims was to make certain that traditional value systems and behavior patterns would be passed on to coming generations.

One way was to create a separate system of prep schools for the children of the rich and well-born; the other was to maintain the most prestigious colleges, wherever possible, as a private preserve. Just a few generations ago, many of America's top-ranking private schools, colleges and universities, especially in the East, were largely Anglo-Saxon Protestant fortresses; elaborate barriers kept out all but a handful of the "other" Americans.

Nowadays, it is reasonable to question whether ethnic discrimination in education belongs under the heading of social discrimination at all. Most people see education, first of all, as an economic necessity—a requirement for a good job. The social side of school and college is much less important.

But a couple of generations ago, when most jobs were still unskilled or blue-collar, relatively few persons needed a college or even a high-school education to make a living, and far fewer young people went to college than do today. Those who did attend—especially those enrolled in the prestigious Eastern universities—went not so much to become specialized experts as to acquire certain "gentlemanly" values and social attitudes, and to meet the "right" people. This old-school-tie type of educating was done as much on playing fields and in fraternity houses as in classrooms, and the whole college atmosphere was far less intellectual than social and companionable.

Since the private school and the status college were so clearly a social setting, exclusion from them was a form of social discrimination. In fact, during later years, when minority group members did arrive on the elite campuses, the chief objection to them was precisely that they refused to look upon the university as a social club. They were known as "greasy grinds"—meaning that they viewed their education as direct career preparation and, accordingly, worked hard at it.

"An Education for Gentlemen"

In the years when it became a must for members of elite society to document their old-stock ancestry, it also became a must for their sons to attend private boarding schools to be molded into "gentlemen." Some of the most prestigious of these schools were old—for example, Phillips Andover and Phillips Exeter, which dated back to the 18th century. Many more were newly founded—among them Groton, in 1884. Ultimately, the number of such prep schools came to about 70.

The admissions policy of most of these schools did not explicitly exclude Catholics or Jews, but they usually were not encouraged to apply. However, the Irish Catholics, having, as John F. Kennedy remarked, "experienced for themselves the handicaps of illiteracy . . . were determined that their children would have the advantages of education." Feeling themselves rebuffed by the cool welcome offered by the established prep schools, they started their own—Canterbury in 1915 and Portsmouth Priory in 1926, as well as a number of others.

Eventually, the anti-Catholic bias faded from the Protestant elite prep schools. John Kennedy himself, after one year at Canterbury, was sent to Choate, an Anglo-Saxon bastion. He was graduated from there in 1935, and later remembered no feelings against him because of his Catholicism.

Jews, too, were exceedingly reluctant to apply to the posh Protestant prep schools in the earlier days, knowing they were not really welcome. The well-known philanthropist Jacob Schiff did

try in 1893 to get his son Mortimer into Groton, but it was made clear that the boy could not expect his Jewishness to be respected there. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., later Secretary of the Treasury, thought so little of his lonely years at Exeter that he did not even mention his attendance there in his *Who's Who* biography.

From the prep school, the vintage young American usually entered one of the prestigious colleges, where, for the most part, the students were so much alike—not only in parentage but also in tastes, attitudes and judgments—that they might all have been siblings. The college years were filled with a genial social life in a crowd of peers. Fraternities and eating clubs flourished. The biggest social "bashes" of all were the football games, preceded by weekends of socializing which not infrequently would leave a college town standing on its ear.

Quotas and Questionnaires

Shortly before the First World War, the sons of Jewish immigrants began to apply to Ivy League colleges in considerable numbers, looking not so much for fun and games as for a chance to move up the professional ladder. Suddenly the whole structure of prestige and privilege devised for the children of the establishment seemed seriously endangered.

To meet this challenge, the "gentlemen's colleges" arbitrarily limited the admission of Jewish students. At first, this was done quietly; but during 1922, A. Lawrence Lowell, the President of Harvard, where the proportion of Jewish students had grown rather high, came out into the open with a proposal for a quota system. He received the hearty support of a group of undergraduates, who said:

> Were it only a matter of scholarship, there could be no objection to Jews at all. But they do not mix. They destroy the unity of the college. They are distasteful to the men who have made Harvard what it is today, and if we do not look out, these men will not send their sons to Harvard.

At Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler readily followed Harvard's lead, and within two years the proportion of Jews at Columbia

College was down from 40 per cent to about 20 per cent. In short order, many other private Eastern colleges adopted overt or covert restrictions on the number of Jews admitted.

This process of unnatural selection was often based on discriminatory "psychological" or "character" tests. Photographs of the applicants were required and not-so-discreet questions were asked to ferret out those who lacked the "right" antecedents and thus did not "belong."

Jews who did manage to get admitted found themselves socially isolated. Many fraternities adopted a "Christians only" policy and various other forms of elaborate social snobbery also inflicted painful psychic wounds.

On college faculties, the situation was even worse, for here discrimination was not limited to the Eastern prestige colleges. When the barriers first went up, not many Jews were as yet sufficiently educated to become professors; but later, when the less discrimination-minded universities graduated appreciable numbers of Jews, academic careers still remained almost completely closed to them—even in the schools in which they had been trained!

If admission policies in the prestige colleges were irksome and humiliating, those in medical schools became even more so during the 1920s. For example, this is how graduates of the College of the City of New York—a leading school by any academic standard—fared with medical school applications: Between 1927 and 1930, a steady 70 to 80 per cent of non-Jewish CCNY graduates who applied to medical schools were accepted; but in the same years the ratio of Jewish CCNY graduates accepted dropped from about 50 to about 20 per cent.

However, in the medical schools—unlike the colleges—social snobbery was probably less of a factor in discrimination than was competition. A new, strongly motivated group was bidding for limited educational opportunities. John Higham explains:

> As a result of the reforms that transformed American medical schools after 1910, medical education was severely limited by costs greatly in excess of student fees. . . . The traffic jam was also a function of a rush of second-

generation Jews toward a profession where they could escape stereotypic identification as businessmen, operate as individuals, and exercise fully their keen intellectual capacities.

Despite the artificial barriers, Jews still made up about 18 per cent of all American medical students in 1930; and additional numbers went abroad, principally to Germany, to study medicine.

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Democracy Comes to the Campus

In the late 1930s, discrimination against Jewish college instructors began to crumble. Admissions policies and student social life were still restrictive, largely because of pressure from alumni bent on protecting their status from "adulteration." But after the Second World War, the return of large numbers of veterans, funded by the G.I. Bill of Rights, brought a new climate to the campus.

Discriminatory fraternities and eating clubs came under strong attack from student bodies and, increasingly, from college administrations. The veterans, many of whom had fought alongside Jewish or black buddies, saw no reason for not socializing with Jews, blacks or any other people they found congenial.

Under pressure from irate alumni, aghast at this "betrayal," the national governing bodies of some fraternities at first threatened offending chapters with loss of affiliation unless "undesirable" new pledges were dropped. But more and more chapters stood firm, and the resulting squabbles between old-line and democratic forces soured many students on fraternities altogether.

Today, fraternities continue to exist, but their influence is waning; on many campuses it is minimal. Eating clubs have fared even worse; at Princeton, for example, the proportion of sophomores joining such clubs dropped precipitously from 91 per cent to 50 per cent between 1967 and 1969.

At the same time, admissions policies have undergone searching review. In 1947, President Truman appointed a commission on higher education, which investigated restrictive practices in colleges and universities and found too many for comfort. The next year, a committee of the Association of American Colleges re-

viewed what it called "the long history of discrimination against Jews in higher education" and, after some soul-searching, confessed: "We have a troubled conscience." The conscience had reason to be even more troubled when it came to other minorities, especially blacks. An increasingly enlightened public opinion began to speak out against discrimination in colleges, and in the late 1940s and early 1950s a number of states passed laws forbidding such practices.

By the 1960s admission to all colleges, including the Ivy League schools, had been greatly democratized with the help of standardized entrance examinations, liberalized scholarship programs and student loans. Performance and potential rather than pedigree increasingly became the key to admission. Whereas prep school graduates used to outnumber public high school graduates by over 2 to 1 in the elite colleges, today the two groups are about equal. About one-third of all college students today receive scholarships, which average 60 per cent of tuition, fees, room and board.

As a result of these changes, not only Jews but blacks have been coming into their own on the college campuses. The Census Bureau reports that, as of 1969, there were 492,000 blacks attending colleges or universities as against 234,000 in 1964—a gain of 110 per cent. Despite the many economic and educational disabilities still suffered by black Americans, 6 per cent of all college students in 1968 were black.

The trend is clearly toward further increases in the recruitment of blacks and toward open admissions policies. Nor is it only a question of numbers. The new militancy and group awareness of blacks have set in motion a process of rethinking about who needs to learn what and about whom. Black studies are probably just the first fruits of this reappraisal.

As for Jewish students, by 1960 they totaled 15 to 20 per cent of the undergraduate enrollment in such schools as Princeton, Williams, Wesleyan and Amherst, as against 2 to 5 per cent in 1941. In the Ivy League colleges, the ratio of Jewish students rose from 15 to 22 per cent between 1950 and 1960.

Ethnic restrictions in faculty appointments are also on the way out; as far as Jews are concerned, they have almost disappeared. In 1966, the American Jewish Committee reported that Jews constituted "from 15 to 20 per cent of the faculties in such leading universities as California, Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania and Princeton."

Other minority groups, particularly blacks, have not scaled the academic heights as fast, partly because the opposition to them was much greater, and partly because they did not yet have a large pool of qualified candidates. Between 1940 and 1960, according to Census Bureau figures, the ratio of black professors did not grow at all. But the last few years have seen an unmistakable, and continuing, increase in the number of black faculty members.

The top administrative levels of Academe—university presidencies and deans' posts—continued to be, until quite recently, an Anglo-Saxon Protestant reservation. Ethnic and racial minorities, such as Jews and blacks, were scarely represented in these positions, even in state universities, which are financed by taxpayers of all races and creeds. Catholics, too, were apparently more or less excluded, except in Catholic-sponsored institutions. Since 1966, however, the growth and the new problems of the universities have triggered a frantic talent search and a number of breakthroughs have been made by this time.

Altogether, we have come a long way since the days when the university was primarily a social club for the rich and well-born. Complete equality of opportunity on the campus has not yet been achieved; but what now stands in the way is not so much snobbery or outright bigotry as the unsolved problems of population growth, financing, and the poor preparation that minority group members receive in the public schools.

Discrimination in Housing

Bias in housing, as in education, is sometimes a form of social discrimination and at other times something else.

For a poor man, or one who is just getting by, the problem is to find a reasonably decent home within his means when there aren't enough decent houses or apartments to go around. This is primarily an economic problem. But that's not all it is.

If he is a member of an ethnic, racial or religious minority, the chances are that some people won't consider him good enough to be their neighbor, irrespective of his character and his ability to afford the rent or the purchase price. Just when he has escaped the worst dollar-and-cent housing difficulties, he runs head on into the subtle barrier of housing snobbery. That's social discrimination.

Such was the experience of white immigrants in earlier years; and it is what blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans are now experiencing as they, in turn, are bidding for the opportunity to live where they wish and can afford to live.

Up From the Slums

For many generations, newly arrived groups have settled in the only housing available to them: the most neglected and least desirable.

To European immigrants, this meant deteriorating, fantastically overcrowded tenements in the larger Eastern and Midwestern cities. As early as 1857, for example, the shocked attention of the New York Legislature was drawn to the filth and stench of an area in downtown Manhattan, where German immigrants made a living of sorts by picking and sorting rags or boiling down bones for glue. (The investigating commission found that blacks in the area were

preferred to Germans as tenants and neighbors because they were considered less untidy.) Later in the century, as immigration grew, every industrial city developed ethnic slums.

Elsewhere in the country, in New Mexico and Texas, the situation was not much better. Here Mexicans were clustered, by necessity, not choice, "on the wrong side of the tracks," where building maintenance, street paving and lighting, and police protection were usually sporadic or lacking. To this day, the railroad is the dividing line between the more and the less favored sections in many Western and Southwestern towns.

Most of the nearly two million East European Jews who came to this country between 1881 and 1914 started out in the tenement ghettos of the bigger cities. But, often within a decade of their arrival, they began to burst out of these dismal quarters—"with a force," John Higham writes, "that set off conflicts and attempts at restrictions all along the urban frontier."

In New York, Russian and Polish Jews were replacing German Jews in the garment industry, and were achieving enough economic mobility to spill out of the Lower East Side. Many streamed into the Williamsburg, Greenpoint and Brownsville sections of Brooklyn. Others headed for the new residential center of Harlem.

The ethnic situation in Harlem was typical of what was happening in prestigious white neighborhoods in a number of cities. A building boom had been touched off by the expectation of rapid transit. By 1904, when New York's first subway opened with a terminal in the area, practically all of the unused land in lower Harlem, between 110th Street, Seventh Avenue, 125th Street and Lexington Avenue, had been built up with new apartment houses. To live in these new quarters soon became a status symbol to the downtown Jews.

Jewish institutions followed Jewish families to Harlem. "Calvary Presbyterian Church is now one of the prettiest little Jewish synagogues in . . . New York," a local paper reported in 1900. Jewish social-service organizations flourished. Local libraries began to stock books of Jewish history and Yiddish literature.

Of course the new settlers met with resistance. Residents objected to the Jewish influx in terms previously reserved for Italians. "Foreigners," the *Harlem Local Reporter* complained in an editorial, "are crowding up the whole length of the island." One German Harlemite displayed a "For Rent" sign that read "No Jews, no dogs." But the Rubicon had been crossed; the area south of 125th Street became predominantly Jewish. (It was to remain so for only about one decade; blacks, who had been settling in the more northerly portions of Harlem, soon began to drift in across 125th Street, and the Jews eventually took flight to the Bronx.)

With variations, the same process was going on in other cities. In Minneapolis, for example, East European Jews began to move into the Oak Lake district, a substantial and socially prestigious community—and met predictable reactions from the older residents. "The thought of living near rag peddlers and junk dealers evoked bitter opposition," Higham reports. "But after the first Jewish pioneers had passed the outer fringes, the whole district was rapidly taken over."

In Boston, as Jews broke out of tenement districts around the harbor and pressed southward toward the middle-class areas of Dorchester and Roxbury, the non-Jewish residents there either fled or fought back with restrictive covenants—legal clauses attached to the sale of houses which bound the purchaser never to sell or rent to the "wrong" people.

Covenants like these were also used in many other localities to keep out "undesirables." Here is an example, no more blatant than many others, from the Washington area:

> No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied by, or sold, ... rented, or given to Negroes, or any person or persons of Negro blood or extraction, or to any person of the Semitic race, blood or origin, which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians and Syrians.

Restrictive housing covenants continued to blight our democracy until 1948, when the United States Supreme Court decided they were not legally enforceable. This decision was a milestone,

but it took a while to make it stick. Six years after the ruling was handed down, housing officials in Phoenix reported that restrictive covenants, even with their teeth pulled, were still being used as a psychological weapon to bar Spanish-speaking people. In the 1960s, the new civil rights laws made it illegal to conclude restrictive covenants even on a voluntary basis; yet in some communities old covenants remain unchallenged and are still being obeyed by many or most of the residents.

The Fight for Quality Housing

Having made it into middle-class neighborhoods, Jews continued their search for still better housing, despite tacit or overt resistance.

During the 1920s, many upper-class white Protestants, anxious to escape the increasingly heterogeneous cities, settled in the suburbs. For a long time, these refuges remained securely "protected" from unwelcome newcomers, either by restrictive covenants or by supposedly voluntary mutual understandings. Just how voluntary these practices really were was the subject of a widely read novel by Laura Z. Hobson, *Gentlemen's Agreement* (1947), and of a movie based on the book.

In New York, a second area of conflict developed in the heart of the city. Increasing numbers of successful Jews were moving into prime areas such as Riverside Drive and Central Park West—not only to enjoy luxury housing but also in order to send their children to the superior public schools in these neighborhoods. Old-stock families now fled from these streets to Fifth and Park Avenues, where millionaires' town houses rapidly gave way to high-rise, luxury apartment buildings. Here the first cooperative apartment buildings were established, chiefly with a view to ensuring "exclusivity."

Just as upper-class Jews had long ago fought the Battle of Saratoga, so they now entered upon the Battles of Fifth and Park Avenues. In a book entitled *Christians Only* (1931), the late Heywood Broun, a widely syndicated columnist, described one of these sorties with obvious relish:

Within the single month of May, 1925, the Jewish real estate speculator, Benjamin Winter, bought the famous chateau of Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt at Fifth Avenue and Fifty-second Street and the mansion of Vincent Astor at Fifth Avenue and Sixty-fifth Street. As if to make the change more emphatic, he turned the site of the latter over to his co-religionists for the erection of Temple Emanu-El.

But, in spite of occasional bravura actions, the barriers against ethnic "undesirables" in most metropolitan areas kept going up. Property owners instructed the firms managing their real estate to screen out such "undesirables"; and Jews, a good many of whom by now had the means to rent luxury apartments, were the principal targets. Files were often coded to remind agents which vacant apartments were not to be shown to Jews. In newspaper ads, unsubtle euphemisms like "select" or "restricted" were used to fend off unwanted applications.

After a decision by the New York State Supreme Court in 1943 tightened the ban against discriminatory resort advertising, some newspapers began to play it safe and refused to run ads for "restricted" real estate as well. All that accomplished was a change in semantics; buildings in New York were now touted as "distinguished" or "highly desirable"—which, as everybody knew, still meant "No Jews accepted."

Instances of similar bias against various groups also continued to occur in other parts of the country. A particularly ludicrous exclusionary game was uncovered in 1960 near Detroit.

In Grosse Pointe, Michigan, a posh suburb, the local realty board had dreamed up an elaborate questionnaire designed to screen prospective home buyers, rating them according to way of life (either "American" or otherwise), name ("typically American" or other), occupation ("typical of applicant's race" or not), accent, education, and so forth. The score required to gain admittance to the sacred preserve depended on the applicant's background: a Polish American could get by with 55 points, someone of South European extraction needed 75, and a Jew had to score 85. Blacks and Orientals were altogether ineligible.

For Jews, an additional hurdle was devised: Besides needing more points than other groups, they were given fewer points than others for the same qualities. For example, a Christian got four points for dressing conservatively, but a Jew got only three.

"What makes neighboring Detroiters smile," *Time* magazine noted, "is that the area's permanent, well-established residents somehow include such noted Detroit gangsters as Mathew Rubino (20 arrests)." But a distinguished scientist who happened to have one Jewish parent was turned down—even though he was descended from a signer of the Declaration of Independence. A local Congregational minister pointed out that Jesus Christ, a carpenter of "swarthy" complexion (swarthiness being rated an undesirable trait), "would have failed the tests."

Unpleasantness in Eldorado

Since the Second World War and the resulting housing shortage, the change from rentals to cooperatives in luxury housing has tremendously accelerated in the larger cities. In a number of such co-ops, old-line discriminatory practices are still applied to Jews.

The scene was described in March 1969 by Nicholas Pileggi in *New York* magazine. The article dealt only with New York, but parallel situations can be found in other metropolitan areas across the country. Pileggi wrote:

> Restricted housing as practiced against Jews is limited almost exclusively to the city's most luxurious East Side cooperatives, and many of these buildings insist upon such total religious separatism that two very distinct and almost equally powerful establishments have come to live side by side in a state of chilly tolerance.

Many of the people who live in the restricted cooperatives, Mr. Pileggi pointed out, "hold high public office, sit on the boards of innumerable philanthropic organizations and frequently act as the stewards, overseers and trustees of the city's moral and ethical life." Somehow, these respected, well-bred, influential people see nothing incongruous in consigning certain people who are their equals to second-class status.

Today, these discriminatory housing practices are no longer just obnoxious; they are also illegal, under the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which prohibits racial and religious discrimination in the sale and rental of nearly all multi-family housing, including co-ops.

The fair-housing law favors informal, voluntary resolution of complaints. Cases are referred to state or local agencies, and if no agreement is reached there, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development tries his hand at conciliation. But the law also permits aggrieved persons to sue; and it authorizes civil actions by the Federal Government in cases raising "an issue of general public importance."

In 1969, the Massachusetts Supreme Court, in a unanimous landmark decision, ruled that persons might recover damages for humiliation and mental suffering in cases of housing discrimination. The State Commission Against Discrimination had found that Manfred Henry of Worcester had been refused rental of an apartment because he was black, and had awarded him $845, including $250 for mental suffering. The Court upheld the award.

It was not long before the same issue arose in New York. In September 1969, New York City's Commission on Human Rights found an East Side cooperative guilty of discriminating against a Jewish attorney, William Meyers, who had been refused permission to sublet an apartment, supposedly because neither he nor the persons he named as references were known to any of the residents in the building. But when it was shown that non-Jewish applicants who were also not known to them had been allowed to move in—and that, indeed, Mr. Meyers' name had never even been circulated among the residents—the Commission fined the cooperative and the real estate agency $1,000. This award, the Commission stated, was "small compensation for the hurt and anguish suffered by a victim of bigotry."

In 1969, the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee put a special investigating group into the field to gather information on bias in cooperatives. Announcing the findings early in 1970, Edward D. Moldover, the chapter president, commented:

With today's social and economic problems, wrongs against prosperous individuals may seem of secondary importance. But the principle here is exactly the same as in any case of discrimination in housing. Moreover, these persons . . . who . . . exclude Jews, are violating Federal, New York State and New York City statutes. The inevitable effect is a weakening of the overall effort to secure respect for compliance with the law.

The Chairman of the AJC group, former New York City Rent Commissioner Frederic S. Berman, reported that 139 Manhattan buildings with almost 4,200 apartments had been surveyed. Just under 40 per cent of them, he said, apparently did not discriminate, but over 60 per cent—91 buildings—had either no Jewish residents or only one or two "token" Jews. In another 44 buildings the presidents of the tenant boards of directors had declined to reply to the inquiry.

The professed reasons for rejection of Jewish applicants ranged from the merely unconvincing to the patently untrue. Persons in government or public affairs were sometimes turned down on the grounds that the building might be picketed, or that newsmen and photographers would be constantly going in and out. Diplomats were often deemed unwelcome "because they gave late parties." (The fact that American politicians, and diplomats attached to the United Nations headquarters in New York, are not always white Christians was not mentioned.) Theatrical people were held unsuitable because of a supposed penchant for noisy gatherings.

(While the AJC survey was being made, Barbra Streisand, the actress, offered $240,000 for a cooperative apartment on Park Avenue. She was turned down by the directors, who said they did not want "flamboyant Hollywood types" in the building. Miss Streisand, however, felt that her being Jewish had something to do with it. When last heard of, the incident was being investigated by order of the Attorney General of New York State.)

In announcing the survey results, Mr. Berman called for state and local laws that would require cooperative apartment houses and their managing agents to file the names of prospective apartment buyers with state and city human rights agencies, and to disclose, on a confidential basis, the reasons for any rejection. The

law should specify, he said, that rejected applicants must be given written notice of the reason for rejection within 10 days. Berman also suggested setting up a cooperative mediation committee, with representatives from the real estate industry, board members of cooperative buildings, and groups like AJC, to settle complaints privately and report findings of bias to government agencies.

At the request of the U.S. Attorney's office and the State and City Commissions of Human Rights, Mr. Berman turned over to them the addresses of the 91 buildings that discriminated and the names of the managing agents who declined to provide information. "It may be that many co-op owners are unaware that such things are going on," Mr. Moldover commented. "If so, it is about time that they were sensitized."

What has happened since in this matter illustrates how private and governmental organizations can work together to deal with discrimination. The New York State Human Rights Division convened an informal meeting of representatives of leading local real estate firms and of city, state and Federal agencies concerned with fair housing. Mr. Berman was invited to present the findings obtained by the AJC group, in a bid for voluntary cooperation on the part of the real estate men. But the bid has not been taken up, and the State Human Rights Division has resorted to further steps. The real estate firms have been asked to report the hard facts involved—among other things the present number of Jewish tenants in buildings they manage, and the numbers of applications by Jews accepted and rejected in recent years.

The Blacks: Still in the Ghetto

Despite the instances of discrimination just outlined, it is true that most whites today can live where they wish, provided they have the wherewithal to pay the rent. Most blacks, on the other hand, remain limited to the bottommost rungs of the housing ladder, notwithstanding a desperate struggle to climb out of the ghetto.

What has kept them there, in most cases, is not only poverty and the fierce competition of poor or modestly fixed whites in a

tight housing market, but also plain racism. The same goes for Puerto Ricans in the Eastern cities and for Mexican Americans in the West and Southwest.

As of today, housing discrimination against these groups is not yet primarily the kind of social snobbery with which this book is concerned; it is still mainly an economic problem. A friend-of-the-court brief filed by the American Jewish Committee in the 1967 landmark case of *Jones* v. *Mayer*, in which the U.S. Supreme Court banned racial discrimination in home sales and rentals, spells out the difference:

> Nearly every ancient restrictive covenant or other modern device directed at Jews as targets of bigotry has included the Negro as an intended fellow-victim. But whereas housing discrimination against Jews presently embodies social insult rather than enduringly critical injury, with respect to Negroes the damage has been infinitely worse; it is beyond comparison!
>
> It is difficult to characterize adequately the conditions which prevail in urban Negro ghettos without seeming to resort to hyperbole. The stark truth is that, where housing is concerned, most Negroes in America today are compelled to reside in *de facto* concentration enclaves, with no escape in prospect.

But what about those for whom escape *is* in prospect—the growing numbers of blacks who are finally acquiring the education and skills that enable them to afford a better home? More often than not, when a black family appears in a comfortable white area, it is met with the kind of social discrimination which Jews and other white minorities know so well from the past. The moment the blacks appear, the whites get their guard up—or run. An official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was quoted as follows in a *New York Times Magazine* article called "Whitey Hasn't Got the Message" (August 27, 1967):

> The middle class Negro is frequently the most bitter Negro, deep down, because he realizes that, even after he's made it economically, he's still a "nigger" to many whites. He thought that if he cut his lawn, kept his garbage off the street and didn't argue too loudly with his wife, he'd be accepted; but still he finds the whites leaving the neighborhood.

Even black Americans with impressive incomes or distinguished achievement frequently find scant acceptance as neighbors. Grosse Pointe is not the only place where a white gangster can buy a home if he chooses, but where a Thurgood Marshall or a Ralph Bunche would have trouble.

If suburbia to date has been a tough territory for middle-class and above-middle-class blacks, it has been almost impenetrable for those of more modest means; for the gilded ghettos in which affluent white suburbanites live are hedged about with legal devices to keep them gilded. Chief among these devices are zoning ordinances—the local laws that define for what purpose land may be used and how densely it may be built up.

In most American suburbs, zoning laws intentionally favor gracious and spacious living for the well-to-do. Most of the land is earmarked for detached one-family homes. Lots must be large, houses set far back from the street, and so on, keeping costs high and density low. Usually, these rules can be changed only by local legislative action or by referendum—which, except in rare cases, means not at all. Zoning thus tends to become an immovable barrier against houses or apartments for the less affluent—the bracket to which the majority of all ethnic groups and particularly of blacks and Latin Americans belongs.

What makes this situation particularly absurd is that more and more industries are moving to the suburbs. These industries and the job-seeking blacks need each other, yet they cannot get together. In a dozen cities—among them Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, Omaha, Los Angeles—Federally subsidized bussing projects have attempted to bring workers from the central city to jobs in the suburbs. But this has meant hours of commuting, and has often created as many problems as it has solved. The bussing programs were promptly dubbed "Operation Band-Aid."

What is obviously needed is that some blacks move out to the suburbs to live and work. But so far, just one metropolitan area—Dayton, Ohio—has been able to work out a plan under which suburban regions voluntarily share the responsibility to provide

housing for people of modest means. In most other localities, the prospects are dim unless suburban zoning laws are challenged.

Showdown in Suburbia

In the fall of 1969, the NAACP declared war on exclusionary zoning laws, creating an open confrontation between the dollar-and-cent housing needs of the less favored and the snobbish exclusiveness which had sent the affluent to suburbia in the first place.

The opening campaign, joined in by the Long Island Division of the American Jewish Committee, was mounted in Oyster Bay, New York, an affluent Long Island community where Jews had gained entree after decades of stiff resistance, and where several major industrial plants had recently opened. The NAACP proposed that town land be rezoned for multi-family housing to accommodate 50,000 or more city ghetto dwellers or other newcomers, who could fill Long Island's demand for low- and middle-income workers.

Oyster Bay officials called the plan unworkable, arguing that new schools, town services, water and sanitation facilities would have to be built at the expense of present residents. But the NAACP has decided to bring suit, asking that the zoning laws be struck down as violations of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The significance of the plan was stressed by *The New York Post*:

> The real thrust of the NAACP effort is to give workers who happen to be black a chance to find blue-collar employment in new manufacturing enterprises and a glimpse of sunlight for their families. The changes envisaged will involve problems of personal reappraisal and self-examination for many communities. But they are no less vital to the quest for an open society than the battle to break ancient barriers in Dixie. They are an essential part of the answer to a new, explosive separatism.

Also in 1969, the Massachusetts legislature enacted a pioneering measure, nicknamed the "anti-snob zoning law," which gave the state power to overrule local zoning restrictions in order to encourage construction of low- or moderate-income housing.

Boston Lawyers for Housing, a group operating under the aegis of the American Bar Association's Special Committee on Housing and Urban Development Law and the Boston Bar Association, consults with suburban communities and cities that are taking steps toward dealing with the low- and moderate-income housing problem. "Progress has been slow," they reported in March 1970, "but we consider this a necessary frontier for any realistic, long-range solution to housing problems that exist in Boston."

In Union City, California—a community of some 10,000 inhabitants near Oakland—a Mexican American group called Southern Alameda Spanish-Speaking Organization has brought a test case in the Federal courts. The case is important because housing discrimination against Mexicans has been almost as bad in some parts of the country as against blacks in others. In Denver, for example, real estate brokers have been accused of hanging up the phone on callers who speak with a Spanish accent. What is more, discrimination against Mexican Americans also has a color angle. Prospective home buyers have been told on the telephone: "If you are light-skinned, we have several homes available, but if you are dark, don't waste my time."

A group of Mexican Americans in Union City had tried to get a Federally subsidized apartment development built, and the city had approved the necessary zoning change. However, under state law, opponents of such rezoning have the right to petition for a referendum. The opponents in this case did, and in July 1969 the Union City zoning change was turned down by the voters.

When the issue was taken to court, the judge directed Union City to act within 10 months on the unmet housing needs of low-income residents, but refused to say that local zoning discriminated against Mexican Americans. At this writing, it is not certain whether the case will come before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Perhaps more basic is another unfinished California zoning case, *Valtierra* v. *Housing Authority of the City of San Jose*. Here the question is: Does a California amendment which bars state agencies from building low cost housing without the voters' approval

violate the equal protection guarantee of the 14th Amendment? One Federal court has ruled that it does, and the U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to review the decision. The case is significant because something like half of all low cost housing proposals in California have been killed by the voters under this clause. Besides, six other states--Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont and Virginia--have similar referendum provisions, which will all be affected by the outcome.

Still another important zoning case is a suit filed in 1970, in New Jersey, by a real estate developer together with a group of blacks who are not local residents. A company called Lake Nelson Estates wants to build moderate-income garden apartments in 40 acres of open field which it owns in Piscataway, a moderate-income community of 35,000 people. The blacks in the case hold jobs in Piscataway but live in the next county, because they cannot afford the one-family houses available in the town.

The Piscataway suit is the first challenge to a community's zoning ordinances by nonresidents. Heretofore, in New Jersey as in nearly all states, only residents could legally attack a given community's zoning practices. But in January 1970, the New Jersey legislature repealed this requirement, apparently without realizing fully what was involved.

There are other cases besides these. For example, in Blackjack, Missouri, a St. Louis suburb, the American Civil Liberties Union is challenging a new zoning law designed to balk a church-sponsored interracial apartment project. In Mahwah, New Jersey, not far from New York City, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and the United Auto Workers have filed a complaint against local zoning with the state's Division on Civil Rights, and have announced that they would pursue the matter all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

Challenges like these are sure to become more frequent once breakthroughs are made. Eventually they should succeed in toppling local zoning ordinances which are in effect discriminatory, and which unnecessarily keep people and jobs apart.

Clubs: The Last Bastion

Nowhere else have discriminatory practices gone so nearly unchallenged and remained so blatant as in private clubs. As far as most such clubs are concerned, the social revolution of the last two decades might never have happened.

People who have actively fought against bias in resorts, colleges or housing often shrug off bigotry in city or country clubs. Until recent years, even the excluded themselves were unwilling to risk humiliating rejection by fighting back. "Who cares?" they would say. "We don't want to go where we're not wanted. Let them have their clubs—we'll form our own."

The law, too, has been reluctant to interfere. Legislatures have acted against discrimination in housing, employment, education and public accommodations; the courts are firm in upholding these statutes and broadening their scope. But private clubs, for the most part, have remained sacred cows.

The alleged rationale behind exclusivity in private clubs is the "right of free association." Actually, this is not the issue at all. No one questions the right of any club to set suitable standards for membership. What is at issue is the very dubious right to practice bigotry by setting irrelevant standards which amount to blanket exclusion on the grounds of ancestry.

The message of the exclusionary clubs comes over loud and clear: "We have never met you, and we don't want to. We don't care what sort of person you are, what talents or attractions you possess, how you have distinguished yourself in your business or profession or in civic affairs. It's enough for us that you are not of our race or creed."

If club life were really a purely social affair, such attitudes, ugly as they are, could be ignored. As will be shown, this is not the case, for snobbery in social clubs involves far more than who may rub shoulders with whom at the marina, the tennis court or the Saturday night party. But, first, a look at the actual practices of a few clubs, in the past and today.

The Patterns of Bias—and Some Exceptions

A century ago, congeniality was the chief standard applied to prospective club members, Christians and Jews alike. The Philadelphia Club, one of the most patrician, founded in 1834, had prominent Jewish members; during the Civil War, Joseph Gratz, a descendant of an old German-Jewish family and a leader in his synagogue, was its president. One of the founders of New York's Union League Club was Jesse Seligman, a brother of Joseph Seligman, the principal figure in the Saratoga hotel affair of 1877. Richmond's fashionable Westmoreland Club at one time had a president of Jewish origin as well as other Jewish members.

And so on—until the 1890s. From that decade on, only Anglo-Saxon Protestants were admitted into clubs like the Philadelphia or the Westmoreland. In 1893, Seligman's son was blackballed from the Union League Club. And in 1896 the University Club of Cincinnati broke up over the admission of a Jew.

Why this change? The 1890s, it will be remembered, were the time when many "new" immigrants, Jews especially, were beginning to make rapid economic advances. The tightened admissions policies of private clubs, like restricted resorts, college quotas and discriminatory housing covenants, were designed to maintain Anglo-Saxon superiority over the newcomers elbowing their way toward social parity with the old-stock Americans. Evidently, the same determination to put down the newcomers is still strong today, for most clubs continue to limit membership to certain ethnic and religious groups.

Happily, there always have been standouts against the use of ethnic criteria. For example, the Cincinnati Club, which was

founded with the help of Jews, has always remained open to them. The Century Association of New York, ever since its founding in 1874, has offered membership to "gentlemen of any occupation, provided their breadth of interest and qualities of mind and imagination make them sympathetic, stimulating, and congenial companions in a society of authors and artists." The Century represents an elite chosen for talent and distinction, not a caste based on ancestry. (One might ask why even so enlightened a club excludes women as a group, but that is a question beyond the scope of this book.)

Here and there, long-standing bias has been routed—as in some of the University Clubs. By definition, members of these clubs must be university graduates. But while the percentage of Jews among the college-educated is high, only two of the 28 University Clubs in the country had any Jewish members as of 1960. Even later than that, the University Club of Miami and some others reportedly barred Jews through tacit understanding. There also were restrictions on what sort of people a member could or could not invite as his guests.

Around 1960, the American Jewish Committee began to challenge club discrimination against Jews and other minority groups. In 1962, after discussions with AJC; the University Club of New York City began to lower barriers based on race, color and creed, and by 1966, University Clubs in Boston, Syracuse, Rochester, Denver, Portland, Los Angeles and eight other cities were taking steps in the same direction.

More than anything else, the attitudes of the members themselves helped these changes along. Cleveland Amory, the social critic, tells of a member of the Harvard Club in New York who had quit the local Union Club, where he was also a member, declaring that "I want a club where I can take a couple of friends without producing a birth certificate, a marriage license and a blood test." The New York Harvard Club has accepted Jews as members for a good many years, and in 1958 it quietly voted in its first black member.

The Downtown Club and the Corporate Ladder

In the downtown clubs—as well as in many country clubs—ethnic snobbery overlaps insidiously with matters of professional opportunity and economic power.

If the downtown club with its comfortable leather chairs and oak-paneled reading rooms were no more than "asylum from the pandemonium of commerce, the bumptiousness of democracy and the feminism of [one's] own household" (the characterization is from Dixon Wecter's *Saga of American Society*), its exclusivity might not be an issue. But the downtown clubs are much more than havens of leisure and good fellowship; they are also the scene of much high-level corporate decision making. Here is how Osborn Elliott, in his book *Men at the Top*, describes the prestigious Duquesne Club in Pittsburgh:

> In these company suites new products and mergers are planned, bargaining strategy for labor negotiations is hammered out, multimillion-dollar financing arrangements are made. Here, and in the public dining rooms below, the professionals of production get together and exchange ideas, day by day. . . . It may well be, as has been said, that Pittsburgh would not be the production marvel it is without the exchange of information, techniques and ideas that take place every noontime at the Duquesne.

E. Digby Baltzell notes in *The Protestant Establishment* that

> Especially in the years since the end of the Second War, membership in one or two of the leading men's clubs, which lie at the center of communal power in most large cities in the nation, has become a tacit prerequisite for promotion to the top positions in the executive suites of our large national corporations.

A seemingly casual friendship formed in the club reading room or grill room may become the foundation of a multimillion dollar business deal. The clubs' cozy atmosphere, personalized service and quiet surroundings are designed, as *Dun's Review and Modern Industry* put it in 1963, for the "relaxed conversation that so often dissolves problems, increases amicability and closes deals."

That is why large corporations usually pick up the membership tab for their executives—and why they often have so much to say

about which of their rising young executives the club will accept and when. The business character of the clubs is recognized even by the Internal Revenue Service, which permits club expenditures to be deducted as business expenses.

Those in the know say that the top-level clubs of New York actually can be ranked according to the size of the business deals made in them. Over a decade ago, *Fortune* magazine reported:

> At the Metropolitan or the Union League or the University . . . you might do a $10,000 deal, but you'd use the Knickerbocker or the Union or the Racquet for $100,000, and then for $1 million you'd have to move on to the Brook or the Links.

Not surprisingly, it is still true that, as *Dun's Review* reported back in 1963, "more men are seeking to join the [downtown] clubs and more men can afford to join" than ever before. But not everyone who has the wherewithal to join can make it. In 1959, an AJC survey of some 1,800 downtown men's clubs around the country showed that roughly 90 per cent had no Jewish members, and in 1969 the rate still was 80 per cent. As for blacks and Spanish-speaking Americans, they are scarcely in the picture at all.

How white Christian minority groups fare in downtown clubs has not been systematically researched; but a distinguished Buffalo jurist, County Court Judge Joseph S. Mattina, has privately collected data which suggest that, at least in his city, Italian Americans face just about the same obstacles as Jews. For example, when a prominent lawyer and businessman of Italian background, a man with an outstanding record in civic and philanthropic affairs, tried to join one of the leading businessmen's clubs, his prospective sponsor was warned that the application would be rejected. The club has only token numbers of Jewish and Italian members, no Poles and no blacks. According to Judge Mattina, two of Buffalo's top clubs, the Buffalo and the Saturn Club, appear to maintain unwritten quota systems. The local University Club, on the other hand, freely admits Italian Americans.

In 1969, a study made on the West Coast, *The Social Milieu as a Force in Executive Promotion*, by Dr. Reed M. Powell of the

University of California at Los Angeles, confirmed that club membership was virtually a necessity in the world of big business. The study was one of a series of inquiries into executive-suite discrimination made possible through a grant by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh and carried out for the American Jewish Committee.

Of the club members interviewed in the Powell study, 41 per cent said membership helped a man make friends who helped him get promoted, and 67 per cent thought it enhanced a man's position in the company. Being a Jew, according to Dr. Powell, constitutes an "almost insurmountable barrier" to high-level promotion, and the clubs reinforce this barrier. A Jew seeking advancement in big business is barred from social clubs because of prejudice—then shut out from promotion because he does not belong to the "right" clubs. And of course blacks, Mexicans and Orientals find this even more true; their prestige and acceptance in the world of big business, and therefore their chances for elite club membership and status jobs, are minimal.

In interviews with 825 upper- and middle-level executives Dr. Powell found unmistakable evidence that

> . . . some executives who actually practice discrimination or hold prejudice on the basis of religion cannot admit this to others or even to themselves. They will go a very long way to point out a lack of qualifications and other related problems of a particular individual. However, if one observes closely, the executive is following a rationalization procedure both for himself and others.

Andrew J. Schroder, former Administrative Vice-President of Scott Paper Company and a noted champion of equal opportunity in industry, has candidly described the distorted views he once held:

> I believed that Jews just didn't like our type of an organization. They were interested more in the family business . . . the hurly-burly of the more conventional marketing places, the clothing business and the like and they just didn't seem to like our type of activity . . .

Fortunately, a growing number of executives, like Mr. Schroder, are looking beyond the stereotypes. More and more companies are

promoting solely on merit, not only out of fair-mindedness but also out of a healthy instinct for self-preservation. For, in the view of many top men in business and industry, reliance on a caste-selected, caste-dominated talent pool is simply bad business, because it takes too many good men out of the competition. And so, slowly, some of the most prestigious clubs are loosening up.

Sometimes the door is opened just a crack. For example, the Duquesne Club in Pittsburgh has just three Jewish members, as does the Detroit Club. The Union League Club in Chicago now has one black member; how he came to be admitted will be told later. Others have gone farther; thus the Chicago Club, the Cliff Dwellers and Arts Clubs, also in Chicago, the Houston Club, the Union League Club in Philadelphia and the Canton (Ohio) City Club all have substantial numbers of Jewish or black members, or both.

Less progress has been made to date in fraternal lodges. Such groups exist in just about every city, large or small, often playing a civic and economic role not unlike that of downtown businessmen's clubs. And like most of these, many of the so-called fraternal organizations practice discrimination as a matter of policy.

The Improved Order of Red Men—of all things—does not accept American Indians as members. The Eagles, Elks and Moose explicitly bar non-Caucasians. Battles have been fought over the issue, but with just a few exceptions the lodges have not yielded an inch.

As recently as 1970, for example, the Elks, meeting in national convention in San Francisco, once more voted, 1,550 to 22, to keep their all-white membership policy. Moreover, some individual Elks lodges discriminate not only by color but also by faith. In Kenosha, Wisconsin, to name one case, eight Jewish applicants for membership were blackballed in 1970.

Fairways and Unfair Ways

America is a sports-minded nation, and Americans are sensitive to unfairness on the playing field, at least if it strikes at noted athletes. When champion tennis player Arthur Ashe is barred from the tennis courts at the River Club in New York, or when Glenn

Whitman, a squash tournament player in New England, India and Canada, is denied membership in two sports clubs near his Philadelphia home, headlines are made.

Even where no star personalities are involved, such incidents may get into print. Thus, *The New York Times* noted in 1970, in an article on the waning of discrimination against Orientals, that J. Chuan Chu, a vice president of Honeywell Information Systems, who is of Chinese background, had not been allowed to join the Wellesley Country Club near Boston the year before. Club officials claimed that the club discriminated against no one, but acknowledged that it had no Orientals as members.

Most such affairs, however, never see print—which doesn't make them any less outrageous. The booby prize should, perhaps, go to a club in Ohio, which honored a black athlete at a luncheon—and then denied him the use of its gym.

One reason why recreational clubs play the exclusion game may be that members are involved in close physical contact. As one outraged black executive put it when he was barred from the country club used by his colleagues:

> The upper-level executive who favors integration in the ranks often gets nervous about a sweating black skin two locker doors down in the clubhouse. Also, he knows that the same black man is going to be dancing with his wife!

To date, the Racquet, New York Athletic and Knickerbocker Clubs in New York and many of their counterparts around the country remain closed to Jews and blacks. The New York Athletic went through quite a heated picketing episode at its 100th anniversary meet, held in Madison Square Garden in 1968. The event had been opened to all persons, including blacks; but many people considered this an infuriatingly empty gesture, given the club's membership policy, and attempts were made to organize a boycott. Unfortunately, after the dust settled, nothing was changed.

Similarly, the Buffalo Canoe Club has not admitted any Italian Americans, and the Buffalo Tennis and Squash Club accepts them only under a tight quota system, according to Judge Mattina's

observations. Some of the most prestigious country, yacht and golf clubs in the area similarly limit or exclude Italian Americans —as well as blacks, Poles and Jews. One club near Buffalo rejected a stockbroker of Italian ancestry because, it was said, there already were too many Italian Americans in the club. Another club makes a practice of examining each prospective Italian American member at excruciating length to make sure he is not linked with organized crime. A third may be on the verge of opening up—but only after the most intense pressure from a determined young Italian American with impeccable credentials.

In refreshing contrast, the Athletic Clubs in Minneapolis and Dallas have dropped their religious and racial bars. The Buffalo Yacht and Athletic Clubs are open to Italians without quota. And at least one distinguished club has taken the right tack from the start: the Mill River Club in Upper Brookville, New York, a wealthy Long Island suburb. Started in 1964 by William Roach, a Nebraskan of Irish background, as a golf, tennis, pool and dining facility, the club maintains a 50-50 balance between Jews and Christians. When the balance shifts, prospective members are put on a waiting list until equilibrium is restored. The club has also made clear that black applicants will be judged and welcomed on the same basis as all others. To date, two black families have joined.

Summing up the Mill River Club's experience, a columnist in *Newsday*, the regional paper, explained:

> Most of the 300 members . . . did not come into the club as social pioneers. . . .Some joined because they liked the facilities, others because of the club's proximity to their houses, still others because they found the membership comparatively young (average age 41) and not tied into the "clique" atmosphere found in older clubs.
>
> At least 35 members joined because they were of mixed marriages and would have felt uncomfortable at either all-Jewish or all-Gentile clubs. Some jumped at the ethnic balance idea because they had been embarrassed as guests at clubs practicing exclusivity. . . .
>
> The important thing at Mill River is that Jews and Gentiles have learned to play together and have found that neither virtue nor wickedness comes ingrained in a man's religion or race.

In New York's northern suburbs, in September 1969, some 200 citizens challenged the snob policies of the Larchmont Yacht Club and other nearby yacht, beach and golf clubs, with a picket line. Organized by a 20-year-old resident, Stephen Early, the demonstrators marched silently for two hours outside the yacht club's winding, tree-lined driveway, carrying signs reading "End Discrimination Now" and "Brotherhood, Not Bigotry."

Among the demonstrators were local doctors, lawyers and TV producers as well as students. ("I have never seen such a high-class group of protesters," a local police officer said.) They stated their convictions in these words:

> [We] do not question the right of any individuals to form a private group and to select as members only those persons who meet the general criteria set by the group [but] we believe that a person should not be prejudged on the basis of things which do not affect his personal character, his genuine eligibility as a human being.

The commodore of the club and his wife reportedly sat through the demonstration on the clubhouse veranda, sipping gin and tonic and talking about the day in 1910 when the club first admitted women. "The club is changing gradually," the commodore said.

Jewish Clubs and Their Hangups

In the face of exclusion, Jews in many cities have set up recreational clubs of their own, with separate (and sometimes superior) facilities. There also are a few Jewish downtown clubs. The genesis of the Oakwood Club in Kansas City was recalled by the manager:

> Our club was created at a time when Jewish people couldn't get into other clubs. It was founded by a group of people who wanted to swim and golf like everybody else but there was no place for them to do these things. . . . Until Meadowbrook [another Jewish country club] was founded five years ago, this was just about the only place they had.

Not surprisingly, the Jewish clubs have almost all remained "gilded ghettos." The Meadowbrook Country Club, for example, has no Christians among its members, and the club manager reports that none has ever applied: "When people call us and say

they just moved into the area, they usually back off when they hear that the club is Jewish." Some other clubs explicitly limit membership to Jews.

It is true that a self-segregated club—whether all-Jewish or all Anglo-Saxon—offers its members the comfort of being "among their own." But some Jewish clubs have begun to wonder whether comfort requires so narrow a view. A few have tried to integrate.

These attempts have not always worked. William Roach reports that before the Mill River Club on Long Island was founded, several Jewish clubs in the area had opened up to Christians, but as they dropped out and were not replaced by other Christians, the memberships had once more become almost solidly Jewish.

In Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the other hand, the (originally Jewish) Tulsa Country Club began some time ago to invite non-Jews and now has a number of them on its membership rolls. In Charlotte, North Carolina, where the Jewish community had long been understandably irritated by the discriminatory policy of the Charlotte City Club, a Jewish country club recently gave up its "Jews only" rule, though at last report no Christian members had as yet been enrolled.

In Atlanta, Edward E. Elson, a lawyer turned book dealer who heads the American Jewish Committee's local chapter, declared:

> The saying is that Jews stick together. Certainly they do. Where else can they go? But, if we're really serious about breaking down discrimination against us, we must begin by ridding Jewish clubs of discriminatory rules.

In keeping with this view, AJC's Atlanta chapter has asked its members to take the lead in opening Jewish clubs to non-Jews.

Of course admitting previously excluded groups means, among other things, admitting blacks—an implication faced by, and agonized over, by Jewish and Christian clubs alike. Some of the Jewish clubs now seem to feel the propriety of this step quite keenly, perhaps because many of their members have been on the receiving end of discrimination. At least one downtown club has taken the necessary steps with marked success: The formerly all-Jewish

Locust Club in Philadelphia has enrolled several blacks—more than just a token number—and the members have come to feel completely at home in this interracial situation.

Fighting Bias With Publicity

Edmund Burke observed somewhere that "there is a limit at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue." Since complacency and "letting nature take her course" clearly have not worked in dealing with club bias, these tactics are giving way to concerted counteraction.

On November 8, 1967, Kansas City's Catholic newspaper, the *National Catholic Reporter*, ran a front page feature which opened with these paragraphs:

> An official of the American Jewish Committee says Kansas City, Mo., is the worst city in the United States for discrimination by downtown men's clubs against Jews.
>
> Some other large cities come awfully close, said Lawrence Bloomgarden of the New York office of the American Jewish Committee, but Kansas City is the only one where the objective seems to be *judenrein*—Hitler Germany's word for Jews-zero.

The article grew out of a report by the Kansas City chapter of AJC, which had tried for 12 years to open the Kansas City Club, the local University Club and the River Club to Jews. Just before the story broke, a young Jewish businessman, backed by Mayor Ilus Davis, had been nominated for membership in the University Club; but several members had circulated petitions in opposition and the candidate was blackballed.

AJC charged that this attitude was one reason Kansas City was ruled out by the Atomic Energy Commission as a possible site for a $250-million proton accelerator. Some of the scientists connected with the project were expected to be Jews, and the Commission reportedly did not want to expose them to humiliation and embarrassment.

After the *Catholic Reporter* story came out, Mayor Davis publicly spoke out against club bias, and the general press took up the cudgels in its editorial columns. The *Kansas City Times* wrote:

> The human side of the issue cannot be ignored. It is basic. But the practical stakes should be obvious to everyone. A delay in positive action could only . . . hobble Kansas City in its competition with other cities. . . . The community interest asks nothing of them [club members] except to consider Jewish nominations for membership on their individual merits, the same as anyone else. Such a simple act of good will could make a very important change in Kansas City's national image and human relationships at home.

Within a few weeks, the Kansas City Club admitted two Jewish members, and several more have been enrolled since.

Public attention can stir up active opposition against bias among club members who may not have thought much about it. That was what happened at Chicago's Union League Club. Although this club said anyone could be a member if he was "a gentleman . . . qualified as to character and economic situation," it was all white (and up to a few years earlier had been all Christian). But both the black and the general press had been hammering away at it for some time; and symbolically, on Lincoln's Birthday, in 1969, the club enrolled Dr. Frederick C. Ford, vice-president of a real estate management firm—the first black member in its 90-year history. An attempt by some diehards to unseat the board of directors that had let Dr. Ford join was quickly rejected by the majority. One young member who had voted for Dr. Ford was quoted in the Chicago Sun-Times as saying: "I am proud my club is the first one of the big men's clubs to break through."

In the wake of the Ford incident, a survey revealed that 24 clubs in Chicago, with rosters totaling in the thousands, had exactly eight black members among them. All 24 insisted their rules barred no one because of race, religion or color; but they clearly were far from happy with the exposure of their lily-white enrollment patterns.

Publicity is particularly effective against that favorite exclusionary dodge, the secret admissions committee—as this case shows:

In 1968, upper-class social circles in Little Rock, Arkansas, were shocked to learn that 10 members of the Junior League had resigned in protest over discriminatory practices. The storm was

precipitated by Mrs. Arthur N. Phillips, Jr., a young woman active in civic affairs.

Mrs. Phillips had first tried to join the Junior League three years earlier and had been turned down. A former member of the secret admissions committee subsequently revealed that the chairman had read to each member a purported rule stating that only girls of the Christian faith were acceptable as members. However, after a poll late in 1965 showed that only a few members considered religion a significant membership criterion, one member asked that the clause be eliminated. In 1966, on the assumption that this had been done, Mrs. Phillips was again proposed for membership—and again turned down. A third attempt, in 1967, also failed.

By this time, Mrs. Phillips had passed the maximum age for membership. As one member said: "Every time we have asked for discussion of this issue, we have been told it would be premature. Now we are told that it is too late."

But though the affair was now academic, 26 members found it too much to stomach. They circulated a letter among the membership, describing the affair blow for blow, and challenging the actions of the committee.

The president of the Junior League tried to make light of it. She told the press: "This very small group has taken it upon themselves to make an issue, when it was nothing more than a simple thing of a candidate being turned down." But in spite of her protestations, the community took a dim view of the secret admissions committee's tactics. "This type of exclusion is ridiculous," exclaimed the husband of one of the women who resigned. "It's time it came to a grinding halt."

Within months it did. In other cities, too, Junior League groups were taking a new look at their membership policies about this time. A smooth transition was made in March 1970 in Cleveland, when one black and three Jewish women joined. During the same month, the Washington Junior League invited a black member.

Another stratagem widely used to maintain the status quo is the rule that new applicants must be sponsored by a member.

The president of Chicago's Lake Shore Club, explaining why there was not a single black among its 3,600 members, said: "We have many, many Negro guests, but to the best of my knowledge, I don't think one ever was sponsored." And the vice-president of the Casino club in the same city explained: "One has to be known by a certain number of people in the club, and we don't know any Negroes socially."

The inside sponsorship requirement is now also under fire. It figured importantly in a recent complaint brought against the Ramblewood Country Club in Mt. Laurel Township, New Jersey, by Dr. Kenneth Butler, a dentist, who is black. The Director of New Jersey's Division on Civil Rights, George S. Pfaus, ruling in Dr. Butler's favor, stressed the point:

> Though the owners of the club may have a legitimate interest in the personal references of an applicant for membership, *the references of a non-member should be as informative as those of a member* . . . I consider elimination of the sponsorship requirement to be a proper means of guaranteeing that further acts of discrimination not occur in the future.

"We Won't Go Where They Can't Go"

One counterattack against club discrimination focuses on the fact that many clubs rent their facilities to other organizations.

When outside organizations refuse to schedule meetings or social events in places that discriminate, it can put a serious dent into club revenues—and persuade club officials to take a hard look at the cost of bias, in dollars and in damage to the club's image.

In 1968, at the request of the local NAACP, Harold L. Enarson, President of Cleveland State University, moved an honorary degree ceremony from a club which practiced racial and religious discrimination. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* commented: "Every petty aristocracy in America is hearing an ominous knocking at its door."

In 1970, Philip E. Hoffman, President of the American Jewish Committee, wrote to university presidents across the country, suggesting that they ask administrative staffs, alumni associations and other groups affiliated with the universities not to hold

meetings or social functions at clubs practicing discrimination. The response was massive and almost entirely favorable.

The chapters of the American Jewish Committee in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia urged charitable organizations such as the United Funds and the Cancer Society not to meet at discriminatory clubs. Here, too, the responses were overwhelmingly favorable. The Human Relations Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh directed all Catholic organizations to give preference to facilities which "do not have membership, guest or employment practices that discriminate against Negroes or any other minority."

In Atlanta, the directors of the local symphony orchestra moved their meetings away from a country club after one of the directors, an active AJC member, called his colleagues' attention to the club's discriminatory practices.

Increasingly, minority group members themselves reject private or business invitations for dinners or meetings at clubs where they would not be welcome as members. The refusal may embarrass someone who meant no harm; but such embarrassment will often goad the consciences of the fair-minded.

Sidney R. Rabb, an AJC leader in Boston, recognized this when he declined a luncheon invitation to the Algonquin Club, which does not accept Jews or blacks as members. "I am sure that you and the other hosts were not aware of this policy . . . ," he wrote to his hosts, "but I know you will understand my feelings about it." The meeting place was changed.

When Shale Stiller, an attorney in Baltimore, was invited to address the Investment and Exchange Council at the Merchants Club, he wrote:

> I must respectfully decline the invitation because, so long as the Merchants Club maintains its discriminatory practices against members of my faith, I will not set foot in the building . . . .
>
> It seems terribly sad that there still exists in downtown Baltimore an organization where Baltimoreans such as the former Solicitor General of the United States, two Federal Judges, two former Presidents of the Baltimore City School Board and innumerable other civic leaders are not welcome.

In this case, too, the meeting place was changed. Later a protest was made to the Maryland Port Authority, which had been paying membership dues at the Merchants Club for several of its staff people. The director of the Port Authority, who was himself a director of the club, put Mr. Stiller's letter before the board, and the barriers fell.

At the American Bar Association's 1965 annual convention, in Miami, social events were scheduled at the Bath Club, which was known to bar Jews from membership. When the then President of AJC, Morris B. Abram, so informed the President of the A.B.A., the latter saw to it that the meetings were rescheduled elsewhere. "I do think it is well to have brought this issue into the open," he commented.

Legal Handles

Although legislatures and courts have been bearing down hard on discrimination in many areas of American life, social clubs have generally been beyond the law's reach. Title II of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in places of public accommodation, specifically exempts private clubs, and state laws generally follow a similar hands-off policy.

When the Civil Rights law was enacted, all kinds of private facilities serving the public tried to get around the anti-discrimination provisions by claiming to be private clubs. But the Supreme Court, in the case of *Daniel* v. *Paul*, did much to foil that maneuver.

The case concerned the Lake Nixon Club near Little Rock, Arkansas, a privately owned recreation ground opened to the white public in 1962. When the Civil Rights Act was passed, the owner renamed it a private club and, instead of admission tickets (25 cents each), began to sell "membership cards" (same price). Some 100,000 "memberships" were sold in one season; but two blacks who wanted to get in were turned away and proceeded to sue. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, which found that the enterprise was really a "place of public entertainment," hence covered by the public accommodations section of the law.

The Lake Nixon "club" was a palpable fraud. But the question remains whether even bona fide clubs are always "private," as that term is used in the Civil Rights Act.

In 1969, the Kenwood Golf and Country Club in Bethesda, Maryland, was sued by 10 of its members, including U.S. Senators Frank Church of Idaho and Robert P. Griffin of Michigan. The purpose was to compel the club to permit members to bring in blacks as guests. The next year, a U.S. District Court ruled that the club, which regularly rents its facilities to outside groups and thus is a profit-making enterprise, had thereby taken on a public accommodation function and was accordingly subject to Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The decision was not appealed.

Where a club receives some benefit from government—through loans, for example, or use of public property—the laws do provide a handle against discrimination. But here, too, subterfuges have been invented. Thus, a number of Southern clubs which obtained loans for new buildings under the sponsorship of the Department of Housing and Urban Development tried to get around the Government's insistence that they integrate by enrolling their black maintenance men as pro forma members.

Still, the presence of government-granted benefits sometimes proves decisive. Take the case of the late Henry H. Arrington, a black attorney in Miami. In 1968, Mr. Arrington applied for membership in the Miami Yacht Club. When three months passed without an answer, he pointed out to the Mayor of Miami that the club was on property leased from the city, and just might be violating the 14th Amendment, which guarantees all citizens equal protection by municipal as well as state law.

The mayor promised to start legal action unless the club acted on Mr. Arrington's application immediately. The commodore of the club indicated he had no objection to letting Mr. Arrington in, although a number of "hard-nosed" members, intent on keeping out blacks and limiting the number of Jews, resigned. Eventually, in 1969, the City of Miami forbade the leasing of public property to clubs which discriminate.

Also in 1969, New York City directed clubs which leased municipal property to take "affirmative action" against discriminatory membership practices. The City Commission on Human Rights had discovered that two such clubs, the Breezy Point Surf Club and the Silver Gull Club, had no black or Puerto Rican members. When their leases came up for renewal, the City told the two clubs to make at least 5 per cent of their memberships available for new enrollments, to advertise for new applications, and to remove a requirement that new applicants be sponsored by a current member.

A slightly different angle now being tried is withholding of local tax exemptions from fraternal lodges that discriminate. In Orange, New Jersey, steps are under study to withdraw the exemption which the Elks Club—lily-white like all Elks lodges—enjoys on the assumption that a lodge is not primarily a social club but "a charitable institution contributing to the moral and physical development of men, women and children." Mayor Joel Shain of Orange comments: "How any organization that outrightly states its membership is limited to [by?] ethnic origin can claim it's contributing to a decent moral development is beyond me." Next door, in Nutley, New Jersey, a lawsuit to deprive the Elks Club of its tax exemption has actually been started, and has been broadened into a "class action" which will affect all clubs in the state.

Still another tack is being taken in the State of Washington by a coalition of over 20 organizations—representing Catholics, Jews, blacks, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and others—which seeks to stop discrimination in all lodges and clubs in the state. The idea is to deprive discriminatory clubs of special ("Class H") liquor licenses, which now entitle them to large discounts in buying alcoholic beverages. A proposal along these lines has been submitted to the State Board Against Discrimination, and a lawsuit to the same effect (*Gerber* v. *Hood*) has been started.

In Pennsylvania, a similar courtroom strategy has won an initial victory against a lodge of the Loyal Order of Moose, whose constitution limits membership to whites—although it also pro-

claims "encouraging tolerance of every kind" as one of the organization's objectives.

A Moose lodge in Harrisburg, the Pennsylvania capital, refused to serve food and drink to a black man who came as the guest of a member in good standing (and who turned out to be Representative K. Leroy Irvis, the Majority Leader of the state's House of Representatives). Rep. Irvis sued, and in October 1970 a three-judge Federal court decided that the offending lodge was not entitled to a liquor license.

Liquor control in Pennsylvania is very rigorous, the decision notes; among other things, the state requires licensed clubs to adhere strictly to their own constitutions and bylaws. Thus, where the lodge's rules contain discriminatory clauses, the state becomes a party to enforcing discrimination—which violates the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

The Moose lodge immediately filed a notice of appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, and in late March 1971, the Court announced that it would review the case. The ruling is expected to set a precedent for the more than 2,000 Moose lodges in the country, as well as for the Eagles and the Elks.

In the meantime, one state has already gone all the way. In Maine, the law simply forbids any club dispensing food, liquor or other services to withhold membership or facilities from anyone on the basis of race or religion.

Public Figures Point the Way

Many years ago, Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from New York's fashionable Colony Club because it refused membership to Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the wife of President Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury. More recently, Fred Harrington, President of the University of Wisconsin, quit the exclusive Madison Club when it denied membership to a state Supreme Court Justice and a distinguished lawyer, both of whom were Jews.

Political figures are likely to be sensitive about the clubs they join, for it has become a political liability to be identified with

institutionalized bias. Accordingly, the American Jewish Committee has for some years made a point of informing important public figures about discriminatory practices of clubs they belong to, and asking them to take a stand.

When the facts are made known, some candidates or officeholders resign from the offending clubs; others promise to work for "change from within."

Since Civil War days, the Cosmos Club of Washington has had each president of the United States as a member—with one exception. John F. Kennedy withdrew his application when the journalist and one-time ambassador to Finland, Carl T. Rowan, who is black, was refused admission.

Mr. Rowan is now a member of the Indian Spring Country Club in a Maryland suburb of Washington. "The situation about clubs has changed some," he says. "But not enough. The private club is the last preserve of white supremacy in the United States."

About the time John Kennedy withdrew from the Cosmos Club, his brother Robert, then Attorney General, resigned from the Metropolitan Club, another high-level Washington social club, for similar reasons.

During the 1968 Presidential campaign, AJC asked the candidates to dissociate themselves openly from organizations that discriminated. Hubert H. Humphrey explained that he belonged to none, and that his campaign manager had been instructed not to use the facilities of any such offending groups. "It is high time," he wrote, "that individuals asking for public trust should practice what they preach. I commend the American Jewish Committee for calling this matter to public attention."

Richard M. Nixon, who was a member of the exclusionary Baltusrol Golf Club in Springfield, New Jersey, at first said he would seek to change things from within, rather than resign. But on August 8, the day after he was nominated for the Presidency, he did quit Baltusrol, stating he was resigning from all organizations not related to the commitment he had undertaken. *The Wall Street Journal* later (September 10, 1969) reported that "a White

House aide recently declined to comment on whether the President was motivated in any way by Baltusrol's alleged bias."

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York, belonged to the Knickerbocker Club in New York City for some 35 years. (Furthermore, the club building was technically owned by his infant son Nelson, Jr.) When discrimination at the club was exposed, the Governor resigned, saying he had found the club unready to change its practices.

The discomfort experienced by some public figures when their membership in discriminatory clubs is exposed is bound to rub off eventually on the memberships as a whole. When this happens, changes will be made.

The Future of Social Discrimination

In all the areas surveyed in these pages, social discrimination is in retreat. In some it is still furiously fighting back; in others it has been all but routed.

There are several reasons for this. First, old-stock, Anglo-Saxon Protestants no longer constitute an overwhelming majority of the nation, and haven't for generations. In fact, the non-Anglo-Saxon minorities probably add up to a majority. (Daniel P. Moynihan cited an estimate in 1966, indicating that only about 35 per cent of Americans were of Anglo-Saxon stock.)

Second, it is now obvious that America has remained a pluralistic nation, not become a homogeneous one. The idea of the melting pot, in which the different stocks—the white ones, that is—were to be recast into a standard type, has not stood up. The different racial, ethnic and religious groups of Americans have not merged into an all-American anonymity; they insist that their group interests and values be respected along with their rights as citizens.

Third, our society, prodded by increasingly self-aware minority groups, has declared war on discrimination in vital areas like housing and employment. Although it is a long way from legal clauses to realities, and resistance remains stubborn, this development has deeply affected the habits of Americans; and the change is increasingly spilling over from the economic and political arenas into private social life.

Does this mean that, any day now, social discrimination against any and all Americans will simply fall of its own weight? The many success stories told here might almost make it seem so; but it won't be that easy.

True, the Jews are pretty far along. Because they were already on their way up the status ladder when the showdown between the old and the new America began in earnest, they became the first to feel snobbish social discrimination, and the first to buck it. By this time, only certain upper-crust neighborhoods and clubs, with their ramifications in the business world, still exclude them sight unseen—and even some of these are coming around.

Orientals, too, have come a long way—and they have done so with amazing speed, considering the universal prejudice they faced, particularly in the West, until a few decades ago. Japanese and Chinese Americans, like Jews, appear by now to have jumped every hurdle except the last: membership in prestige clubs.

In contrast, many other minority groups—Poles, Greeks, Italians, blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and so on—have not yet reached the point where social discrimination is their chief hindrance. American Indians are only now beginning to rebel against their long-standing second-class status. All of them had, and most of them still have, to fight grosser forms of bias than snobbery. Yet more and more members of these groups are starting to bid for prestige and status, and are running into the same resistance the Jews have known. For them, too, social discrimination probably will be the last barrier on the way to equality.

No doubt the victories already won by earlier frontliners will help the newly rising groups in fighting their own battles. But what will be equally helpful is a deep change of attitude among many of the younger generation—both in the groups which in the past did the excluding, and in those that were excluded.

In 1969, a young woman of impeccably Anglo-Saxon background read an article entitled "Civil Rights and the Clubs" in *The Wall Street Journal*. What she learned about the discrimination still going on so incensed her that she wrote to the editor:

> My first reaction was anger. Then I became sick and disgusted at the entire matter. . . . I am not quite 30—a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant from a fine family. But I am ashamed of the businessmen from the same background who perpetuate the "gentlemen's agreement" theme of years ago.

> How in heaven's name can they expect any social progress by continuing this vile attitude? Why should a Negro or Jew even want to become members of clubs like these?

About the same time, another young woman was invited to attend a meeting of the Bryn Mawr alumnae at a club that barred blacks. She did not take this indignity lying down, as her mother might have done. In letters to the head of the Alumnae Club and the president of Bryn Mawr College, she declared: "I am determined to have civic mobility and human dignity to the same degree other Americans have these rights."

That is where it's at today: "human dignity to the same degree as other Americans." Social equality is not here yet, and the pangs that attend its birth are not over. But it can no longer be stopped.

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